

TRANSFORMING PLACE AT CANYON: POLITICS AND SETTLEMENT
CREATION IN YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

by

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of the requirements for the degree

of

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in

Earth Sciences

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For Marty Gorder, Canyon Lodge Savage (1929-1956)

“Marty brought out things in all of us that we didn't know were there.”
—Sandy Champion Godsey



Photo courtesy Dr. Lloyd Warr

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ABSTRACT

Between 1940 and 1970 the cultural landscape of Yellowstone National Park's Canyon development changed dramatically. The government relocated visitor services away from the rims of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone to a new development, inaugurating the National Park Service's Mission 66 redevelopment program. Replacing the 70-year-old, "organically grown," rustic settlement was a Modern, preconceived village resembling 1950s suburbia. This study examines how different generations of Yellowstone visitors have experienced two dramatically disparate and contested versions of Canyon as a park place.

The old Canyon settlement was established incrementally and grew organically. It was tied to a geographic point and its pattern evolved through time. Unfortunately, the settlement was built quite close to the canyon's rim. When developments at Canyon were initiated in the 1880s, national parks represented a new responsibility for the federal government—a new type of land use. Entrepreneurial interests and visitor expectations challenged the government's ability to regulate visitor place creation. By the mid-1930s, federal park planning strategies matured and government control strengthened. Planners recognized the undesirable location of Canyon's visitor settlement. The government persuaded park concessioners to move the tourist settlement away from the canyon, motivated in part by the nation's developing preservation ethic. The Mission 66 initiative also encouraged a dramatic reworking of the Canyon area, producing much of the cultural landscape visible today. The formation and evolution of that landscape illustrates the evolving political strength and maturation of federal government stewardship in national parks.

Keywords: Cultural landscape, Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River, Mission 66, National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, Yellowstone Park Company

READING CANYON'S CHANGING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Introduction

This thesis examines the origins, evolution, and spatial expression of two distinct cultural landscapes at Canyon in Yellowstone National Park. The visitor facilities at Canyon dramatically changed between 1940 and 1970 in an effort to protect park resources. During that era, the road junction and entire development were relocated to the north, away from the canyon's rim. In addition, earlier rustic-style buildings were replaced by a new built environment that emphasized modernity and convenience. When Canyon's earlier settlement was established, the cultural landscapes of national parks were only beginning to take shape. Human settlement in a national park differs from settlement on private land in that it develops under more direct control of the federal government. A federally controlled visitor settlement, preconceived to follow established park rules, should protect park features and experiences while providing needed visitor services. However, early entrepreneurial interests and visitor expectations influenced the government's ability to mold these initial park environments. Later, a developing preservation ethic in the early part of the twentieth century encouraged national park managers to reassess national park developments. Over time, the federal government strengthened and redefined its strategy to better protect natural resources near popular tourist destinations such as Canyon. Canyon's changing visitor settlement sheds light on the evolving strategies and vision employed by the federal government as park officials learned to manage this new type of land use.

Through a close examination of Canyon's cultural landscape, this thesis also investigates two contested versions of Canyon as a "place." Each version illustrates evolving cultural influences that shape parks and the policies of the National Park Service (NPS). With initial weak government control, a settlement developed close to the canyon's rim. Canyon's earlier overnight guests enjoyed and valued a rustic, western cultural landscape whose proximity to the canyon enabled a sustained, intimate experience of the sublime in nature. But later, an increasingly empowered NPS, influenced by the nation-wide acceptance of zoning and by a growing preservation ethic, mandated moving the settlement away from the canyon rim.

In the late 1950s, a new, modern visitor settlement was created at Canyon, inaugurating the NPS Mission 66 program. The new Canyon Village reflected the growing popularity of Modern architecture and building construction. Its settlement pattern mimicked the convenient, decentralized suburban places and the automobile culture that were dominant at that time in the United States. At Canyon, this new settlement presented a very different set of visual norms, cues, and values through which to experience one of the most sacred features in all of the national parks. The old Canyon settlement was closed after Canyon Village opened. The old settlement was removed throughout the 1960s. All that remains of the earlier Canyon settlement are the day-use facilities (trails, overlooks, and their access roads), comfort stations, and artifacts scattered on the ground.

Physical Setting

Yellowstone's Grand Canyon is arguably the second most famous attraction in the park after Old Faithful Geyser. Its classic V-shaped gorge is indicative of river erosion not glaciation, although ice thousands of feet thick buried the canyon during the last glaciation (Figure 1). The canyon we see today is at least the second canyon formed on that site. An earlier "paleo-canyon" formed just south of the canyon's North Rim. Portions of this ancient canyon can be seen near Red Rock Point. Glacial sediments filled this earlier canyon and the river, diverting it from the former route to its current route through the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River (Richmond 1987, 158; Fournier et al 1994, 36-37; Pierce 2008, Larson 2008)

The colorful, deep, wide part of today's canyon was cut by the Yellowstone River through what is called the Canyon rhyolite lava flow (Christiansen 2001, G41-G42, G51). This rhyolite flow, along with rhyolite elsewhere in the park, has been altered by hydrothermal fluids originating in the Earth's crust. Hydrothermal features are seen today throughout Yellowstone in the form of geysers, hot springs, mud pots, and steam vents. Through time, hydrothermal alteration can break down rock, making it soft, brittle, and easy to erode. At Canyon, the conduits allowing hydrothermal fluid to rise are fractures in and beneath the Canyon flow—including fractures associated with the massive Yellowstone caldera eruption about 640,000 years ago. The hydrothermal activity and alteration in the canyon is ongoing, evident by geysers and hot springs visible today near the river's edge in the gorge (Fournier et al 1994, 36-37; Keefer 1976, 63-69; Pierce 2008, Larson 2008).

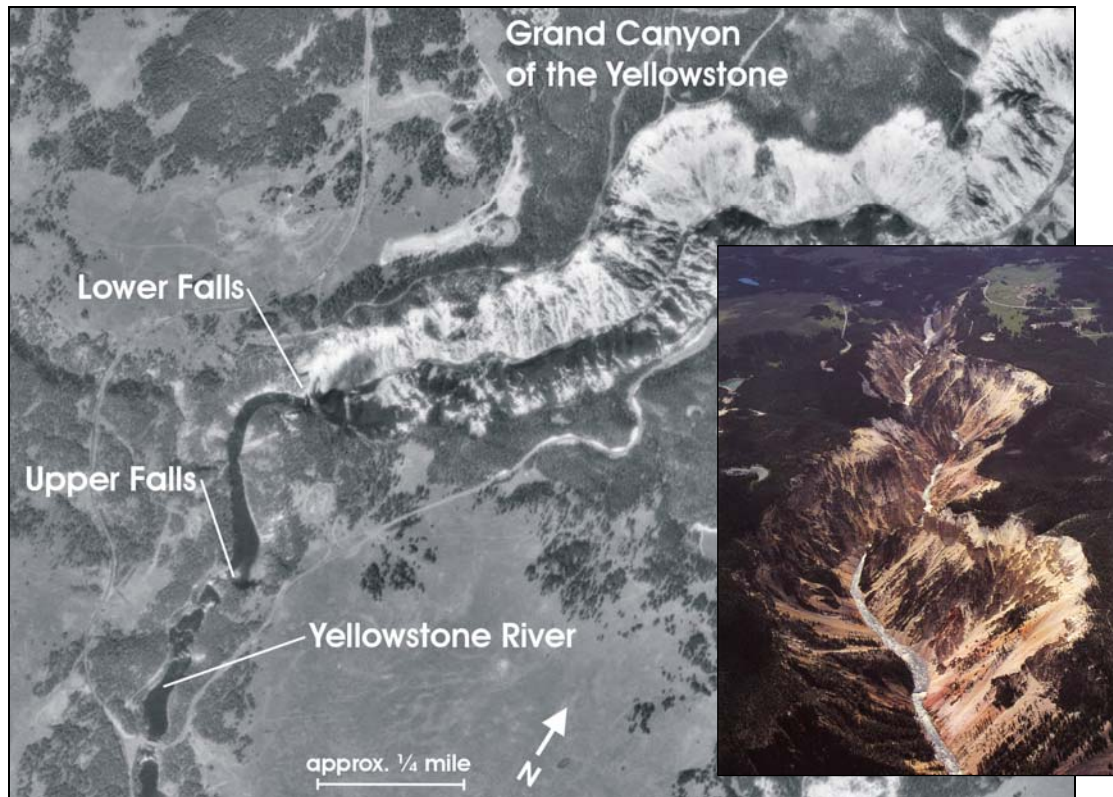


Figure 1: Geologic Features at Yellowstone's Grand Canyon: Main image—Canyon area via satellite imagery, 1994 (TerraServer 1994); Inset—Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River by Mayer (Mayer 1991)

The degree of hydrothermal alteration varies in this picturesque section of Yellowstone's Grand Canyon. The rock type between Upper Falls and Lower Falls is less altered than the rock type downstream from Lower Falls. This results in distinct differences in the depth of the canyon and less dramatic coloring above Lower Falls. The ledge of each waterfall represents resistant zones in the rhyolite flow—the Upper Falls brink is harder (less altered) than the Lower Falls brink (Richmond 1987, 159-160; Fournier et al 1994, 36-37; Keefer 1976 63-69; Pierce 2008, Larson 2008).

Hydrothermal alteration is also responsible for the warm colors seen on the canyon's walls. Colorful iron oxides are a by-product of hydrothermal processes, causing

some coloration in the canyon. However, the majority of the canyon's coloring can be tied to the presence of pyrite (fools gold). Hydrothermal fluids deposited iron sulfide (pyrite) in the Canyon flow. Since the hydrothermal alteration varies over space, so too does the amount of pyrite. Erosion of the canyon's soft and brittle material by gravity, weather, and the Yellowstone River exposes this pyrite to rainfall and oxygen. When pyrite oxidizes, it rusts. Depending upon the amount of pyrite at any given place, the pyrite rusts to varying shades of yellow, orange, brown, and red. The more pyrite present, the deeper the red color. Despite the appearance of solid, colorful canyon walls, the colors are really a coating. When geologists disturb the surface of the canyon's painted walls, they reveal a whitish, rhyolite rock that has not yet oxidized. In addition to its remarkable beauty, the colorful canyon offers us a visual and spatial understanding about variations in the iron composition of the Canyon rhyolite lava flow (Fournier et al 1994, 36-37; Pierce 2008; Larson 2008).

Research Objectives

As a case study involving chronicling and reading Canyon's changing cultural landscape, this thesis seeks to answer five questions:

- What has been the changing sequence of human landscape features in the Canyon area between 1872 and 1970?
- What is the symbolic meaning of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River to both Yellowstone and all national parks?
- How does cultural landscape change at Canyon reflect larger American cultural values?

- How does cultural landscape change at Canyon reflect the evolution of national park policies, priorities, and philosophies?
- How do Canyon Village and the old Canyon settlement differ visually and functionally, and how do these changes reflect the changing visitor experience in Yellowstone?

The story of Canyon's landscape change is revealed through the six chapters of this thesis. This chapter includes an introduction, a description of the physical setting at Canyon, research objectives, regional and historical context, sources and methods, and the study's conceptual framework. Chapter 2 discusses the emergence of Canyon's cultural landscape through 1885 via early investment by the federal government and local entrepreneurs. A period of licensed concessioner construction and government infrastructure building between 1886 and 1915 is revealed in Chapter 3. The period of landscape intensification at Canyon is covered in Chapter 4, which details the automobile's effect on development between 1916 and 1945. This chapter also discusses NPS application of master planning and zoning during a period of re-evaluating Canyon's visitor settlement and the decision to move facilities away from the canyon's rims. Chapter 5 covers the post-war period between 1946 and 1970, including the construction of Mission 66-era Canyon Village and the removal of the old Canyon settlement throughout the 1960s. Chapter 6 includes a conclusion and visualized differences between the old Canyon settlement and Canyon Village, including rephotography pairings that reveal changes in Canyon's cultural landscape and Canyon's cultural environment.

In this thesis, visitor developments at the park's major features are occasionally referenced in text and on maps. Capitalized terms such as "Canyon," "Lake," and "Norris" are place names of these park developments and they can be found on most Yellowstone National Park maps including Figure 2. Orientation to the Canyon area using references to the canyon's rims can be confusing since the Yellowstone River's northward flow turns sharply to the east at Canyon (Figure 1). Throughout this thesis, references to the West Rim or the East Rim refer to the canyon's rim on either side of the upper canyon between Upper Falls and Lower Falls before the river changes direction. North Rim and South Rim refer to the rims on either side of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone where the majority of tourist overlooks have been developed.

Regional-Historical Context

While most vacant and available land in the American West was eyed for its utility in the late nineteenth century, Yellowstone's unusual collection of hydrothermal features led to its establishment as a reserve—a national park. It was land set aside for appreciation as a "pleasuring ground."

The cultural landscapes that developed in the park became distinctive regional signatures in the West. Similar to early western settlements outside of parks, initial landscape development in the park was rudimentary and reflected little capital investment. Local entrepreneurs and later the Northern Pacific Railroad recognized unique business opportunities and poured investment dollars into park tourism infrastructure and tourism promotion. The Department of the Interior, followed by NPS in 1916, also contributed to the development of park cultural landscapes while meeting

their mandate to protect the park and manage the process of tourism development for visitors.

The changes in Canyon's cultural landscape between the 1870s and 1970 can be seen in a larger regional and historical context. Cultural landscape change at Canyon was similar to the other visitor locations in Yellowstone (and other western national parks). The location was developed because it was near a valued natural feature, Yellowstone's Grand Canyon, and it grew in response to visitor demands and available monies. Unlike other visitor locations in Yellowstone, the Canyon cultural landscape changed from a rustic-style settlement to a modern, suburban-like development and was moved away from the natural feature for which it is named.

Most of Yellowstone National Park is located in the northwest corner of Wyoming, with two small strips of park land in Montana and Idaho (Figure 2). Although Yellowstone was established as a national park in March of 1872, early visitors to the park were primarily local adventurers touring on their own and entrepreneurs seeking business opportunities. It took the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1883 and the well-publicized visit of U.S. President Chester Arthur that same year to show that the park was indeed accessible for touring by ordinary citizens. Formalized tours of the park began that summer (Bartlett 1989, 45-47).

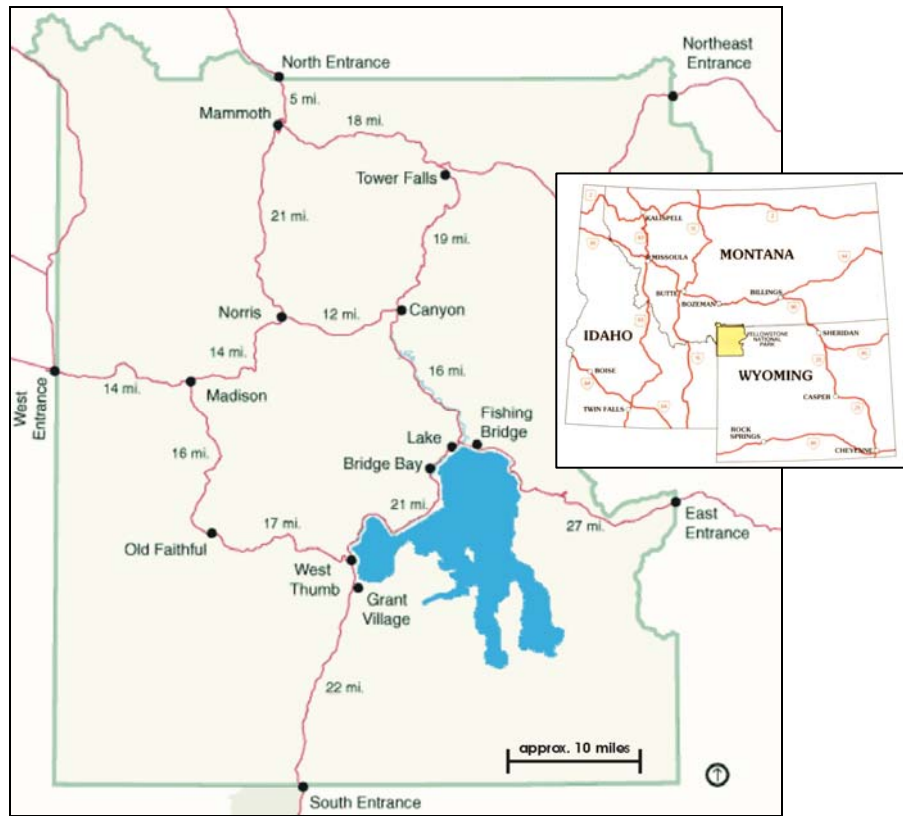


Figure 2: Yellowstone National Park: Main map—Park settlements today (NPS 2001b); Inset—Yellowstone’s location in the Rocky Mountain West (adapted from Gallatin National Forest 1996)

Aubrey Haines, in *The Yellowstone Story: A History of our First National Park* (1977b, 100-133), described how early park visitors traveled west by rail across Montana then south to the park’s North Entrance. There they boarded stagecoaches and were shepherded by concession hotel and transportation companies through the park for their entire stay. Multiple day tours began at Mammoth Hot Springs. Subsequent nights were spent at accommodations located a strategic single-day stagecoach ride apart—Norris Geyser Basin, Lower Geyser Basin at Old Faithful, then Canyon via an old road through the center of the park. At Canyon, early visitors had about 24 hours to enjoy and explore

the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone. The return trip simply retraced the same path back to Old Faithful, then Norris Geyser Basin and finally Mammoth Hot Springs.

Park visitors and the services they required transformed the Yellowstone landscape. Visitors needed accommodations and many other services. Most development in Yellowstone was located near the great hydrothermal features and geyser basins, but the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone with its colorful walls, two dramatic falls, and hydrothermal features dotting its lower reaches was an enormous draw (Figure 1). In the early years, the Canyon's grand scenery served as the climax of a Yellowstone tour. It ranked high on the list of park touring stops. Consequently, Canyon became one of the park's first four developed areas.

The history of development at Canyon reflected the popularity of the area's natural features and park policies designed to manage visitation. Initially, small hostelrys developed to serve the railroad and stagecoach visitor. Eventually, the popularity of the automobile and national prosperity between the World Wars contributed to a boom in development at Canyon that featured structures designed in both the rustic and arts and crafts styles.

This cultural landscape at Canyon developed very close to the canyon's rim. In the 1920s and 1930s, the nature, extent, and proximity of development at Canyon were reconsidered and plans were made to change Canyon's development pattern and location. These plans were initiated in the 1930s, but World War II delayed their implementation. It took post-war prosperity, private concessioner financing, and NPS Mission 66 dollars to create a new Canyon Village just north of the older development (Figure 3).

Throughout the 1960s, the old Canyon development near the falls was removed from the landscape.

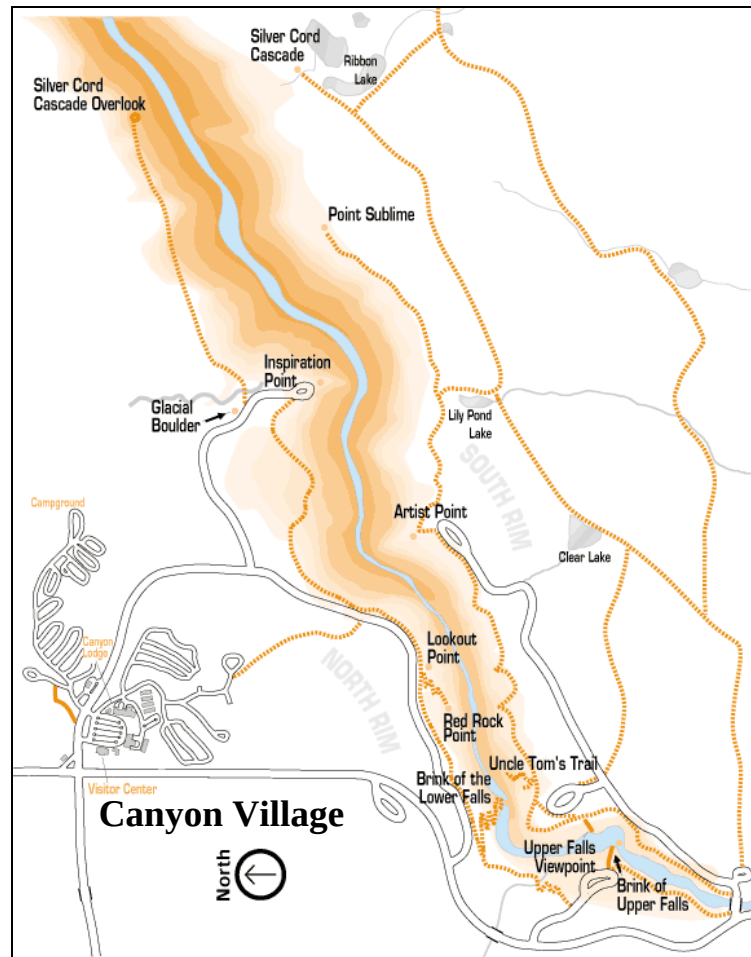


Figure 3: Today's Canyon Tourist Development in Yellowstone (NPSb)

Conceptual Framework

Researchers and scholars who have investigated Yellowstone's history and the evolution of the NPS influenced my investigation of cultural landscape change at Canyon. Historical and cultural geographers read and interpret changes in the cultural

landscape using specific geographic questions and methods. I adopted their perspective in this investigation into how cultural landscape change at Canyon reveals larger American cultural values as well as NPS policies, priorities, and philosophies.

Yellowstone National Park

Yellowstone's history has been documented by several researchers recording the perspective and understanding of their time. Each contributes to my research by providing era-relevant detail about park development and events. One of the earlier published works on Yellowstone's history is Chittenden's *The Yellowstone National Park* (1964). First published in 1895, this work represents an early perspective on park history and values. Cramton aggregates a chronicle of legislative activity contributing to the creation and development of the park in his *Early History of Yellowstone National Park and its Relation to National Park Policies* (1932). Cramton also includes expedition reports and accounts of the expedition that were communicated to the public via newspapers (1932). Haines' two-volume *The Yellowstone Story*, published in 1977, is the most complete recording of park history to date. Haines documents the park's first 100 years from its establishment through the mid-1970s. Haines also includes biographical, legislative, and statistical appendices (1977). In *Thomas Moran's West: Chromolithography, High Art, and Popular Taste*, Kinsey explores how Moran's paintings, and the widely distributed reproductions of them, influenced both how tourists experienced Yellowstone's Grand Canyon and how the government developed the canyon's overlook infrastructure (2006).

In addition to this early historiography, other writers contribute alternative approaches to telling Yellowstone's story. Bartlett, in his *Yellowstone a Wilderness Besieged*, takes a thematic, rather than a chronologic, look at park history, focusing on the contribution of three primary influences on park history and development: visitors, concessionaires, and the national park leadership (1989—originally published in 1985). Schullery's *Searching for Yellowstone* reveals the park's recent past, telling the story of the park via its controversies and issues (1997). In *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions: Science and the Perception of Nature*, Pritchard describes the historical context of the changing ideas and approaches to managing the park's natural conditions (1999). Whittlesey succinctly interprets major park places and events in both *Yellowstone Place Names* (Whittlesey 1988b) and *A Yellowstone Album: A Photographic Celebration of the First National Park* (Whittlesey and Yellowstone Staff 1997).

Meyer, in *The Spirit of Yellowstone*, looks at the cultural geography of the park—specifically its sense of place. She quotes Yi-Fu Tuan's concept about the personality of place having two faces: "one commands awe, the other evokes affection.... The personality that commands awe appears as something sublime and objective. By contrast, a place that evokes affection has personality in the same sense that an old raincoat can be said to have character" (1996). The old Canyon Junction landscape appears to embody both of these faces: The canyon inspiring awe; the old hotel, lodge, and campgrounds evoking affection. Meyer asserts that the personality that inspires awe is not significantly threatened today as demonstrated by the ongoing ecological debates and issues the park must manage. She suggests otherwise for the face that evokes affection. "It is the character of the park, however, that we may be in danger of losing" (1996). Meyer's

concern about the loss of park character influences my study because the Canyon cultural landscape has experienced significant change (1996).

Some of the literature influencing this study takes a critical look at concessionaire and NPS management in Yellowstone. Chase's *Playing God in Yellowstone* includes a chapter covering Grant Village and Mission 66 (1987). Chase's work will be helpful in understanding what is likely one of the most critical stances against park management related to development. In *Selling Yellowstone: Capitalism and the Construction of Nature*, the history of park concessions development is well covered (Barringer 2002). Concessions history will assist in piecing together the accumulation and removal of buildings at Canyon along with the rationale for change. Contributing to my understanding of visitor reaction to the landscape is Magoc's *Yellowstone: The Creation and Selling of an American Landscape, 1870-1903* (1999). As Magoc sets the stage for his assertion of park as commodity, he portrays the early explorer and visitor experience via the written word (1999).

Previous research focused on portions of Yellowstone also contributes to this study of Canyon Junction. Smith's *The Evolving National Park Idea: Yellowstone National Park, 1872-1890* details the influence of the local visitors and their establishment of roads and trails to features such as the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone (1999). In each of two studies of cultural landscape change at developed areas in Yellowstone, Byrand (1995) and Youngs (2004) take a chronologic look at cultural landscape change at a primary developed area in Yellowstone. In addition, both Byrand and Youngs look at the changing visitor experience, providing background for looking at qualitative changes in the visitor experience at Canyon Junction.

National Park Service

Research on the NPS helps put events in Yellowstone in a larger institutional context. Everhart covers the development of the service broadly in *The National Park Service* (1972). Dilsaver's *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* provides a handy resource for investigating the evolution of the agency via the organic documents and their language (1994). *National Parks: The American Experience* portrays the development of the national park idea as evolving from a reaction to the seeming lack of cultural heritage in America in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the over-commercialization of Niagara as one of America's most well known attractions (Runte 1979). Runte's description of the popularization of national parks as recreation areas and the See America First campaign are of relevance to my study (1979).

Tilden's *The National Parks* describes the breadth of landscapes preserved in our national park system and begins his book by placing these parks lands in the context of their meaning to people (1968). Foresta, in his *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*, cites a contradiction in national park purpose (protect yet provide for visitor enjoyment) as an underlying problem dictating the growth and maturation of park policy (1984). This confusion of purpose may be closely tied to the kind of decisions made while addressing over-development issues at Canyon. Fitzsimmons article "National Parks: The Dilemma of Development" is very relevant to my study of Canyon because it looks directly at the problems and options for adjusting development in parks (1976). Dilsaver summarizes changes in national park policy regarding controlling the number of visitors who enter parks and their effect on the environment in "Stemming the Flow: The Evolution of Controls on Visitor Numbers and Impact in National Parks" (1992).

Parks, Politics, and the People provides a somewhat autobiographical view of park policy and history from a former Director of the NPS (Wirth 1980). Wirth's treatment of the development of the NPS, and especially Mission 66, provides a view of national park policy from the "inside." Wirth's view is relevant to my study because he identifies the motives that fueled redevelopment in Yellowstone, especially Canyon Village, as pilot projects in Mission 66 (1980). Frome's *Regreening the National Parks* takes a very critical look at the NPS, providing an alternative view of national park policy including Mission 66 (1992).

McClelland covers the history of landscape design in national parks in her *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (1998). She reminds us that a significant portion of a park's front country landscape (and some of its back country) has been purposefully designed by humans. Carr's *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* provides a recent treatment of Mission 66 history, accomplishments, and shortcomings (2007). Carr also provides insight on the history of park landscape architecture in his *Wilderness by Design* (1998). While not specifically covering tourism in a national park, McGreevey's *Imagining Niagara: The Meaning and Making of Niagara Falls* reveals how the early cultural landscape at Niagara Falls developed, including the problems created when local entrepreneurs constructed businesses that damaged the natural environment or restricted access to views of the falls (1994).

Historical Geography, Cultural Geography, and Landscape Interpretation

Geographers, specifically historical geographers, influence cultural landscape studies, providing a framework of questioning and methods for interpreting the landscape. Meinig's "Symbolic Landscapes" helps geographers question the perception of landscape beyond the symbolism first encountered and understand how landscapes become symbolic in the first place (1979b). Meinig's work influences cultural landscape study because most park landscapes in Yellowstone display the symbols of rustic landscape architecture—arguably a symbol of national parks—with the exception of Canyon today. Meinig's "The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene" also contributes to the interpretation of the Canyon landscape through the realization that each individual will bring to a description their own bias (1979a). Meinig's work contributes needed perspective while interpreting others' written descriptions of the old Canyon landscape. It also adds perspective regarding my own preconceived notions about cultural landscape change at Canyon.

In addition to Meinig's work, Lewis's "Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene" assists with reading the cultural landscape through photographs of old Canyon and comparing them with images of the new Canyon settlement (1979). Wyckoff discusses the process of "landscape intensification"—a process that took place at most of the early national parks during the first part of the twentieth century—in *Creating Colorado: The Making of a Western American Landscape, 1860-1940* (1999).

Several scholars influence the use of photography in this thesis. In *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide*, Baker advocates using photography as a virtual fieldwork tool, which was invaluable in this investigation because the initial Canyon settlement no longer exists (2003). *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* by Schwartz and Ryan suggests that using photography to understand the cultural meaning behind landscapes is underutilized in geographic studies. They call our attention to the role of both the photograph maker and the photograph viewer in knowledge construction about landscapes and culture (2003). Photographs as story tellers are the subject of Sandweiss's *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West*. Sandweiss suggests ways to use western photography to understand its cultural context and influence when originally published, and the affect these images still have on contemporary viewers (2002).

Specific western image analysis is presented in Wyckoff and Dilsaver's "Promotional Imagery of Glacier National Park." With a focus on national park promotional imagery, their study assists with understanding the widely distributed promotional images of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone (1997). Additionally, Wyckoff and Nash in "Geographic Images of the American West: The View from Harper's Monthly 1850-1900" reviews how this magazine used evolving images of the West to shape popular perceptions resulting in increased visitation to places such as Yellowstone National Park (1994).

In *Second View: The Rephotographic Survey Project*, the justification and approach to rephotography as a tool assists in the process of visually documenting change in the natural and cultural landscape at Canyon (Klett and Manchester 1984). Also

helpful is the objectivity espoused by the 1970s New Topographics photographers described in *American Photography: A Critical History* (Green 1984).

Recent perspectives in cultural geography view the landscape as a record to be read—a text discourse about cultural influences. Power and power relations in society can be read in the evolution of the landscape as it both reveals and is shaped by these cultural influences. Schein’s “The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene” addresses this new cultural geography (1997). Schein’s work assists with reading the Canyon cultural landscape. This reading demonstrates the evident power dynamic between evolving cultural pressures placed on parks and the NPS’s reaction to the same.

Each of Canyon’s contested visitor settlements presents a different sense of place for tourists. Erickson’s “Ceremonial Landscapes of the American West” discusses the meaning attached to places such as national parks and grand scenery such as the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone (1977). Visitors in search of meaningful experiences make pilgrimages to parks, influencing the amount and kind of development needed. In *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*, Sears addresses the development of tourism in America and the myth making process that promotes tourism (1989). While the infrastructure of tourism must be in place to accommodate visitors, the development of place myths, especially through the use of imagery, motivated the public to embark on tourism adventures (1989). Sears’ work assists in understanding both the development of the tourism infrastructure at Canyon and the myths that developed sparked by drawings and photography of Canyon’s spectacular scenery.

Tuan argues that a visitor's viewpoint of landscape is different from the local's viewpoint in his *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values* (1974). Tuan's perspective can assist in interpreting the cultural baggage that visitors, park employees, and park managers bring to the appreciation of the Canyon landscape (1974). Tuan's *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* contributes to my interpretation of sense of place of both Old Canyon Junction and the current Canyon Village (1977). *Geographies of the Mind: Essays in Historical Geosophy in Honor of John Kirtland Wright* addresses the source of the inherent difference between the reality of landscape and the expected landscape (Lowenthal and Bowden 1976). *Geographies of the Mind* assists in sorting through the perception of place at Canyon, especially the sense of place felt by those who personally know, or are aware of, the earlier Canyon landscape. Another collection of writings from the humanist perspective that contributes an understanding of how sense of place develops is *Textures of Place; Exploring Humanist Geographies* (Adams, Hoelscher, Till 2001).

Societal Influences on Landscape Change

Landscape change in America's national parks occurs under the control of the NPS. However, this change is often a reaction to pressures placed on parks for increased public use and access. *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* discusses the influence of tourism and the automobile on the development of autocamps and motels in America (Belasco 1979). Belasco also describes democratization in auto tourism and harmonious gatherings of people from different places and different classes (1979). Shaffer in *See American First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*,

describes the important role Yellowstone played in early tourism promotion and development of American landscape icons (2001). Shaffer details the Northern Pacific Railroad's work to encourage the traveling public to tour America's landscape in lieu of traveling to Europe (2001). Rothman covers the motives for promoting tourism and tourism's effect on western places in his *Devil's Bargain: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (1998). Rothman's work will be useful in setting a context for, and revealing contrasts with, national park tourism.

Sutter's *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* chronicles the effect automobiles had on protected, natural landscapes as well as national park politics and administration (2002). In *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads, and Nature in Washington's National Parks*, Louter examined the automobiles influencing on park landscape architecture and the tourists experience (Louter 2006.) Hayden's *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* provides an understanding of America's suburban development, including the post-war construction styles and settlement patterns reflected in Canyon Village (2003).

Hyde adopts a different approach as she describes the resort landscape itself influencing national culture in *An American Vision: Far Western Landscape and National Culture, 1820-1920* (1990). Hyde's perspective demonstrates how the already developed landscape in national parks influences visitor expectations (1990).

Sources and Methods

I obtained the majority of archived primary source data from Yellowstone National Park's library, archives, and museum collection, all housed in the park's Heritage and Research Center (HRC) in Gardiner, Montana. From Yellowstone's HRC, I obtained many unpublished manuscripts related to Canyon from the library's vertical files. I also reviewed each year's Superintendent Report as well as government and concessioner correspondences related to building old Canyon and moving Canyon's visitor facilities away from the rims. I also reviewed and analyzed the Canyon section of each year's edition of the *Haynes Guide* looking for changes in tourist services and travel routes. HRC archives also stored the park's master plans (maps and text), concessioner insurance plat maps, tourist diaries, and tourism marketing materials, concessioner leases and contracts, and historic maps. Additional smaller-scale, historical maps were obtained through online searches of government and university map collections provided via the World Wide Web. These early maps revealed or confirmed the early trail routes to Canyon.

I obtained working as well as archival government documents such as concessions business prospectuses, environmental assessments, cultural landscape inventories, historic structures reports, environmental impact statements, and archaeology reports from Yellowstone National Park division staff members (Landscape Architecture/Planning, Concessions, Maintenance, Interpretation, Natural and Cultural Resources). Construction "as built" drawings were also obtained from microfilm in the Maintenance Division office. I also obtained digital copies of maintenance drawings

through the NPS's electronic Technical Information Center housed in Denver, Colorado (restricted access).

Archived materials stored in the Burlingame Special Collections at Montana State University in Bozeman provided additional data, primarily from the Haynes Collection. Portions of two master plans (1932 and 1940) that were not available in Yellowstone's archives were in the collection of the Pioneer Museum in Bozeman. The Yellowstone Historic Center in West Yellowstone, Montana and the Yellowstone Gateway Museum in Livingston displayed historic photographs and stored archival materials that were also tapped for this project. Yellowstone's primary concessioner, Xanterra Parks & Resorts, Inc., maintains an archive of architect, engineering, and construction drawings of the Yellowstone Park Company, which are stored in their Engineering Department at Mammoth Hot Springs. Some of the Yellowstone Park Company archival materials obtained for this study may be moved in the future to the park's archives at the HRC. I tapped the Yellowstone Park Service Stations' archives as well.

Former Yellowstone Park Company staff members who worked at Canyon Lodge, Canyon Tourist Cabins, Canyon Hotel, or in some park-wide concessions management position were very valuable sources of Canyon place knowledge, historic photographs, and other printed archival materials. Many met with me in the park (in 2005, 2006, and 2007) for interviews, insurance plat mark-ups, and tours of the abandoned sites they know so well. In addition, several former staff members maintained monthly, weekly, daily, and sometimes hourly email contact with me, answering questions about Canyon viewsheds, buildings, roads, trails, overlooks, events, and culture in the late 1940s through the construction of Canyon Village. Many loaned me their

personal scrapbooks of 1950s photographs and memorabilia for analysis. Among the loaned objects were Marty Gorder's two personal scrapbooks of photographs, representing the culture and cultural landscape of Canyon Lodge from 1929 through 1956.

Historical photographs were invaluable to this investigation because they provided a window into Canyon's past. I cast a very wide net for imagery: I did not turn down any photograph, regardless of how it may have seemed repetitive or mundane. I collected well over 2,000 images representing Canyon's cultural and natural landscape through time. Slightly different photos of the same subject shaped my understanding of that part of the Canyon landscape. Some images offered better lighting or resolution for enlarging, others were stored with date information, still others changed the viewing angle just enough to connect cultural landscape features together with those in other photographs. I began my research and gained an initial mental picture and understanding about old Canyon through photography as a virtual fieldwork tool. I spent much time looking around inside enlarged electronic copies of photos looking for and recording cultural landscape details. While these investigations were quite revealing, I would have benefited by reviewing each year's Superintendent Report and *Haynes Guide* before starting this visual exploration. These two publications provided reliable evidence of construction projects and dates for buildings, roads, trails, and other projects that would have made photographic virtual fieldwork much more efficient.

I obtained landscape, oblique aerial, and vertical aerial historic photographs from the HRC museum collection. Some images were cataloged in a searchable database; however, much of their collection is not yet cataloged. Their collection of "black book"

photo albums stored captioned, but uncataloged, photographs (somewhat thematically) representing park landscapes, projects, and activities between about 1900 and the 1960s. Many other images were scanned from books. More historic imagery was obtained through friends and acquaintances who are serious Yellowstone photography and memorabilia collectors, as well as through online searches.

I searched for more images in the Yellowstone Photo Collection (NPS Division of Interpretation). This office maintains a public-access online collection of images, a restricted-access electronic collection of images, as well as a public-access slide library of primarily post-war photographs of the park (as distinguished from the museum collection). I did obtain copies of historic photographs (mainly oblique and vertical air photos) from the Yellowstone Photo Collection that were stored in staff-only archived files. These images may be sent to the park's museum collection at a future date. Many of the air photos obtained from Yellowstone were scanned at very high resolution to enable enlargement and analysis. A phone call to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) turned up invaluable grayscale, oblique air photos from *well before* the Great Depression. With such a recognizable study site, finding these images was easy for NARA staff—they did so without a fee. I requested copies produced using a color copier because a color copy reproduces grayscale tones far better than standard black and white copy machines.

A digital camera was a very convenient and cost-effective method of collecting copies of archival written records and copies of photographs, postcards, and scrapbooks from repositories or personal collections. The quality of digital photographic copies of documents and historic photographs was quite satisfactory as data sources and as

illustrations in my thesis, especially with the camera set at its highest resolution setting. For high-end publishing, true scans can be obtained later. By using the camera's macro setting, the camera could be positioned close to a document and still maintain focus. Using a shutter speed no slower than 1/125 also minimized motion blur while hand-holding the camera in dim lighting. Reflections from ceiling lights had to be managed.

Also helpful was writing repository name and storage location information on thin post-it notes and photographing that information into the image with the data. Using a digital camera in this efficient and cost effective way, again, enabled me to cast a very wide net when collecting primary written and graphic materials. A tool that was also very helpful with electronic data gathered with a digital camera was a "full version" of Adobe Acrobat. I used Acrobat to very easily and quickly combine individual digital photographs (JPEGs) of related data (pages of documents, groups of photos) into multiple-page PDF files for easy browsing on the computer or for later printing if needed. I also used Acrobat to extract historic photographs from electronic source materials stored as PDFs. Adobe Photoshop's brightness and contrast filtering enabled improvement in digital copies of graphics for inclusion in the thesis. I also used Photoshop filters when I needed to lighten a region or increase its contrast to see into parts of photographs that presented difficulties.

Sometimes I stored citation and other relevant information for digital photographed data in the file name after downloading photos from the camera. This was useful for times when citation or other explanatory information was not photographed into the image. By storing citation information either in the image or in the file name, an image could be sorted thematically (in preparation for analysis) without concern for

losing its associated citation information. While electronic data storage did save on time and paper, it also increased digital storage requirements. In addition to many traditional files and paper copies of data, my digital files (copies of archival documents, photographs, paintings, spatial data, and my thesis chapters) for this project utilized 19.2 gigabytes. Computers and peripheral devices impose limits on the combined character length of folder and file names (comprising a file's "path"). Some of my file names were six inches in length and presented no problem on my laptop. However, combined with the characters in the folder name(s), I occasionally surpassed the maximum allowed characters, causing these files to not transfer to back-up devices.

In preparation for field work, I obtained a research permit from the NPS because my explorations included travel in areas containing objects soon covered under the Antiquities Act of 1906. I selected about 50 historical images for rephotographing during field work to help me understand the changes in the cultural landscape and to illustrate these changes in the thesis. Also for field work, I created a series of working maps using historic and current spatial data combined in a GIS. I obtained digital orthophoto quarter quadrangle raster data layers and current vector data layers from Yellowstone's Spatial Analysis Center. The vector data represented roads, trails, rivers, and buildings of the current Canyon geography.

I made a digital photograph of Canyon's 1933 master plan and georeferenced it using ArcGIS to locate the old Canyon settlement in real space. I combined this new data layer (representing the past) with the current vector data layers inside ArcGIS to generate field work maps at different scales showing both geographies. These maps helped me

visually understand the spatial arrangement of old Canyon during field work, helping me identify road scars and other cultural artifacts found. I also used ArcGIS to enlarge digital topographic maps for use when interviewing local employees about the location of known artifacts. While at Canyon, I completed rephotography pairings and collected GPS points (as well as azimuths) at each location photographed. I also collected GPS points at known locations on the 1933 master plan to enable refinement (and error assessment) of the master plan's georeferencing. Obtaining and creating the most accurate spatial data representing the past prepared my thesis data for inclusion in an historic GIS (HGIS).

Once the majority of written, graphical, and spatial data was collected, I analyzed the older documents to determine the chronological order, pace, and style of Canyon's original settlement development. Analysis of data also contributed to my understanding of the rationale, motives, and compromises related to landscape change decisions made by the NPS and its concessioners. Published publicity materials and other secondary sources contributed to my understanding of the symbolic role of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, changes in larger American cultural values, and the evolution of the NPS as an agency. In addition to committee review, each chapter of this thesis was technically reviewed by Lee Whittlesey, Yellowstone's historian, and other former park staff with knowledge of Canyon's tourist development.

EMERGING PLACE AT CANYON (THROUGH 1885)

From a little known geologic wonder hidden in the woods, the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone was transformed in human culture from a place of occasional visits and reverence, to a destination for tourists. During this period, the Grand Canyon attracted an increasing number of Euro-Americans, not just as part of Yellowstone National Park, but because of its unusual geology and remarkable beauty. From Native American creation stories to Euro-American leisure commodity, the human attachment to Canyon took hold during this period. The place and settlement of Canyon emerged materially through gutsy adventurers, official scientific assessment, congressional legislation, military might, railroad interests, and the entrepreneurial spirit.

Early Human Presence at Canyon

For at least the last 12,000 years there have been people visiting or living on the Yellowstone Plateau (Johnson 2008). Unlike other parts of Wyoming, the Yellowstone Plateau contained many Native American trails and campsites, mostly along river valleys (Figure 4). The Sheepeater, Blackfeet, Bannock-Shoshone, and Crow territories met in the mountain ranges of Yellowstone (Weixelman 2001). Several other groups traveled through the region on a regular basis. In 1877, one of these traveling groups, the Nez Perce, made an historic journey through the new national park— in part considered historic by dramatic events at the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone.

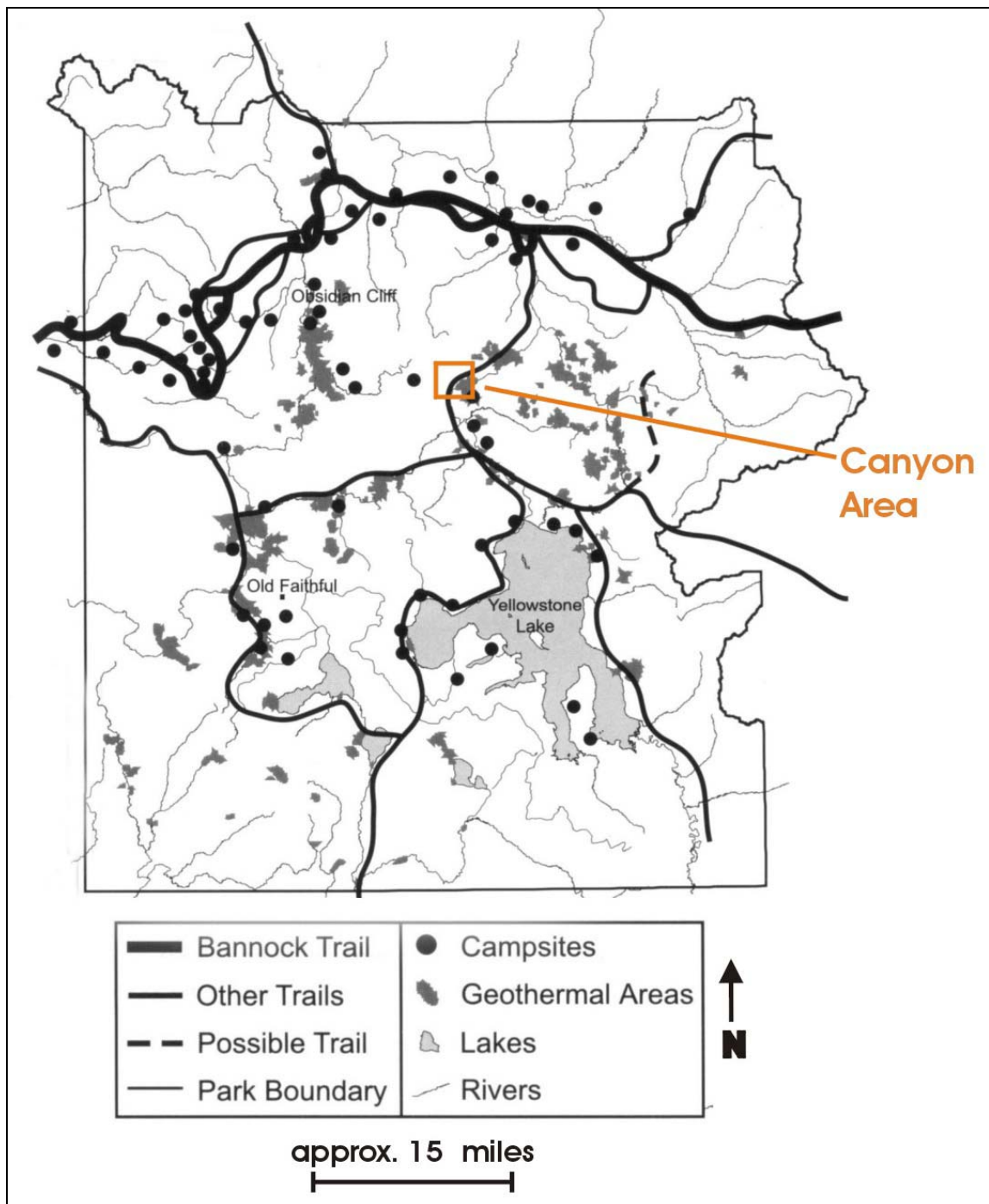


Figure 4: Known Native American Trails and Campsites in the Park. Note: this is a map of the park's boundaries today. At the park's establishment, its boundaries formed a basic rectangle (Weixelman 2001)

The archaeological record of pre-contact people in Yellowstone suggests that subsistence use of the Canyon area was minimal (Hale 2005). The canyons of the Yellowstone River, including the Grand Canyon's North Rim and South Rim, contain few if any archaeological sites. Archaeologist Mack Shortt has hypothesized that the canyons were too difficult and dangerous to negotiate. Since travelers in the area could not make easy use of the river at these points, they simply skirted around the lower elevations on Mount Washburn or along the east side of the Yellowstone River on their way to more hospitable areas. There are Native American trails to and around the Canyon area. In fact, one of the four most prominent Native American Yellowstone River crossings in the park is between Upper Falls and Lower Falls in the upper canyon; however, most Native American use of the Yellowstone Plateau occurred either north or south of the Grand Canyon (Shortt 2001; NPS 2006a, 75; Nabokov and Loendorf 2002, 267). Nevertheless, anthropologists have recorded two oral Native American traditions related to the Grand Canyon and its falls. To the Mountain Crow in Montana, the natural forces and rugged terrain at Canyon, including topographic formations such as Artist Point, were tamed by a heroic Crow figure to make the area safe for the Crow. The Northern Shoshone-Bannock tribes in Idaho attribute the unintended creation of the canyon and falls to their legendary figure Coyote (NPS 2006a, 74-75; NPS 2003, part 3a, 10).

Knowledge of the Grand Canyon and the falls of the Yellowstone spread from Native Americans to explorers, fur trappers, and prospectors. Having heard stories of the Yellowstone Plateau, some of these Euro-American men included the Plateau in their travels, navigating in the region along many of the same well-worn trails. Meriwether

Lewis heard of a great fall on the Yellowstone in 1806. However, he could not obtain the specific location from his Native American source and in fact ended up disbelieving it (Weixelman 2001; Rubinstein, Whittlesey, and Stevens 2000, 41). The earliest definitive evidence of Euro-American presence on the Yellowstone Plateau (that includes a date) was found at the Grand Canyon in the form of graffiti. Philetus W. Norris, Yellowstone's second superintendent, discovered an inscription on a tree in a ravine about one-quarter mile above Upper Falls. Norris's 1880 discovery of "J.O.R. Aug. 19, 1819" inspired him to investigate further. On the opposite side of this same tree Norris found old nails possibly used to hang pelts. He also found several hatchet marks. The marks were removed from the tree and dated via tree ring analysis, authenticating the date of the inscription to Norris's satisfaction. The identity of this visitor has yet to be determined for certain. However, it may have been a French trapper named Roch. Roch was in the park around 1818 as a young employee of a fur company. Around 1900, as a man of more than 100 years of age, he mentioned a marked and dated tree in an interview for Northern Pacific Railroad publicity (Haines 1977a, 38; Chittenden 1964, 38; Haines 1974, 6—inscription date is given as Aug. 29, 1819; Haines 1974, 7). In 1882, an elderly Baptiste Ducharme could still recall his visit to the Grand Canyon and its falls on trapping expeditions back in 1824 (Augspurger 1948, 26-28; Chittenden 1964, 39). Ducharme is the second known Euro-American visitor to the Canyon and falls, but it is possible that other mountain men saw the Canyon that early as well.

Early trapper and prospector stories about the thermal phenomena on the Yellowstone Plateau inspired official explorations of the region. With the intent of confirming or dispelling decades of fantastic rumors, these explorations started two

processes. First, these expeditions contributed to the process of establishing Yellowstone as the first national park. In addition, they also began the process of cultural landscape creation by Euro-Americans. At Canyon, this initial encounter with the cultural landscape included inspired descriptions of vistas and camping, the creation of numerous place names and images, and the recording of scientific measurements.

Pre-Park Expeditions and Images of Canyon

The Folsom, Cook, and Peterson expedition was the first organized group of Euro-American men to methodically explore the Plateau and the canyon. This group of three Diamond City, Montana men and five horses arrived on the Yellowstone Plateau in 1869 from the north, reaching the Grand Canyon on September 21. Their first point of contact at Canyon was along the South Rim (east of the river) between Point Sublime and Artist Point in the notch across from Inspiration Point. Cook arrived along the rim first when, with his attention elsewhere, his horse abruptly stopped at the canyon's edge. Cook recalled later that "I sat there in amazement" and when his party joined him at the rim "it seemed to me it was five minutes before anyone spoke" (Haines 1974, 164n22; quoted in Cook et al. 1965, 31). Rest during their two nights at Canyon was on a pleasant grassy bench east of the river upstream from both falls (Figure 5). This site is just upstream from where Chittenden later built a bridge—a place used by and known to subsequent park employees as Paradise Glen (Lounsbury 2006).



Figure 5: Folsom, Cook, and Peterson Canyon Area Campsite (Cook et al 1965)

While at the canyon, Cook and Peterson measured the height of both falls from the east side of each brink. They rigged a measuring device of twine and a forked stick to extend the twine “datum” away from the brink and canyon rim. They estimated the Upper Falls to be 115 feet high, not far from the modern measurement of 109 feet. The Lower Falls, however, proved more challenging. Its accepted height is 308 feet, but Cook and Peterson concluded the height to be 360 feet (Haines 1977a, 98, 341n25).

The 1869 expedition, coupled with Northern Pacific Railroad interests, sparked the organization of another expedition in 1870. This group consisted primarily of Montana Territory politicians and businessmen. This much larger Washburn, Langford, and Doane expedition initially followed the same route onto the Plateau from the north as

Folsom, Cook, and Peterson. However, General Washburn explored Folsom's suggestion for an alternative route to the Grand Canyon. Folsom suggested he travel along the west side of the Yellowstone River between Tower Fall and Yellowstone Lake. Washburn ascended the mountain that now bears his name, confirming they could indeed reach the canyon via this shortcut (Haines 1977a, 105; Cook et al. 1965, 47n).

An existing Native American trail guided the expedition up the north side of Mount Washburn toward its summit. They used this trail only until it skirted around the expedition's target of higher ground (the Native American trail continued near what is now Dunraven Pass). During the ascent, a small group split off to explore the summit of Mount Washburn and determine its elevation. So moved by the spectacular view in all directions, they left their names on a piece of paper (presumably in a new or existing cairn—see Figure 8) at the summit (Haines 1977a, 115-116). Through this act of celebration, an “official” Euro-American attachment to Canyon's northern-most tourist attraction (Mount Washburn) was set firmly in place.

The Washburn Expedition arrived at Canyon on August 30, adding Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, Cascade Creek, and Crystal Falls to local place names on the map (Whittlesey 1988a, 115, 193, 381). They set up camp in meadows by Cascade Creek just above its canyon. The next day they split up and explored the area. They measured the height of both falls as Folsom's party had done. Again, the Upper Falls measurement was slightly off at 115 feet. For Lower Falls, their 320-foot measurement came remarkably close to the accepted height of 308 feet. During their stay in the Canyon area, two expedition members sketched both of the falls (Figure 6).

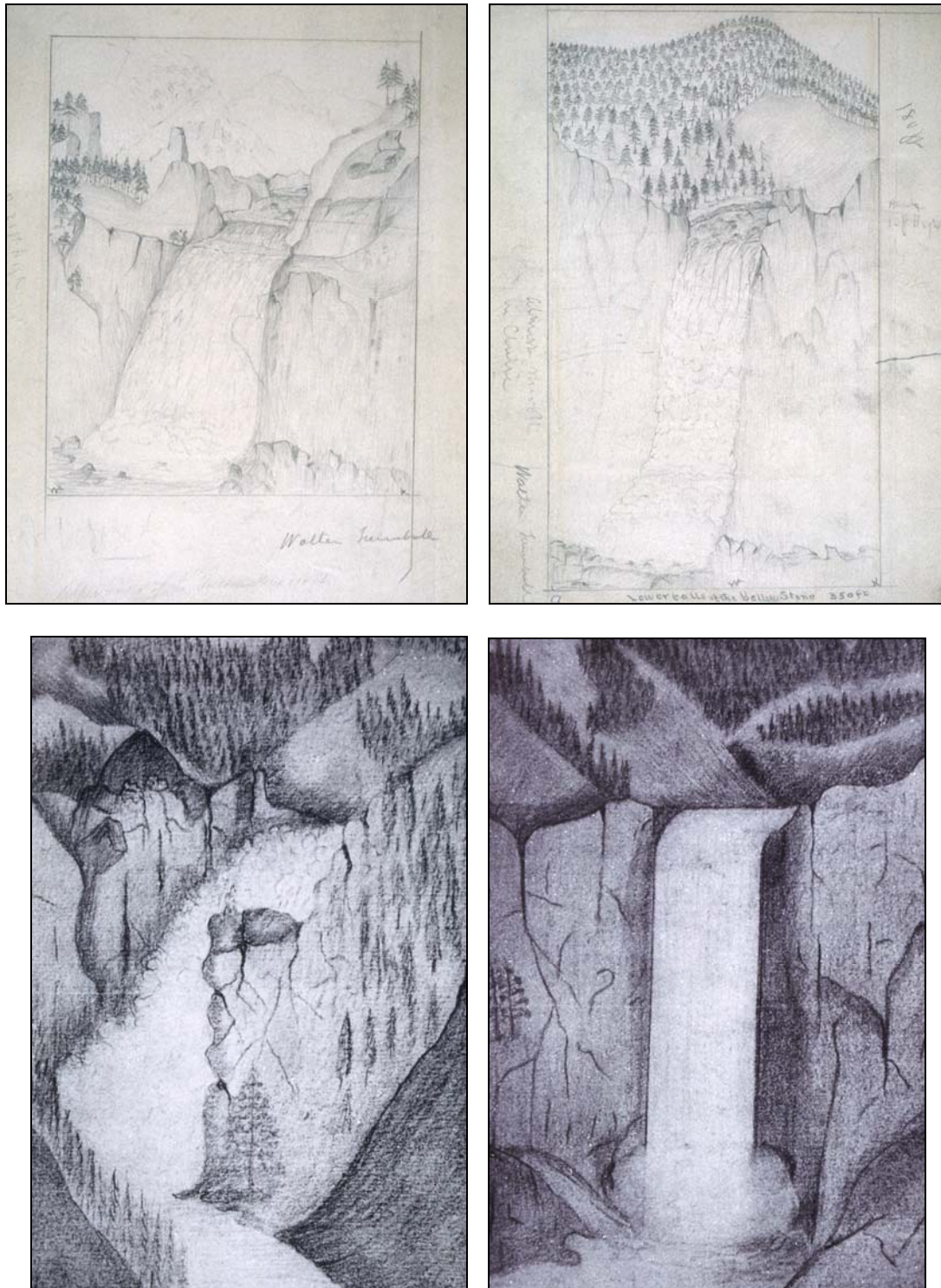


Figure 6: 1870 Washburn Expedition Sketches: Top left—Upper Falls by Walter Trumbull; Top right—Lower Falls by Trumbull; Bottom left—Upper Falls by Pvt. Charles Moore; Bottom right—Lower Falls by Moore (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

At a point 3 ½ miles below Lower Falls, party members triangulated a measurement of the canyon itself—width of 1,300 feet and a depth of 1,050 feet. While they took measurements of the canyon and its falls, party member Cornelius Hedges spent solitary time on foot investigating. Like millions of visitors to come, he wandered along the canyon’s rim absorbing the ever-changing scene. He watched Lower Falls for hours until he was overwhelmed with “too much & too great satisfaction & delight to relate” (Haines 1977a, 116-117).

With descriptions of the plateau and rough sketches available, *Scribner’s Magazine* chose to publish Langford’s account of his travels with the Washburn Expedition of 1870. To accompany the article, *Scribner’s* editor enlisted his friend, painter Thomas Moran, to create more than a dozen ink wash drawings for the article (including Figure 7). Augmented by the work of Trumbull and Moore, these images were Moran’s imagined representations. Moran did not see the region himself until the following year. Moran’s work was published as wood engravings along with Langford’s text in both the May and June issues of *Scribner’s*. These reproductions were the public’s first graphic representations of Yellowstone and its features, including the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone with its two dramatic waterfalls. They also began the process of attaching Moran’s name to Yellowstone, and securing his formidable place in art history (Bartlett 1977, 113; Hassrick 2002, 29-32).



Figure 7: Interpreted Renderings of Yellowstone's Canyon by Thomas Moran: Left—Wood engraving after *The Great Cañon of the Yellowstone* (Schullery 1979); Right—Wood engraving after *Upper Falls of the Yellowstone, Wyoming, 1871* (Hassrick 2002)

Reports, articles, and Langford's lectures about the 1870 Washburn Expedition sparked the curiosity of scientists. Congress responded by funding a survey—the first official U.S. government survey of the Yellowstone Plateau. This mid-summer 1871 expedition was led by geologist Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden, who in previous years took part in geological surveys in other parts of the Territories. This group of explorers contained numerous scientists—very different from the 1870 expedition of businessmen and politicians, many with ties to the Northern Pacific Railroad. This expedition focused

on assessing the agricultural resources, creating an accurate geographic and geologic map of the Plateau, and collecting data, sketches, and samples recording the area's botany, zoology, and mineralogy. Also at this time, *Scribner's* notified Moran that they wished to publish more of his work with an 1872 article on the Yellowstone. Knowing this, Moran sought to see the region for himself and secured an unofficial place in this next expedition to the Yellowstone (Haines 1974, 93-100).

In addition to Moran, Hayden included other visual communicators on this expedition: artist and correspondent Henry W. Elliott; photographer William Henry Jackson from Omaha with his assistant George B. Dixon; and photographer Joshua Crissman of Bozeman, Montana. Building upon the information gained from previous exploring parties, Hayden and his expedition traveled over the Washburn Range along the same route as the 1870 expedition. Again, party members ascended Mount Washburn (Figure 8) on their way to the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone (Haines 1977a, 142-146).

The Hayden expedition's most popular contribution to our understanding of the Canyon area came through Moran's and Jackson's graphic representations. However, Crissman's photographic contribution to knowledge about Yellowstone must not be overlooked. Working against Crissman's legacy were his business decisions—his imagery did not reach a national audience as Moran's and Jackson's did. In addition, Crissman's independence and productivity were severely hindered when he lost his camera early in the expedition. A strong gust of wind blew it over the rim of the Grand Canyon.

Jackson loaned Crissman one of his cameras for the duration of Crissman's time with the expedition—the two photographers often worked side by side recording the same scene with almost identical results. Nevertheless, Crissman left the expedition earlier than Jackson, printed his photographs (presumably including imagery of the Grand Canyon), and presented them for public display locally in Bozeman. Crissman's work was the first publicly seen photography of the Yellowstone Plateau, and presumably its Grand Canyon. These images contributed to local entrepreneurial interest in Yellowstone—and locals played an enormous role in the development of Yellowstone National Park as an accessible, manageable, and relatively comfortable wilderness place (Jackson 1999; Smith and Wyckoff 2001, 93).

Collaboration between artists describes the nature of Moran and Jackson's interaction on the Hayden expedition. At the Grand Canyon, the two artists did work separately; however, they influenced one another on composition and viewpoints (Figure 8, Figure 9, and Figure 10). When the Hayden expedition left the canyon and headed south to Yellowstone Lake, the two artists stayed behind for additional days of graphically recording the canyon's grandeur (Haines 1977a, 153; Whittlesey 2006a, 12n25). According to Jackson, "Moran's enthusiasm was greater here than anywhere else among Yellowstone's wonderful features...." (Bartlett 1977, 116).

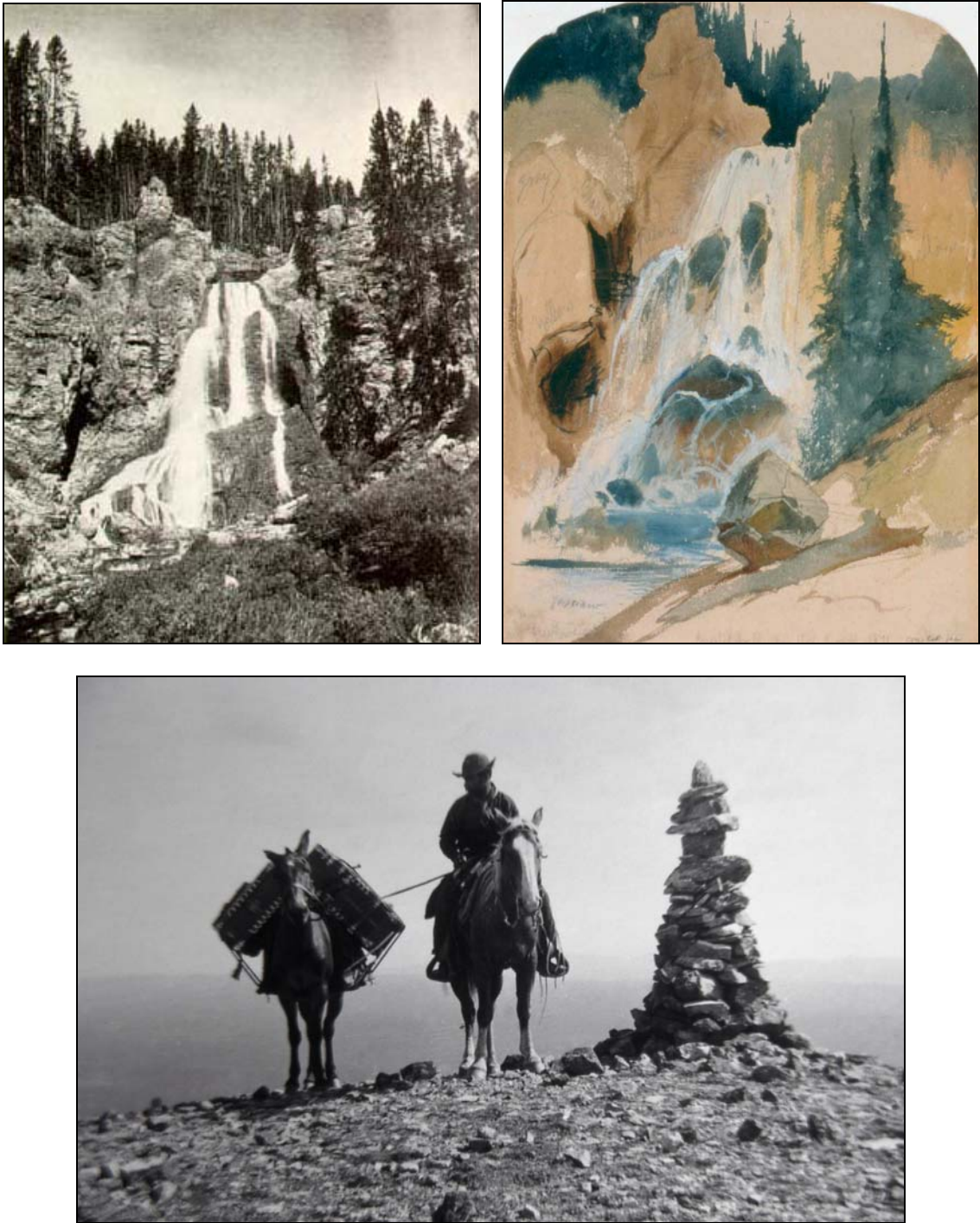


Figure 8: Crystal Falls Imagery and Jackson at Mount Washburn Summit: Top left—*Crystal Falls, Crystal Creek*, 1871 by William Henry Jackson (NPSe); Top right—*Crystal Falls*, 1871 by Thomas Moran (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom—William Henry Jackson at the summit of Mount Washburn, 1871, stereoview by Dixon or Crissman (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

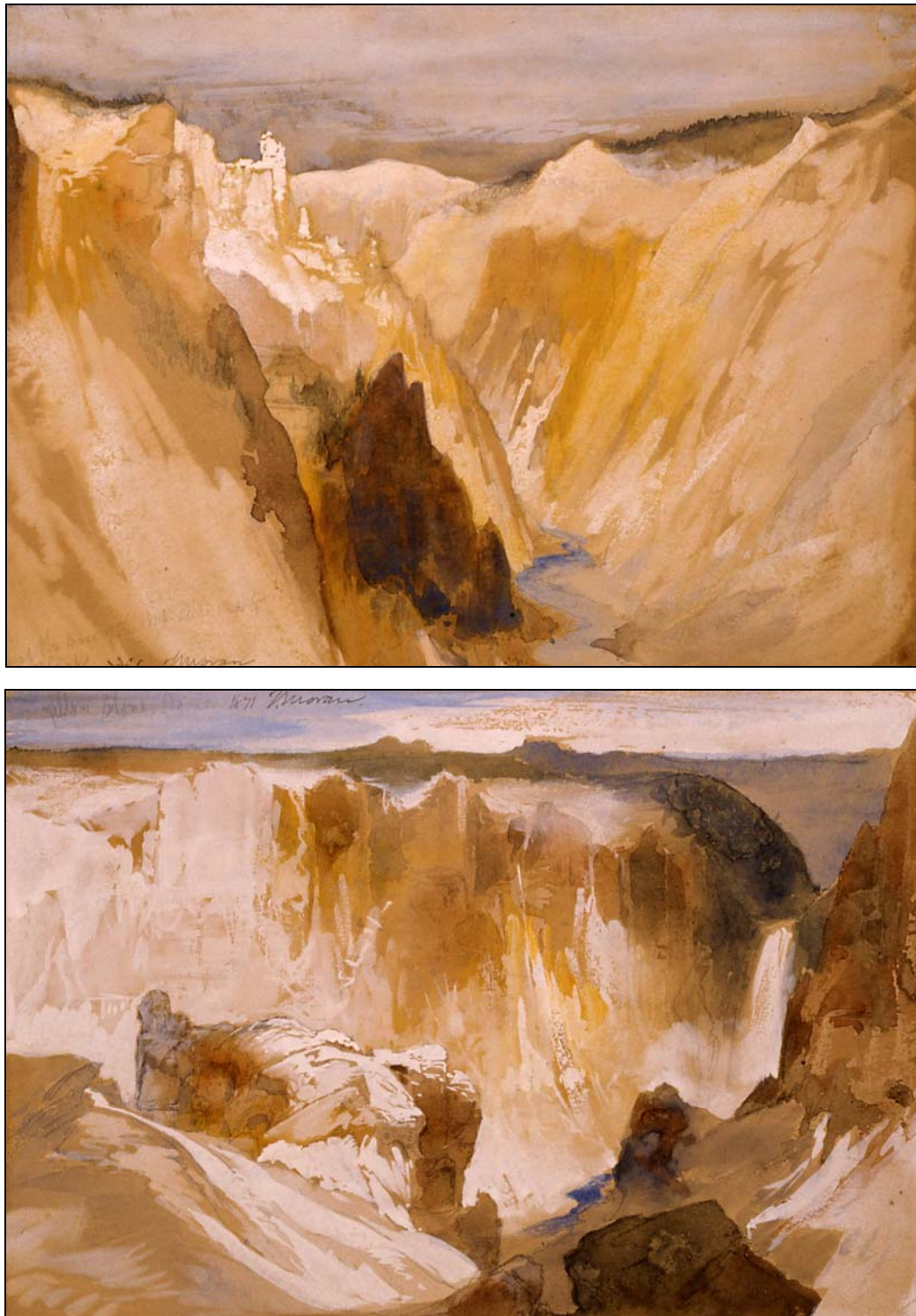


Figure 9: Moran Sketches of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River, 1871: Top—Downstream view of Red Rock Point from above Lower Falls; Bottom—Lower Falls view from west of future Lookout Point (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

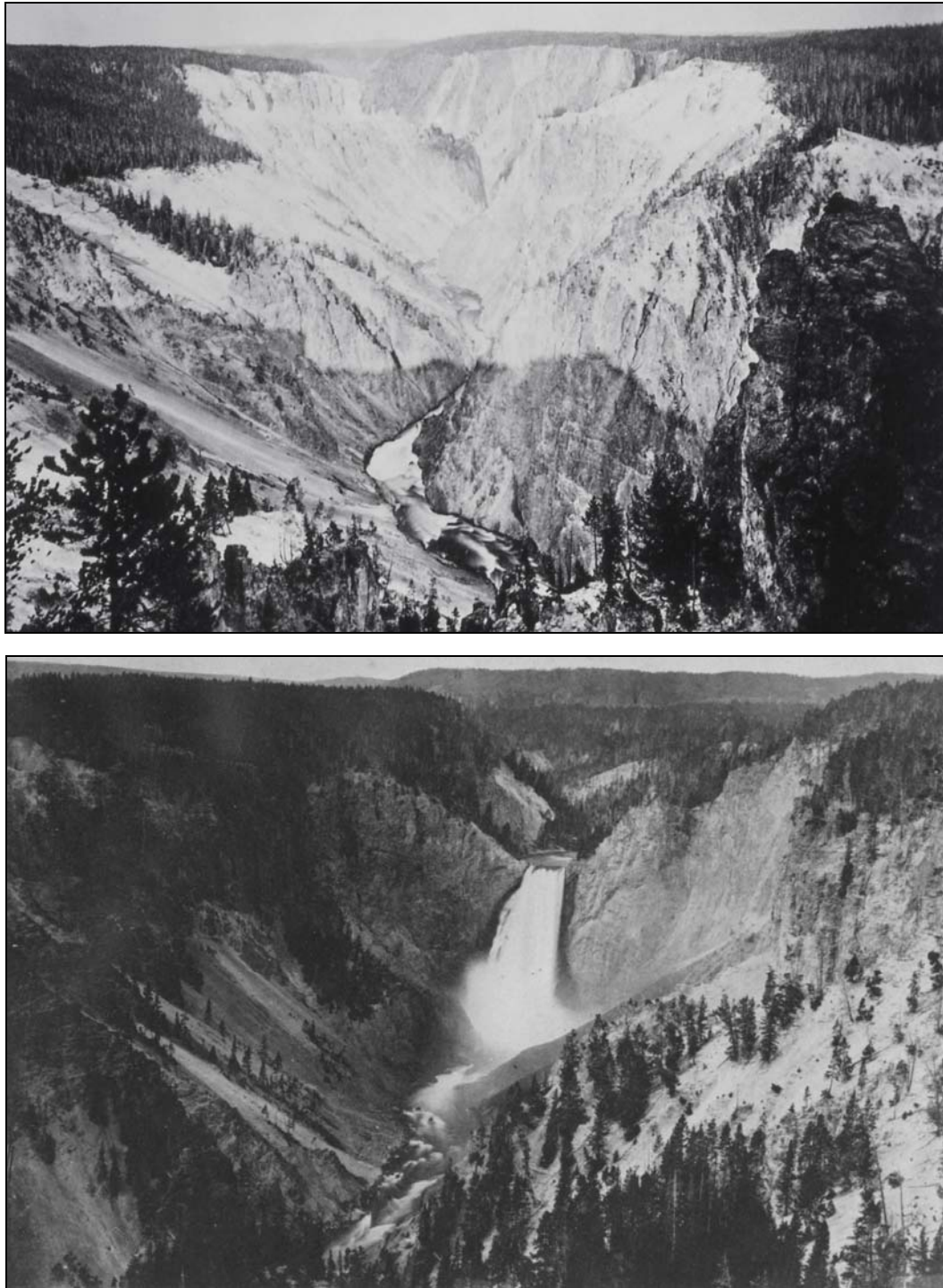


Figure 10: William Henry Jackson 1871 Photographs of Yellowstone's Canyon: Top—Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone from future Grand View overlook (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom—Lower Falls of the Yellowstone from future Lookout Point (Panzer 1990)

During this same summer, the Canyon area also received its first documented commercial tourist party—the first of many to come. A pioneer tourist group of six men on horses, led by Idaho guide Gillman Sawtell and reporter C.C. Clawson, entered the Plateau from the west. While traveling north between Yellowstone Lake and the canyon, the party crossed paths with members of the Hayden Expedition who assisted them with their travels. After reaching the canyon, Clawson wrote just a one line description in his diary: “...the beauty and grandeur of which we found had not been exaggerated; in fact, it is impossible to overdraw that country” (Clawson 2003, 21, 98). However, party member Rossiter Raymond wrote more poetically later in his 1880 autobiography:

A thousand feet below us, the river, tiny in the distance, stretches its ribbon of emerald, embroidered with silver foam. The great walls of the canyon glow with barbaric splendor, in such hues as Nature’s palette seldom furnishes.... This is the banquet of the eye, and the ear is not invited.... To bid farewell to such a scene is like descending from the heights of heaven. (Raymond quoted in Clawson 2003, 100n)

Interest in a public park at Yellowstone was increasing. Contributing to this were additional articles published in the popular press including *Harper’s Weekly*, *The Aldine*, Clawson’s article in the Deer Lodge *New North-West*, and Henry W. Elliot’s description published in a January 1872 issue of *Leslie’s Illustrated*. Meanwhile, Hayden’s February 1872 article in *Scribner’s* not only accompanied representations of Moran’s powerful, first-hand paintings (including Figure 11), it also included a specific suggestion to set the Yellowstone Plateau aside as a public park. While there were many suggestions for a Yellowstone reserve, the suggestion in Hayden’s article was quite influential (Haines 1974, 122, 182n39, 179n245).

The Yellowstone imagery included in Hayden's publication played an important role in focusing attention on the Yellowstone Plateau and in creating the first national park. Sketches, paintings, and photographs delivered increasingly definitive place knowledge about a region long rumored to contain strange, fantastic natural features. The contribution of graphic material to the creation of national policy is unique. Prior to 1872, land use policy decisions were based primarily on practical uses. Images from the expeditions, however, contributed to a policy decision based partly on aesthetics—these artistic works were valued highly alongside the scientific data collected (Hassrick 2002, 5, 13). This early imagery influenced generations of visitors' ideas of the park as a place. Visitor place knowledge about Canyon was in the process of forming, and by 1871 visitors such as Clawson were already coming.



Figure 11: Yellowstone's Canyon Published in *Scribner's Monthly*, February 1872: Wood engraving after *The Great Cañon and Lower Falls of the Yellowstone*, 1871 by Thomas Moran (Hassrick 2002)

The New National Park

Jay Cooke's Northern Pacific Railroad expressed a keen interest in establishing a new national park. A fortunate mix of track-laying and geography meant that soon Yellowstone Park would lie near the railroad's intended route. Of course, the railroad would need promotional imagery. In fact, Cooke helped fund Moran's trip with Hayden in 1871. Once Moran returned with sketches, Cooke used the images to help lobby Congress for this new national park. This lobbying, coupled with public support and Hayden's 1871 *Scribner's* article, sparked legislation to establish the new reservation to be managed by the Department of the Interior. The first bill was introduced in December of 1871. Through January and February additional legislation supported the December bill until it passed on February 28, 1872. Congress and the President established Yellowstone National Park on March 1, 1872 (Bartlett 1977, 114; Cramton 1932, 61).

Yellowstone's Organic Act

Creating the new reservation began decades of challenges for the Department of the Interior, beginning with those inherent in the park's enabling legislation—The Organic Act. This act was just two paragraphs long. It was a small document with enormous responsibility for controlling what can and will happen on an equally enormous tract of wild land representing a totally new kind of land use. As the federal government matured in its assessment of tourist development at Canyon, this document (and subsequent legislative adjustments to it) was specifically cited as the guiding doctrine in government decisions about the park.

Conflicts seemed immediately evident. The Organic Act's first paragraph primarily identified the spatial location of this new reservation in the Rocky Mountain west. However, it also defined the land as "*reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale...and set apart as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people*" [emphasis added]. The second paragraph required the Department of the Interior to publish rules and regulations to manage the park and preserve it. It also specified that parcel leases might be granted for constructing buildings to accommodate visitors. Roads and bridle paths might also be created (Haines 1977b, 471). As stated, in this tiny document, the park was to be removed from settlement, yet have buildings, roads, and trails constructed. The evolution of development at Canyon demonstrated how that tension, inherent in its Organic Act, played out at a particular locality in Yellowstone.

Thomas Moran's Early Paintings of Canyon

Soon after the park was established, Moran finished his first oil painting of Yellowstone. He chose the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone as his subject (Figure 12). Moran based this painting on his own sketches from the 1871 expedition and examined Jackson's photographs to render details about its topography and texture. Moran intended this oil painting to represent his feelings about the canyon; it was an idealized image—not an exact representation of a specific viewpoint or topography. However, Moran was distinctly concerned about accurately rendering the canyon's geology. He consulted Hayden for scientific critique and requested his presence and support at the painting's

unveiling. Surely its representation of landscape would be questioned (Panzer 1990, 44, 51-52; Hassrick 2002, 38; Kinsey 2006, 64).



Figure 12: *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*, 1872 by Moran (Hassrick 2002)

Moran's first oil painting of Yellowstone was executed in the style of the day—large and dramatic—the kind purchased by the very wealthy. But Moran's painting ultimately was owned by the public, as was the park itself. The federal government purchased Moran's painting for \$10,000. It hung in the nation's Capitol for many years. Other paintings hanging in the Capitol represented human events in the new nation's developing history of discovery and expansion. However, Moran's 1872 painting of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone and Lower Falls was the first landscape to grace those walls (Bartlett 1977, 121; Hassrick 2002, 42). When Moran was half way through creating this painting in March 1872, he wrote to Hayden asking for Hayden's geological

critique. In his letter to Hayden he wrote: “I cast all my claims to being an artist, into this one picture of the Grand Canyon. Am willing to abide by the judgment upon it” (Bartlett 1977, 119-120). The judgment was clear: His painting solidly established Moran’s reputation as an artist (Panzer 1990, 43).

In addition to this painting on display in the Capitol, Moran’s work was also popularized via chromolithographic prints published in Louis Prang’s *The Yellowstone National Park* portfolio. This portfolio, with text by Hayden, was the first color art book printed about the West. The portfolio was dominated by imagery of Yellowstone including its canyon (Figure 13) and included images of Idaho, Nevada, Colorado, and Utah. In his image of the canyon, the topography was represented more dramatically than his oil painting, with Lower Falls receding into the background (Kinsey 2006 84-85, 118). While Moran’s many paintings of the canyon were later joined by the renditions of Albert Bierstadt, Thomas Hill, and many other landscape painters, historian Richard Bartlett sees Thomas Moran as Yellowstone’s greatest painter in part due to his early, dramatic imagery of the canyon. Moran’s paintings were the first to illustrate Yellowstone’s wonders and they generated excitement in the art world:

His space feeling is akin to that of men who covered the ceilings of Baroque churches with illusionistic frescoes—only they raised their eyes to the heights of the sky whereas Moran, placing his easel on a choice observation point, looked into the crevices of the earth. (Wolfgang Born quoted in Bartlett 1977, 122-123)



Figure 13: Chromolithograph of Yellowstone's Canyon, ca. 1875: After *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*, by Thomas Moran (Kinsey 2006)

The Canyon and Tourism in the Early Years

During the park's first year, a visit to the Canyon was recorded by one of the estimated 300 tourists to visit in 1872. The Stone party, guided by E.S. Topping and Dwight Woodruff, included the first recorded female tourist to see the canyon and falls (Topping 1968, 95). Tourism to and within the national park increased as news spread of Yellowstone's existence. During the park's first five years, an estimated 2,300 tourists visited the park, and many if not most of them were Montanans. Local tourists knew the park well. Their frequent adventures on horseback and with wagons influenced the development of the park's road system. Some became the park's first concessioners

(Haines 1977b, 478; Smith and Wyckoff 2001, 93). Five years after the Stone party's adventure to the park, two Montana touring parties were making their way through Yellowstone on horseback when they each encountered a fleeing band of non-treaty Nez Perce Indians. Two lives and a peaceful 1877 tourist adventure abruptly ended, and one of those deadly encounters took place at Canyon. The geography of America's Indian Wars could not yield to the boundaries of the young national park. Despite the civil nature of the park, Yellowstone lay surrounded by western land still struggling with Indian conflicts. The year before the Nez Perce flight, Custer had lost his battle some 125 miles northeast of Yellowstone.

Nez Perce War and U.S. Army Influence at Canyon

In the spring of 1877, a large band of Nez Perce fled their home in Wallowa Valley, Oregon, after losing their land to settlers. The U.S. government planned to contain this tribe on a reservation—a plan that was not acceptable to many of the Nez Perce. Approximately 700 Nez Perce refused the arrangement and left Oregon with 2,000 horses. This large group of migrating Nez Perce made their way east through Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana. The Nez Perce fought in several battles along the way from June to October 1877 (Greene 2000). Their destination was Canada and the new national park just happened to be along the route. There were many well-known conflicts in the Nez Perce war, including the battle at the Big Hole and the ultimate surrender of Chief Joseph at Bear's Paw Mountains. However, in Yellowstone it was both the loss of life

and the army's impromptu wagon road that caught the attention of historians and geographers. Remarkably, this seemingly fleeting incident subsequently influenced the business of park visitors and entrepreneurs for several decades, because it resulted in the first developed road across the center of the park toward Canyon.

The migrating Nez Perce were followed by U. S. Army troops and supply wagons, who were days behind. The troops were led by General Oliver O. Howard. The supply wagons were managed by a group of civilian wagoners and skilled laborers led by Captain William F. Spurgin. Officials dispatched additional military support to the region including a contingent of the Second Calvary from Fort Ellis, Montana (Haines 1977a, 226).

The Nez Perce entered the park in August just north of what is now West Yellowstone. They captured a party of Radersburg, Montana tourists and took them hostage near Lower Geyser Basin. After severely wounding party members George Cowan and Albert Oldham near Mary Mountain, the Nez Perce traveled eastward—for a time still with these hostages. They traveled through the center of the park, meeting the Yellowstone River several miles south of Canyon at what is now Nez Perce Ford. Although the majority of the Nez Perce and horses continued east, crossing the Yellowstone River en route north to Canada, they left a small group of warriors behind to slow the army's advance from the west. The Second Calvary, approaching from the north, used Mount Washburn as a lookout with its strategic view into Hayden Valley (Whittlesey 1995, 133-136; Haines 1977a, 226, 234).

At this same time, a separate group of ten tourists from Helena, Montana was camped near Upper Falls. After seeing groups of warriors, the Helena party moved their camp about a mile to the southwest on a hill above the forks of Otter Creek. But their party's presence was already known to the Nez Perce—they learned this from a lone tourist hiding in a ravine near Sulphur Mountain. While two of the Helena party members left to scout for Indians, those who remained in camp were surprised by these warriors who arrived with guns firing. All party members in camp successfully fled except two, Charles Kenck, who was shot and killed about 300 yards from the camp and John Stewart, who was shot in the leg but recovered from his injury.

The Nez Perce warriors later wreaked havoc in several places in the northern part of the park wounding horses, damaging buildings and bridges, and causing the evacuation of many settlers and miners. The final fatality in the park's Nez Perce skirmishes was Richard Dietrich, who sought refuge at Mammoth Hot Springs. After escaping death at Otter Creek, Dietrich died in the doorway of McCartney's Hotel.

For a short time, Kenck was buried near Otter Creek, but his body was exhumed before the end of that year and reburied in Helena (Whittlesey 1995, 133-136; Haines 1977a, 237). The Nez Perce raid at Otter Creek was the first recorded human drama of many that would occur there. The hill upon which the Helena party camped at Otter Creek provided a forested backdrop for the Canyon bear feeding shows early in the twentieth century. After the bear feeding shows ended and the infrastructure was removed, the valley site was used as a group campground into the 1980s, again enclosed on the north side by the Helena party's fateful hill. In 1986, park rangers came upon a grizzly bear and other scavengers consuming the remains of photographer William

Tesinsky. He had been killed by the bear he was photographing at close range just a few hundred yards behind where the last row of bear show seats had been (Lounsbury 2006; Whittlesey 1995, 52-55).

Captain Spurgin's Wagon Road and "Beaver Slide." While the warring Nez Perce altered the lives and travels of numerous park visitors that summer, the army exerted an even greater, albeit gentler, influence on decades of future Yellowstone tourists to Canyon. During the army's pursuit, Spurgin and Howard identified a passable wagon route across the center of the park, portions of which were transformed into a crude road (Mary Mountain Road) later used by park stagecoach drivers. Beginning at the east fork of the Firehole River (now called Nez Perce Creek), Captain Spurgin and his skilled laborers used picks, axes, and shovels to cut down trees and prepare a basic road wide enough for the army's supply wagons. This was no small task. Spurgin's laborers facilitated the travel of Howard's troops by chopping and hacking a road out of dense lodgepole forest, but sometimes left tree stumps three feet high (Replogle 1937).

At a point just past Mary Mountain, Spurgin's wagon train and laborers were released from service to General Howard. The wagon train split off from Howard's troops who continued east to Mud Volcano (Figure 14). Spurgin's men not only enabled Howard's troops to cross the center of Yellowstone near Mary Mountain, they did the early laborious work of clearing trees near Mary Mountain for what became the first park wagon route to features on the park's east side, and ultimately to Canyon.

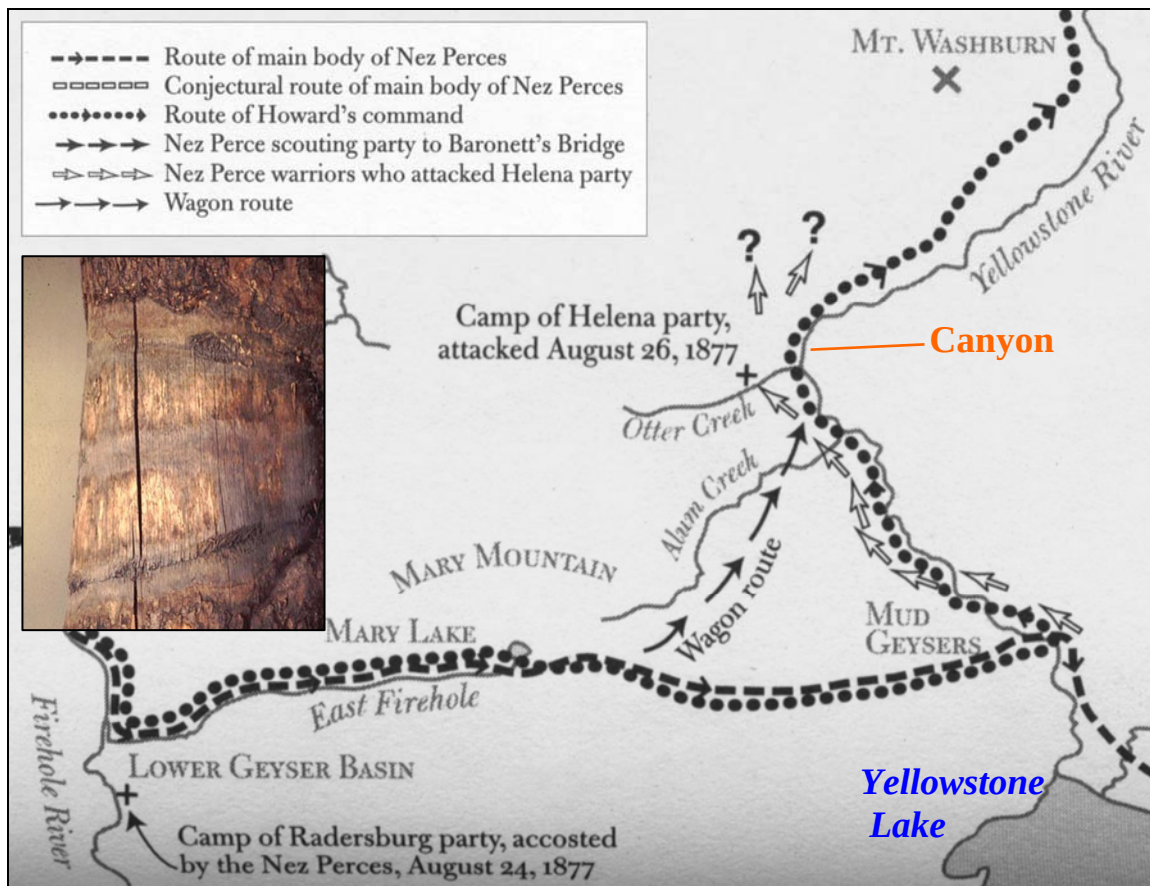


Figure 14: Nez Perce 1877 Flight in Yellowstone: Map—Routes of Nez Perce, General Howard, and Captain Spurgin's wagon train (Greene 2000); Inset—Rope damage to tree from Captain Spurgin's wagon descent near Canyon (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

The drama of this engineering feat increased as Spurgin's men embarked on their direct route toward Canyon. As Spurgin's men approached the dissected terrain near Canyon, they saw numerous ravines to negotiate. After passing Alum Creek near its confluence with the Yellowstone River, the men faced a 500-foot drop having a slope angle similar to that of a house roof. A suggestion was made to "prepare a slide and go down the hill like a beaver" (Greene 2000, 198).

The maneuver of lowering wagons was accomplished by tying a large rope around a wagon's back axle and wrapping the other end a few times around a succession of down-slope trees to aid the descent, one wagon at a time. This same technique was also used soon afterwards to move wagons across the ravine at Cascade Creek just upstream from the Grand Canyon. For years, "Spurkin's Beaver Slide" could be found by locating the damaged trees, some with very large rope burns (Figure 14, inset); however Yellowstone's wildfires in 1988 removed this evidence (Greene 2000, 198-199; Lounsbury 2006; Haines 1993, 91, 96-97—implies Spurkin's Beaver Slide was on the Otter Creek side of the hill, was somewhat visible from the Grand Loop Road, and went straight down the hill). Spurkin's route from Mary Mountain along Alum Creek to Canyon was unique to his army wagon train. The route was expediently prepared for the wagon train, but the tourist route known as Mary Mountain Road followed General Howard's troops due east to the Yellowstone River.

Touring Routes to Canyon

Touring during the park's infancy can be seen as occurring within two north/south corridors of primary park features. The corridor on the park's west side is longer in length with Mammoth Hot Springs (MHS) at the top, Upper Geyser Basin (UGB) at the bottom, and several other geyser basins in between. The corridor on the east side contains Mount Washburn and the Grand Canyon at the top, the Yellowstone River in Hayden Valley, and the western shore of Yellowstone Lake at the bottom (Figure 15).

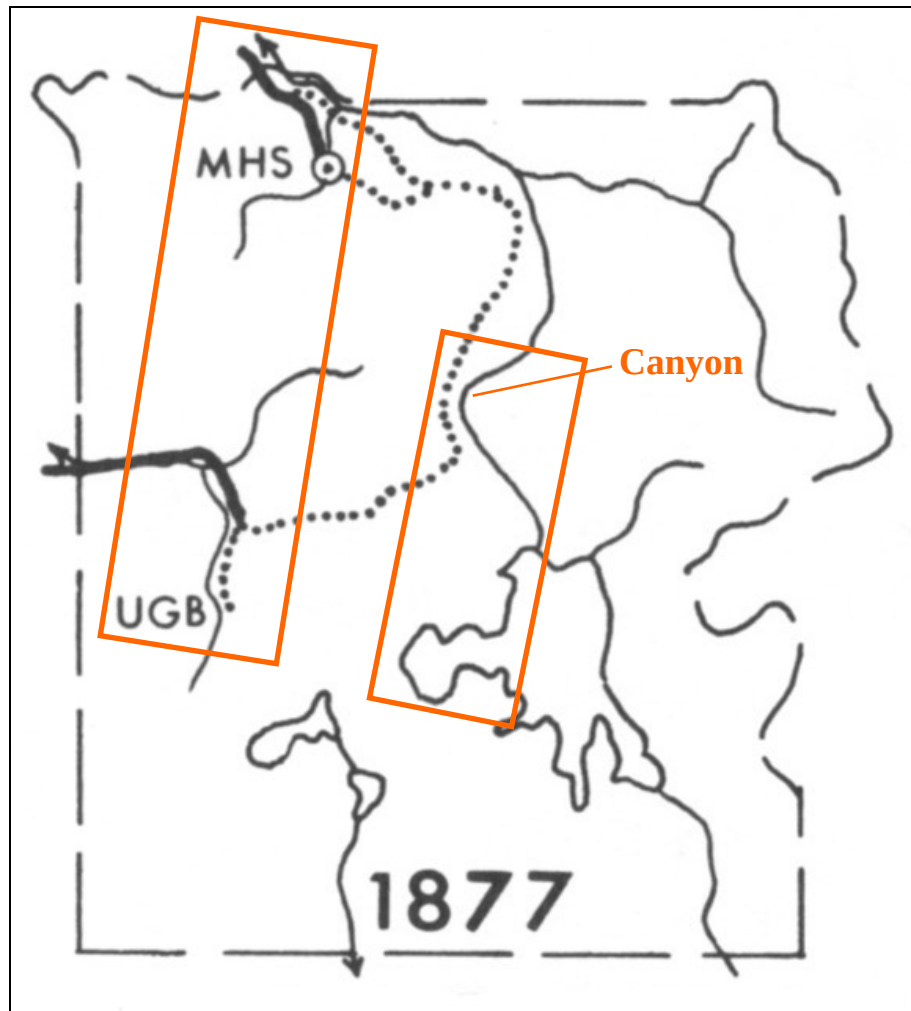


Figure 15: Park Roads, Tourist Trails, and Corridors of Features in 1877 (corridors added to map from Haines 1977a)

With settlers and population centers north of the Plateau, the closest (but not necessarily the easiest) access to Canyon prior to 1879 was via a trail over Mount Washburn. Although traveling was difficult over the high mountain pass (near today's Dunraven Pass), it was the route used by most of the exploring parties and was known to be passable on horseback. A second route to Canyon involved what was likely a Native American trail through the center of the park, a route similar to that used by General Howard in his pursuit of the Nez Perce. This trail was used by travelers who entered the

park from the west, visited the geyser basins, and then significantly extended their adventure by traveling to the eastern corridor of features including the Grand Canyon. If visitors were traveling with wagons, they likely retraced their route back through the center of the park. Those on horseback may have chosen to ascend Mount Washburn, taking a northern route out of the reservation.

With few funds for improvements such as roads, park administrators leveraged the forest clearing work done by Spurgin in 1877. The Mary Mountain Road as it was called (Figure 16) was completed in 1880. It followed the route taken by General Howard. While the road made travel through the center of the park easier, ascending Mary Mountain was still difficult for fully loaded stagecoaches. At times, passengers were asked to disembark and walk up steep grades. Nevertheless, this road facilitated longer stays in the park and tours that included attractions in the eastern corridor. Also in 1880, a small section of road was developed, connecting the Mary Mountain Road to just south of Canyon (only as far as Alum Creek). With a more improved road from the west, this becomes the main tourist route to the Grand Canyon and falls until the Norris Cutoff Road was opened in 1886 (Culpin 1994, 38n96; Haines 1977a, 243-245).

Also by 1880, two more tourist routes reached the Canyon area. A new southern route to the park's eastern corridor was possible via a trail blazed over the Continental Divide from the Upper Geyser Basin to Yellowstone Lake (near today's Craig Pass). This trail continued along the lake shore until it met with the earlier developed roads. Superintendent Norris developed a second route from the north in 1879, this one traversing the eastern flank of Mount Washburn, following or paralleling the route of an existing Native American trail along the western side of the Grand Canyon (see also

Figure 4). This route through Rowland Pass was intended to be a section of the Grand Loop Road, but it was never graded or fully developed despite an 1884-1885 fiscal year appropriation request to construct it (Haines 1977a, 243-245; Culpin 1994, 38n96). Around this time, Norris investigated an “ancient blockhouse” discovered by Frederick Bottler near (possibly along) this new trail, which had apparently been used by Euro-Americans for some time (Chittenden 1964, 39).

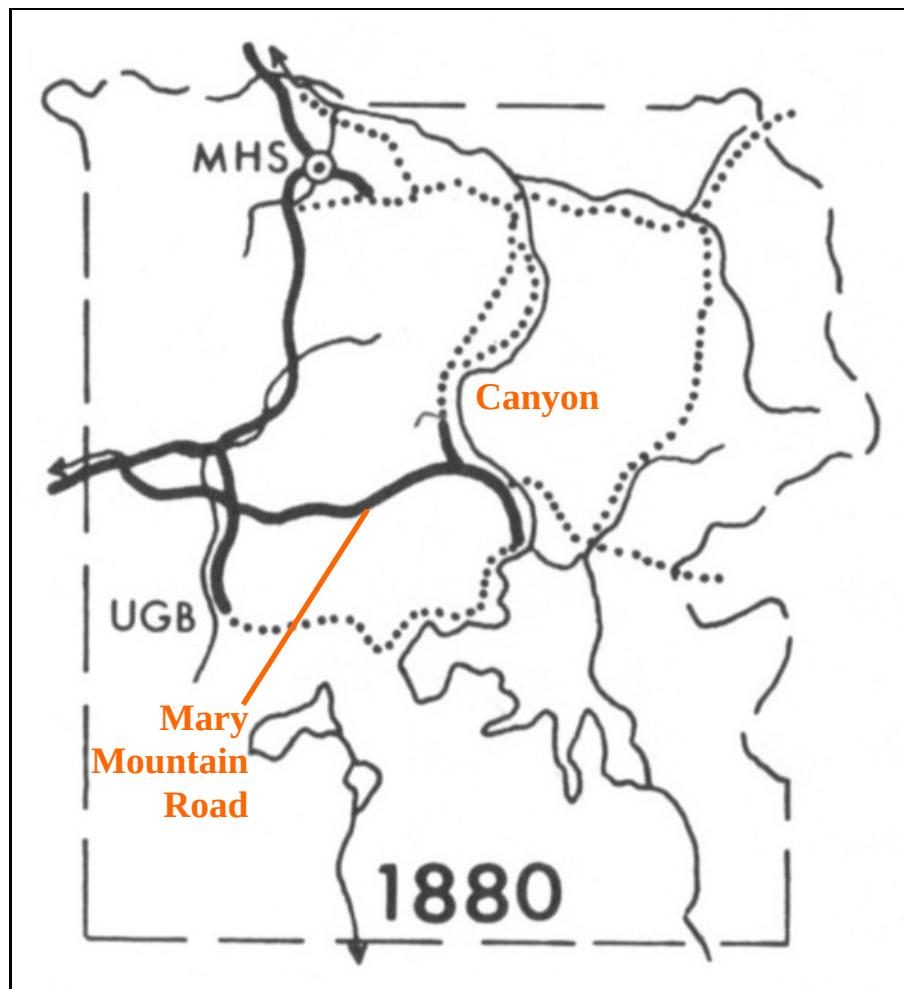


Figure 16: Yellowstone National Park Roads and Trails, 1880 (Haines 1977a)

One of the earliest concessioner-guided visits to Canyon that likely used the Mary Mountain Road appears to have occurred in 1880 as well. Park hotel concessioner, George Marshall, and his partner John Goff transported the Strahorn party into the park through the West Entrance, first to Marshall's hotel in the Lower Geyser Basin, then for a full tour of the park. Presumably, the tour included a visit to the Grand Canyon (Whittlesey 1980, 44). In 1881, F. J. Haynes made his first images of the Grand Canyon and falls on his first trip to the park's interior. Haynes later made "repeat" images of these 1881 photographs during a winter tour of the park in 1887 (Tilden 1964, 347).

Canyon Tourist Trails and Bridges

The Strahorn party was probably one of the first to use a new set of bridges at Canyon built by Norris, also in 1880 (Culpin 1994, 12). These bridges allowed tourist travel over creeks and ravines in Canyon's complex terrain, enabling easier movement north toward Lower Falls and along the canyon's North Rim. The original trail from Yellowstone Lake stayed farther back from the Yellowstone River than does today's road, between Alum Creek and Upper Falls (Figure 17). Initially, the road traveled closer to the fork of Otter Creek and crossed the shallower sections of the Jay Creek ravine one-quarter mile away from the river (Haines 1993, 81; Baldwin 1976, Map 5; Culpin 1994, Gannett 1883, 1878 USGS map insert, Chittenden, 1905; Airscapes-Wyoming 1923a; Airscapes-Wyoming 1923b). The trail to Mount Washburn continued northwest of Jay Creek, eventually following Cascade Creek into the Washburn Range. After crossing Jay Creek tourists could reach the canyon and falls on a trail (later a road) that turned northeast toward the Yellowstone River and arrived just northwest of Upper Falls. Norris

suggested that the bridle path to Yellowstone Lake passed “Upon the very brink of” Upper Falls and claimed that the path provided a view of Upper Falls (Norris 1881, 21). Perhaps the trail curved toward the falls, but Norris may also have meant a spur trail off the main thoroughfare shown in historic maps (Gannett 1883). After reaching the Canyon rim near Upper Falls, the route from Yellowstone Lake crossed an unnamed tributary of Cascade Creek. Norris built a bridal path bridge enabling tourist travel over this ravine and creek in 1880 (Culpin 1994, 12). Just after crossing this unnamed creek, tourists descended into the ravine of Cascade Creek.

Cascade Creek Bridge. The first of four bridge crossings over Cascade Creek was also built in 1880. Norris built the first crossing directly over Grotto Pool—an erosional cave-like pool of flowing creek water just up stream from the picturesque Crystal Falls. Prior to Norris’s bridge work, pole railings along the canyon’s rim and at least one lower ladder were installed for tourists, as shown in Jackson’s 1878 images of the area (Figure 18). In 1881, Norris reported that he installed (possibly replaced) ladders to Grotto Pool and added benches beneath the bridge and the overhanging rock that creates the intimate natural space. The benches made this moist mountain shelter as comfortable as it was dynamic, with the sight and sound of Cascade Creek flowing through it (Whittlesey 1988b, 69; Hyde 1886, 107; Norris 1881, 21). Grotto Pool was said to be Norris’s favorite location in Yellowstone Park—and the location he desired as his final resting place expressed through Norris’s own poetry:

Henceforth be my music the cataract's roar
 My refuge the grotto, to leave nevermore;
 Light halos encircling my winding-sheet be,
 A tomb be the pool of this grotto for me,
 And the rainbow my pathway of spirit set free! (Whittlesey 1988a, 427)

Once tourists crossed Cascade Creek they ascended out of the ravine to the canyon's North Rim above Lower Falls. The trail continued along the rim toward the eastern flanks of Mount Washburn. Another rustic bridge was constructed by Norris in 1880 over Big Spring Creek, which flowed from the northwest toward the canyon from a spring near today's Canyon Village. Big Spring Creek emptied into the Yellowstone River, cascading down the north wall of the Grand Canyon just downstream from Lookout Point (Culpin 1994, 12—cites more than two bridges built at Canyon in 1880; Norris 1881, 21—notes an existing bridge over Big Spring Creek; Whittlesey 1988a, 65).

Thus, prior to the development of Canyon's first overnight accommodations, the cultural landscape at Canyon consisted of only a few bridges, a trail connecting Mount Washburn with Hayden Valley west of the river, and a trail along the canyon's North Rim. Presumably, other informal trails existed to canyon overlook points along its rims. Tucked back in the woods were a few log cabins or ruins—likely remnants of earlier mountain men or more recent poachers (Chittenden 1905). In 1882 park superintendent Patrick Conger completed the last three-mile segment of road between Alum Creek and Upper Falls. This three-mile road section, along with additional road and bridge work in 1884, further complicated Canyon's cultural landscape, inching it toward a level of development on par with facilities in the park's western corridor (Haines 1977a, 263; Bartlett 1989, 78).

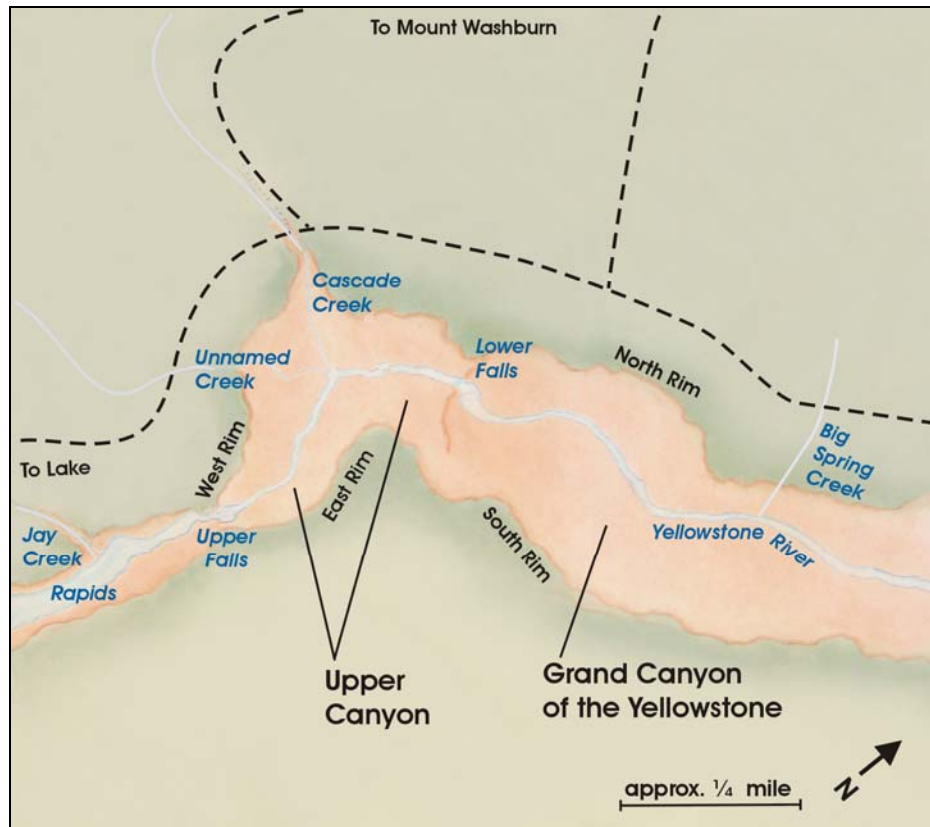


Figure 17: Early Canyon Trails: Top—Generalized map of Grand Canyon with creeks and early trails (adapted from NPS 1933 based on Gannett 1883); Bottom—*Bridle Trail to Lower Falls* (Yale University Library)

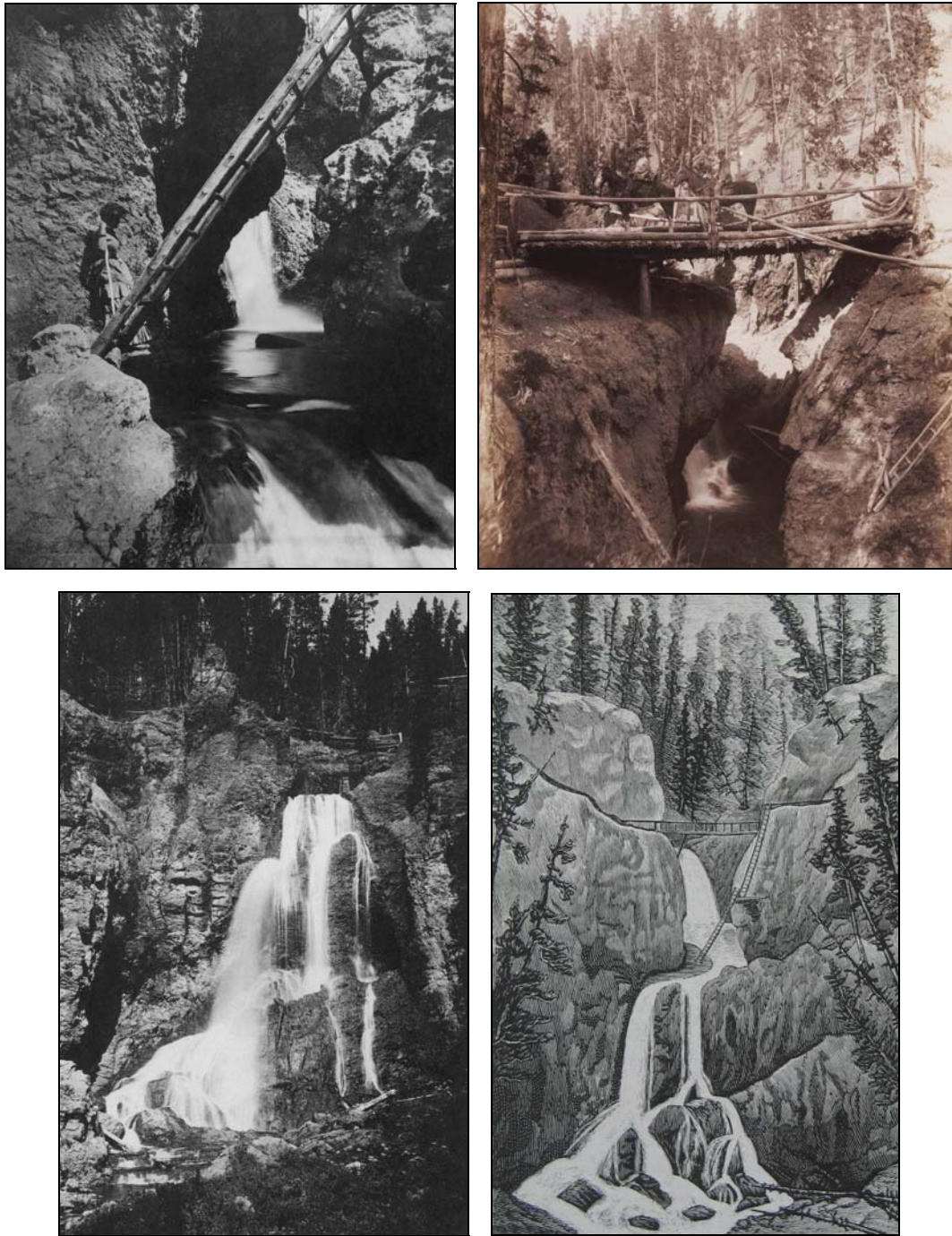


Figure 18: Grotto Pool, Crystal Falls, and First Cascade Creek Bridge: Top left—*Crystal Cascade, Above the Falls*, 1878 by Jackson. Note tourist at edge of Grotto Pool (Schreier 1989); Top right—First Cascade Creek Bridge with ladder to Grotto Pool, c1880s (Yale University Library); Bottom left—*Cascade Creek (Crystal Falls)*, 1878 by W. H. Jackson. Note log and pole guardrails (Schreier 1989); Bottom right—Annual report sketch showing bridge and two ladders (Norris 1881)

Settlement at Canyon Begins

Given the Grand Canyon's early fame, it inevitably became a focus of tourism and development in the park. With development, managers increasingly transformed the natural landscape into a cultural landscape that changed the local Canyon environment. Trees were cleared for roads, trails, and building sites. Construction of roads and trails (whether graveled or surfaced) required bridging or infilling of several local streams and ravines. When employee housing and visitor lodging was constructed, this invited people to remain at Canyon for months at a time. Extended human presence warranted even more landscape alteration to meet survival and sanitation needs. Potable water capture systems altered local stream flow, human waste was channeled into miles of pipe laid in the ground, power and telephone poles were installed, and settlement refuse was aggregated in numerous local dumps. For visitor safety, many trails, railings, staircases, overlooks, and signs were constructed along and down into the canyon—arguably sacrificing the formation's integrity in favor of the human experience.

Right away, what was constructed in many places throughout Yellowstone, including at Canyon, was the physical manifestation of the conflict inherent in its Organic Act—that the park was removed from settlement, but would have buildings, roads, trails, and other development constructed for tourists. Admittedly, the settlements in the new national park were different. Unlike on private land, the type and location of development would be controlled by the federal government, who would also retain ownership of the land. This experiment in federal control of development occurred during a period in U.S. history when the Rocky Mountains were sparsely populated. Federal decision makers

resided in Washington D. C., and land use decisions for the park were not always carried out to the letter. This was also a time when individual businessmen held an inordinate amount of influence over government officials during concessions contracting and the construction process.

Early visitor facilities clustered along the canyon's spectacular rim. The canyon's sharp edges thus influenced the early settlement pattern and ultimately shaped the nature of the visitor experience here. The initial settlement developed where the road from Yellowstone Lake met the canyon and falls. Placing visitor facilities near the canyon's rim, especially between the two falls, seemed an obvious choice for early entrepreneurs. For these concessioners, the canyon and falls were remarkable natural features to have in their backyard. Also, Canyon's settlement began when transportation methods were by hoof or foot. Services close to the rim and falls made for shorter trips to explore the canyon with its large geographic "circumference." But, if the canyon and falls served as a draw, the canyon rim and its dissected terrain also limited and defined settlement site selection. It was not until the construction of a bridge over the Yellowstone River in 1903 that the canyon's East Rim witnessed visitor development—once again between the two falls and near the canyon's rim.

Concessioner Leases in the Reservation

Although Yellowstone National Park was established in 1872, visitation to the reservation developed slowly. The first ten years witnessed between 500 and 1,000 horseback and wagon tourists each year. However, interest in the park grew. By 1883, the Northern Pacific Railroad extended its rail line within a few miles of the park's North

Entrance. U. S. and foreign dignitaries made highly publicized visits to the park that year. Formalized tours of the park also began in 1883 with government-permitted transportation concessions. In the summer of 1883, visitation jumped dramatically. An estimated 5,000 people visited the park that year. Meanwhile, Yellowstone had only a few, mostly primitive hotels run by numerous concessioners, and these facilities were primarily located along the park's western corridor. The Department of the Interior was facing a "train wreck," anticipating a large increase in visitation facilitated by the rail line coupled with cumbersome logistics involved in controlling so many businesses (Bartlett 1989, 45-52; Whittlesey 1996, 28; Haines 1977b, 478).

While the Department of the Interior sought privately run visitor services in the new reservation, it wanted to avoid monopolized access to Yellowstone's features. The Interior Department had heeded warnings from early park supporters who worried that Yellowstone's tourism and built environment could develop similar to that of Niagara Falls, New York. At Niagara, private interests and commercialization led to a carnival atmosphere, haphazard development, and ultimately monopolized access to the views of the falls (Sears 1989, 131, 162; McGreevy 1994, 36, 84-85). But the bind the Interior Department was in, with a flood of visitors on the way, led it to reconsider permitting a hotel monopoly. Different entrepreneurs proposed building hotels around the park. But if the government contracted with only one, well-financed concessioner, hotels could be quickly constructed and the Interior Department's dealings would be simplified, that is, if the concessioner met their end of the agreement (Bartlett 1989, 138; Bartlett 1983).

Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company. To begin offering visitor services at Canyon (and elsewhere in Yellowstone), the Department of the Interior entered into an arrangement with the Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company (YNPIC) that almost immediately become a monopoly. The YNPIC was organized in 1882 by three men with financial ties to the Northern Pacific Railroad, long known for its designs to turn Yellowstone into a summer resort. In the fall of 1882, the Improvement Company began construction in the park. YNPIC landed an extravagant, influence-peddled arrangement permitting it 4,400 acres upon which to build hotels throughout the park. At Canyon, the YNPIC plat would have given them control of 640 acres (a square mile!) beginning “at the head of canyon or Great Falls” (Bartlett 1989, 144). The agreement also gave them control of key natural features within their plats. The government assumed that self interest would motivate concessioners to protect the curiosities placed in their control. But, this exclusive arrangement was clearly reminiscent of the problems that developed at Niagara Falls (Haines 1977b, 30-33; Chittenden 1964, 113).

Some aspects of this first troublesome agreement were quickly addressed through Congressional legislation introduced after Missouri Senator George Vest learned of the extravagant, monopolistic contract. Legend has it that he overheard a conversation among YNPIC men on his Northern Pacific rail trip home from the park. The men were bragging about their sweet deal (Bartlett 1983, 7). Vest’s bill passed as the Sundry Civil Appropriations Act of March 3, 1883, and its effect amended the park’s Organic Act.

1883 Sundry Civil Appropriations Act. Vest's bill addressed three areas of park management. First, it funded ten assistant superintendents who would be stationed throughout the park, attempting to strengthen law enforcement. Second, it permitted the Department of the Interior to request assistance from the War Department if needed, again to strengthen law enforcement. Third, the 1883 legislation corrected the extravagant concession arrangement under which YNPIC was operating. Instead of 4,400 acres, Vest's successful legislation reduced the concessioner lease to ten acres per site, with a maximum of ten acres park wide (the park-wide acreage parameter tightened the reins on overall park development, while the "per site" specification gave the concessioner flexibility in determining the number of developed sites without causing overdevelopment in any one place). In addition to the acreage specification, the concessioner could not site a hotel within one-quarter mile of "any of the geysers and the Yellowstone Falls," preventing control of key features and viewsheds (quote from Haines 1977b, 472; Bartlett 1989, 145).

The original agreement with YNPIC was no longer valid. A new YNPIC lease meeting congressional requirements was signed on March 9, 1883. That summer, the company provided visitor accommodations at their new National Hotel at Mammoth Hot Springs and at temporary tent hotels throughout the park, including one at Canyon. But the business did not last long. Between a severe change in lease parameters and questionable business relationships, the YNPIC suffered financially. It was bankrupt and in receivership by 1884, serving visitors for the last time during the touring season of 1885 (Bartlett 1989, 146-149; Haines 1977a, 272-274).

Canyon's First Accommodations

Within this initial legal framework, Canyon's human landscape began to take shape in 1883. That year, the YNPIC established a temporary "tent hotel" near the West Rim of the canyon. This hotel was Canyon's instance of "first generation" visitor accommodations. In the banner year of 1883, tourists boarded stagecoaches at Cinnabar, Montana near the park's North Entrance. Concession hotel and transportation company employees shepherded tourists through the park for their entire stay. Multiple-day packaged tours began at Mammoth Hot Springs. Subsequent nights were spent at hotels located a strategic single-day stagecoach ride apart—Norris Geyser Basin, Upper Geyser Basin, then Canyon via the Mary Mountain Road through the center of the park. After traveling long distances over dismal roads, visitors had about twenty-four hours to enjoy and explore the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone. They retired for the evening in Canyon's new tent hotel and prepared for the return trip, which usually retraced the same route across Mary Mountain (Bartlett 1989, 48-51).

The YNPIC tent hotel at Canyon was a temporary arrangement—it left little or no archaeological record on the ground and its exact site is not known. It was located near the Upper Falls near the canyon's West Rim, very likely along the route to Yellowstone Lake (Figure 17). Two early descriptions place this tent camp northwest of, but adjacent to, the Jay Creek ravine at an illegal location within one-quarter mile of Upper Falls:

- Above "the rapids which are just above Upper Falls." (Grinnell 1885, 22)
- "At the head of a little rocky dell that slopes steeply down to the Yellowstone River above the Upper Falls; that is, it was very nearly on the site of the tourist cabin layout established there in the 1920s" (Haines 1977a, 277b)

quote; Haines 1977b, 129—conflicts, citing the location as “near the Upper Falls, on the site now occupied by the parking area.” Haines may have relied upon Tilden 1964; Tilden 1964, 382—says “later a ranger station was located here”).

Canyon’s tent hotel could accommodate approximately 75 guests and consisted of large canvas sleeping tents “arranged ‘prettily’ *on two sides of a street* with a large dining tent at the central point” [emphasis added]. Canyon’s tent hotel was considered the most comfortable in the park. Each tent had chairs and beds with spring mattresses. Tourist meals were prepared on a full hotel kitchen range, and they enjoyed dining and socializing in a nicely decorated dining tent and later around a campfire. Unfortunately, the high elevation setting meant that visitors were subjected to daytime storms, cooler weather at night, and snow in the fall, making these tent arrangements far less than ideal (Haines 1977a, 277; Bartlett 1989, quote—51, 131, 150-151—claims Canyon’s tent hotel accommodated 42 people in 1885).

While the YNPIC leases as written met congressional requirements, the actual sites their accommodations used did not. At Canyon, the tent hotel was too close to the canyon in violation of the 1883 adjustment to the Organic Act (within one-quarter mile of the falls) and “spoiled the view” (Bartlett 1989, 151). For Canyon, this was just the first instance of questionably placed concessioner facilities; a problem that plagued the Canyon settlement through the first half of the twentieth century.

During the same year that YNPIC set up tent camps for visitors, its managers entered into an agreement with two men from Bozeman to provide transportation for their guests’ stay in the park. To service the Canyon area, George Wakefield and Charles

Hoffman ran two stagecoaches between Canyon and the Lower Geyser Basin (Haines 1977a, 277; Bartlett 1989, 131). In order to run a successful stagecoach business, the transportation operator needed to set up stables, corrals, and bunkhouses near the hotel sites throughout the park. In 1885, Wakefield and Hoffman were permitted to construct stables and corrals at Canyon (Culpin 2003, 131). At Canyon, Wakefield and Hoffman set up their operation just south of the tent hotel near the west bank of the Yellowstone River south of Jay Creek. In keeping with the regulations outlined in the 1883 adjustment to the Organic Act, the lease specified the location to be 1320 feet (one-quarter mile) south-southwest of Upper Falls (Deutsch 1888).

Assistant Superintendent's Station

With park assistant superintendents now funded by the Sundry Civil Appropriations Act of 1883, superintendents built several duty stations throughout the park. These new park officials provided the only means of law enforcement in remote, yet developing areas of the fledgling park. Canyon's assistant superintendent's station was built soon after the legislation passed. It was a frame structure located well back from the west bank of the Yellowstone River about midway between Upper Falls and the narrow point in the river where Hiram Chittenden later constructed a bridge (Haines 1977b, 184-185). This description places the station on the route to Yellowstone Lake, probably southwest of the tent hotel.

First Generation of Visitor Accommodations

These first attempts at housing visitors at Canyon and elsewhere in the park can be seen as a "first generation" of visitor overnight accommodations—the first of four that

can be identified in the park's history. First generation accommodations were provided by many different individuals or businesses (some as illegal local "squatters"). The total number of guests they could accommodate was quite small. Accommodations and services also varied in form from mobile-tenting outfits; to livery stables, saloons, and houses of ill repute; to leased concessioner hotels (National Hotel, Marshall House, YPIC tent hotels, etc.). None of these facilities survived the test of time, because they were either poorly constructed, illegal, or intended as temporary. These operations lasted only a few years and were soon replaced by the next generation of more enduring tourist facilities. There are no known photographs of Canyon's first generation hotel. Its presence is only known through written records.

During this first generation, the park entertained many applications to establish businesses in the reservation. However, only a few were actually permitted, based on proven or potential financial backing and business acumen (Bartlett 1989, 122). The first attempts at monopoly leases between a private sector business (YNPIC) and the federal government also began during the first generation. Individuals and businesses wanted to provide visitor services for profit even though the park was without solid infrastructure such as roads, trails, water and sewer systems. These business ventures faced difficult operations and probable failures. At the same time, the federal government envisioned that the park would support itself via lease payments from concessioners, which at this time were far too minimal to support road and trail developments.

During this first generation, visitors from all walks of life experienced Yellowstone the same way. They "roughed it" with few creature comforts—it was a fairly democratic experience (Whittlesey 2005a). This first generation of

accommodations began in 1872 with the establishment of government responsibility for the Yellowstone Plateau and its visitors. It continued until a stronger vision emerged as to how these facilities, services, and arrangements would be operated, funded, and controlled. The YNPIC leases represented a transition from the willy-nilly first generation of accommodations. After the YNPIC failure, the Department of Interior entered into a more tightly controlled monopoly lease with the new Yellowstone Park Association—still backed by the Northern Pacific Railroad—at the start of what became a second generation of accommodations in 1886. At Canyon, the second generation accommodations began as a temporary, prefabricated structure near the West Rim and it transformed twice. Canyon's second generation accommodation culminated in the Grand Canyon Hotel, Robert Reamer's enormous Prairie-Style landscape icon adored by generations of Yellowstone sight-seers, staff, and guests.

BUILDING PLACE AT CANYON (1886-1915)

Early Protection and Pressures on Canyon

Throughout this period in Canyon's evolution as a place, the sound of freight wagons and teams, clacking hammers, whirring saw mills, and electric generators competed with the natural soundscape of Yellowstone Falls and the tranquil Grand Canyon. During this period of army administration and increased visitation, the government constructed six bridges, miles of gravel roads, a soldier station, and numerous overlooks in the Canyon area. Park concessioners also built three hotels and two tourist camps, adding to Canyon's cultural landscape and to its identity as a place.

Army Administration

In addition to tightening control on concessioner leases, the Sundry Civil Act of 1883 permitted the Department of the Interior to seek assistance from the War Department to protect the park. Three years later, after fourteen years of civilian administration, it was clear that assistance was needed. Many of the politically appointed civilian superintendents exhibited incompetence at best, and corruption at worst, when administering this new type of land use. At the same time, visitors and local entrepreneurs were damaging the park, taking advantage of unenforceable laws intended to protect wildlife populations, vegetation, and the geothermal wonders. The Department of the Interior exercised the option of army assistance and on August 17, 1886, Captain Moses Harris arrived with fifty cavalrymen from Fort Custer, Montana Territory. Harris became the acting superintendent on August 20th. He then toured the park, assigning men to areas formerly protected by the assistant superintendents, including a detachment

assigned to the station near Upper Falls at Canyon (Haines 1977b, 3). The army's arrival at Mammoth Hot Springs marked the beginning of the army's 32-year protective presence in Yellowstone. Even with the army in place, protective measures regarding limits on development evolved through time, during both the army administration and the early years of the NPS beginning in 1916. Federal officials in charge of this new type of reservation modified laws and regulations in response to visitor needs, visitor use, and visitor effects, essentially making procedures up as they went along (Schullery 1997, 87).

One example of such a challenge was the threat to the Grand Canyon and falls by a proposal to route an electric railroad through the park. For years the Northern Pacific Railroad had unsuccessfully proposed extending its line into the northern portion of Yellowstone. The electric railroad proposal, first suggested in 1891, was one final attempt to extend a railroad of some kind into the park. Proposals for the electric railroad usually suggested that objections to a steam railroad into Yellowstone centered on concerns about pollution and wildfire starts. An electric railroad would not cause these problems—traditional objections would be moot. Electric railroad bills were introduced into both houses of Congress during 1893. A separate threat to Yellowstone's Grand Canyon came in the form of proposed electric power generation for the rail line, using the waterfalls in the canyon. The proposals for an electric railroad failed after Rep. John Lacey of Iowa spoke out against the idea. Lacey quoted acting superintendent Anderson's opinion of the project as "unneeded, undesirable, vicious" (Haines 1977b, 338). If an electric railroad powered by the falls of the Yellowstone had succeeded, it would have set a precedent for tapping into park waters for commercial purposes—a battle that resumed later in the park, focused on damming rivers in the southwestern corner of Yellowstone

for agricultural irrigation (Chittenden 1964, 133; Haines 1977b, 41, 46, 47, 337-338, 392n28; Yochim 2003).

Park Visitation

Locals, primarily residents of Montana Territory, made up the greater portion of visitation in the park's first fifteen years. They exerted early pressure on park development, many traveling solo on horseback, and others hiring outfitters who hauled wagons with their food and bedding. These tourists roughed it, camping out among the sage under the stars. "Sagebrushers" (as they were called in Yellowstone) could stop for the night wherever they wanted, free of charge. The pressure on park development grew when greater numbers of tourists arrived from more populated centers, enticed and enabled by the Northern Pacific Railroad. Railroad tourists often were "couponers" who purchased coupons for a longer stay in the park arranged through the park's hotel and transportation concessioners (Smith and Wyckoff 2001, 93; Bartlett 1989, 54).

During this period of increasing park visitation, the greater United States was enjoying mass-produced goods and distribution channels along ever-expanding rail lines. The United States was developing a national market with an expanding middle class participating in a capitalist economy. Thus, more Americans had access to transportation infrastructure, more wealth, and more leisure time to spend on what Historian Marguerite Shaffer refers to as "national tourism" (Shaffer 2001, 3). However, travel at home, getting to know America, was in direct competition with the more common leisure-class travel to Europe. As a general rule, Americans knew more about European cities than they did about cities west of the Mississippi River (Hyde 1990, 206-207).

Although many railroads provided transcontinental tours and promoted them, tourism to the western United States began slowly. The cost was comparatively high and the accommodations were rough. Tourism before the turn of the century still focused on the well-known eastern attractions and popular European destinations. With a relatively short national history, wealthy Americans traditionally chose to travel to Europe on vacations to experience the roots of their own cultural development. Beautiful mountain views in the Alps drew American tourists year after year (Shaffer 2001, 17; Runte 1979, 93).

Many people in the western United States saw this trend as both a loss in American wealth and a missed opportunity for Americans to know their country. In Salt Lake City, a 1906 conference of western businessmen, boosters, and delegates sought to capture these tourism dollars. The conference was dubbed the “See America First” conference. It pooled the ideas and resources of these men to create tourism infrastructure and advertising to keep Americans at home while they were on vacation. These boosters believed that this would both capture tourist dollars and provide the means for Americans to develop a national identity separate from that of Europe (Shaffer 2001, 26-27). Americans were learning that dramatic western mountain scenery could generate money at home, just as it did in Switzerland. Aiming for a type of “cultural nationalism,” promoters knew that America’s scenery and landmarks could be just as symbolic as those in Europe (Runte 1979, 93).

Railroads in the United States participated in the promotion of travel at home. National railroads such as the Northern Pacific produced tourism and national park advertising, creating demand for travel in the United States. Although the American West was not well-developed, when Americans did travel west, they still expected the hotels and their experiences to be similar to those of Europe (Hyde 1990; 206-207, 216). Heavily influenced by traveler expectations, American resorts needed to meet these expectations through beautiful furnishings, landscaping, and entertainment (Hyde 1990, 190). Any formal accommodations that developed in Yellowstone risked losing tourism dollars if they varied from this approach.

Second Generation Concessioner—Yellowstone Park Association

In 1886, when the government entered into a monopoly lease with the railroad-backed Yellowstone Park Association, the financial and operational groundwork for the second generation of tourist accommodations was laid. The hotels built during this period of park development were sturdier buildings, intentionally mimicking the style and intent of hostelrys on the East Coast and in Europe. These hotels were also all under the same ownership, making logistics simpler for the government. The Northern Pacific Railroad was investing more money in the park as a destination, which resulted in hotels that accommodated far more tourists. Hotels and support buildings constructed during this second generation left a more permanent mark on the landscape.

During the transition between first generation and second generation accommodations, the park's hotel concession privilege changed hands. YNPIC had failed and the Northern Pacific Railroad moved its funding to the new organization—the

Yellowstone Park Association (YPA). After YPA secured hotel leases in Yellowstone in April of 1886, the railroad stopped funding YNPIC altogether, even though that company's park leases were still valid. The plats of land specified in the new YPA leases were scrutinized carefully by the Department of the Interior. The government was paying more attention to land use in Yellowstone than it had previously. The visitor season of 1886 was managed by the new YPA concessioner. Curiously, many of the YPA lease plats went unused. At Canyon, visitor facilities were offered under two valid leases. One lease was issued to the new YPA and was not actually used as a visitor site. The other lease held by YNPIC for their tent hotel was sublet (for a fee) to YPA for its first Canyon Hotel, presumably for the duration of the site's use (Haines 1977b, 42; Bartlett 1989, 148-152, 156-157).

The federal government walked a tight rope between protecting the park from inappropriate development and encouraging railroad-backed concessioners to continue their involvement in Yellowstone's growth. In this experimental period of providing for tourists while protecting the natural landscape, decisions related to permitting the construction of enduring second-generation buildings had to be made carefully. Indeed, hotels and infrastructure were desperately needed. The railroads continued to promote the park in advertising and were delivering more and more tourists each year.

Touring Canyon

Park Travel Routes

For tourists arriving through the North Entrance prior to 1886, reaching Canyon by wagon required traveling southward on the west side of the park almost to the Lower Geyser Basin. There tourists turned east on the Mary Mountain Road, which led them through the geographic center of Yellowstone. The alternate trip for wagon tourists over the top of Mount Washburn (not available until 1906) was very difficult and avoided by most, including most stagecoach concessioners (Quinn 2004a, 67; Hyde 1886, 116). In 1886, the distance traveled to arrive at Canyon was shortened considerably by the construction of a crude road between Norris Geyser Basin and Canyon (Figure 19, top inset). The route had been used prior to 1886 and was referred to in the press as the Norris Cutoff, presumably in the form of a trail (Haines 1996, 184). The road offered a more direct route for visitors arriving from the north, although it still presented its fair share of steep and difficult terrain to negotiate by stagecoach or wagon. The YNPIC stood to benefit from improving this known route in order to transport materials and tourists to its hotel at Canyon. This company performed the work involved in developing this road themselves—and crudely so. They simply chopped down trees, leaving 10-20 inch stumps for wagons and horses to negotiate (Haines 1977b, 11; Whittlesey 2005c, 57). This new road created the first “Canyon Junction” at the road’s terminus near the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone (Figure 20). This shorter, direct route came with a price: Unlike the previous routes to Canyon the Norris Cutoff Road was one of the least interesting for sight seeing (Haines 1977b, 133).

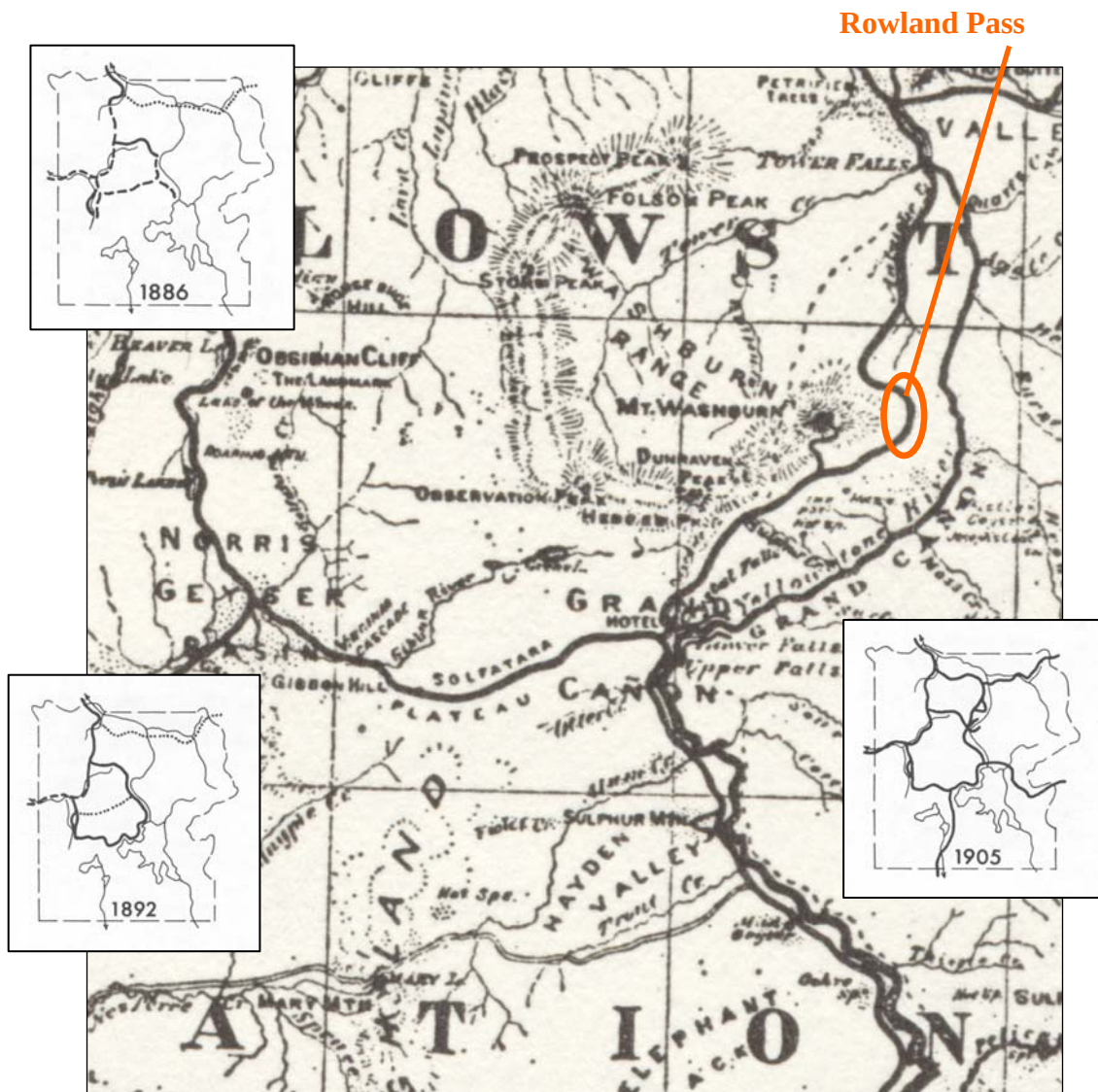


Figure 19: Canyon Area Access Roads and Trails: Main map c1895. Note route east of Mount Washburn symbolized as a road (Chittenden 1964); Inset maps (Haines 1977b)

Other park road accomplishments affecting tourist travel to Canyon were the completion of Craig Pass near Old Faithful, as well as work on the road from West Thumb to Canyon, both during 1891 (Haines 1977b, 119; Anderson 1891, 6). Craig Pass accommodated travel between Old Faithful and Yellowstone Lake. The Norris Cutoff Road, Craig Pass, and the road from West Thumb effectively changed the touring pattern

for Yellowstone visitors into a loop-like pattern (Figure 19, bottom left inset). With a completed Lower Loop, stagecoach drivers and their passengers minimized the amount of backtracking over landscapes and terrain. Two years after Craig Pass opened, the Mary Mountain Road through the center of the park was abandoned, although it was not officially closed to vehicles until after World War II (Haines 1996, 197; Haines 1977b, 119).

Although today Old Faithful Geyser is considered to be the park's most popular attraction, during the stagecoach era, it was the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone that held that status (Holm Transportation Company 1912). The typical park travel pattern for concessioners and their stagecoaches was counter-clockwise around the Lower Loop (Haines 1977b, 133). With the North and West Entrances becoming more heavily used, the geyser basins were the first significant Lower Loop features visited—the Grand Canyon was the last. This placed the Grand Canyon and the falls of the Yellowstone as the exclamation point on a string of fascinating park features visited. Unfortunately, with the counter-clockwise travel pattern well entrenched, East Entrance tourists following the same pattern saw Grand Canyon first. Tex Holm, a Cody businessman offering tours by stagecoach found this travel pattern undesirable and disappointing to his patrons. Holm requested permission from the Secretary of the Interior to travel against the traffic in a clockwise pattern. This he claimed would ensure that the least attractive stretch of road between Yellowstone Lake and West Thumb was encountered first, and the Grand

Canyon was the dramatic last major attraction the tourists experienced before exiting the park (Holm Transportation Company 1912; Brett 1912b).

Early Canyon tourists arriving via horseback from the north (without wagon), had the option to travel either near Mount Washburn by way of Dunraven Pass (as earlier expeditions had), or via a lower elevation bridle path over Rowland Pass developed by Superintendent Norris along the eastern flank of Mount Washburn (Figure 19, main map). The lower route was the route most often taken by tourists who did not intend to summit Mount Washburn (Guptill 1897, 101). This route was later surveyed. It was considered the likely route of the Grand Loop Road between Tower Fall and Canyon (Young 1907, 7). However, after park officials invested in the scenic Dunraven Pass road in 1905, with its loop over the summit of Mount Washburn (Figure 19, right inset), the magnificent views eclipsed the need for a lower elevation route, although it too offered a fine view of the canyon. Along the Rowland Pass route, tourists could enjoy an all-encompassing view of the canyon by ascending a peak just east of the trail near the pass. At the western end of the view, tourists saw Lower Falls. To the east, tourists saw a view of Yellowstone River tributaries, carving their own canyons as they joined the river from the opposite side of the Grand Canyon (Hyde 1886, 114, 121).

The Experience of Canyon

Visitors to Canyon often remained for days in rustic accommodations near the canyon and falls. The proximity of a settlement close to the canyon rim fostered a tourist experience of the sublime, arguably surpassing that at Niagara Falls—the natural feature against which the falls of the Yellowstone were often compared (Haynes 1910, 86;

Haynes 1916, 97; Yard 1928, 12). The tourist's stay at Canyon was quiet and awe inspiring. Breaking the silence of a dense lodgepole forest was the sight and sound of river water careening over two dramatic falls within a half mile of one another into the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone. The canyon's rim was densely forested, and the human settlement, quite modest by comparison. The variegated, warm colors that splashed up and down the canyon walls challenged and bewildered many a painter and poet (Whittlesey 2005b, 120-121; Hyde 1886, 111-113; Whittlesey 1988a, 382-385, 605). This experience of the sublime was entirely unencumbered by the bustle and congestion that tourists often experienced in more thickly settled places such as Niagara.

Upon arrival, tourists eagerly anticipated the canyon itself. Along with descriptions published in popular guidebooks, the dissected, complex topography at Canyon heightened anticipation of the scene ahead. The manner in which the Canyon and its two falls were revealed to tourists was distinctly different from the visitor's experience at features in the park's western corridor. While the geyser basins were separated by dense forest, the geyser basins were, for the most part, wide open. Many individual geothermal features were discovered via relatively easy, albeit dangerous, walking. By comparison, the Grand Canyon as a single feature was not completely comprehended until numerous viewpoints were seen—all serving to coalesce in the mind and to create a impression of the canyon as a whole.

The task of reaching each of these vantage points was an adventure. It required more effort on foot or horseback, traveling through ravines along the canyon rim, and

risking safety while peering over the canyon's vertiginous edge. Early tourists wanting to view the canyon from its South Rim had to ford the Yellowstone River above Upper Falls, adding to the excitement. The adventurous experience of a slow revelation of the canyon's features, bit by bit, with ever-changing views of the two dramatic waterfalls, probably contributed to its status as the most cherished park feature (Holm Transportation Company 1912). That Canyon did not contain the pervasive (and to some, offensive) hydrogen sulfide smell of a geyser basin likely contributed as well.

Canyon Area Roads and Infrastructure

Early tourism at the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone took place primarily along the West and North Rims of the canyon (Figure 20). Later, tourist activities along the canyon's South Rim increased dramatically with the building of Chittenden Bridge over the Yellowstone River. The basic, primitive trails scratched out at Canyon eventually developed into bridle paths and later into roads. Bridging the area's dissected terrain along these routes was necessary before efficient and convenient access to the canyon rims was possible. Early in this period, only those who were fully confident of their abilities and footing traveled to some of the more dangerous canyon overlooks. After the turn of the century, overlook infrastructure was upgraded from rudimentary log and pole structures to Army Corps of Engineers-designed overlooks made of lumber to extend access to the old and the young.

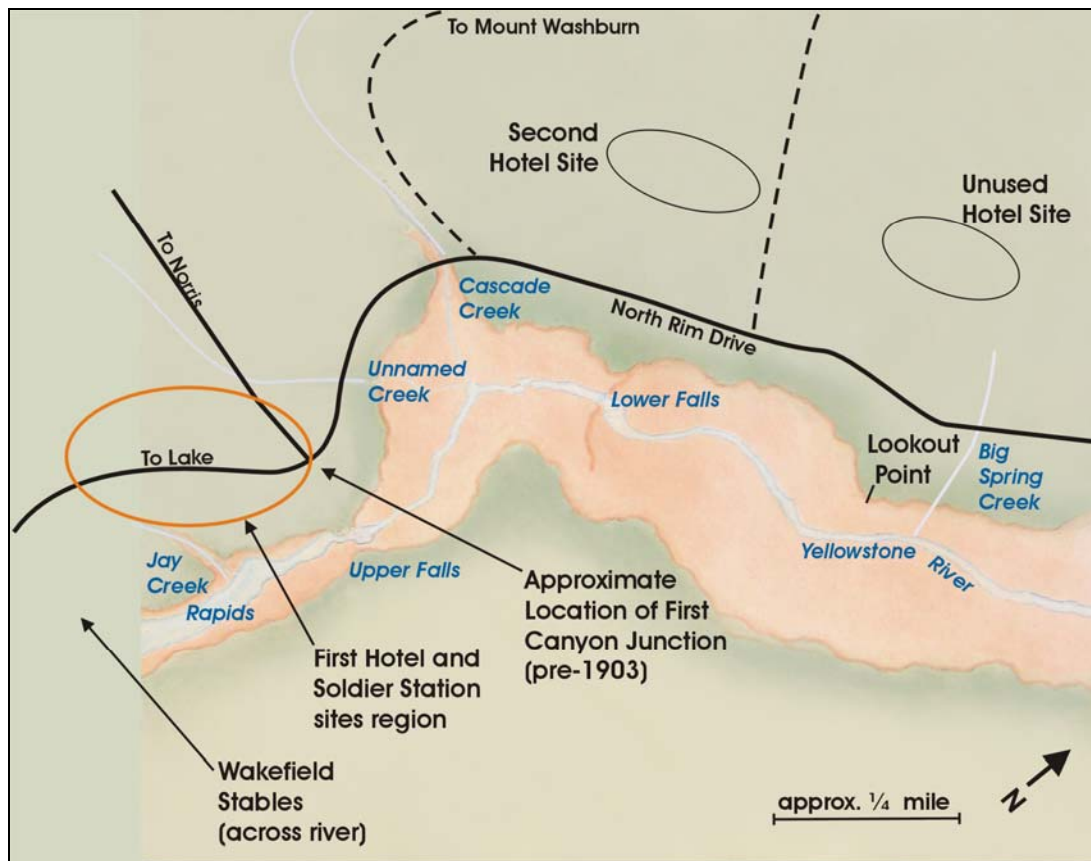


Figure 20: Generalized Map of Canyon Settlement and Infrastructure, late 1880s before construction of Canyon Bridge over Jay Creek (adapted from NPS 1933)

West Rim—Arriving at Canyon

Broadly speaking, tourists did not arrive at Canyon from Tower Fall. Park stagecoaches did not travel over Mount Washburn in early years and once a road was built, travel over Mount Washburn was one way going north. Prior to 1886, most Yellowstone tourists arrived at Canyon from the south after crossing through the middle of the park over the Mary Mountain Road. After 1886, tourists could also arrive from Norris Geyser Basin, but most came from the south. Tourists arriving from Norris reached the Canyon area at the same location as tourists from the south—at the first

Canyon Junction not far from Upper Falls (Figure 20). The route from the south remained well back from the banks of the Yellowstone River until just north of Upper Falls. After 1895, a significant change occurred in the way northbound tourists formed their first impression of Canyon. Once the Canyon Bridge over Jay Creek was constructed, tourists arriving from the south traveled along the west bank of the Yellowstone River for a couple of miles from near Alum Creek to Upper Falls. Army Corps Engineer Hiram Chittenden wrote:

After the completion of this [bridge] work the opening of about a mile of new road was begun along the rapids of the Yellowstone *to replace the bad stretch of old road which passes through the fields at some distance back from the river*. This work was carefully laid out . . . and will form probably the finest piece of work from a professional point of view, as it certainly will be the most interesting scenic route hitherto constructed. Commencing at that point of the river where it breaks into the extremely picturesque rapids which extend for half a mile above the falls, the road leaves the river just opposite the brink of the falls, forming a fitting introduction to the general scenery of the Grand Canyon. (Chittenden quoted in Baldwin 1976, part VII, 1893 report—emphasis added)

This new approach to Canyon was “improved” in 1907 when the Corps of Engineers removed a large mass of timber from the Yellowstone River that had netted a large quantity of “green scum and slime” through the years. The unpleasant task of hauling the material out and burning it gave them great satisfaction, because the mass typically gave off a very offensive odor at the end of the season (Peek 1907, 7). With the Canyon Bridge and new road section in use, and the slime removed, tourists enjoyed views of the rapids above Upper Falls and encountered a bridge as the first visible cultural landscape element at Canyon. After 1903, Chittenden Bridge was seen first.

However, for eight years, the most prominent bridge in the canyon area was the Canyon Bridge over Jay Creek. Tourist traffic was heaviest along the canyon's West Rim near Canyon Junction with its proximity to both Upper Falls and Lower Falls (Figure 21).



Figure 21: Sagebrushers Meet Stagecoaches along the West Rim: Chittenden Bridge in distance c1913. Probably south of Canyon Bridge (Francis Collection)

Canyon Bridge. The first Canyon Bridge, a wooden arch truss bridge (Figure 22, top), was the largest bridge built in the park at that time (Baldwin 1976, part VII, 1893 report). It caused quite a stir in the park during its construction. The project was one glaring example of construction-project mismanagement by the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, charged with assisting park management on road projects. Between 1893 and

1894, the Canyon Bridge project overseer spent more than half of the 1893 fiscal year appropriations on this one “over-designed” project. This was an unfortunate expenditure. It significantly depleted a meager park budget slated to cover all road projects. The bridge construction progress was slow. It was not complete by the end of the 1894 touring season. The bridge was finally completed in 1895 after the park’s acting superintendent took control of the project (Davis, Croteau, and Marston 2004, 166; Anderson 1895, 7; Whittlesey and Yellowstone Staff 1997, 90; Haines 1977b, 220). This expensive bridge was used for almost 20 years until it was replaced by the second Canyon Bridge, built in 1914 under a contract let by the Corps of Engineers (Figure 22, bottom). This second bridge was constructed of reinforced concrete, creating a 210-foot-long surface supported by a 145-foot arch. It opened to the public on June 16, 1915 and is extant today (Davis, Croteau, and Marston 2004, 166; Brett 1913a 9; Brett 1914a, 9).

Upper Falls Tourist Stop. Approximately one-eighth mile after crossing the Canyon Bridge, northbound tourists of early days arrived at the Upper Falls of the Yellowstone River (Figure 23). Upper Falls marked the beginning of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River. The formation of Upper Falls interrupts the river’s twisting “S-curve” at the curve’s mid point. Dropping 109 feet, it represents the shorter of the two major Yellowstone River waterfalls. Its beauty and drama stem from the curving nature of the river at the fall and the water’s crash and splash after striking table rock near the base of the falls. For some, Upper Falls was more highly regarded than Lower Falls:

I confess that to me the upper fall was the greater attraction....there is in the upper fall a life, action, vivacity, energy that are simply irresistible....it represents the tireless activity and energy of youth, while the greater

cataract [Lower Falls] typifies the more mature and sedate manhood (Olin Wheeler quoted in Meyer 1996, 66).

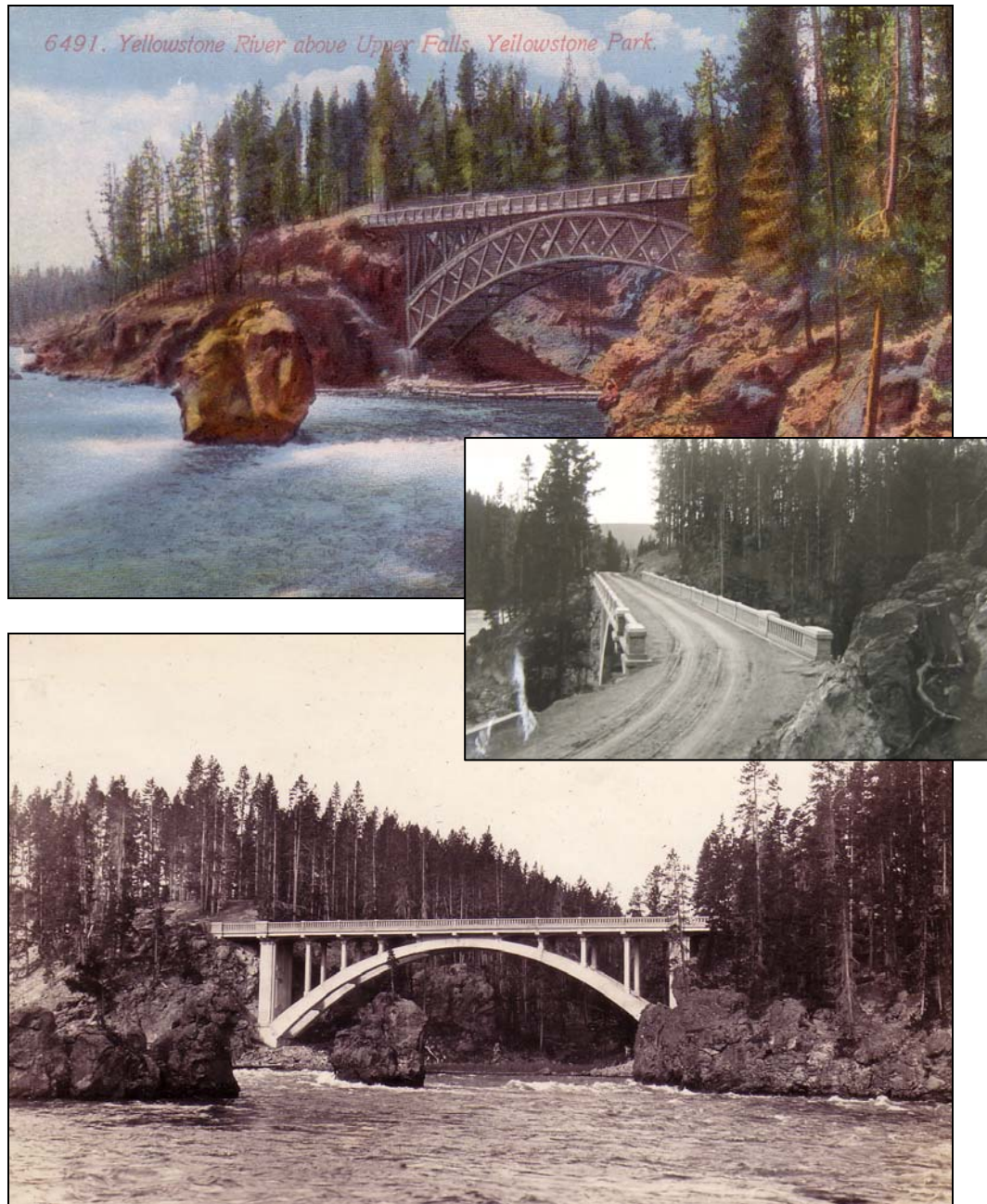


Figure 22: First and Second Canyon Bridges over Jay Creek: Top—Expensive wooden truss bridge completed in 1895 (Francis Collection); Bottom—Concrete arch bridge opened in 1915 (Francis Collection); Inset—Concrete bridge surface (Yellowstone Museum Collection)



Figure 23: Upper Falls with Second Canyon Bridge in Background, by Asahel Curtis (Francis Collection)

Earlier trails led the sure-footed to views of the Upper Falls from both its western brink and from just below the western brink on a natural platform of jutting lava rocks (Hyde 1886, 106). Between 1905 and 1907, the tourist infrastructure enabling these views was improved (Figure 24). Basic log and pole structures were incrementally upgraded to safer designs having sturdy stairs, roomier platforms, and seats made with milled lumber. The upper platform at the brink was at the end of a 103-foot long stairway, 26 feet below the road level, and it had four landings. The lower platform, which stood below and beside the brink of the falls, terminated at the end of a 159-foot staircase with four landings at a level 45 feet below the road. Also built was an unloading platform along the side of the West Rim road for the convenience and safety of

disembarking stagecoach passengers (Pitcher 1905, 13; Pitcher 1906, 13-14; Young 1907, 8; Peek 1906c, 13).

In addition to the Upper Falls viewing platforms, tourists could scramble to the base of the falls along a trail down from the West Rim of the upper canyon. There they could enjoy the upper, more forested section of the Grand Canyon, the crashing base of Upper Falls, or fish the river for the evening's dinner. As early as 1890, park guidebooks presumed that a footbridge would be constructed to cross the river at the brink of the Upper Falls. There was also the expectation that an elevator would one day be built to easily transport tourists down into the canyon, neither of which came to pass (Guptill 1890, 98-101; Haines 1977b, 293).

Unnamed Creek Bridge. After visiting Upper Falls, earlier northbound tourists passed the second Soldier Station, on the east side of the road, before arriving at another bridge (Figure 25). A bridge over the unnamed tributary of Cascade Creek had been present since 1880, facilitating travel along the West Rim. The earlier bridge was replaced in 1889 with a trestle bridge, 14 feet wide and 115 feet long with wooden railings that were replaced at least once in 1907 (Figure 26). In 1914, the bridge was replaced with a steel reinforced concrete culvert, which is extant today at the North Rim trailhead (Craighill 1889, 3-4; Culpin 1994, 32; Peek 1907, 6; Fries 1914, 12; Brett 1915, 10).

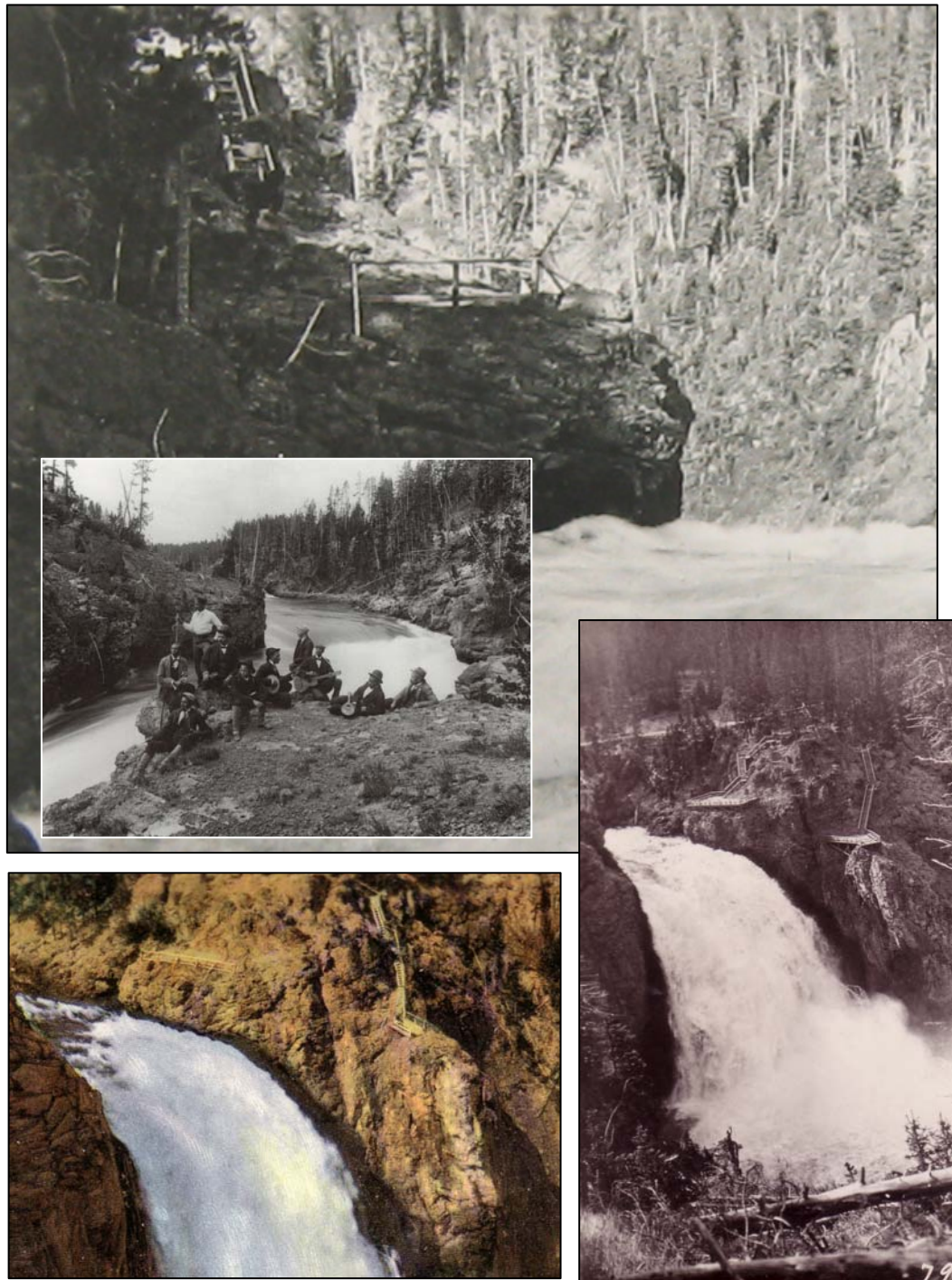


Figure 24: Upper Falls Tourist Infrastructure: Top—Upper Falls upper platform and access stairway c. 1900 (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Inset— Canyon Hotel waiters at Upper Falls brink, 1896 (Schreier 1989); Bottom left—Upper Falls viewing structures (both) before 1906 (Francis Collection); Bottom right—Upper Falls platforms (both) after 1906 (Francis Collection)

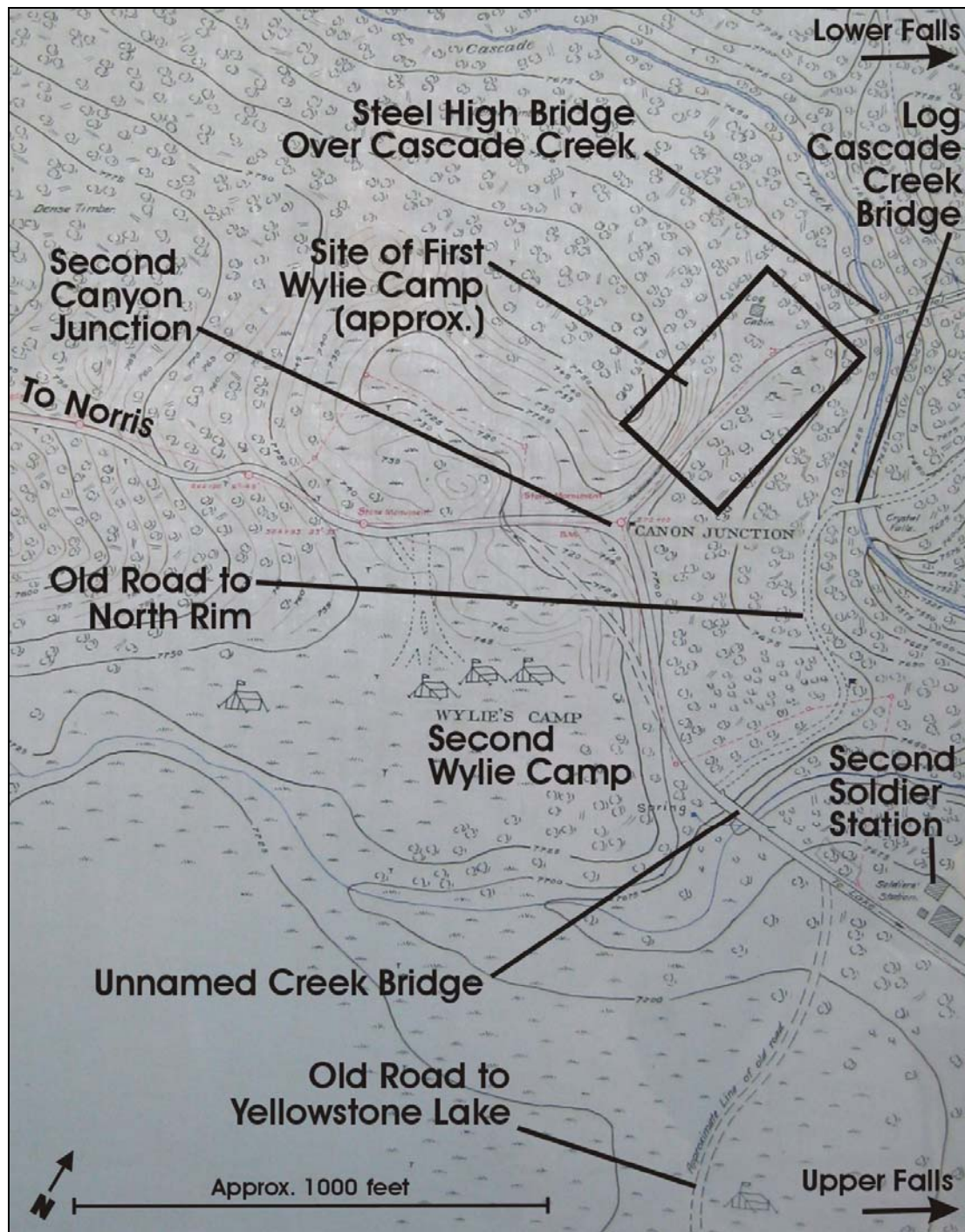


Figure 25: West Rim Development, circa 1905: Labeled over Chittenden 1905 map detail. Notes: tent shown at bottom right is near the site of YNPIC 1883 tent hotel; unidentified cabin near the site of first Wylie Camp is shown in Figure 28; old roads near and into the Second Wylie camp may indicate original route of road from Norris Geyser Basin (Yellowstone Archives)

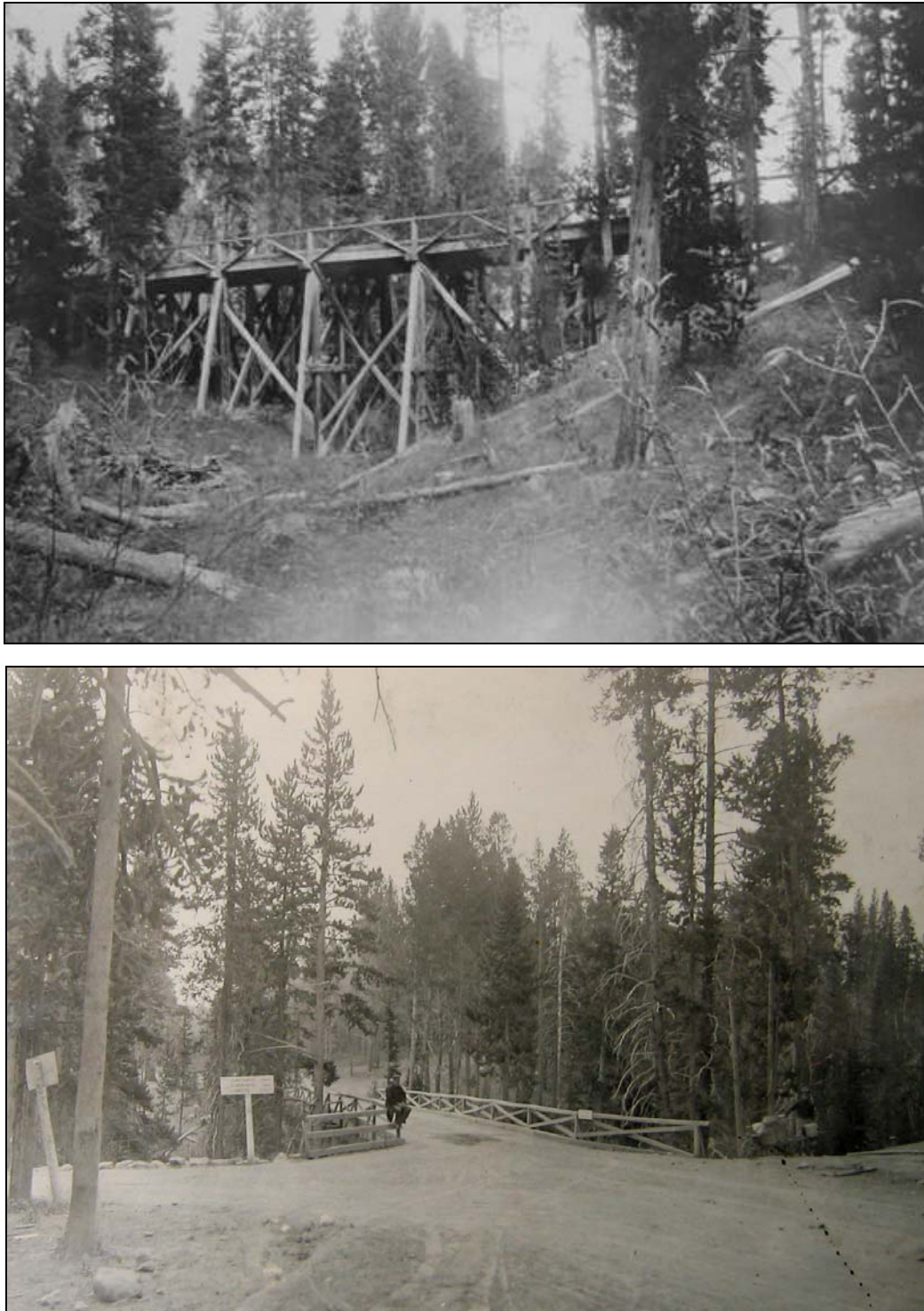


Figure 26: Bridge Spanning Unnamed Creek: Top—"Bridge between Soldier Station and Wylie Camp," 1912; Bottom—"Bridge, Canyon Junction," circa 1915, probably looking southeast toward the Soldier Station (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

Cascade Creek Bridges. Crossing Cascade Creek was first accomplished via Norris's bridge built in 1880. In 1889, the bridge was reconstructed using a king and queen post-truss construction with a 40-foot span (Craighill 1889, 3-4; Culpin 1994, 32). The new log truss bridge included a short walkway (Figure 27), leading visitors to the edge above Grotto Pool. As late as 1916, the ladders first installed as part of the first Cascade Creek Bridge were still advertised for use (Haynes 1916, 96—Note: guide content changed significantly in 1917 for automobile information, which may have influenced elimination of ladder information).

The road along the canyon's West Rim near Cascade Creek was moved west away from the canyon rim in 1903. This realignment was necessary to eliminate two bad hills and a slope known to slide along the east end of the Norris Cutoff Road. The road realignment moved Canyon Junction northwest approximately 1000 feet, creating the second Canyon Junction. A new steel-arch Cascade Creek Bridge was built as part of the road movement (Figure 27 top right and Figure 25). The new bridge was 220 feet long with a 120-foot span (Pitcher 1903, 8; Pitcher 1905, 12; Chittenden 1905). After crossing the bridge and rising out of the ravine, tourists caught their first view of the colorful Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone (Guptill 1890, 99). For many years, Rev. Dr. Wayland Hoyt's description of his experience arriving at Canyon was published in park guidebooks, preparing tourists for the scene ahead:

Well, we have reached Cascade Creek at last; and a beautiful grove of trees, beneath whose shade sparkles a clear stream, whose waters are free from the nauseous taste of alkali, furnishes a delightful place in which to camp. Now—dismounting, and seeing that your horse is well cared for, while the men are unloading the pack-mules and pitching the tents—walk up that trail winding up that hillside; follow it for a little among the solemn pines, and then pass out from the tree shadows, and take your stand upon that jutting rock—clinging to it well meanwhile, and being very sure of your footing, for your head will surely grow dizzy, —and there opens before you one of the most stupendous scenes of Nature, —the Lower Falls and the awful Canyon of the Yellowstone.... Nothing more awful have I ever seen than the yawning of that chasm. And the stillness, solemn as midnight, profound as death! The water dashing there, as in a kind of agony, against those rocks, you can not hear. The mighty distance lays the finger of silence on its white lips. You are oppressed with a sense of danger. It is as though the vastness would soon force you from the rock to which you cling. The silence, the sheer depth, the gloom, burden you. It is a relief to feel the firm earth beneath your feet again, as you carefully crawl back from your perching place....And then, of course, and almost beyond all else, you are fascinated by the magnificence and utter opulence of color. Those are not simply gray and hoary depths and reaches and domes and pinnacles of sullen rock. The whole gorge flames. It is as though rainbows had fallen out of the sky and hung themselves there like glorious banners (Hyde 1886, 111-113).

Between 1904 and 1907, workmen erected signs near the steel Cascade Creek Bridge, marking points of interest related to the Nez Perce flight, General Howard's pursuit, and Spurgin's dramatic feats moving supply wagons across the unbridged Cascade Creek ravine. Later, new enameled steel signs replaced older wooden ones, calling attention to Spurgin's route and to points of interest around the canyon. When overlooks at points of interest were reconstructed, they were stained to blend with the environment (Pitcher 1904, 13, Pitcher 1906, 14; Young 1907, 8).

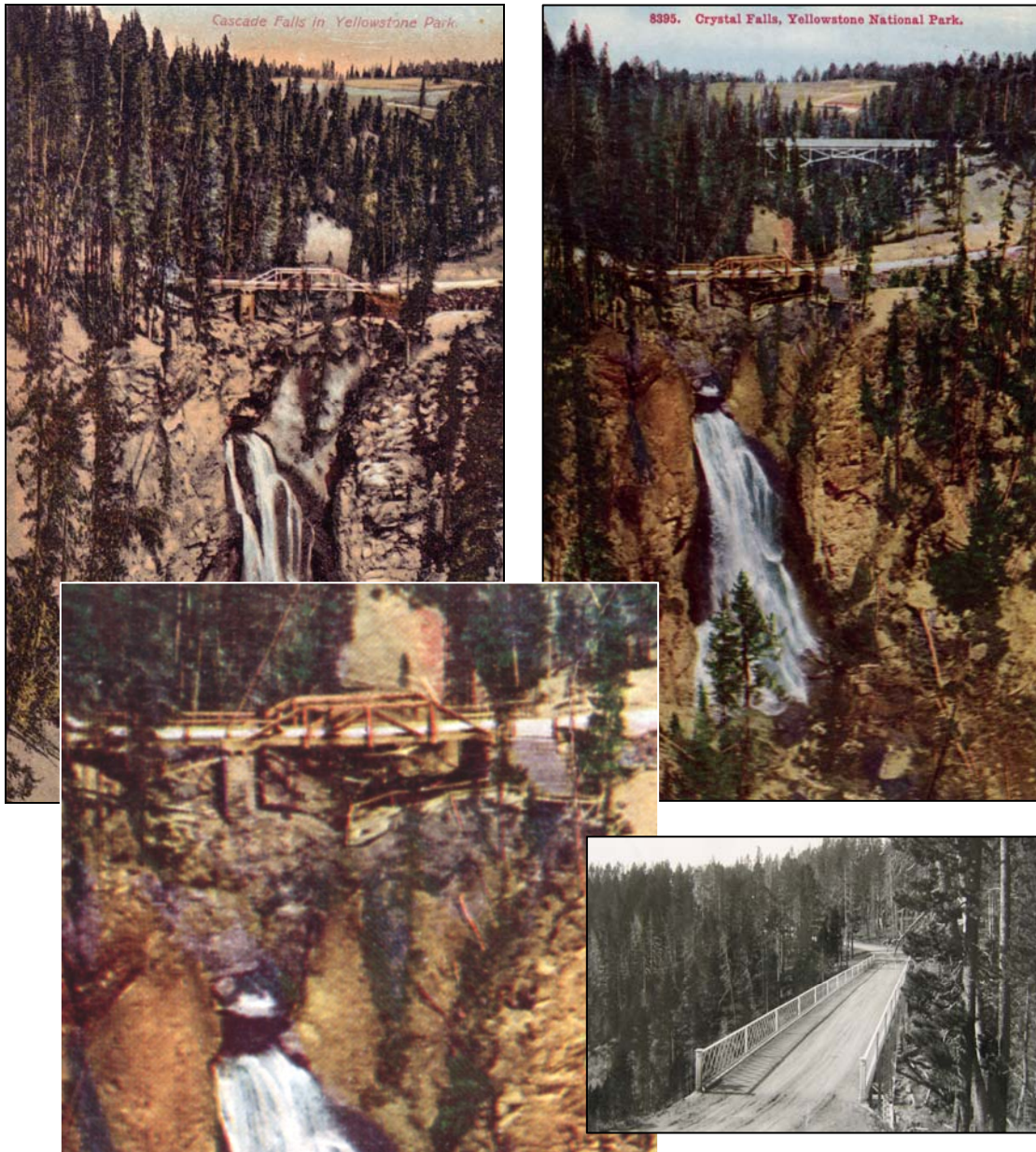


Figure 27: Second and Third Cascade Creek Bridges: Top left—Second Cascade Creek bridge (Francis Collection); Top right—Second and Third Cascade Creek bridges (Goss Collection); Bottom left—Close-up showing tourist walkway to Grotto Pool overlook and ladder access (Goss Collection); Bottom right—Third Cascade Creek bridge surface (Yellowstone Museum Collection)



Figure 28: West Rim Road at Cascade Creek. Sign commemorating the route of Spurgin's wagon train. Origin and function of cabin unknown, also shown in Figure 25 (Library of Congress)

Lower Falls Tourist Stop. Lower Falls, sometimes referred to as Great Falls of the Yellowstone, is the higher of the two Yellowstone River falls at 308 feet (Figure 29). It is nearly three times as high as Upper Falls and is the park's tallest waterfall. The view of the falls is framed well between hydrothermally altered walls, marking the beginning of the colorful Grand Canyon. Immediately upstream from Lower Falls, the river travels in a straight line and simply drops over the precipice, unlike Upper Falls with its twisting and crashing water flow. After his visit during the expedition in 1870, Lieutenant Doane reduced the difference between the two falls to a sound bite, a word for each. For the Upper Falls: Momentum; for the Lower Falls: Gravitation (Meyer 1996, 65). The irregular pattern of white and green water at the brink is caused by the shape of the brink

itself (Figure 30, bottom right). Notches cut in the rock surface from chunks of rock detaching from the brink allow some of the flow to drop smoothly for a distance before breaking into white foam (Norris 1881, 21; Whittlesey 1988b, 91-93).

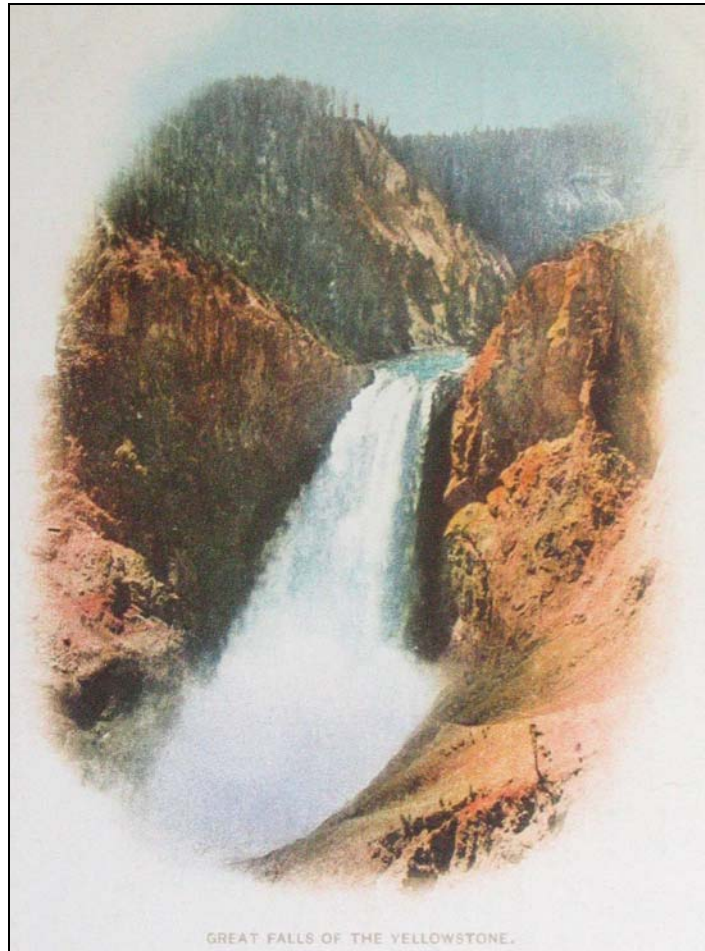


Figure 29: Lower Falls of the Yellowstone, 1900 Detroit Photographic Co. (Francis Collection)

To see Lower Falls up close and enjoy the view from the head of the Grand Canyon, tourists could follow the early road north from the Cascade Creek ravine as Reverend Hoyt described, or they could travel down to the brink on a trail that left the

main road just north of Cascade Creek Bridge. A signboard on the road marked this trail, which descended first into the Cascade Creek ravine, then along the Yellowstone River in the upper canyon to the brink of Lower Falls (Figure 30, bottom right).

The route to the brink of Lower Falls from near the Cascade Creek Bridge was publicized on guidebook maps until 1927, up to 1909 in guidebook text, and until at least 1932 in government circulars (Guptill, 1890, 99; Guptill, 1909, 93; Haynes 1927, 31; NPS 1932, 39). A platform with railings, present since at least 1886, provided a safe viewing place for these early visitors (Hyde 1886, 108). For tourists who stayed at the Canyon Hotel, a visit to the brink of the Lower Falls often occurred on the last day of their stay at Canyon. They would leave the hotel a few hours earlier than their stagecoach, hike down to Cascade Creek and take the trail on the north wall of the upper canyon to the brink. Later in the morning, these tourists would hike back up to the bridge to meet their stagecoach for departure (Guptill 1898, 91-92).

In 1895, park officials improved the trails down to Lower Falls from near Cascade Creek Bridge and added handrails (Anderson 1895, 8). At the same time that the Upper Falls platforms and stairs were built, Lower Falls infrastructure was upgraded. Unloading platforms and stairs were added for tourists descending to Lower Falls from directly above. The unloading platforms marked the start of a new 660-foot-long stairway constructed with finished lumber complete with benches and fifteen landings. It brought tourists down 300 feet below the road level and followed the vertiginous, craggy edge of the Grand Canyon's north head-wall (Pitcher 1906, 14; Young 1907, 8; Peek 1906c, 13). This stairway augmented the existing access to the brink from the trail at Cascade Creek Bridge.



Figure 30: Lower Falls Tourist Infrastructure: Top left—Staircase from North Rim Drive to Lower Falls brink (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Top right—Looking East along the west end of North Rim Drive with top of stairs to Lower Falls brink circled (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Bottom left—View of canyon from stairway above Lower Falls in 1918. Note tourist trails on right (south) bank of river (Francis Collection); Bottom right—View of brink of Lower Falls in 1918 showing trail from Cascade Creek at left and staircase descending from North Rim Drive (Francis Collection); Bottom inset—Tourists at brink of Lower Falls, 1886 by F. J. Haynes (Montana Historical Society 1981)

North Rim Drive—The Inspiration Point Road

Having a final destination of Inspiration Point, the route along the North Rim of the Grand Canyon was often referred to as the Inspiration Point Road (Figure 31). This transportation route was both functional and scenic. It connected horseback and foot travelers to the higher and lower elevation routes to Tower Fall, and it was the first canyon rim developed for tourist enjoyment. The Inspiration Point Road was designed to be as close as possible to the North Rim of the canyon (Guptill 1897, 92). It provided access to several relatively accessible canyon overlooks: Lookout Point, Red Rock Point, Moran Point, Hayden Point, Grand View, Point Defiance, and Inspiration Point. This route began first as a rough trail to Lookout Point as early as 1886. Two years later in 1888, it was improved further to become the park's first formal bridle path. This section of trail allowed tourists easier access from the bridge over Cascade Creek to Lookout Point after passing directly above Lower Falls—the place where Reverend Hoyt suggested that tourists should be sure of their footing and carefully cling to their perch (Hyde 1886, 109; Bartlett 1989, 79).

The North Rim Drive offered views of Lower Falls and the canyon unparalleled until after the turn of the century when workmen built the South Rim Drive (Artist Point Road). By 1889, the route proved so popular that work was underway to extend the road along the West Rim from its terminus near Upper Falls to near Lookout Point. The route would also ease access to the second Canyon Hotel under construction beginning that same year. Six years later, the North Rim Drive was reworked and extended east to Inspiration Point. During this 1895 work, the road was widened and its grades refined, enabling horse-drawn vehicles in 1896 to travel to points previously only accessible by

foot or horseback (Figure 32). The road was further widened in 1905 during the productive period of overlook development that produced staircases at each of the river's waterfalls (Boutelle 1889, 6; Anderson 1895, 8; Haines 1977b, 221; Pitcher 1905, 12).

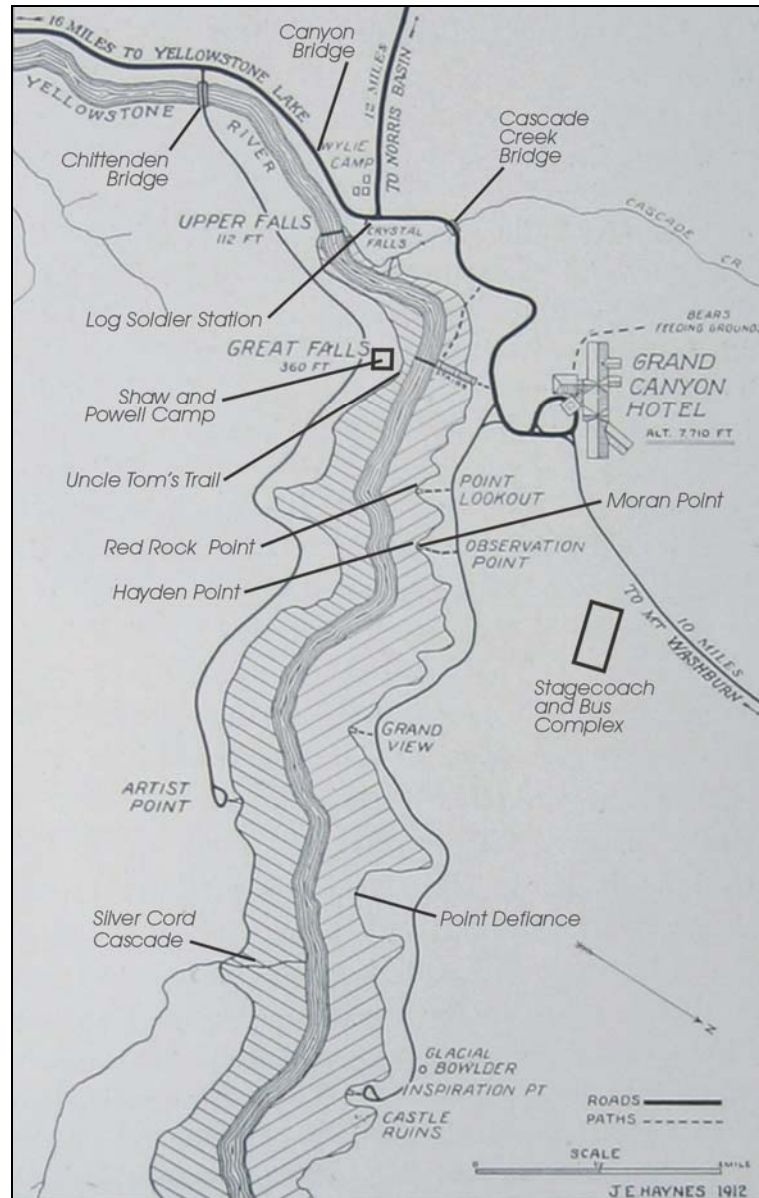


Figure 31: Canyon Tourist Settlement in 1913 (modified from Haynes 1912)



Figure 32: Stagecoach Party on North Rim Drive above Lower Falls (Upper Falls in background) by F. J. Haynes (Author's Collection)—Note absence of trees blocking the view

Lookout Point Tourist Stop. The next popular stop on the North Rim Drive was at Lookout Point (Figure 31). This area along the North Rim Drive represented an aggregate of several viewpoints made popular through paintings, photographs, and most importantly, by the dramatic tourist view of Lower Falls and the canyon (Figure 33):

The Grand Canon of the Yellowstone is the grandest, most sublime sight I have ever seen— That is the truth & you know how much of the sublime in nature I have seen....we rode on narrow, steep bridle paths, part of the time through pines, part on the edge of the top of cliffs, way, way above the Yellowstone River....At Lookout Pt. we seemed to be up in the air & up the valley saw the Lower Falls, over twice as high as Niagara, with a great vol. of water but not as wide. Below us, on both sides, were Painted Cliffs. They are immense in height, solid rock from base to summit & of loveliest, softest shades of yellow, pink, light browns, reds. They all blend beautifully & here & there a few pines stick to the sides. Far below us on a crag, an eagle [osprey] had its nest & we heard the young ones scream (Mary Reeves quoted in Haines 1977b, 131).

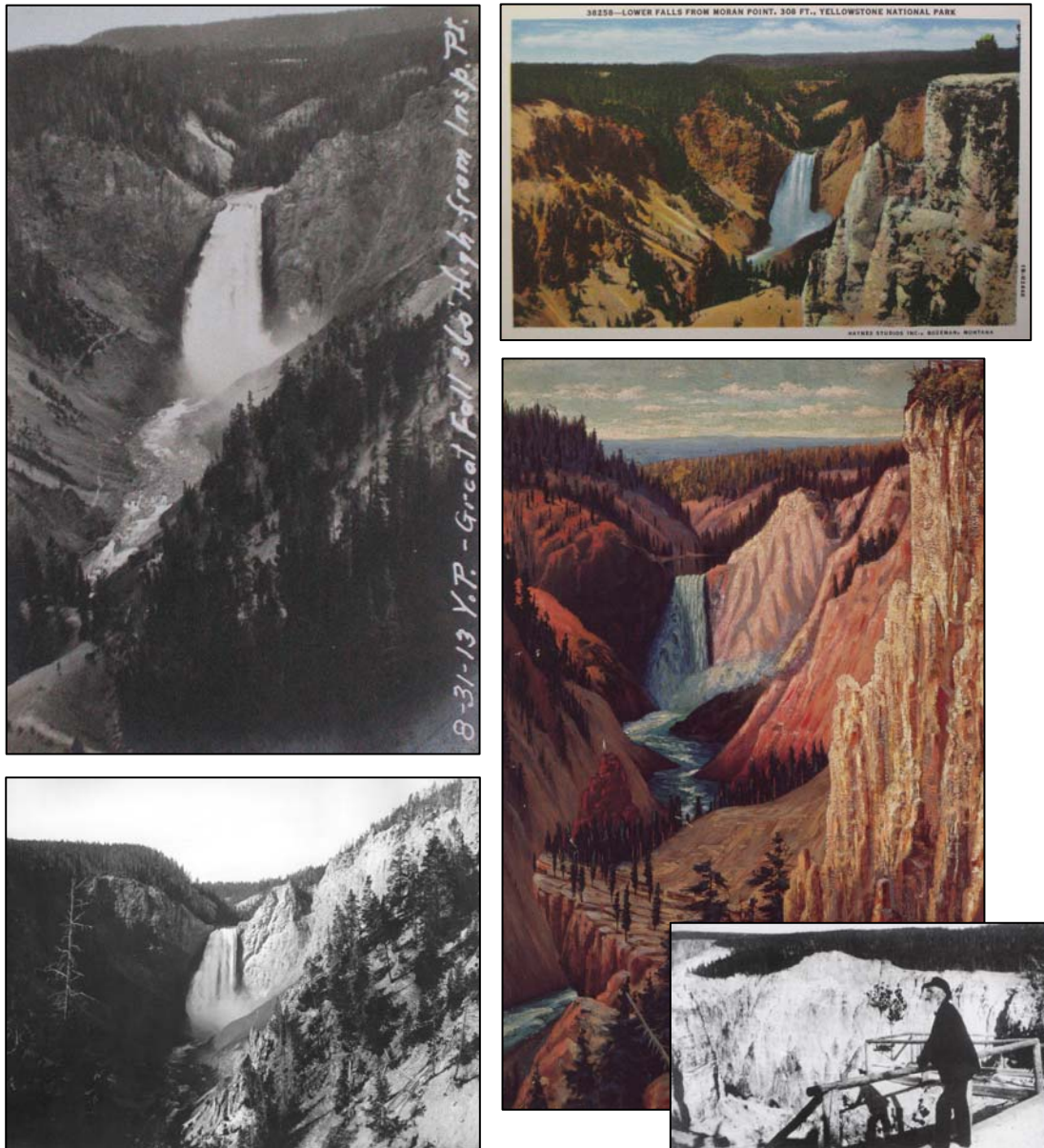


Figure 33: Lookout Point Area Viewpoints: Top left—View From Lookout Point, inscription is incorrect (Francis Collection); Top right—Lookout Point, Lower Falls, and the Grand Canyon from Moran Point (Francis Collection); Bottom left—Lower Falls from Red Rock Point, 1899 by F. J. Haynes (Montana Historical Society 1981); Middle right—Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone from Hayden Point, 1891 by Grafton Tyler Brown. Note guardrail in upper right corner (Hassrick 2002); Bottom right—Thomas Moran at Lookout Point facing east toward Moran Point, 1900 (Hassrick 2002)

At the level of the rim, Lookout Point is joined by Moran Point, located at the next significant promontory east of Lookout Point (Whittlesey 2006a, 7-8—technically the second promontory east after a first minor promontory). Moran Point was also known for a time as Observation Point (Whittlesey 1988a, 604n7). Photographs made from Moran Point were slightly more distant from Lower Falls and included the Lookout Point overlook, sometimes with tourists, as a compositional element on the right. Moran Point is the place from which Thomas Moran drew much of his visual inspiration for his oil paintings of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone (Figure 12). Moran was not alone in cherishing this vantage point. Many postcards showing Lower Falls from this area along the North Rim were taken from Moran Point, not Lookout Point.

The popularity of these viewpoints and images was leveraged by concessioners who brought their patrons there to view the canyon and falls. This resulted in government-funded development at Lookout Point as early as 1895 with the installation of handrails. Paintings and photographs from popular overlooks shaped tourists expectations, heavily influencing where the government invested dollars for overlook construction (Anderson 1895, 8; Kinsey 2006, 118).

Proposed Elevator. D.B. May of Billings, Montana petitioned the Secretary of the Interior in 1889 to obtain a lease of ground and install an elevator in the Grand Canyon near Lookout Point to bring visitors to the bottom of the canyon to view Lower Falls (Haines 1977b, 20; Boutelle 1890, 10). In addition to the elevator, he planned to construct a shelter at the elevator's base. The acting superintendent, Captain Boutelle, submitted a favorable report after examining the application with U. S. G. S. geologist Arnold Hague.

May agreed to abide by the site selected by the acting superintendent (Hampton 1971, 97-99). The elevator was planned for immediately downstream of Lower Falls (the first gulch southwest of Lookout Point). Boutelle and Hague apparently agreed that the elevator would be acceptable if it followed the contours of the canyon to remain out of view from both Lower Falls and points east along the South Rim (Haines 1977a, 21). Boutelle's report included Hague's assessment that the "scheme is believed to be perfectly practicable," it was "in no way objectionable," and would "add materially to the pleasure of a visit to the canyon" (Hampton 1971, 98).

However, Boutelle later rescinded his approval on the grounds that the contract let to May by the Department of Interior in May of 1890 specified construction different from what he and Hague had approved (Hampton 1971, 97-99). The elevator, approved and leased out of Washington, permitted a strictly vertical elevator that did not follow the contours of the canyon walls and would indeed be in view. Boutelle also objected to a building constructed at the base of the falls (Haines 1977b, 20-21). Boutelle, as the local authority in charge of the park, regretted that he was not consulted before the lease was issued from Washington. He expected to see accurate site drawings and plans and objected to the Department of the Interior prematurely signing the elevator lease without these materials.

Ultimately, Boutelle was embarrassed that he had ever given permission for this concession because no elevator would be out of sight from the brink of Lower Falls. There was a second attempt to get the elevator constructed in the late 1890s backed by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, and it took a senate resolution introduced by Senator Vest to stop it. During this same period, an aerial trolley strung in front of Lower

Falls was also proposed (Figure 34). These battles over tourist conveyances at Yellowstone's Grand Canyon helped establish parameters for park development policy and perspective as park management continued to evolve (Boutelle 1890, 11; Hampton 1971, 97-99, 225n13: New York Journal n. d.—it is unclear whether the trolley and elevator were the same or separate systems).



Figure 34: Proposed Trolley across Yellowstone's Canyon at Lower Falls (New York Journal n. d., circa 1890s)

Red Rock Point, Moran Point, and Hayden Point. In addition to the view from the rim, the geologic formation in the canyon near Lookout Point provided some manageable

descends down into the canyon. The view of Lower Falls from Red Rock Point (below and west of Lookout Point) was considered the best, most direct view of the falls. Accordingly, a tourist trail to Red Rock Point was developed as early as 1890 (Guptill 1890, 101). Hayden Point was nearly coincident with Moran Point; however, it required a trip down into the canyon, possibly as close to the river as Red Rock Point.

Big Spring Creek Bridge. The rustic bridge over Big Spring Creek, present since at least 1881, must have offered a particularly engaging view. Stagecoach drivers frequently stopped on the bridge, impeding traffic flow. As other teamsters passed, they tore off the bridge railings resulting in expenditures for new railings and a sign prohibiting teams from stopping on the bridge. Near this rustic bridge was what Norris referred to as “a long, rough, and dangerous trail” to the Yellowstone River at the bottom of the canyon. The view from the base of this trail is probably represented in Figure 35 (Nespital to Lindsley 1911; quote in Norris 1881, 21).

Tourists who were confident in their ability to navigate the Canyon’s depth in undeveloped places took to the canyon walls with ropes at undeveloped locations. Owen Wister, author of *The Virginian*, descended into the canyon somewhere between Inspiration Point and Lower Falls in 1887 with two other gentlemen using ropes. Wister wrote in his journal:

Monday, August 29. West, George Norman, and I are having a hell of a time trying to get to the bottom of the Cañon with ropes.... I am at present sitting about nowhere, halfway... George is above, undecided whether he’ll untie the rope from the last tree, or not. (Wister quoted in Schullery 1979, 76)

Later, Wister recalled that throughout this climbing adventure his companion, Mr. West, periodically cited how much money he would give to have never started the descent. The dollar value of his offering increased dramatically the farther down they went (Schullery 1979, 76). Early stereoview photographers followed suit. They found ways to scramble to the bottom in this area, with all their photographic equipment, to obtain unusual views of the canyon and Lower Falls (Figure 35).



Figure 35: Lower Falls from Bottom of Canyon East of Red Rock Point, stereoview by B.W. Kilburn (Yellowstone Stereoviews Website)

Grand View and Point Defiance Tourist Stops. The next two viewpoints along the North Rim Drive were approximately one-eighth mile east of Lookout Point (Figure 31).

Grand View and Point Defiance were promontories located at a northward curve in the river and canyon. Consequently, Lower Falls was not visible from either viewpoint. Point Defiance was the next promontory east of Grand View, which was the better known of the two overlooks. Grand View was a standard stagecoach stop rendered somewhat safer for tourists in the early years with a log-and-pole-lined path and overlook. The overlook was upgraded to include a 150-foot walkway terminating at a platform with seats, again during that productive period of canyon overlook development in the first decade of the twentieth century (Pitcher 1906, 14). From these two promontories, the remarkable view was eastward, where tourists gazed upon the dramatic serpentine path the Yellowstone River had cut through time (Figure 36). In view from each of these points is a group of rhyolite spires called Castle Ruins. The natural sculpture is located in the canyon as part of the promontory at the last developed North Rim stagecoach stop at Inspiration Point, which was also in view from Grand View and Point Defiance.

Inspiration Point Tourist Stop. Inspiration Point was a full two miles past Lookout Point—a long traverse when travel was by foot or horseback (Figure 31). Guidebooks used at the time urged tourists to go the extra distance to see the canyon view eastward from Inspiration Point and westward toward Lower Falls, the latter especially with morning sunlight. The eastward view showed the immensity of the canyon, although the canyon's coloring was not nearly as impressive as the same upstream. The westward view terminated at Lower Falls, with the canyon view interrupted by the landmass at Artist Point on the South Rim and Lookout Point on the North Rim (Figure 37).



Figure 36: Grand View and Point Defiance Views: Left—Looking east From Grand View showing Castle Ruins (author collection); Right—“Looking Down Yellowstone Canyon from Point Defiance, 1887” Painting by James Stuart showing Castle Ruins near Center (Hassrick 2002)

Once at Inspiration Point, early tourists alighted from stagecoaches and walked carefully along a very dangerous trail—without handrails—out to the very tip of the point, some 1500 feet above the river. The government installed handrails in 1895. The overlook was upgraded significantly during 1906 and 1907 with the construction of an unloading platform, a full flight of stairs 236 feet long with eight landings, and a railed viewing platform at the tip with benches built in. From the tip of Inspiration Point, tourists could wait for a geyser to erupt at the base of the cliffs or spy on an osprey nest,

three to five feet wide, perched atop a pinnacle (Anderson 1895, 8; Pitcher 1906, 14; Young 1907, 8; Peek 1906c, 13; Haynes 1940, 125).



Figure 37: Inspiration Point Tourist Stop: Top left—East view from Inspiration Point (NPSb); Top right—West view from Inspiration Point (NPSb); Bottom left—Inspiration Point log and pole trail, c.1895 (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Bottom right—Inspiration Point Trail rebuilt, shown in 1925, by Sharpe (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

Glacial Boulder, Seven Mile Hole, and Rowland Pass Trail. Close to Inspiration Point, tourists saw Glacial Boulder (Figure 31 and Figure 38), a large, granite, glacial erratic transported by glaciers emanating from the Beartooth Mountains. Glacial Boulder was transported south to the Canyon area early in the Pinedale Glaciation, prior to the

formation of a Pinedale icecap on the Yellowstone Plateau (Guptill 1890, 102-103; Pierce 1979, F27). Near the large erratic, tourists could view Silver Cord Cascade, a very thin waterfall dropping 1,200 feet down the canyon's South Rim. Rowland Pass Trail to Tower Fall headed east near the erratic. As early as 1880, a spur trail from the Rowland Pass Trail took horseback tourists, and those on foot, down into the canyon past Safety Valve Geyser and Halfway Springs on what was later named the Seven Mile Hole trail (Rubinstein, Whittlesey, and Stevens 2000, 179; Whittlesey 1988b, 137; Bryan 1995, 382-384). The Rowland Pass Trail continued along the canyon after the Seven Mile Hole trailhead until its course turned away from the rim into the timber toward Rowland Pass and Tower Fall. Near Rowland Pass, a spur trail led tourists to the summit of Mount Washburn along its eastern flank (Figure 19).

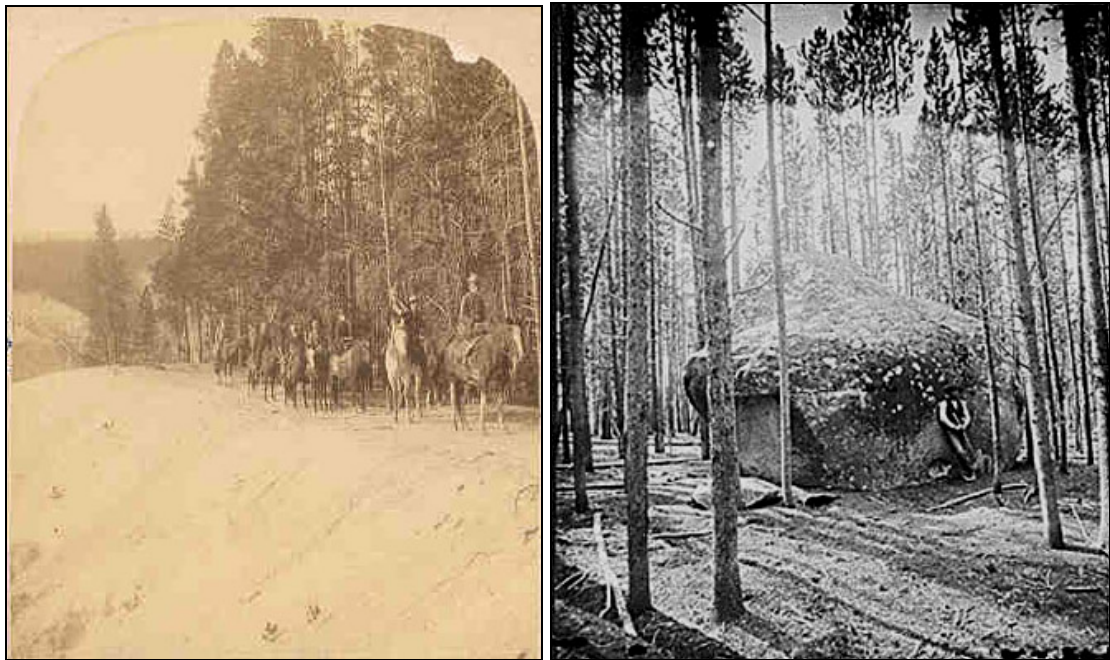


Figure 38: East End of Inspiration Point Road: Left—*Tourists on Lower Cañon Trail (1888)* stereoview by T. W. Ingersoll (Mulvaney Collection); Right—*Glacial Boulder* stereoview by W. H. Jackson (Yellowstone Stereoview Website)

Settlement at Canyon Continues

First Canyon Hotel

While the army was busy settling into their new responsibilities protecting the natural landscape at Canyon, the park's newest hotel concessioner was planning accommodations there, marking the start of Canyon's more enduring cultural landscape. The Norris Cutoff Road was completed just in time for the YPA to haul a kit of materials to construct a prefabricated building (similar to one erected at Norris Geyser Basin) to serve as their new hotel at Canyon (Figure 39). YPA hauled the materials near to the site of the tent hotel operation they then were subleasing from the YNPIC. The sublease was part of the arrangement made after YPA signed its lease with the government to take over the hotel business from YNPIC. At this time, YPA did not use the Canyon site specified in its lease with the government. Instead, officials erected their hotel adjacent to where YNPIC ran its Canyon tent hotel. Curiously, the YPA 1886 lease granted them approximately two acres north of Lookout Point (Figure 20). This area was apparently well known as a potential hotel site because it was also the subject of a ten-acre hotel lease issued to Mrs. C. M. Finch of Bozeman in March 1885 that was never used (Bartlett 1989, 156; Harris 1888, 8; Muldrow 1887; Culpin 2003, 132 spells lessee's name as Furch).

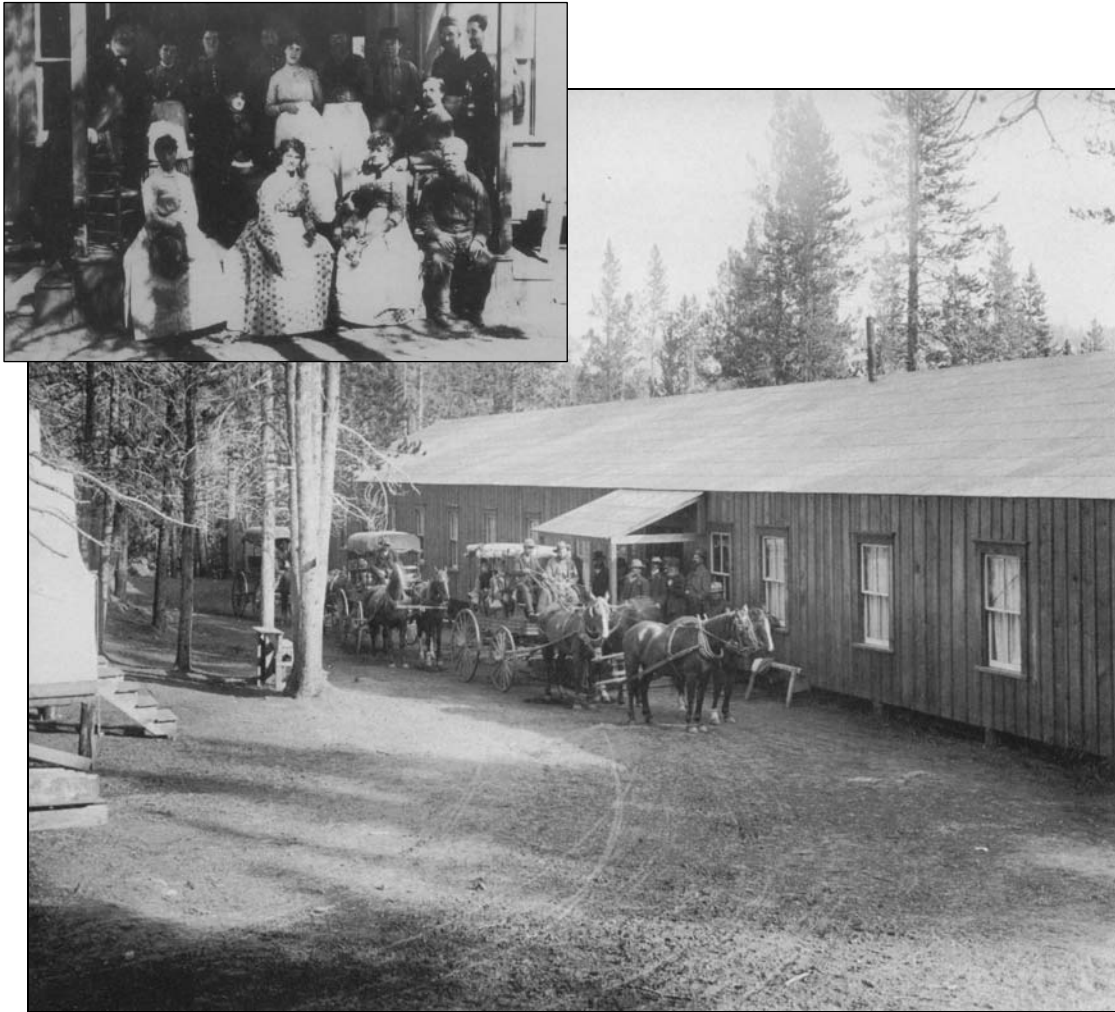


Figure 39: First Canyon Hotel: With stagecoaches and tourists in 1886 by F. J. Haynes (Tilden 1964); Inset—Employees on porch of first Canyon Hotel, 1886 (Whittlesey and Yellowstone Staff 1997)

This first hotel—a prefabricated, temporary building—was permitted for only the summer of 1886; however, it served Canyon’s overnight visitors for several years until YPA opened the second Canyon Hotel for the 1891 season (Haines, 1977b, 402n60). The first Canyon Hotel was a comfortable and well-kept accommodation, although its exterior was rather unattractive. The hotel was a 225-foot by 32-foot building, constructed of one-inch pine boards and it was heated by one sheet-iron stove. The hotel

contained a dining room, kitchen, office, and about 45 small sleeping rooms. Its capacity was supplemented by tents and cottages (possibly the same YNPIC tents) and could accommodate about 70 guests plus employees (Haines, 1977b, 402n60; Whittlesey and Yellowstone Staff 1997, 86; Harris 1888, 9-11; Whittlesey 2003, 5—cites tourist's recollection of building size, which seems excessive; Hyde 1886, 105; Harris 1887, 8). Horseback guides were available, beginning the first year of operation in 1886 (Whittlesey 2005b, 119). However, touring on horseback near the hotel may not have been an attractive activity considering the nature of outdoor life at Canyon during July:

We reached the Falls Inn, a most primitive little house, at four o'clock in the afternoon, very hot, very tired, and very dusty, and had much difficulty in getting rooms, as the accommodation is limited...The one terrible drawback to the enjoyment of life at the Yellowstone Falls (after the food, which was absolutely uneatable) was the enormous size and maddening persistence of the mosquitoes. There were, of course, no such luxuries as mosquito curtains. For that matter there was not a blind to any window in the house. It was necessary to hang up waterproof cloaks and dress in the dark as usual, but this was minor trouble compared with the mosquito plague... (E. Catherine Bates quoted in Whittlesey 2003, 4).

This prefabricated building, serving as a hotel, symbolized Canyon's transition from first generation to second generation accommodations in the park. Though this first hotel was financially backed by the railroad, it was a temporary measure meant to increase visitor comfort while the YPA worked toward creating a permanent, European-style hostelry in the area. The exact location of this first Canyon Hotel is not known, but it was probably adjacent to the YNPIC tent hotel site, whose exact location is also unknown. Superintendent Harris said it was "in thick timber where the sun seldom penetrates, and is always cold and damp. Visitors who pass the night at this place are

fortunate if they escape sickness from severe colds” (Whittlesey 2003, 4). An 1888 visitor described the location as “on the left bank of the Yellowstone River, only a few rods from the Upper Falls” (J. E. Williams quoted in Whittlesey 2003, 5).

During the time the first Canyon Hotel served tourists, the Canyon Bridge over Jay Creek was not yet built. After its completion in 1895, this bridge changed the route of tourists, allowing them to be close to the Yellowstone River bank between Upper Falls and Alum Creek. Previously, the road from Yellowstone Lake stayed well back from the Yellowstone River until slightly north of Upper Falls. For practical purposes, it is likely that the hotel was located along the road from Yellowstone Lake at a point considered within “a few rods from the Upper Falls” as described by Williams, whether by road, bridle path, or foot path (Figure 20). Furthermore, YPA had taken over the lease for the YNPIC tent hotel, which was described as arranged along either side of a street—possibly the road from Yellowstone Lake. Supporting this are claims that the hotel location was on the site of the later Canyon Tourist Cabin operation, in service between 1925 and the 1960s along the old road from Yellowstone Lake (Haines 1977b, 389n11; Whittlesey and Yellowstone Staff 1997, 86; Chittenden 1905; see Figure 25,—Note tent drawn on the east side of the road from Yellowstone Lake). On the other hand, the location of the hotel has also been described as on the site where either the soldier station or ranger station was built, both of which were built along the canyon’s West Rim after the Canyon Bridge was in service (Tilden 1964, 382—says “later a ranger station was located here”).

F. J. Haynes made the first known winter images of the canyon and the only known image of the hotel in winter during an 1887 expedition he joined led by Arctic

explorer Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka. Schwatka took ill early in the trip from Mammoth Hot Springs and did not continue past Norris Geyser Basin; however, Haynes continued with the expedition's three other men and recorded Yellowstone's winter in photographs. During this winter visit he "repeated" shooting his 1881 summer image of the Lower Falls (Tilden 1964, 347-351). Upon arriving at Canyon from the geyser basins on the west side of the park, Haynes would have missed the Canyon Hotel altogether if Major Lyman and William Thone—the hotel's winterkeepers (Figure 40)—had not been on the roof shoveling snow off the temporary building (Haines 1977b, 10).



Figure 40: Canyon in Winter: First Canyon Hotel with winterkeeper staff, January 1887 by F. J. Haynes (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Inset—Lower Falls from Red Rock Point Trail, 1887 by F. J. Haynes (Montana Historical Society 1981)

The winterkeepers here were an active part of an early and very small winter Canyon community. In addition to maintenance duties, the winterkeepers tried to “‘rescue’ a small band of eight elk that they believed had been stranded by deep snow in the area.” The elk were eating aspen, spruce, and fir branches. Presumably they would starve to death if not driven from the area (probably to Hayden Valley). One cow was not willing to go. In the process of the drive she slipped on the ice and fell to the base of Lower Falls (quoted in Schullery 1994, 14).

Second Canyon Hotel

By 1891, a well-constructed, second hotel opened, representing the start of Canyon’s second generation of visitor facilities (Figure 41). It is unclear when the construction of this hotel began. The hotel was in an unfinished condition at end of 1890, but served visitors that season just the same (Harris 1888, 9; Boutelle 1890, 10). When the hotel was finally completed in 1891, it was considered unattractive, but would function well nevertheless. While this hotel resembled similar hotels near Yellowstone Lake and the Lower Geyser Basin, its red roof could be seen from ten miles away along the road to Yellowstone Lake (Anderson 1891; Quinn 2004a, 74). A Livingston Enterprise reporter stated that: “it is one of the most admirably kept and one of the most comfortable hospices a tired traveler ever entered” (quoted in Quinn 2004a, 74). The hotel began plain, but in 1901 was enlarged via a back wing addition. Dormer windows added at this time made the hotel look more attractive (Haines 1977b, 129; Goode 1901, 8—photo).

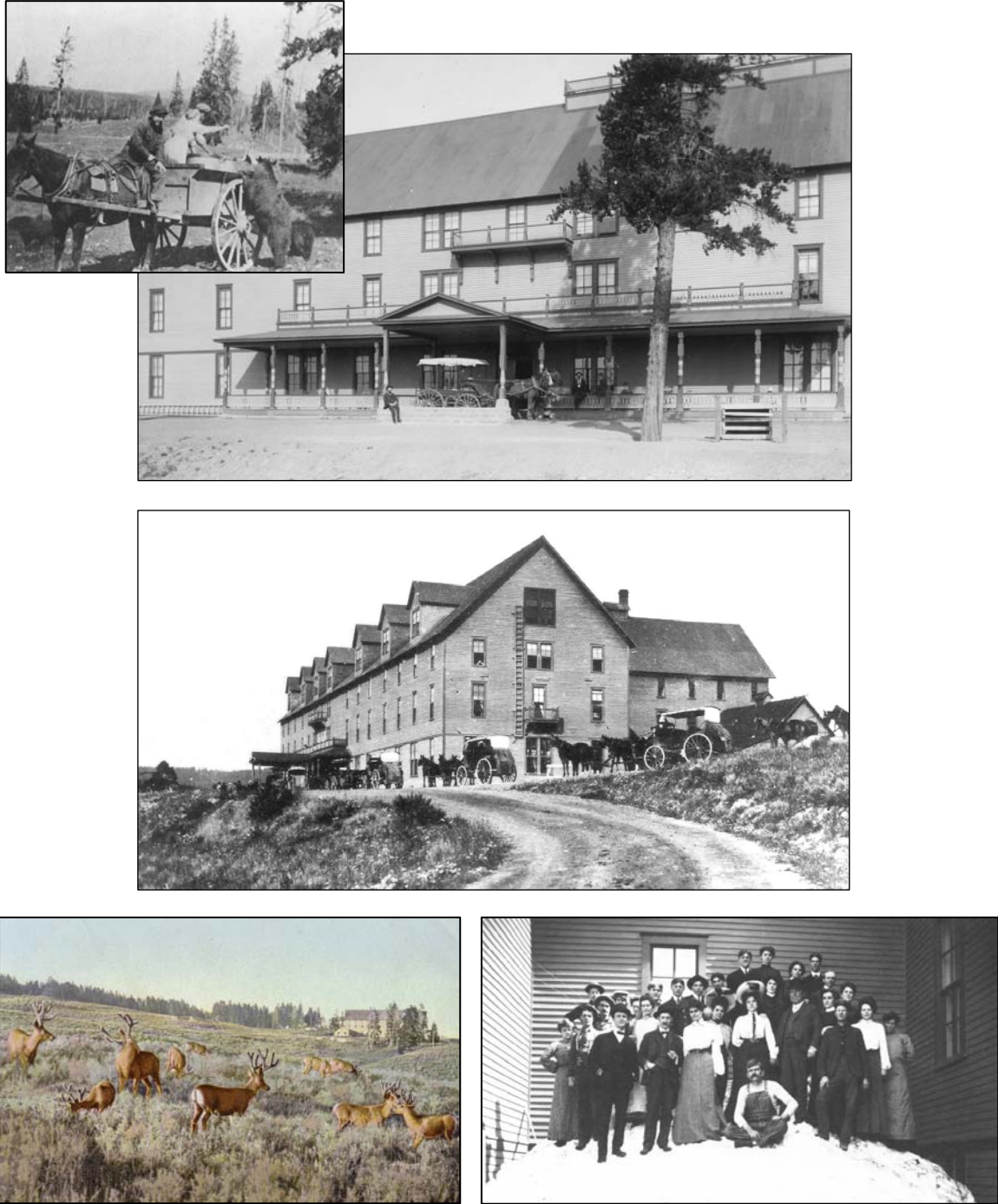


Figure 41: Second Canyon Hotel: Top inset—Bear feeding grounds near Canyon Hotel (Haines 1977b); Top—Original hotel façade (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Center—Canyon Hotel shown after 1901 with dormer windows, back wing, and stagecoaches (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom left—Looking east toward Canyon Hotel with elk (Francis Collection); Bottom right—Canyon Hotel employees at the back of the hotel, 1904 by Haynes Studio (Whittlesey 1988b)

During the confusing transition between the transference of the YNPIC concession to YPA, construction materials for this second hotel were gathered and stored at Norris Geyser Basin, beginning in 1886. The materials remained stored, decaying while exposed to the elements for three years, while YPA president Charles Gibson refused to build. He did not want to use the site ultimately chosen. Gibson wanted to build the hotel on what was likely the site specified in his YPA lease signed in 1886, which was two acres beginning 1,400 feet north of Lookout Point (Hert 2005, 23).

Both the lease site and the selected site were more than one-quarter mile distant from Yellowstone Falls (Figure 20), each clearly meeting the legal requirements specified in the 1883 adjustment to the park's Organic Act (Haines 1977b, 44; Hert 2005, 23; Harris 1888, 8). To the Company, tourist views from hotel verandas were important. Between the 1886 lease location and the canyon was a thick stand of lodgepole pines—perhaps reason enough for not building the permanent hotel there. However, the lease location would have provided Canyon overnight visitors with a shorter, more level walk to the canyon and views of Lower Falls. Instead the second hotel was built on an open, sloping hillside, facing east toward Lower Falls, about one-half mile west-southwest of the 1886 lease site. From the Canyon Hotel veranda, tourists had longer, more panoramic views of the area where they could sense an overall notion of a gash in the earth and the very top of Upper Falls, but they still had to travel almost one-quarter of a mile to reach and thus really see the canyon (Hert 2005, 23).

Yellowstone's second generation of hotels left a more permanent mark on the landscape than did the first. They were of sturdy frame construction, mimicking the style and intent of hostelrys in Europe. Canyon's second hotel replaced the first hotel, the

arrangement of a prefabricated building and tents near the brink of the Upper Falls. The second hotel was made possible by an advance of \$25,000 from the Northern Pacific Railroad and it continued to serve the well-heeled “carriage trade” visitors. They arrived by railroad and purchased complete tour packages including lodging, meals, and transportation by stagecoach for nearly a week’s stay in the park. During leisure time, tourists could peruse the imagery offered at the Haynes Picture Shop in the hotel (beginning in 1895) or they could listen to a brass band that played often, but was considered by some to be difficult on the ears. Also for entertainment, tourists could walk to the “bear pit”—the hotel garbage dump behind the hotel—and observe the bears feeding. They could also watch a grizzly cub chained to a pole outside the back of the hotel. Horseback and walking guides led Canyon Hotel tourists to and along the canyon’s rim (Haynes 1910, 135; Culpin 2003, 130; Haines 1977b, 129-131; Whittlesey 2005b, 119). These normally chatty concessioner personnel were known to turn silent when guiding visitors to the canyon’s overlooks:

There is no way of preparing you for the surprise, nor of getting accustomed to the scene, so as to feel more at home. The guides about the canyon, glib and voluble in every other part of the park, simply stand beside you on the brink of this chasm and share your amazement and entrancement, dumb in the presence of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone. They will talk of it at the hotel or on the drive, but there they simply lead you to the points of lookout and leave you with your own thoughts, or answer your questions in monosyllables. What other scene in America can silence the talkative guide? (L. W. B. quoted in Whittlesey 2005b, 120-121)

Even before the second hotel was completed, a new, more secure foundation was being considered. The problems encountered were blamed on a poorly laid foundation.

The concessioner performed extensive repairs on the foundation during 1889 and interior re-plastering in 1896 to remedy problems caused by shifting. The foundation underwent extensive repairs again in 1901 at the same time the back wing was added (Haines 1977b, 129; Bartlett 1989, 178). Although there were problems with foundation workmanship, compounding foundation problems was the unstable soil underneath the hotel and enormous snow loads in winter—problems that plagued the hotel throughout its existence. The site ultimately chosen for the Canyon Hotel was covered with hydroscopic soil, which was soil that developed with the presence of still water. It was and is a unique soil type in the park—it is glacial till, but it has similar properties to lake sediment. During an earlier ice age, a nearby glacier was calving into a body of water that extended from the base of the Washburn Range into Hayden Valley. Without flowing water, fine glacial sediment simply settled out of standing water and accumulated in place. This produced soil rich in silt and clay—soil that is prone to movement (lateral and vertical), particularly when wet. The Washburn range and Canyon receive significant snowfall in winter, producing plenty of melt-water runoff, adding wetness to this unfavorable soil recipe (Haines 1993; Pierce 2006). Extreme changes in Canyon’s winter temperatures produced frost heaves, adding considerably to foundation problems.

Canyon Stagecoach Complex Development

Most early hotel tourists that arrived by railroad were referred to as “couponers.” They bought a park tour that included lodging, meals, and transportation by stagecoach from the park’s primary hospitality concessioner. Once the YPA took over hotel concessions in Yellowstone, the exclusive arrangement with Wakefield and Hoffman for

stagecoach transportation was questioned by park administrators, because each concessioner was required to contract directly with the government. During this period of uncertainty, Wakefield (both alone and with other partners) continued providing transportation services while Silas Huntley was forming the Yellowstone National Park Transportation Company (YNPTC). Huntley wanted to challenge Wakefield for the park's transportation privileges. Among other men, Huntley's partnership included Harry Child, renowned for his long-time involvement with Yellowstone concession businesses (Bartlett 1989, 157-158, 177; Haines 1977b, 46).

Through political maneuvering and influence peddling in 1890 and 1891, Huntley's YNPTC gained favor with the government and took over stagecoach transportation services in Yellowstone. The YNPTC bought Wakefield out, leased his stock, and kept him on as manager of the business (Bartlett 1989, 157-158, 177; Haines 1977b, 46). Presumably, the YNPTC continued to use the Canyon site already established by Wakefield south of first Canyon Hotel and Upper Falls, presumably made legal by an 1892 permanent lease with YNPTC for stables at Canyon (Quinn 2004a, 67). Their lease of one acre continued beyond the reconfiguring and renaming of this concessioner to the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company (YPTC) in 1898 (Haines 1977b, 133; Erwin 1898, 9, 20).

By 1901, Harry Child ran the YPTC. In 1906, Child obtained permission to move his stagecoach complex at Canyon to a location northeast of the second Canyon Hotel. By the end of 1906, Child was accumulating materials to construct buildings at his new stagecoach complex site. During the development of this new site, Child may have moved a mess house from the original transportation site south of Upper Falls. He likely

also contracted to build bunkhouses for staff. In addition to structures for staff, Child arranged for Robert Reamer, architect of Old Faithful Inn, to design a coach shed, hay shed, and a stable for this new stagecoach site. Reamer's architectural designs were completed by August of 1908. They were Reamer's first designs for Canyon.

Construction on the buildings began late in 1908 on a site whose 7.1 acre lease became legal in March of 1909. Presumably Reamer's transportation buildings were completed for the 1909 tourist season (Quinn 2004a, 67; Brett 1911, 17; Whittlesey 2001, 1— indicates lease began December 31, 1908). Of note, Reamer's use of hipped roof lines and dormer windows in two of these buildings (Figure 42, top right and bottom), and elsewhere in Yellowstone between 1906 and 1909 predated their use in Reamer's landmark Grand Canyon Hotel discussed later in this chapter.

Canyon Log Soldier Station

Once the army took over administration of the park in 1886, the assistant superintendent's cabin was referred to as the Canyon Soldier Station—the first government station at Canyon. The duties of the soldiers included preventing wildfires, protecting natural resources, and regulating tourist travel (Haines 1977b, 190). The first winter occupancy of the Canyon Soldier Station became necessary during the winter of 1887-1888 to stop a poacher who was well known to park authorities. William James had been arrested the previous year for poaching. He had sized up poaching opportunities while employed as a teamster in the late fall of 1886, hauling materials to construct Canyon's temporary first hotel.



Figure 42: Reamer-Designed Buildings at Canyon Transportation Complex: Top—Coach shed (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Middle—Coach stables (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Bottom—Hay barn with corrals in background (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

The first Soldier Station was flimsy and not fit for winter occupation and was apparently seen labeled with the word “Shack” in 1892 (Haines 1977b, 185). Once the new spur road was built to the second Canyon Hotel site on the hill above Lower Falls, a new log soldier station was constructed along the West Rim to provide comfortable, all season housing for the army’s men stationed there (Figure 43). The second soldier station was located 500 feet downstream from Upper Falls on the same site where Haynes later ran his Picture Shop (Haines 1977b, 185).



Figure 43: Canyon Log Soldier Station: Second government outpost at Canyon (Francis Collection); Inset—Canyon army soldiers (Haines 1977b)

1894 Hayes Act

Despite the park's Organic Act and the adjustment made to it through the 1883 bill, the siting of leased operations in the park often fell short of the regulations. Such was the result of leases written in Washington and executed thousands of miles away in a wilderness park. At Canyon, the first hotel with its sleeping tents was not located within the lease boundaries changed as a result of the 1883 legislation (Bartlett 1989, 151). This misplacement of facilities was not unique to Canyon. For example, in Yellowstone's Upper Geyser Basin, the YNPIC hotel was erected illegally within one-quarter mile of Old Faithful Geyser, and to make matters worse F. Jay Haynes claimed it was erected on land leased to him for his photographic studio (Byrand 1995, 66; Bartlett 1989, 150-151).

The illegal placement of YNPIC lodging at the Upper Geyser Basin influenced yet another adjustment to the park's Organic Act. The Upper Geyser Basin's first generation hotel—nicknamed the Shack hotel—was erected on what was considered to be the most desirable site for lodging in the Upper Geyser Basin. Many of the geysers could be seen from its porch. Moving it away from Old Faithful Geyser to meet the one-quarter mile rule would diminish the basin view significantly. Therefore, in 1889, the Department of Interior determined that reducing the legal distance between hotels and features to one-eighth mile would legalize the hotel site at the Upper Geyser Basin, while still preventing view monopolies by concessioners (Byrand 1995, 67; Beal 1949, 269).

This realization, coupled with the knowledge that concessioners needed longer lease periods and slightly larger areas of lease lands, led to the passing of the Hayes Act of 1894. Through the Hayes Act, the maximum lease size was kept at ten acres per site, but now concessioners could have a maximum of twenty acres park wide. Furthermore,

concessioners could now site their operations as close as one-eighth mile from protected park features (Bartlett 1989, 179; Haines 1977b, 476). If the Hayes Act was interpreted literally, the distance to features specification applied to leased sites “on which may be erected *hotels* and necessary outbuildings” (quote from Haines 1977b, 476 emphasis added). In 1906 and 1907, lease regulations were further loosened, and that was even more realistic for concessioners in terms of total acres and lease duration. No further adjustment to location specifications occurred at those times (Bartlett 1989, 179).

The Hayes Act loosened concessioner restrictions in order to assure some measure of success for these seasonal, unpredictable tourist businesses. However, at Canyon, the Hayes Act actually tightened regulations by adding to the list of features protected by the newly specified one-eighth mile “no hotel area.” In addition to protecting the geysers and Yellowstone Falls, the Hayes Act added protection of the rims of the Grand Canyon and the banks of the Yellowstone River (Bartlett 1989, 179; Haines 1977b, 476). While the Hayes Act made the site of today’s Old Faithful Inn possible, at Canyon, it made any concessioner development near the Upper Falls questionable—at least any hotel development. Fortunately, by this time, the first (temporary) Canyon Hotel had been closed and the second was built at a distance from the canyon’s rims. The only remaining service of any permanence near the Upper Falls and the banks of the Yellowstone River was the government’s soldier station, which was exempt from Hayes Act restrictions.

Informal Camping Areas

Informal camping areas developed through the reuse of sagebrusher camp sites. Repeated use was probably the result of suggestions in editions of the *Haynes Guide* that tourists purchased to guide them through the park. For Canyon, three sites were mentioned in the guides. The first was a location one or two miles north of the hotel along Cascade Creek (probably Cascade Meadows). The second site, mentioned but somewhat discouraged, was at Canyon Junction, but no nearer to the canyon rim than the junction. The best site, often referred to in editions of the *Haynes Guide* as “Grand Canyon Camp,” was located about one mile south of the junction near the road’s confluence with Otter Creek. Grand Canyon Camp was emphasized as more pleasant than others, with wood and grass and it was near to water. It was mentioned as early as 1897 and continuously suggested for many years until automobiles were admitted to the park (Guptill 1897, 137-138; Haynes 1915, 130). Although unofficial, these areas were referred to as “public camping grounds” (Brett 1914a, 18).

The precise location of camping areas was influenced by the park’s camping rules, which stated that campers, stopped for a meal or for the night, must be located farther than 100 feet from traveled roads. Picnickers and campers often hung clothing and blankets that would startle teams traveling on the roads. With no campgrounds formally established, numerous shallow dumps of bottles, cans, and other refuse developed in park road corridors. The government began the experiment of assigning a team of two men to dig holes to bury refuse at camps and along roadsides. Later they dug holes for refuse and privies and added signage directing their use at the sites more commonly used. Campers were then required to clean their site using these pits before departing. Waste generated

from licensed, movable camp concessioners also became an issue. The experiment was a success and the practice continued. By 1913, however, there were enough problems that Chemist R. B. Dole was contracted to complete an inspection of sanitation and stream pollution in camp areas (Pitcher 1906, 12; Pitcher 1908, 16-17; Young 1907, 5; Brett 1912c, 14; Brett 1913a 14).

Mount Washburn Development

Tourist trips to the summit of Mount Washburn were primarily by foot or horseback for the first couple of decades. The trip was suggested to tourists via editions of the *Haynes Guide*, which noted that the trip would consume one additional day on the park tour. From Canyon, tourists could summit Mount Washburn either by traveling along the 10-mile trail up Cascade Creek to Dunraven Pass, or by taking the lower, more level trail toward Rowland Pass. From the Rowland Pass trail, tourists took a spur trail that ascended the mountain along its eastern flank to the summit.

Early expeditions mentioned the exceptional park view from the top of Mount Washburn. One can presume that Native Americans and early trappers and prospectors reached the same conclusion. Pre-park Washburn visitors summited the mountain using a trail from the old, well-worn Native American route roughly coincident to today's Dunraven Pass. With a goal of developing tourist views, a road over Mount Washburn between Yancey's Hotel (near Tower Fall) and Grand Canyon was surveyed soon after 1895. The survey was completed in 1899 (NPS 2001a, 80; Anderson 1895; Brown 1899, 8). The purpose of the road construction was not just to provide an outstanding view of the park, but also to avoid repeating tourist travel along routes already taken. Despite the

difficulty, both building the road and ascending it upon completion, this route was chosen as an addition to the Grand Loop Road instead of the lower route through Rowland Pass, which had originally been considered better for road building (Benson 1909, 8; Erwin 1898, 13-14; Culpin 1994, 249).

The road over Mount Washburn, between Tower Fall and Canyon, was the last section of the park's Grand Loop Road to be completed. Two crews worked simultaneously on it; one from the north at Tower Fall, the other from the south at Canyon (NPS 2001a, 80). Mount Washburn Road construction, both the road through Dunraven Pass and the scenic loop over the summit, took place between 1902 and the end of the 1905 construction season. Tourist travel over the mountain continued during this period as well. When the road was completed (Figure 44) it was considered a feature of the park "second only to the Grand Canyon" (Pitcher 1902, 13; Pitcher 1903, 7; Haines 1977b, 244; quoted in Pitcher 1904, 12).

Once the Mount Washburn Road was built, tourists with wagons could make the trip over the mountain, although doing so still took its toll on stock and travel itineraries. While any wagon could use the road traversing Dunraven Pass, only specially constructed vehicles (and persons on horseback) were allowed to ascend the scenic loop road to the mountain summit. The vehicles, presumably owned and operated by the transportation concessioner, were sturdier and could withstand the high winds often present on the open slopes of Mount Washburn's summit road (Guptill 1905, 103).

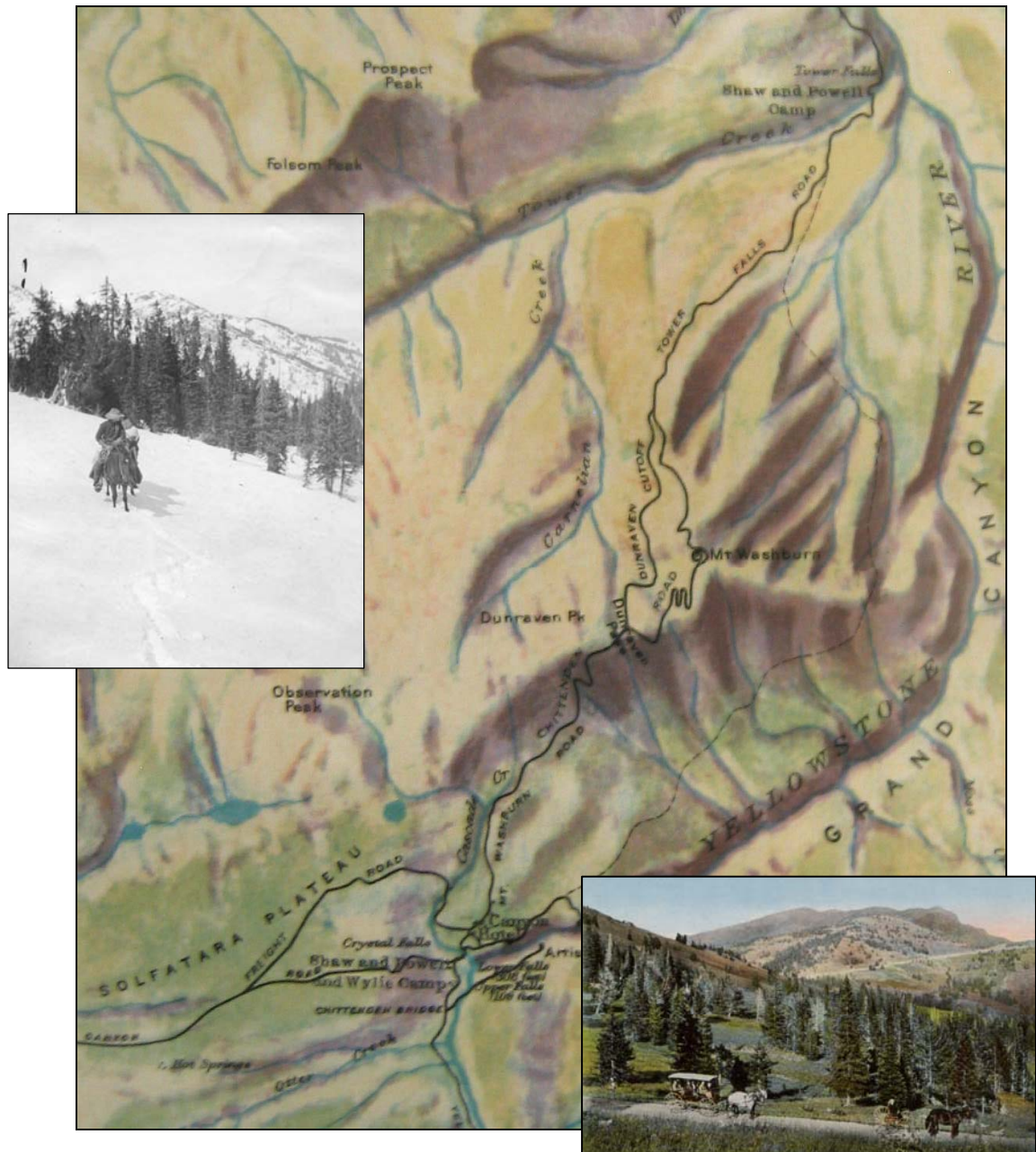


Figure 44: Canyon to Tower Fall Roads over Mount Washburn, 1915: Map—Note Rowland Pass Bridle Trail shown east of Mount Washburn (map detail—Library of Congress Online); Left inset—*On the Blind Trail from Yancey's to the Lake*, September 1903 by George Dean, route paralleled new road under construction (Dean 1903); Right inset—Wagons on road to Mount Washburn, pre-1912 (author collection)

This restriction on summit vehicles was enforced until after 1910, when a warning was published in guidebooks cautioning tourists against attempting the road in bad weather (Haynes 1910, 92). Still, guidebooks lured tourists to ascend Mount Washburn. It was considered the observatory of the park:

Standing there you look down upon the whole grand panorama.... I doubt if there is another view at once so majestic and so beautiful in the whole world. Your vision darts through the spaces for 150 miles on some sides. (Rev. Hoyt quoted in Hyde 1886, 121)

The summit of Mount Washburn lay just above the northern edge of the Yellowstone Caldera. From the summit, the caldera's southern edge was in view, approximately 34 miles away in the far distance (Figure 45, bottom). From this vantage point, tourists could see Pilot Peak outside the northeast corner of the park. To the south, the Grand Teton Mountains, Hayden Valley, and Yellowstone Lake and river were easily identified. Tourists also saw a blanket of green pine forest interrupted by the occasional meadow or wispy, white steam columns issuing from hydrothermal vents nearby. Reminding tourists of their recent ascent, the southern panoramic view was underscored by the linear Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone.

For a period of time, a meager fence was erected around the rock cairn that marked the summit—a cairn that may have had its beginnings with Native Americans or mountain men (Figure 45, top). It is likely that this cairn, or a less-formed predecessor, stored the slip of paper upon which members of the 1870 Washburn, Langford, and Doane expedition left their names (Haines 1977b, 244).



Figure 45: Mount Washburn Summit: Top—Summit with fenced cairn, probably after 1910 (Francis Collection); Bottom—View south toward Grand Canyon and Hayden Valley from Mount Washburn summit loop road (author collection)

Early in the road's history, the road was difficult to maintain and was not available to all tourists. Sometimes winter's toll—rock slides, boulders, fallen trees, or snow pack—meant that the road did not open until mid-July (Brett 1911, 5; Haynes 1912,

105). In 1913, Secretary of the Interior, Franklin Lane honored Army Corps Engineer Hiram Chittenden for his work over many years as the park's road engineer by naming the route between Canyon Junction and the top of Mount Washburn the "Chittenden Road" (Brett 1913a 4, 9; Haines 1996, 156). By this time, there was more use of the Mount Washburn Road for Grand Loop tours, although in 1915, park records indicated that traffic over Mount Washburn lessened. In 1915, the transportation companies noted greater stress on their teams from both the uphill climb and the longer travel distance between Canyon and Mammoth Hot Springs (Brett 1915, 6). However, by 1917, the road over Mount Washburn was considered part of the park's Grand Loop Tour (Lindsley 1917, 2). In 1907 a survey was started to investigate Norris's suggestion of a lower route between Canyon and Tower Fall through Rowland Pass. This new road route had just a 300-foot climb in elevation between Canyon Hotel and Tower Fall, versus an 1,100-foot climb over Dunraven Pass (Young 1907, 7). Despite the start of a survey, this road was never built.

Wylie Camping Company

Bozeman, Montana school superintendent, William Wylie, began his independent Yellowstone guide service in 1880, bringing paying guests, often school teachers, into the park. Wylie provided the transportation, food, and lodging for his guests' park tour via temporary camps set up nightly. Wylie was not alone in this activity. By 1898, there were 23 licensed guides providing similar camping excursions in the park. Camping companies such as Wylie's primarily served tourists with lesser means, although some of Wylie's guests simply preferred his style of touring to the railroad-sponsored hotels (Haines

1977b, 134-137; Erwin 1898, 20). These businesses proved so popular that the government permitted two operators to set up permanent camps throughout the park. While Wylie's business was the first, the second permanent camp operator was the Shaw and Powell Camping Company, which began camp construction in 1913, also after many years of operating from movable camps.

Wylie conducted his mobile tourist business without a lease to specific sites until 1893. In that year, the Interior Department granted him a lease for permanent camps throughout the park, including one along the West Rim of the Grand Canyon (Haines 1977b, 134-136). Having a lease for a permanent camp meant that an operator could construct buildings around the park to support the business (lodges, kitchens, stables, etc.), diminishing the amount of equipment and supplies transported every day with patrons. Wylie's permanent camp at Canyon was present from at least as early as 1898 (Erwin 1898, 7; NPSf). There were two locations for Wylie's permanent camp at Canyon (Figure 25). The first location was along Cascade Creek upstream from the log truss bridge. Wylie presumably reached the site from the P.W. Norris-era road, which crossed the log bridge. This site was used until the upstream steel bridge over Cascade Creek was constructed in 1903. Because the new road leading to the new bridge bisected Wylie's first camp, it was moved to its second location on the southwest corner of the second Canyon Junction (Moorman 1954, 4). Both of these Wylie Camp locations were within the suggested "no hotel development" area specified in the Hayes Act of 1894. Both camps were located within one-eighth mile of the canyon's rim.

Wylie made access to the park more democratic because a Wylie tour was less expensive. The "Wylie Way" park tour initially took 6 ½ days and cost \$35, including a

boat trip across Yellowstone Lake. By 1909, with better roads in place, the tour was shortened to 5 ½ days and \$40 (Moorman 1954, 4, 12). Accommodations in tents certainly were not as comfortable as staying at the Canyon Hotel (Figure 46).

Nevertheless, for tourists to Canyon, the Wylie Way enabled a two-day visit there, versus just one day on a standard tour arranged with the park's primary hotel concessioner.

Wylie's tours were heavily criticized by the hotel concessioner who expressed concern that Wylie's permanent camps were a "desecration of the Park" in the form of a slum or shanty town for visitors of lesser means (Haines 1977b 136). This sentiment likely represented both worry over competition for tourist dollars and the class-conscious culture of the day.

For Wylie's summer help, naturally this school superintendent recruited school teachers and college students who began the concessioner traditions of educating tourists about the area's features, as well as entertaining them, as early as the 1898 season (Haines 1977a, 321, Haines 1977b, 134-137; Moorman 1954, 18). In addition to these social responsibilities, early Wylie employees labored hard to make the experience of the Wylie Way more comfortable at these barely developed sites. For instance, at Wylie's first Canyon site, employees used a windlass (winch) with a pail to haul water 100 feet up the side of the Cascade Creek ravine and stored that water in barrels at the camp. Later, this task was made easier when Wylie purchased an old road-sprinkling cart from the government. Wylie's staff filled the cart using a government water supply pipe. The cart was then hauled to the camp for the operation's water supply (Moorman 1954, 4).

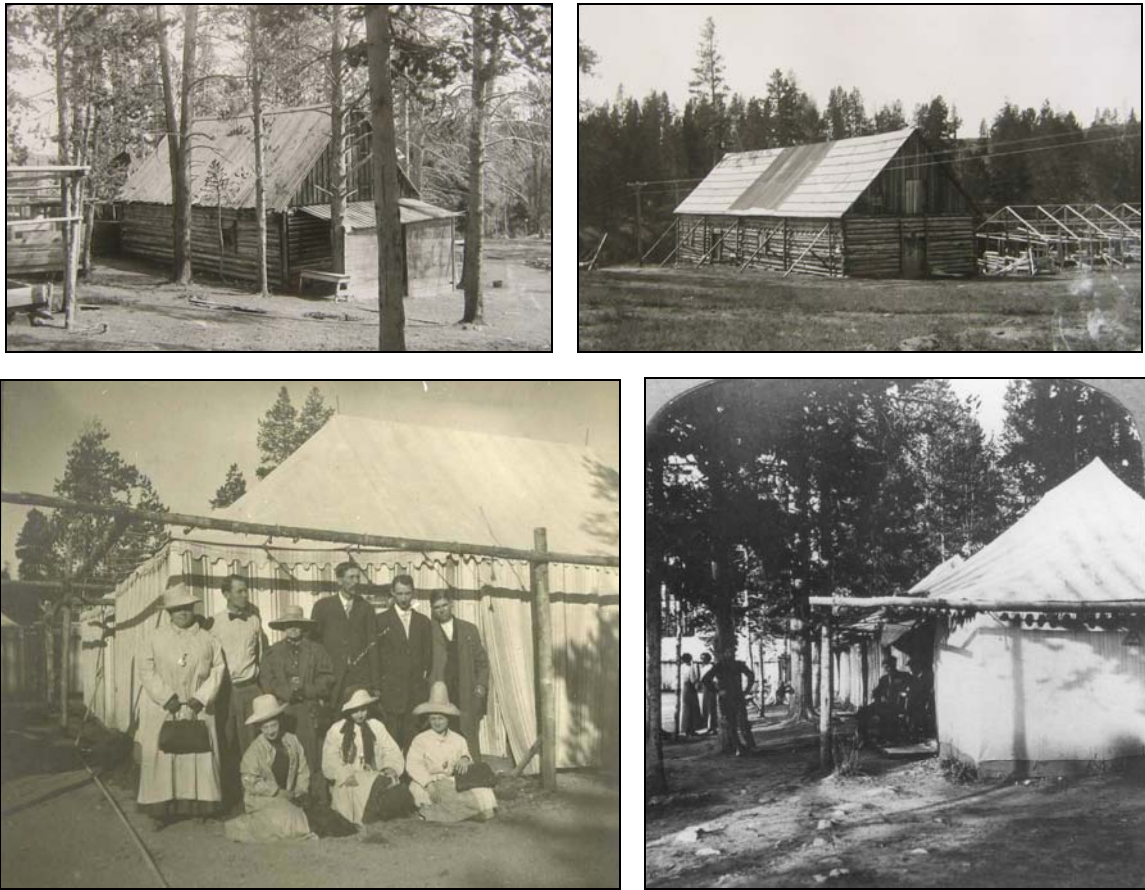


Figure 46: Wylie's Second Permanent Camp at Canyon: Top left—Wylie structure (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Top right—Wylie structure (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Bottom left—Wylie guests and tent, 1911 (Downing 1911); Bottom right—Row of Wylie tents and guests, 1912 (Culpin 2003)

The popularity of lower cost accommodations like Wylie's grew over time. Their style was different from the hotel culture that mimicked formal tourist accommodations on the East Coast or in Europe. As the first of this style in Yellowstone, the Wylie Way began a tradition of casual national park tours attended to by a community of down-to-earth educators and students. Furthermore, while the hotels were known to turn away passers-by needing food supplies, Wylie's camps assisted independent travelers. George A. Dean and his companion Leslie unexpectedly spent many extra days in the park on a

September 1903 horseback trip delayed by snow (Figure 44, left inset). Their cash and food supply was stretched thin, and further diminished by a raiding bear near Canyon. Management at the Canyon Hotel refused to sell them supplies, hoping to force them to eat in the hotel. The nearby work camp and soldiers simply had no food to sell, but the Wylie camp sold them oatmeal, biscuits, and tomatoes (Dean 1903, Sept 17 entry).

Setting the friendly tone at Canyon's Wylie's camp was manager Uncle Tom Richardson, well known for his ferry service across the Yellowstone River to the canyon's South Rim and the trail he established to the base of Lower Falls. Uncle Tom worked for Wylie at Canyon as early as 1896, later serving as manager of Wylie's Canyon camp at its first location through the 1902 season. While employed by Wylie at Canyon, Uncle Tom developed his legendary trail and hosted tourist visits to the base of Lower Falls from the Canyon's South Rim (Whittlesey 2005b, 121-122; Moorman 1954, 7-8).

South Rim Drive—The Artist Point Road

While the canyon's West and North Rims were the focus of government development and visitor enjoyment before the turn of the century, the canyon's South Rim lagged behind. For the park's first 30 years, getting to the canyon's South Rim and Artist Point required fording or ferrying across the Yellowstone River. Although the South Rim was less accessible, tourists did make the trip, often aided by Uncle Tom's ferry, his guide service, and his trail to the base of Lower Falls. In June of 1904, the Artist Point road opened, connecting the West Rim with the South Rim via Chittenden Bridge (Figure 31). The bridge enabled tourists of all means and abilities to reach the South Rim without paying a guide. Unlike today's road, the South Rim Drive paralleled

the canyon's South Rim from opposite Lookout Point to Artist Point (Airscares-Wyoming 1923a). The road ended at Artist Point in an Army Corps of Engineers designed cul-de-sac loop. This design enabled stagecoaches and wagons to arrive and depart orderly and easily. During the 1905 and 1906 touring season, work to finish the road continued, including grading and widening the road (Pitcher 1904, 12; Pitcher 1905, 12; NPS 2003, part 1, 14).

Uncle Tom's Trail. Uncle Tom Richardson, Wylie's Canyon Camp manager, created a stable business for himself, guiding tourists to the undeveloped South Rim of the canyon. He based this business out of Wylie's Canyon Camp during the summers he spent at Canyon. The government issued a permit to Richardson in 1890 to operate a ferry across the Yellowstone River one mile above Upper Falls (Whittlesey 2005b, 122; Culpin 2003, 120; Haines 1993, 81—says ferry crossed at Paradise Glen, which conflicts with the lease specification of “one mile above Upper Falls,” which is near Otter Creek). For safety, Uncle Tom stretched a substantial rope across the Yellowstone River downstream of the ferry path. Edward Moorman, a Wylie employee who followed Richardson as manager of Wylie's Canyon Camp, helped install the safety rope. It was an exciting, cold, and wet task. In the process of porting the rope across the river, Moorman was pulled from the boat's stern into the swift spring current several times, because he was charged with holding the rope while Richardson rowed for the eastern bank (Moorman 1954, 4).

After ferrying tourists across the river, Uncle Tom walked his patrons through the woods to the top of a South Rim ravine just east of Lower Falls. Here he guided them to

the bottom of the canyon to the foot of Lower Falls (Figure 47). In 1890, there were 800 feet of rope (more than twice the height of Lower Falls) installed in the ravine to help the brave tourist descend and ascend in the canyon (Guptill 1890, 101). This infrastructure was the rudimentary start of what was later called Uncle Tom's Trail.

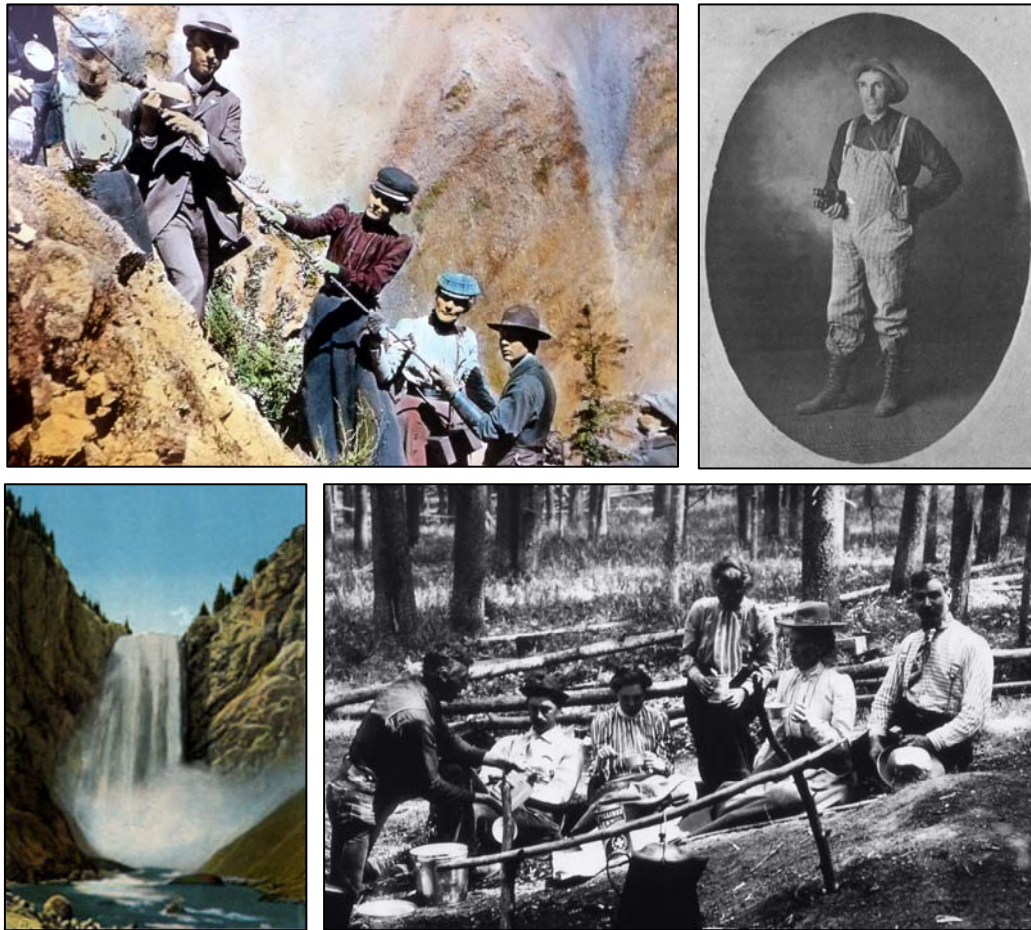


Figure 47: Early Uncle Tom's Trail: Top left—Tourists along Uncle Tom's Trail (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Top right—Uncle Tom Richardson probably before 1905 (Haines 1977b); Bottom left—View of Lower Falls from bottom of Uncle Tom's Trail (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom right—Uncle Tom serving lunch to his patrons (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

The descent to the bottom of the canyon was difficult, especially considering tourists' normal manner of dress. Ladies' dresses were often pinned up by Uncle Tom to make foot placement safer along the trail (Whittlesey 2005b, 121). Once at the river's edge in the canyon, tourists could travel along the south bank of the Yellowstone River for about one-quarter mile from the base of Lower Falls to just across from Red Rock Point. Near Lower Falls, a group of three geysers played for tourists (Fairy, Watermelon, and Tom Thumb Geysers). Their eruptions were often masked by spray from the falls, which was also responsible for a perpetual rainbow. A downstream walk along the south bank provided tourists with a view of Red Rock Geyser (across the river just under Red Rock Point) and other unnamed geothermal features on both sides of the river. The landscape scar created by tourist travel along the south bank of the river in the canyon became hard to miss as time passed, and more tourists explored along the river before climbing back out of the canyon (see Figure 33 top left). Before the return ferry across the Yellowstone River, Uncle Tom served his tourists a campfire meal among the pines (Haines 1996, 179; Haines 1977b, 131; Moorman 1954, 4; Bryan 1995, 382-384; Whittlesey 2005b, 121).

While the government frowned upon the establishment of view and access monopolies such as those at Niagara Falls, Uncle Tom's "monopoly" guide service to the base of Lower Falls actually assured visitors a chance for this unique view—it was considered almost a necessity during that day (Haines 1977b, 131). To that end, Uncle Tom was issued a permit in 1896 to charge his patrons for guide service along the South Rim of the canyon (Whittlesey 2005b, 122; Haines 1996, 179). While the route by ropes was available as early as 1890, the trail was upgraded to include more substantial

infrastructure after 1897, presumably with ladders along with the rope. It was rebuilt at least once by Uncle Tom and Moorman between 1899 and 1903 (Haines 1996, 179; Haines 1977b, 131; Moorman 1954, 4).

Uncle Tom lost his ferrying-service permit when Chittenden Bridge over the Yellowstone River was built in 1903. He adjusted by moving his guide concession business to a tent at the top of his trail. He offered his guide service to the bottom of the canyon for \$1 per person until the government built a staircase over Uncle Tom's ladders in the ravine in 1905-06 (Figure 48). The new staircase, built during the productive overlook building period in the early twentieth century, essentially put an end to Uncle Tom's business. His services were no longer a necessity, leading the government to reduce his permitted fee to 50 cents per person from 1906 on. There is some evidence to suggest Uncle Tom still provided some kind of guide service along his trail as late as 1916 (Moorman 1954, 4-5; Whittlesey 1988a, 959; Pitcher 1905, 13; Whittlesey 2005b, 122-123). This staircase construction marks the first government action at this site meant to enable unrestricted access to a canyon feature, albeit now with the assistance of a government-constructed versus a privately-constructed trail. This trend toward unrestricted access at this site along the South Rim was a harbinger of the dramatic, mid-century transformation of the Canyon cultural landscape.



Figure 48: Government-Built Uncle Tom's Trail Infrastructure: New stairway with terminal viewing platform built in 1905-1906 over Uncle Tom's Trail, photo by Al Noyes, 1906. One of Uncle Tom's ladders circled (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Inset—1911 infrastructure at the west end of Uncle Tom's Trail (Yellowstone Library—Northern Pacific Railroad brochure)

Chittenden Bridge. The construction of a bridge across the Yellowstone River at Canyon in 1903 coincided with construction of Roosevelt Arch in Gardiner, a new steel bridge over Cascade Creek, and the start of the productive period of overlook upgrades at Canyon. Chittenden Bridge provided access to the canyon's South Rim overlooks. It permitted policing of a long inaccessible area of the park, and it facilitated the expansion of Canyon's settlement to the east side of the river. Earlier, Superintendent Norris had considered bridging the Yellowstone River above Upper Falls, probably during his efforts at bridging Cascade Creek and its unnamed tributary in 1880. As early as 1890 a footbridge was envisioned across the river at the brink of the Upper Falls where the banks of the river were relatively close.

Army Corps Engineer Hiram Chittenden investigated bridging the river in 1892, but chose against bridging at Upper Falls for aesthetic reasons. He began planning an attractive bridge almost one-half mile upstream. Chittenden knew that bridging the Yellowstone at the beautiful setting of rushing water and rapids warranted an elegant design—a wood or iron-trussed bridge with supports planted in the river would not do. Unfortunately, what he had in mind was not feasible at the park's modest level of annual appropriations. Attention to the aesthetics of this structure and the viaduct at Golden Gate near Mammoth Hot Springs marked the beginning of aesthetic considerations in infrastructure work done in Yellowstone. However, with the need still present, Assistant Superintendent Anderson enlisted the Northern Pacific Railroad's chief engineer to draw plans for a utilitarian iron bridge around 1896. The bridge design was similar to others seen along the rail line. Although the plans were drawn, the bridge as designed was never built (Haines 1977b, 222-221; Guptill 1890, 101).

During Hiram Chittenden's second tour of duty in Yellowstone, funds became available to construct Canyon's bridge across the Yellowstone. Chittenden chose an attractive, yet economical "cutting edge" bridge type—a reinforced concrete arch—invented by Austrian Josef Melan. Melan, an academic, had researched the physics behind concrete arch spans for bridge sites where no intermediate supports could be placed. His design compensated for concrete's inherent weaknesses by embedding inside the concrete a series of parallel steel beams. Melan's work had been introduced into America in 1893, frequently in highway bridges. Its employment in Yellowstone would provide great visibility for the invention. Once built, Chittenden Bridge was considered the largest bridge of its kind in the world (Figure 49). Accordingly, the American patent owner waived all royalties for its use with Canyon's new concrete bridge over the Yellowstone River (Culpin 1994, 53; Iowa Department of Transportation; Haynes 1916, 94).

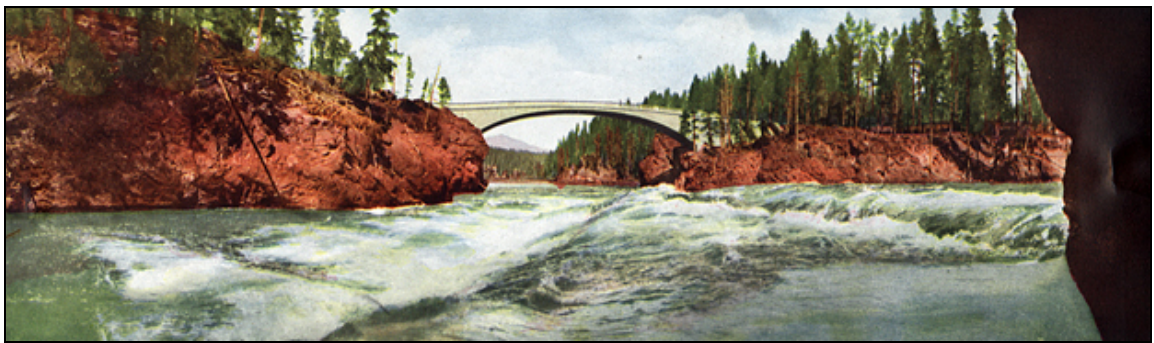


Figure 49: Chittenden Bridge of Melan Arch Design—looking north (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

Chittenden selected a site one half mile upstream from Upper Falls at a place where the banks are close. This limited the span of the bridge to a still impressive 120

feet. Volcanic rock buttresses at the banks were leveraged as bridge abutments. Bridge construction started under the leadership of construction superintendent Robert E. Walker, with the building of a false work timber frame. The false work, including a rock-filled center pier, would both support and shape the 900-cubic-yard concrete mass until set (Figure 50). This was dangerous work and one worker fell into the rapids. Fortunately, his downstream travel was slowed by an eddy. He made it to the river's bank, avoiding a horrific trip possibly over both falls of the Yellowstone (Russell n. d.; Moorman 1954, 7).

After the false work was built, ten arched, steel girders were installed inside the form to add strength to the concrete. With dry materials (cement, sand, gravel, and broken rock) piled strategically nearby, the mixing and pouring could begin. Without modern concrete mixing machines, the concrete had to be prepared by hand, using shovels, wheelbarrows, and a giant 25-foot mortar board. One hundred and fifty of Chittenden's road crew men from all around the park participated in the pour. Anticipation must have been high because success relied on precise timing and consistent teamwork. It was a 72-hour concrete-pouring event requiring three eight-hour shifts until the job was done. For night illumination, the pour was timed to coincide with a full moon, and YPA donated the use of its portable electric generator for electric lights. From 7 a.m. on August 10 until 10 a.m. on August 13, crews worked continuously. Cooking crews prepared meals. Mix crews mixed large quantities of dry ingredients, added water, then mixed it more. Pour crews pushed wet concrete in wheelbarrows to the bridge ends and poured it until the crews met in the middle. The false work was very carefully removed from under the new bridge 28 days after the pour. Crews were under strict

orders that not one piece of the staging could go over the falls of the Yellowstone.

Remarkably, precise measurements showed that the bridge settled only one-tenth of an inch once support was removed (Haines 1977b, 243-244; Russell n. d).

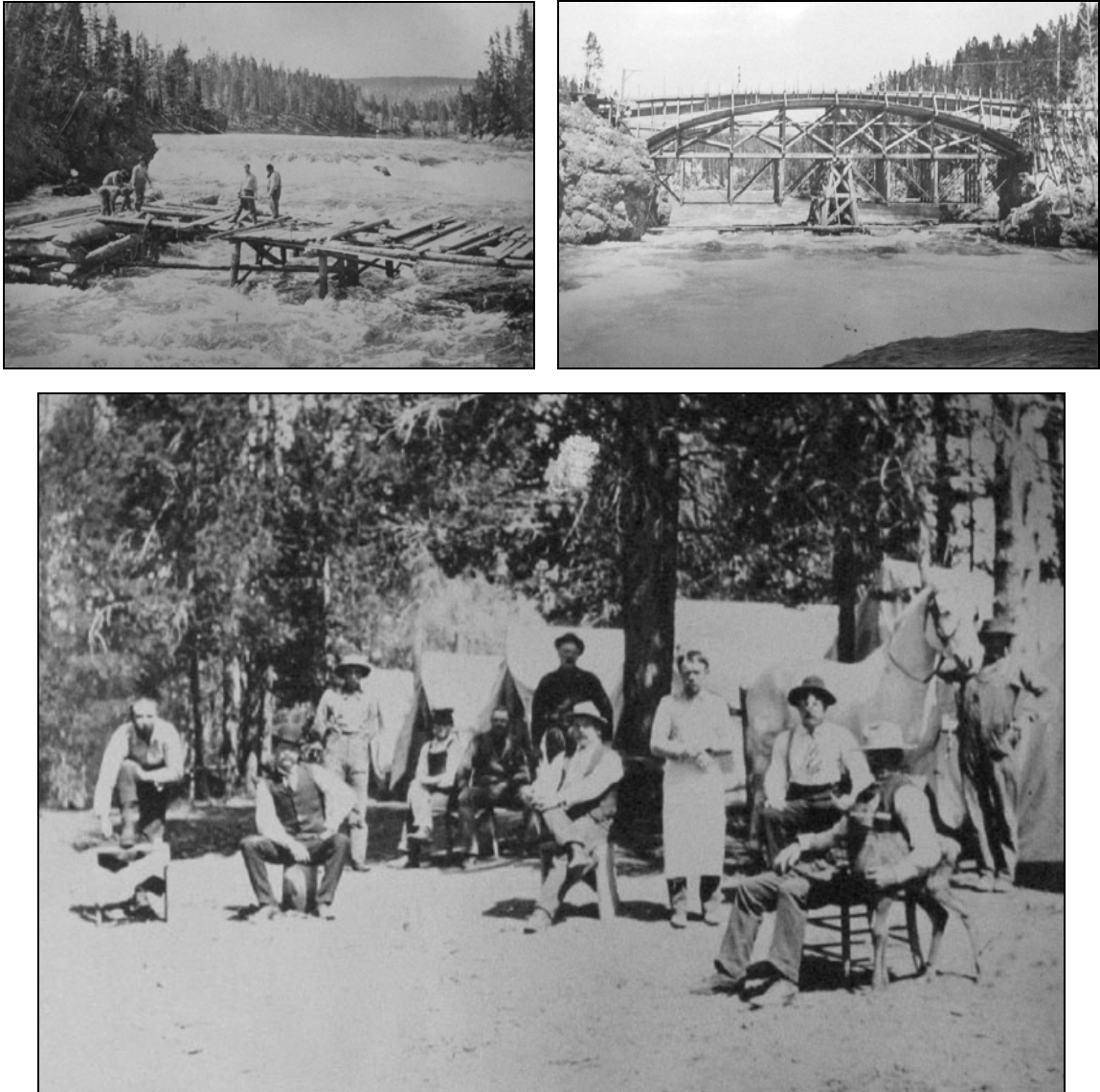


Figure 50: Chittenden Bridge Construction: Top left—Crews beginning construction on the false work; Top right—False work, center support pier, and forms before concrete pour; Bottom—Chittenden Bridge Builders—Photos by Carpenter Fred Russell (Russell n. d.)

Upon completion, Chittenden Bridge was a graceful concrete “sculpture” 160 feet in length and 18 ½ feet wide. Decorative railings, also made of concrete, were added to the sides of the bridge. The arched roadway surface was a full 2 ½ feet higher in the center than at the bridge ends. At its center the bridge is remarkably thin, just 24 inches, yet still strong enough to support increasingly heavier traffic for decades. Early in its existence, Chittenden Bridge was known as either the Melan Arch Bridge or the Concrete Bridge (it preceded the concrete reconstruction of the second Canyon Bridge by more than a decade). In 1912, the bridge was named in honor of Hiram Chittenden (Pitcher 1903, 8; Haines 1977b, 243; Haines 1996, 156).

Artist Point Tourist Stop. With easy access across the Yellowstone River provided by the government’s new concrete bridge, anyone could enjoy views of the canyon from its South Rim. The view was particularly grand from a mile east of Lower Falls at Artist Point. The view of Lower Falls from Artist Point quickly usurped the “best view of Lower Falls” rating from Lookout Point even though it was farther from the falls (Haynes 1924, 99). The picturesque quality of this view of the canyon and falls led to its misnaming. In 1883, F. J. Haynes mistakenly named this South Rim promontory Artist Point, presuming it was the point from which Thomas Moran made his famous 1872 painting. However, Moran based his painting in large measure on the view from Moran Point just east of Lookout Point on the North Rim (Whittlesey 2006a, 8; Haines 1996, 92—cites U. S. Geological Survey as Artist Point place name originator).

Nonetheless, the view from Artist Point is dramatic. It is probably the most popular point from which to view the canyon and Lower Falls. A near 180-degree view

of the canyon is obtained, terminated on the west end by Lower Falls (Figure 51) and on the east by a colorful, dramatic canyon view including Castle Ruins along the Inspiration Point promontory. From Artist Point, geysers and hot springs can be seen in the canyon, made all the more pronounced by cool temperatures at sunrise and sunset.

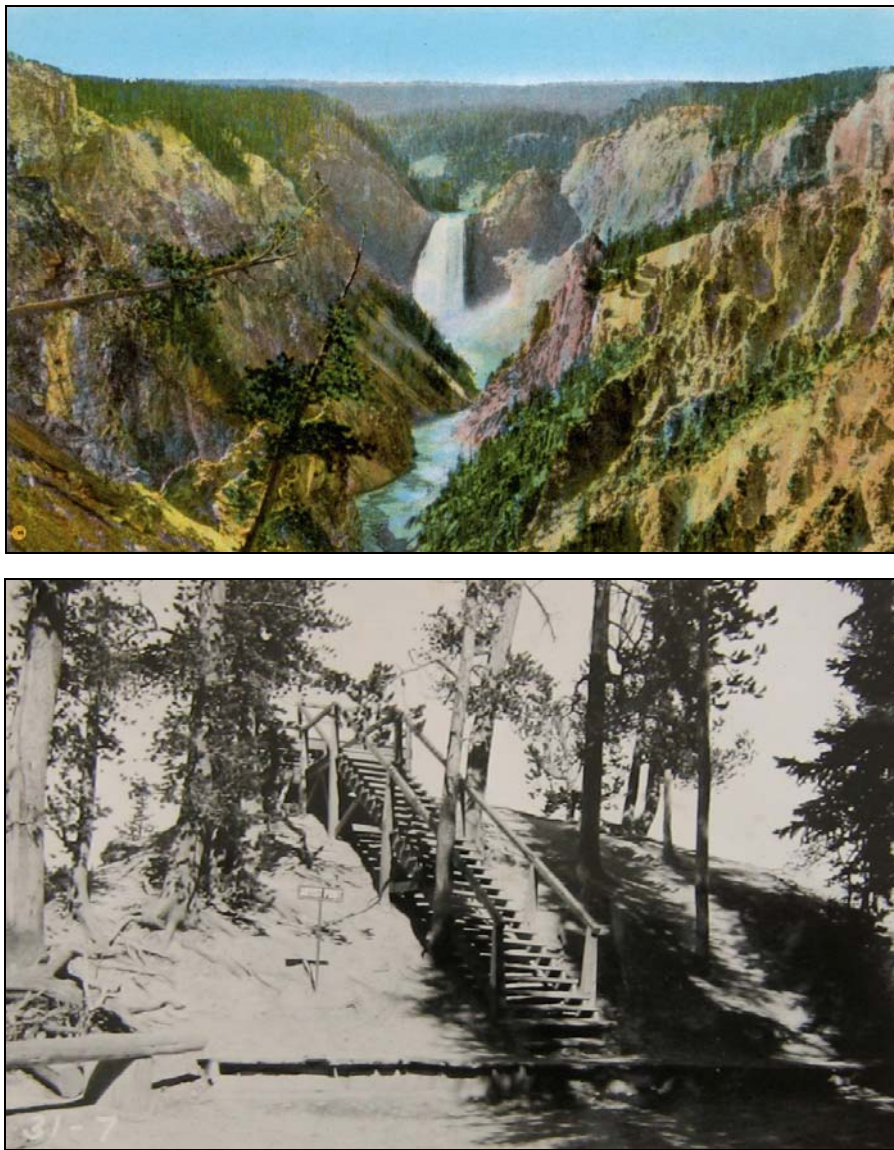


Figure 51: Artist Point View and Stairs: Top—Lower Falls from Artist Point, by Haynes (author collection); Bottom—Artist Point access stairway shown in 1927 (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

In 1906, after construction of the concrete bridge and Artist Point road, an unloading platform, wooden staircase, and viewing platform elevated on scaffolding were constructed, creating the Artist Point overlook. The road terminated in a cul-de-sac that was widened that year enabling up to 30 coaches to park (Pitcher 1906, 14; Peek 1906a). In 1921, the trail along the canyon's South Rim was extended east past Artist Point, providing easier access to Silver Cord Cascade and Point Sublime near the site where Folsom, Cook, and Peterson first saw the canyon in 1869 (Whittlesey 1988a, 819).

Third or Grand Canyon Hotel

In 1901, Harry Child, part owner in the transportation concessioner (YPTC), also became a partner in the hotel concession business (YPA) in Yellowstone. That year he secured a \$100,000 loan from the Northern Pacific Railroad for a new hotel at Canyon (Haines 1977b, 49-52). Although the second Canyon Hotel provided a comfortable stay, the style of the building was heavily criticized in the local press and by park administrators. Furthermore, the second hotel was thought to be too small and its site was considered inappropriate. Assistant Superintendent Pitcher wrote that it was too far from the edge of the canyon, requiring tourists to walk great distances. He also stated that the canyon and falls were not visible from either the hotel or its grounds. He suggested that any new hotel be constructed about 220 yards (one-eighth mile) north of Lookout Point in a manner that kept the hotel out of sight, but afforded a shorter walk to the canyon's edge (Quinn 2004a, 74; Haines 1977b, 129; Pitcher 1906, 6). This hotel location today appears to be the site Gibson wanted to use when he built the second Canyon Hotel, likely the site leased to YPA in 1886, but not used.

To begin imagining this new hotel, Harry Child took his architect, Robert Reamer, on an overseas trip in October 1909 to see the architecture of the great hotels in Europe. By this time, Reamer had designed many other prominent park structures such as the Old Faithful Inn, the Gardiner Depot, three transportation buildings at Canyon, and he refashioned Lake Yellowstone Hotel. After their return in December, Child announced plans for a new Canyon Hotel (Figure 52 top), the third hotel for Canyon. The Grand Canyon Hotel would be built on the same site as the second hotel, despite Superintendent Pitcher's comments and despite known foundation problems from unstable soils. In fact, Reamer planned to incorporate the second hotel into his construction at its western end, modifying its roof to match (Quinn 2004b, 28).

Child obtained another \$100,000 loan from the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1911 to complete construction on the Grand Canyon Hotel. The new hotel was built from June 1910 to August 1911. The Grand Canyon Hotel was the largest structure ever built in Yellowstone (Haines 1977b, 52; Quinn 2004, 75-76). If the red roof of the second hotel could be seen from ten miles away, surely the Grand Canyon Hotel roof, while not red, was similarly visible due to its sheer size and open hillside location. The Grand Canyon Hotel was an extravagant hostelry that continued serving wealthy, carriage-trade tourists of the day, along with dignitaries and high-profile visitors. This new Canyon Hotel was a full implementation, and in grand style, of the second generation of accommodations in Yellowstone. It was financially backed by the railroad, operated by the monopolistic concessioner, and reflected the grace and elegance of European hotels. Grand Canyon Hotel was executed in the Prairie Style—an architectural style in the Arts and Crafts tradition employing natural and organic principles (McClelland 1998, 17, 91).

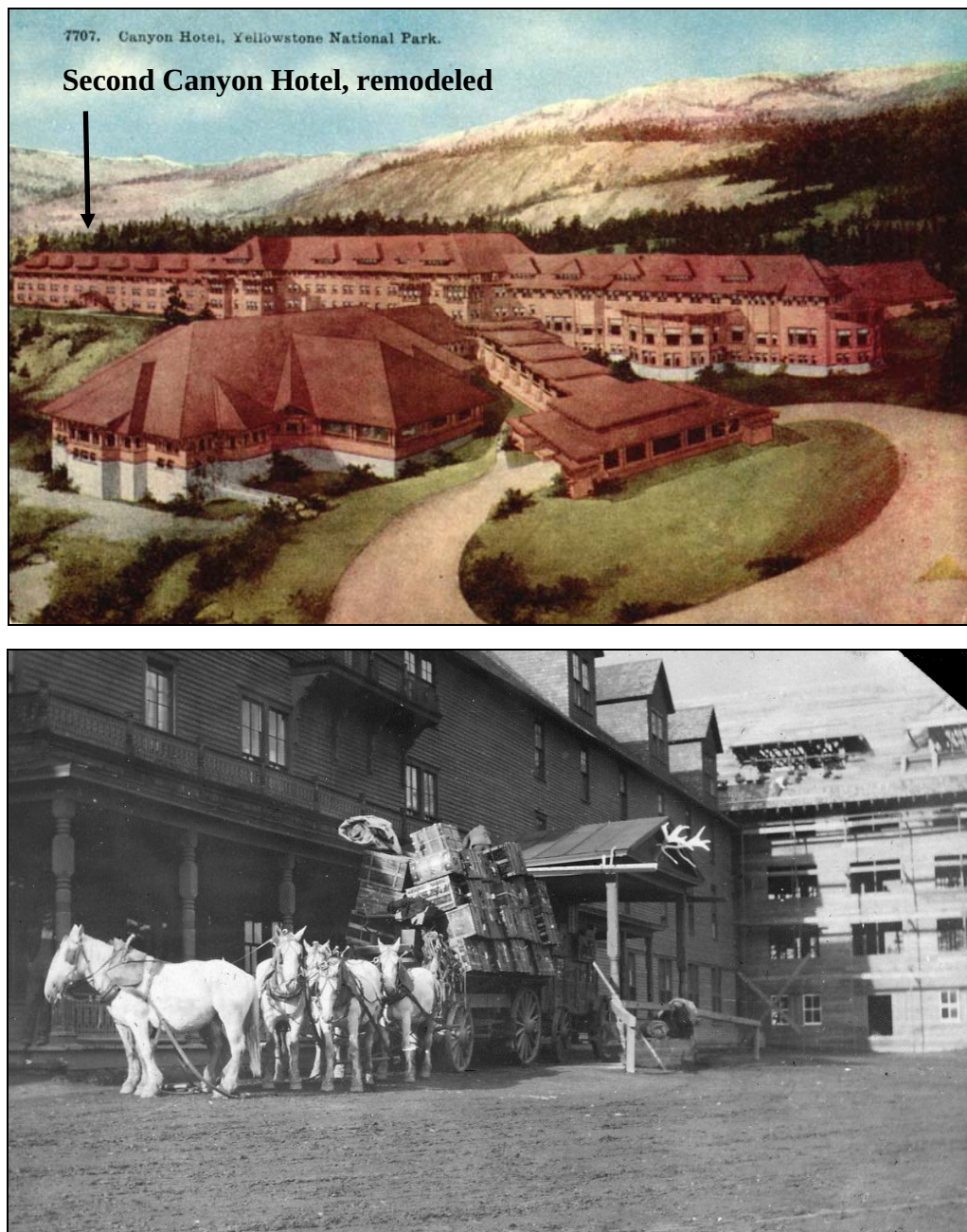


Figure 52: Grand Canyon Hotel: Top—Artist's rendering (author collection); Bottom—Second Canyon Hotel serving tourists during its incorporation into Reamer's Grand Canyon Hotel, probably late summer 1910 (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

The cultural environment experienced by Canyon tourists was changing along with the changing cultural landscape. Of the Grand Canyon Hotel Reamer wrote: "I built

it in keeping with the place where it stands. Nobody could improve upon that. To be at discord with the landscape, would be almost a crime. To try to improve upon it, would be an impertinence” (Reamer quoted in Quinn 2004b 79). While not in agreement that the hotel met Reamer’s stated goal of accordance, historian Richard Mohr suggested that Reamer’s new hotel:

fit its environment in a far more sophisticated way....It re-cast features of its environment into abstract rectilinear forms. The open hillside and the cascades of the Yellowstone River were re-made as multiple levels of low peaked gables and hip roofs.... (Mohr quoted in Quinn 2004b, 79)

Authors of Union Pacific promotional material wrote: “If the Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone is one of the crowning works of Nature, so is the Grand Cañon Hotel....one of the crowing works of man.” The *Hotel Monthly* claimed the hotel was: “an architectural creation that stamps it a veritable wonder in Wonderland” (quoted in Hert 2005, 26, 29).

When the Grand Canyon Hotel opened, it boasted 375 guest rooms, each piped with hot and cold running water and steam heat. The foundation circumference was often cited as a full mile (Quinn 2004a, 77; Raftery n.d., 7; Quinn 2004b, 28—cites 430 guest rooms). Extending downslope from the front of the hotel was the massive lounge, the hotel’s dominant feature (Figure 52, top). This social space was 175-feet long by 80-feet wide by 45-feet high (three stories). Three of the lounge walls were primarily constructed of plate glass, providing the all-important view of the landscape from the comfort of the hotel interior. Tourists entered the lounge via a multi-level, split grand staircase engineered by master stair builder Bernard (Pete) Hallin, later Director of Engineering for

Yellowstone Park Company (Hert 2005, 27; Gallagher 2005). The hotel's basement sported more indoor recreation options in billiard rooms and bowling lanes (Barringer 2002, 47). Considerable attention was paid to designing the hotel's revered lounge for dancing and masquerade balls, for seeing and being seen: a national park "gathering place for all" (Quinn 2004a, 78; Reamer quoted in Hert 2005, 26). Similar to many of Frank Lloyd Wright's Prairie-Style spaces, decorative touches inside the Grand Canyon Hotel reflected the natural (pine) landscape nearby (Figure 53). Through time, tourist indoor experiences at Canyon were becoming increasingly more stylized in an attempt to bring the out-of-doors inside.



Figure 53: Grand Canyon Hotel Interior: Top left—Lobby and front office (Goss Collection); Top right—Lounge looking toward grand staircase (author collection); Bottom left—Fireplace (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom right—Entrance ramp (author collection)

Outside, the natural landscape was becoming more and more humanized. Similar to the throng of workers present for the Chittenden Bridge pour, there were between 100 and 200 construction workers present at Canyon from the fall of 1910 until well into the summer of 1911 when hotel construction concluded (Quinn 2004b, 76). A bigger hotel meant more tourists and more concessioner help in residence at Canyon. During the Grand Canyon Hotel's first summer, the hotel played host to a convention of concessioners and national park superintendents who debated when and how automobile tourists could be accommodated in Yellowstone. This discussion was prompted by the lobbying efforts of a Gallatin Valley automobile club (Haines 1977b, 265). Accommodating more tourists—and their automobiles—was the direction in which park management was slowly moving. Consequently, the new hotel was not the last lodging establishment to add materially to the population and cultural landscape near the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone. Others would follow.

Shaw and Powell Canyon Camp

While there was still significant patronage of the park's developing railroad hotel system, more and more independent travelers were arriving to see Yellowstone and they wanted more economical ways. These tourists typically traveled on horseback, with or without wagons, and sometimes on bicycles. Some rail passengers contracted with independent camping companies, which also provided complete tour packages of lodging, meals, and transportation, but at a lower cost. Independent and less expensive stays in the park were enabled by further government development of roads and bridges, policed informal camping areas, and by permitting two operators to run less expensive

permanent camps. In addition to Wylie's permanent camps throughout the park, the Shaw and Powell Camping Company of Livingston, Montana was another significant camping company that obtained a lease from the government for permanent camps around the park.

As early as 1898, Shaw and Powell began bringing mobile camping parties into the park. Shaw and Powell Camping Company was issued a one-year permit to make a permanent camp at Canyon in 1913 on a site selected by Yellowstone's Acting Superintendent Colonel Brett and approved by Assistant Secretary of the Interior Adolph Miller (Brett 1913a 5; Brett 1913b; Miller 1913). The Shaw and Powell site at Canyon was on the east side of the Yellowstone River, made accessible by Chittenden Bridge (Figure 31). The Canyon Camp plat, signed by the government and by Shaw and Powell, extended to within a few feet of the canyon's South and East Rims. This did not follow the location recommendations outlined in the 1894 Hayes Act (if that act applied to all concessioner facilities and not just hotels).

The camp, with its main lodge (Figure 54) and tent cabins, was nestled between the falls along the canyon's East and South Rims. Its lodge was constructed in the pioneer log tradition, much the same as most informal buildings throughout the mountainous American West. Shaw and Powell received permission to construct twelve buildings at their Canyon camp in 1913, using locally harvested timber; however, the erection of these buildings began slowly late in 1913 (Brett 1913c). The first building constructed was a log kitchen 24 x 28 feet completed by October 1913 (Shaw and Powell 1913).

The following summer a log bungalow, containing a 30-foot by 40-foot lobby and dining room, 40 feet by 50 feet, was constructed to provide dining services, common areas for congregating, and an office (Brett 1914a 7; Brett 1914b). In 1915, the Canyon Camp plat was resurveyed, increasing the camp's size from 1.329 acres to 2.1 acres. This increase in size, at a location that did not meet the location recommendations outlined in the park's adjusted Organic Act, was approved by Assistant Secretary of the Interior Stephen Mather (Mather 1915).

Curiously, the "no hotel area" suggestion in the Hayes Act of 1894 was either ignored or was deemed not applicable to permanent camps. These permanent camps represented a transition to the third generation of tourist facilities leaving an imprint on the landscape—Yellowstone's rustic lodges. These third-generation businesses served tourists choosing less expensive Yellowstone tours, with more primitive and folksy accommodations over the well-appointed, formal second-generation hotels. These third generation accommodations expanded many times after 1916 with steady increases in tourism that were closely tied to automobile admission in the park. At Canyon, when park officials allowed Wylie and Shaw and Powell to set up their Canyon permanent camps near the rims, they began a process of re-establishing (and expanding) the original questionably sited settlement along the rims near Upper Falls.

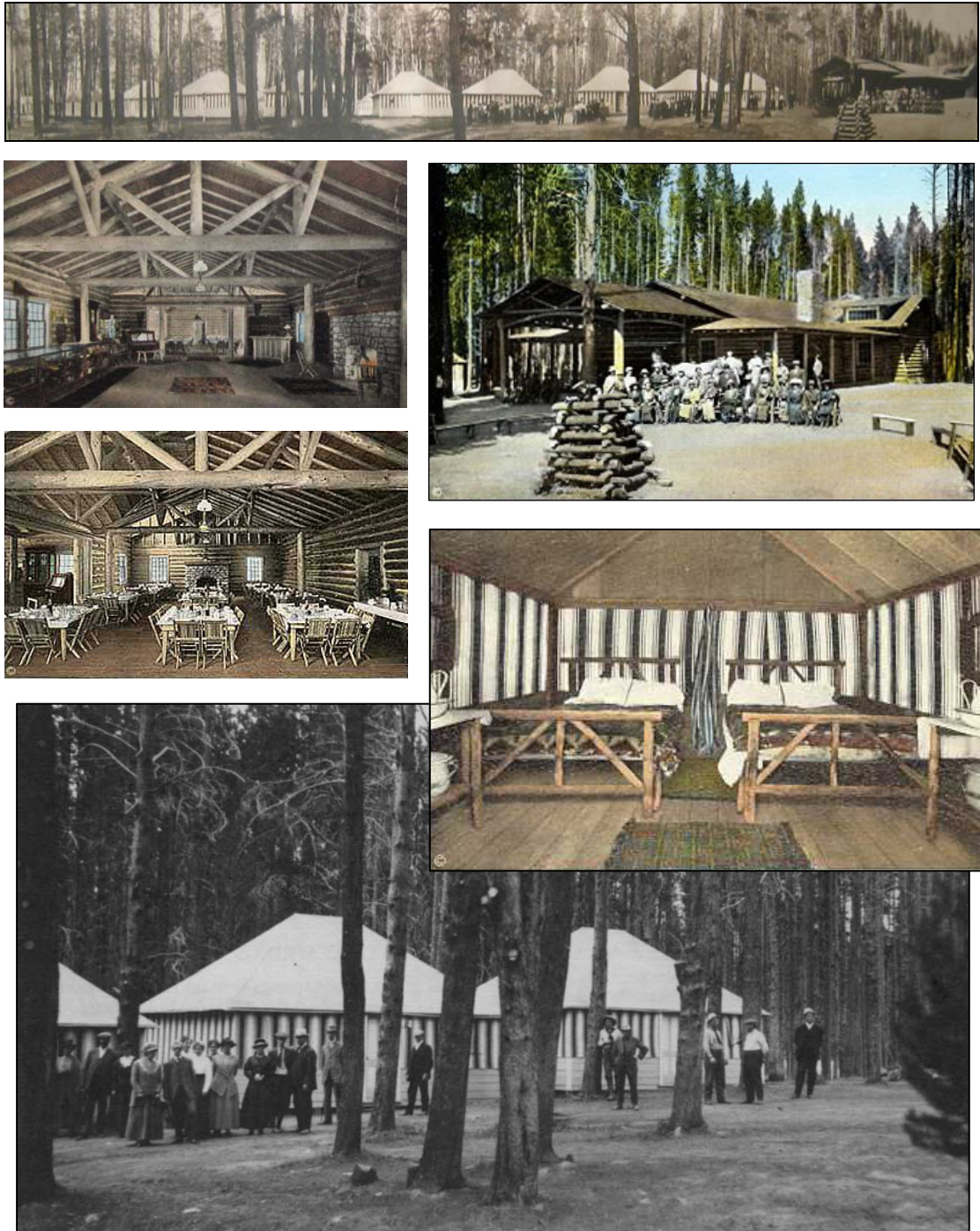


Figure 54: Shaw and Powell Canyon Camp: Counter-clockwise from top: Tent cabins and main lodge, 1915 by Haynes (Yellowstone Gateway Museum); Lobby in front portion of lodge (Francis Collection); Dining room in back portion of lodge (Wyoming Tales and Trails); Canyon tourists and tents, 1915 by Haynes (Whittlesey 1988b), Tourist tent interior (Wyoming Tales and Trails); Main lodge, 1915 by Haynes (Goss Collection)

The Character of Canyon's Settlement

Canyon's evolution as a settlement can be compared to the origin and growth of a city. Throughout the history of Western civilization, the establishment of cities can be classified broadly as fitting one of two patterns—either preconceived or organic (Vance 1977). An organic city is said to be “established at a geographic point but left to evolve in physical pattern as functions and fates determine” (Vance 1977, 24). The preconceived city in the history of Western civilization has been possible when “overall plans have required a degree of power and control” (Vance 1977, 24). Ample financial resources must be available as well. The Roman Empire executed such control when establishing new places such as Milan. Washington D.C. was envisioned by architect L'Enfant and executed under the control of the U.S. federal government. The pattern of either a preconceived or an organic settlement is strongly influenced by the nature and rationale of initial land assignments (Vance 1977, 24-26, 33-35, 253-254). In Yellowstone, the assignment of land to developers was executed via leases agreed upon and signed by both the concessioner and the federal government. The lease was the formal document where the government executed control over park settlement location and pattern.

When the park was created, crafters of the legislation sought to prevent Yellowstone's tourist places from experiencing the same problems that plagued development at Niagara Falls, New York. The park's Organic Act stressed the integrity of Yellowstone's natural setting. Unlike development at Niagara Falls, the Canyon cultural landscape would not include industrial development. Furthermore, access to Grand Canyon vistas would not be monopolized by entrepreneurs—a troublesome issue that also plagued the visitor experience at Niagara (Sears 1989, 121, 162; Bartlett 1989,

138). Yellowstone's visitor developments were to be a new kind of human space: They were for people, and people needed commercial facilities, but development would only be permitted after review and approval by the Department of the Interior. Presumably, Yellowstone's concessioner leases would be executed in a way that preserved the natural landscape, but would still allow visitors an opportunity to enjoy the setting.

At the time of Canyon's establishment, the Department of the Interior had exclusive power and control over the creation of facilities at the site. However, Canyon did not develop as a place preconceived by a single authority. The early Canyon settlement developed organically—it was established at a geographic point and it evolved through time via piecemeal investment by both the government and various concessioners. Three elements were missing for the initial Canyon settlement to have developed as a preconceived place. First, park management lacked the financial resources needed to create a preconceived visitor settlement with public funds. During the process of creating this first national park, legislators chose not to invest government dollars in tourist facilities such as hotels and restaurants. Instead they envisioned significant commercial investment by leased concessioners to create a comfortable and manageable tourist place. This choice made the enforcement of locational restrictions critical—the lack of enforcement leads us to the second element contributing to an organic style settlement.

Second, rules established to control the location of concessioner leases were defined through a succession of modifications to the park's Organic Act. The government demonstrated an awareness of the issue, but it did not consistently abide by its own

guidelines, either retroactively or when establishing new concessioner leases after the Hayes Act of 1894.

Third, there was no agreed upon, formulated vision of this Canyon place. An overall vision, like L'Enfant's plan for Washington D.C., would have influenced land assignments, proximity to sensitive features, settlement patterns created, and the overall success and permanence of Canyon's human landscape.

The Canyon and Falls as Icon of Yellowstone and the National Park Idea

Early mass-produced imagery of Yellowstone's Grand Canyon influenced the character of the organic settlement forming at Canyon. Reproductions from Thomas Moran's early wood engravings and the 1875 chromolithographic print of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone graced the walls and coffee tables of American parlors (Kinsey 2006, 3, 118). Yellowstone's canyon was one of the most brilliantly colored natural landscapes in the world. Just knowing that Yellowstone's canyon existed was enough to affect American patriotism and cultural identity (Erickson 1977, 39). Furthermore, widely distributed reproductions of Moran's work began the process of turning the canyon into an American icon representing Yellowstone National Park and ultimately all national parks (Hyde 1990, 203; Bartlett 1977, 122).

In addition to the first 1872 iconic oil painting of Yellowstone's Grand Canyon, Moran created many more oil paintings of the canyon and Lower Falls. As William Henry Jackson reported, Moran was fascinated with Yellowstone's Grand Canyon and continued to paint dramatic oil paintings, varying lighting and atmospheric moisture for different effects (Figure 55). Similar to Moran's earliest painting of the Grand Canyon,

additional works depicting the canyon still represented a stylized, composite canyon view. The later canyon paintings included a representation of Red Rock Point, which was absent or less obvious in Moran's first painting (Figure 12). However, similar to his original 1872 painting, each of the later canyon paintings included a prominent, light-colored rock outcropping usually high on the right side of the canyon. This outcropping apparently represented a promontory east of both Lookout Point and Moran Point (Boehme 2006, 40—quotes Moran: “the precipitous rocks on the right were really at my back”; Kinsey 1992, 55).

Moran's visual representations of the canyon contributed to the process of place creation and place attachment. They also initiated the popular creation of more images of Yellowstone Grand Canyon. Unlike the park's freakish geothermal features, Yellowstone's Grand Canyon could be easily painted into landscape compositions that were pleasing to people (Sears 1989, 123, 138, 167). Indeed, in art historian Peter Hassrick's book of important artistic renderings of Yellowstone, there are more paintings of the Grand Canyon than any other single park feature. While about 30 percent of the paintings included in his book were scenes of hydrothermal phenomena—various geysers, hot springs, geyser basin views, etc.—about 28 percent of the scenes were specifically of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone. Furthermore, while Hassrick was constructing the book, the available artistic renderings were so overloaded with views of the Grand Canyon that he purposefully chose against imagery of the Grand Canyon in favor of another Yellowstone scene to keep his book in balance (Hassrick 2002, Hassrick 2006).

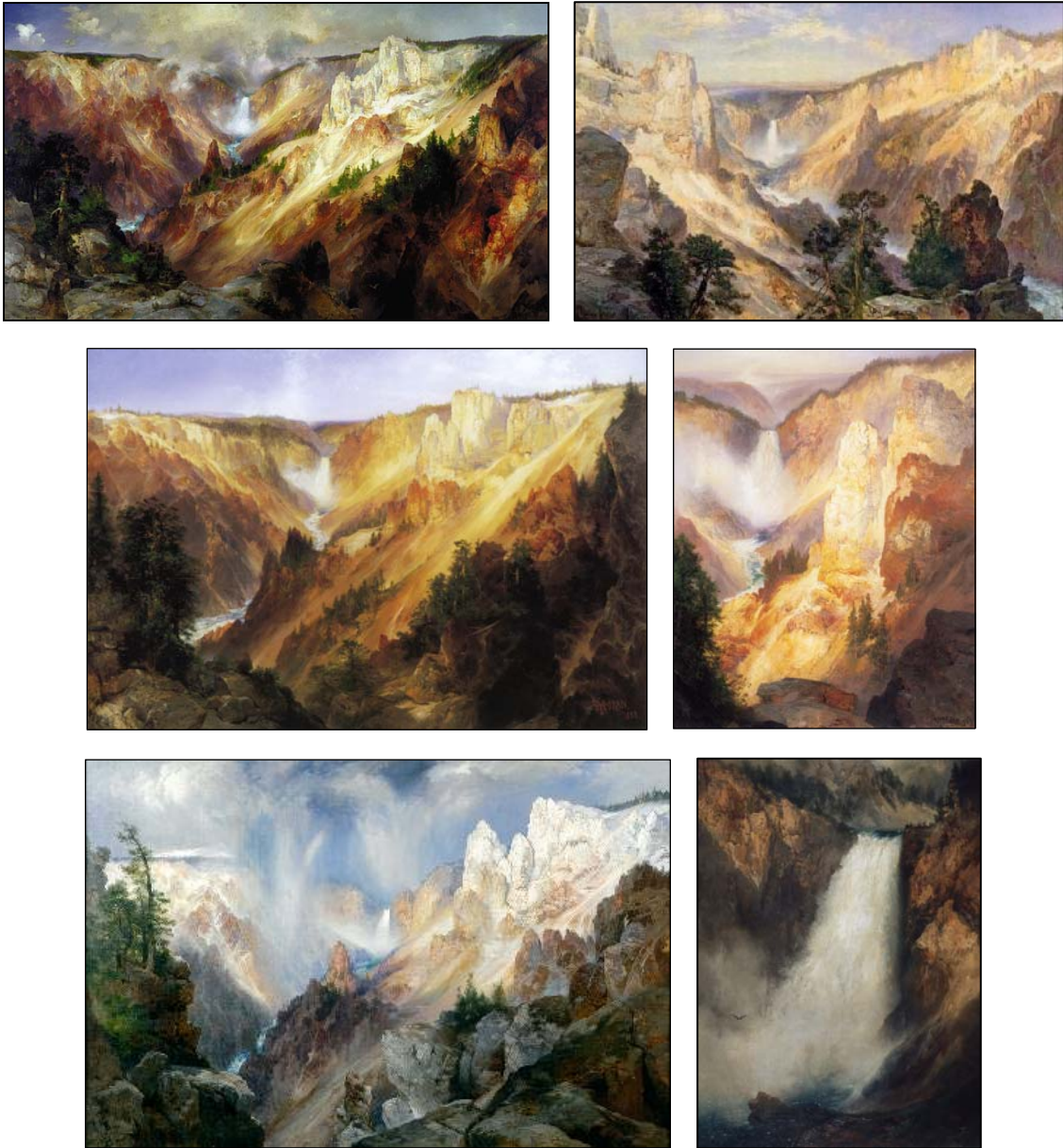


Figure 55: Sample Additional Moran Oil Paintings of Yellowstone's Canyon: Counterclockwise from top left—*The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*, 1893 (Hassrick 2002); *Lower Falls of the Yellowstone*, 1893 (Hassrick 2000); *Mists in the Yellowstone*, 1908 (Hassrick 2002); *Lower Falls of the Yellowstone*, date unknown (Yellowstone Photo Collection—on display at Albright Visitor Center in Yellowstone); *Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone*, 1893 (Hassrick 2000); Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, Wyoming, 1906. Note change in perspective, from the South Rim (New York Graphics Society online)

Park features, including the Grand Canyon, were incorporated into popular media such as children's books, fiction, textbooks, and movies. Each publication contributed to the perception of Yellowstone as a place (Meyer 1996, 69). Through mass-produced reproductions of paintings and photographs, Yellowstone's canyon becomes an icon representing Yellowstone National Park (Figure 56). Graphic representations of the canyon and Lower Falls featured prominently on railroad brochures as did imagery of Yellowstone's famed geysers. Images of the canyon were also used frequently on the cover, as the frontispiece, or accompanying the preface in editions of the *Haynes Guide*. The canyon shared these esteemed *Haynes Guide* placements (often alternating every few years) with images of Old Faithful Geyser. Elsewhere in various editions of the *Guide*, Canyon's cultural landscape with its pioneer-style camp and store buildings as well as Reamer's landmark Canyon Hotel were also shown. Mass-produced materials reinforced natural and cultural place knowledge in those who visited Canyon. They also transferred place knowledge to people who had not, and possibly never would, experience Canyon first hand (Davidson et al 2006, 114).

Images of Yellowstone's Grand Canyon were also leveraged as a symbol of national identity and the National Park Idea (Figure 56 bottom). Unlike European identity derived from common religions, languages, ethnicities, and cultural history, the concept of Nature had become essential to the national identity of the United States (Grusin 2004, 1). Moran's paintings and other graphic renditions of Yellowstone's Grand Canyon demonstrated the canyon's sublime nature and served these nationalistic purposes well (Hyde 1990, 203; Bartlett 1977, 122).

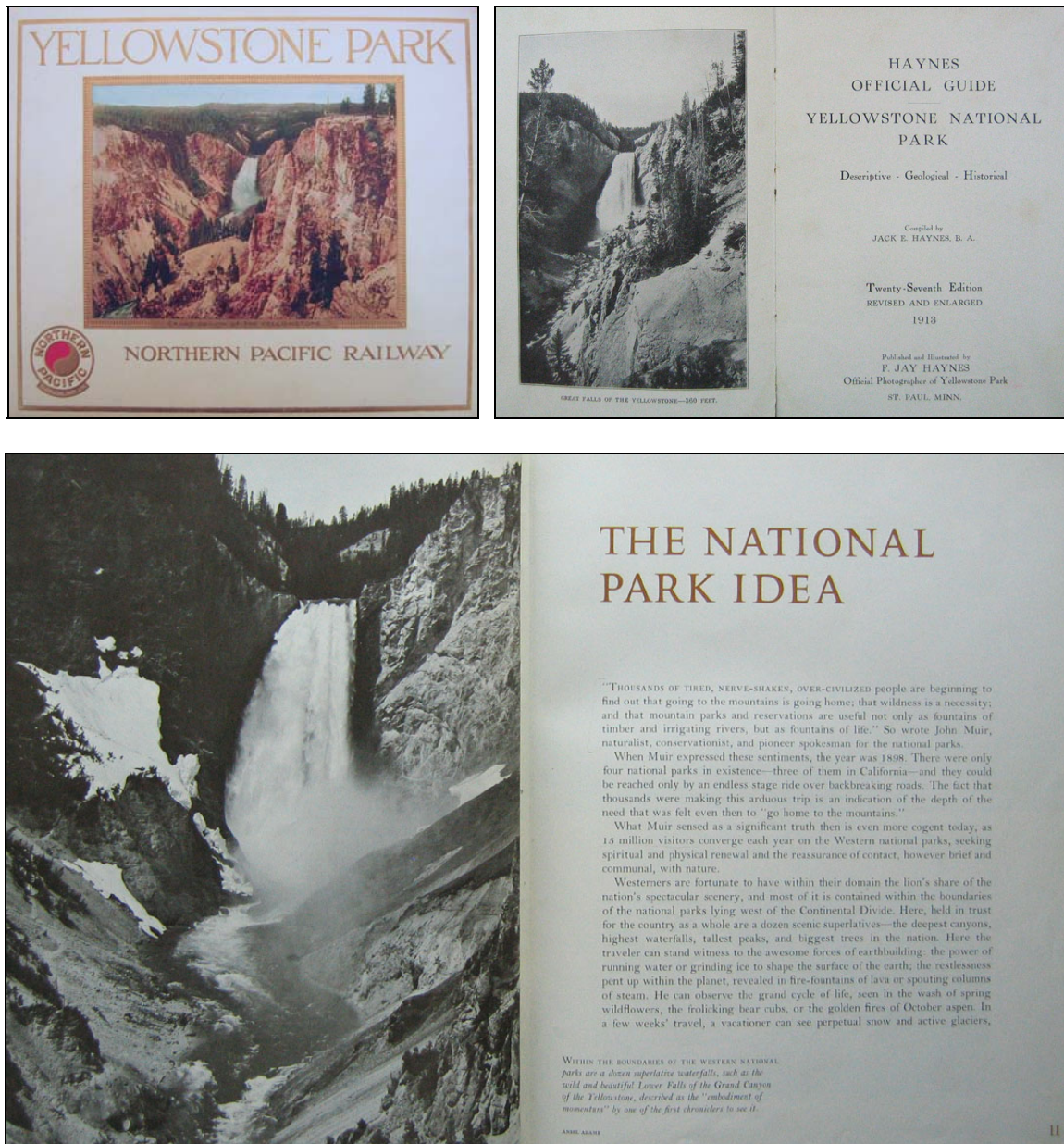


Figure 56: Yellowstone's Grand Canyon and Lower Falls as Icon: Top left—Northern Pacific Railway brochure, 1914 (Yellowstone National Park Library); Top right—*Haynes Guide* frontispiece, 1913 (Yellowstone National Park Library); Bottom—*National Parks of the West*, Sunset Books, 1965 (Burlingame Special Collections)

Viewing the canyon from several different vantage points was an experiential product sold to tourists, and it played a role in Canyon's developing cultural landscape. Thomas Moran's artistic vision, expressed through his paintings of the canyon,

influenced tourist expectations and consequently the way hired guides and transportation companies planned park tour routes and tourist stops. At the “must see” canyon viewpoints, government overlook infrastructure increased tourists’ safety and protected the canyon at locations already used by tourists and guides (Kinsey 2006, 118). Ultimately, the canyon was incorporated into a cultural landscape construction akin to an enormous museum exhibit. Since it was impossible to bring the canyon indoors for exhibition, the Army Corps of Engineers constructed the exhibit infrastructure around the object of attention (Patin 2000, 16). This created a fairly predictable, homogenous tourist experience at the canyon’s rims, day after day, summer after summer. The only substantial difference between tours probably involved the weather, especially its effect on illumination in the canyon.

Images of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone helped Americans shape their vision of the American West and the larger role it might play in the nation’s cultural identity. To that end, paintings and reproductions of Yellowstone’s canyon made the West familiar. They contributed significantly to the development of the national park idea and the preservation of all parks. Furthermore, graphic representations of Yellowstone’s canyon helped set a foundation for valuing scenic beauty, which played a significant role in pre-World War II policy decisions that later radically transformed Canyon’s cultural landscape (Hyde 1990, 203; Bartlett 1977, 119-122; Kinsey 2006, 82, 85-86; Hassrick 2002, 5, 13).

A MATURING SETTLEMENT (1916-1945)

Evolving Protection and Pressures on Canyon

Canyon's settlement landscape continued to develop after 1915 with the admission of automobiles and the ongoing popularity of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone. Roads at Canyon improved in width and grade, although they remained graveled until the Great Depression (Haines 1977b, 355). Concessioners leveraged their energy and experience in hospitality, influencing the maturation of Canyon's cultural landscape in several ways. This maturation was supported by the priorities of the NPS's first two directors, Stephen Mather and Horace Albright. The latter also served as Yellowstone's superintendent during the critical years after the admission of the automobile. Visitation to Yellowstone steadily increased in this period from 35,849 tourists in 1916 to 581,761 in 1941, the summer before the United States entered WWII (Haines 1977b, 479). The lodging capacity at Canyon was much larger than elsewhere in the park, but hotel and cabins were still filling to capacity, unable to satisfy demand during the boom years (Albright 1919, 24). There were occasional drops in the growth of tourism related to WWI and the Great Depression, especially in 1932 (Haines 1977b, 479). However, Yellowstone's cultural landscape during the Depression still matured and evolved with the help of New Deal laborers enlisted in the Civilian Conservation Corps and with investment in automobile-related tourism by park concessioners. By the end of this period, NPS planners and landscape architects questioned the location of Canyon's maturing settlement. They used the master planning process and zoning to imagine a new Canyon settlement away from the canyon's rims.

Admission of Automobiles—Increase in Visitation

A growing number of Americans purchased automobiles during the first two decades of the twentieth century. This sparked changes in American tourism. It increased the number of people participating and changed the nature of tourism from a focus on spiritual enlightenment toward a focus on new experiences and recreation. A Gallatin Valley (Montana) automobile organization, a group similar to today's American Automobile Association (AAA), formed around 1910. The Gallatin Valley group wanted to include Yellowstone in their mobile experiences so they lobbied Congress for admission of private automobiles into the park. This spawned a convention of park superintendents and concessioners at the newly opened Grand Canyon Hotel. The September 11, 1911 convention resulted in a Senate resolution requesting that the Secretary of War estimate the cost of upgrading park roads for automobiles and motorcycles. Congress approved funding for an upgrade of the road system over time (Haines 1977b, 265-267).

On June 7 and June 8, 1915, two automobiles containing park officers, including the assistant superintendent and transportation concessioners, embarked upon a test run of automobile travel through the park. Of particular concern was whether cars could handle the grades of park roads. The test ran satisfactorily and automobiles were permitted in the park beginning August 1, 1915. Fifty cars entered the park that day and by the end of that short automobile touring season, 958 vehicles had been admitted (Rothman 1998, 146-149; Haines, 1977b, 271). Both stagecoaches and automobiles used Yellowstone's roadways for two years until park tourism transportation converted entirely to motorized travel (Figure 57).



Figure 57: Chittenden Bridge and Auto Stages, 1917 by Haynes (Wyoming Tales and Trails)

The New National Park Service

During the first years of Yellowstone's existence, responsibility for the park fell on the Department of the Interior. After 14 years of civilian administration, the U. S. Army stepped in to protect the park in 1886. During army administration of Yellowstone, other national parks and national monuments were created and administered by the agency under whose jurisdiction the land had originally been managed. As the nation neared involvement in World War I, a conflict involving public land management and conservation ideals threatened the future of the national parks and monuments. Preservationists wanted park lands left untouched as beautiful places of respite as a "legitimate form of land use" (Sutter 2002, 58). Utilitarians wanted state and federal public land utilized for many consumable uses, including controlled harvesting of trees

and livestock grazing, as was permitted in America's national forests. National political momentum was in favor of Utilitarians, which threatened the integrity of existing state and national parks. It was during this period that preservationists lost the battle to stop the construction of a dam that flooded the Hetch Hetchy Valley, a place later included in Yosemite National Park (Everhart 1972, 15-16; Runte 1979, 89-105).

During this time of debated ideals, national parks and monuments were not funded well, yet they were experiencing greater visitation. It was not unusual for the Department of the Interior to receive complaints about conditions in parks. One complaint letter was sent by Stephen Mather, a well-established business man who loved the outdoors. Secretary Franklin Lane personally knew Mather. The Secretary responded to Mather's complaint suggesting that if Mather did not like how the parks were run, he could come to Washington and run them himself. Mather was persuaded that his business and publicity acumen were exactly what the national parks needed to increase support from Congress and the public. Mather became a special assistant to the Secretary of the Interior in January of 1915. Secretary Lane assigned his personal aide, Horace Albright, to assist Mather as Mather began his new job of protecting the national parks and monuments. Together Mather and Albright traveled the nation, publicizing the parks and hosting outing events with well-connected citizens. After many earlier attempts to pass legislation creating a national park bureau, a bill finally passed in late August of 1916.

With the establishment of the National Park Service (NPS) in 1916, the agency assumed responsibility for managing national parks and monuments around the country. Stephen Mather became the bureau's director, and Albright the assistant director. The NPS Organic Act was crafted with an emphasis on ensuring that national parks provided

for both visitor enjoyment and at the same time protected parks for future generations—a dual, and at times, conflicting mandate. In Yellowstone, the new NPS with its park rangers completely relieved the U. S. Army from its park protection responsibilities in 1918. For a little more than two years, both the army and a civilian supervisor, Chester Lindsley, administered the park until the army was no longer needed. After assisting with creating the NPS, Horace Albright was assigned to Yellowstone as its first superintendent under the NPS in June of 1919 (Haines 1977b, 290, 458).

Under Mather’s leadership, the new NPS began promoting parks such as Yellowstone to citizens of all means in an attempt to create friends of the national parks. This ensured their popularity, longevity, and especially their protection against threats from Utilitarians (Yard 1928, 13; Bartlett 1989, 87). Modifying parks such as Yellowstone to accommodate the automobile was a priority for Mather and fit his goal of creating park supporters. It was also a way to democratize Yellowstone for all Americans, not just those who could afford a rail trip and the park’s second generation hotels. To Mather, “the automobile should revolutionize the park tour, just as it changed travel conditions everywhere and turned into memories cherished methods of seeing and doing things” (quote: NPS 2003 part 2a, 4; Haines 1977b, 347). To assist with development, Mather started the NPS Landscape Engineering Department for building park roads and utilities. Before the end of his tenure as director, he prioritized the role of landscape architects by separating their functions from park engineers. Landscape architects would be the driving creative discipline behind how parks functioned and appeared (Sutter 2002, 110; McClelland 1998, 195-196).

Albright's leadership in Yellowstone coincided with a period of increased tourism development during the "Roaring Twenties" and the formative years of the NPS (Haines 1977b, 352). Albright had complete control over development in Yellowstone, as long as it did not violate guidelines set by the Interior Department or Congress. Albright set forth to reorganize Yellowstone for automobile access. He remained Yellowstone's superintendent until 1929 when he became the Director of the NPS after Mather's death (Haines 1977b, 352). Albright shared Mather's priorities for parks. As NPS Director, he also strengthened the development of parks for people by stressing the master planning process in the early 1930s (Carr 1998, 246).

Consolidation of Concessioners

After the creation of the NPS and the admission of automobiles to Yellowstone, the park's transportation and camping concession businesses underwent great change. During the winter of 1916, all concessioners providing lodging and transportation in Yellowstone traveled to Washington for a conference on reorganizing how these concessions would operate in the park. During the park's first several decades many different operators obtained leases to provide services for transportation and camping excursions, each soliciting tourists for business, which became quite a nuisance at railheads. The outcome of the conference was a consolidation of all transportation business and camping business into one company for each type of service. This simplified tourists' choices and government coordination. For the park's cultural landscape, consolidation resulted in a decrease in the amount of land under development (Haines 1977b, 273-74; Moorman 1954, 15; Schullery 1997, 182).

Prior to the conference, the YPTC transported tourists from Gardiner into the park. YPTC developed stagecoach yards with barns and bunkhouses throughout the park including at Canyon. In addition, F. J. Haynes operated a stage company transporting tourists who arrived at the West Entrance (his Monida and Yellowstone Stage Company until 1913, then his Yellowstone and Western Company afterwards). William Wylie and his Wylie Camping Company transported tourists from Gardiner, West Yellowstone, and Cody. Shaw and Powell Camping Company transported tourists from Gardiner and West Yellowstone. There also were smaller operators who were permitted to transport tourists in the park (Haines 1977b, 134; Moorman 1954, 15). The business presence of each influenced the experience of Canyon tourists, some more so than others, if they held site leases and built structures.

Early on, Haynes's Monida and Yellowstone business temporarily used the barns of YPA at Canyon. Haynes did have a one-acre lease for Canyon, but the location had not been assigned (Erwin 1898, 20). In 1898 Haynes set up transportation sites in the park including one at Canyon north of the Canyon Hotel (location currently unknown). In 1913 Haynes obtained permission to construct buildings on his leased site, but it is unclear whether construction occurred (Tilden 1964, 393-394; Brett 1913a, 14). In 1911, the Tex Holm Transportation Company had been transporting passengers from their headquarters in Cody, Wyoming just to the park's East Entrance, where Wylie then took over (Moorman 1954, 13). In 1912, Holm obtained a license (extended in 1914) to provide transportation in the park from Cody. In 1913, Holm constructed buildings on his leased site at Canyon south of the Cascade Creek steel bridge, including a kitchen and dining room, bunkhouse, stable, and two outhouses (Brett 1912c, 7; Brett 1913a 14; Brett

1914a, 7; Holm Transportation Company Report, 1913; Whittlesey 2003, 6—has plat description).

Efficiency was paramount to Mather. He initiated a series of mergers in 1917 to streamline operations in conjunction with the change from stagecoach to motorized transportation. All transportation business in the park was granted to the YPTC. In trade for this very lucrative privilege, Harry Child who had run the YPTC since 1901, had to purchase the transportation infrastructure of Wylie Company, Shaw and Powell Camping Company, and the Yellowstone-Western Stage Company, as well as invest in the motorization of transportation in the park (Haines 1977b, 364).

The camping companies were a mixed type of business, offering both lodging and transportation. With the YPTC as the only transportation provider in the park, both Wylie and Shaw and Powell could only reap profits from lodging, which was far less profitable than transportation. To keep the permanent camps viable for tourists, these camping companies were required by Mather to consolidate into one business called the Yellowstone Park Camping Company, whose ownership was split between the two organizations. Many of the duplicate permanent camps in the park were eliminated in favor of one permanent camp at each developed area. The merger between the companies was a difficult one. The company changed ownership multiple times over then next two decades (Haines 1977b, 273; 364-365; 421n35).

Concessions were somewhat consolidated further when the large, separate concession organizations for hotels, camps, and transportation all were eventually under the control of Harry Child. The last large concession—the camps concession—transferred to Child in 1928. After Child's death in February 1931, his son-in-law

William (Billie) Nichols took over management of these separate concessions for the next quarter century. Nichols came to the park as an army officer in 1904. He married Child's daughter and entered the concession business with him. It was under Nichols that the last concessions consolidation occurred with the creation of the Yellowstone Park Company in 1936 (Toll 1931, 2; Haines 1977b, 365, 422n38).

Canyon's Settlement Matures

Landscape Intensification—West Rim Becomes “Main Street”

The time period beginning with the admission of automobiles until the late 1920s represents a time of significant change in Yellowstone. Visitation to the park blossomed in the 1920s, facilitated by increased automobile ownership and federally funded national road building. The NPS priority of accommodating automobile tourism in parks across the nation led to more visitor development in parks, often with unforeseen consequences. Park over-crowding and damage to the environment were mitigated via more development (parking lots, widened trails, etc.), leading to an accumulation of unanticipated cultural landscape changes (Dilsaver and Wyckoff 1999, 76).

In 1915 before the concessions consolidation, Canyon's cultural landscape included one hotel, two “permanent” camps, one soldier station near the western brink of the Upper Falls, at least two stagecoach transportation complexes, plus roads, trails, and overlooks. The quantity and style of tourists arriving independently in automobiles accelerated changes to the Canyon cultural landscape. Auto tourists arrived on their own schedule and were less likely to use the hotels. They needed gas, automobile and camping

supplies, snacks or casual meals at any time of the day, numerous places to park for sight seeing, and a place to park overnight. Admitting private automobiles to Yellowstone significantly changed land use, development, and park planning. Auto camps, less expensive lodges, garages, and filling stations had to be permitted, planned, platted, and built. Between Mather's interest in accommodating auto tourists and concessioner entrepreneurial spirit, these new visitors were cared for with, in the parlance of the day, further "improvements."

At Canyon, improvements represented both the re-establishment of the earlier, ephemeral settlement at the western brink of Upper Falls, and a process known as "landscape intensification." When a cultural landscape matures, or intensifies, its infrastructure of roads and utilities grows, the density of structures increases, and the look-and-feel of the built environment receives more aesthetic attention, keeping step with a growing awareness of place identity (Wyckoff 1999, 112). At Canyon, this intensification was enabled by existing and new concessioner investments (Figure 58). Canyon's settlement intensification was not unusual. This process took place elsewhere in Yellowstone and at most national parks during the first part of the twentieth century. What was different about Canyon was that a growing settlement took shape and intensified at a site previously abandoned—a site that did not meet Hayes Act specifications. In 1924, all lease sites were re-surveyed, including redrawing the plat maps to bring all leases up to date (Albright 1924, 10). This would have been an opportune time to evaluate lease locations at Canyon against regulations specified in the park's Organic Act. Instead, more cabin facilities and new stores continued the

development of Canyon's "Main Street," joining the government-run auto camp and ranger station near the canyon's West Rim.

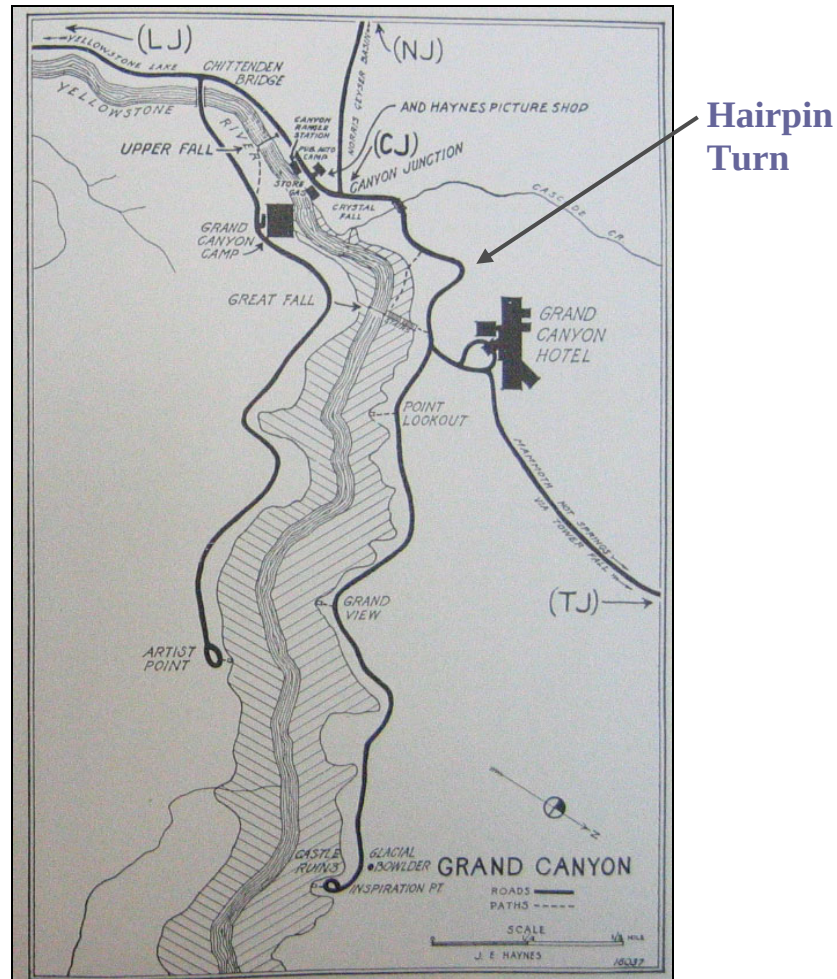


Figure 58: Canyon Visitor Development, c1923 (Haynes 1923). Note that Grand Canyon Camp should be shown closer to the river bend near Lower Falls (labeled Great Fall).

Canyon Public Auto Camp

Automobile tourism at the turn of the century was growing. It was accommodated outside of parks via municipal camps equipped with privies and waste management, and through private citizens offering roadside goods and services for a fee. Through the first

three decades of the twentieth century, these services grew into a significant branch of American tourism. The money exchanged for services through this period enabled municipalities and business owners to develop better “cabin camps,” diners, and stores along the nation’s developing road system. Auto tourists were different from railroad tourists. Although many had the financial resources to travel in comfort on trains, they chose auto touring as a rejection of advanced technology and the fast pace of life. They were “anti-modern.” What many of them sought was a self-reliant, slower, friendlier way of vacationing that offered unpredictable challenges and excitement (Belasco 1979, 3-17, 30, 41).

While auto tourism grew outside of Yellowstone, services for automobile visitors did not exist in the park until the automobile was admitted late in 1915. Admission sparked the creation of simple public auto camps. The auto camps in Yellowstone were separate from the earlier, less formal wagon public camping grounds that were specifically located near grazing, running water, and away from established hotels. Similar to the previous camps for the so called “sage brushers,” Yellowstone’s new public auto camps were also free of charge. Canyon’s public auto camp was one of three established in the park in 1916; the other two were established at Old Faithful and Mammoth Hot Springs. The new NPS wanted to match the auto-camp services tourists experienced outside of Yellowstone; however, this was not possible without charging a fee (Haines 1977b, 351-352).

First Public Auto Camp. Canyon’s first camp for automobiles was located at a less ideal site, across the Grand Loop Road from the first log ranger station (possibly on

the site of the later Tourist Cabins office). It was reached via two roads. One access road traveled west from the Grand Loop Road just south of Chittenden Bridge (part of the original road to Canyon, which is not shown in Figure 58), the other road was across from the first log ranger station site (Haynes 1916, 23; Haynes 1919, 33). Each of the park's first auto camps was supplied with pit toilets for men and women, cooking grates, and dry wood. In addition, teams of government employees patrolled the auto camps to keep them clean and haul away garbage. A 60-foot by 32-foot auto shed (Figure 59) was constructed at the camps to protect automobile interiors from weather. These early vehicles did not have a roof. Each auto shed cost just under \$300 to build and could hold up to 12 cars. The shed was constructed with open sides and topped with a corrugated steel roof eight feet high at its eaves (Brett 1915, 24; Lindsley 1916, 42; Lindsley 1917, 24; Albright 1920, 54-55; Haines 1977b, 359).



Figure 59: Auto Shed at Canyon's First Public Auto Camp, probably on or near the site of the later Canyon Tourist Cabin Office (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

Second Public Auto Camp. By 1919, the proportion of automobile campers increased to two-thirds of the total visitation in Yellowstone. This increase did not go unnoticed by park superintendent Albright. To better accommodate these visitors, Albright proposed to have a total of 46 free public auto camps developed throughout the park turning Yellowstone into “a motorist’s paradise.” Each of these somewhat more sophisticated public auto camps had more developed facilities. Canyon (Figure 60) and Old Faithful auto camps opened in 1920 while Lake and Fishing Bridge auto camps opened the following year (unattributed quote in Haines 1977b, 359).



Figure 60: Canyon’s Second Public Auto Camp in 1922 by Haynes (Haynes 1923)

At Canyon, the improved second public auto camp was located on the site of the second Wylie Permanent Camp (Figure 61). Motorists reached the camp off the Norris Cutoff Road near Canyon Junction. The Wylie camp buildings, abandoned after the concessioner consolidation in 1917, were removed in this process, but its access road was possibly retained for use in this second auto camp. The second public auto camp was supplied with cooking spits, washrooms, bathhouses, six outhouses, and eleven water faucets. Information signs were installed in the new camp and a redesigned water system brought water to the campground from the hotel company's water system. This water system line was also extended to serve the Ranger Station and Whittaker's General Store nearby. When the camp opened in 1920 it filled to capacity immediately (Haines 1977b, 359; Albright 1919, 21-22; Chittenden 1905; Albright 1920, 54-55). By 1921, the first public auto camp (with shed) and its access roads were closed to the public (Haynes 1921, 30).

Third Public Auto Camp. This redevelopment of the public auto camp at Canyon was just the beginning of what would become a true prototype of campground design for America's national parks (Mendelsohn, 1925, 2; Haines 2000). The auto camps served such a large number of visitors in a three-month season, who arrived from every state and many foreign countries, that the chance for the spread of communicable diseases was a real concern. In 1921 a sanitary engineer with the U.S. Public Health Service was hired to review auto camp conditions. To address sanitary issues, a rebuild of the Canyon public auto camp was started in 1923. A new, thirty-acre site along the Grand Loop Road south of the second auto camp was chosen (Figure 61). The camp had just two dirt roads, a

small fruit and grocery (possibly run by Whittaker utilizing Haynes's closed picture shop), and was within 200 feet of the new log ranger station (Haines 1977b, 359; Mendelsohn 1925, 3-4, 9; Goss 2002, 128—Whittaker Store reference).

In this third version of Canyon's public auto camp, 38 water hydrants (fastened to posts or trees) were installed, each about 200 feet apart. Below the spigot was a shallow hole filled with rocks to encourage water dispersion and filtration into the ground. To supply the camp with water, a diversion dam was constructed on Cascade Creek about three-quarters of a mile northwest of the campground and one-quarter mile east of the Norris Cutoff Road. Three ram pumps forced 70,000 gallons per day to a 27,000 gallon concrete reservoir behind the hotel. The water was then supplied to the camp, ranger station, and stores near the brink of the Upper Falls (Albright 1923, 28, 31; Mendelsohn 1925, 4). This new water system eliminated the need to pipe water from the hotel's spring water-capture system and eventually became known as the "government system" (NPS 1933).

Four Rustic-style "comfort stations" (Figure 62), designed by the NPS, contained flush toilets, wash basins, and urinals providing more sanitary facilities for auto campers. At Canyon's third public auto camp there were no outhouses. The comfort stations were attended to by a caretaker who cleaned them daily. Toilet paper was provided, but not soap. The government-run, underground sewer system was tied in with the ranger station and retail stores, terminating in a sedimentation tank below the ranger station. The effluent discharged into the Yellowstone River via the nearby unnamed tributary of Cascade Creek (Mendelsohn 1925, 4, 5).

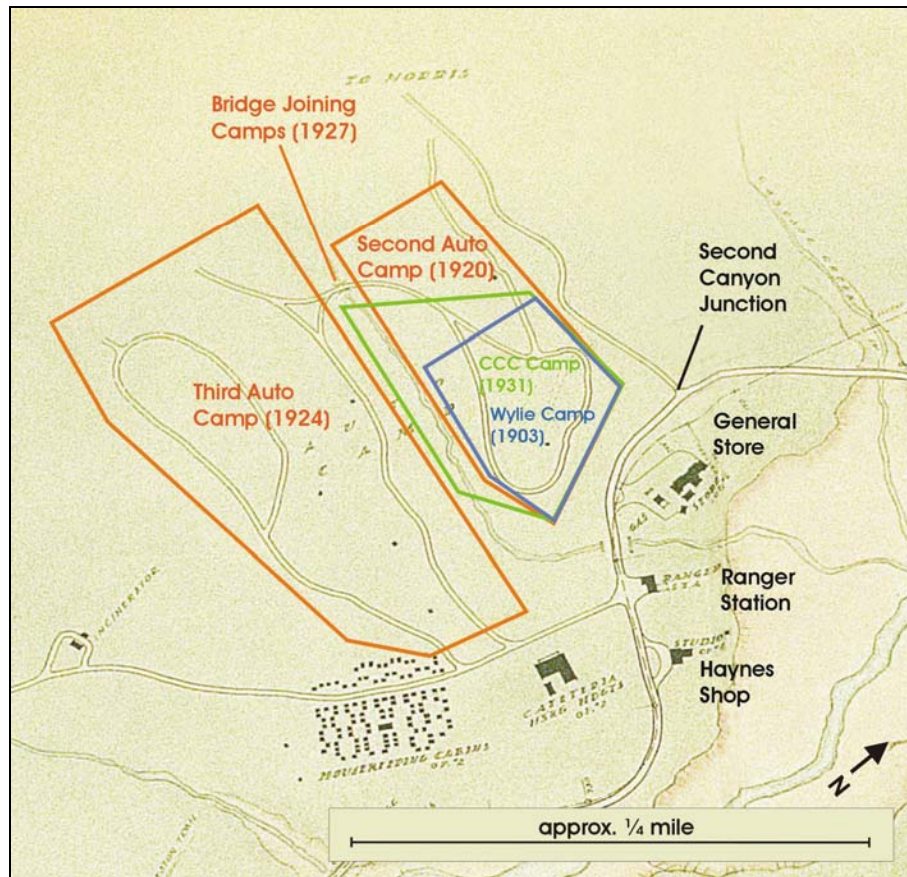


Figure 61: Camps near Second Canyon Junction. Boundaries are approximate. Northern most road in campground may be part of original road from Norris Geyser Basin (adapted from NPS 1933—detail)

In addition to a new water and sewer system, workmen dug shallow pits throughout the camp at frequent intervals for garbage and refuse disposal. These pits were emptied by a camp cleaner who took the waste, along with ashes from campfires, to a pit one mile from the camp. Standing water within one-half mile of the camp was either drained or sprayed with crank case oil for three consecutive weeks for mosquito control. Thirty wooden, nine-foot-long tables with attached benches were added to the camp as well. This new campground did not have designated individual sites; it is likely that these

picnic tables informally defined a camp “site” for auto tourists. Signs denoting service locations and regulations were attached to trees or posts throughout the camp. Park rangers patrolled the camp for cleanliness or campfire problems, and counted the number of vehicles in the camp before nightfall (Mendelsohn 1925, 9-10)



Figure 62: Modern (Third) Canyon Public Auto Camp with Comfort Stations (Mendelsohn 1925)

This redesigned, modern, and novel automobile camp reopened to the public on July 26, 1924. By its closing on September 15, Canyon's public auto camp played host to 4,495 automobiles (daily average of 86) and 14,923 people and was considered an unqualified success. All future park campgrounds in Yellowstone and throughout the national park system utilized the Canyon auto camp design, the only update being a redesign of parking in later years using the Meinicke rock system to protect vegetation (Albright 1923, 28, 31; Albright 1924, 10, 12; Mendelsohn 1925, 11; Haines 1977b, 359; Haines 2000).

By 1927, the second public auto camp was connected to the third auto camp via a 24-foot-long bridge (Figure 61). At this same time, two hundred more picnic tables and two comfort stations were added, vegetation was transplanted to this heavily used camp, and a topographic map was drawn describing this now enlarged public auto camp. Presumably, the second auto camp was in use continuously from its opening in 1920, although it was a less desirable auto camp until this 1927 upgrade. In 1930, the condition of this camp had deteriorated enough that NPS landscape architects were resigned to moving the camp altogether to enable the vegetation to re-establish. Until 1930, access to the auto camp was still advertised via the Norris Cutoff Road, as well as from the Grand Loop Road near the ranger station. Many auto tourists were still using undeveloped sites around the park. Annually, Canyon's public auto camp was large enough to support about the same number of campers and automobiles (2601 cars, 8245 campers) as those camping in undeveloped areas around the park (Albright 1927, 9, 10; McClelland 1998, 308; Haynes 1930; Toll 1931, 4).

An amphitheater capable of seating 200 people was planned for Canyon's auto camp as early as 1934, but construction was delayed due to impending changes at Canyon that would affect the auto camp. The amphitheater was finally built in the third public auto camp, in a wooded area close to the Tourist Cabins office along one of the campground access roads. It was nearly complete in September of 1937 (Toll 1935, 7; Rogers 1938, 15; Latimore email 01/28/2008; NPS 1941). By the end of this period, road engineers were surveying for a new bypass road located farther away from the canyon's West Rim. While the new road would relieve traffic congestion near the rims, it bisected Canyon's auto camp. To provide enough camping for Canyon tourists, construction on a new campground a mile north of the canyon was planned for 1941. The new campground would use the Individual Campsite System and accommodate 150 campers with unlimited room for expansion (NPS 1941).

Whittaker/Pryor's Store and Filling Station

George Whittaker opened a store at Canyon in 1917 after running his store at Mammoth Hot Springs for many years. Whittaker had much previous experience in the park as both an army soldier at Fort Yellowstone and a civilian scout. At Canyon his experience began as a transportation agent for the YPTC inside the Canyon Hotel between 1911 and 1913. Whittaker received permission in 1917 to open a store at Canyon, which he ran from an abandoned log building, until 1919 (Figure 63). Whittaker was permitted to use an existing log building at the site abandoned by the Holm Transportation Company along the canyon's West Rim just south of Cascade Creek. The log building's function was lost at the time of the transportation company merger. During

the fall of 1919 he built a new store there, serving tourists beginning in 1920 (Goss 2005, 26; Culpin 2003, 126; Lindsley 1917, 13; Albright 1919, 82; Haynes 1920, 99—Whittaker store present for 1920 season; Haines 1977b, 365—states store opened in 1921 on the same site as initial log store; Whittlesey 2003, 6—has Holm plat description).

Whittaker continued to expand his business at Canyon, adding a branch store in the new, redesigned public auto camp in 1923 (possibly utilizing the abandoned Haynes Picture Shop). On his main store site, he built a warehouse in 1922, enlarged the store on the west side in 1924, improved the look of his store front access road in 1925, and built a delicatessen with a lunch counter that same year, which was run by the Yellowstone Park Camps Company (Goss 2002, 128—store in public auto camp; Albright 1921-22, 42; Culpin 2003, 127; Albright 1925, 29-30, 33; Moorman 1954, 18).

Just prior to selling his store in 1928, Whittaker made room in the facility for a branch of the US. Post Office. In 1932, Whittaker sold his Canyon store and lease to two sisters, Anna Pryor and Elizabeth Trischman. The sisters had run a curio shop at Mammoth Hot Springs and expanded their business interests to Canyon with this purchase. Pryor's Store, as the business was known, added an employee dorm during the summer of 1936 and continued to house a branch of the post office. By the early 1940s, the store was considered in poor condition (Albright 1928, 19; Toll 1932a, 2; Haines 1977b 365; Rogers 1937, 43; NPS 1941).

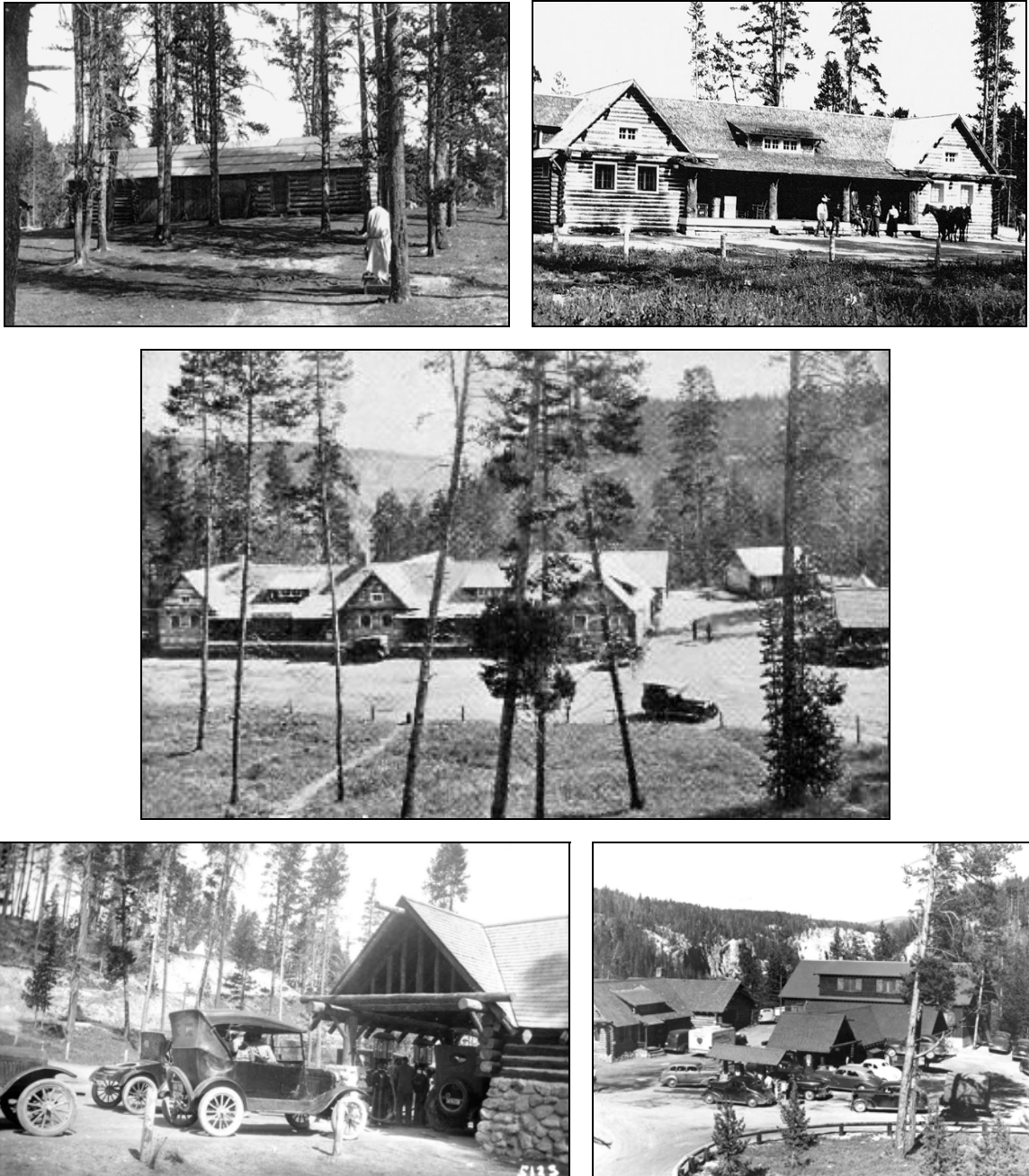


Figure 63: Whittaker General Store at Canyon: Top left—First general store in Holm Building c. 1917 (Goss Collection); Top right—New general store (Goss Collection); Middle—Store complex, 1925 with addition on right end and filling station at right (Goss Collection); Bottom left—Yellowstone Park Transportation Company filling station at Whittaker Store, 1920s (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom right—New 1936 dorm behind filling station, shown in 1947 (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

Canyon's general store site also contained the local "filling station"—as gas stations were called in those days—and automobile supply concession. Once automobiles were admitted to the park, gas was for sale at Whittaker's general store until 1919. That year, gas was made available from the transportation garage of the YPTC north of the hotel. While Whittaker was constructing his new store, the YPTC began construction on a stone and log filling station at the store site. The filling station opened in 1920, coinciding with the opening of Whittaker's new store, returning the gas sales function to the canyon's West Rim. The filling station expanded in 1924, 1927, and 1940, adding new gas pumps, employee sleeping rooms, and gas storage tanks (Haines 1977b, 357-359; Albright 1920, 36; Albright 1924, 29; Albright 1927, 24; Rogers 1940, 28).

Canyon Ranger Station and Community Center

A new Canyon Ranger Station with Community Center, a log structure built in August of 1921, replaced the earlier log soldier station built around 1890 (Figure 64). The new station was built on a different site northwest of the soldier station. It housed the law enforcement ranger functions and provided park information to visitors. A community center, rustic in design with antlers, horns, and skulls, created an inviting setting where park information and evening natural history lectures were delivered. This very popular setting was complemented by a fireplace and sing-alongs (Haines 1977b, 304; Haines 1993, 3; Haynes 1922, 92). The initial Ranger Station had a three-room dormitory and a three-room apartment. It was remodeled in 1934-35, adding 704 square feet and it included a renovation of ranger living quarters. A log building, containing two rooms for

naturalists, and a tent frame residence, were present at the station in 1939 (NPS 1933; Rogers 1936, 25; NPS 1939; NPS 1941).

Canyon's Ranger Station was the only station in the national park system to employ a future president of the United States. Gerald Ford, a 23-year-old Yale football coach, sought summer work in Yellowstone. In 1936, he spent the summer living at the Canyon Ranger Station employed as an Intern Forest Ranger. One of Ford's favorite duties was the early morning auto camp check. Between 5 a.m. and 7 a.m. Ford collected the make, model, state, and license plate number of all cars in the auto camp. The number of cars in the camp varied from 150 to 200 per night, requiring Ford to run through the auto camp most of the two-hour period of time. Ford often reminisced about his duty as an armed guard on the Otter Creek bear-feeding truck, a task that occupied many of his afternoons. Ford also helped rescue a ranger from within the Grand Canyon (NPS 2006b; Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum; Jones 1976).

Ford's roommate that summer was Canyon park ranger Wayne Replogle. Replogle became a well-known and respected Yellowstone park ranger, spending many years stationed at Canyon. In addition to his Canyon ranger duties, he wrote *Yellowstone's Bannock Indian Trails* published in 1956 and wrote articles for *Yellowstone Nature Notes* (a local park publication). His *Nature Notes* topics included Spurgin's Beaver Slide and the group of four bear dens near the Canyon auto camp known as the "bear apartments" (NPS 2006b; Schullery 1991, 155).

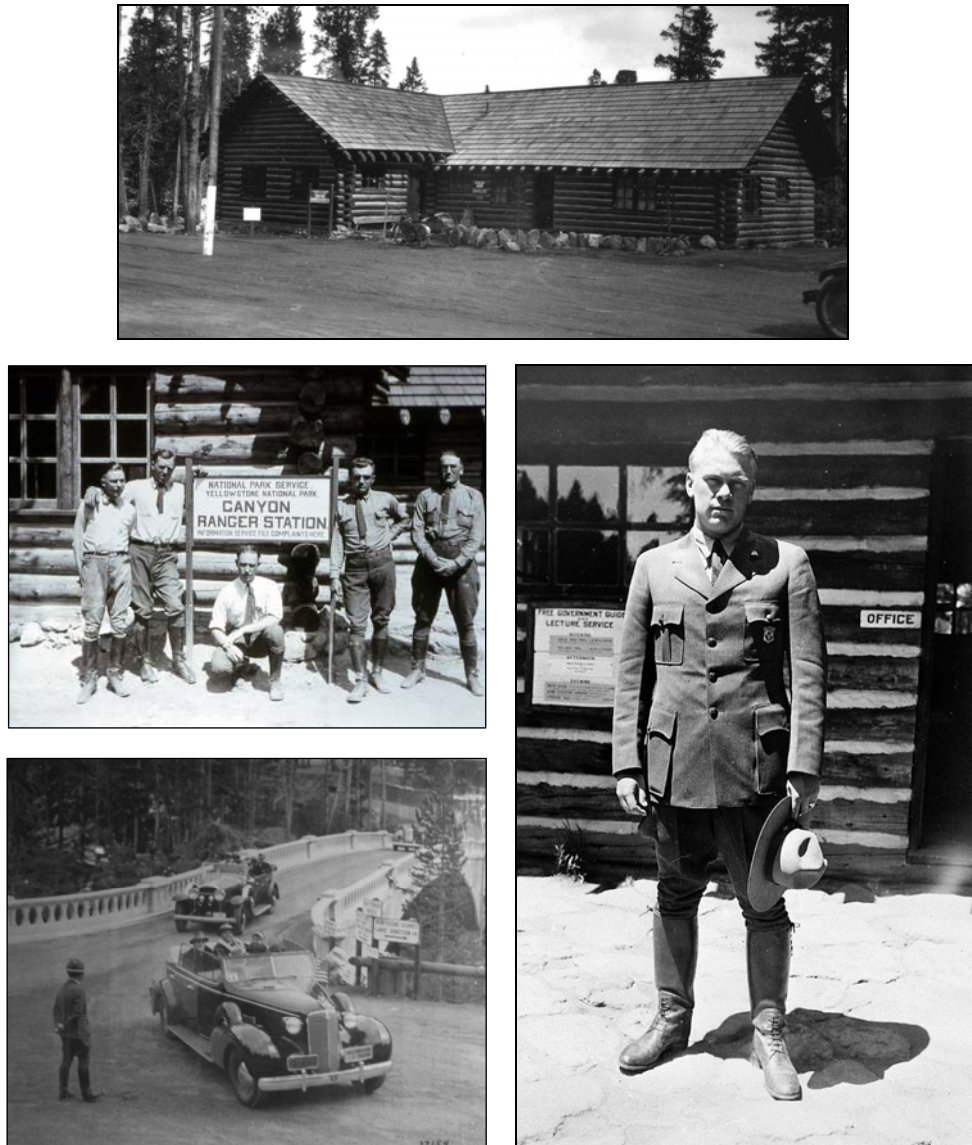


Figure 64: Canyon's Rangers and Station: Top—Ranger Station and Community Center (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Middle left—Canyon park ranger staff, 1922 (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom left—Park ranger on traffic duty at Chittenden Bridge, 1937 (Yellowstone Gateway Museum); Right—Ranger Gerald Ford at Canyon Ranger Station, June 1936 (Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library)

Canyon Ranger duties included staffing the information desk inside the ranger station and directing traffic at the west end of Chittenden Bridge. Later in this period, traffic control was necessary at the bridge all day long, because the curvature of the bridge, coupled with lower driver seats in modern cars, made it difficult to see oncoming

bridge traffic. For those descending tourists unable to climb out of the canyon, rangers kept a long sturdy rope handy just inside the back of the ranger station. Once the Otter Creek Bear Feeding Grounds were built, rangers directed traffic for the exceptionally large number of arriving cars, and they delivered lectures on bears during the shows. Rangers were also stationed at the amphitheater enclosure as armed guards to protect tourists in the event that a bear lost interest in the garbage and headed for the amphitheater seats (Haines 1977b, 304-306, 414n48).

Interpretive talks were also delivered by rangers, but unlike other major park locations, Canyon did not have a museum for such events. Before the Otter Creek facility was constructed, rangers delivered a nightly talk entitled “The Animals of the Yellowstone” at the bear pit behind the Canyon Hotel. Naturalist walking tours were offered in the morning down Uncle Tom’s Trail and in the early afternoon along the South Rim Trail to Artist Point. Also in the afternoon naturalists led a walking tour along the North Rim. Beginning in 1930, rangers gave an evening illustrated lecture at the lobby of Canyon Lodge, discussing how the canyon was formed. Auto caravan tours were started in 1931, but lasted for just six years. In 1936, a very popular evening campfire lecture in the community room was initiated, replacing the illustrated lectures presented in the Lodge lobby. Also in 1936, “special contact” rangers were stationed during the day at Artist Point and at Grand View (Toll 1930, 22; Yellowstone Park Transportation Co. Brochure, 1931; Toll 1931, 6; Rogers 1937, 16; Rogers 1938, 15, 19).

Space in the community room was limited. Often tourists were left standing at the door or could not get near enough to hear the evening program. An amphitheater with seating for 200 people was planned beginning in 1934 to help with this issue. But

construction was delayed for several years due to impending changes at Canyon including the rerouted Grand Loop Road that bisected the auto camp. A temporary amphitheater was built in 1937 in the auto camp with seats constructed by the local CCC crew (Figure 65). The amphitheater was located along an auto camp access road close to the Tourist Cabins office (Rogers 1938, 15; NPS 1941; Camp Canyon Cub, Co. 544 1937, 4; Latimore 2005).

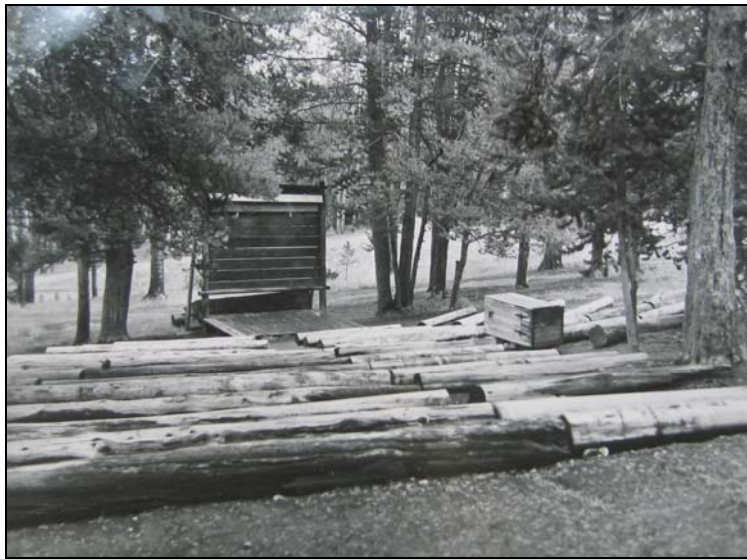


Figure 65: Amphitheater in Canyon Auto Camp, shown in 1957 (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

Haynes Picture Shops

F. J. Haynes secured a lease for one acre of land in 1914 at or near the Grand Canyon for building a picture shop, but this lease was apparently never used, even after Jack Haynes took over his father's business in 1916 (Brett 1914a, 22; Culpin 2003, 130). In addition to Haynes Picture Booths in both the Canyon Hotel (since 1895) and Canyon Camp (since 1917), Haynes used a small government building at Canyon for a picture

shop (location unknown) until the building collapsed under heavy snow in 1922 (Culpin 2003, 130). Presumably after the collapse, Haynes built a picture shop in the auto camp, which opened on June 25, 1922 (Figure 66). This shop could have been in the second auto camp; however, its location may have been in the third auto camp, under construction beginning in 1923. This shop operated only until Haynes built his long-standing shop closer to the brink of the Upper Falls (Haynes 1922, 92-93; Haynes 1923, 101; Albright 1921-22, 41; Haynes 1924, 32, 101).

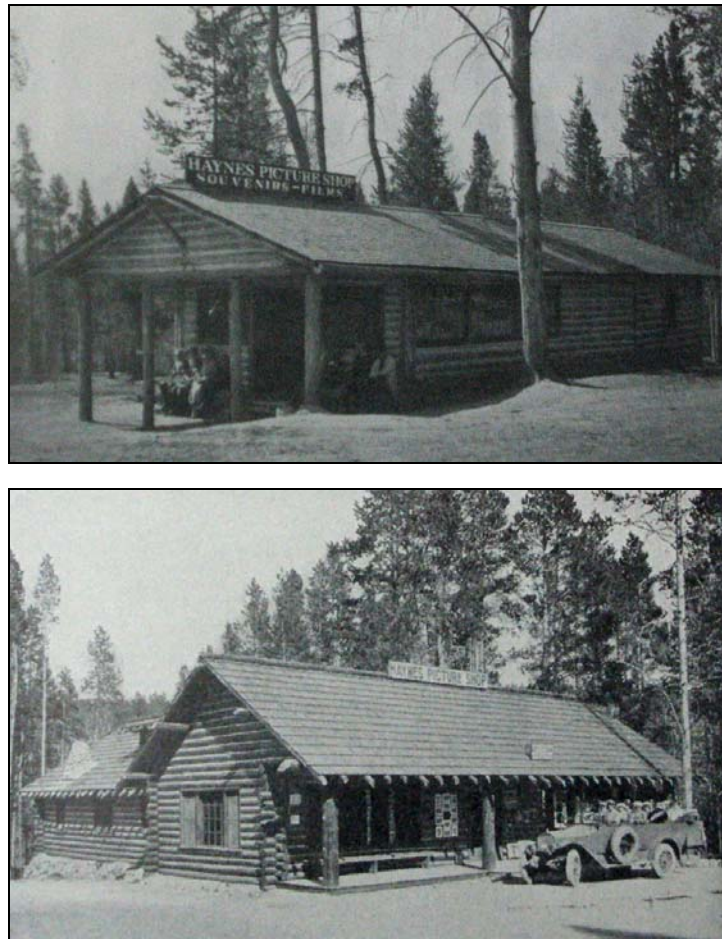


Figure 66: Haynes Picture Shops at Canyon: Top—At Public Auto Camp in 1922, by Haynes (Haynes 1923); Bottom —New Haynes Picture Shop opened in 1924 on site of the log Soldier Station, by Haynes (Haynes 1929)

Third Generation of Visitor Overnight Accommodations

The park's third generation of overnight tourist facilities first took shape before the turn of the century as movable tent camps, which later became the park's permanent camps (and eventually its rustic lodges). The permanent camps began as a lodging option for tourists who opted against staying in the park's second generation hotels. These tourists purchased stagecoach tours from independent, out-of-park operators who offered less expensive, casual lodging in tent-top cabins around the park. After the admission of the automobile, these camps developed into a true third generation through adaptation, enlargement, and improvements completed in the 1920s and 1930s. This third generation also included the housekeeping cabin operations. The housekeeping cabin operations were, in essence, an overflow accommodation of the permanent camps, although they were initially described as additions to the auto camp.

The overall imprint on the landscape of these third-generation operations was flexible, expanding as more cabins and bathrooms were added, until the size of these operations stabilized in the mid-1930s. One historian has called the company behind these facilities, the Yellowstone Park Lodge and Camps Company, the most dynamic of all divisions in what became the Yellowstone Park Company in 1936 (Barringer 2002, 86-89). Yellowstone's third-generation facilities endured and overlapped in time with the second generation hotels. Some of the second generation hotels began offering rental cabins as well, turning those lodging operations into generational hybrids. Both second generation and third generation accommodations still exist in Yellowstone today.

Fred Willson was an architect in Bozeman for fifty years between 1906 and 1956. More than 1,800 structures have been attributed to him in Bozeman, Yellowstone Park,

and elsewhere in southwestern Montana (banks, homes, schools, ranches, university buildings, theaters, and recreational buildings). In Yellowstone, Willson submitted designs for nearly all of the concessioners including original building designs, building modifications, hotel interior reworking, insurance plats, utility buildings, and concessioner residences. Willson also drew the design of the typical log and frame guest cabins used at lodges throughout Yellowstone. At Canyon, Willson contributed designs for at least seventeen projects, including new buildings and remodeled structures at the Canyon Bus Complex, the Canyon Tourist Cabins Cafeteria, and the enlargements of Canyon Lodge in 1925 and 1928 (Butterfield 2000a, 2; Butterfield 2000b). Willson's architectural aesthetics added significantly to the tourist experience of Yellowstone and its cultural landscape.

Canyon Camp (Lodge)

Shaw and Powell's permanent camp was briefly known as "Twixt Falls Camp," until the camping companies were merged (Automobile Guide Map c1916). After the camp companies merged, only the Twixt Falls Camp was used, and it was renamed Canyon Camp. These cabin concessions were logically called camps, because they offered a more rustic type of accommodation in comparison to the hotels. However, with the construction of the public auto camps throughout the park, renaming these facilities as lodges probably eliminated confusion as well as reflected an increase in comfort. By 1927, Canyon Camp was known as Canyon Lodge (Haynes 1927, 30, 99).

After the park permitted private automobiles into Yellowstone in 1915, Canyon Camp blossomed. Automobile visitation burgeoned and the Wylie Camp at Canyon was closed. These changes warranted further financial and material investment at Canyon Camp because it was simply too small to meet the demand. The Yellowstone Park Lodge and Camps Company expanded Canyon Camp on the same site, although the camp was within one-eighth mile of the canyon's rim. The expansion was planned and executed using a plat signed by Horace Albright (NPS 1924).

The promotional skills of Howard Hays, the Camps Company general manager from 1919 until 1924, also increased use of the camps. Hays befriended ticket agents and railroad representatives, who in turn sold the camps tour to many visitors in lieu of a hotel tour. Camp entertainment led by a recreation leader, and a campfire sing-a-long, were promoted as unique to the camps. Also publicized were the employees, who were said to be from the best homes in America (Yellowstone Park Camps Co. 1924, 5). Vernon Goodwin, a former hotel operator in California, purchased the Camps Company in May of 1924. His experience in hospitality led to improvements in the main lodge buildings and additional cabins through 1928 (Figure 67). That year Harry Child purchased the company and renamed it Yellowstone Park Lodge and Camps Company (Moorman 1954, 22; Haines 1977b, 361, 421n35).

Tourists were drawn to Canyon Camp in part by advertisements stating that the camp was within a few steps of the canyon's edge: "at Canyon Camp the falls and canyon walls are seen without leaving the camp grounds" (Yellowstone Park Camps Co. 1924, 4, 6). To meet the camp's growing popularity, buildings and upgrades were added regularly between 1919 and 1939 (Figure 68). As new structures were added, they were built in accordance with the architectural scheme of the camp—essentially the pioneer log tradition (Albright 1919, 79).

Changes to the lodge building included an enlargement of the original Shaw and Powell dining room between 1921 and 1923. Workmen began construction on a new, rustic lobby in 1924 and completed it in spring 1925. The lobby was designed by Willson, employing the decorative stone masonry commonly associated with national park buildings today. New retail "wings" on either side of the new lobby (possibly not Willson designs) housed a Camps Company curio shop in the west wing (run by Hamilton after 1927) and an expanded Haynes Picture Shop in the east wing, which first opened at Canyon Camp in 1917 (Culpin 2003, 128; Goss 2002, 121—Hamilton Store date; Albright 1925, 33; Willson 1924—drawing indicates wing entries, but no construction detail; Lindsley 1917, 13). The 1924-1925 lodge construction and remodeling project was likely the greatest functional change in the Camp's history. With a new, rustic lobby, it was probably at this time that the old lobby from the Shaw and Powell days was converted to a tourist dining room, adding significantly to overall change.



Figure 67: Canyon Camp (Lodge) Facility: Counterclockwise from top—Camp after dining and porte cochere extension, 1923 by Haynes (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Canyon Camp after Willson lobby addition, 1925 by Haynes (Goss Collection); Canyon Lodge after porte cochere and west end extension, 1928 by Haynes (Francis Collection); Permanent cabin interior, 1924 by Haynes (Author's Collection); Canyon Camp lobby and east fireplace, 1925 by Haynes (Author's Collection)

Year	Qty	Added	Source
1918	1ea.	Rough log building (laundry), and a warehouse/garage	Lindsley 1918, 12
1919	?	Cabins: beginning of tent-top replacement, (may also have constructed other buildings)	Moorman 1954, 17; Albright 1919, 79
1921	1 1	Boys dorm Dining room expansion (could be to 1923) (40'x60')	Culpin 2003, 128; Albright 1925, 29-30; Haynes photo 23419
1922	2 20 N/A	Dorms (24 employees each). May include 1921 dorm Cabins (probably added in 1921) New sewer system, flush toilets, and tubs in camp	Albright 1921-22, 40 Moorman 1954, 18
1924	1 1 2 2 56	Tools shed Engine and powerhouse Flush toilet buildings Dorms (<i>Willson Architect</i>) Cabins: one- and two-room	Albright 1924, 26, 29 Yell Archives Dwg.
1925	1 12 1	Rustic lobby (<i>Willson Architect</i>), and retail wings Cabins: one- and two-room Storage, dispensary, dorm, barber shop (30'x 90')	Albright 1925, 29-30; Yell Archives Dwg.
1926	1 45	Boiler house (30'x50') Cabins: (8) 12' x 20', (37) 12' x 12'	Albright 1926, 32
1927	51 1	Cabins: (45) 12'x 14', (6) 12' x12' 78 horsepower steam engine/50kw generator Sewerage tank	Albright 1927, 24
1928	1 1 1 40	Porte Cochere (<i>Willson Architect</i>) West wing extension (<i>Willson Architect</i>) 75,000 gallon water tank, elec. pump at river Cabins	Haynes photo 28369; Yell Archives Dwgs; Butterfield 2000b Rogers 1936, 33 NPS 1933 Albright 1928, 18
1929	56 3 2	Cabins Four-room dorms Double comfort stations started (<i>Willson Architect</i>)	Toll 1929, 43 Xanterra Archives Dwg.
1930	7 1	Cabins Linen room with dorm (30' x 60') (<i>Willson Architect</i>)	Toll 1930, 23 Yell Archives Dwg.
1933	1	Chlorinating building	Toll 1933, 23
1937	1 1 2	Oil storage tank and oil burning equipment (1936?) Employee bath house Four-room dorms (Dorms G and H)	Rogers 1937, 42 Rogers 1938, 35 Yell Archives Dwg.
1939	1	Cement loading platform, east end of kitchen	Rogers 1940, 28

Figure 68: Recorded Canyon Camp (Lodge) Additional Structures, 1919-1939
(bold indicates major change)

Further modifications occurred in 1928 when the west wing curio shop was extended and the lodge's signature stone-and-wood porte cochere (both designed by Willson) were added. Miss Margaret McCartney (known as "Lady Mac") was the Camp manager from 1923 until she left the park in 1934. She managed the Camp through most of these dramatic changes including its name change to Canyon Lodge around 1927. Employing female managers at these camp operations was strategic. It helped to ensure the comfort of women travelers who came to the park unescorted, thereby increasing patronage, revenue, and growth (Gorder 1976, 1; Moorman 1954, 6; Yellowstone Park Camps Co. 1924, 21).

The 1929 touring season was very busy, and it over-taxed facilities at the park's lodges. Fifty-six new cabins were built at Canyon Lodge (Figure 69), raising the total to 256 cabins with a capacity to host 700 guests (Moorman 1954, 20-21; Toll 1929, 43). Even more cabins were built over the next four years, comprising a total of 302 frame cabins by 1933. The large size of Canyon Lodge and its central location probably influenced its selection as one of a few park facilities open in 1933, after a large drop in park visitation during the Great Depression year of 1932. The Lodge property still had a few tent-top cabins used for employee housing at this time (Figure 69), their use extending even into the 1950s (NPS 1933; Toll 1933, 2; Canyon Lodge Employee interview 2005).

Between 1923 and 1932, an access road and structures were added to the top of the hill south of Canyon Camp at a place later known as Woodchopper Hill. By 1932, the site had two, possibly three long structures and was probably used by the crew that prepared fuel logs for concessioner operations. A four- to five-man crew traveled around the park splitting wood for all the park's lodges under a contract with the park's main concessioner (Airscares-Wyoming 1923b; Crissy Field 1932; Murray email 07/02/2005; Murray email 08/10/2005).

In 1935, Willson drew plans to add a recreation hall with stage onto the main lodge building at its east end. Construction of this recreation hall was not executed; possibly due to NPS plans in 1935 to move the Lodge to Canyon Village (Butterfield 2000b; Willson 1935; Haines 1977b, 375). Miss Irene Eby came to manage Canyon Lodge this year, after having managed the Sylvan Pass Lodge, which had just closed. Miss Eby managed Canyon Lodge through its last season in 1956. She was known for holding her employees to high standards at Canyon Lodge, both on and off the job. Even so, some found her to be caring as well as demanding (Gorder 1976, 1; Whittlesey and Yellowstone Staff 1997, 84; Godsey email 02/06/06). Despite plans to remove Canyon Lodge, new hardwood floors were installed in 1937 and the Lodge underwent considerable repair in 1939-1940 (Rogers 1937, 42; Rogers 1940, 28). Similar to most Yellowstone tourist facilities, Canyon Lodge was closed in the summer of 1942 and remained closed for the duration of World War II (Rogers 1942, 2; Haines 1977b, 367-368).

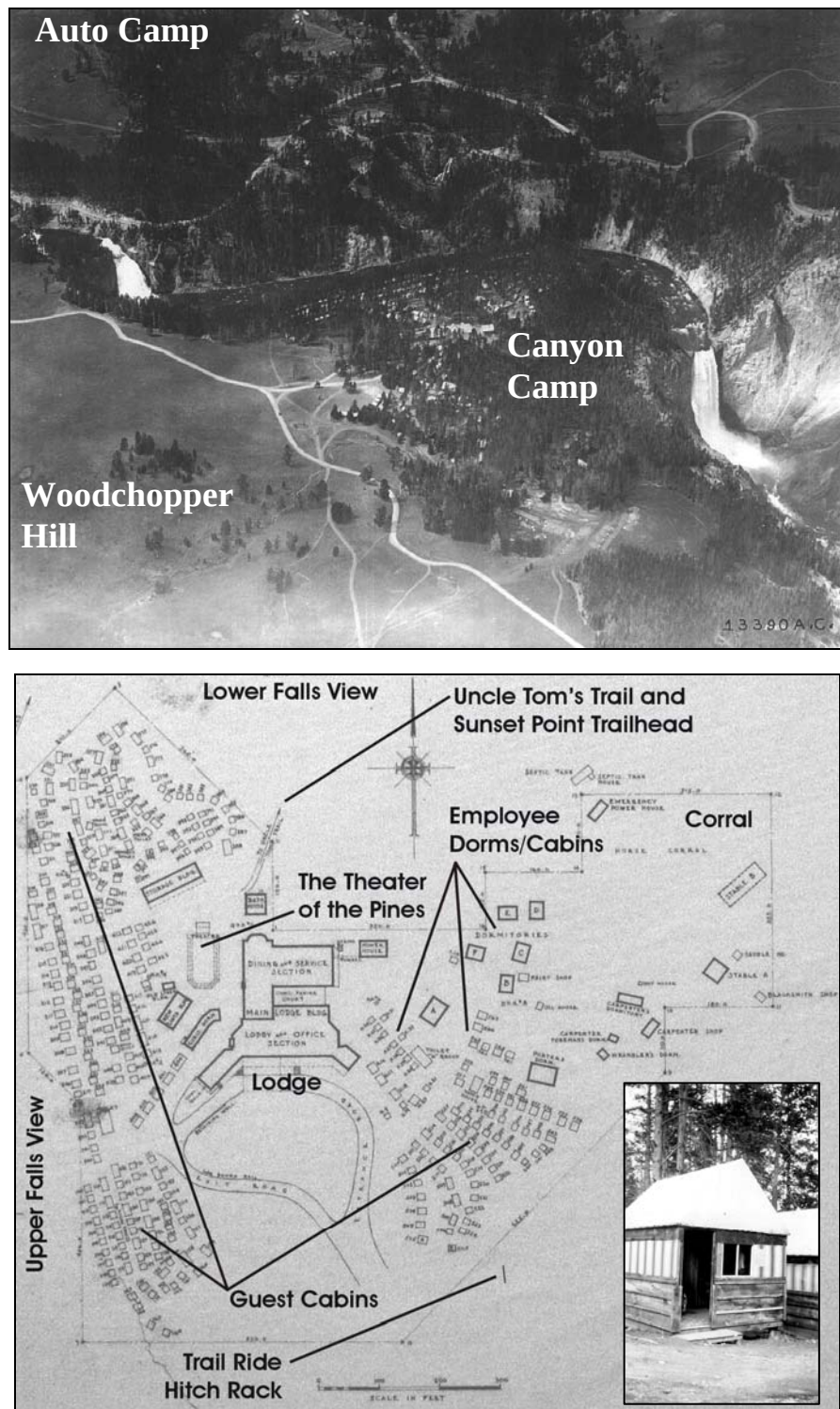


Figure 69: Canyon Camp (Lodge) and Tent-top Dormitory: Top—Canyon Camp and West Rim settlement, 1923 (Airscares-Wyoming 1923); Bottom—Canyon Lodge plat, 1930 (Xanterra Archives); Inset—Tent-Top employee housing, 1936 (Morse Collection)

Canyon Tourist Cabins (housekeeping cabins)

The housekeeping cabin operations appeared upon the park's cultural landscape, seemingly without much fanfare or planning. Around the national park system, they were considered an experiment in concessioner development that proved to be very popular and profitable for concessioners (McClelland 1998, 244). It is unclear whether these concessioner establishments had to pass through the same leasing processes as earlier concession proposals that were submitted with surveyed plats *prior* to construction.

Housekeeping cabin operations were established at the major park developed areas. They were initially considered an adjunct to the public auto camps. However, the housekeeping cabin set-ups essentially handled the overflow of automobile tourists from the lodge operations, albeit in a less expensive way, making them a part of the park's third generation of tourist accommodations. At Canyon, this operation began when Goodwin moved tent-top cabins adjacent to the auto camps as the tent-top cabins were being replaced by permanent units at Canyon Lodge. Initially, the housekeeping cabins were rented without mattresses on the beds (tourists could rent mattresses if they wished). However, the practice became troublesome for tourists looking for creature comforts, resulting in each tent-top cabin being supplied with mattresses (Moorman 1954, 20). In 1930, these locations were referred to as the "Housekeeping Unit in public auto camp." By 1937, the operations were also called the "Tourist Cabins" (Toll 1930, 23; Haynes 1935, 88; Rogers 1937, 42).

At Canyon, Goodwin installed more tent-top cabins near the public auto camp in 1925 as part of the 1924-1925 renovations and upgrades he made at Canyon Lodge (Albright 1925, 29-30; Moorman 1954, 20). Between 1927 and 1929, Goodwin's

company also built a cafeteria, designed by Willson, near the housekeeping cabins (Figure 70). The cafeteria also contained a cabin office and a 40-person women's dorm on the second floor (Toll 1929, 43; Albright 1927, 24; Haines 1977b, 361—says Goodwin's cafeteria was present in 1926; Sigrist 2005). Demand warranted further expansion of the cafeteria and delicatessen, leading to an enlargement of the cafeteria between 1936 and 1937, which was also designed by Willson (Rogers 1937, 42; NPS 1939; Butterfield 2000b).

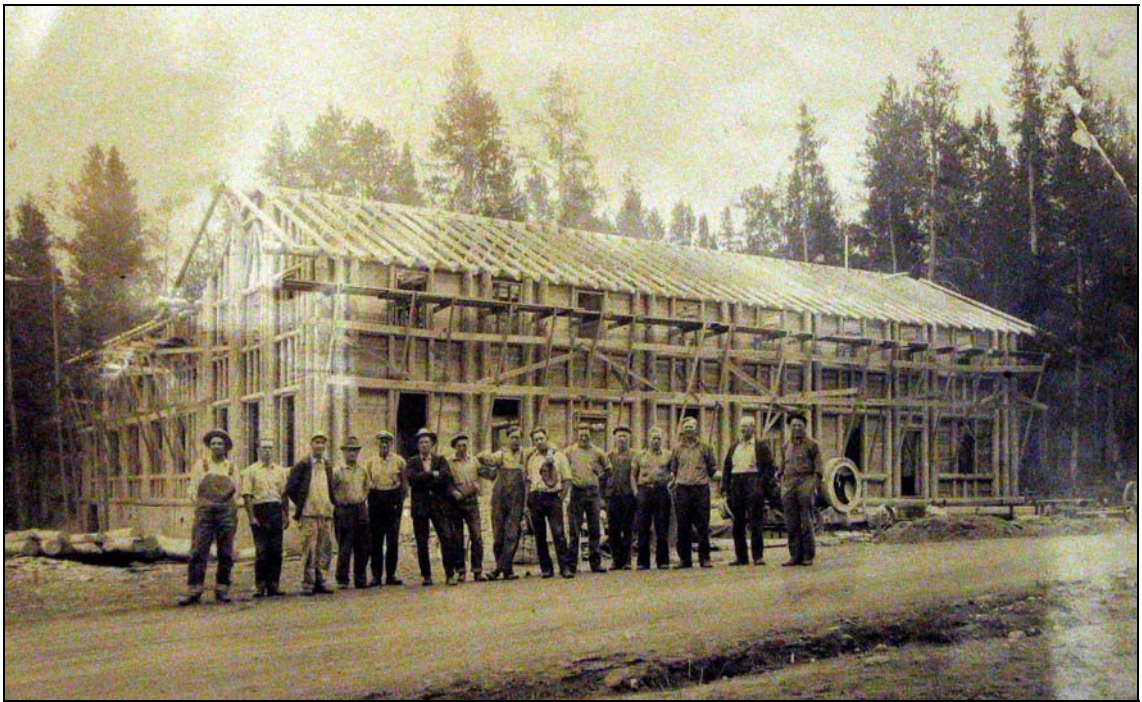


Figure 70: Canyon Tourist Cabins Cafeteria and Office under Construction, 1927-1929 (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

Cabin capacity (both tent-top and frame) at Canyon Tourist Cabins grew over time, similar to the expansion at Canyon Lodge, although it began a decade later (Figure

71). Tent-top cabins were likely 12-foot square or 16-foot square. Frame cabins were likely 12 feet by 15 feet or 12 feet by 20 feet. New cabins and structures were added in:

- 1925: 24 one- and two-room tent-top cabins (Albright 1925, 29-30; NPSf —suggests start year of 1926)
- 1929: 141 tent-top cabins (Toll 1929, 43; Moorman 1954, 21)
- 1930: 64 permanent cabins; 2 comfort stations—18' x 36' and 16' x 30' (Toll 1930, 23)
- 1931: 14 permanent cabins (Toll 1931, 15)
- 1935-1936: 37 permanent cabins—some may have replaced tent-tops (Rogers 1936, 33)
- 1937-1938: 27 permanent cabins—some may have replaced tent-tops (Rogers 1938, 35)

By 1933, the 173 tent-top cabins installed (Figure 71, top) were slated to be replaced by frame cabins with log trim, but by 1939 they were not all yet replaced. Most tourist complaints in 1938-39 were related to the quality and rates charged for the park's housekeeping cabin operations (NPS 1933; NPS 1939; Rogers 1939, 21). By 1941, the cafeteria building was considered in fair condition and similar to most other tourist facilities in Yellowstone, Canyon Tourist Cabins were not available for the duration of the war (NPS 1941; Rogers 1942, 2; Haines 1977b, 367-368).

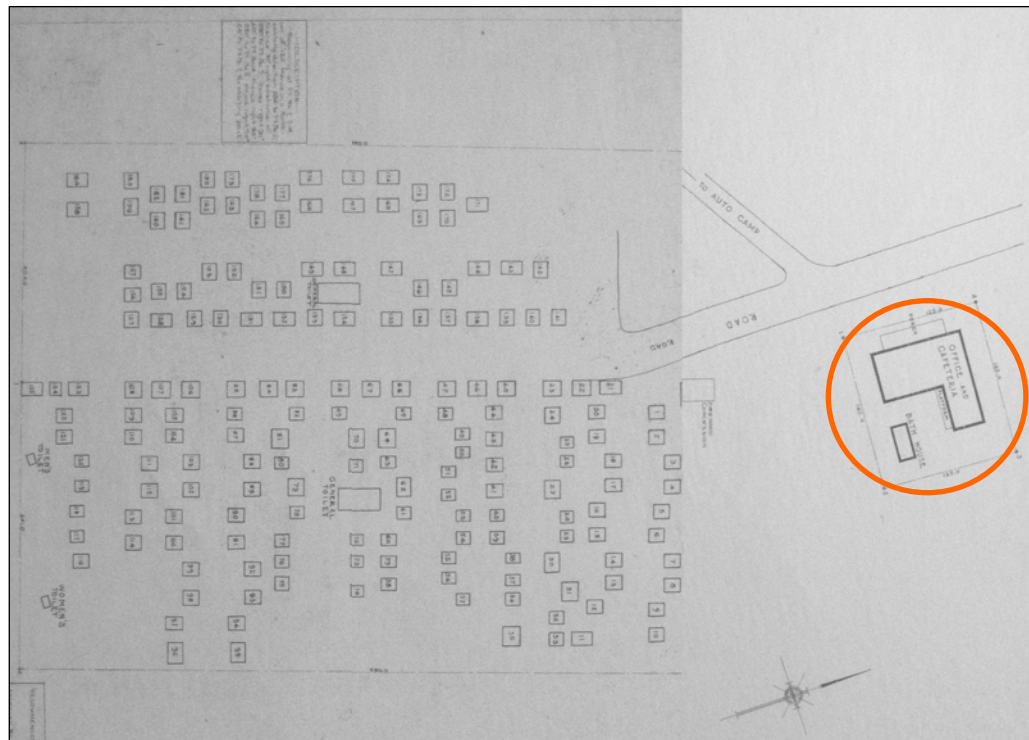
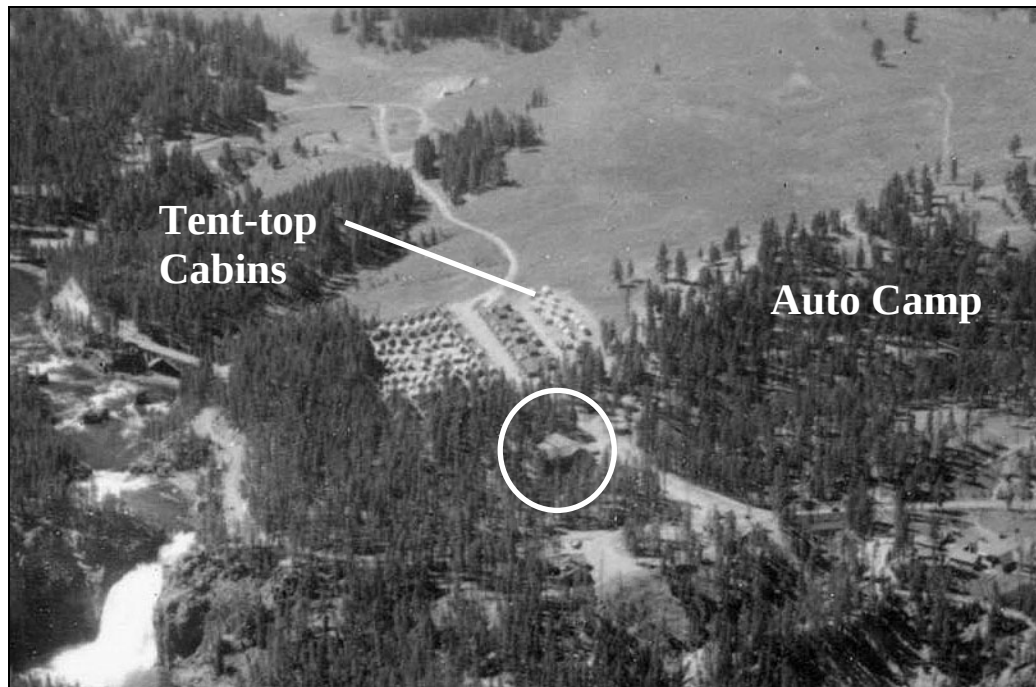


Figure 71: Canyon Tourist Cabins and Cafeteria (circled): Top—Air Photo detail showing proximity to Upper Falls, 1934-1936. Permanent cabins mixed with many tent-top cabins with light-colored roofs (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom—Canyon Tourist Cabins revised plat, September 1930—two sheets merged (Xanterra Archives)

Canyon Hotel

While the automobile sparked alterations to Canyon's cultural landscape, Canyon's oldest hostelry continued to host tourists using its original utility systems and the traditions of the pre-automobile, second generation hotels. Water was obtained from springs and piped to the hotel and the bus complex. Both also were served by a common sewer system. Steam driven generators installed in the hotel's basement supplied electricity to the hotel (NPS 1933, NPS 1941). Similar to the other second generation hotels, edible garbage was hauled behind the hotel to the "bear pit," equipped with tourist benches installed by Army Corps engineers. In the evenings, employees fed bears, tourists snapped photographs, and armed soldiers (later rangers) stood guard (Peek 1906b; Schullery 1986, 206). The road to Canyon Hotel's bear feeding dump departed the property behind the southwest end of the building (Figure 72). Later, the road was extended south past the end of the hotel to meet the Grand Loop Road near the trailhead to the brink of Lower Falls (Haynes 1930, 90).

The residential site for housing employees of the second and third Canyon hotels was probably located along the service road between the hotel and its bus complex to the northeast until replacement dorms were built. A new women's dormitory was constructed between 1919 and 1920 immediately behind the hotel. The next year, construction began on a new men's dormitory uphill from the women's dorm. In 1927, a second men's dormitory was built in this new residential area. Architect Fred Willson designed the 1927 men's dorm (Lindsley n.d., 252, 256, 261; Albright 1920, 29; Albright 1927, 24; Butterfield 2000b).

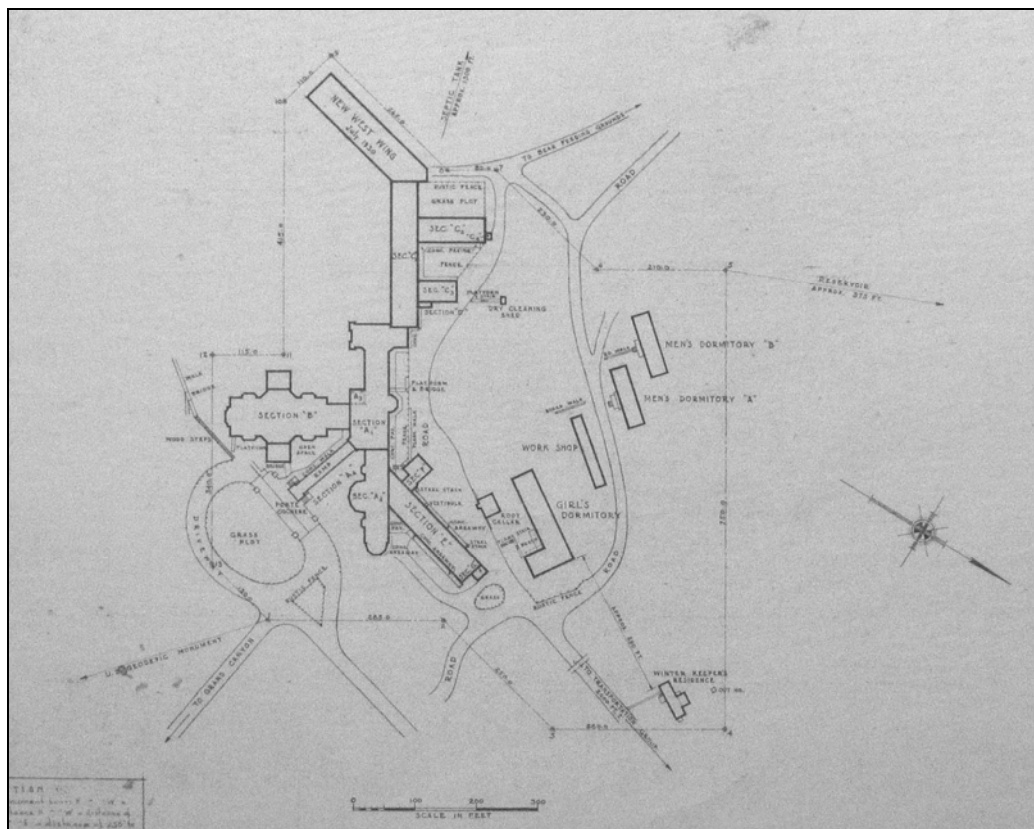


Figure 72: Canyon Hotel Bear Feeding Dump and 1930 Plat: Top—Bear Pit with bears feeding behind Canyon Hotel (Francis Collection); Bottom—Canyon Hotel 1930 Plat. Shows new West Wing, Bear Feeding Grounds road, and original dining room length (Xanterra Archives)

The winterkeeper's residence, also used for summer help, was located along the service road close to the hotel (NPS 1933). This residence may predate the third Canyon Hotel. Its construction may coincide with either the second Canyon Hotel (built 1889-1891) or the 1909 construction of buildings at the stagecoach (bus) complex. However, it may also have been built during the 1910-1911 hotel construction. On the east end of the service road toward the bus complex was Oscar Roseborough's wood cutting operation. Roseborough was the fuel wood contractor for the hotel concessioner. At his site, on the north side of the service road, Roseborough prepared fuel logs from the trees he cut and removed from deeper in the park's forest (Haines 1993, 80, 98).

While the hotel and many other facilities in Yellowstone were closed in 1918 due to World War I, later prosperity in the Roaring Twenties was reflected in changes to the Canyon Hotel. Between 1924 and 1925, the hotel interior was renovated. New lavatories were installed in hundreds of rooms. The building added new fire escapes, a new lobby, and writing rooms (Hert 2005, 30; Albright 1924, 29; Albright 1925, 32; Lindsley n.d., 282). By the late 1920s, the hotel's lodging capacity also increased. Robert Reamer designed a west wing and added it to the Canyon Hotel (Figure 72, bottom), providing 96 additional rooms, each with bath. Construction began in 1930. By 1931, rooms on the upper floors were ready for tourists; however, the next year railroad tourism dropped significantly due to the Great Depression, slowing completion of the west wing. Canyon Hotel could then accommodate 800 guests, but in 1932 it could only boast between five and ten percent occupancy for the entire season. The slow down in park visitation left the Canyon Hotel as one of only a few park facilities open in 1933. The west wing project

was finally completed in 1934, after a two-year hiatus (Quinn 2004a, 156; Toll 1930, 23; Toll 1931, 15; Toll 1933, 2; Barringer 2002, 87).

Soon after the west wing was finished, construction on a Reamer-designed cocktail lounge began. Nicknamed the “Panel Room,” this 1934-1935 project included a Reamer signature touch. Sand-blasted wood and decorative panels adorned the lounge, as they did in the 1920s addition to the dining room and the Bear Pit cocktail lounge of Old Faithful Inn (Quinn 2004a, 155-156). The hotel’s coal burners were converted to oil burners and in 1938 a round oil-storage tank was installed behind the hotel (Rogers 1938, 35). Sometime between 1930 and 1932, a dining room enlargement was apparently started. Workmen poured its foundation (Figure 73), but the dining room extension was never built. By 1941, a new parking lot was laid north of the hotel, and overall the hotel was considered in good condition. It remained open for the first year of World War II (Crissy Field 1932; NPS 1941; Sanders and Whitacre 2000, appendix, 6).

In addition to cocktails in the Panel Room, tourists could spend part of the evening attending the ranger naturalist talk at the bear feeding grounds behind the hotel, or writing post cards in any one of the hotel’s quiet nooks. Later in the evening, orchestras entertained tourists, including one led by Gene Quaw in the 1930s. Orchestras performed from the landing mid-way down the grand staircase in the hotel’s lounge. Once the furniture was moved out of the way, the Canyon Hotel lounge became a large, beautiful dance floor. Employees rolled up lounge rugs and stacked them to the side, providing a place for the young ones to play through the evening until they finally fell asleep (Hert 2005, 30; Cole 2005).

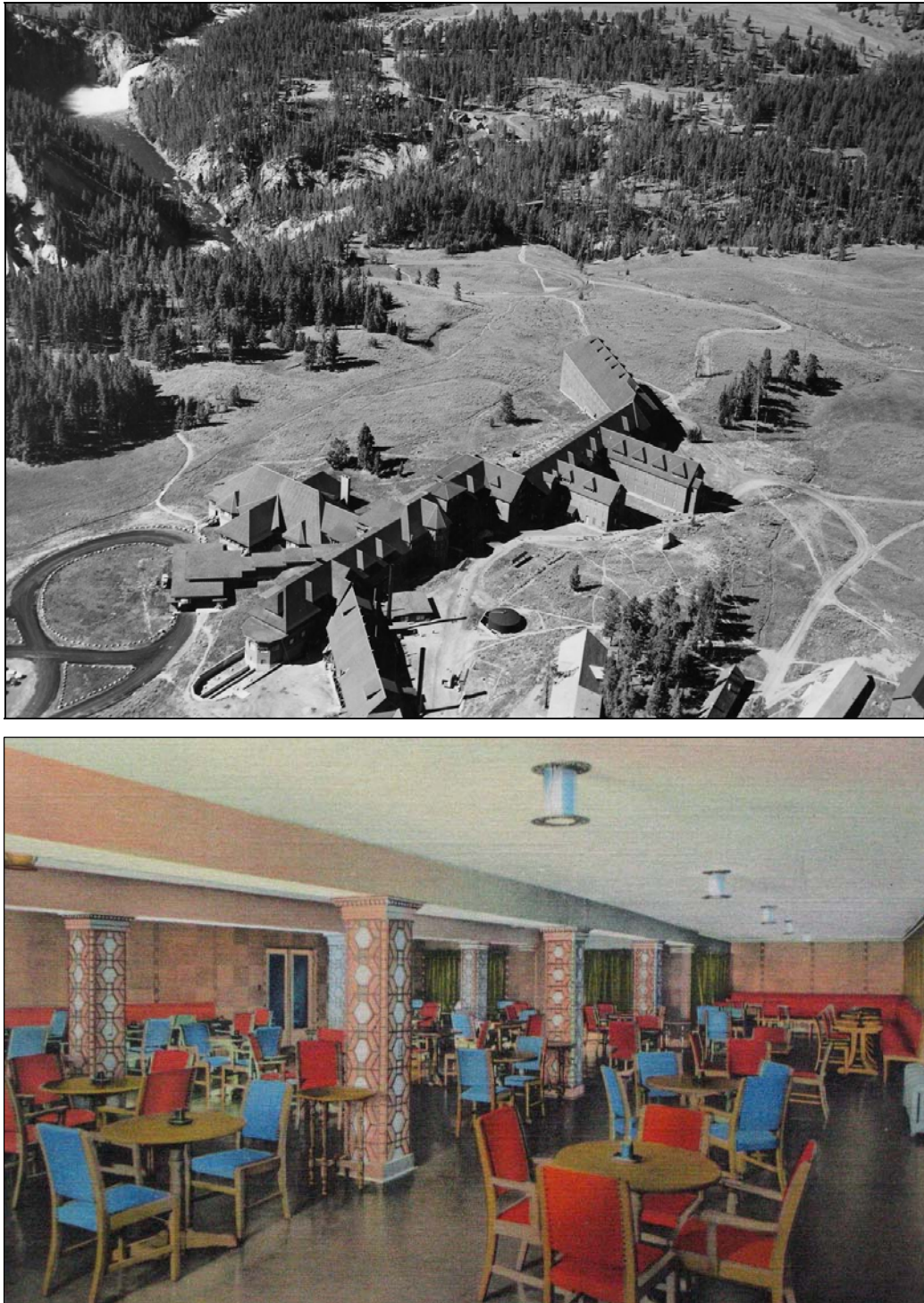


Figure 73: Canyon Hotel Site and Cocktail Lounge: Top—1938-1940 Air photo showing changes between 1930 and 1940. Photo date range: Before 1941 Grand Loop Road section and after round oil storage tank installed in 1938 (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom—Canyon Hotel “Panel Room,” 1936 by Haynes (Francis Collection)

Most dances at park hotels were restricted to visiting tourists. However, service employees of the hotels and lodges were permitted to attend “Formation Dances” at the park’s hotels. This social event carried forward from the army era in Yellowstone. Formation Dances, held at Mammoth Hot Springs, permitted army officers stationed at Fort Yellowstone to dance and mingle with tourists and hotel concession employees. The name probably did not refer to the style of dance nor to the army drills (military “formations”) executed on the parade grounds, but to the word’s frequent use as a shorthand reference to the hot spring geologic formation at Mammoth Hot Springs (Steele 1917, 105). In the 1930s, Canyon Lodge employees such as Marty Gorder packed their dance shoes and walked two miles to the Canyon Hotel to attend Formation Dances. It was a special social event where park employees could fully enjoy the Canyon Hotel. They could mingle with tourists and other Canyon area employees in a formal social setting. The evening would end memorably with lights fading through a medley of romantic songs into Quaw’s own composition entitled “Yellowstone:”

Yellowstone, Yellowstone
 Best of any place that I have ever known
 Skies so blue, friends so true
 Call me back to Canyon days in Yellowstone

(Quaw lyrics cited in Gorder 1976, 6—use of “Canyon” instead of Quaw’s original “carefree” is an affectionate, localized modification)

Through time, the tradition of Formation Dances faded in Yellowstone. By the late 1940s, the event was not nearly as exciting—employees and tourists mingled far less.

The attraction of Formation Dances was probably dwarfed by the more casual and boisterous Lodge dances where staff members were always welcome. By the mid- to late-1950s, Formation Dances were no longer held (Whittlesey 1988a, 296; Gorder 1976, 6; Latimore email 03/06/2007, Latimore email 03/05/2007).

Canyon Stagecoach and Bus Complex

The stagecoach complex, later known as the bus complex, was the location of all bus transportation functions based out of the Canyon area. With the consolidation of transportation companies in 1917 and the conversion to motorized travel, the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company re-developed the old stagecoach complex for automobile travel. The site of this complex was northeast of the Canyon Hotel along a gravel service road (Haines 1993, 98).

The bus complex supported both the bus transportation function (auto shed, repair shop, mess house, and dormitories) and the corrals and stables of the hotel's horse concession (Figure 74). When Child changed his transportation business from stagecoaches to motor vehicles, he converted and expanded many of his stagecoach-era buildings into facilities to support the recently purchased busses and cars. Through the 1920s, this site grew incrementally with new buildings and building additions in response to changes in staffing levels and transportation functions. Between 1921 and 1923, the Reamer-designed hay barn was converted to a driver's bunkhouse (Figure 75, bottom), which was later called the "Cody Bunkhouse" (Quinn 2004a, 67; Albright 1921-22, 40; Albright 1923, 46). Child apparently changed the use of the Reamer-designed coach stable into a garage (meaning possibly a repair shop). It was labeled a garage in a 1917

photograph and was on the site until at least 1924. It was replaced with a new building called the repair shop (Figure 74 and Figure 75, top) between 1924 and 1928, possibly in 1926 (NPSa, 45—Haynes image 8L-33; Quinn 2004a, 67; Whittlesey 2001, 3-4; Culpin 2003, 132). Tourists' cars along with company vehicles were repaired at the Canyon bus complex (NPS 1941).

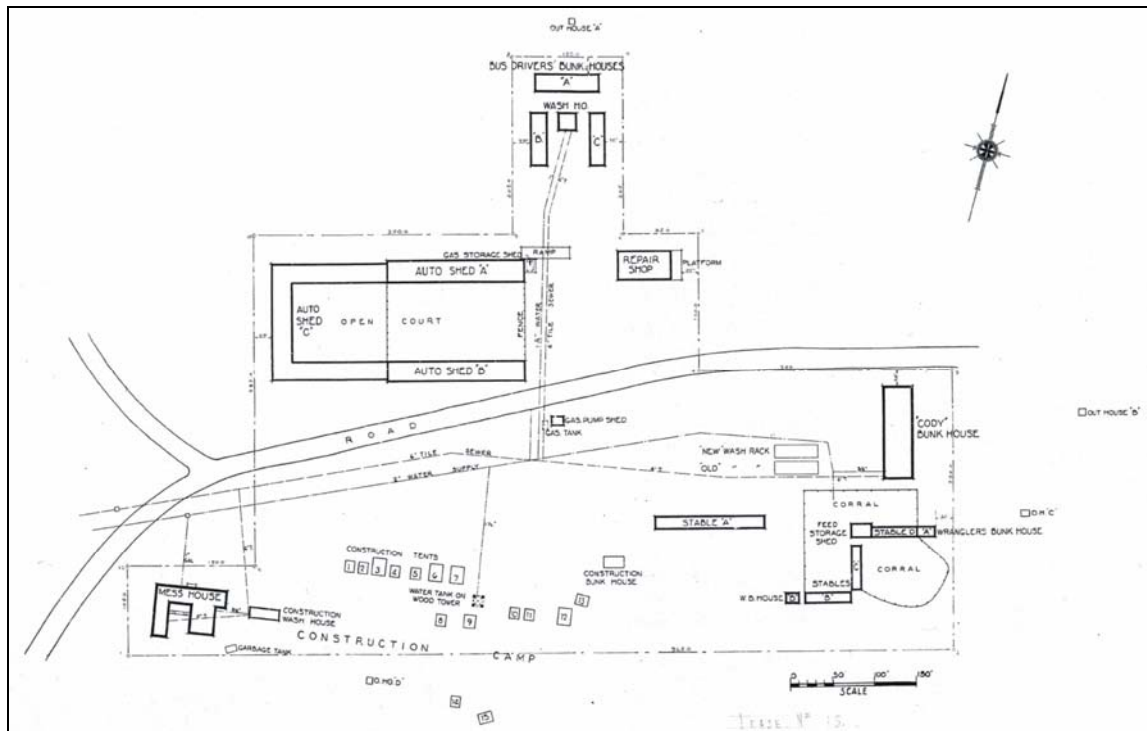


Figure 74: Canyon Bus Complex Plat, 1929 (Xanterra Archives)

In the 1920s, the original Reamer-designed coach shed became an auto shed in accordance with the change to motorized transportation. The auto shed underwent two expansions creating the structure popularly referred to as the “Bull Pen” (Figure 74 and Figure 75). The first expansion added a second shed, of nearly the same size, parallel to

Reamer's original shed. The area between the sheds was enclosed on the east and west ends with fencing. This expansion occurred prior to 1924 and was likely a Reamer design (Reamer nd-a; Whittlesey 2001, 3-4, 9). Determining the architect for the second expansion of the Bull Pen, which occurred in 1929, is more challenging. Both Robert Reamer and Fred Willson drew plans to enlarge the shed toward the west and enclose it with additional stalls for autos along the west edge of the Bull Pen. Reamer's drawing was not dated and may represent an earlier idea to enlarge the shed in one phase from its original size, which was not executed. Willson's drawing was dated 1929. It showed the removal of the west fence, and it has NPS signatures, lending credibility to the notion that Willson designed the 1929 enlargement to the Bull Pen (Toll 1929, 42; Reamer nd-b; Willson 1929; Whittlesey 2001, 3-4; Butterfield 2000b).

In addition to new structures for dispensing gas and washing busses, more buses and more drivers required more housing and a larger mess house at the Canyon bus complex. Between 1924 and 1927, housing was expanded to accommodate one hundred drivers and mechanics, a drivers' wash house was built, and the mess house was enlarged to accommodate sixty people for meals and housing for mess staff. These changes might have happened in phases. The expansion of the bunkhouse and mess house were reported to have begun in 1924; however, Willson designed new bunkhouses and an enlargement of the mess house in 1926 (Albright 1924, 29; Albright 1925, 32; Albright 1926, 30; Albright 1927, 24; Willson 1926a; Willson 1926b; Butterfield 2000b; NPS 1933). The Hotel's horse operation, based at the southeast corner of Canyon bus complex, was expanded considerably in 1929 and was still present in 1939 (Whittlesey 2001, 3-5; NPS 1939). By 1929, the bus complex included construction tents and a construction wash

house (Whittlesey 2001, 3-4). The construction crews using this site were likely working on any number of late 1920s concessioner projects around the Canyon area.

There were two types of drivers stationed at Canyon—"loopers" and Cody Drivers. Loopers drove tourists on full park tours, staying each night at a different location, and accompanying their passengers for their entire tour. On the other hand, Cody Drivers were usually the senior drivers at Canyon. Their prestigious job was to transport tourists to and from Cody, Wyoming via the steep and narrow Sylvan Pass. Cody Drivers were housed differently at Canyon. Their bunkhouse was converted from Reamer's hay barn and was called the Cody Bunkhouse. Cody Drivers were assigned their own rooms that had doors with locks. Loopers slept at the bunkhouses located at the north side of the complex. Loopers meanwhile stayed in a different location each night, bringing their belongings with them for the entire summer (Whittlesey 2001, 7-9).

In 1928, Cody Drivers began their work day at either Canyon or Cody. At Cody, after spending the night in the YPTC bunkhouse near the Burlington Northern Railroad Depot, the drivers picked up their charges at the Cody Inn and transported them in a long string of busses over Sylvan Pass. They stopped for lunch at Sylvan Pass Lodge, toured their passengers through Hayden Valley, and finally dropped them at their Canyon lodging in time for dinner (Youngs 2004, 149—railroad schedule brochure; Quinn 2007). Cody drivers spent the night at the Cody Bunkhouse at Canyon. The next morning, they loaded new passengers who were departing for Cody. After again stopping for lunch at Sylvan Pass Lodge, Cody Drivers dropped off their passengers and spent the night in Cody at the YPTC bunkhouse. The travel pattern was likely repeated until the driver's day off. This Cody transportation operation was quite different from transportation

connections elsewhere in the park, where gateway communities were closer. This difference set the Canyon bus complex apart as unique (Whittlesey 2001, 7).

During, the period of conversion to motorized transportation, a young Gary Cooper (Figure 75, middle) arrived at Yellowstone from Butte, Montana. The soon-to-be actor spent the summers of 1922 and 1923 driving busses in Yellowstone before heading for fame in Hollywood the following year (Meyers 1998, 24; Carpozi 1970, 41). In Yellowstone, he was known by his given name, Frank Cooper. For at least part of his time in Yellowstone, Cooper was employed as a Cody Driver based out of Canyon (Haynes 1941). Cooper scholars credit Gary's time entertaining Yellowstone bus tourists as the start of his career "acting for pay." Cooper began as a guide, but became a driver for better wages. According to his biographer, he was not much of a talker. He plied tips from tourists through driving antics, making the trip seem more treacherous with "grimaces and exaggerated pulls at the wheel" while passengers held on for dear life (Meyers 1998, 24). Upon occasion, tourists did get him to talk—and sometimes it was all fiction. Cooper had gone to school in England, and was a well-traveled man for a college student. Without cracking a smile, he told a pair of school teachers that he was born near Cody, Wyoming and did not get into town until he was seventeen years old (Carpozi 1970, 29-30). For decades, Canyon area employees chattered about a group of Yellowstone gear jammers who traveled to visit Cooper in Hollywood—he apparently winced and dined them (Latimore 2005).



Figure 75: Canyon Bus Complex: Top—Reamer’s Coach Shed (pitched roof) incorporated into the “Bull Pen,” and new Repair Shop, circa 1924, west view (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Middle—Park bus drivers (possibly Cody Drivers) shown probably behind Lake Hotel, 1922 or 1923, including Gary Cooper standing on bus at left and Ralph Bush, Sr. sitting at right in white shirt (Bush Collection—identification source is Bush email 01/16/06); Bottom—Reamer’s Hay Shed converted to the Cody Bunkhouse with hotel horse corrals and stables nearby, 1929, east view (Quinn 2004a)

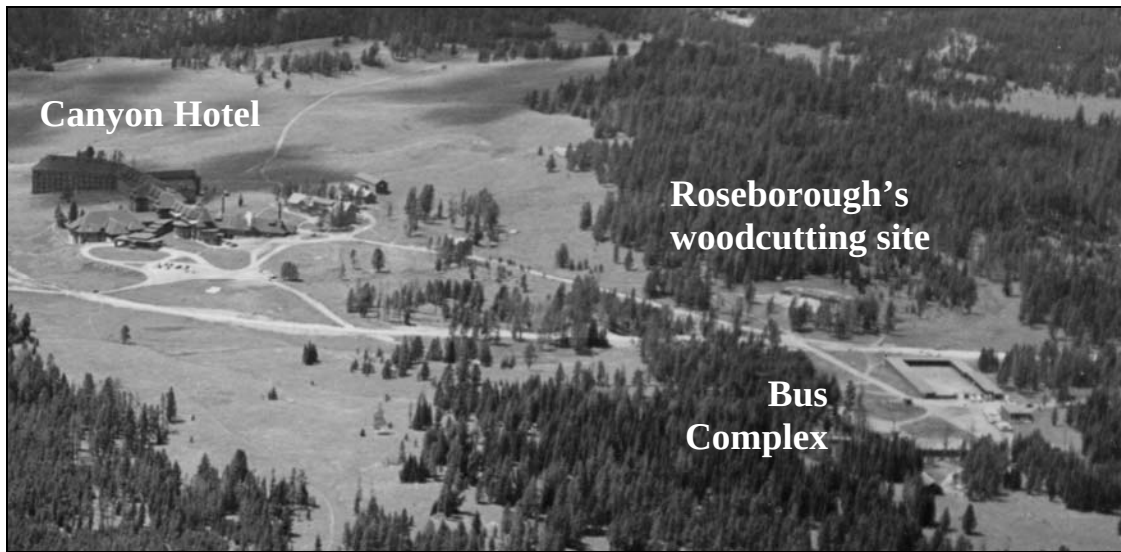


Figure 76: Canyon Hotel and Bus Complex, July 30, 1941. New Grand Loop Road section is rough graded (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

Civilian Conservation Corps Camp

Congress established the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) on March 31, 1933 at the height of the Great Depression. The CCC was a popular program in President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal relief package. It provided jobs for young American men whose families were suffering from unemployment and poverty (Toll 1933, 21). CCC men were stationed in rural camps across the nation for six months at a time. They provided a manual labor force for projects focused on conservation in rural areas and in federal, state, and local parks. In Yellowstone, the CCC program had a strong influence on the cultural landscape beginning in 1933 and lasting through the summer of 1941 (Whittlesey and Yellowstone Staff 1997, 172; Bartlett 1989, 297).

The program in Yellowstone, like elsewhere in the country, had a rough start. During the first few months, young men arrived from inner-city New York to work at Yellowstone Lake, Mammoth Hot Springs, and Canyon. Many violated park regulations

and at times refused to work. Discipline in the camps rapidly increased, troublemakers were discharged, and work cooperation improved (Bartlett 1989, 299-302). Canyon's CCC camp was referred to as YNP-2. It was established in 1933 at the southwest corner of the second Canyon Junction (Figure 61, Figure 77, and Figure 78) on the site of the second auto camp.

By early summer 1933, Canyon's CCC camp was equipped with electric yard lights (powered from the hotel), a log comfort station, and water, all present from the site's use as Canyon's second auto camp. Even with electricity, the CCC camp was primarily illuminated with lanterns. The CCC camp was established with large U. S. Army barracks tents for the enlisted men, individual tents for the officers and supervisors, a recreation hall tent, and a 20-foot by 180-foot wooden mess hall that was constructed during this first summer (Figure 79). From the CCC camp above the Whittaker Store, on the cleared, flat field of the second auto camp, enrollees had a panoramic, eastward view of the Canyon area, including the Canyon Hotel, which was plainly in sight to the northeast (Kistler to Commanding Officer, CCC Company 544, 1937, 1—mess hall size; Kimmett 1984, 75, 76—mess hall size cited as 20-feet by 100-feet, 78).

By 1934, wooden showers and a laundry building were present and the tents for enrollees were smaller tents. A wooden office building with electricity and telephone was constructed that year, removing that function from the mess hall (Kimmett 1984, 76, 78). The 1934 Canyon CCC camp supported about two hundred young men. Each enrollee earned \$30 per month, of which \$24 was sent home to the enrollee's family (Kimmett 1984, 76).

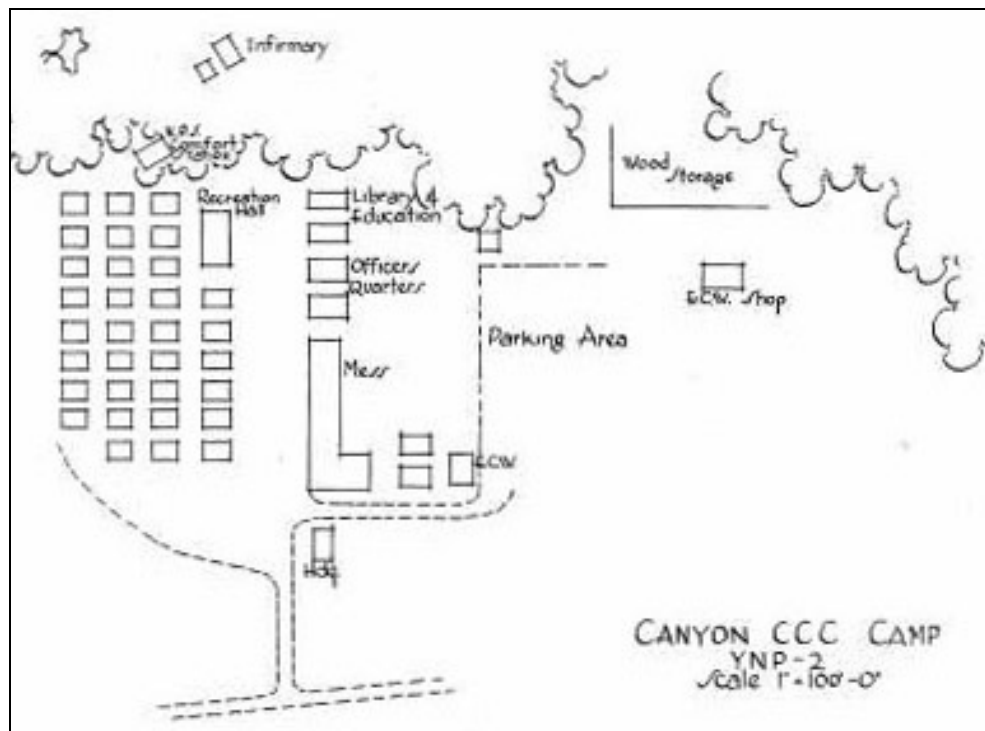


Figure 77: Layout of Canyon CCC Camp: Top—Air photo detail, 1934-1936 (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom—YNP-2 concept layout (Yellowstone Archives)



Figure 78: Future Canyon CCC Camp at Site of Second Auto Campground: Top—Before building the CCC Camp, June 4, 1933 (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Bottom—Temporary CCC kitchen June 4, 1933. Note auto camp comfort station in background (Yellowstone Museum Collection)



Figure 79: Canyon CCC Camp: Top—Enlisted barrack tents, September 5, 1933 (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Middle—One work crew from YNP-2, 1934 (Dallas 1998); Bottom—Mess Hall, September 5, 1933 (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

Reveille call was at 6 a.m. followed by 7 a.m. breakfast served in the mess hall. At 8 a.m. the men lined up in military formation for flag raising before being dismissed into work crews. Dinner was served in the mess hall between 12 noon and 1 p.m. for crews whose work was within a mile of Canyon Junction. The camp did not have refrigeration, thus evaporated milk and canned beef in the form of meatloaf and stew were usual fare. Fresh meat was available only once per week just after delivery and ice cream was brought in only as a rare treat (Kimmitt 1984, 76).

The camp served supper at 5 p.m., marking the start of evening free time. Inside the recreation tent, the men wrote letters, and played cards, ping pong, and pool. Outdoor recreation included fishing, swimming in the Yellowstone River (probably at Paradise Glen), pitching horseshoes, boxing, and playing tennis, and volleyball. Some donned their WWI army surplus uniforms and walked to Canyon Lodge to listen to ranger talks, watch the nightly staff variety show, and dance. Back at camp, a bugler signaled the end of the day with taps (lights out) at 10 p.m. Saturdays were spent maintaining the camp or playing baseball against Canyon Lodge or other CCC camp teams in the park. Sundays were a day of rest with occasional religious services and entertaining radio broadcasts out of Billings and Denver (Kimmitt 1984, 76; Pocatello Chieftain 1937; CCC Company 544, Canyon Station, Wyo Yearbook, 1937).

About ten percent of the 1934 Canyon CCC men handled administrative duties in support of the camp. The rest comprised six work crews of 25-30 men, a supervisor, and a truck driver for transporting crews and equipment. The firewood crew took to the woods each day in search of dead pines that they sawed into four-foot lengths and stacked behind the mess hall. The roadside crew picked up brush, trash, and downed trees

in the road corridors near Canyon. Fire fighting crews were dispatched as needed. A construction crew built a barn and fire tool cache near the Canyon road camp, while another crew built a fire trail near Mary Lake. The Mary Lake crew stayed at their spike camp along the lake's shore for weeks, with their supplies and personal mail trucked in across Hayden Valley from the main camp at Canyon (Kimmitt 1984, 76, 78, 80; Dallas 1998, 9; NPS 1939; NPSc, 55-57; Haines 1993, 80-81; Bartlett 1989, 299-302).

The presence of the CCC at Canyon continued to influence Canyon's cultural landscape during the remaining years of the CCC program. In 1935, crews stained many frame buildings in the government road camp. By the end of 1936, the CCC camp included a wooden recreation hall and a generator house. By 1937, the camp expanded in extent, enabling at least one lieutenant's family tent to be located across the auto camp bridge on the south side of the creek (see Figure 61), and enlisted tents included new floors and sidewalls. Activities for the 133 enrollees that year included pouring a concrete floor for their kitchen, obliterating old roads, and performing trail maintenance, fire prevention, landscaping, gardening, and tree seed collection. Accomplishments for 1937 also included construction of two comfort stations, a masonry dam, sewer lines, seats at the campground amphitheater, and amphitheater seats and a speaking platform at the Otter Creek Bear Feeding Grounds. With pride, they greeted President Franklin Roosevelt during his September 25 stop in front of the Canyon Ranger Station (NPSc, 107-112; Kistler to Commanding Officer, CCC Company 544, 1937; Middleton 2001; CCC Company 544, Canyon Station, Wyo Yearbook 1937; Rogers 1938, 2; Pocatello Chieftain 1937, 1; Camp Canyon Cub, Co. 544, 1937, 4).

CCC men also did a significant amount of cultural landscape obliteration. With the program such a success, the NPS launched a park-wide beautification program employing CCC enrollees. Much of this clean-up work focused on removing evidence of the park's stagecoach era. CCC workers razed old buildings, removed trash dumps behind hotels, and re-contoured slopes to hide abandoned road scars (Bartlett 1989, 299-302; Rogers 1939, 30-31).

Slated for removal was the Canyon CCC camp itself. In 1936 a new Canyon CCC camp (YNP-8) was planned and new site options photographed. Two areas were considered in the forest northeast of Cascade Meadows—one west of the Grand Loop Road near today's government utility area, the other east of the Grand Loop Road near today's Canyon Campground. In the fall of 1937, the CCC camp near Canyon Junction was condemned and abandoned, slated for removal in 1938. Canyon did not have a CCC camp in 1938 (NPSc, 13; NPS 1939; Rogers 1938, 32; NPS 1941; Rogers 1939, 30-31; Rogers 1940, 2, 25; Redinger 1988, 149-150). CCC enrollees may have assisted with late 1930s surveys for the new visitor development planned for Canyon (Haines 1977b, 369).

In 1939, a new, portable CCC camp was established at Canyon west of today's Canyon Village Campground with buildings made of collapsible panels. Camp YNP-8 (Cascade Creek) was in use during summer seasons until July of 1941 when it was abandoned. By July 1942 the national CCC program was liquidated due to American involvement in World War II. In May 1943, the CCC buildings from Canyon and Mammoth Hot Springs were moved via Sylvan Pass to the Heart Mountain Relocation Camp near Powell, Wyoming (Redinger 1988, 97-98, 149-150; CCC Museum online; Rogers 1941, 7; NPS 1941; Rogers 1942, 11; Rogers 1943a, 16). Yellowstone National

Park continued its cooperation with the War Authority, hosting young Heart Mountain Relocation Camp detainees in scouting programs at the CCC buildings at the Nez Perce camp for weekly outings in 1944 (Rogers 1945, 12).

Road Camp/Utility Group

Yellowstone's road camps were the precursors of today's government maintenance yards. The establishment of distributed road camps was first suggested by road engineer Hiram Chittenden as part of his section crew approach to road work. The initial camps were manned with Army Corps crews at 10-mile intervals. They removed snow from roads, sprinkled them to keep down dust, and performed local road repair. Road camps started as tent camps but eventually were supported with more permanent structures. At Canyon, First Lieutenant Ernest Peek established in 1907 the first permanent road camp with floor and framed tents at a location west of Chittenden Bridge (Figure 80). Peek assumed responsibility for roads after Chittenden left the park in 1906 (Haines 1977b, 252-253; Culpin 1994, 70). By 1926, the road camp sported a log mess house and stable, and a bunk house was recommended. These existing facilities were upgraded after the Bureau of Public Roads began its partnership with NPS landscape engineers in 1927 (Culpin 1994, 356, 508).

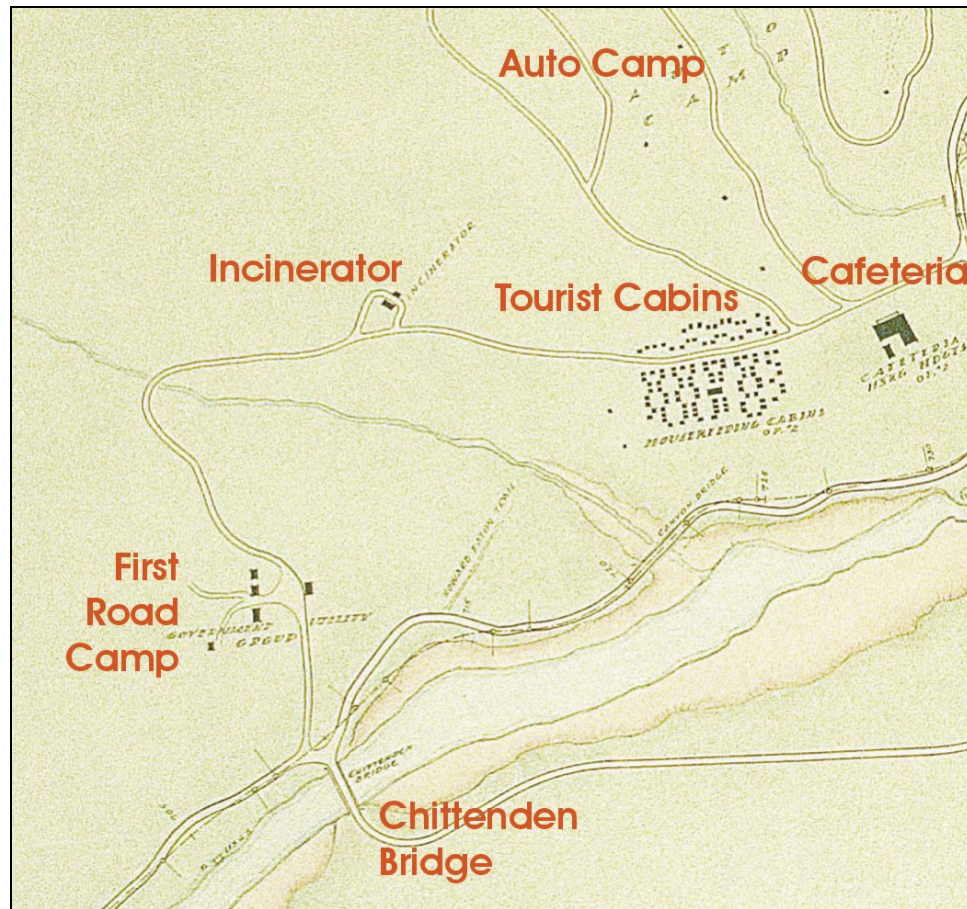


Figure 80: First Road Camp Location and Early Structures: Top—1933 master plan detail (Yellowstone Archives); Bottom left—United States Engineer Department bunk house (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Bottom right—United States Engineer Department barn (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

Workmen built a new frame-style, five-room mess house and a new twelve-man bunkhouse in 1927 (Figure 81). The two buildings were very similar in size and construction, except that the mess house was designed as a one and one-half story building, creating additional bunk space above for extra laborers when they were needed. Two years later, a new frame-style, six-horse barn was built (Albright 1927, 8; Culpin 1994, 509; Toll 1929, 18, 21). In 1934-1935, men from Canyon's CCC camp constructed a log fire tool cache and a log four-horse barn southwest of the road camp. These two structures are still in use at Canyon today (NPS 1933; NPS 1939; NPSc, 55-57; Haines 1993, 80-81).

A new "four ten" incinerator, a concrete structure with a log roof, was built in 1929 to assist with local refuse management (Toll 1929, 18, 21; NPS 1941). To the north of the incinerator was the operator's quarters and to the west, another smaller support building. The addition of this function probably accounts for its reference later as a utility area as well as a road camp. The local trash collection process included separating waste that was edible to bears, and sending the remainder to the incinerator for disposal. The incinerator was not operated during 1943 and 1944, probably due to a significant drop in both staff and waste generation during World War II. It was probably not used after World War II (NPS 1933; Sanders and Whitacre 2000, appendix, 6; Haines 1993, 87).

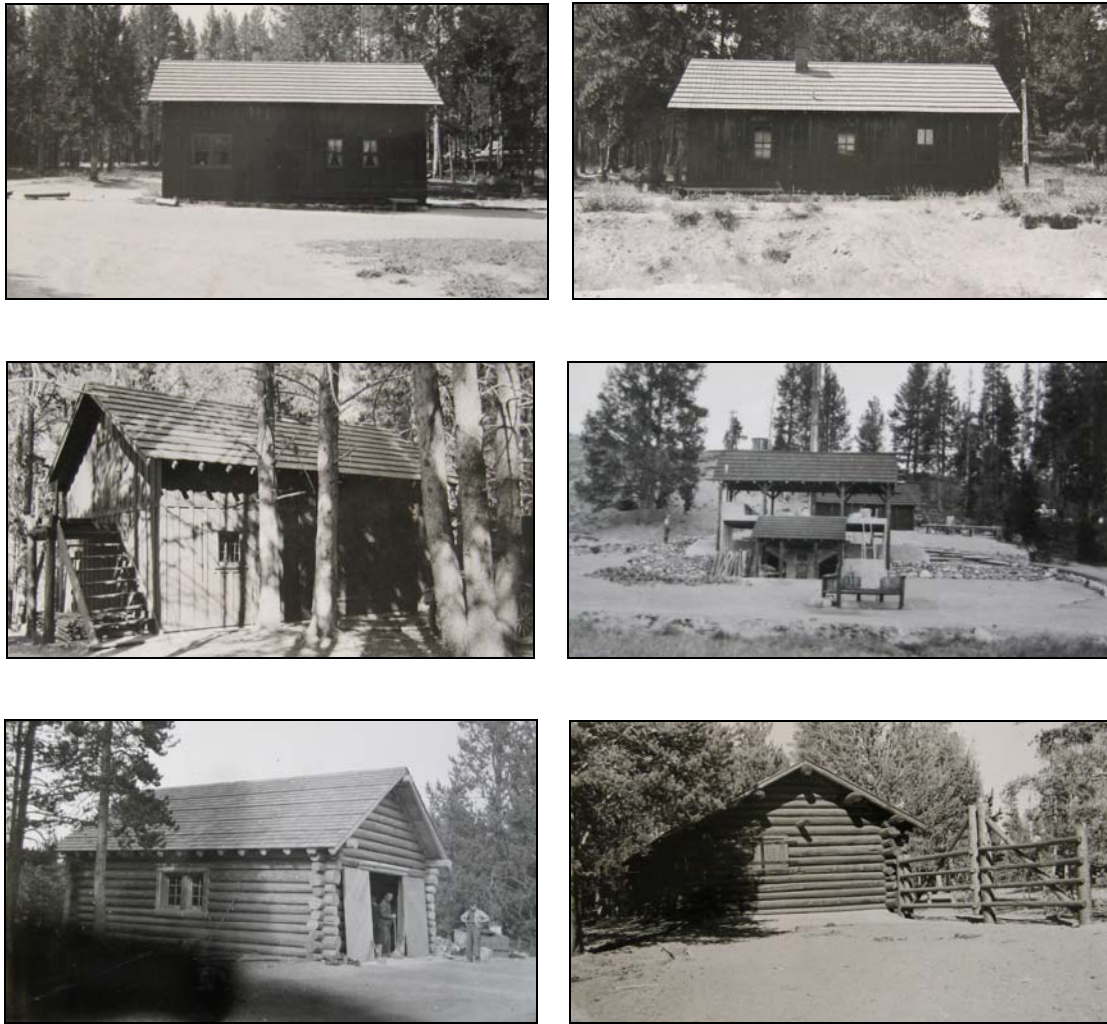


Figure 81: Road Camp and Utility Group Structures: Top left—Mess house, July 1936; Top right—Bunk house, July 1936; Middle left—Probably barn, August 1936; Middle right—Incinerator and operators quarters, July 1936; Bottom left—Log tool cache built by CCC, September 1934; Bottom right—Log barn built by CCC, September 1935 (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

Touring Canyon

As Canyon's overnight accommodations matured, so too did the local transportation and touring infrastructure. Canyon-area guests, employees, and day tourists passing through enjoyed an improved circulation system. Roads along the canyon's rims were re-graded, widened, and even rerouted. Overlook infrastructure was made safer, and in some cases less noticeable to tourists elsewhere along the canyon. Tourists and employees alike enjoyed new and upgraded trails and organized tourist activities such as horseback riding, naturalist talks, and a stone shelter atop Mount Washburn.

The early route to Mount Washburn was via a road that split from the North Rim Drive near the stairs trailhead to Lower Falls. This road traveled uphill past the east side of Canyon Hotel. The North Rim Drive continued east and dead-ended at Inspiration Point. In 1927, a new road called the Dunraven Pass Road was constructed beginning at Grand View (Figure 82). It was 8,000 feet long and met the road to Mount Washburn a mile past the Canyon Hotel (near today's Canyon Village). The old road uphill from the Lower Falls trailhead became the driveway to the hotel (Figure 82 bottom). The Dunraven Pass Road, and the west section of the North Rim Drive, became part of the Grand Loop Road proper, handling through traffic. This change in roads created another junction—Grand View Junction (later also referred to as Inspiration Point Junction). It eliminated unnecessary back-of-the-hotel views, as well as bad road grades and curves near the hotel (Albright 1927, 8; Haynes 1928, 96, 104; Haynes 1940, 125; NPS 1941).

West Rim—Arriving at Canyon

The West Rim hosted the ranger station, Pryor Store, Haynes Picture Shop, and the Canyon Tourist Cabins concession. The area was referred to as the “retail area.” It was a kind of “Main Street” for Canyon (NPS 1933). With all this human activity along the West Rim, automobile and foot traffic was concentrated in a relatively small geographic area. At the West Rim, tourists parked their cars, bought supplies and services, and set out on the local trails to Upper Falls, Crystal Falls, and possibly the brink of Lower Falls. The Norris Cutoff Road was intentionally kept in a rough condition to discourage tourist traffic as late as 1939 (Culpin 1994, 276). This coupled with the counterclockwise touring pattern established during the stagecoach era meant that tourists in this period still primarily arrived to Canyon from the south along the Yellowstone River.

Upper Falls Tourist Stop. Tourists visiting the West Rim to view Upper Falls parked their cars in front of the Haynes Picture Shop. This was encouraged via editions of the *Haynes Guide* and was likely quite good for Haynes’s business. However, there was not enough room to satisfy the parking demand, resulting in circulation problems. Later in the period, parking for forty cars was developed at the Haynes Picture Shop for tourists wanting to view Upper Falls from its brink (Haynes 1929, 93; NPS 1941).

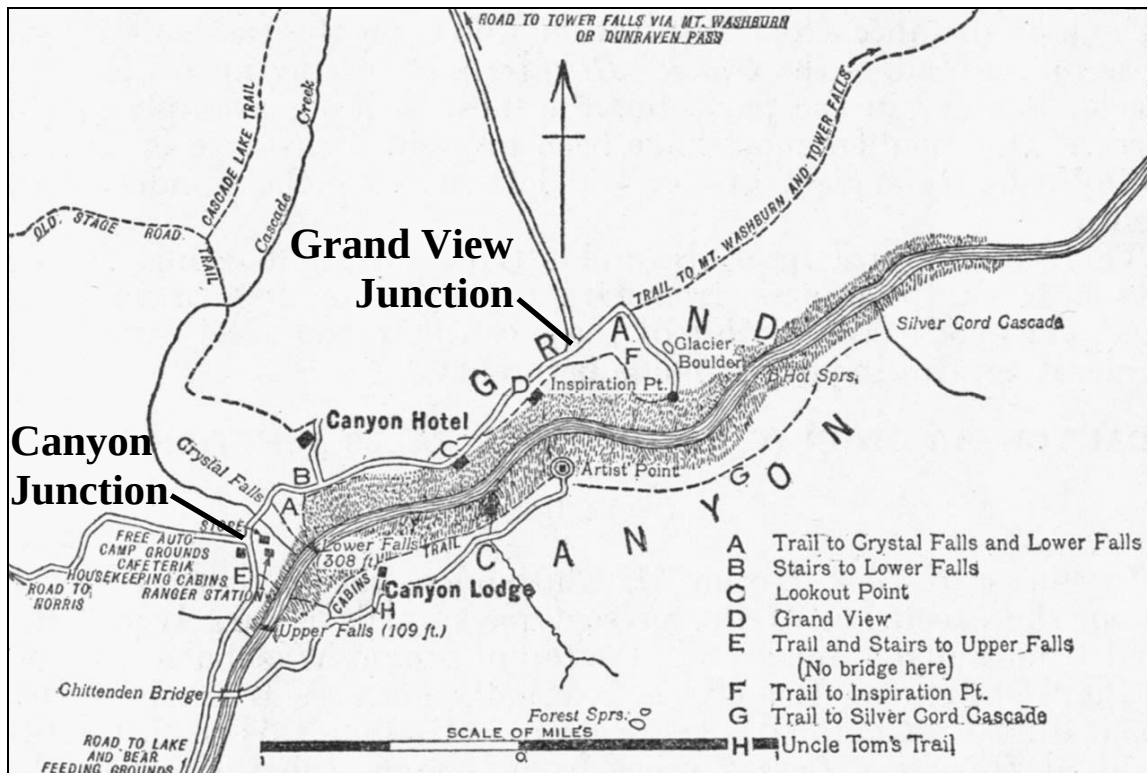


Figure 82: Canyon Roads and Junctions, Early 1930s: Top—Second Canyon Junction sign, 1930, looking north (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Bottom—Canyon area roads, 1932 showing the new Grand View Junction (NPS 1932)

At Upper Falls, the wooden steps and viewing platforms, built near the turn of the century, were almost completely destroyed by a snow slide and washout in 1936. The walkway and overlook were replaced for the 1936 touring season using curvilinear stonemasonry construction with help from emergency public works funds. The overlook was much stronger and it blended with the canyon walls, making it far less visibly intrusive (Figure 83, right). This project likely sparked a 1938 inspection of all wooden overlook structures along the canyon, and revived a 1926 recommendation by NPS Landscape Architect Harold Caparn to replace all Canyon wooden overlook structures with stonemasonry. After Caparn's recommendation, naturalistic designs for Artist Point, Lookout Point, Grand View, and Inspiration Point were drawn in 1927 by Landscape Architect Ernest Davidson. The execution of these designs was pending receipt of private funding. Although these plans were not executed, they were the first professional landscape architecture designs applied to Canyon's cultural landscape (Rogers 1937, 34; NPS 2003 part 2b, 1; McClelland 1998, 234-235). Reconstructing the overlook at Upper Falls in 1936 was the prototype project for future naturalistic overlook construction at Canyon:

In carrying out the work, the principal aim was to provide a structure that would blend with the Canyon rim and wall. Considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining rock and boulders that were well weathered and that would simulate the natural structural form of the localities....[requiring] considerable trial and error, placing and replacing the rockwork until a satisfactory blending was obtained. (Chief Engineer C. A. Lord quoted in NPS 2003, part 2b, 2)

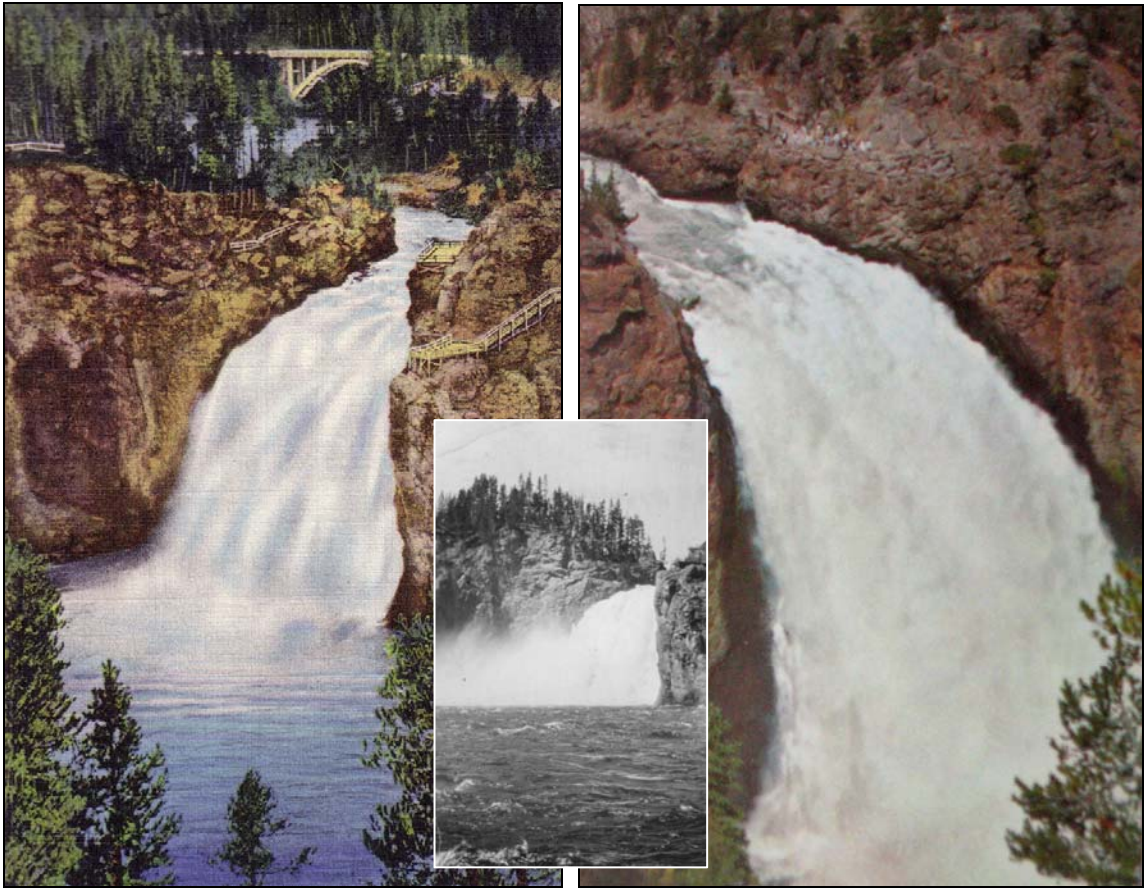


Figure 83: Upper Falls Views and Overlooks: Left—Wooden overlooks on both sides of the falls (Francis Collection); Right—Stonemasonry overlook on West Rim (Francis Collection); Inset—Lower Falls from base of “Pump House Trail” along the East Rim by Gorder (Warr Collection)

Western Trailhead of North Rim Trail. The North Rim Trail began (as it does today) along the canyon’s West Rim. The trailhead was between the Ranger Station and the Whittaker/Pryor’s Store. Tourists hiked or rode horses down into the Cascade Creek ravine, crossed Cascade Creek upstream from Grotto Pool and climbed out of the ravine to the stairs trailhead that leads to Lower Falls. This route was likely on, or parallel to, the pre-1903 stagecoach road. The North Rim Trail continued past the Lower Falls trailhead, leading tourists eventually to Inspiration Point.

There were numerous routes, both trail and road, that originated near the east end of Cascade Creek Bridge on the Grand Loop Road (Figure 84—bridge is out of view to the left). At the north end of the Cascade Creek Bridge, a trail to the west led to Canyon Hotel. Tourists and employees used this route to get to the retail area and to travel between the hotel and the lodge for social events. A shorter trail to the east, marked with a sign, traveled into the Cascade Creek ravine and joined the North Rim Trail. This North Rim spur trail was advertised as leading to both Crystal Falls, and to the brink of Lower Falls as late as 1932 (Haynes 1930, 83, 89; NPS 1932, 39). On the south side of Cascade Creek ravine, a trail led to the Yellowstone River between the falls. This trail included a footbridge over the unnamed creek that joins Cascade Creek just upstream from the Yellowstone River (Quinn 2007). Farther along the Grand Loop Road, after crossing Cascade Creek Bridge, a road entered from the left at a “hairpin turn” (Figure 58). During this period, this road led to the Bear Feeding Grounds behind the hotel. This road may have been originally used as a freight road to the hotel, minimizing deterioration of the Grand Loop Road (Benson 1910, 7).

North Rim Drive—The Inspiration Point Road

With a stairs trail to the brink of Lower Falls, most access to the Lower Falls brink was probably from the Inspiration Point Road. By 1941, parking for 30 cars was developed near this trailhead (NPS 1941).

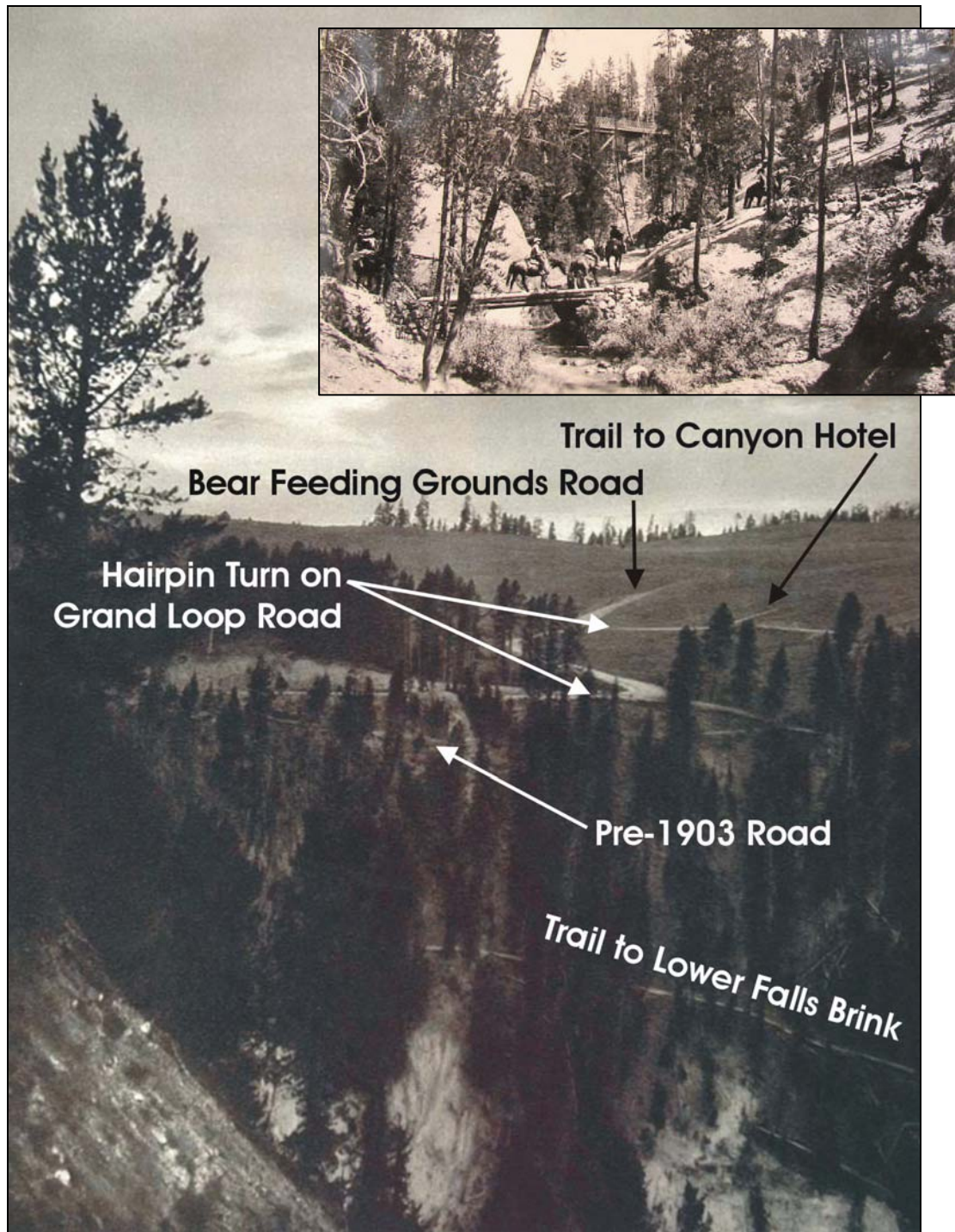


Figure 84: West Rim Roads and Trails: Main photo—Routes between Canyon Hotel and West Rim, 1927 by E. O. Hoppe. See also Figure 58. (Period Paper); Inset—Bridle and foot path over Cascade Creek upstream from Grotto Pool, 1939. Note Cascade Creek steel high bridge in background (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

The long stairs trail did present a problem for older tourists who occasionally experienced heart problems on the way back up. These tourists still had the option of using the older, more gradual dirt trail out of the upper canyon by way of Cascade Creek Bridge, although they would reach the Grand Loop Road some distance from their tour bus or personal vehicle (Toll 1932b). In 1923, places along the Inspiration Point Road were upgraded with log guard rails (Figure 85) and masonry walls (Albright 1923, 28).



Figure 85: White Bus at North Rim, east of Grand View, 1931. Looking east toward Inspiration Point promontory and Castle Ruins (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

Although guard rails were installed along the North Rim Drive, this did not prevent the unfortunate 1924 death of a couple seated in their Ford coupe. After stopping to view the canyon from Grand View, Mr. And Mrs. Earl Dunn of Minneapolis got in

their parked car to depart. While Mr. Dunn was turning the vehicle around, he miscalculated and backed their car over the edge of the canyon. While the car stopped on a ledge two hundred feet down, the couple continued their rough fall another six hundred feet. A local ranger, tour bus drivers, and a Canyon transportation employee assisted with the recovery. The sensational event spawned print headline news, an editorial, and much speculation as to how it could have happened (Whittlesey 1995, 91-92).

The entire two and one-half mile Inspiration Point Road was reconstructed, beginning in 1925 and was completed the following year, with resurfacing completed in 1927 (Albright 1925, 9; Albright 1926, 9; Albright 1927, 8). Replacing the rustic bridge over Big Spring Creek with a culvert may have occurred during this project. By 1941, parking for fifty cars was developed at Inspiration Point (Haynes 1940, 125; NPS 1941). Between 1938 and 1940, the tourist infrastructure near Lookout Point was upgraded to meet landscape architecture standards. Lookout Point's wooden viewing platform was replaced with stonemasonry, and the trail to Red Rock Point and its terminal platform were improved (Rogers 1939, 24; Rogers 1940, 21; NPS 1941). Also during this construction, portions of the original North Rim Trail near Lookout Point were replaced with new trail segments located farther away from the canyon rim (NPS 1938). By 1941, improvements to provide parking for twenty cars near Grand View had started (NPS 1941).

Moran Point. It was during this time period that the spot where Thomas Moran made sketches for his great oil paintings of the Grand Canyon was pinpointed. This matter involved reviving the Moran Point place name from obscurity and attaching it to

the specific promontory from which he sketched. In 1938, with upgrades to the canyon rim overlooks underway, and Artist Point continuing to be misidentified as Moran's viewpoint, Moran's elderly daughter sent one of the artist's sketches to Horace Albright, who had by then left the NPS. The sketch identified Moran Point marked with an "X" on a view of the Lookout Point area taken from near the brink of Lower Falls. Albright forwarded the sketch to Yellowstone's superintendent, requesting that it be used to clearly identify Moran Point. The superintendent, the chief naturalist, another naturalist, and Jack Haynes went to the canyon's North Rim and identified the next substantial promontory east of Lookout Point as Moran Point. Haynes then instructed his own staff to mark all Haynes negatives shot from that locale as "from Moran Point" (Figure 33 top right). This effort effectively separated Moran's history from that of Artist Point. Unfortunately, Moran Point was never submitted as a place name to the U. S. Board on Geographic Names. The incorrect and confused connection between Moran and Artist Point continues today (Whittlesey 2006a). Curiously, 1939 plans to create a stonemasonry overlook at Moran Point were never executed (NPS 1939).

South Rim Drive—The Artist Point Road

Sharp turns were removed from the Artist Point roadway in 1919 (Albright 1919, 33). In 1930, Artist Point Road was reconstructed; many more sharp turns were removed, a short section of road was rerouted dramatically away from the canyon close to Artist Point, and the parking lot at Artist Point was enlarged to 900 feet by 75 feet to hold 250 automobiles. During this project, the eastern end of the new Artist Point parking lot was terminated well before the Artist Point Overlook. This both restricted automobile access

to the cul-de-sac trailhead and created a pedestrian promenade from the parking lot to the overlook (NPS 2003, part 1, 14-15; Airscapes-Wyoming 1923a; Airscapes-Wyoming 1923b; Crissy Field 1932).

Log guardrails were added at the east approach to Chittenden Bridge on both sides of the road in 1916. In 1923, masonry walls and more log guardrails were added near the bridge (Lindsley 1916, 17; Albright 1923, 28). Tourists in automobiles could park approximately one-half mile east of Chittenden Bridge on the north side of the road to view Upper Falls from overlook infrastructure developed on the east side of the falls (see Figure 83, left). By 1941, a 20-car parking area was developed at this site. Also at this time a better overlook of Upper Falls from near Canyon Lodge was proposed, along with a second Upper Falls brink platform on the east side of the brink (NPS 1941). Other longer hiking trails departing from the south side of the Artist Point Road led to area features such as Sour Creek Cascades, Ribbon Lake, and the Lodge's bear feeding grounds near Clear Lake (Haynes 1930, 83).

Additional (and little known) details added to the cultural scene in the area of Canyon Lodge. From the east end of Chittenden Bridge, a southbound trail led to Paradise Glen at the Yellowstone River, where concession employees gathered for fish fries, parties, and swimming. A northbound trail from Chittenden Bridge marked the start of the South Rim Trail. The South Rim Trail began, as it does today, traveling along the east bank of the Yellowstone River. Near Upper Falls, the trail ascends the canyon's east wall, arriving at Canyon Lodge. This section of the South Rim Trail between Canyon Lodge and Chittenden Bridge was commonly referred to as the "Savage Trail," because it was a route commonly used by concessioner employees. These summer park residents

were affectionately referred to in Yellowstone as “Savages”—a term that probably carried forward from its use in nineteenth century American tourism (Davidson et al 2006, 7). In fact, any trail used primarily by concessioner employees was referred to throughout the park as a “Savage Trail” to distinguishing it from the Howard Eaton Trail system. Canyon’s “Savage Trail” was used frequently by Canyon Lodge employees to get to Pryor’s Store and by other Canyon area employees to attend nightly “Savage Shows” and dances at Canyon Lodge (Latimore 2005; Gorder 1976, 7)

Once at the Lodge, tourists could hike down into the upper canyon along the “Pump House Trail,” present from 1928 when the Lodge water system was upgraded. This spur trail left the South Rim Trail near the Lodge’s cabins across from Crystal Falls and led to the Lodge’s water utility building located along the east bank of the Yellowstone River between the falls (Haynes 1930, 83). The South Rim Trail continued at the rim of the canyon past (east of) the trailhead to Uncle Tom’s Trail, routing tourists to Artist Point and Point Sublime (NPS 1933; NPS 1941).

Uncle Tom’s Trail. Uncle Tom’s Trailhead was located behind (north of) Canyon Lodge. The trailhead provided access to both the base of Lower Falls and to the Sunset Point Trail to the southern Lower Falls brink. By 1920, Uncle Tom’s Trail was referred to in park guidebooks by its current name (Haynes 1920, 37).

While the trail was a developed route maintained by the NPS (Figure 86), it was still a dangerous descent into the canyon. Tourists hiking on Uncle Tom's Trail made their way to the viewing platform at the bottom. Tourists could leave the platform and hike east on a well-traveled, dirt trail that angled down toward the Yellowstone River at a point almost directly across from Red Rock Point (Figure 86—left).



Figure 86: Tourists on Uncle Tom's Trail: Left—Eastern end of Uncle Tom's Trail, nearly across from Red Rock Point, 1922 (Francis Collection); Top right—Bench along trail (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Bottom right—Trail railings in 1925 (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

Even with a developed trail, tourists still tried to reach the bottom of the canyon from the South Rim in other ways. In 1926, Grace Crans from Denver and a male companion began their hiking descent from the South Rim across from Red Rock Point. They chose to use a wooded ravine not far from Uncle Tom's Trail (likely around the river bend in Figure 86, left). The two were soon faced with a vertical drop—an impossible route. Crans stopped while her companion scouted for a different way down. After giving up and climbing back up to meet Grace, he heard her cry just before she slid past him. She traveled over the vertical edge they feared, dropping almost one thousand feet to her death (Whittlesey 1995, 93-94).

Sunset Point Trail and Overlook. The Sunset Point Trail split from Uncle Tom's Trail near the top. It led tourists on a very steep descent down to a triangular platform at the brink of Lower Falls at its lesser visited south side (Warr 2005). From the Sunset Point platform (Figure 87), tourists experienced the effects of changing, late-day lighting conditions in the Grand Canyon. From Sunset Point, park employees (and possibly tourists) departed from the platform and explored the nearby south bank of the Yellowstone River where the water was shallow and slower moving. Lodge staff often spent leisure time at the Sunset Point wading area, cooling off in the river as well as participating in fish fries and occasional overnight excursions (NPS 1933; NPS 1941; NPS 1966; Gorder 1976, 7; Murray email 12/18/2006; Godsey email 11/26/06).

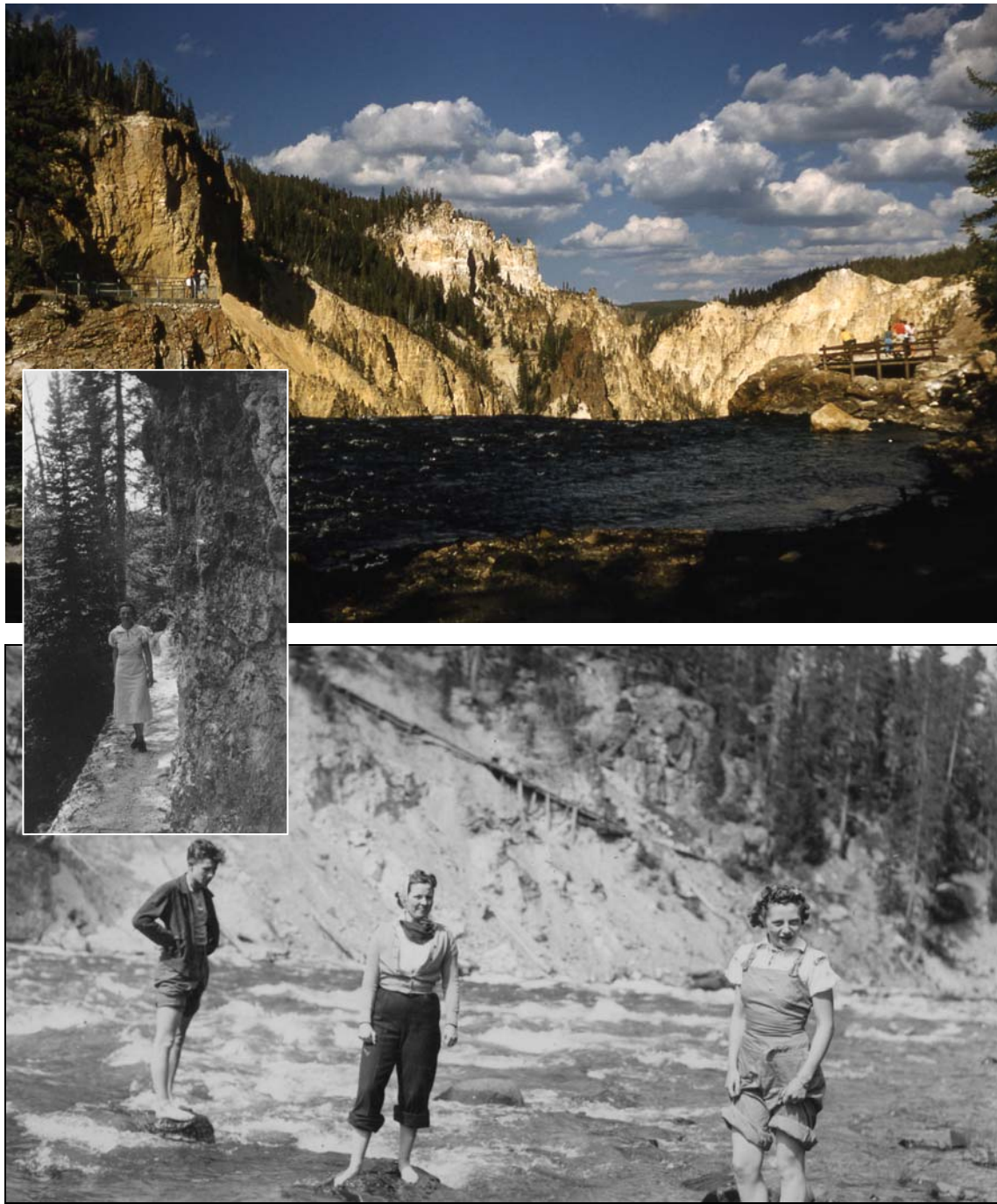


Figure 87: Sunset Point Platform, Sunset Point Trail, and Upstream Wading Area: Top—Lower Falls brink overlooks, Sunset Point at right shown in 1958 (Shellenberger Collection); Bottom—Rusty Irish, Sylvia Howell, and Esther Gorder at wading area west (upstream) of Sunset Point shown in the 1930s. Note brink trail from Cascade Creek Bridge in background (Warr Collection); Inset—Dotty Cook on Sunset Trail, 1930s (Warr Collection)

Artist Point Tourist Stop. In 1930, the South Rim Drive terminus was moved west 350 feet from the overlook. This created a tourist promenade between the overlook and the newly created parking lot, representing the end of the road (Figure 88, top left). Previously, tourists drove along the road until they reached the cul-de-sac terminus with an eastward view of the canyon located slightly east of Artist Point. From there, the cul-de-sac road curved around to a spot directly under the wooden stairway to Artist Point before returning to the roadway. Restricting cars from parking near the cul-de-sac was necessary, because parked automobiles could be seen from the North Rim and because more cars needed to be accommodated with the growing number of tourists to the area (NPS 2003, part 1, 24; Haynes 1930, 140; NPS 1941).

In 1938, the Artist Point wooden overlook, which could be seen from across the canyon, was reconstructed with native stone in what is known as the NPS Rustic style. Not only was the old overlook unstable, aesthetically it presented hard lines in an otherwise natural canyon view. The wooden stairway from the lower viewing area to the overlook was replaced with a masonry stairway typical for the period of national park rustic design. A second masonry stairway was constructed from the lower viewing area to the tourist promenade. Boulder edging was added to the promenade and to the viewing area as well (Rogers 1939, 24; NPS 2006a, 73; NPS 2003, part 1, 24). In 1944, a new Artist Point wayside exhibit opened (Rogers 1945, 6). Possibly not coincidentally, changes at the Artist Point overlook took place the same year that the location of Moran Point was finally resolved.

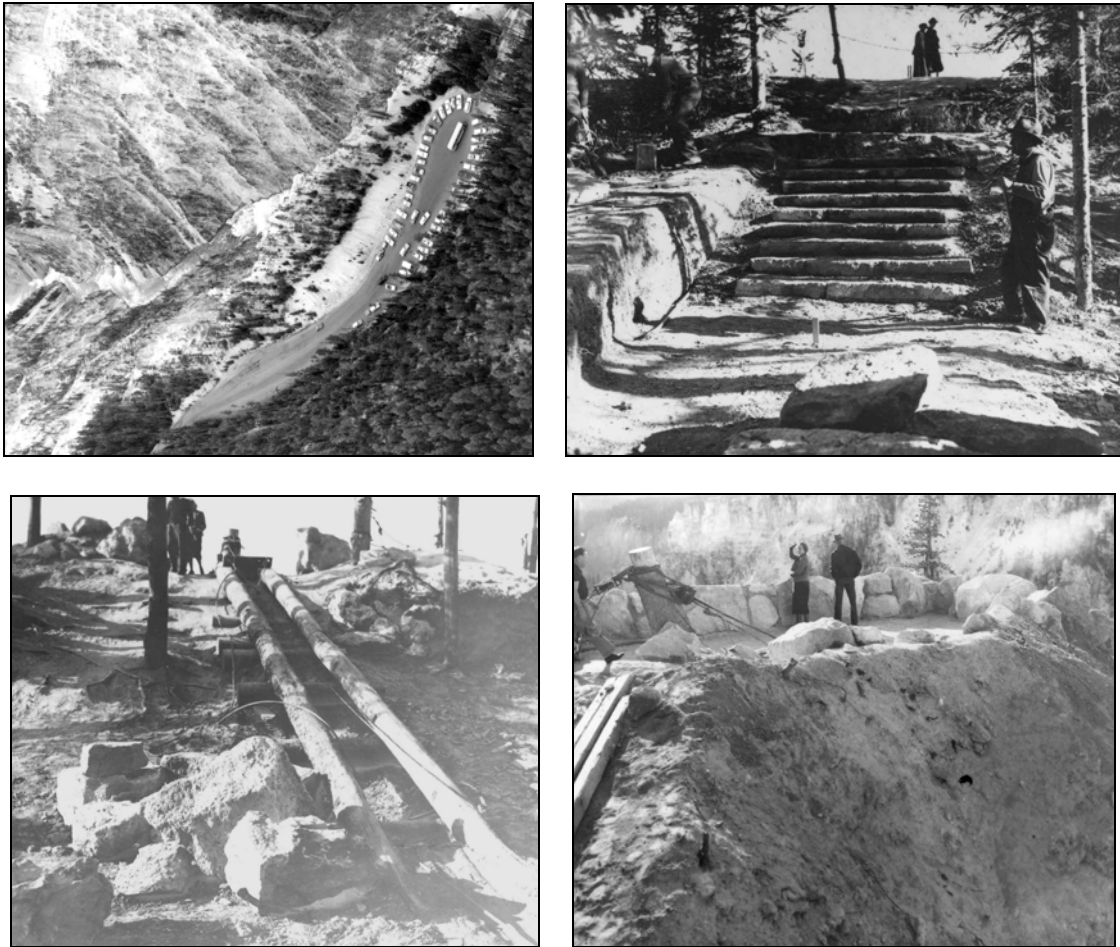


Figure 88: Artist Point Parking Lot and Overlook Reconstruction, c1938: Top left—Parking lot and Grand Canyon; Top right—Stairs from promenade under construction; Bottom left—Overlook rock hauling method; Bottom right—Stonemasonry overlook under construction (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

Mount Washburn

Through increased visitation to the summit of Mount Washburn, the sparse but well-formed rock cairn at the summit, present from before the park's creation (Figure 8, bottom), grew larger, probably as tourists repeatedly added to it. Eventually, the larger rock cairn was surrounded by a metal fence and adorned with elk antlers and a large boulder (Figure 89). This cultural landscape element morphed through time from a

modest, symbolic mountain-top cairn to a hybrid icon, then a functional stone shelter.

The idea of a shelter made of stone for the top of Mount Washburn was suggested as early as 1907 by Army Corps First Lieutenant Ernest Peek (Culpin 1994, 69). Peek's idea became a reality when the stone fire lookout and shelter was constructed at Mount Washburn's summit in 1921 (Lindsley n.d., 259).

Travel over Dunraven Pass and Mount Washburn was one way. Tourists ascended the mountain from the Canyon side and descended toward Tower Fall. The travel pattern was designated as one way to avoid having to build a wider road. Tourists were advised to visit the summit in the early part of the day, thereby avoiding the usual increase in afternoon wind (Haynes 1916, 23; Haines 2000; NPS 1932, 40). Tourists departing from the summit passed a ranger station located at the junction of the scenic loop road and the Dunraven Pass Road on the Tower Fall side. Editions of the *Haynes Guide* suggested in a novel fashion that drivers place their car in gear and shut off the engine once they passed the ranger station for the entire ten-mile descent to Tower Fall (Haynes 1916, 23; Haynes 1928, 104; Haynes 1919, 35).

After the Bureau of Public Roads took responsibility for the park's roads, that agency reconstructed the Grand Loop Road section between Canyon and Tower Fall. This project took place between 1930 and 1933 to accommodate the ever-increasing traffic on this dramatic stretch of the Grand Loop Road. Automobile traffic on the summit loop road was still permitted, although the Bureau apparently objected (Haynes 1940, 123 and Haynes 1949, 123 imply that the road to the summit is still available for tourist automobile travel; Trager 1939, 50-51—cites an undated sunrise tour to Mount Washburn from Canyon Hotel; NPS 2001a, 80—cites summit road abandonment).

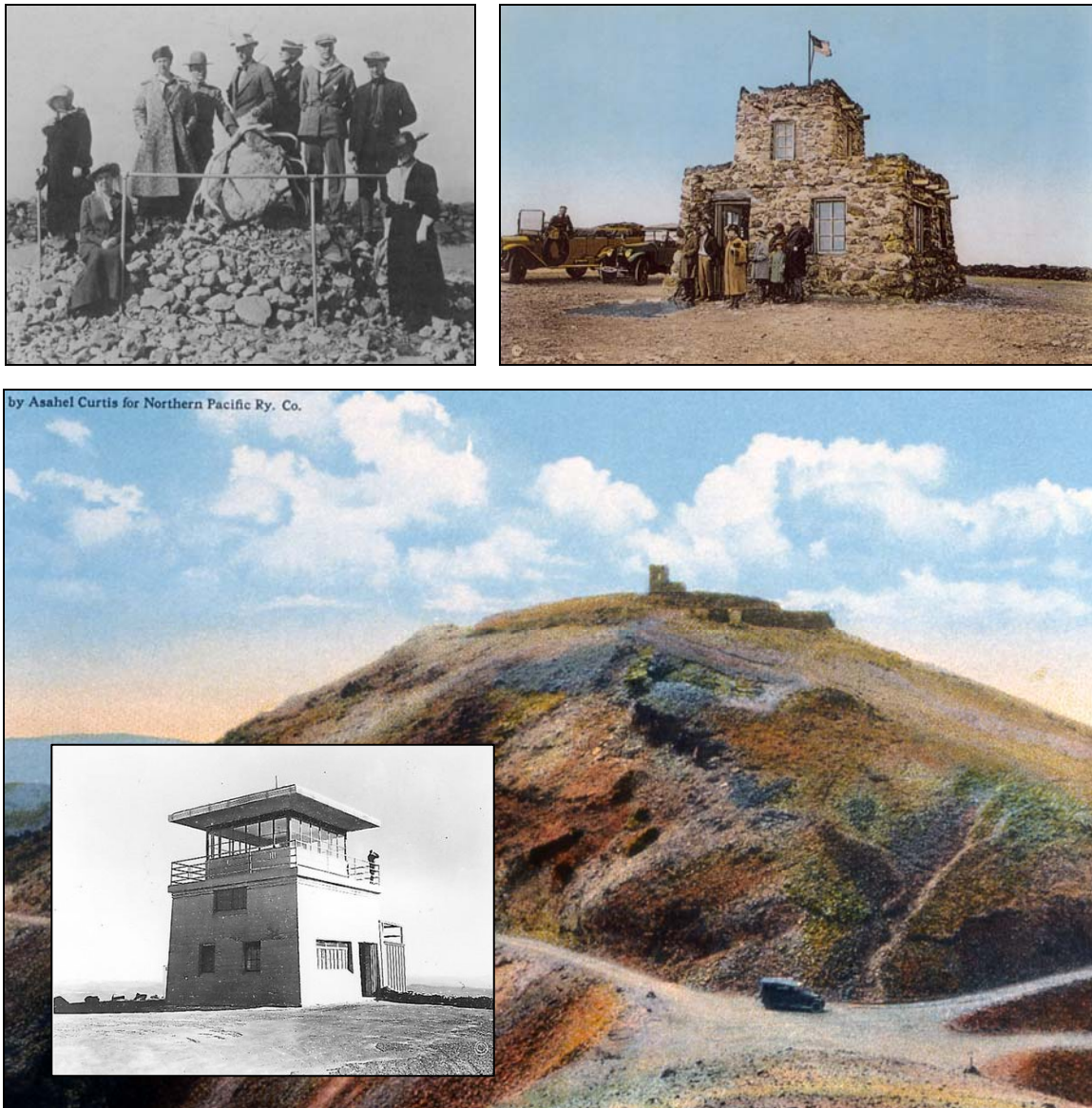


Figure 89: Mount Washburn Summit: Top left—Larger rock cairn with railing, 1915. Mather is tallest man directly behind rock, Albright is farthest man to Mather's left (Haines 1977b); Top right—Mount Washburn summit stone lookout, 1923 by Haynes (author's collection); Bottom—Scenic loop road and summit, 1928, by Curtis (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Inset—Modern Washburn summit lookout, by Haynes (Burlingame Special Collections)

Construction on a new, modern fire lookout tower began in 1939 (Figure 89). The symbolic, rustic stone structure was replaced by a concrete, geometric lookout tower that

was ready for use in July of 1940 (Rogers 1941, 7). Until just before World War II, the north slope of Mount Washburn was the site of a popular downhill ski field (open, east-facing slopes of Antelope Creek watershed). The ski area was monitored by park rangers who donned a specific winter uniform that included “bag-over” ski pants and white gaiters. In 1938, park officials invited the public (with the help of the Montana Ski Association and local Chambers of Commerce) to enjoy a day of what we know today as spring skiing. Access to the ski field was facilitated by winter road plowing on the Mammoth Hot Springs to Cooke City road. This road was kept open to facilitate bison removal (culling) activities at the Buffalo Ranch in Lamar Valley, which the public was also invited to watch.

In April the NPS plowed seven additional miles south from Tower Junction to the ski field. The April 24 downhill ski event was attended by 524 people in 147 cars. Sixty-five people participated, leading to the advertisement of a May 1 opportunity, but it was not well attended. It is unclear how long this slope was active as a ski area. Use by locals probably began before the 1938 event and continued at least through the spring of 1948. A Gardiner commercial ski club owned a portable ski lift, which may have been used on Mount Washburn during these events. In 1941, a Yellowstone Park sports association was formed to purchase a ski lift for Yellowstone Park residents. It was operational on the Undine Ski Hill south of Mammoth Hot Springs in 1941, coincident with continued spring skiing on the north slope of Mount Washburn (Rogers 1938, 11; Rogers 1941, 10; Rogers 1942, 12-13; Rogers 1947, 12; Rogers 1948, 13-14; Haines 1977b, 298).

Canyon Tourist Activities

By 1930, a road southwest of the hotel was advertised as the route to the hotel's bear feeding grounds (Haynes 1930, 90). If Canyon Lodge tourists arrived without a vehicle, they could purchase a ride to the hotel's bear pit from YPTC. The evening bus trip to the feeding grounds brought tourists back to the Lodge in time for the evening program. Tours to the summit of Mount Washburn were also offered from the Lodge. Canyon Hotel guests could participate in guided bus tours along the North Rim of the canyon, to the summit of Mount Washburn and to Uncle Tom's Trail, or to attend Canyon Lodge's evening campfire program. Evening programs at the Lodge were also important to park employees and senior Canyon bus drivers were permitted to drive other employees to the evening program as well (Yellowstone Park Transportation Co. brochure, 1931; Whittlesey 2001, 8).

Touring by one's own automobile was much easier, quicker, and more independent; but horseback adventures were still a popular activity at Canyon. From Canyon Hotel, half-day horseback rides brought tourists to Silver Cord Cascade, Spurgin's Beaver Slide, Ink Pot hot springs, Violet Springs, and Hayden Valley. Longer trips by horseback from the hotel included travel to Chief Joseph's Ford, Grebe Lake, Cascade Lake, and Seven Mile Hole. In 1920, long after automobiles were admitted to the park, the hotel offered a three-mile carriage tour of the North Rim every day (NPS 1933; Haynes 1930, 90; Stuhr Museum, 1920). From Canyon Lodge, horseback tourists embarked on a trip along the South Rim to Point Sublime, to Crater Hills and Sulphur Mountain in Hayden Valley, and to Elk Park, Crystal Lake, and Ribbon Falls (Haynes 1930, 84; Yellowstone Park Camps Co. Brochure 1924, 15).

Canyon Lodge Culture

Tourists staying at the Lodge could participate in a variety of outdoor activities—many in close proximity to their rented cabin along the canyon’s rim. In addition to hiking, horseback riding, photo expeditions, watching bears feed at the Lodge’s dump (Figure 90), and the evening campfire gathering, Lodge tourists could dally along the perimeter of the Lodge property enjoying views of the canyon, Crystal Falls on Cascade Creek, and both falls of the Yellowstone. Trails from the Lodge led to additional, unusual viewpoints at the river’s edge. The “Pump House Trail” descended from the East Rim into the upper canyon affording views of Upper Falls from the east river bank. The “Savage Trail” brought tourists and employees into the upper canyon along its east wall to Chittenden Bridge. The trail to the bottom of the canyon, which Uncle Tom Richardson pioneered before the turn of the century, was accessible from behind the Lodge. Also accessible from behind the Lodge was the Sunset Point Trail, which terminated at the brink of Lower Falls on its south side. The canyon’s South Rim trail continued from the Lodge east along the canyon to Artist Point and beyond.

In the evening, tourists attended ranger talks in the Lodge lobby and watched the employee-conducted “Savage Show.” The Savage Show was a park-wide Lodge tradition. At Canyon, Savages entertained “Dudes,” as tourists were called, both outdoors at “The Theatre of the Pines” west of the Lodge (Figure 90), and later inside the Lodge lobby after the outdoor theater was removed. This folksy entertainment was improved through time via competitions for best skits and best songs. These enhancements were part of a plan to attract more business for the camps (Moorman 1954, 18, 22). After the curtains closed on the evening Savage Show, tourists and employees danced in the lobby

to the Canyon Lodge Orchestra. Before World War II, applicants for summer positions in Yellowstone had better luck obtaining a job if they had talent. In the early 1930s, Canyon Lodge employee Grace Johnson, (affectionately known as “Johnnie”) was the Lodge recreation director and Savage Show emcee. She wrote many musicals for Canyon Lodge Savage Shows including “Yellowstone Girl” in 1933 with fellow employee Don Midgley. From this musical, a song of the same name has stood the test of time, performed by Lodge staff after WWII and through the last season Canyon Lodge was open in 1956 (Gorder 1976, 2).

Tourists feeding bears along the road side and in the park’s developed areas was another irresistible part of park culture (Biel 2006). To that end, Canyon Lodge was no different. During Horace Albright’s time as superintendent of Yellowstone in the 1920s, he reported the story of a woman who, while visiting Canyon Lodge, requested that a black bear be killed. She had been hand feeding the bear throughout the morning, at times on the Lodge front porch, all the while watched and photographed by other tourists. On cue, the bear stood on its hind legs to reach the prize. Later near lunch, when she stopped feeding the bear momentarily, the bear naturally lowered down, but on the way hooked a claw on her dress and “stripped” her in front of the many tourists waiting for departure. The woman’s request to have the bear killed was out of embarrassment and, of course, was not honored (Schullery 1991, 103).



Figure 90: Canyon Camp (Lodge) Activities: Top left—Black bears at Canyon Camp dump near Clear Lake in 1921 (Francis Collection); Top right—Campfire gathering, 1923 by Haynes, probably near “The Theater of the Pines” (author collection); Middle left—Lodge Manager Lady Mac (left) and Mrs. Rowden on stage at “The Theater of the Pines” by Gorder (Warr Collection); Middle right—Audrey at The Theatre of the Pines, 1930s by Gorder (Warr Collection); Bottom left—Preparing for horseback outing, c1924 by Haynes (author collection); Bottom right—Tourists near tent-top cabins at Canyon Camp, early 1920s (Reese Collection)

Tourists were not alone in their attraction to bears. In the 1930s, a female black bear nicknamed “Prudence” befriended Canyon Lodge employees for many seasons in a row. Although the NPS tried to halt the befriending and feeding of bears by Lodge employees, the attachment was strong and the feeding continued. This was a time of confusion in the park for both bears and people. Even with regulations prohibiting the feeding of bears, rules were not enforced consistently and roadside feeding was rampant. Scores of habituated bears bit tourists and damaged property. Adding to the ambiguity was the NPS doing its own feeding at its very popular bear feeding shows, including one at Canyon (Johnson 1952; Biel 2006, 24-25, 32-33).

Otter Creek Bear Feeding Grounds

After 1931, only Old Faithful and Canyon offered places where tourists could watch black and grizzly bears feeding on tourist garbage (Schullery 1986, 96). In 1931, the bear pits associated with Canyon Hotel and Canyon Lodge were replaced by a more controlled Bear Feeding Grounds constructed one mile south of Chittenden Bridge along Otter Creek (Figure 91). The new facility cost \$2665.31 to build and was reached by a three-quarter-mile road that terminated with a parking lot, pit toilets, and signage. The amphitheater proper was bounded on its downhill side by a constructed timber barrier complete with photographer “port holes.” The barrier was 200-feet long and 8-feet high, topped with a Cyclone fence to protect tourists. It marked the closest point tourists could get to the feeding bears. A rustic, log seating area for 250 people was cut and graded into the hillside. Soil removed in this process was placed against the timber barrier on the seating side to hide most of it from view. The entire amphitheater was surrounded by

fencing and guard rails, with an entry way and staircase to the parking lot. The bear feeding infrastructure included an 18-foot by 40-foot concrete feeding platform set down hill from the amphitheater as a kind of stage. It was equipped with running water (from a dammed creek) and a drainage pipe for transporting uneaten garbage to a drain pit (Toll 1931, 13; Biel 2006, 20, 53; Sanders and Whitacre 2000, appendix, 3; Haines 1993, 93-94).

After 1935, the Otter Creek Bear Feeding Grounds was the last place in Yellowstone to hold “bear shows” (Schullery 1986, 96). This facility offered arguably the most important educational opportunity for visitors to Canyon. The show was extraordinarily popular, attracting between 1,200 and 1,500 visitors in an evening, making interpretive contact with tourists quite easy (Figure 92). By 1937, two lectures were offered each evening (6:15 p.m. and 7:15 p.m.), covering the natural history of black and grizzly bears (Rogers 1938, 15; NPS 1941; Rogers 1937, 16). The facility was also very attractive to bears. On some evenings, between fifty and seventy bears (many of them grizzlies) came to the platform to feed (Biel 2006, 20). Between 1936 and 1937, the amphitheater was enlarged, assisted in part by men stationed at the Canyon CCC camp. The facility was also upgraded with a 200-gallon hot water tank and heater for cleaning the feeding pad. By 1937, the park superintendent was noting that the parking area was not large enough (NPS 1941; Camp Canyon Cub, Co. 544 1937; Rogers 1937, 16, 36; Biel 2006, 53).

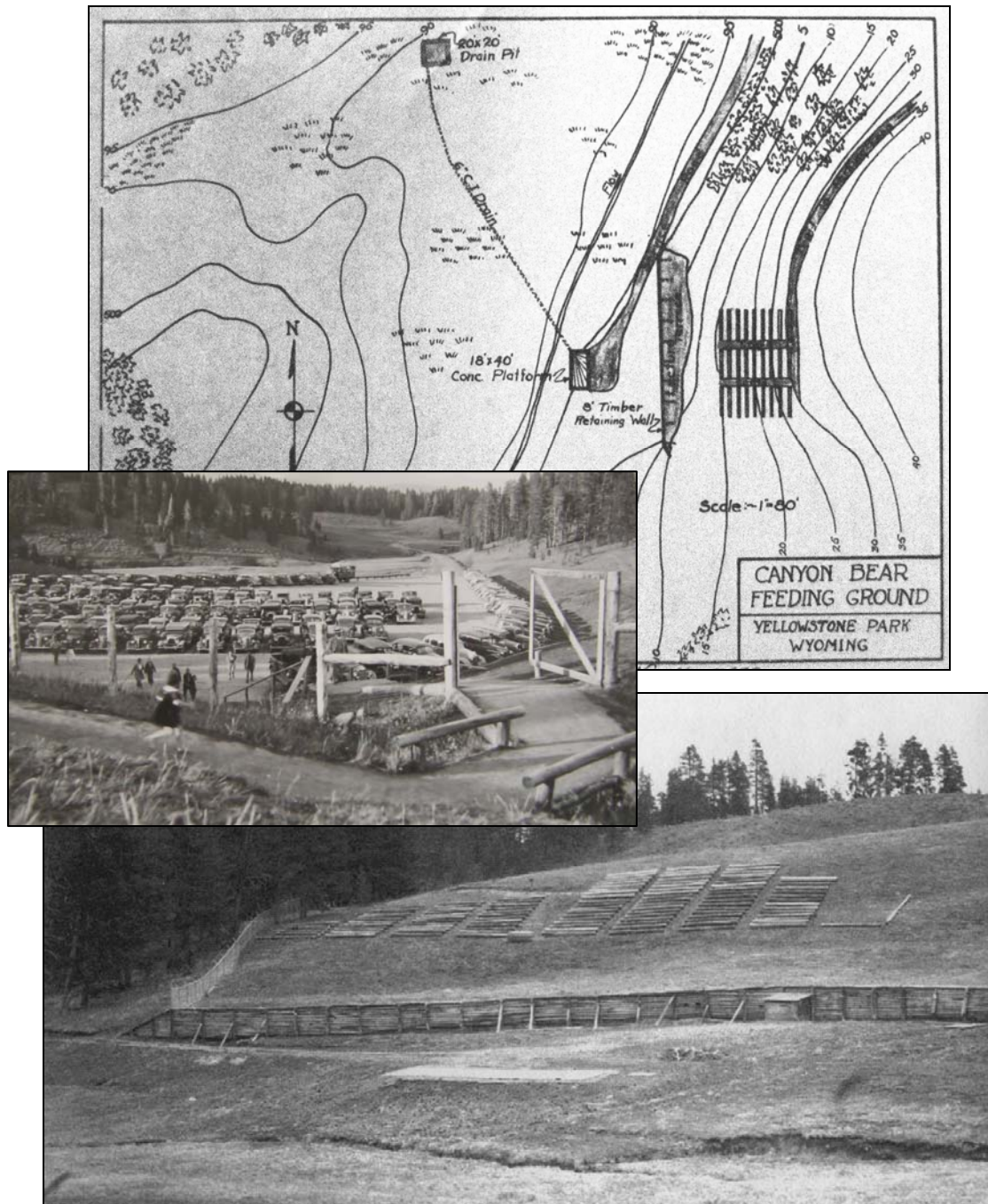


Figure 91: Otter Creek Bear Feeding Grounds Infrastructure: Top—Plan of facility, July 1931 (Yellowstone Archives); Bottom—Amphitheater, timber retaining wall with two port holes (left of storage box), and concrete feeding platform, around 1936 (Biel 2006); Inset—Entry gate and parking lot, August 1936 (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

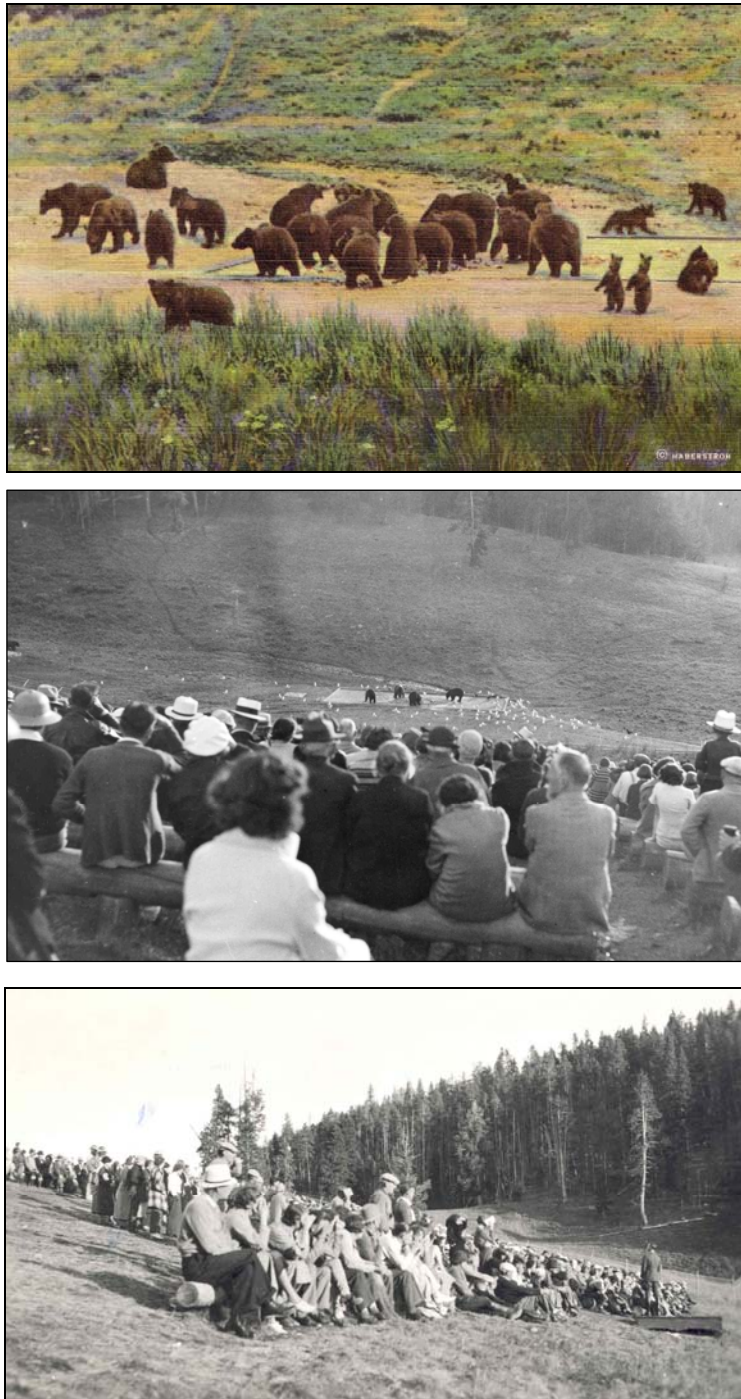


Figure 92: Bears and People at Otter Creek Bear Feeding Grounds: Top—Bears feeding at platform (Francis Collection); Middle—Tourists' view of bear show (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom—Ranger naturalist lecture during bear show (Yellowstone Photo Collection). Note well-worn bear trails in top and middle photos.

Bear show preparation began with late afternoon garbage transportation tasks performed by rangers such as Gerald R. Ford in 1936. Ford, later President of the United States, helped load the feeding truck with cans containing hotel and lodge food waste, and then rode with it to the concrete platform where the garbage was dumped and spread out. Ford recalled that the black bears would come to feed first, followed by grizzlies. Once the bears arrived, Ford remained on guard standing on the feeding truck, watching the bears with rifle ready (McMillion 2007). Visitors would tolerate long automobile lines to get in. Cars began to line up as early as 4 p.m. on the Grand Loop Road near Otter Creek, causing major traffic problems (NPS 1941). Once at the amphitheater, tourists parked their cars under the direction of rangers on duty in the parking lot. One of two riflemen, positioned at the seating gate, instructed tourists entering the amphitheater to be completely silent during the show so that sows with cubs might come down to feed (NPSd, 30; Pocatello Chieftain 1937).

The Otter Creek amphitheater was historically the last place in Yellowstone, and indeed in the entire national park system, where tourists were guaranteed to see bears and see them interact with each other, along with coyotes, gulls, and other scavengers (Biel 2006, 52). Later in the 1930s, the fifty to seventy bears arriving each evening were considered a hazard to tourists. Thus, in 1938 Canyon area trash was distributed to additional dumps out of view of the public to begin dispersing the number of bears gathered at this one site. After the change in garbage distribution, twenty grizzlies were known to use the area—a more acceptable and safer number of bears for proximity to tourists (Schullery 1986, 98; Sanders and Whitacre 2000, appendix, 5). During this period of adjustment, some public complaints about the government's feeding of bears at Otter

Creek referred to the activity as inconsistent with park regulations. After all, tourists were prohibited from feeding bears along the road side. The NPS admitted the inconsistency, noting the bear feeding program had just “grown up” through time in response to popular demand (NPS Assistant Director Bryant quoted in Biel 2006, 37).

In 1941, the facility was considered in poor condition and parking was woefully inadequate. The parking lot accommodated three hundred cars, but room for five hundred was needed to meet popular demand. Park planners considered moving the facility to enable a larger parking area and better circulation. However, they also were considering discontinuing the bear show altogether (NPS 1941). The opportunity to close Otter Creek came in the spring of 1942 when the feeding grounds were not opened. World War II had caused a shortage of naturalists and rangers as well as a shortage of garbage from far fewer tourists. Trash generated from the canyon tourist facilities was either incinerated or brought to dumps out of sight of tourists. Gas rationing also prohibited any side trips for tourists, including transportation to places such as Otter Creek. Park officials recognized immediately that circumstances caused by the war presented the opportunity to stop the unnatural practice of feeding bears, even though the shows were wildly popular. Billie Nichols of the Yellowstone Park Company initially objected to the loss of the attraction because it yielded tourist dollars for his company. The argument of necessary war-time restrictions softened his objections (Rogers 1942, 6; Schullery 1986, 96; Biel 2006, 41).

Otter Creek remained closed for the duration of the war. Between September 1944 and September 1945, the issue of discontinuing activities at the Bear Feeding Grounds was discussed between NPS Director Newton Drury and Regional Director Lawrence Merriam, both of whom wanted the feeding stopped. Director Drury stated that

the shows clearly violated the NPS's Organic Act, presenting bears in an unnatural and augmented setting. Demolishing the grounds became a NPS priority, slated for completion before the tourist season of 1946, despite limited funds and staff. Horace Albright, who had retired from public service, was told of the demolition plans. He objected to the removal project. His NPS legacy of giving tourists what they desired seemed under attack. NPS policies clearly were turning away from the Mather and Albright ways institutionalized in the 1920s (Biel 2006, 52-53). Albright voiced his opposition to the closure from retirement. Albright thought the changes that limited feeding meant: "the ultimate total deprivation of the public from a sight of the best loved park animal" (Biel 2006, 49). Albright thought the NPS was catering to wilderness advocates. He wrote:

It was a great sight to stand above the feeding grounds and watch the bears of both species feeding, cuffing each other, mothers sending cubs up trees, a coyote sneaking in to get a snack, gulls flying about looking for chances to dive in for a share of the provender....Why should this show not go on? (Albright quoted in Biel 2006, 51).

Zoning and Master Planning—Canyon's Sacred Area Designation

Discontinuing bear shows in Yellowstone after the war was a visible sign of the evolving strength and changing policies of the NPS. However, many of these changes began over a decade before. To manage the park's cultural landscapes, NPS landscape architects began employing tools used by urban planners. As the Canyon cultural landscape was reaching its greatest extent, American cities were struggling with rapid industrialization, congestion of automobile traffic on narrow city streets, and continued

health issues in crowded slums. Municipalities explored the European concept of zoning to mitigate changes occurring in American cities. Zoning provided a means for identifying, locating, and controlling land uses by type. The logical and orderly application of zoning spread quickly across the United States. For urban problems in America, it was a “heaven-sent nostrum for sick cities” (Cullingsworth and Caves 2003, 58).

Zoning ordinances became commonplace in America during the 1920s. Establishing city planning commissions and creating community master plans soon followed the spread of zoning. Together, zoning and master planning attempted to counter the negative affects of growing automobile ownership and suburbanization (Levy 2003). A zoning ordinance was a forward-looking tool; its effect was meant to control development that had not yet happened. Chiefly, it was used to protect individual investments in suburban property due to incompatible adjacent land uses. What zoning also did, without explicitly saying so, was exclude people and prevent unwanted land use from certain areas. Blatant restrictions of this kind were sometimes fought in courts as discriminatory (Cullingsworth and Caves 2003). The spread and enormous popularity of zoning provided the precedent and tools needed for NPS planners and landscape architects to assess development in Yellowstone, to control development and growth, and to protect park features and values.

The NPS had employed only one landscape engineer since 1918. However, with visitation encouraged, automobiles admitted, and more parks added to the system, the workload increased. This motivated Mather to hire more staff and later to establish a field office. In 1927, NPS landscape architects moved to San Francisco to work together for the benefit of all parks. The new Landscape Division was led by its new chief landscape architect, Thomas Vint. Vint had worked for the NPS as a landscape engineer for many years before taking over responsibility for the field office at its establishment (McClelland 1998, 136, 195-197).

Landscape architects in the new Landscape Division were tasked with choosing where and how much development would occur in parks. In 1926, the division began the process of zoning parks by designating park land as either developed or wilderness. Developed zones contained the concessioner and government facilities for the park. The wilderness zone was all other land not in a developed zone. Two other zones used by park planners were intended to be subdivisions of the wilderness zone. Sacred areas were small zones around important park features such as Old Faithful Geyser, Yosemite's Sentinel Rock, and the rims along the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone. Establishing a sacred zone, or sacred area, protected that land from development or any other disturbance. In some circumstances, a sacred area designation also prohibited access. Later, research zones were defined and assigned to places containing animal or plant communities for study (Everhart 1972, 85; McClelland 1998, 306-307; Carr 1998, 241).

Writing a master plan for Yellowstone coincided with the application of zoning. Yellowstone's master plan for any given year consisted of multiple pages devoted to each of the park's developed areas. A park area such as Canyon was planned using large color maps and multiple pages of text describing existing and proposed circulation systems, public utilities, government building units, tourist facilities, and non-tourist facilities. Creating master plans was motivated in part by a 1932 federal requirement that all government agencies produce six-year construction plans. This occurred during the height of the Great Depression. The requirement ensured readiness if emergency relief programs involving construction were launched. Albright, who had become Director of the NPS in 1929, did not need a planning mandate. He had called for comprehensive planning for parks in 1925, although the documents produced had not yet meet his expectations. With Vint's leadership and the addition of hundreds of landscape architects, park master plans that developed through the 1930s became more detailed and elaborate just before Americans took to the road in large numbers after the Great Depression. It may be that the planning process begun during Albright's directorship was his most important achievement for America's national parks (Carr 1998, 239-240, 246-247, 258; Carr 2004, 129).

Tourist development at Canyon presented one of the more difficult landscape architecture dilemmas for the Landscape Division. Tourist facilities were in place close to the canyon's rim and had been for decades. It wasn't possible to prohibit development using a sacred area designation at Canyon. Pressure mounted on the NPS and the park

with increasing numbers of visitors to the canyon rim. Tourists were negatively influencing one of the park features they came to experience. In 1927, Vint started the process of protecting the canyon's rims by recommending the prohibition of camping within one hundred feet of the rims. By 1935, the 100-foot specification had grown in both size and significance when the "Canyon Rim Sacred Area" was designated, defined as the land within one-eighth mile (660 feet) of either rim of the Grand Canyon. The sacred area consisted of the two strips of land coincident to the set back defined in the 1894 Hayes Act (Figure 93). Vint also established and mapped a one-eighth-mile (radius) sacred area around Old Faithful Geyser (NPS 1941, *Developed and Special Areas-Continued*; McClelland 1998, 307; NPS 1933).

The NPS used the term "sacred" to elevate park places such as the canyon rims beyond a tourism landscape to something different and more important. All national parks are considered "ceremonial landscapes," but the term "sacred" refers to something even higher. Tourists participate in a modern American sacred rite when they visit parks in droves on specific days such as Labor Day and the Fourth of July (Erickson 1977, 40-41). At Yellowstone's Grand Canyon, tourists were known to react strongly to its beauty. One tourist wrote of standing near Lower Falls: "We almost felt we were trespassing on sacred ground" (Edwin J. Stanley, 1873 quoted in Whittlesey 1988a, 545).

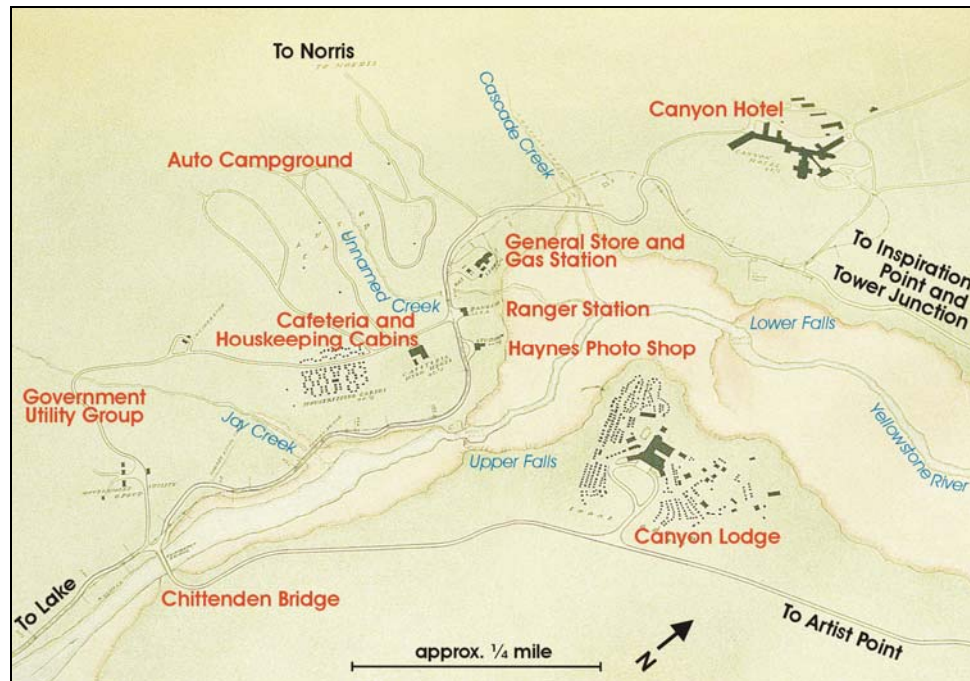


Figure 93: Canyon Tourist Development and Sacred Area: 1933 Canyon master plan without sacred area mapping (Yellowstone Archives)—top; Air photo of Canyon area, 1934-1936 (dashed lines show approximate sacred area boundary). Air photo date range: After use of 1933 large CCC barracks tents and before 1936 Pryor's Store employee dorm (Yellowstone Photo Collection)—bottom

Although the land inside parks and inside Canyon's newly designated sacred area evoked ritualistic behavior and responses, this government-designated sacred area appears to emerge from something other than ritualistic urges. Designating sacred areas seems more reflective of a change in agency culture as park planners reacted to the Wilderness Movement gaining momentum across the United States before World War II. National Park sacred areas were "...inviolable and to remain unimpaired. The NPS saw these designations as equally important to park management as development plans" (McClelland 1998, 307). NPS planners wrote:

Sacred areas are defined as those special areas which are of such vital importance as to warrant protection from encroachment in any way detrimental to its *preservation*. In general a Sacred Area should have no building or structure within the area to be preserved. Roads and trails are permitted within the limits affording accessibility only. Wherever possible roads are to be excluded. (NPS 1939, Developed and Special Areas emphasis added)

When park planners implemented zoning and defined sacred areas such as the land around the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, they co-opted an indigenous religious idea, but executed it with park development and tourism goals in mind. Planners likely knew about tourist reverence for the canyon's beauty (especially its colors); however, unlike indigenous sacred sites, NPS planners did not specify how people should feel or act while standing at the canyon's rims. Knowledge of expected behavior at indigenous sacred sites is customarily passed down from tribal elders. In addition, park planners and tourists were not known to leave offerings at the canyon's rim with intentions of "appeasement, supplication, and thanksgiving" (Carmichael et al 1994, 1 quote, 2, 3). Designating these sacred areas appears to represent a developing agency culture that

valued preservation of special national park sites over their development for tourist enjoyment.

A New Canyon Settlement for Yellowstone

Between 1933 and 1935, Canyon's sacred area had been designated and incorporated into Canyon's master plan, and development at the canyon rims was targeted for change (Haines 1977b, 375; McClelland 1998, 19, 307-308, 551n15). This rethinking of Canyon development was probably motivated in part by pressure from wilderness advocates who saw the increase in development of national parks in the 1930s as a threat to the parks' wilderness qualities. The NPS's changing of wild landscapes for automobile tourism was sparking a movement that included, among others, many members of the Sierra Club and the National Parks Association. These wilderness advocates joined together to form the Wilderness Society in the 1930s and they became the roots of today's environmental movement (Louter 2006, xi, 8, 51). Even with this criticism, the NPS saw the automobile as a way that the common citizen could access Yellowstone. Seeing park vistas and features through an automobile windshield was becoming part of the American leisure experience. The roadway, according to Chittenden, organized the way tourists experienced parks. To the NPS, at least during these early years, national parks were not wilderness areas to be left untouched, they were places for people to enjoy and that meant development (Louter 2006, 6, 7, 15, 78-79).

The NPS intended to continue accommodating the automobile in Yellowstone. The agency believed that at Canyon, many automobile tourists would be better served through a redevelopment of the Canyon Auto Camp, part of which lay inside the new

sacred area. When built in the 1920s, the auto camp was ahead of its time; however, it was not designed with individual sites as campgrounds have today. Redeveloping the auto camp was one of the reasons for moving the Canyon development away from the rims (NPS 1941). Perhaps more importantly, many of Canyon's leased plats significantly overlapped with the newly designated sacred area. The Canyon section of Yellowstone's 1939 master plan stated that the Hayes Act:

contained a clause that was very far-sighted in its purpose; it would prevent on the one hand the eventual demolition of the features and also save the features for the enjoyment of all visiting the park and not just for the privileged few....The present Canyon area development has violated, and continues to violate this act to a considerable degree, to the detriment of the area and to the exclusion of thousands of tourists enjoying the area to the greatest possible degree. The present concentration of development about the Upper and Lower Falls is gradually breaking down the natural conditions so that within a comparatively short while the area will be barren....It is not readily accessible to the other tourists without intimate knowledge of the area, or without a guide.

The circumstances are such that it would seem wise to try and correct these mistakes, and justify the effort for a number of reasons. Conservation is primary and that point is readily conceded. Aesthetically the present development is beginning to compete with the Canyon for attention. Gradually it becomes more prominent as the vegetation dies or is done away with. This alone should be reason enough for restoring it to its original state if possible.

Economically it is advantageous to concentrate this development at some other location. Under the present setup there are three separate and unrelated water systems and sewer systems....The object of such an improvement would be to eventually remove all of the development away from the edge of the Canyon to an area better suited to such developments and yet allow expansion on a well ordered scale (NPS 1939, Proposed Development: Developed Areas—emphasis in original).

Along the rims, the government and concessioners had invested in roads, bridges, trails, and overlooks; two lodging facilities and one horse concession operation; the

Haynes Picture Shop and Pryor's Store; and a ranger station, road camp, and the government-run auto camp (Figure 93). Park planners wanted to enlarge the facilities to accommodate more tourists in automobiles but were limited by the physical setting—the edge of the canyon—and the questionable siting of the desired development.

The commitment to democratic access to park features was clear in the first paragraph of this 1939 master plan text. Conservation, preservation, and economic reasons were highlighted (underlined) and justified, placating some wilderness advocate criticism. However, park planners also cited the need to provide feature access to all tourists. Visitors wealthy enough to plan vacations ahead of time and pay for a Canyon Lodge cabin (deposit due well in advance) could spend a night or several along the canyon's rim and both of the falls. While the location of canyon overlooks, trails, and trailheads were open to all and advertised in park guides, planners were also concerned that rim development impeded the free flow of tourists to some of these opportunities. For example, Uncle Tom's Trail trailhead was located at the back of the Canyon Lodge development. Hikers who were not staying at the Lodge could park their cars at the Lodge then walk around the building to the trailhead (Warr email 10/10/2005).

Work to begin moving the Canyon tourist development started in the mid-1930s. A topographical survey, three to four years in length, was completed and a new water system started (Haines 1993, 80; Haines 1977b, 369, 375). The Bureau of Public Roads completed studies between 1937 and 1938, using

Emergency Conservation Works labor (possibly CCC enrollees) for rerouting the Grand Loop Road at Canyon. To ease traffic and parking congestion near the canyon's rims, the NPS planned to reroute a three-mile section of the Grand Loop Road to the west of the existing road. This new "bypass" would route through traffic away from the canyon's sacred area and away from the West and North Rims, using a new crossing of Cascade Creek. The bypass would bring traffic past Canyon Hotel again (as it did prior the creation of Grand View Junction in 1927), but enough at a distance that the "back-of-the-house" functions were not obvious to travelers. Once the road section was completed, the existing roads near the canyon's rims would become scenic highways. Progress continued with additional surveys completed between 1939 and 1940, including one for a new campground (Rogers 1938, 27, 41; Rogers 1940, 19; Haines 1977b, 369; NPS 1939; NPS 1941; Rogers 1939, 22).

These initial surveys formed the preliminary concept for the new Canyon settlement drawn in the 1939 master plan (Figure 94). The so called "Canyon Village" would eventually contain replacements for all tourist facilities removed from the sacred area including stores, food service operations, and guest cabins. The Canyon Hotel and the bus complex were outside of the sacred area and were not targeted for change. If room was needed for the new village cabin loops, the bus complex could be moved (NPS 1939, Haines 1977b, 375-376; NPS 1941).

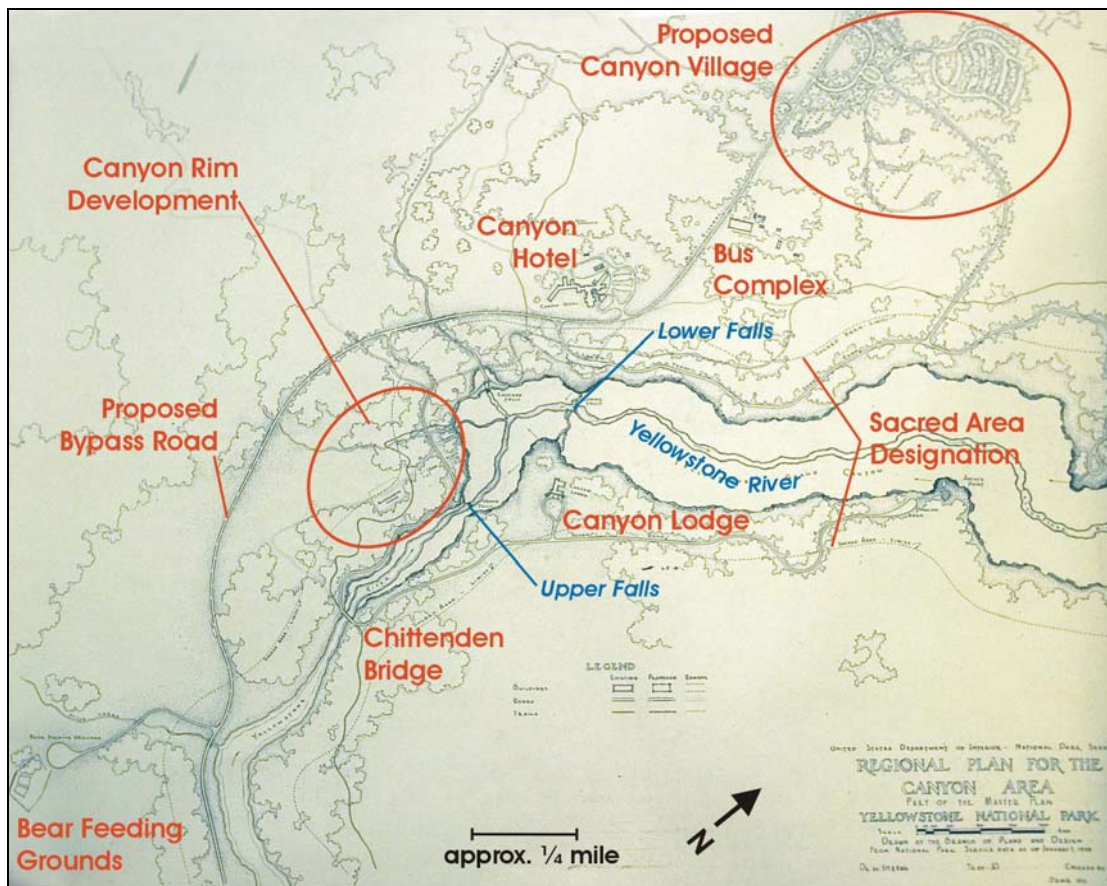


Figure 94: Canyon Area 1939 Master Plan. Map showing sacred area, proposed (but unrealized) route of Grand Loop Road bypass, and pre-war Canyon Village layout (Yellowstone Archives)

Village-style settlements were not new to national parks. They were employed elsewhere in the system, beginning earlier in the century. The concept of a park village was simply extended to Yellowstone. Design principles for park villages continued a heritage of natural park landscape architecture originating with Frederick Law Olmsted's firm in the late nineteenth century (McClelland 1998, 40-41, 44, 127). Early application of villages to parks came about as national park planners realized that up to 6,000 people needed accommodation at places such as Yosemite Valley, creating the need for a government-managed "municipality." Perhaps more so than outside of national parks,

accommodating so many people in a revered natural setting required careful settlement, circulation, and utility planning. Canyon's tourist and service worker "population" had ballooned into the thousands and was growing. The landscape architecture problem in Canyon's sacred area could be resolved through the planning and construction of Canyon Village. On a relatively flat, forested area about one mile north of the canyon, park planners and landscape architects began to imagine Yellowstone's first national park village.

Condemning development near the canyon's rim in 1935 was a well-thought-out, but one-sided declaration by the NPS. Planning the new visitor settlement at Canyon took design skills, drafting tools, and the authority to change Canyon. Actually implementing the plans meant entering into delicate negotiations with Yellowstone's concessioners. Moving tourist facilities from the original settlement to the new village at Canyon would require more concessioner investment in the new settlement, while at the same time asking concessioners to sacrifice viable revenue-generating tourist facilities that were in place near the rims.

The major player in Yellowstone concessions was the group of concessioner businesses collectively run by the relations and descendents of Harry Child. In 1936, these separate concession businesses that ran the park's hotels, transportation, lodges, boating activities, and provided fuel logs for tourists joined together to form the Yellowstone Park Company (YPC). This consolidation was executed at the same time the new YPC was issued its next twenty-year contract to serve Yellowstone tourists, beginning in 1936. This contract included a clause that required YPC to build new facilities in Yellowstone if the Secretary of the Interior deemed it necessary. YPC could

object to building new facilities and argue against any specific requirement, but ultimately the Secretary had the final decision. The 1936 YPC contract states that the government would see failure to comply with construction mandates as a forfeiture of the YPC franchise to do business in Yellowstone (Yellowstone Park Company Contract 1936). In 1937, likely in anticipation of required park construction, YPC signed their last mortgage held jointly with the four railroad companies who still delivered passengers to these tourist facilities (Haines 1977b, 370).

Vint's landscape architects and planners pressed forward in 1935 with surveying and initial water-system work for the new Canyon Village. This was before arriving at an agreement with YPC (NPS 1939, Existing Developments). Clearly, NPS vision and control was strengthening for in 1939, the government overcame what it referred to as the "major obstacle" to progress on construction of Canyon Village when YPC agreed to remove Canyon Lodge and Canyon Tourist Cabins and build replacements at the new Canyon Village (NPS 1941, quote from Canyon Development: General; NPS 1939). Presumably, agreements with Pryor, Hamilton, and Haynes had already been made.

Pre-War Canyon Village

As late as 1941, government planners conceptualized individual buildings arranged around a horseshoe-entrance drive (Figure 95). In contrast, YPC and architect Fred Willson were envisioning a single, long building that would house all concessioner functions, including the general store and Haynes Picture Shop. Regardless of

configuration, Canyon Village proper was to overlook both the new section of the Grand Loop Road and Cascade Meadows to the west. Tourist views, formerly of the canyon and falls, would be replaced by watching bison and elk grazing in the meadows, and the occasional moose frequenting “Dollar Lake,” a tiny pond in the meadow also in view from the new Canyon Village site (Haines 1993, 80).

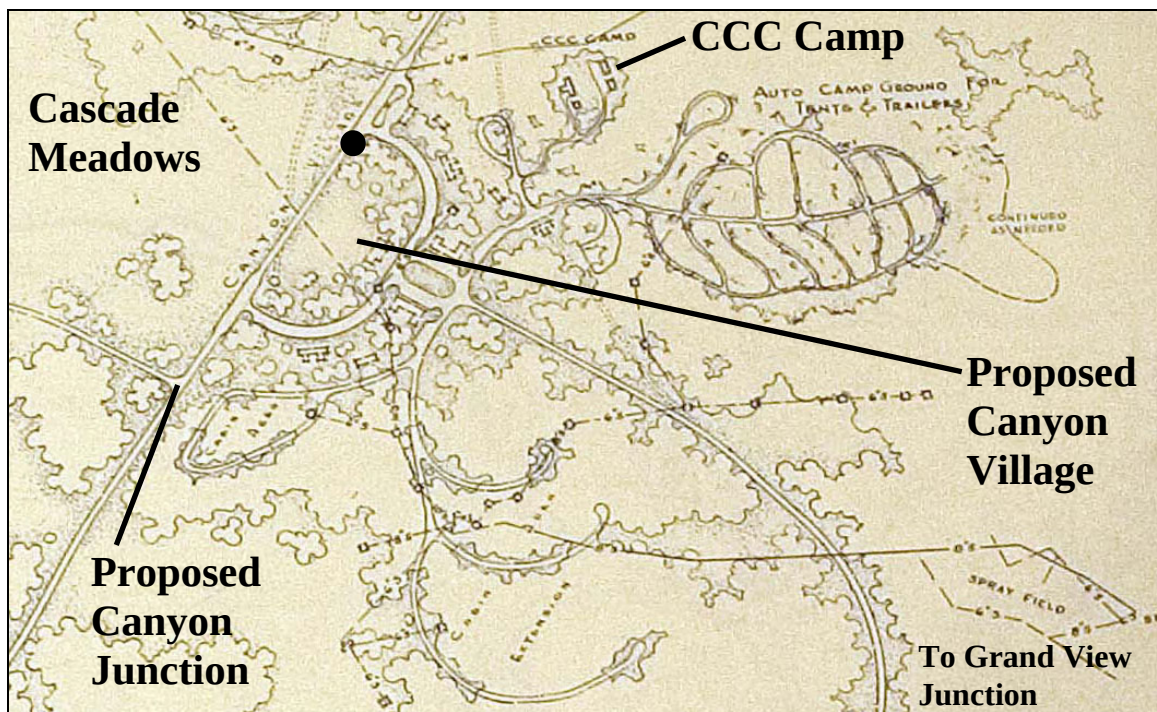


Figure 95: 1941 Master Plan of Canyon Village (detail): Plan shows proposed individual village buildings, orientation to Grand Loop Road, second CCC camp (YNP-8), and proposed location of the new Canyon Junction. Dot indicates approximate location of today's Canyon Junction (Yellowstone Archives)

In 1940, Fred Willson drew plans for this new Canyon Village. In January, Willson drew a multi-story structure for Canyon Village that mimicked the Colonial Revival style of Lake Yellowstone Hotel by using yellow paint, ionic columns, roof dormers, fanlight windows, and false balconies (Willson 1940a). By the end of the year, Willson had drawn a long, single-story structure instead. One sketch of Willson's new ideas illustrated how the same kind of long building could be executed in one of three ways: using a Modern style (shown at one end of the sketch), using a Rustic style (shown at the other end), and using a mixture of both Modern and Rustic design demonstrated in the center of the sketch (Willson 1940b).

From this mock up, YPC and Willson chose against a mixture of Modern and Rustic or Modern execution. Instead, new Canyon Village drawings employed the Rustic tradition (Figure 96). The 600-foot long building would contain (from left to right) a tourist cabin office on the north end, a cafeteria, coffee shop, lounge, writing room, Hamilton Store, Haynes Picture Shop, and an interior passage to a recreation hall with a stage at the south end of the complex (NPS 1941; Willson 1940c; Willson 1941—labels demonstrate Hamilton was involved in these pre-war plans). Dormitories for Canyon Village employees were initially suggested to be attached as wings at the back of the new building. Instead, YPC requested designs for two unisex dorms set farther back on either side of a heating plant and workshop (Willson 1940c; Willson 1940d).

For tourist accommodations, three hundred new cabins would have hot and cold running water, but private toilets were not planned. This choice was on par with seasonal, under-funded resort areas. Besides, in the early 1930s, indoor toilet facilities were still more comfort than some Americans experienced in their own homes, but by the mid-

1930s many Americans took indoor plumbing for granted in the form of showers and flush toilets. In contrast to the home front, competition among privately owned cabin courts on well-traveled routes resulted in a growing availability of full bath facilities for tourists throughout the nation. By 1939, market surveys showed that most tourists expected a private bath in their cabin (NPS 1941; Belasco 1979, 154-160, 164, 166-167). Pre-war cabins planned for Canyon Village did not meet these expectations. In addition to new cabins, two hundred of the newest housekeeping cabins (Canyon Tourist Cabins) were to be moved to Canyon Village, providing a less expensive lodging option at the new site. Park planners specified that there would be room enough at the new Canyon Village site to increase the quantity of both types of cabins when needed (NPS 1941).

As of January 1941, even with the nation on the brink of entering World War II, construction on the new lodge and cabins for Canyon Village was proposed for the following year. Moving cabins from near the West Rim would begin at that time if national tourism conditions were acceptable. All Canyon day-use facilities along the West Rim (store, gas station, cafeteria, and Haynes Picture Shop) would be moved to Canyon Village by 1945 or 1946 (NPS 1941). Once old Canyon Lodge was removed, NPS planners foresaw the old Canyon Lodge site as an Upper Falls parking lot that would provide access to great views of Upper Falls, easing parking problems along the West Rim. During these planning efforts, there was some question as to whether Uncle Tom's Trail would be retained for tourist use (NPS 1941). This all was not to happen, however, until 1956.

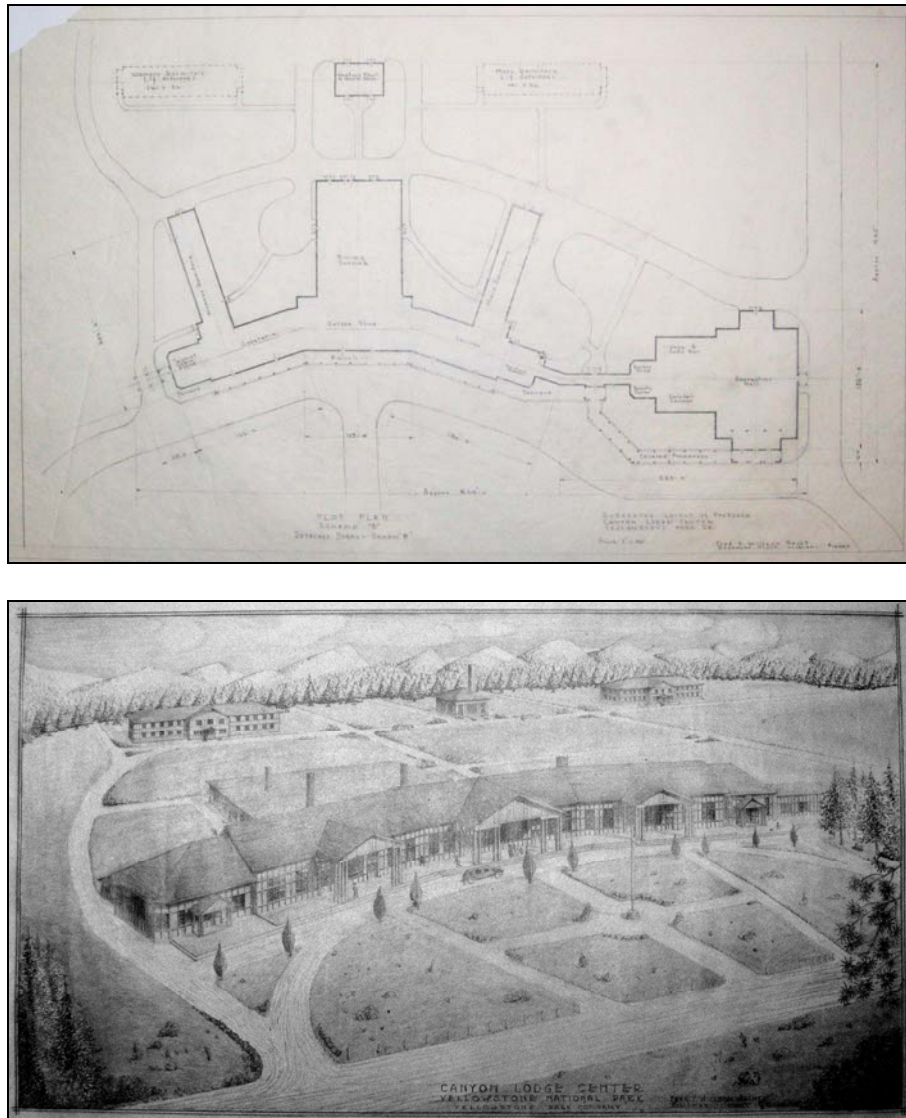


Figure 96: Pre-War Canyon Village: Top—Suggested layout of Canyon Lodge Center, Fred Willson Architect, November 19, 1940; Bottom—Proposed (never built) Rustic-style Canyon Lodge Center, Fred Willson Architect, December 1940 (Xanterra Archives)

New Government Utility Area

In keeping with plans to pull development away from the canyon rims, planners also wanted to move the government's road camp and utility structures. Before the new government utility area was built near the planned village, the Bureau of Public Roads set

up its next road camp for Canyon in 1939. This second camp was along the north edge of Cascade Meadows across from the planned Canyon Village site (Haines 1993, 80—south side of the current Norris Cutoff Road; NPS 1939; NPS 1940—utilities plan; NPS 1951). In 1940, a sixty-man mess house was built and cabins from Mammoth Lodge were moved to the site for housing (Figure 97). By 1941, a pump house for the new water system was also on site in the utility area as well as a powerhouse (NPS 1941). New Deal Emergency Relief Act dollars supported the construction of this new utility area (Figure 98). The roads in the new utility area made use of existing road cuts called “wood roads” that were cleared for harvesting fuel logs for the tourist business. Also in 1940, water and sewer facilities were constructed and a new two thousand gallon gas tank was installed (Rogers 1940, 21-22; NPS 1941).



Figure 97: Canyon Utility Area Pre-War Structures: Left—Mess House with quarters (Building 323) constructed 1940; Right—Powerhouse (Building 322) constructed in 1941 (author photos, 2005)

New Grand Loop Road Bypass

By 1940, a parking lot for 240 cars was developed at Canyon Village near the west-facing horseshoe entrance drive (Figure 99). Even then, park planners expressed

concern that this would be insufficient for projected use (NPS 1941). By 1941, planners mapped the final route of the new section of Grand Loop Road passing Canyon Hotel and Canyon Village. Road work in preparation for grading began that summer including the Cascade Creek ravine earthen fill (Figure 98), which was completed by the end of 1941 (NPS 1941; Haines 1977b, 368). Road construction workers were housed at the first road camp west of Chittenden Bridge and in cabins set up at the new utility site near the new village (NPS 1941).

With this new Bureau of Public Roads camp in place near Canyon Village, the NPS turned over the old road camp, mess house, and bunkhouse near Chittenden Bridge to the road contractor working on the new Grand Loop Road bypass (NPS 1941). The first phase of road construction was undertaken by Lowdermilk Brothers and it continued into the fall 1941. Work resumed in spring of 1942 when the road was to be graded and completed through base course surfacing. However, the nation became involved in World War II, resulting in a significant shortage of labor and the inability to get equipment repaired. A section of the road near Canyon Hotel was put into satisfactory condition for travel, but Lowdermilk Brothers was therefore permitted to suspend work on the road for the duration of the war. In 1944, war restrictions caused the project to be cancelled and the money for it impounded (Rogers 1942, 11-12; NPS 1941; Rogers 1944, 8).

Lowdermilk Brothers was required by contract to remove the road camp buildings they used and other less-stable structures in the area at the end of their contract in 1942. It is unclear whether Lowdermilk Brothers removed any road camp structures. The Grand Loop Road bypass was not completed until after World War II by a different contractor (NPS 1941; Culpin 1994, 511).

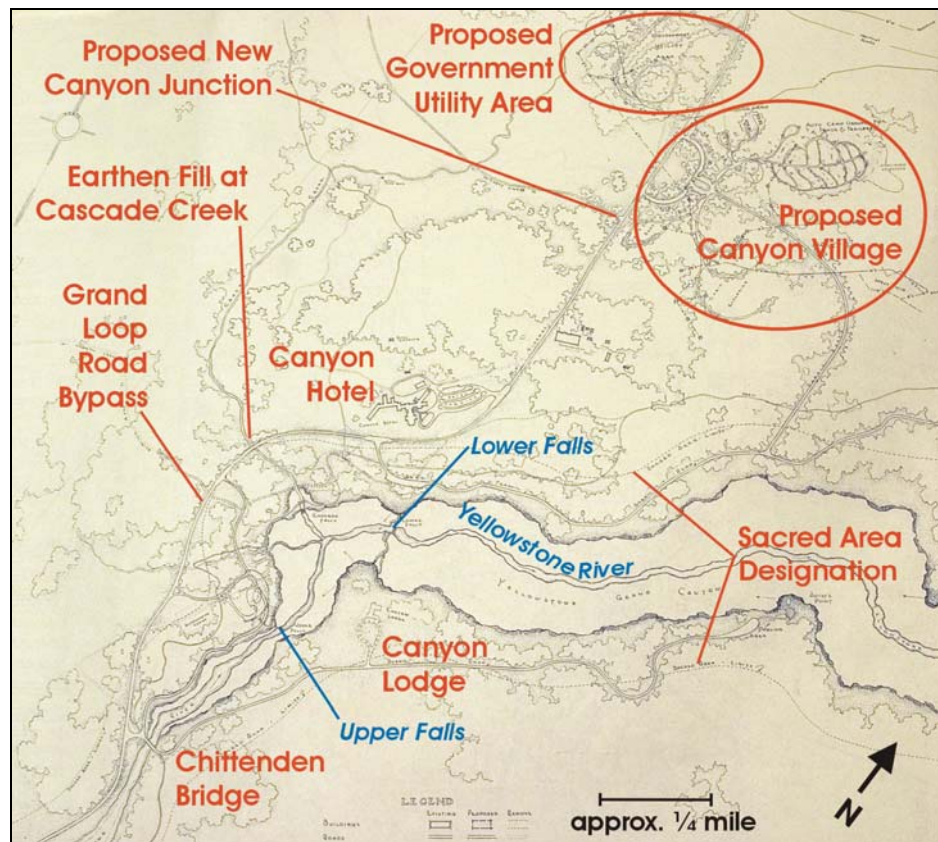


Figure 98: Grand Loop Road Bypass at Canyon: Top—1941 master plan (Yellowstone Archives); Bottom—Cascade Creek box culvert before infilling for Grand Loop Road bypass, 1941 (Morse Collection)

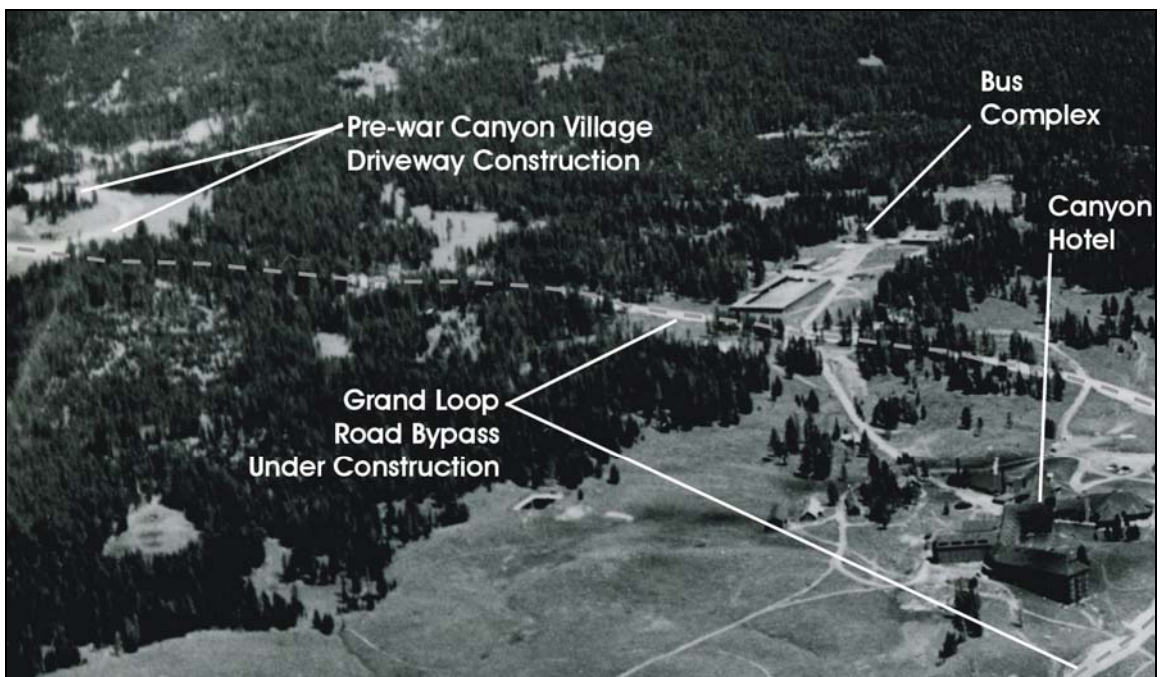
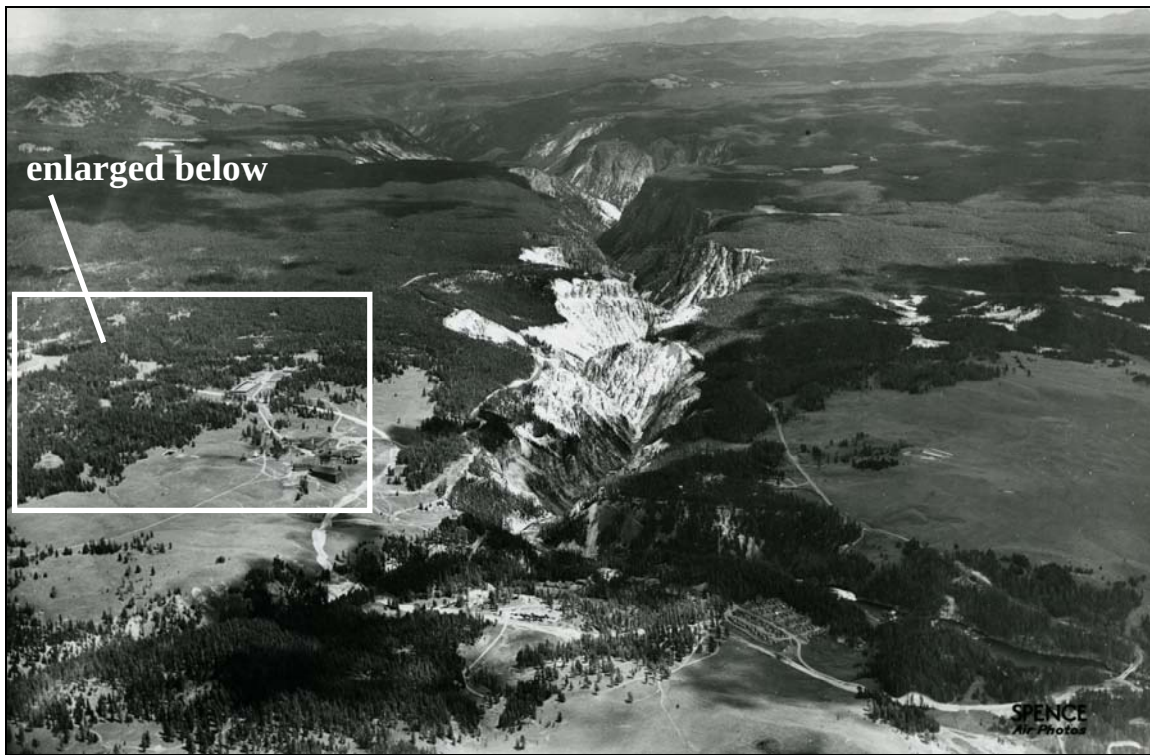


Figure 99: Canyon Tourist Facilities and New Grand Loop Road Section, 1941: Top—Air photo, July 30, 1941 from Chittenden Bridge to Canyon Village; Bottom—Enlarged detail of Canyon Hotel and Pre-war Canyon Village driveway (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

The War Years

While work began in earnest on the new road section and Canyon Village, further progress was interrupted by American involvement in World War II. The war had a powerful influence on the functioning of the park. Park rangers were drafted even before the war started, including park ranger (and future park historian) Aubrey Haines. Selective Service offices were set up inside the park to draft even more people. CCC programs were discontinued in the park and across the nation, with Canyon and Mammoth Hot Springs CCC camp buildings ultimately being shipped to the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in Wyoming in May 1943. Before the end of December 1941, tires were rationed, casting a dark shadow on 1942 tourism revenues (Rogers 1942, 4, 5, 11; Haines 1993, 88; CCC Museum online; Rogers 1941, 7; NPS 1941; Rogers 1943a, 16).

YPC staff members thought the closing of Canyon Lodge was imminent because new Canyon Village designs and government infrastructure work was well underway (Gorder nd). However, the war halted all capital expenditures, and YPC filed away the village's pre-war architectural drawings. Visitation slowed so much that in 1942 Lake Yellowstone Hotel and all the park's lodges were closed. During 1943, 1944, and 1945, the remaining park hotels were closed. Only a few cabins were available for tourists at

Old Faithful and Fishing Bridge (Haines 1977b, 367). Concessioner revenue was down so low that in 1944, Billie Nichols had to sell his share of Flying D ranch in Gallatin County, Montana to make payments on the mortgage that YPC still had with the railroad companies (Haines 1977b, 370-371).

Also in 1941, results of a nation-wide recreation study were published. Through the Park and Recreation Study Act of 1936, Congress authorized money for research into changes in the United States that were causing greater use of recreation lands. The study identified changes in urbanization and population structure, as well as increases in leisure time, household income, highway development, and automobile ownership. It found that Americans had more money, more time, and the means to travel longer distances for recreation and they were doing so in large numbers. The study was completed over several years with the results published just as America went to war. It recommended an integrated approach to recreation development involving local, state, and federal resources to meet this increasing need (US Department of the Interior 1941). The recreation “problem” experienced at this time in places such as Yellowstone National Park was a mere shadow of the all-out recreation crisis that was about to hit post-war America.

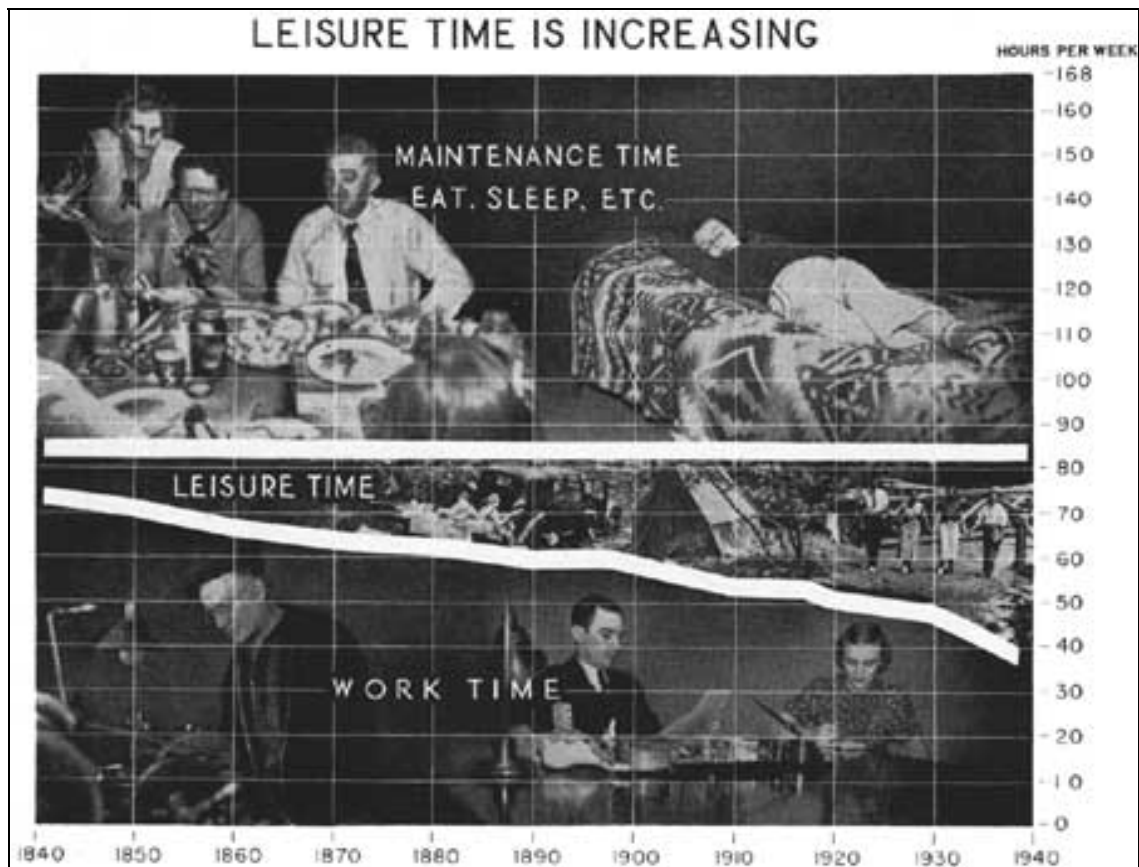


Figure 100: Leisure Time Increase in the United States between 1840 and 1940 (US Department of the Interior 1941)

TRANSFORMING PLACE AT CANYON (1946-1970)

Before World War II, Canyon's cultural landscape slowly evolved to meet the changing needs of tourists and the workers who served them. After the war, however, the pace of cultural landscape change at Canyon picked up dramatically. The developments at Canyon were rapidly reconfigured, reflecting in the process a new set of influences destined to reshape the location, appearance, and visual experience of the area's cultural landscape. Older national park visitor settlements, including the earlier settlement at Canyon, exuded a feeling of nature and leisure—a wild, yet settled place in a western American national park. Its sense of place was primarily constructed by local, western entrepreneurs backed by railroad capital. In a very different fashion, the post-war transformation of Canyon's cultural landscape was almost exclusively under the control of NPS officials in Washington and California. Welton Becket, an internationally known architect of California's suburbs, drew new designs for Canyon Village that took precedence over Fred Willson's more traditional designs for the village. During this transformation, the park's local concessioners played a secondary role in the process of envisioning this latest generation of overnight accommodation.

After the war, once again the sounds of construction rang out across the canyon as they had earlier in the century. However, the post-war scale of construction at Canyon was much more ambitious. Larger, more powerful, motorized, earth-moving machines busily reworked major portions of Canyon's landscape. Instead of seeing a settlement evolve over the course of decades, the construction of Canyon Village occurred over a handful of years. Many contractors and hundreds of workers created new roads, water

systems, sewer lines, large parking lots, several public use and commercial buildings, employee dormitories, a campground, and many new guest cabins. The pace matched the need. Tourism skyrocketed after the war and in the process forever redefined what it meant to visit and experience the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone.

Post-War America and Changes at Canyon

Visitation to Yellowstone plummeted during World War II because of gas and tire rationing. The flow of federal money to Yellowstone slowed to a trickle. For three summers most of Yellowstone's concessioner facilities were allowed to remain closed. Dismal visitation could not generate the revenue to keep them open. In addition, maintenance and upgrades of existing concessioner facilities and government infrastructure did not occur. The park's existing visitor settlements, including those at Canyon, deteriorated significantly during the war years in the high elevation climate of the Yellowstone Plateau. Also left exposed and deteriorating was the road bed of the newly graded Grand Loop Road bypass at Canyon. Aubrey Haines, Yellowstone's foremost historian, was the district ranger at Canyon during the summer of 1945. Haines recalled that only ten to fifteen cars came by in the course of a day that summer (1993, 91). Once war rationing was discontinued in August of 1945, there was an immediate increase in park visitation, although most overnight lodging remained closed. All three of Canyon's overnight accommodations reopened to tourists in the summer of 1946 (Rogers 1946, 5, 13). This proved to be the beginning of the end for the second and third generation of hostelrys at Canyon as the fourth generation loomed.

Having endured the Great Depression and World War II, restless, mobile Americans spilled out onto improved roadways, often bound for national parks in the American West. In late 1945 and throughout 1946, civilian auto-tourists were joined on the road by returning armed forces and war-industry personnel. Some visited parks such as Yellowstone on their way home from duty stations (Rothman 1998, 202-203). Park administrators and concessioners expected that post-war visitation to Yellowstone would resume gradually, enabling a more manageable return to normal. That was not to be. Instead, visitation went up quickly and dramatically—up fifty percent in 1946 from the peak visitation before the war (Haines 1977b, 368).

Complicating the precipitous increase in Yellowstone tourism were the challenges involved in restarting concession businesses after a three-year hiatus. Concessioners had difficulty hiring reliable employees, a problem then experienced throughout the United States. Staffing shortages limited available park accommodations in 1946 to 75 percent of normal. “Much of the personnel was inexperienced, indifferent, and had little interest in the visitor or the concessioners.” Canyon Lodge management endured a staff protest that year, along with leaky plumbing and a linen shortage, resolved in part by using towels for pillow cases (Rogers 1947, quote 4, 5; Haines 1977b, 369; Gorder 1978).

Dramatic changes influenced the free time and economic well-being of post-war Americans. Between 1945 and 1950 automobile ownership in the United States almost doubled from 25 million to 40 million. Low unemployment rates combined with rapidly rising incomes (Platt 1996, 16). Early interstate highway planning, launched during the Great Depression, set the stage for the National Defense Highway Act of 1956 (Levy 2003, 54). This public works project was incomparably large and influential. It changed

the American landscape more than any other federal program since the late eighteenth century (Carr 2004, 91).

Accordingly, the use of recreation lands nationwide tripled between the end of World War II and the late 1950s. Recreation facilities could not be added fast enough. Campground problems were especially noticeable (Figure 101). Campground vegetation had recovered well during the war, but once travel restrictions were lifted and tourists returned in even greater numbers, that recovery was lost. Yellowstone officials proposed limiting campground stays to ten days. They also proposed placing all overnight facilities outside of the park, including both campgrounds and lodging. Unfortunately, although there were professional planners working on park and recreation development before and after World War II, it was not until the mid-1950s that recreation needs (and the land to serve those needs) became a nationwide priority (Clawson 1959; Rogers 1947, 10; Rogers 1948, 10; Barlowe 1986, 82).



Figure 101: Yellowstone's Fishing Bridge Trailer Campground, July 11, 1949, by V. Watson (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

After the war, fewer Yellowstone tourists came to the park by railroad. The first rail terminus to respond to this change was Gardiner's at the park's North Entrance, service to which ended in 1948. Beginning in 1950, up to 99 percent of national park visitors nationwide arrived in cars, clogging parking areas and roadways to the point of crisis in some parks. Following the Gardiner closure, rail service to Yellowstone's East Entrance at Cody, Wyoming ended in 1956. The last Yellowstone rail line to close was at West Yellowstone, Montana, which ceased service in 1961. By 1949, the road and parking congestion caused by more automobile tourists was further influenced by a change in YPC policy. The change allowed seasonal employees to bring their own vehicles to their work locations (probably with the end of Gardiner rail service). Previously only the concessioner's location managers brought a personal car to their work site, and it served as an emergency vehicle in case of accident or sickness. As a result of these changes, Yellowstone's post war cultural landscape bustled with a large number of Americans in automobiles (Haines 1977b, 372; Carr 2004, 3; Sigrist 2005; Godsey email 01/09/2008; Murray email 01/18/08).

National Landscape Changes

With exploding rates of automobile ownership, numerous new highways, and rearranged transportation networks, suburbia was fast becoming the dominant land use pattern in America (Hayden 2003, 3). Automobiles not only facilitated the development of suburbs, they also altered retail business configurations. While retail strip malls had developed in the 1920s along America's earlier suburban roads, new "shopping centers" emerged at interstate highway interchanges and became a large part of the new suburban

retail paradigm. Encouraging this new type of facility were tax law changes in 1954 that made shopping mall development more attractive to investors. These suburban shopping centers blossomed across the post-war American landscape (Allaback 2000, 24; Hayden 2003, 168-170).

Designing these centers with large parking lots encouraged large profits for retailers. A facility without ample parking essentially pushed mobile, affluent Americans to centers designed to accommodate their automobiles. In the design phase, architects imagined the entire process of retail movement: Once outside their cars, drivers became pedestrians in search of multiple services in one location. Their efficient and convenient “circulation must be a continuous process of motion” (Carr 2004, 78-79, 81 Welton Becket quoted).

Residential development changed after the war as well. Before World War II, two thirds of all U. S. houses were built by the home owner (many with mass-produced, mail-order kits) or by small contractors. To meet the large housing demand for the war effort, housing manufacturers retooled to mass-produce military and war-industry housing. This retooling utilized more available and less expensive new materials such as aluminum, plastic, and plywood. At the start of the post-war “Baby Boom,” the housing shortage was extreme. Large builder-developers such as Levitt and Sons recognized the business opportunity and leveraged the industry’s retooling. These developers mass-produced civilian homes for enormous new housing subdivisions. The first “Levittown” (17,447 homes) was constructed between 1947 and 1951 on Long Island as a suburb of New York City. Two more of these unprecedented subdivisions soon followed in California and Illinois. Levitt realized large profits through cheaper construction practices, including

slab foundations, unfinished attics, insufficient sewer systems, and inadequate insulation. The builder-developer passed these costs along to the buyers. By the late 1950s, two-thirds of new housing in the United States was produced by builder-developers such as Levitt and Sons (Hayden 2003, 132, 226; Carr 2004, 35, 73; Levittown Historical Society).

The increasingly corporate profession of landscape architecture responded and shaped these changing American priorities for low density housing, convenient shopping centers, and new suburban life styles (Carr 2004, 327-328). Less expensive, Modern architecture had been employed with many government building contracts for worker housing during the Great Depression and World War II. This set a precedent for using economical building styles and materials for multi-unit federal housing projects (Allaback 2000, 9). Modern architecture had also been employed in parks. Park planners saw Modern architecture as a way to influence the behavior of park visitors. This confidence in the power of architecture to influence human behavior had been leveraged since before the Middle Ages. “Modern architecture expressed progress, efficiency, health, and innovation—values the Park Service hoped to embody over the next decade.” Besides, most of America’s parks offered only deteriorated tourist facilities while facing huge swells in annual visitation. To upgrade so many parks, economy was paramount. Modern architectural building materials, including concrete, steel, and glass were relatively inexpensive and a natural fit for the task at hand (Allaback 2000, 11, 13 quote; Carr 2004, 225).

Reconsidering Recreation at Canyon

The lull in visitation during the war offered an opportunity for the NPS to apply new ideas on national park recreation management. For example, park managers followed through with pre-war plans to dismantle the Otter Creek Bear Feeding Grounds. The bear shows at Otter Creek had been closed during the war due to lower visitation, gas and tire rationing, and a lack of hotel garbage. Accordingly, between May 27 and May 31, 1946, the NPS removed the Otter Creek amphitheater and associated structures, marking the end of a very popular tourist activity at Canyon. Organized bear feeding was not the only tourist amusement feature to end. Also at this time, the buffalo show pen on the north slope of Mount Washburn (Antelope Creek) was closed and fish-fries offered on Stevenson Island in Yellowstone Lake were discontinued (Haines 1993, 87, 94; Rogers 1946, 20; Garrison 1959b, section 28 notes Stevenson Island fish fries were resumed in 1959).

During November of 1943 and the quiet of war-time solitude in Yellowstone, YPC proposed an alternative location for Canyon Village, even after its pre-war, west-facing driveway and parking lot were developed. Nichols objected to the site, east of Cascade Meadows, because it was too far from the canyon, would tax the water supply for the Canyon Hotel, and was essentially fronting a swamp that would need to be drained or treated to eliminate mosquitoes. In his 1943 memo, Nichols suggested a location just southeast of Chittenden Bridge on an open hillside east of the Yellowstone River (uphill from Paradise Glen—presumably just outside Canyon’s sacred area). He preferred the views from that location and its proximity to the canyon and falls for tourists arriving without cars (Figure 102). Nichols was concerned about the

attractiveness of Canyon Village to tourists who might not want to stay in a less-desirable tourist facility sited away from the canyon (Nichols 1943; Murray email 09/12/2007).

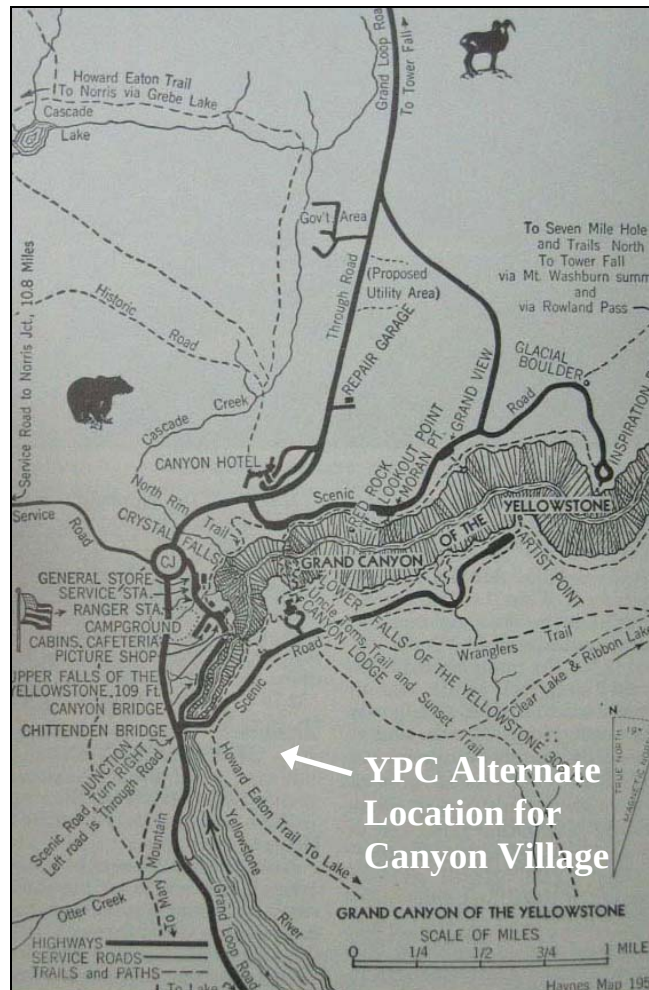


Figure 102: 1951 Canyon Map with YPC Alternate Location for Canyon Village (Haynes 1951, 130)

Superintendent Rogers acknowledged the undesirable characteristics of the selected site. However, he considered the majority of Nichols’s concerns to be “intangibles” with the exception of the hotel water supply from Cascade Creek. Rogers dismissed concerns about adequate water supply because it had been measured in the

drier periods during two summers (1938 and 1939) to the satisfaction of planners. While Rogers agreed that the site was not necessarily attractive, he did not consider attractiveness to be important to tourists (Rogers 1943c). About the selected site Rogers wrote:

One has the feeling that it is in a hole in the ground. Every approach to it is of sufficient down grade to give that impression. There is nothing at the site that identifies it with or gives the impression of the presence of the Canyon. It is just a site to provide the mechanics of living, readily accessible to the Canyon...travelers, after all, were only looking for a place to sleep and would take a bed where it was available. (Rogers 1943c)

Rogers insisted that there was no ideal site for the new village in the Canyon area. Of all the sites considered (including Nichols' suggestion southeast of Chittenden Bridge), the selected site had the least number of negative qualities related to traffic patterns, proximity to the canyon, ground cover, soils, and the terrain. Rogers wrote, "It was a very difficult problem." Regardless of Nichols concerns about the site's unattractiveness and its potential harm to his business, the site near Cascade Meadows, mapped in the late 1930s and early 1940s master plans, remained the chosen location for new Canyon facilities (Nichols 1943; Rogers 1943b, Rogers 1943c—quote). This location utilized the initial surveys as well as the driveway and parking lot work completed before the war. Until at least 1946 (possibly as late as 1950), Canyon Village layout was still oriented west toward the Grand Loop Road, Cascade Meadows, and "Dollar Lake" (NPS 1946; Haynes 1951, 130—map shows village's west orientation; NPS 1951 shows current road junction with corresponding village access change).

In January 1947, a planning conference involving NPS staff and YPC officials addressed the long term construction plans of the park's primary concessioner. Every major visitor development in Yellowstone would be upgraded. Discussion of a government-issue architectural style guide for concessioner projects occurred during this conference as did continued discussion of new developments at both West Thumb (Figure 103) and Canyon Village (Culpin 2003, 92). Initially, the NPS prioritized upgrades to existing YPC facilities near the northern shore of Yellowstone Lake. Work on Canyon Village would follow. Once Canyon Village was complete, construction on the new development along West Thumb Bay (today's Grant Village) would begin. Surveying at West Thumb began late in 1947 (Barringer 2002, 117; Haines 1977b, 369-370).



Figure 103: Planners, Park Staff, and Concessioner Staff at West Thumb, 1948 by Haynes: John Q. Nichols, YPC, sixth from left, Thomas Vint, NPS, eighth from left, Huntley Child, Jr., YPC, ninth from left, Gar Helppie, V.P. Hamilton Stores, third from right (Whittlesey Collection, Latimore email 03/16/2008 identifies concessions managers)

Work Resumes on Grand Loop Road Bypass
and Canyon Village

Prior to the war, planning and basic surveys were completed for the village, along with water system construction completed using Emergency Conservation Works program labor (probably for the utility area). Changes to the settlement at Canyon resumed almost immediately once the park reopened to tourists, including staking the area and additional utility surveys in 1946-47 (Haines 1977b, 369-370; Haines 1993, 80).

Much of the Grand Loop Road bypass work completed before the war by Lowdermilk Brothers was lost due to many years of exposure on the Yellowstone Plateau.

Considering the clayey soils in this area, it is unlikely that tourists or service vehicles used this road section until it was nearly complete in late 1949. The government restarted the project in June 1947. Bids to grade and base surface the bypass, connecting roads, and parking areas at Canyon were opened and advertised in Cheyenne, but no bids were received. In 1948, bids were opened in Denver with Strong Company of Springville, Utah awarded the contract in September of that year. Strong began working on the bypass project in August 1948. By November, the project was 50 percent complete (Haines 1977b, 368; Ward 2008; Latimore email 02/08/2008; Rogers 1947, 13; Rogers 1949, 18).

The next spring, Strong had to repair some of their work, which was damaged by large slides and washouts. The grading and base surface work was complete by October 1949, except for applying 6,000 gallons of bitumen, likely sprayed on during warm weather in the summer of 1950. The bypass was probably available for tourists and service vehicles at the start of the 1950 tourist season. That summer, the NPS took over responsibility for finishing the job, including working on drainage and surface

improvements using its own day laborers. By June 1951, project funds were exhausted and the responsibility for the bypass was turned over to routine government maintenance workers (Rogers 1950, 19-20; Ward 2008; Rogers 1951, 24).

The completion of the bypass changed the transportation geography between Chittenden Bridge and the Canyon Hotel. The bypass created a short-lived third Canyon Junction one-eighth mile west of the decades-old second Canyon Junction (Figure 102). This third Canyon Junction on the new bypass road identified an imprecise meeting of the new terminus of the Norris Cutoff Road and a new spur road 250 yards north leading to the West Rim settlement. The bypass allowed the NPS to close a section of the old road between Lower Falls and the West Rim settlement that snaked through the Cascade Creek drainage using the 1903 steel high bridge. The bypass crossed Cascade Creek on a barely detectable earthen fill rather than a bridge. Strong Company removed the steel bridge in late summer 1953 by dynamiting the abutments and dropping the bridge into Cascade Creek canyon (Haynes 1951, 130; NPS 1954; Murray 2007; Murray email 01/26/2008).

Road Camp/Government Utility

Adding to the mess house and power house built in the early 1940s, the new government utility area west of the new Canyon Village continued to develop after the war. Development permitted closure of the first road camp and utility area southwest of Chittenden Bridge. The bunkhouse and mess house at the first road camp may have been removed with the completion of the Grand Loop Road bypass. The Strong Company contract may have included a clause requesting structure removals, similar to the

Lowdermilk Brothers contract in the early 1940s. However, the government's log barn and log tool cache constructed by the CCC in the mid-1930s were not removed. They are in use today with a relocated access road (NPS 1941; Garrison 1957d).

The primary use for the new utility area after the war was for Canyon's Blister Rust Control Operation. Blister rust was a fungus damaging the health of white bark pine trees and other shrubs. There were many such camps in the park including Canyon's, which began operations in June of 1946. These camps continued the tree disease management practices originally assigned to CCC crews before the war (Whittlesey 2004, 2). Canyon's crews camped in the utility area until a CCC barracks building (Figure 104) was moved to Canyon from the Lake CCC camp in 1946 along with two other buildings—one an office, the other for tool storage (Whittlesey 2004, 2; Rogers 1946, 9; NPSi possibly stores incorrect dates for both smaller buildings). In the 1940s, the Blister Rust crew was about 30 men and continued to grow. In 1947 a bunkhouse was constructed. By the mid 1950s, the crew numbered around sixty. Canyon's blister rust control crew operated from this site into the 1970s (Whittlesey 2004, 2, 3; NPSi).

While Canyon's existing second road camp functioned for a while outside this new utility area (north edge of Cascade Meadows), after 1951 the camp was moved to its third location inside the utility area (Figure 104). This move consolidated all the local government support into one location served by the same water, sewer, and electrical systems (Haines 1993, 80; NPS 1939; NPS 1940—utilities plan; NPS 1951; NPS 1959).

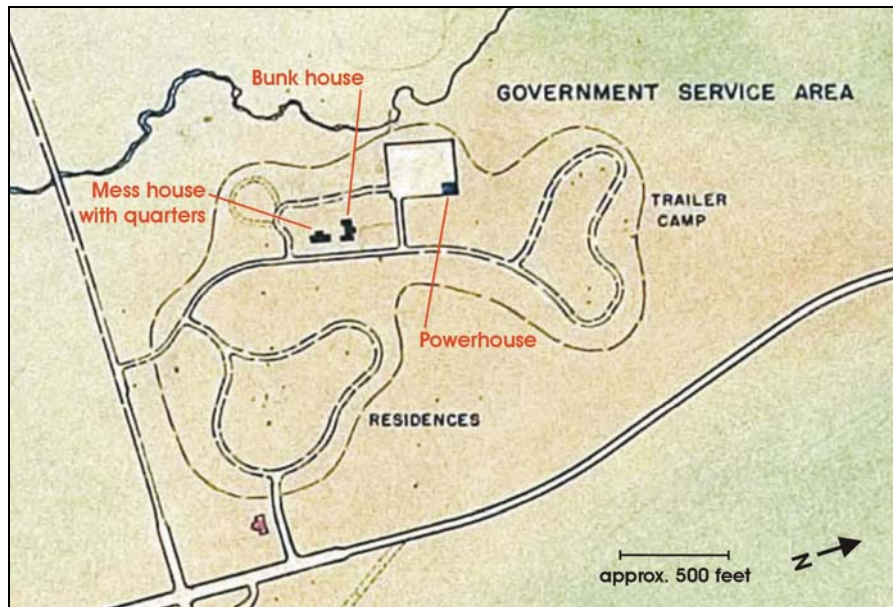


Figure 104: Government Utility Area Map and Structures. Top—1952 master plan detail (Yellowstone Archives); Bottom left—Blister Rust Camp barracks, former CCC barracks moved from Lake in 1946, YNP building no. 859, constructed 1939; Bottom right—Blister Rust Camp bunkhouse constructed 1947, YNP building no. 351 (author photos, 2005)

Old Canyon's Last Years

Canyon Hotel and Bus Complex

The Yellowstone Park Company made minor changes to the Canyon Hotel in the post-war period. Sometime prior to 1941, the lounge furnishings changed from wicker to Modern (Figure 105). Changes to the “back of the house” included the addition of liquid

petroleum fuel and tanks between 1941 and 1952 (probably in the late 1940s). Nichols also contracted with Willson to design an addition to the hotel's laundry in 1947. Years of foundation problems diminished the hotel's lodging capacity when parts of the hotel were closed to tourists. Even without those rooms, the hotel did not fill each night during many summers before the construction of Canyon Village (Markley 1941; NPS 1952; Murray email 01/25/2008—tank install timing; Culpin 2003, 129; Butterfield 2000; Barringer 2002, 135-136; Haines 1977b, 377; Moulton 2008—said it was rare for the hotel to fill). While the ground beneath the Canyon Hotel appeared to be level, the hotel was located on a sloping hillside comprised of unstable soil. Over previous decades, the hotel site and surrounding area was subject to “creep,” a slow, mass-wasting process that moved soil almost imperceptibly downhill toward the Grand Canyon. Above ground, well-to-do tourists continued to enjoy the atmosphere and social events of the stylish, railroad-era Canyon Hotel. Below ground, the hotel's foundation, support structures, and pipes strained and warped under the lateral stress of a hotel on the move.

The formal atmosphere at the hotel for guests departed from the experiences of hotel workers. YPC staff experienced the Canyon Hotel differently from tourists. They had distinct limitations on where they could go inside the hotel. George La Tulippe, a hotel dishwasher in 1948, recalled spending time only in the hotel's kitchen, dining room, and lobby. While he knew about tourists dancing in the great lounge, he never witnessed it for himself. La Tulippe arrived at the hotel from Salt Lake City in July at age 15, probably the youngest person employed at the hotel that summer. La Tulippe interacted with a dining room bus staff made up of primarily young Philippino men, the largest

minority group working at the hotel at that time—probably the largest minority group at Canyon. He recalled that, similar to most tourist locations in Yellowstone, bears often raided the garbage behind the hotel. One employee spent the night in a tree near the kitchen when his repeated yells for help went unheard. The treed employee quit his job the next day. The hotel’s kitchen manager, Leo, impressed La Tulippe with his unflinching bravery dealing with these habituated bears. He would aggressively go after them, even striking them with a club (La Tulippe 2005).

Near the hotel, the YPC proposed a new employee recreation building in 1954. The structure was never built. The new facility called a “Community Building” was proposed at the north side of the Canyon Bus Complex east of the repair garage. It probably would have served both Canyon Hotel staff and employees of the new Canyon Village (Yellowstone Park Company 1954). For a number of years, tourists needing automobile repairs were directed to the repair shop at the Canyon Bus Complex. Otherwise, the complex was strictly a service area (Figure 106). The only change of significance for the Bus Complex was the move of saddle horse operations to a location behind the Canyon Hotel, which occurred prior to 1947. That year, the Canyon Bus Complex still had temporary housing on site made with tenting material, probably for construction workers (Whittlesey 2001, 9).

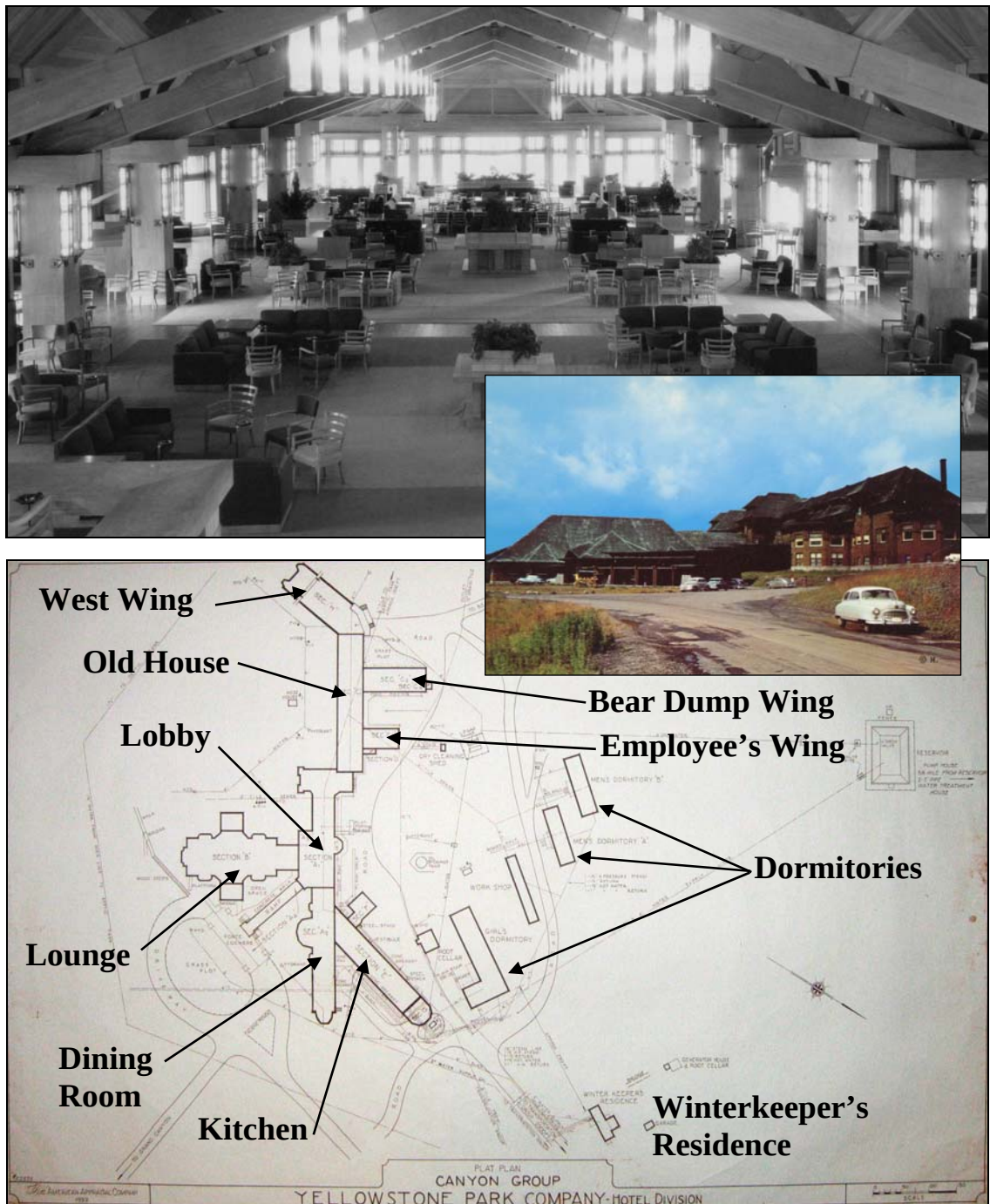


Figure 105: Canyon Hotel Post World War II. Top—Lounge with Modern furnishings by Haynes (Latimore Collection); Bottom—1952 Canyon Hotel plat (Xanterra Archives); Inset—1952 Haynes chrome postcard of Canyon Hotel (Goss Collection)

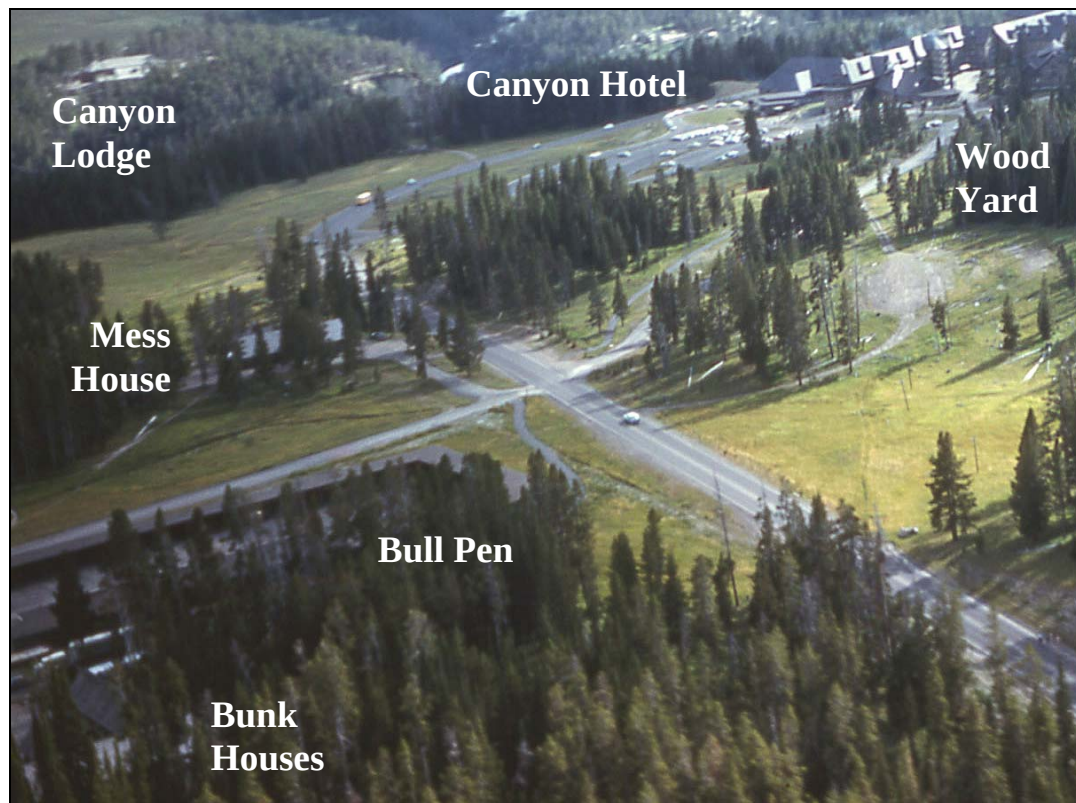
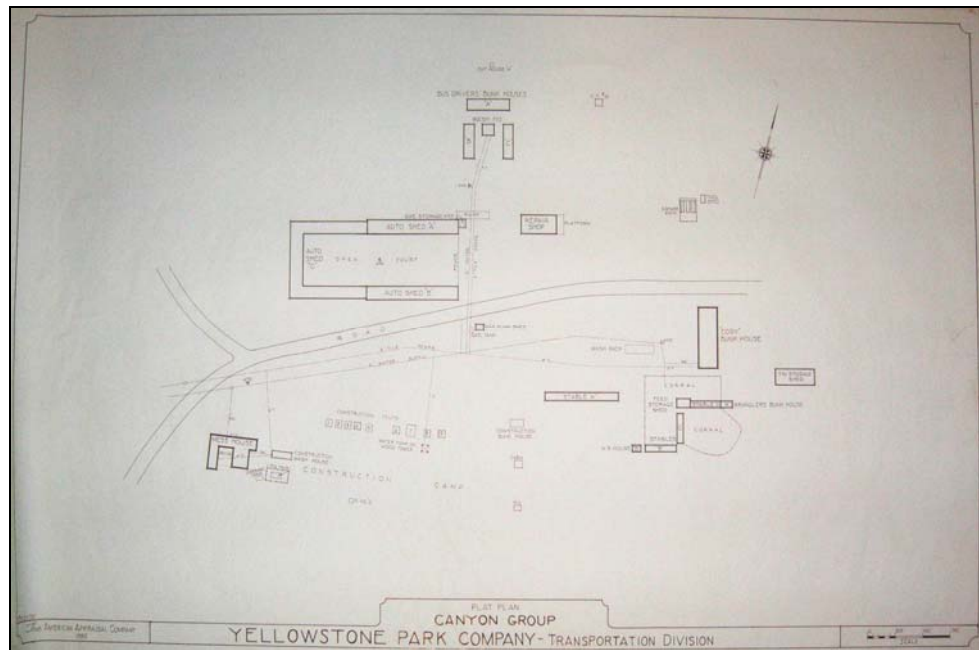


Figure 106: Canyon Bus Complex: Top—1952 Canyon Bus Complex plat (Xanterra Archives); Bottom—Air photo detail showing West End of Canyon Bus Complex, 1958 (Yellowstone Photo collection)

West Rim Settlement—Canyon’s “Main Street”

When the Grand Loop Road bypass was available for travel in late 1949 or early 1950, it turned a short section of the old Grand Loop Road into a scenic loop along the West Rim of the canyon running from Chittenden Bridge past the second Canyon Junction to the new third Canyon Junction on the new bypass road (Figure 102). This scenic loop provided access to the canyon trails, overlooks, and existing concessioner businesses near the western brink of the Upper Falls—Canyon’s “Main Street.”

According to editions of the *Haynes Guide*, the new bypass road was only for through traffic of service cars and trucks. The scenic route along the West Rim was for sight-seers and overnight tourists in need of accommodations. For the West Rim settlement’s last decade, editions of the *Haynes Guide* directed Canyon tourists to the West Rim in lieu of the bypass until the early 1960s (Haynes 1951, 134; Haynes 1962, 129).

Along with meeting the needs of tourists for food, supplies, and gas, the general store at the West Rim was a social mixing spot for Canyon area employees. The store sold sundries, cigarettes, fresh fruit, and alcohol. It was a destination for employees in their off time, contributing to the West Rim’s feel as a main street. The name of the store changed to “Hamilton Store” when Charles Hamilton purchased Pryor Stores, Inc., effective January 5, 1953 (Latimore 2005; Rogers 1953, section 12; Haines 1977b 365). The tourist services on the canyon’s West Rim—the ranger station, Haynes Picture Shop, and the general store with gas station—continued to serve tourists until their replacements opened at Canyon Village between 1957 and 1959.

Camping sites at Canyon were significantly reduced after the war. The land used by the CCC in the northern portion of the campground had been condemned in 1937. In addition, the southern portion of the campground was bisected in 1941 when construction on the bypass started. The bisection occurred between the Tourist Cabins office and the majority of the camping grounds (Figure 107). This reduced campground had only three comfort stations and room for just seventy five campers west of the bypass. Recognizing this reduced capacity, government planners had hoped to begin construction on the new campground near the village in 1941, but no significant progress was made before the war (NPS 1941; NPS 1965a; NPS 1952—shows campground only west of bypass).

Post-war editions of the *Haynes Guide* directed tourists to the campground no differently than before the war—via the road across from the Ranger Station. This caused campers to cross the bypass road construction zone on their way to find a camp site (Haynes 1946, 122; Haynes 1949, 122). Once the bypass was completed in 1950, tourists may have entered the campground from the bypass, although editions of the *Haynes Guide* through 1956 still directed tourists to the campground from the road near the Ranger Station (Haynes 1955, 135). Apparently, this campground served campers in 1956 concurrent to the first year of the new Canyon Village campground and may have been available as late as 1962 (Haynes 1956, 135; Haynes 1962, 130).



Figure 107: Pryor Store and Air Photo Showing Campground at West Rim: Top—Pryor Store (later Hamilton Store) and filling station in 1947: Note Canyon Hotel visible at upper left (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Bottom—September 1954 vertical air photo detail, showing campground (circled) bisected by completed Grand Loop Road bypass (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

Canyon Tourist Cabins and Cafeteria

By far, the largest concentration of tourists at the West Rim was just uphill from the Ranger Station. While day-use tourists parked at the stores and walked the rim trails, a large number of cars turned west off the West Rim road for accommodations at the campground, the cafeteria, and the Canyon Tourist Cabins (Figure 102). Tourist Cabins businesses in Yellowstone were run and staffed similarly to a park lodge, but they had some distinct differences. Canyon Tourist Cabins operations were functionally and socially tied to Canyon Lodge more so than Canyon Hotel. Canyon Tourist Cabins guests spent much of their evening social time attending Canyon Lodge's Savage Shows. Its employees often walked the unlit, one-mile "Savage Trail" (from the Tourist Cabins over Chittenden Bridge to the Lodge) to attend the dances that followed Canyon Lodge's nightly shows (Latimore 2005; Sigrist 2005). Tourist Cabins staff participated in sing-alongs at their staff fire ring just south of the Tourist Cabins Office and bath house. After checking in, tourists and their automobiles were led by porters to their cabins (Figure 108). Tourists could park their cars next to their cabin, unlike Canyon Lodge where parking was a significant problem (Sigrist 2005). Tourist Cabins employees did not have their own "Savage Dining Room." They ate in the cafeteria just before it opened for tourist meals. Canyon Tourist Cabins also did not have an overall "location manager," tourist shower facilities, or nightly entertainment. Unique to the Tourist Cabins, guests could rent "unfurnished" cabins supplied with mattresses but no linens and a woodstove without fuel (Latimore 2005; Sigrist 2005).

Furnished and unfurnished cabins had cotton mattresses on metal spring foundations. Both styles were without plumbing, had a woodstove for heat, and a bare,

40-watt ceiling light bulb that was no match for the dark wood cabin walls. Cabins were wired with DC (direct current) power provided by a local generator. None had power outlets. For fire prevention, the 40-watt bulb was installed in a locked socket to prevent tourists from using converters for AC (alternating current) appliances. Furnished cabins had bed linens, a bundle of wood for the stove along with a “no.10 can” containing sawdust and kerosene—a fire starting concoction called “dope” (Latimore 2005; Sigrist 2005). There were many water spigots distributed around the cabin area. For 150 (or so) cabins, there were two toilet buildings. Consequently, each cabin was equipped with a water pitcher, a wash basin, and a chamber pot.

Using a chamber pot was probably unappealing for Tourist Cabin guests. After all, tourists surveyed before World War II expected full bath facilities when traveling on vacation (Belasco 1979, 166). At Canyon Tourist Cabins, guests did not like venturing outside after dark for fear of encountering a bear. Many times at night you could hear the infant-like sound of a black bear cub crying in a tree near the cabins (Latimore 2005). However, according to Bruce Sigrist, Canyon Tourist Cabins manager in 1953 and 1954, there were few complaints about accommodations. Most Tourist Cabins guests were of lesser means and were on vacation spending money for the first time after the Great Depression and World War II. They did not seem to have high expectations. Most complaints were related to the behavior of other tourists (Sigrist 2005).

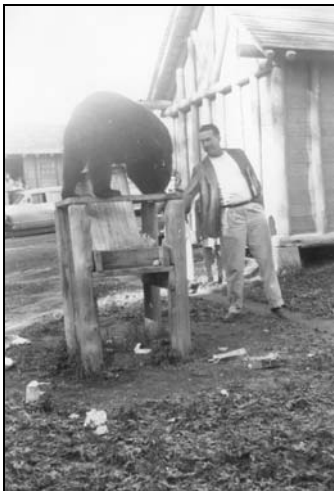
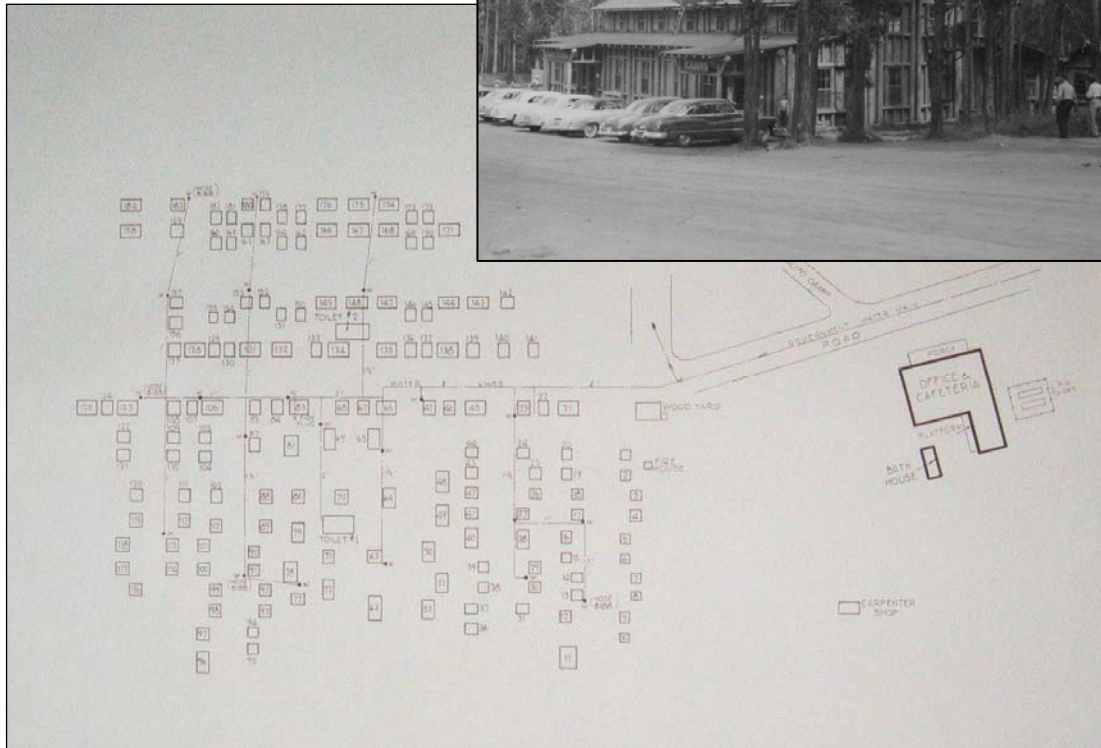


Figure 108: Canyon Tourist Cabins: Counterclockwise from left—1952 Canyon Tourist Cabins plat (Xanterra Archives); Garbage rack, black bear, and scattered trash, 1954 (Sigrist Collection); Desk clerks in Tourist Cabins office, 1954 (Sigrist Collection); Cabin maids and white chamber pots, 1954 (Sigrist Collection); Inset—Canyon Tourist Cabin Cafeteria and Office (Yellowstone Museum Collection)

Changes to the Canyon Tourist Cabins after the war included lining the cafeteria's dining room and the ceiling of the kitchen with Celotex insulation in 1952 (Rogers 1952, section 15). On par with Canyon Lodge, this tourist accommodation was targeted for removal from near the canyon's rims. Planners hoped to move its cabins to Canyon Village to provide a less expensive lodging option than a new Canyon Village cabin or Canyon Hotel room. After 1954 (but before 1958), reflecting their more rustic accommodations, all of Yellowstone's tourist cabins operations were renamed as "Campers' Cabins" at the request of the NPS. This renaming may have been in response to a flood of bad press in 1953 and 1954 regarding the condition of post-war cabin facilities in national parks, including Yellowstone (Latimore 2005; Latimore in Murray email 01/10/2008; Sigrist 2005; Shellenberger email 07/05/2005; DeVoto 1953; Wood, 1954; Yodor 1954).

Canyon Lodge

By 1941 Canyon Lodge was considered in poor condition with many cabins rated in "very poor" condition. Maintenance for Canyon Lodge did not keep up with deterioration because it was slated for removal. In fact, staff did not expect Canyon Lodge to reopen (NPS 1941; Gorder nd). Many of the cabins between the lodge and Lower Falls were arranged, sometimes irregularly, at a distance from driving lanes. This cabin pattern had been defined decades earlier when Canyon Lodge primarily served tourists arriving by bus. This arrangement made convenient guest parking difficult, and at times impossible. At Canyon Lodge, parking near a cabin was not guaranteed, and it was necessary for porters to help guests find parking and find their cabin (Janecky 1994, 3;

Canyon Lodge Employee Interview 2005). Canyon Lodge continued to be managed by Miss Irene Eby. She was aware of plans to remove Canyon Lodge, but that did not alter her commitment to guests and her high expectations of staff. The food service areas, cabins, and the lodge were kept exceptionally clean and all the wood well polished (Murray email 09/27/2005). When the lodge reopened in 1946, staff resumed long-established practices and traditions while readying the facility for the onslaught of post-war tourism.

Returning tourists requested cabins along “Honeymoon Row,” a group of cold, noisy, and damp cabins that faced Upper Falls and its spray (Figure 109). Nichols and other YPC executives visited often, staying overnight in what the staff referred to as “God’s House”—cabin 110 near Honeymoon Row, which had two rooms and plumbing (Canyon Lodge Employee interview, 2005; Gorder 1978). Excess water and steam from the Lodge’s power house was periodically released through underground pipes, leading Lodge employees to joke with tourists about “Horizontal Geyser as regular as Old Faithful” (Godsey 2006, 4). Wranglers saddled horses near the tack barn east of the lodge and led them to the hitch rack near the Lodge’s entry road for the days’ rides. Lodge porters attended to hikers on Uncle Tom’s Trail who gathered around the rustic, six-foot fireplace opening after cold, damp trips to the base of Lower Falls. Each day before dinner staff sang the “Dinner Bell Song” to mark the start of dinner. During their annual “Christmas in July” festivities, they caroled among the guest cabins. After the war, long-time Canyon Lodge employee Marty Gorder took over as Head Housekeeper and resumed writing and directing Savage Shows, a leadership role she began at Canyon Lodge in 1938 (Murray email 10/05/2005; Grooms email 12/17/2005; Gorder 1976, i, 5,

7). Performing for tourists characterized the life of many if not most employees at the Lodge. Canyon Lodge's entertainment matured to become a unique contribution to the experience of visiting Yellowstone National Park.

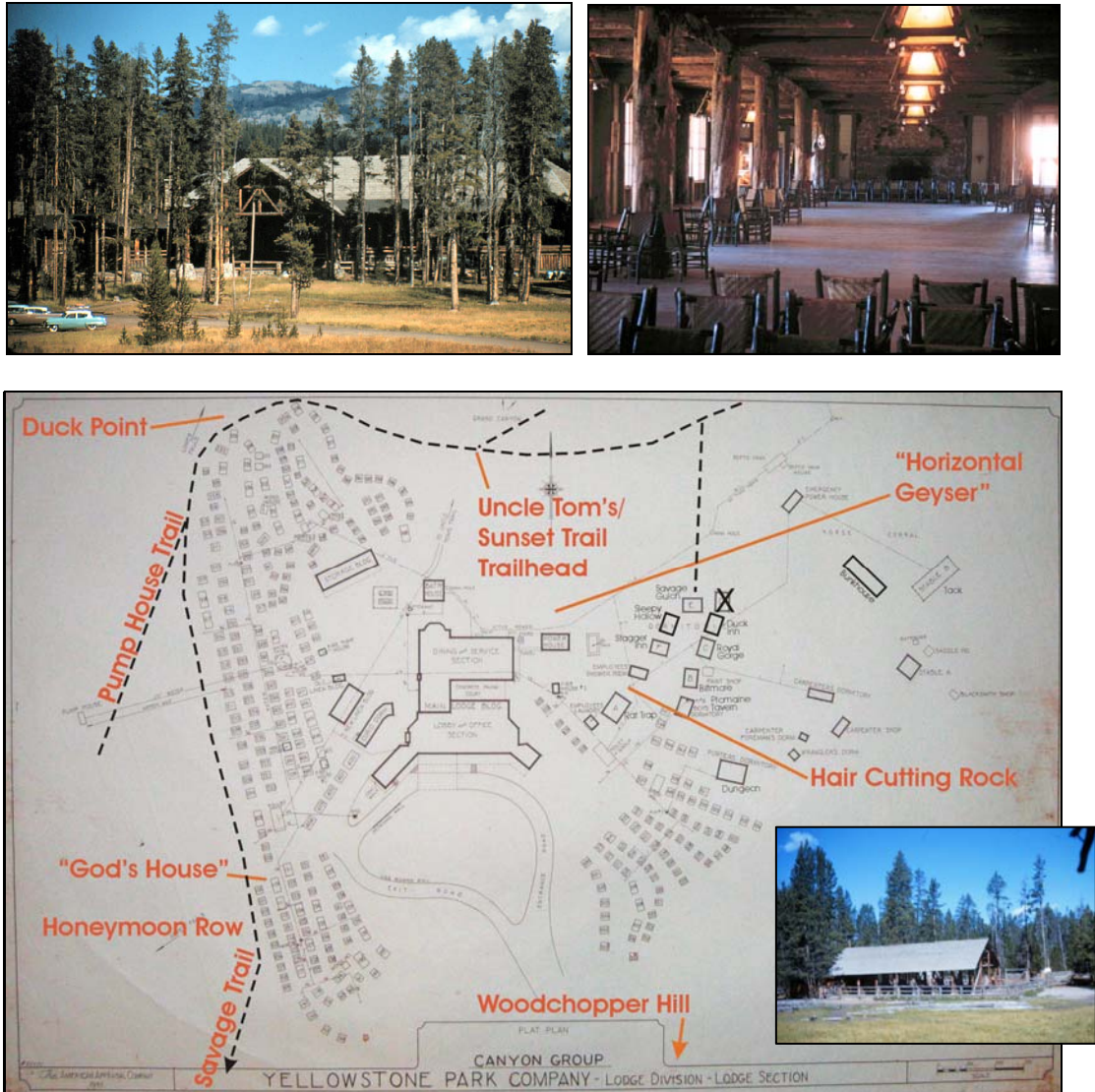


Figure 109: Canyon Lodge in the 1950s: Top left—Canyon Lodge by Stempel (Stempel Collection); Top Right—Lodge lobby and west fireplace (Godsey et al, nd); 1952 plat (Xanterra Engineering with modifications based on Murray email 07/06/2005 and Canyon Lodge Employee Interview 2005); Inset—Tack Barn (Godsey et al, nd)

After the war, an employee ironing room was added east of the lodge. Liquid petroleum (LP) gas tanks were installed west of the lodge, probably causing the removal of the lodge's older outdoor entertaining facility called "The Theater of the Pines" (Figure 90 middle photos). Several small cabins immediately east of the Lodge were removed (likely tent-top staff housing). Group employee housing was increased with the addition of two cabin dorms (Sleepy Hollow and Ptomaine Tavern) and a wrangler bunkhouse in the corral area. In 1952, YPC invested in fourteen guest cabins by lining them with Celotex insulation and covering their floors with a linoleum-like product called Mastipave. In the early 1950s, Canyon Lodge was the fifth largest tourist location in Yellowstone (behind Fishing Bridge Tourist Cabins and all three sites at Old Faithful). Canyon Lodge was the largest overnight accommodation at Canyon at that time, topping Canyon Hotel by just a handful of rooms (Yellowstone Park Company, 1930; Yellowstone Park Company, 1952 with adjustments recorded in Figure 109; Rogers 1952, section 15; Culpin 2003, 99-100). However, even with the large quantity of revenue-generating units (265), in the mid-1950s the lodge did not turn a profit until the beginning of August. The profit would then be tapped to cover post-season closing costs and unavoidable upgrades such as a second boiler and generator, which were added in the early 1950s. This balance sheet situation was probably common at all the park's lodging operations (Murray email 01/10/2008, 01/26/2008; Tobias 2008).

Canyon Lodge head yardman-porter, RJay "Spud" Murray (1952-1956), remembered that in the mid-1950s, many guests "were aghast when shown their sleeping spot," considering its rustic furnishings (Murray email 10/04/2005). Guest cabins were equipped similarly to the furnished cabins at Canyon Tourist Cabins (and similar to most

other Yellowstone lodges). They had beds with linens, a single light bulb in the ceiling, a wood stove for heat, water pitcher, wash basin, and a chamber pot. Many Canyon Lodge cabins were a significant walk from shared bathrooms. For some tourists, the presence of bears, few yard lights, and the often cold, wet weather, made traveling to a bathroom at night less appealing than using the chamber pot. Even in the mid-1950s at Canyon Lodge, about ten percent of the chamber pots were used daily by tourists (Murray email 01/09/2008; Bush email 08/11/2005).

One of the least appealing tasks endured by YPC cabin employees was cleaning cabin chamber pots, which were affectionately referred to throughout Yellowstone as “ducks.” Occasionally, rather than clean a particularly nauseating duck, a yardman or cabin maid secretly tossed it over the rim of the Grand Canyon between Upper Falls and Lower Falls at a location Lodge staff referred to as “Duck Point.” Years (possibly decades) of this practice resulted in a significant quantity (perhaps 200) of these white, porcelain-enameled containers and lids dotting a ravine on the Canyon Lodge side of the Yellowstone River (Godsey email 08/11/2005; Warr email 08/13/2005; Whittlesey 2006b, 92-93). Coping with this unpleasant task in such a manner was not limited to Canyon Lodge staff. At Canyon Tourist Cabins, ducks were occasionally tossed into the woods east of the cabins. At Fishing Bridge Tourist Cabins, they went into the Yellowstone River (Latimore 2005; Murray email 08/11/2005).

One well-established tradition at Canyon Lodge which delighted visitors was the entertainment provided by employees (Figure 110). The Canyon Lodge Savage Shows were home-spun variety entertainment that began at Canyon with Wylie's tent camp staff just before the turn of the century. Savage Shows remained quite popular at all the park's lodges until World War II. The Yellowstone Savage Show was refined and reached its apex at Canyon Lodge under Marty Gorder's leadership after World War II (Latimore 2005; Murray email 10/04/2005; Latimore email 12/28/2007; Alley email 2/13/2008). For a few years in the 1950s, Haynes published the "Canyon Lodge Savages" group photo in his *Haynes Guide*, effectively turning Canyon Lodge staff into a park feature (Haynes 1953, 133; Haynes 1955, 133).

From the late 1930s, Canyon Lodge Savage Shows blossomed under Gorder's leadership to become a significant contributor to the spirit of place at Canyon (Godsey email 06/02/2005). Also adding to this sense of place was the architecture of the lodge. Canyon Lodge employee Louretta Alley Lofdahl (1955-1956) remembered:

[Canyon] lodge was a grand old place that made you fall in love when you walked into it. It was the rustic expanse of its polished floors, the large chandeliers, the beautiful fireplace the sweeping steps that lead to the dining room (and our stage) and the overall grandeur of the lobby. It had such dignity and history....The experience that really cemented all of us together was the nightly shows. We not only worked together, we rehearsed together, performed together and played together (Lofdahl email 08/11/2005)



Figure 110: Savage Shows at Canyon Lodge: Counterclockwise from top left: Show emcee Harry Porter introducing Marty Gorder (Godsey Collection); 1955 Savage Show stage on the steps to the Lodge dining room (Warr Collection); Lodge Manager, Miss Irene Eby (Strempel Collection); Well-attended Savage Show, UPRR photo (Warr Collection); “Fifty-years Review” skit with Gorder at piano (Godsey et al, nd); Cast members surrounded by curtains repurposed from Wylie or Shaw and Powell tent camp canvas (Godsey et al, nd)

The proximity of Canyon Lodge to the canyon and both falls imprinted the sense of place on the visitor's mind as well. Tourists who stayed overnight and returned to Canyon Lodge year after year demonstrated a level of place attachment more so than that of day visitors. However, humanist geographer Yi-Fu Tuan suggested that tourists can only take in so much information about a place before they are overwhelmed by sensory stimuli. Tuan postulated that tourists often only recall the places that were featured graphically in tourist brochures or in other dominant-culture venues such as movie theaters or museums (Tuan 2001, 42-43). For instance, the well-known photographs and paintings of the canyon and falls influenced tourists' selection of tour stops and their later recollections about Canyon.

With much more time to experience and explore the Canyon area, concessioner and NPS staff developed a different sense of place than tourists. Staff such as those working at Canyon Lodge spent months (even years) in this mixed cultural and natural environment, sorting through the sensory stimuli and aggregating it into a revered whole. Through the gift of time at Canyon, staff developed intimate and unique knowledge, and consequently place attachment. Canyon Lodge truck driver-porter Lloyd Warr (1955-1956) recalled, "what was so unique was seeing the mist come up from the foot of the Upper Falls—at least 100 feet above the brink. How many people have had that experience? It made getting up at 4 a.m. worth it" (Warr email 08/15/2005). Another Lodge porter Richard Janecky (1947-1948) wrote, "close by was a slanting bench overlooking Upper Falls—and probably unknown to most—Crystal Falls off to the right. We were close to the lights and sounds of the lodge yet immersed in the sights and sounds of an area with which we were in love" (Janecky 1994, 6).

Janecky's 1947 developing place attachment coincided with the resumption of post-war government plans to remove Canyon Lodge and the rest of the development at the canyon's rims. By the mid-1950s, Mission 66 had been invented, Mission 66 "pilot studies" including one for Yellowstone were underway, and YPC had signed a new 20-year contract and bank notes committing them to millions of dollars in construction costs and significant cultural landscape change at Canyon. During the summer of 1956 as Canyon Village construction was underway, the hammering and construction sounds could be heard a mile away at Canyon Lodge. Front desk clerk Ralph "Large" Alley (1955-1956) wrote: "I cannot believe that anyone who worked at the Lodge in 55 and 56 were not cognizant that a major construction program was underway across the river...and the Lodge, as we knew and loved it, was doomed" (Lundgren email 08/16/2005; Alley email 11/25/2007; Ralph Alley quoted in Godsey email 08/11/2005).

The final closing of the Lodge in 1956 happened the way it always did—as if it would open again in 1957 (Figure 111). Operating supplies were packed and stored, snow poles were installed in the cabins, stove pipes removed, and the facility was scrubbed from top to bottom. "Yeah, the Lodge was put away like it would go on forever" (Ralph Alley quoted in Bush email 8/09/2005). After Canyon Lodge closed, Lodge Division Assistant Manager Dick Miller removed Miss Eby's roll-top desk for his own use at headquarters (another Lodge roll-top desk went to Mammoth Hot Springs as well). Miller suggested that head yardman-porter Murray, who for years led the Lodge's closing crew, take reminders of Canyon Lodge with him. On top of Murray's jeep as he drove out the park's West Entrance was a hardwood and cane rocking chair common at all Yellowstone

lodges. Inside his jeep were Canyon Lodge and Wylie Camps signature woolen blankets (Murray email 08/08/2005).



Figure 111: Canyon Lodge and the Grand Canyon in 1956: The Lodge at right, brink of Lower Falls at bottom left, and the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

Yellowstone Park Company Contract Renewal

The post-war period was a time of great change for Yellowstone National Park's primary concessioner. At the center of that change was funding and constructing Canyon Village. The railroads ended service to the park, recognizing that the vast majority of national park tourists arrived in cars. With the end of rail service came the end of readily available railroad credit for YPC. Complicating this change was the significant loss of

tourism revenue during the war while still carrying railroad debt. The predicament YPC was in led to far less investment by them in tourist facilities than was warranted. They focused on paying off the debt to the railroads rather than modernizing the facilities and reorienting tourism to serve people arriving in cars. YPC made its final payment to the railroads on March 25, 1955 (Haines 1977b, 370-372; Note: Barringer 2002, 139 states YPC enriched stockholder earnings at the expense of park facilities reinvestment; Bartlett 1989, 367 claims net losses between 1940 and 1949 were due to “accountant’s legerdemain” meaning sleight of hand).

Yellowstone concessioners have an unusual type of ownership in their park facilities. While they *did* own the buildings they constructed, they did not own the land underneath (Moulton 2008; Scoyen 1959; Gastellum 1959a; Barringer 2002, 105-106—erroneously suggests that YPC *did not* own their buildings). Investment without full ownership made concessioners vulnerable to financial losses if the NPS did not renew the concessioner’s contract to do business in the park. For decades there was a “gentleman’s agreement,” backed by Mather and Albright, assuring that should a concessioner lose their contract, the government would compensate the company for their capital improvements in park properties. Concessioners counted on well-established relationships with the NPS that were built on a foundation of trust (Carr 2005b, 331, 334).

In 1946, the Department of the Interior pressed the idea of its taking over the concessions operations in national parks across the country to ensure better service and upkeep of structures. This put many national park concessioners on the defensive (this concern was shared by current and former NPS Directors including Albright). This move

could dismiss the value concessioners had already invested in their operations. A lawyer working for many western national park concessioners dug up a helpful, yet little-known legal phrase and later managed to have it inserted into the model concessions contract when the political tide changed at the Interior Department in 1950. The phrase “possessory interest” came from the California tax code, and in parks meant that “concessioners, while not holding title to their buildings, were entitled to direct compensation from the U.S. government if their contracts were cancelled or not renewed” (Everhart 1972, 127; Barringer 2002, 104-106 quote, 111-112).

In 1948, as YPC moved closer to renewing its contract, Yellowstone’s concessioners were up in arms over possessory interest in their tourist accommodations. No longer was the government assuring compensation for investments. The Mather and Albright trust-based arrangement with concessioners was threatened. For park concessioners, it was like changing horses mid-stream. The impasse that developed in the late 1940s between the NPS and concessioners further delayed desperately needed investment by concessioners in post-war tourist facilities. It also increased the chance that new concessions contracts would not be signed (Carr 2004, 163; Carr 2005b, 337-338). Naming this problem one of “possessory interest” comes out of this struggle in 1948 as a way to identify a legal right to concessioner investments. In 1950, Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman sided with concessioners via a policy statement that recognized the assurances made by Mather and Albright. Unfortunately, this policy statement was not legally binding. It was not until the Concession Policy Act of 1965 that congressional legislation guaranteed possessory interest for park concessioners (Carr 2005b, 338, 340; Everhart 1972, 127).

Even without a guarantee of possessory interest, in the early 1950s YPC began a program to improve tourist facilities that was estimated to cost \$500,000. However, these plans were mainly a façade: In 1951, YPC had just four years left on its current contract, limiting its enthusiasm, and more important, the likelihood of obtaining outside funding for improvements (Rogers 1951, 8; Haines 1977b, 371; Barringer 2002, 103). In November 1953, YPC agreed to pay for upgrades at Lake Lodge if the NPS completed infrastructure work for the new buildings (water, sewer, curbing, and road surfaces). Prioritizing Lake Lodge was in accord with the construction plan agreement reached at the 1947 joint NPS and YPC planning conference. YPC proposed using existing revenue and financial resources to rehabilitate 84 Lake Lodge cabins, building 112 new cabins for Lake Lodge, as well as upgrading and moving 55 cabins to Fishing Bridge beginning in 1954. The Company tied this work to the successful negotiation of its new 20-year contract. In December of 1953, YPC projected that the cost of this project plus their new buildings planned for Canyon would be \$1.5 million, distributed over a five year period (Culpin 2003, 102).

In December 1951, Conrad Wirth was named Director of the NPS. After three years in office, in early February 1955, Wirth created Mission 66, his 10-year modernization program for all national parks. At the same time he also established a Yellowstone Concessions Working Group that included Yellowstone's superintendent, chief ranger, chief naturalist, and landscape architect. The Concessions Working Group reviewed the park's master plan to clearly define the expectations of any new contract signed with the primary Yellowstone concessioner, whether or not it was YPC (Barringer 2002, 112; Carr 2004, 112, 116, 163-165; Wirth 1980, 249). Successful negotiation with

Nichols and YPC about the future of Yellowstone's concessions was vital. Arriving at an agreement with the concessioner in the world's first national park ensured that Mission 66 would progress from its infancy to become the major parks' investment program Wirth envisioned (Carr 2005b, 342). However, if the government and concessioner made poor decisions regarding YPC investment, the government had no way to help the concessioner avoid bankruptcy (Everhart 1972, 120-122).

Within Wirth's first three years as Director, he paid particular attention to building stronger relationships with park concessioners, including Nichols in Yellowstone. In March of 1955, however, he surprised Nichols by changing Yellowstone's development priorities. Instead of investing existing YPC financial resources on upgrades to the Lake Lodge facilities, Wirth informed Nichols that his first priority would now be to build Canyon Village. Nichols was surprised by the change and it damaged his rapport with Conrad Wirth. This change required Nichols to seek loans from private lenders for millions of dollars. Financing the construction of Canyon Village was not attractive to Nichols. He knew that obtaining acceptable loan terms would be difficult because national park concessioners operated under a contract with the federal government—a contract that might not be renewed. Furthermore, the interest accrued on the loans would negate the seasonal profits reaped from park tourism. Compounding Nichols' concerns was his ten-year-old apprehension about the setting of the village. Without a nice view and location for the new Canyon Village, tourists would surely choose other places for their overnight stays. In May 1955, YPC estimated the cost of Canyon Village alone, including 250 new cabins with running water and 50 cabins with

bath, at \$1.5 million (Wirth 1955; Barringer 2002, 117—cites year of switch as 1953, 123; Yellowstone Park Company 1955).

With the change in NPS development priorities, Nichols considered walking away from his Yellowstone business. In the mid-1950s, while YPC was reluctantly negotiating its new contract with the NPS, Company officials also put their business up for sale (Culpin 2003, 103; Haines 1977b, 375-76). In spring 1955, Nichols sought advice from his company's long-time accounting firm, Galusha, Higgins and Galusha (GH&G). GH&G was a large, regional accounting firm headquartered in Helena, Montana headed by Hugh Galusha, Sr. Galusha was troubled by Nichols' disheartened state. He suggested that Nichols insist on negotiating a new contract first and stipulate that the Canyon Village utility and site clearing work be completed before any YPC construction began. Galusha erroneously believed that the government could not accrue enough funding to complete its responsibilities for Canyon Village for at least two years. This, he ventured, would allow YPC to generate tourism revenue for its new projects. He further encouraged Nichols by recalling the approach of Nichols' father-in-law, Harry Child, who would "go to bat with the powers that be, sit on their lap and cry on their shoulder" (Galusha quoted in Barringer 2002, 124). Galusha's advice reflected the trust relationships that YPC had built with Mather and Albright, but Conrad Wirth was in charge and the times had changed.

Galusha's son, Hugh "Bud" Galusha, Jr., was a "brilliant CPA and attorney" (Burke 1994). Bud Galusha offered more practical advice that proved even more persuasive to Nichols. Informed by his recent exploratory cross-country trip learning about the latest trends in business and finance, Galusha Jr. suggested that Nichols "throw

the book away” and take a completely different approach to his business. He encouraged Nichols to focus more on the positive aspects of his business—experience in park concessions, non-unionized labor, proven value as essentially a monopoly, twenty-year franchise, unofficially promised possessory interest in case of contract loss, and more lenient wage scales. Galusha pointed out the possibility of new earnings from new types of developments such as trailer courts and marinas. Another suggestion was for Nichols to select an exceptional, well-known architect, as well as contractors with expertise in modern designs and economical building techniques. This sort of approach, he claimed, would help Nichols obtain acceptable financing (Galusha, Jr. quoted in Barringer 2002, 124).

Nichols was convinced. By August 1955, Bud Galusha was in Los Angeles negotiating preliminary approval for a \$2 million dollar loan and contracts with the internationally known architectural firm Welton Becket and Associates and the McNeil Construction Company. Nichols contacted Director Wirth at the end of August agreeing to the park construction plans; however, Nichols’ agreement was contingent upon a new 20-year contract and the government completing Canyon Village infrastructure work (Barringer 2002, 125-127).

Unfortunately, as Bud Galusha pitched new ideas to Nichols, he did not know that Mission 66 would be well-received and funded so quickly by Congress. He also did not take into account that, although visitation had increased dramatically after 1945, the percentage of tourists wanting to stay inside the park (in hotels or cabins) had dropped from 84 percent to just 42 percent. Mobile tourists had more options and they often selected less expensive—and quite often better—accommodations in gateway

communities. Unlike YPC, gateway proprietors benefited from full ownership of their structures and land, lower construction bills, and longer revenue seasons permitting them greater investment in upgrades for creature comforts (Carr 2005b 355).

In March 1956, while his franchise contract was being finalized, Nichols signed an unsecured loan for \$3 million, effectively locking YPC into enormous construction projects and significant corporate culture change (Barringer 2002, 125-127). When the franchise contract was signed on April 1, it committed YPC to invest at total of \$3.5 million during the contract's first five years (an increase of \$2 million from the original 1953 YPC proposal for both Lake Lodge and Canyon Village). This money would build Canyon Village and update facilities near Yellowstone Lake and elsewhere in the park. If needed and financially viable, YPC would create a new visitor development near West Thumb (Grant Village) and a new marina south of Lake Yellowstone Hotel called Bridge Bay (Barringer 2002, 126; Carr 2004, 194—claims contract was signed in March 1956; Culpin 2003, 104).

Transforming Place at Canyon

Post-war tourists demonstrated an unmistakable preference for traveling in their own automobiles. Accordingly, in 1951 and 1952 NPS planners modified Canyon's master plans from their pre-war layout to meet this preference (Figure 112). Even before the war, planners realized that the 240-car parking lot they constructed was not large enough (NPS 1941). Planners rearranged the layout of the village to resemble a shopping mall—a retail development form that was spreading fast throughout the country. A shopping center aggregated tourist services in one, high-density, easily accessible area.

Not surprising, central to the new Canyon Village was a large parking lot. Planners also changed the orientation of the village. It now fronted a secondary road. Conspicuously absent from the 1952 master plan were the Canyon Rim Sacred Area boundaries. Mapping this zone, which was instrumental in the plans to move tourist facilities, was either forgotten or was deemed no longer necessary (NPS 1952).

Government Work Completing Canyon Roads,
Utilities, and Campground

While the Canyon Hotel, Canyon Lodge, Canyon Tourist Cabins, and camping facilities continued to accommodate tourists at the old settlement, the NPS contracted with its own selectees for the completion of Canyon Village campground and village infrastructure. Before the war, the fourth Canyon Junction was planned south of the pre-war Canyon Village driveway entrance (Figure 95 and Figure 112 bottom). By November 1951, the plans had changed, moving the fourth Canyon Junction to the northeast side of Cascade Meadows at its current location (NPS 1941; NPS 1951). In late summer 1952, Strong Company again successfully bid to pave new roads and parking areas at Canyon. Ground clearing for road and parking projects began that fall. Cop Construction of Billings was awarded the contract to build the water and sewer systems (probably for the campground). Studer Construction of Billings began the campground roads in fall 1953 and completed them by September 1954. Strong's work on roads and parking was completed by September 1954 (Rogers 1953, section 13; Rogers 1955, section 9).

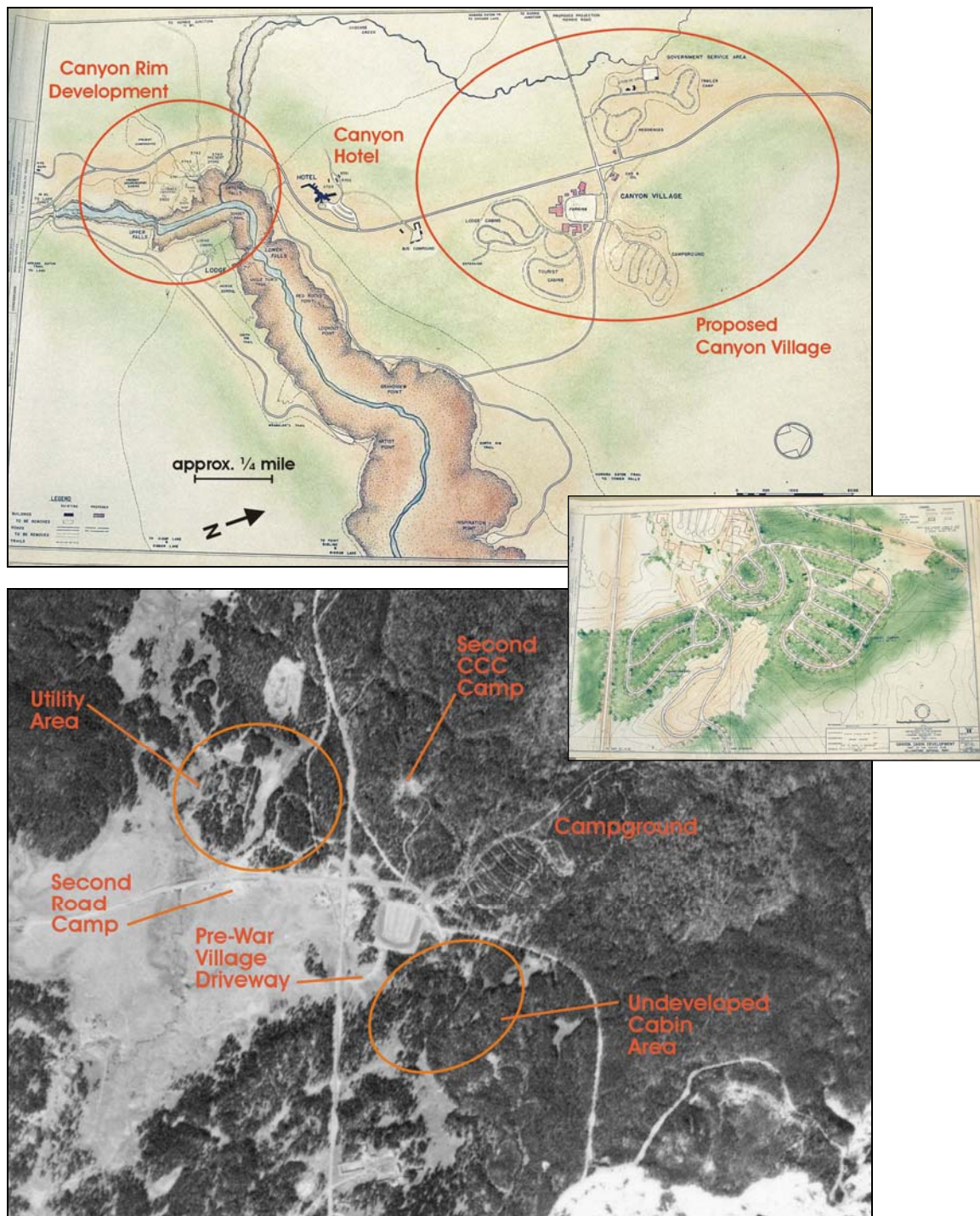


Figure 112: Post-War Canyon Village Plan: Top—August 1952 area master plan; Bottom—September 1954 air photo detail showing parking lot, new Canyon Junction, and campground underway (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Inset—February 1952 cabin area plan showing proposed, *heavily wooded* cabin sites (Yellowstone National Park Archives)

Peter Kiewit Sons' Company of Sheridan Wyoming was awarded the contract to grade and surface the rerouted, four-mile section of the east end of the Norris Cutoff Road in September of 1953. Tree clearing began immediately. By October 1954, 85 percent of the road work was done and it was ready for tourist use by September 24, 1955. The rerouting of east bound traffic to meet Canyon Village marked the emergence of the fourth Canyon Junction (Figure 113). This permitted the NPS to eventually prohibit public use of the older cutoff road from Norris Geyser Basin, which terminated near Upper Falls. Once Studer Construction completed the campground roads, Cop Construction began work on nine comfort stations and a pump house in June 1955. Canyon's (present) campground opened to tourists for the 1956 season (Rogers 1955, section 9; Haines 1977b, 370; Rogers 1956a, section 18, Note: section 6—claims YPC also built a pump house for Canyon water supply; Garrison, 1958, section 1). An August 1955 contract awarded to Studer Construction included work on grading and draining roads, parking areas, and walks, which were probably internal to either the utility area or the village. A separate water and sewer contract for the cabin areas was awarded to Inland Construction of Omaha Nebraska in September 1955 (Rogers 1956a, section 18; Westlund 1956).

While the original sewage system for Canyon Village was proposed well north of the canyon, the actual sewage treatment plant was constructed within one-eighth of a mile from the canyon's rim. The plant violated the north boundary of the Canyon Rim Sacred Area, which was no longer mapped on the master plan (NPS 1959). The plant was first proposed near the government utility area northwest of Canyon Village. However, by 1941 sewer treatment plans changed to a septic tank with a spray field located east of the

cabin area (NPS 1939; NPS 1941). The pre-war sewer treatment plans were not executed. The final sewer treatment plan for the new Canyon Village consisted of a collection tanks, sludge bed, and treated waste-water discharge. The tanks and sludge bed were constructed a few hundred yards north of Lookout Point. Pipes for treated waste water were laid to just above Lower Falls. With the outfall going to the closest large river, engineers located the plant between the village and the Yellowstone River. Placing the sewer treatment plant close to the river made use of gravity, lowering the system's costs overall (NPS 1959; Hudson email 08/03/2007, 07/30/2007).

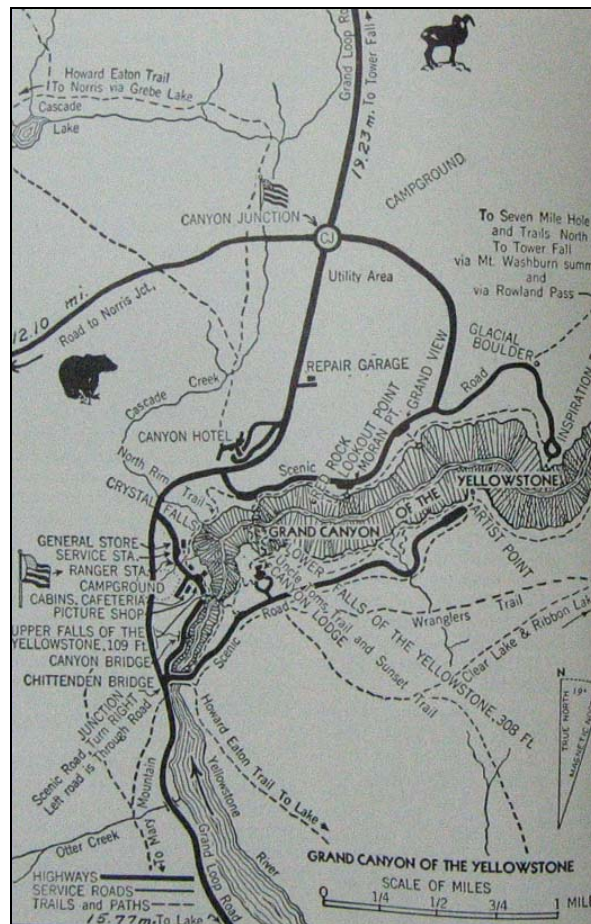


Figure 113: Fourth Canyon Junction: New junction is created from rerouting four miles of the east end of the Norris Cutoff Road. (1955 Haynes)

Mission 66

The “roughing it” camping experience was rapidly disappearing in post-war national tourism outside of Yellowstone. Travelers wanted modern cabins with all the conveniences. For many, it was also an opportunity to experience wall-to-wall carpeting, vinyl upholstery, television, and air conditioning provided by well-financed national chain lodging businesses (Belasco 1979, 31, 100, 164, 172). Meanwhile, during the war years, not only did Yellowstone’s facilities and infrastructure deteriorate, they were not upgraded to reflect modern facilities and services common in urban areas.

Yellowstone’s primary concessioner and the NPS were equally unprepared for the flood of tourists post World War II. Some improvements were underway; however, the demand was beyond the park’s means (Ise 1961, 537; Schullery 1997, 177). With such large numbers of tourists and deteriorated, antiquated national park facilities, the pre-war recreation problem identified in 1941 turned into an all out “train wreck” across the nation. A scathing 1948 *Denver Post* article reported on accommodations all over Yellowstone. The journalist described cabins in the park as “old, unattractive, drafty, of light construction, miserably furnished, and completely inadequate in numbers....of 1,872 such cabins, none has modern toilet facilities and only 958 boast so much as inside running water” (Bartlett 1989, 368).

The developing recreation crisis nationwide was so evident and seemingly so hopeless that articles appeared in the popular press with titles such as “National Parks: Tomorrow’s Slums?,” “Twenty-Four Million Acres of Trouble,” and Bernard DeVoto’s famous piece titled, “Let’s Close the National Parks.” In that article, DeVoto chronicled the many aspects of managing national parks that remained under-funded by Congress.

He cited ranger patrol shortfalls, road deterioration, and slum-like facilities for both staff housing and visitor accommodations. He suggested closing national parks beginning with the largest, most popular ones (including Yellowstone) until Congress funded them appropriately. “So much of the priceless heritage which the Service must safeguard for the United States is beginning to go to hell” (Wood, 1954; Yodor 1954; DeVoto 1953, 51 quote). Conditions in Yellowstone featured prominently in reports on park facilities, although it is clear that all national parks were in a similar situation. In Jerome Wood’s article, “National Parks: Tomorrow’s Slums?,” Yellowstone’s roads were described as unsafe and the park’s cabin facilities for visitors “little more than closely packed, decrepit shacks that bear much evidence of age and lack of maintenance by the concessionaire who operates them” (Wood 1954, 14).

A few years prior in 1949, Newton Drury, Director of the NPS, had called attention to woeful conditions in parks. He envisioned constructing modern facilities as a way to mitigate damage to parks overrun with post-war tourists. His requests for funding were not granted by Congress. Funding the Cold War and the Korean War took precedence over funding upgrades to national parks. In 1955, parks were funded with a \$32 million budget—just a slight increase over the \$26 million in 1939, resulting in a lower post-war budget once numbers were adjusted for inflation. In addition, low-cost labor was no longer available when New Deal programs such as the CCC and Public Works Administration were not restarted (Allaback 2000, 1; Everhart 1972, 34-35; Carr 2004, 2).

After Drury left office, the recreation crisis spawned an NPS modernization program by NPS Director, Conrad Wirth. In early February 1955, Wirth imagined a long-

term program to revitalize the national parks, naming it Mission 66 (Figure 114). The name recalled the strategic plans of war time with reference to the end of his ten-year program in 1966—the 50th anniversary of the NPS. Mission 66 would upgrade both visitor lodging (with concessioner dollars) and park staff housing. It would also increase national park staffing and upgrade educational programs in the form of interpretive brochures, wayside exhibits, and what evolved to become a new building type: the Visitor Center (Carr 2004, 116; Carr 2005a).

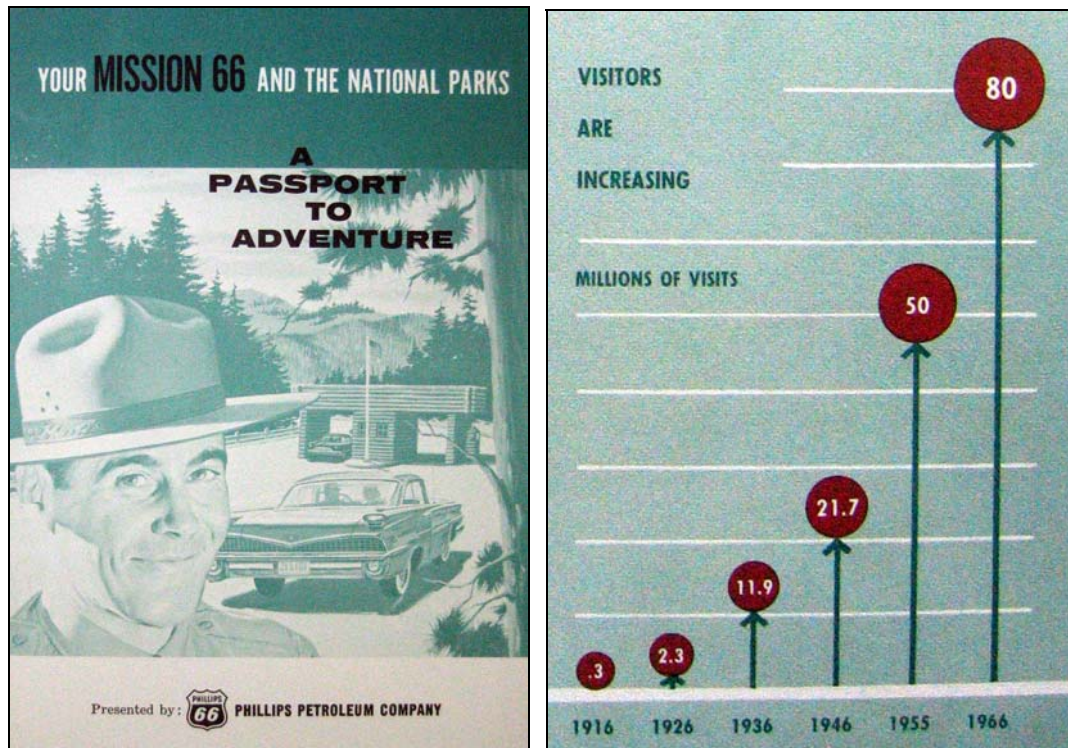


Figure 114: Mission 66 Public Relations Collateral with Visitation Projections (Yellowstone National Park Library)

Ethan Carr, landscape architect and Mission 66 historian, describes Conrad Wirth and his staff as “the most experienced park planners in history” (Carr 2004, 110). As the

NPS's primary land planners, Wirth's staff was responsible for CCC designs in state and national parks completed during the New Deal. Wirth was also responsible for the park and recreation problem study completed in 1941. As NPS director, he reorganized the NPS's landscape architecture operations in 1954 into two central offices, one on the East Coast and another on the West Coast of the United States (Eastern and Western "Office of Design and Construction" or EODC and WODC). After the reorganization, Wirth plotted how to get more money for parks, envisioning a park revitalization program patterned after the successful National Defense Highway Act introduced in early 1955. The national highway program took a long view of highway needs and sought money for long-term projects rather than budget increases on a year-to-year basis (Carr 2004, 60, 100, 110-112, 331).

Wirth and Mission 66 planners operated under the philosophy that everyone who wanted to visit a park should be safely accommodated. Establishing visitor load limits was not considered under Mission 66. To stop a visitor from enjoying their park seemed to these planners to be the antithesis of NPS ideology. Letting all tourists in did not mean providing overnight lodging for them, but the program did propose to expand lodging—just not at the original locations near sensitive features. The well-publicized goals of Mission 66 included: "Facilities of both the government and concessioners which encroach upon important park features should be eliminated or relocated at sites of lesser importance, either within or outside the park." Planners knew that to accommodate all visitors, developments would have to be concentrated in defined areas. Tourists also had to be educated about the park and how to leave it unimpaired for future visitors (Carr 2004, 175-176, 211-212; NPS c1956 quote).

In February 1955, just after Mission 66 was established, NPS officials from Yellowstone who were part of the “Concessions Working Group” were invited to Washington for a week to discuss Yellowstone concessions issue. Nichols had recently agreed to Wirth’s change in construction priorities and YPC’s 20-year contract was under negotiation. From the government’s perspective, successful re-drafting of the YPC contract was dependent upon a clear understanding of the park’s needs. This Concessions Working Group determined that:

- Lodging in Yellowstone should be increased from 8,500 to 14,000 “pillows,”
- New facilities should be motels not hotels,
- Development at West Thumb, Old Faithful, and part of the Lake area accommodations would be moved and expanded to accomplish growth in tourism without impairing the park’s features, and
- Canyon Village remained the priority because it could be large without encroaching on the canyon and because plans were already underway to move the development (Carr 2004, 164).

In Washington, Wirth established a Mission 66 steering committee and a Mission 66 working group. These leaders worked with both offices of Design and Construction. In 1955, the WODC and EODC planned several pilot studies demonstrating how Mission 66 goals would be accomplished in those parks without embarking on construction. The first pilot study examined Mount Rainier National Park. This park was chosen in part because the government had already bought out the concessioner. If tourist facilities had to be removed, the process would not be encumbered by possessory interest issues with a concessioner. Pilot studies were expanded to include eight park areas including

Yellowstone. With that experience in hand, Mission 66 memoranda were sent to each park in the system. Park administrators were asked to prepare a park prospectus covering known deficiencies and developments needed in their park. Yellowstone's was submitted in early November 1955. Prospectuses from each park comprised the Mission 66 report that was presented to President Eisenhower and his cabinet in January 1956 (Stagner 1976, 5; Wirth 1980, 243; Carr 2004, 134-136, 147-148; Allaback 2000, 3, 4; Rogers, 1956, 17; Allaback 2000, 4).

Motivated by DeVoto's article, scores of letters citing concern for parks had been sent to the President. Eisenhower was already sympathetic to the plight of parks. With Mission 66 prospectuses and budgets in hand, Wirth arranged a meeting with the President to pitch his plan for fixing the crisis in national park recreation. After hearing Director Wirth's Mission 66 proposal for revitalizing national parks, Eisenhower replied, "What have you been waiting for?" Mission 66 received the President's full support. He requested special appropriations from legislators to get Mission 66 underway for its first year of construction in 1956 (Allaback 2000, 4; Richardson 1973, p112). While previous NPS directors had lobbied for funding to upgrade national park facilities after the war, the overall plan and packaging of Wirth's Mission 66 was the first to succeed in getting Washington's attention.

Mission 66 was imagined and pitched as an integrated, large project. This approach was similar to having sections of a major highway planned at once, each section contributing to the overall goal of a lengthy interstate highway (Wirth 1980, 239). However, unlike the National Defense Highway Act of 1956, Mission 66 was not created through legislation and attached funding. Wirth retained control of the program by

creating it as a policy initiative under the direction of the Department of the Interior. His pitch requested increases in NPS funding on an annual basis, considering the long-term needs of parks as a whole. As presented, Mission 66 would solve the parks' problem by increasing park budgets to appropriate levels for current and potential future visitation. This long-term, large funding commitment was necessary to enable writing larger contracts for new buildings and to leverage economies of scale, rather than parcel out less money annually that could only fund repairs of existing, deteriorating facilities (Carr 2004, 93, 99, 115).

Wirth advised his Mission 66 staff and steering committee to question everything as they ventured forward with project planning: "Nothing was to be sacred, except the ultimate purpose to be served. Men, method, and time-honored practices were to be accorded no vested deference. Old traditions seem to have determined [dictated] standards far beyond their time..." (Wirth 1980, 242). Ignoring time-honored practices left room for NPS brass, park administrators, and park planners to overturn many traditions, including mapping Canyon's sacred area and the trust relationships concessioners had established with Mather and Albright. However, not every time-honored NPS practice was ignored. For example, limiting the number of visitors to parks such as Yellowstone was off the negotiating table, although lodging and camping accommodations were not guaranteed for everyone (Wirth 1980, 259).

While projects were identified throughout the entire national park system for the duration of Mission 66, Wirth decided to play it safe and not request an omnibus bill to fund the entire 10-year program as he had originally imagined. Wirth chose instead to begin by requesting funding for fiscal year 1957 (July 1, 1956 to June 30, 1957) for a few

projects in small and large parks including Yellowstone. This more than doubled the appropriations for parks from the 1955 (pre-Mission 66) level. If these projects were funded and completed on time, this would demonstrate the goals of Mission 66.

According to Wirth, “if we failed or didn’t produce as we had promised, there was no doubt in my mind that our well-laid plans would be suspended. They might well look for a new director, too” (Wirth 1980, 250, 258 quote).

Fourth Generation of Visitor Overnight Accommodations

Mission 66 initiated the construction of fourth generation overnight accommodations in Yellowstone. Canyon Village was the leading example, although planning this new generation of accommodation for Canyon began prior to World War II. The major difference between fourth generation and third generation visitor overnight accommodations in Yellowstone is that they neither were organic settlements that developed over time nor were they retrofitted to meet changing trends in tourism. They were preconceived places planned and executed as a whole, requiring both the financial backing and political control to break existing settlement patterns and establish larger new developments. Also significant, the style, pattern, and location of fourth generation settlements were dictated by the economics of mass-produced architecture, the needs of automobile tourists, and protection of unique park features. The NPS approach to accommodating tourists had changed dramatically: “The public wanted motels that were ‘simple, but as comfortable and convenient as possible.’ They were not attractions in themselves but a ‘means to an end’ that would not compete with—or encroach on—the natural wonders of the park” (Carr 2005b, 345 quoting Conrad Wirth).

The cultural landscape imprint of fourth generation Yellowstone accommodations today continues to reflect powerful national trends toward suburbanization as it then reflected broader patterns unfolding all across America. These settlements are decentralized, similar to many mid-twentieth century suburban business and residential developments built away from the nearest economic core. Outside of parks, that core is the central business district of urban areas. In parks such as Yellowstone, the economic cores are wherever unique and significant park features formed.

Yellowstone's fourth generation visitor settlements also were preconceived places designed by architects not known for their association with national parks. They were constructed with modern building materials and techniques; they resembled suburbia, and were located away from sensitive park features. Fourth generation concessioner facilities were also funded with capital independent of the railroads. Banks replaced railroads as the primary backers of this era of concessioner investments in the park.

At the start of Mission 66, the NPS had three, large fourth generation settlements planned for Yellowstone. Besides Canyon Village, Grant Village would later replace the facilities at West Thumb. Imagined, but never executed, was the removal of overnight facilities at Old Faithful, including Old Faithful Inn and Old Faithful Lodge. Park planners hoped to replace these historic facilities at Old Faithful with a new settlement near Lower Geyser Basin called Firehole Village (Barringer 2002, 158; Carr 2005b, 343n418; Haines 1977b, 375). Today in Yellowstone, second, third, and fourth generation overnight accommodations serve tourists concurrently.

Canyon Village—Fourth Generation
Settlement at Canyon

After the government lifted restrictions on war-time building projects, the backlog of work for Bozeman architect Fred Willson was almost overwhelming. Willson's impossible workload sent him to bed some evenings with nausea. By the 1950s, as Willson's career was coming to a close, he wrote of his dislike of Modern architecture in his diary. He thought it was "abstract and hard to understand." He also wrote that the profession of architecture was "being attacked by other professions particularly engineers" (Butterfield 2000a, 5, 6 quotes).

As late as the beginning of 1954, Fred Willson was still drafting projects for Yellowstone's concessioners. He was also still the architect selected by YPC for Canyon Village, although Willson's career as an architect had been slowing down in the latter part of his life. At this time YPC apparently reconsidered the design of the new village, choosing the "Modern Rustic" Willson design over their pre-war selection of Willson's Rustic plan (Figure 96). YPC executive Huntley Child, Jr. claimed the company actually invented the description of "Modern Rustic." According to Child, although employing a somewhat Modern style, Canyon Village would not take on the appearance of the recently constructed Jackson Lake Lodge in Grand Teton National Park. That lodge was executed in the (Modern) International style by architect Gilbert Stanley Underwood (Butterfield 2000b; Culpin 2003, 102). Although Underwood was known for constructing national park hostelrys, his Jackson Lake Lodge was disliked almost immediately because it was stripped of ornamentation and anything that referred to the mythic pioneer American past (Carr 2005a). Willson's "Modern Rustic" hybrid version of Canyon

Village was probably as far as Willson would stretch his well-respected aesthetic. He did not like Modern architecture and actively avoided commenting upon buildings executed in that style (Butterfield 2000a, 6, 7).

Ultimately, YPC chose a modern design for its Canyon Village structures. The company's financial commitment to park upgrades had increased from \$1.5 million to \$3.5 million as part of its contract negotiations. Modern building techniques were less expensive than rustic construction, which was labor intensive. Skilled labor was much more expensive after the war. Company accountant Bud Galusha also urged Nichols to select a well-known architect and builder to encourage better financing terms. Furthermore, the term "rustic" had evolved to mean "dated, inadequate, and even unsanitary" (Allaback 2000, 11, 13 quote). Hence, Yellowstone's concessioners hired the large, well-known, Los Angeles architectural firm, Welton Becket and Associates, to execute the final design of Canyon's new concessioner structures. The design firm worked quite closely with the NPS WODC in San Francisco. In fact, when it came to the design of the concessioner's Canyon Village structures, Becket worked far more closely with the NPS than with YPC (Culpin 2003, 103; Sigrist 2005).

Welton Becket contributed to the transformation of the Los Angeles cultural landscape by designing commercial buildings and shopping malls during periods of suburbanization and enormous growth in Southern California (Carr 2004, 193-194). Welton Becket envisioned a Modern architectural design for Canyon Village focused on meeting the needs of the automobile tourist (Figure 115). The accommodation of automobiles and facilitation of pedestrian traffic proved profitable for retail businesses in Los Angeles. Becket's designs recognized that people must easily depart from their cars

and enter the pedestrian retail space if suburban businesses were to be profitable (Carr 2004, 234). Having endured the lean war years, and faced with enormous construction costs, Yellowstone's planners and concessioners transferred these ideals to the new lodging and retail settlement plan for Canyon.

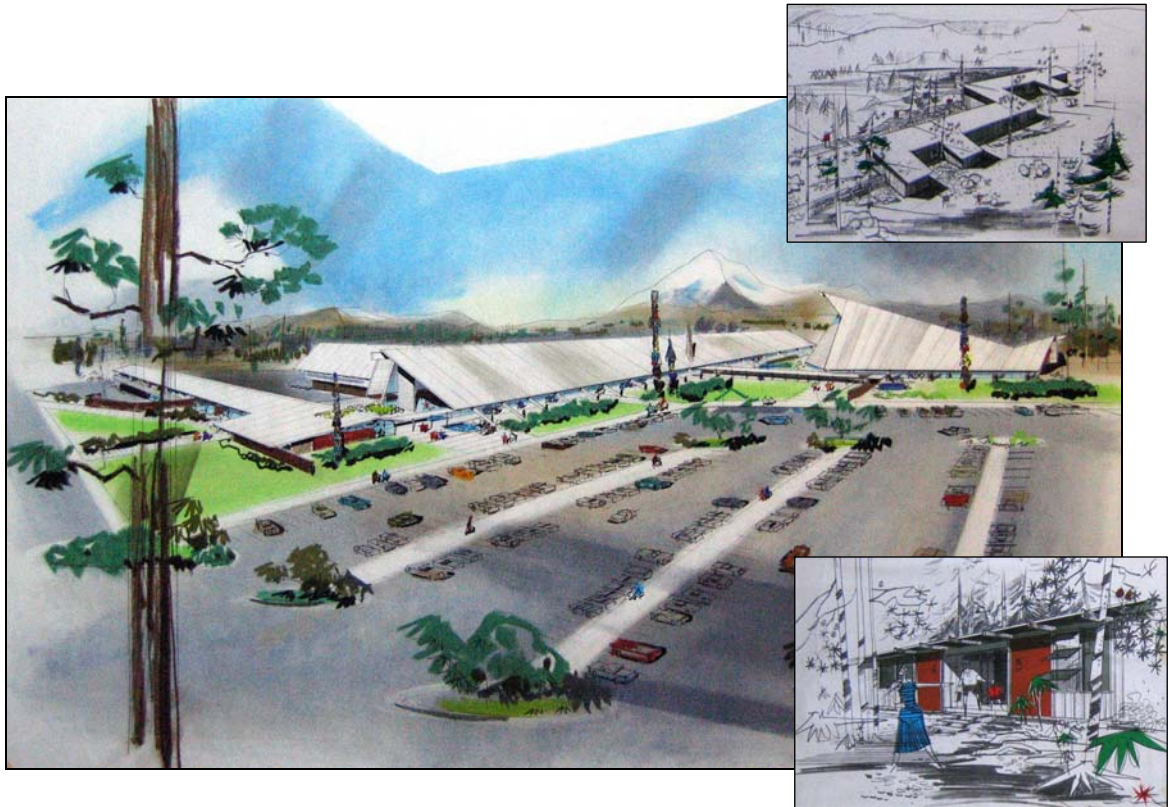


Figure 115: Modern Conceptual Design for Canyon Lodge and Cabins at Canyon Village, circa October 1955. Main graphic— YPC Registration Building, Lodge, and Recreation Hall (never built); Insets—Guest cabins (Xanterra Archives)

With tourist facilities no longer sited along the canyon's rim, Canyon Village structures could be executed in a Modern style without negatively influencing the view of its namesake park feature. There was no need to make the buildings “part of picturesque landscape compositions.” Modern architecture also permitted the design of smaller structures (Allaback 2000, 23 quote, 24). McNeil Construction Company, also of Los

Angeles was selected to build the village using Welton Becket's designs. McNeil Construction was also a well-known company, having built the Sun Valley Lodge, Disneyland, and two federal, guided-missile plants in California (Canyon Village Special 1957, 4, 5).

While the YPC was selecting a new architect and builder for Canyon Village, Conrad Wirth was well along with strategic planning for Mission 66. Considering the program's funding vulnerability, Mission 66 needed a demonstration project—a proving ground—to set the pace and expectations for the entire 10-year program. Canyon Village in Yellowstone became that project. Success in America's first national park would demonstrate very specific and important Mission 66 goals. Wirth wanted to prove that projects could be completed on time and within budget, that concessioners could be strategic partners in park redevelopment, that all tourists could be accommodated in parks using enlarged yet concentrated development, and that facilities would be removed from parks when expansion encroached on park features. Mission 66 success was directly tied to Yellowstone's concessions contracts and its redevelopment plans, making Yellowstone “a flagship of Mission 66 planning, design, and policy...a testing ground for any early accomplishments Mission 66 hoped to achieve” (Carr 2004, quote 166 and 192).

Canyon Village Construction

With the preliminary infrastructure completed and the planned closing of facilities near the canyon's rims, the NPS and its concessioners proceeded with plans to radically alter the decades-old cultural landscape at Canyon. In February 1956, once agreement on a new 20-year contract was reached, YPC builder McNeil Construction Company began

assembling 300 prefabricated “motel-type cabins” in Gardiner, Montana. The pilot cabin was finished and ready for inspection on March 10. In April, Tom Hallin took over as YPC Director of the Construction and Engineering department from his father Bernard (Pete) Hallin. With this change, the elder Hallin, who had decades of Yellowstone construction experience, was re-assigned as the onsite representative for YPC at Canyon Village during construction (Rogers 1956a, quote section 6, section 9; Latimore 2005; Mattson 1956b; Quinn 2004, 159).

As YPC was “gearing up” for the Canyon project, the Company estimated spending \$2.5 million on the new village. In anticipation of construction at Canyon, Nichols prodded the NPS regarding clearing building sites at the village. Nichols supported his inquiry with Section 2a “Improvement Program” in the recently signed YPC contract, which stated:

The granting of the [lease] is conditioned upon the concessioner undertaking...an improvement and building program...at Canyon, Lake, and other locations.... The construction of these facilities, however, is contingent, of necessity, upon the National Park Service performing certain preliminary work, such as installation of utilities to the building lines; installation of adequate electric power; *clearing and rough grading of the locations*; installation and rough grading of roads; and, concurrent with the progress of the construction, the *landscaping*, installation of curbing and final surfacing of roads, and fire hydrants. (Yellowstone Park Company 1956, 3—emphases added)

On February 29, Superintendent Rogers responded by telling Nichols that the NPS had not budgeted money for clearing the ground (Rogers 1956b). Yellowstone’s landscape architect, Frank Mattson, agreed that, although it was considered an “undesirable item” in the YPC contract, clearing the sites at Canyon was the government’s responsibility as the

contract was written. NPS officials in Yellowstone had brought this contract problem to the attention of Washington officials on several occasions (Mattson 1956a).

The NPS disputed whether or not the contract language actually meant clearing land other than land used where the government was actually performing construction, rather than the actual concessioner building sites within which McNeil Construction would work. The majority of land needing clearing at Canyon Village was for the concessioner's commercial and lodging structures. Nichols disagreed with the government's interpretation of the term "locations" in clause 2a (Nichols 1956). Indeed, in Yellowstone National Park, the term "location" was (and still is) commonly used to refer to the concessioner's visitor facilities, which are built inside the surveyed acreage specified in their lease (Murray email 07/15/2007). Also in spring 1957, YPC met with WODC staff about the government's responsibility for landscaping Canyon Village, which was also clearly defined in Section 2a "Improvement Program" in the recently signed YPC contract. Unfortunately, the NPS did not have funds budgeted for landscaping either and said it could be many seasons before landscaping would be done by the government. The NPS told YPC that they had to do landscaping themselves (Hallin 1960b).

After this somewhat rocky start to construction planning for Canyon Village, YPC planned a ground-breaking ceremony for June 25, 1956 involving all three Yellowstone concessioners, Welton Beckett and Associates, McNeil Construction, the NPS, and invited guests (Canyon Village Special 1957, 3; Barringer 2002, 135; Rogers 1956a, supplement section 6). The festivities began the night prior to the onsite ceremony. At the Canyon Hotel on the evening of June 24, YPC hosted a cocktail party in the Panel Room,

an informal dinner in the dining room, followed by a short program in the lounge entitled, “Your Introduction to Yellowstone.” The ground breaking ceremony began at 10 a.m. on June 25 and took place on the site of the pre-war Canyon Village driveway south of Canyon Junction. Approximately three hundred people were present, including Canyon Lodge managers and staff. In keeping with Wirth’s strategic public relations plans, Wirth leveraged the event by officially inaugurating Mission 66 during the ground breaking ceremony. Media across the American West, including Denver and San Francisco newspapers, carried the Canyon Village story and the Mission 66 plans to invest large amounts of both public and private capital in Yellowstone (Rogers 1956a, supplement section 6; NPS 1956a, 1; Murray email 01/26/2008; Barringer 2002, 135; Carr 2005b, 350).

Assistant Secretary of the Interior Wesley A. D’Ewart and Wirth were the designated speakers. NPS publicity goals for the ceremony included emphasizing Mission 66 and its contribution to Yellowstone National Park. When mentioning concessioners, the NPS emphasized their willingness to expand facilities to accommodate growing tourism, with specific instructions to avoid the terms “modernization” or “replacements of obsolete facilities.” Instead, the speakers maintained a positive tone, talking about removing tourist development that was too close to the rim as a conservation move—a move that allowed both expansion of tourist facilities and protection of the canyon (Rogers 1956a, supplement section 6; NPS 1956a, 1; Barringer 2002, 135).



Figure 116: Ground Breaking Ceremony, June 25, 1956: Top—Ceremony setting (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Bottom left—Invited guests and Wirth delivering remarks (Whittlesey Collection); Bottom right—Breaking ground, left to right, Haynes, Hamilton, Wirth, and Nichols (Barringer 2002)

All Mission 66 public relations materials carried a strong “conservation” message in part to diminish criticism of Mission 66 as a development program. The NPS needed to refresh its conservation image after nearly losing a prolonged, early-1950s battle over the proposed Echo Park dam in Dinosaur National Monument. To the NPS, Mission 66 was

about conservation. It would provide enjoyment without impairment, and this involved innovations in park tourism, visitor education, and extending the tourism season into spring and fall. In addition, the initiative advocated dispersing visitor facilities away from congested key features (Carr 2004, 103, 205, 206).

Souring the festive atmosphere generated by the ground-breaking ceremony, that same day YPC Board of Directors announced a \$1.5 million error in the Canyon Village cost estimate, which was based on incorrect square footage calculations. While finger pointing occurred, it remained unclear whether the error was the responsibility of McNeil Construction architects or Welton Beckett staff. The project was progressing with such unprecedented speed due to a compressed time frame that errors and misunderstandings were occurring. This gross, costly error firmly cemented the already-developing rift among YPC, McNeil, and Welton Beckett. Galusha, Jr. suggested that YPC officials begin keeping detailed records of all conversations concerning the project. Galusha recalled McNeil, Sr. (Bruce McNeil's father) suggesting that "it was about time everybody concerned quit trying to be such good friends and...took the gloves off." This error caused YPC to nearly double the number of cabins (all with bath) for increased revenue. It also caused YPC to reduce the size of the registration building, eliminate a mezzanine planned for the lodge, and remove the proposed recreation hall from the project. That recreation hall would have been 16,500 square feet in size, with movable seating to accommodate dances, movies, or other stage productions (Culpin 2003, 107; Galusha 1956a; Galusha 1956b quote; McNeil 1956b; Billings Gazette 1956).

With the discovery of the estimating error, the cost of the project to YPC had risen to \$4,270,021, under what McNeil called a "guaranteed maximum." McNeil agreed

to permit additional changes (at cost) without tacking on a contractor fee as long as those changes did not exceed an additional \$250,000. YPC accountant Galusha, Jr. ran numbers assuming a certain room rate, length of season, and percentage of occupancy for the duration of the loans. He determined that once the loan was retired, Canyon Village would begin to return a profit to YPC. Galusha Sr. and another accountant at GH&G reviewed the projections: “The consensus is that we have a sustainable position.”

Unfortunately, that was not the end of cost increases in 1956—or through the next couple of years. In August 1956, McNeil revised the total cost of construction to include changing the motel heating system from butane to a more expensive hot water system and to add the cost of “site grading outside of building.” The new contract total became \$4,338,509 (McNeil 1956b; Galusha 1956a quote). To cover the 1956 cost increases, the company’s lender granted YPC an increase in their credit line to \$5 million in August 1956. By October 11, field changes, which are seldom unusual for construction projects of any size, increased the cost of Canyon Village to \$4,356,523.39 (Barringer 2002, 139; Child, Jr. 1956).

Site preparation at the new village in 1956 included soil replacement and installing drainage throughout the frost-susceptible site. The hydroscopic soils at Canyon Village had properties similar to the Canyon Hotel site, although the majority of Canyon Village was on relatively level ground. Nevertheless, to avoid frost heaving problems, the soil in the commercial area was replaced with obsidian sand down to the weathered igneous bedrock. However, the soils in the cabin areas were not replaced, although they were equally as frost susceptible (Hallin 1960b). In the Aspen Hill cabin area (A-loop), clayey sand, clay, and silt between two and fifteen feet deep covered the bedrock. In the

Cascade Circle cabin area (C-loop), clayey sand and silt varied between one and six feet above bedrock. In both cabin areas, the water table was near ground level in spring and dropped a maximum of six feet by fall. This caused significant drainage problems resulting in large puddles and mud accumulating in spring, especially after the ground was cleared of vegetation and trenches were dug for utilities. Cascade Circle was particularly vulnerable to drainage problems because the water table only dropped to two feet below the surface even in fall (Hallin 1960b).

Without government funds for site preparation, McNeil Construction probably did the site preparation for buildings in the commercial area and cabin loops (Mattson 1956a; Hallin 1960b). Replacing the soil in the commercial area permitted placement of concrete foundations without additional support at depth (Figure 117). Because construction crews did not replace the soil outside of the commercial area, each YPC dormitory and guest cabin had to be set on very deep pilings (ideally to bedrock), especially in the Aspen Hill area. Complicating construction in Cascade Circle were active thermal areas (Murray email 8/28/2007; Thompson 1997b; Thompson 1997c; Ward 2008).

The government's site preparation for another fourth generation settlement near West Thumb (Grant Village) began in 1956 while Canyon Village construction got underway. This new visitor village would be Yellowstone's next Mission 66 project, which as proposed, would have offered nearly twice as much lodging as Canyon Village (Barringer 2002, 158; Carr 2005b, 351, 352—cites 900 lodging units originally planned for Grant Village).

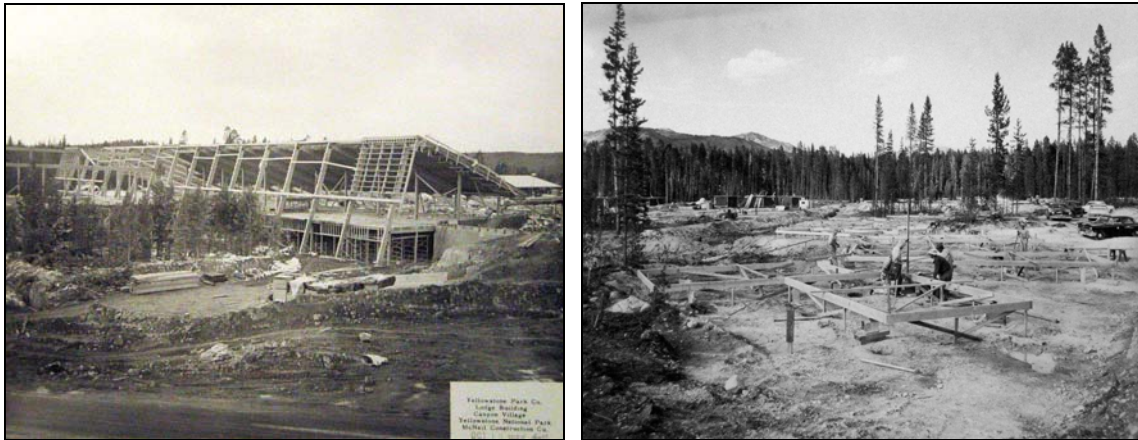


Figure 117: Canyon Lodge and Cabin Construction, 1956: Lodge Construction (left); Prefabricated Cabin Foundation Assembly (right)—Yellowstone Museum Collection

It was a time of great hope for the future of Yellowstone, as well as a time of great stress and change. In August 1956, long-time YPC architect Fred Willson died. A month later, Billie Nichols resigned as president of YPC, but stayed on as chairman of the Board. This change in YPC management placed Nichols's son, John, in charge as YPC president for the duration of the Canyon Village project (Butterfield 2000a, 7; Barringer 2002, 139).

At Canyon, the landscape was overrun by hundreds of temporary construction workers, roads clogged with construction vehicles, and constant arguing among the NPS, YPC, and McNeil construction (Barringer 2002, 136; Murray email 09/13/2007). The crew of McNeil Construction and subcontractors working at the site numbered between 400 and 600. This was three to four times the size of the Canyon Hotel construction crew between 1910 and 1911. McNeil's crews maneuvered an enormous amount of equipment across the landscape, such as backhoes, cranes, trucks, and bulldozers (Hallin 1960b). Additional contractors and laborers focused on government projects in the utility and

commercial areas. McNeil employees were housed at the second CCC camp with a mess hall and tent barracks—a place jokingly referred to as “McNeilville.” Workers with families lived in travel trailers at the Canyon Bus Complex. Some crew members lived (possibly without permission) in guest cabins at Canyon Campers’ Cabins that they lined with cardboard until released from work in late fall 1956 (Barringer 2002, 137; Murray email 09/23/2007).

With Canyon Village construction well underway and quite chaotic, Wirth reassigned his Mission 66 steering committee chairman, Lon Garrison, to be Yellowstone’s superintendent in November 1956 to ensure that the Canyon Village project proceeded smoothly and met Mission 66 goals. Garrison had a strong presence as a superintendent. According to YPC manager Ron Latimore, Lon Garrison was “a showboat” and “probably the baddest ass superintendent that Yellowstone Park ever did have” (Carr 2004, 205; Haines 1977b, 477; Latimore email 09/02/06). Indeed, in the first few years of Garrison’s tenure as superintendent, his control in Yellowstone extended to issuing a decree prohibiting use of terms such as “dude” and “savage.” He thought they were too demeaning (Latimore email 08/28/2005). These terms (as well as many others comprising Yellowstone “lingo”) had been carried forward from the stagecoach era and were published each year in editions of the *Haynes Guide*.

By the end of 1956, major construction at the new village was delayed due to heavy snowfall and below freezing temperatures that arrived in early November (McNeil 1956a). At that time, McNeil Construction and YPC agreed to change the completion date of the cabins in Cascade Circle to August 1, 1957 to make up for weather delays; however, the rest of the project was still on schedule for a July 1 opening (Child, Jr.

1958). Work on the village continued, where possible, and by December 31, the completion estimates for the physical structures at Canyon Village (excluding electrical work, plumbing, heating, etc) were:

- 92%—Administration (registration) building
- 90%—Aspen Hill cabins
- 87%—Dormitories
- 74.4%—Canyon Lodge
- 50%—Cascade Circle cabins (Pierce 1956).

The NPS WODC staff maintained a construction office at Canyon Village during the construction project. In addition to their involvement with government projects at the village, their purpose with regard to the concessioner's projects was to protect the landscape (Hamilton 1956b). Unfortunately, the landscape at Canyon Village was a muddy mess when construction resumed around April 1, 1957 (Figure 118). Rather than clearing small spots for cabins, almost the entire area in cabin loops were denuded of vegetation—quite different from the cabin setting envisioned by landscape architects (Figure 112, inset). Muddy ground remained a problem up to and through the time of opening Canyon Village due to the presence of hydroscopic soils, lack of vegetation, insufficient drainage, and the landscape disruption caused by an enormous number of workers and large equipment (Garrison 1957a, section 21; Hallin 1960b).

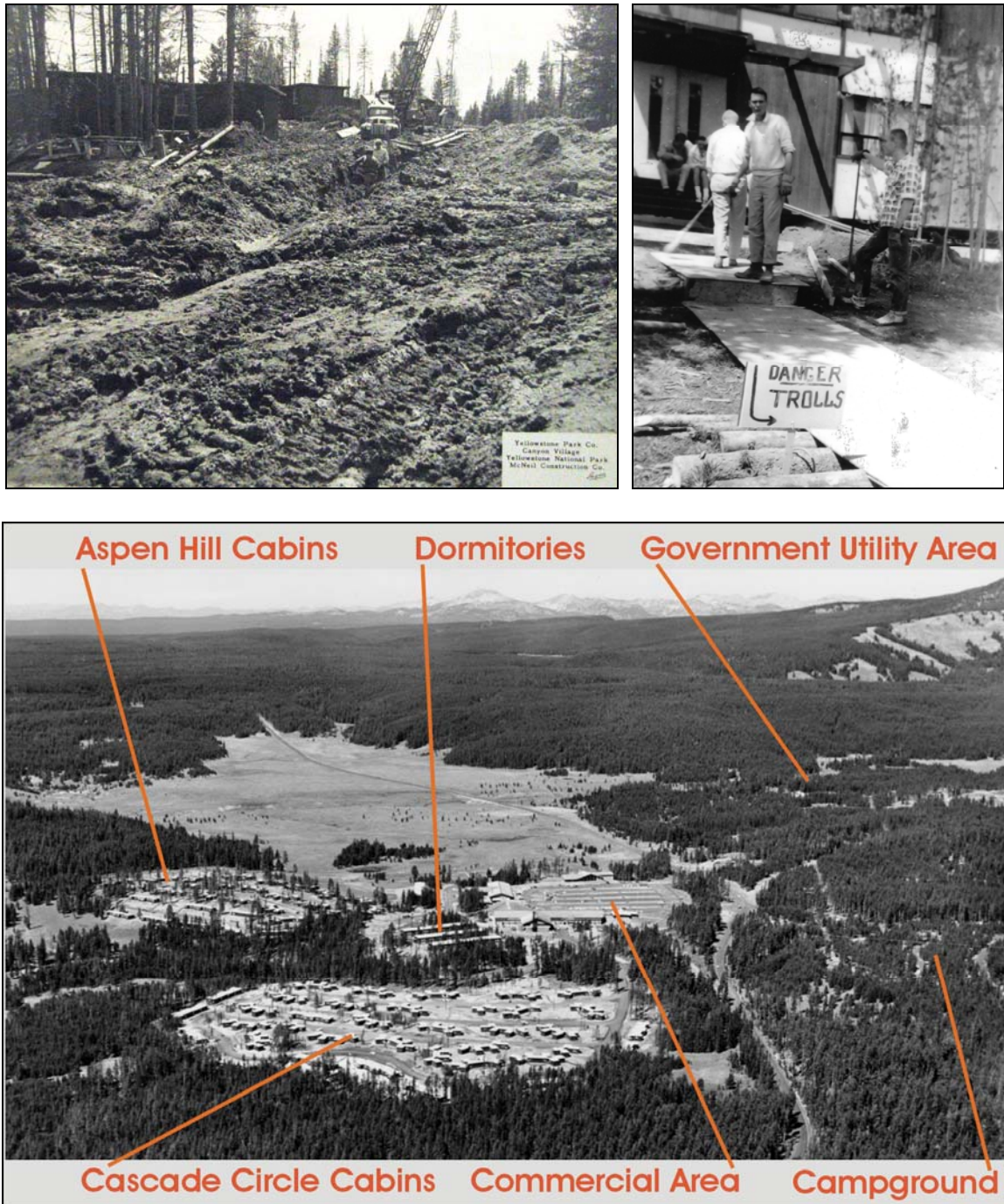


Figure 118: Canyon Village Conditions and Layout: Top left—Muddy cabin area by Haynes, 1957 (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Top right—YPC Employees Larry Thomas (center) and Don Sawyer (right) constructing a bridge over the “moat” between the men’s dorm and women’s dorm (not shown), August 1957 (Warr Collection); Bottom—Canyon Village and vegetation-stripped cabin areas, c1958 by Boucher (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

Plywood, presumably paid for under McNeil's construction contract, was used to create passable roadways over the mud in the Canyon Village area during construction (Sigrist 2005). Hallin wrote of the cabin areas:

The best description of the terrain in the spring of 1957 is "a sea of mud" Ditches that were backfilled sunk in because of the great amount of water. Open ditches were completely filled with water. Roads were a mass of mud and ruts, and crawler tractors had to be used in many cases to bring material to job sites. Conditions couldn't have been worse for destruction of what vegetation that remained. The cabin sites had been bulldozed level for construction and in many cases no provision had been made to provide drainage. As a result, an estimated 50 per cent of the cabin sites were under water, and it was impossible to get into the rooms without using plank walks" (Hallin 1960b).

Contractors had to redo work completed in fall 1956. The cabins settled significantly over the winter of 1956-57 due to footings set on unstable ground. This caused cabin floors to drop far below the base of toilets. Many if not most toilets had to be reseated in the spring before they could be used by tourists (Latimore 2005). The soft ground at Canyon Village had proven to be a huge problem.

Canyon Village Opening

The first two elements of Canyon Village that were completed were the service station and the concessioner dormitories. Charles Hamilton managed the construction of this new service station at the fourth Canyon Junction. It was designed by the Continental Oil Company (Conoco) Engineering Department in Ponca City, Oklahoma. The building was constructed using large, salmon colored, split-face concrete blocks and wood trim. When it opened in mid-June, the old service station near the Upper Falls was closed (Garrison 1957a, supplement section 2; Culpin 2003, 103; Thompson 1997a).

Concessioner dormitories for both YPC and Hamilton Stores were designed by Welton Becket and constructed by McNeil Construction concurrent to the rest of Canyon Village. The YPC dorms were built southeast of the new Canyon Lodge. The Hamilton Store dormitory was built south of (behind) the Hamilton Store. All four dormitories had two stories with approximately 50 rooms each (Thompson 1997c, Thompson 1997d).

For about four weeks until their dormitories were ready, YPC Canyon Village employees resided at Mammoth Hot Springs and at Canyon Campers' Cabins. In mid-June, when the YPC dorms were ready, the company pulled additional employees from all around Yellowstone to help with remaining tasks to meet the target opening date of July 1. About twenty former Canyon Lodge employees returned that summer as part of Canyon Village's first crew (Murray 2007; Warr email 08/25/2005). YPC employees moved the old employee bunk beds, innerspring mattresses, and linens from their old cabin dorms to their new dormitory residences. They also delivered the new village furniture from its storage place inside the lobby of old Canyon Lodge. Bits and pieces of the old Canyon Lodge were hauled away by staff members as souvenirs. Their supervisors "looked the other way" (Murray email 08/08/2005).

The experiences of Canyon Lodge employee Kurt Strempel (1954-1957) suggest the changes unfolding at the site. In 1957, he returned to work a final summer at Canyon Lodge, but the lodge he knew from previous summers had "changed its personality" from rustic to modern. It also changed from representing a complete Yellowstone tourist settlement with cabins, walkways, trails, dining room, cabin dorms, and corrals to become instead the name of a single structure used for tourist socializing, eating, and buying souvenirs. That year, the term "Canyon Lodge" identified a building at the east

edge of a large parking lot inside a much bigger place called Canyon Village. The change to a Modern style was made more poignant for Stremmel through his assigned tasks. While he was officially hired to assist guests as a porter, he spent most of his time readying Canyon Village for its opening, including hanging the new, modern, multi-colored light fixtures (Figure 120) inside the Canyon Lodge dining room (Stremmel email 08/10/2005; 10/07/2005; 09/24/2007).

On July 1, 1957, Canyon Village opened, offering tourists just 67 cabins on Aspen Hill out of a total of 512 cabins under construction (Garrison 1958, section 1; Murray email 01/26/2008; Note: Hert 2005, 31—cites 117 cabins opened July 1). Canyon Village cabins each had a toilet, sink, and shower. Each cabin was a wood, board-and-batten-sided box with a flat, gravel-covered asphalt roof. Cabins were arranged either in linear groupings with a common front or they were arranged in a branch or spoke pattern with cabins sharing a common, central porch entry (Thompson 1997b).

An afternoon, unofficial opening ceremony marked the arrival of the first guests at Canyon Village (Figure 119). The event was attended by the three concessioners, Welton Becket staff, NPS staff, decorators, contractors, designers, and newspaper correspondents. Superintendent Garrison delivered remarks and Mrs. William Nichols cut a “pine bough ribbon” declaring Canyon Village officially open, despite the fact that the vast majority of cabins were still not ready and Hamilton Store would not open until two weeks later on July 15 (Garrison 1957a, section 1, supplement section 2). Although YPC executives felt forced into building the facility, were financially strapped, and had reservations about the location and layout, they nevertheless felt some sense of pride at

having fulfilled their obligation. To YPC manager Latimore, the opening was exciting. The lodge and structures around the parking lot seemed like an attractive facility (Latimore 2005). Indeed, “Welton Becket’s Canyon Lodge, a masterful adaptation of modernist architectural design, served its functions efficiently” (Carr 2005b, 356).

The new village was described as having a “contemporary-rustic design...to match the pine forest setting” (Canyon Village Special 1957, 4). Structures in the commercial area were designed using a new architectural style dubbed “National Park Service Modern” (NPSH, 4-5). The Registration (Administration) building and Canyon Lodge were constructed of wood with field stone work at retaining walls. The Lodge’s river rock chimney, and periodic rock facings along the front “are definitely an attempt at an expression of rustic” (Thompson 1997e; Thompson 1997f; Garrison 1957b quote; Carr 2005b, 349—conflicting description citing lodge base construction materials as “slump block” pre-cast concrete units).

Despite the rustic touches, the asymmetrical gable roof, tongue-and-groove wood siding, window styling, and the seventeen glu-lam roof beams extending well beyond the building’s footprint tipped the overall impression of Canyon Lodge toward “contemporary” (Billings Gazette 1956, quote from Becket; Haynes 1957a; Haynes 1957b; Haynes 1957c). Stone and Glass, Ltd. of New York City designed the interior spaces of this new national park facility (Figure 120). To their credit were interior projects for Gulf Hills Country Club and Dude Ranch in Mississippi and the Hotel Del Prado in Mexico City (Canyon Village Special 1957, 4, 5).



Figure 119: Canyon Village Exteriors: Counterclockwise from top left—Canyon Service Station (Haynes 1959); New Canyon Lodge Cabins (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Canyon Lodge and Administration Building, 1957 by Haynes (Whittlesey Collection); Administration (Registration) Building, 1957 by Haynes (Francis Collection); Canyon Village Opening Ceremony at Canyon Lodge, July 1, 1957 (Yellowstone Museum Collection); YPC Dormitory, 1957 by Haynes (Whittlesey Collection)

Mission 66 coincided with the end of an era for Yellowstone's concessioners.

Billie Nichols, had resigned as president and served as chairman of the YPC Board at the time Canyon Village opened. Nichols transferred responsibility for YPC to his son John Q. Nichols effective January 1, 1957. Canyon Village was to be Conrad Wirth's "gold star" and YPC felt that pressure. In 1957, Ron Latimore, then YPC Manager of Reservations and Tours, witnessed the agony that Huntley Child, Jr., Billie Nichols, and John Nichols went through trying to manage the contract details during construction of such a large project under a compressed project time schedule (Latimore 2005). During the pressure and chaos of opening Canyon Village, Billie Nichols suffered a heart attack on July 28 and died from its effects on August 6 (Barringer 2002, 140; Garrison 1958, section 12—cites June 28 as heart attack date).

Yellowstone's community suffered another loss in 1957 when Charles Hamilton died. He died at Old Faithful in May before witnessing the opening of his newest store at Canyon Village (Goss 2002, 122). Hamilton's new business venture was also designed by Welton Becket with McNeil responsible for construction. It was built at the southern side of the village parking lot concurrent to Canyon Lodge and the Registration Building, although it opened to the public slightly later on July 15 (Figure 121). Its design mimicked Canyon Lodge with its gable roof, window style, tongue-and-groove wood siding, and field stone facings (Becket 1956; Goss 2002, 122; Thompson 1997g).



Figure 120: Canyon Village Interiors: Counterclockwise from top left—Mall-like walkway along the front of Canyon Lodge (Francis Collection); Canyon Lodge interior—south end (Whittlesey Collection); Canyon Lodge Dining Room (Whittlesey Collection); Canyon Lodge Bar (Whittlesey Collection); Canyon Lodge interior—north end (Whittlesey Collection); Front desk in Registration Building (Whittlesey Collection)



Figure 121: Hamilton Store at Canyon Village: Left—Parking lot and store exterior (Whittlesey Collection); Right—Store interior (YPSS Archives)

At the time of opening, the parking lot in the commercial area was hard surfaced making parking and driving easy. The medians between parking rows and the grounds around the buildings were dirt-covered without landscaping. To compensate for the lack of vegetation, the walkway to the registration building was temporarily lined with pine boughs (Figure 119). By contrast, the roads in the cabin loops and the walkways to cabins were not hard surfaced. They were muddy and were waterlogged, making travel very difficult and messy. Even in July tourists experienced difficulty driving to, and getting into, their cabin at “the vast sea of mud that was the Village.” Frequently, tourists offered a dollar tip when a YPC employee used a garbage truck to pull their car out of the mud. Sometimes heavy equipment was needed to extract a tourist vehicle. Tourists often chose to walk through the mud rather than risk getting their car stuck in it. It wasn’t until late July or early August that Studer Construction paved the Aspen Hill area. Paving during the height of the tourist season caused revenue losses for YPC when blocks of cabins were made unavailable during paving (Murray email 09/23/2007 quote; Warr email 11/26/2007; Murray email 03/16/2008).

Tourist satisfaction was an important business objective for YPC. A pleasant visitor experience could mean repeat patronage, good recommendations to other tourists, and therefore badly needed revenue. To protect its investment, YPC engaged in temporary measures until the NPS could landscape Canyon Village. With tourists offering blunt complaints about conditions, YPC drained the soil and installed wooden walks. They brought topsoil to Canyon Lodge and the Registration Building, then planted trees, grass, and shrubs. YPC stabilized banks in the Aspen Hill area using retaining walls and planted grass and lodgepole seedlings. In the Cascade Circle area, YPC installed many subsurface drainage systems, but stopped its landscaping work prior to hauling topsoil or planting (Hallin 1960b; Hallin 1961b). Superintendent Garrison vaguely conceded the undesirable conditions at Canyon Village in 1957 when he wrote, “it is likely that early visitors may suffer some inconveniences in getting to their cabins because of poor road conditions” (Garrison 1957a, supplement section 2).

Regardless of conditions, the new Canyon Village was advertised by the concessioner as a must-see feature of Yellowstone National Park. Canyon Village was described as “an enchanting new village with complete modern facilities.” The new Canyon Lodge was advertised as “modern and spacious.” It hosted a large lounge, dining room, cafeteria, coffee shop, gift shop, photo studio, and many other visitor services. Most of these services were offered from a mall-like walkway along Canyon Lodge’s glass store front (Figure 122). Guest cabins were described as “cottages” or “modern, motel-type units” each with the convenience and comfort of toilets, heat, hot water, and showers (Yellowstone Park Company brochure c1956 quotes; Haynes 1959, 137). While described as cottages, Canyon Village cabins were aesthetically in a different class from

the pitch-roofed Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel cottages designed by Robert Reamer twenty years earlier. Reamer's cottages, while equipped with just running water, were of frame construction with semi-private porches surrounded by trellises with animal-motif decorative cutouts (Quinn 2002, 157, 159).

The new Canyon facilities were very different from what tourists experienced the year before at old Canyon Lodge. The old Canyon Lodge facilities were quiet and isolated. The three individual tourist facilities were separated geographically, dividing up the area's visitation into smaller groups (Sigrist 2005). Canyon Village was much bigger: "'The largest motel in the world'" is only one of Canyon Village's many marks of distinction" (Canyon Village Special 1956, 1).

A formal dedication for Canyon Village took place on August 31, 1957, almost two months after the symbolic opening ceremony (Canyon Village Special 1957, 3). By fall 1957, a total of 387 cabins out of 512 were available for visitors (Garrison 1958, section 1—cites 500 cabins). The construction project lagged behind the completion schedule adjusted at the end of 1956. At the July opening, only 67 cabins were available in the Aspen Hill area, diminishing the income for YPC in addition to the known delay of opening cabins in Cascade Circle on August 1. In mid-July, McNeil Construction reduced their workforce on site in an effort to keep the cost of the project within the maximum that the two companies had agreed upon. This change delayed the completion of Cascade Circle cabins an additional two months until the middle of October. The delay was conservatively estimated to cost YPC \$269,469 in lost revenue, limiting their ability to pay even the interest on construction costs in 1957. To YPC this represented a breach of their contract with McNeil Construction (Child, Jr. 1958).

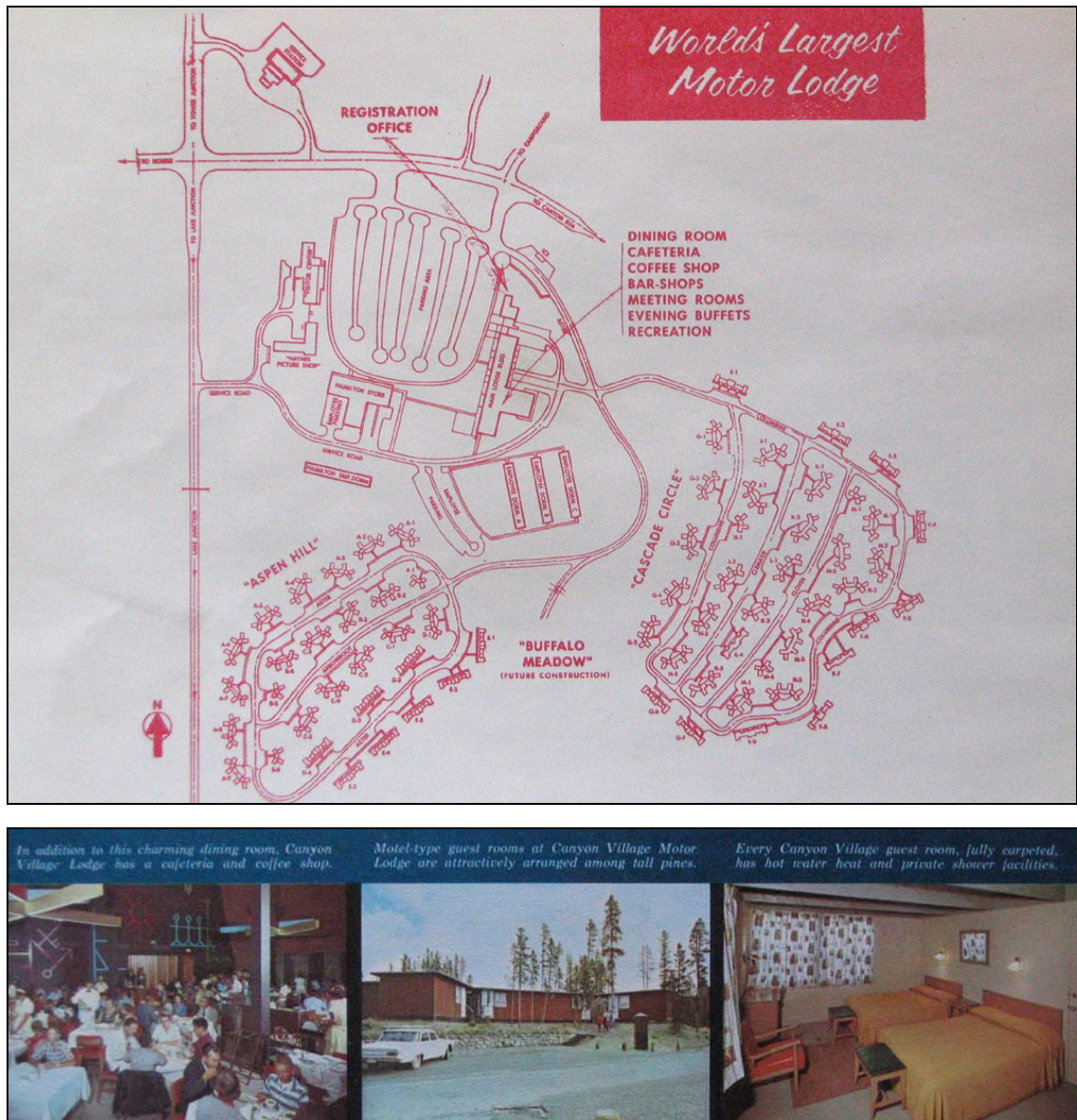


Figure 122: Canyon Village Promotional Materials: Top—Tourist location map between 1960 and 1968; Bottom—Promotional photographs of Canyon Village (YPSS Archives)

In 1957, the NPS began clearing a new visitor settlement site near West Thumb, anticipating the next large YPC investment. The YPC contract that began in 1956 required the company to invest at least \$3,500,000 for improvements at Canyon, Lake, and elsewhere in the park in the first five years of its 20-year contract. Remarkably, by

October 1, 1957, YPC had already committed \$5,896,480.79 on just Canyon Village. Indeed, in the first two years of their contract, YPC expenditures for Canyon Village alone far exceeded their park-wide investment requirements (Yellowstone Park Company 1956; Wirth 1958). In 1957, the idea for Firehole Village, the fourth generation tourist settlement slated to replace overnight accommodations at Old Faithful, was at least temporarily abandoned. The cost of Canyon Village probably played a role in that decision (Carr 2005b, 343n418; Gastellum 1959b—suggests man-made structures in the Old Faithful area may be replaced by a new “Old Faithful Village” under Mission 66).

Government Construction at Canyon Village

Government work to move the Canyon settlement away from the rims began long before Mission 66. Initial planning and surveys began in the mid-1930s using New Deal labor, NPS staff, and the Bureau of Public Roads. It continued until just prior to World War II when the grading for the Grand Loop Road bypass was started by Lowdermilk Brothers. After the war, until Mission 66 was established, the government continued to plan and contract work for road and infrastructure projects contributing to Canyon’s place transformation. At the start of Mission 66, the government finished its work on Canyon’s new campground. It opened to tourists as Mission 66 was inaugurated at the start of the 1956 tourist season (Garrison, 1958, section 1).

In summer 1957, construction on the Mission 66 government buildings at Canyon was underway. NPS projects at Canyon Village included work performed using government day laborers, but the vast majority of Mission 66 work was contracted to Cop Construction of Billings, Montana. Cop Construction successfully bid to construct the

visitor center in the commercial area. In the utility area northwest of Canyon Junction, they constructed two apartment buildings, an employee dormitory, district ranger residence, a utility building near the power house, L.P. gas system, and a wash house in the employee trailer court (Figure 123). Cop Construction also built a camp manager's residence and comfort stations in the campground (Garrison 1957a, section 1; Heubner 1957a).

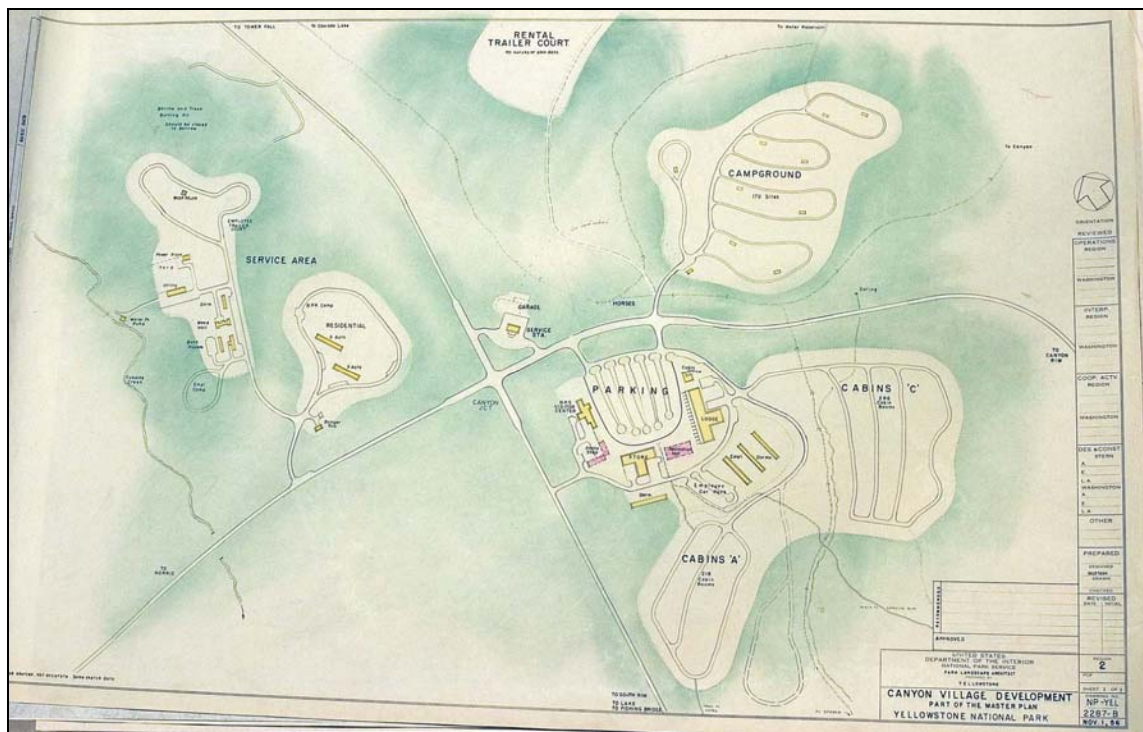


Figure 123: 1956 Canyon Village General Master Plan (Yellowstone National Park Archives)

Residences in the utility area were designed by the NPS WODC. The designers and Cop Construction had to work around problematic hydrosopic soils, which were deposited at the utility area as well as at Canyon Village and Canyon Hotel sites. The

government's project supervisor reported that the visitor center and buildings in the utility area were at least 75 percent complete by December 1957 (Haines 1993, 98; Heubner 1957b). Completion of these projects enabled the closure of the remaining government utility buildings west of Chittenden Bridge (except the CCC structures) and the Canyon Ranger Station near the brink of the Upper Falls. In 1956, a tourist rental trailer court was planned for the area just north (and probably inclusive) of the second CCC camp. Access to the trailer court was planned from the campground; however, this tourist overnight option was never built (Haines 1977b, 380; NPS 1956b).

In the Canyon Village commercial area, construction of Canyon Visitor Center was the first major federal project executed under Mission 66 (Garrison 1959b, section 6). "Visitor centers," as Wirth preferred them to be called, mimicked the popularity and arrangement of shopping centers with "one-stop convenience" and large parking lots. Visitor centers reflected a new approach to post-war tourism services and were a distinct contribution to the Mission 66 program as an entirely new type of building (Wirth 1956; Carr 2004, 85 quote). Canyon Visitor Center was designed by architects Hurt, Trudell, and Capell of San Francisco (Brown 1957). Work on the visitor center began in 1957, but it was not complete and available to tourists until 1958 (Figure 124).

For the Canyon Visitor Center, Yellowstone officials envisioned using high-quality wood siding, natural finishes, and multi-toned, broken-face masonry instead of smooth concrete blocks to provide a "less formal and more rustic" look. The front entry way was constructed primarily of plate glass, providing daylight to the interior of the building and an unobstructed view of the new large parking lot. Designers considered, but ultimately rejected, applying a bold accent color on the building's trim to mimic the

treatment of concessioner buildings for visual coherence around the parking lot (Rogers 1956d; Garrison 1957b quote).



Figure 124: Canyon Visitor Center and Amphitheater: Counterclockwise from top—Canyon Visitor Center (NPS 2001b); Dedication ribbon cutting, August 1958 (Shellenberger Collection.); Amphitheater seating under construction (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Amphitheater stage under construction (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Dedication ceremony, August 1958 (Shellenberger Collection)

The Canyon Visitor Center was dedicated on August 17, 1958. Five hundred people attended the ceremony (Garrison 1959b, section 6). The museum exhibits inside were planned and written with a “conservation message.” Planners considered requesting one of Thomas Moran’s large paintings of the Grand Canyon for the new visitor center, preferably his first, but there were concerns about the high value of the painting in a fire-prone region (Haines 1977b, 382; Bagglely 1955; Hamilton 1956a). A ranger station was planned for outside of the commercial area, probably in the utility area; however, the law enforcement functions of a ranger station were ultimately housed in the new visitor center (Canyon Village Special 1957, 2). This caused some confusion in the name of the building in the early 1960s. It was dedicated as a visitor center and was referred to that way for the first couple of years. However, by late 1960, the building’s sign changed renaming the facility “Canyon Ranger Station: Information, Museum and Visitor Center.” It was still referred to as the Canyon Ranger Station as late as 1962 (Haynes 1960; Haynes 1962, 135).

Ranger (naturalist) talks were another important visitor service provided by the NPS. The standard for delivering these talks specified that they be delivered in small, intimate settings with a campfire. At Canyon this led to an initial, but logistically and economically difficult plan to create three small amphitheaters, one each at the campground, in the cabin area, and behind the visitor center. With parking as a concern in the campground and cabin areas, and staffing levels unable to support three talks in an evening, Superintendent Rogers requested that one amphitheater with seating for up to 1,200 tourists be constructed immediately west of (behind) the visitor center. This location would take advantage of the large parking lot and the purpose of the commercial

area, which had been designed as an activity “hub.” The drawback for that location was its proximity to the Grand Loop Road (Rogers 1956c).

The NPS eventually decided to build one amphitheater away from the Grand Loop Road, but in a location that still took advantage of the large parking lot and hub of Canyon area services. Its initial design included seating in two sections. Early designs called for a closer, primary seating section for 750 visitors to provide an atmosphere more in line with NPS ideals of a more intimate setting. The design also specified a second section to be added later if needed that would increase seating capacity to 1,200 (Rogers 1956d; Garrison 1957e). Apparently, the government expected enormous patronage of the new Canyon facilities. Construction on the amphitheater was delayed until August 1957 due to limited funding. Seating capacity was significantly reduced from the initial design for a large amphitheater. Today, the amphitheater capacity is estimated to seat about 300 persons (NPSc, 176; Brown 2007). All told, the government spent more than \$3 million on infrastructure (roads, utilities, etc.), campground and amphitheater, visitor center, and structures in the utility area (Garrison, 1958, section 1).

Many concessioners, all national park superintendents, staff from the Design and Construction offices, regional office staff, and officials from Washington (including Conrad Wirth) participated in a week-long park development conference at Canyon Village and in Grand Teton National Park beginning on September 10, 1957. Attendees assessed the first Mission 66 projects completed in each park. At Canyon, the participants were split into teams of ten members. Each team toured the area, assessing the ten most important aspects of the village development. They evaluated the sewage treatment plant, concessioner buildings, government housing, roads and parking, the campground, and

canyon overlook structures and interpretive exhibits. Teams recorded their observations and reported back to the group as a whole. After their time at Canyon, the conference participants traveled to Grand Teton. The conference produced a report summarizing the findings as a means to improve future Mission 66 projects throughout the nation (Garrison 1958, section 7; NPS 157).

Finishing and Modifying Canyon Village

The last structure to be built at the Canyon Village commercial area was the Haynes Picture Shop. Haynes maintained a sales area inside Canyon Lodge in 1957, which may have continued past the opening of his separate shop (Culpin 2003, 131). The Haynes Picture Shop at Canyon Village was designed by architect William E. Grabow of Bozeman, Montana. Grabow had been a “gear jammer” at Canyon in 1947 and was one of Fred Willson’s primary architects through the end of Willson’s career (Grabow 2005; Butterfield 2000a, 6). Haynes Picture Shop sported a shallow gable roof similar to the YPC registration building (Figure 125). Its store front was almost entirely plate glass. Unlike YPC structures and Hamilton’s store, small portions of the Picture Shop exterior employed concrete block facing rather than utilizing field stone. This placed the Haynes Picture Shop design more in harmony with the adjacent visitor center (Thompson 1997h). The Haynes Picture Shop with dormitory was constructed in 1959 by Wallace Diteman of Bozeman. It was slated for completion October 1, 1959 (Garrison 1959b, section 26).

In the mid 1960s, park planners and YPC wrestled with how to provide indoor recreation facilities for tourists and employees. A recreation hall in the commercial area, part of the original plan for the village, was still proposed. It would have provided a place

for public recreation and space for meeting rooms. A separate employee recreation hall was also considered for south of the lodge near the employee dorms. In addition, the mid-1950s plan for a Community Center in the Canyon Bus Complex was still an option as late as 1965 (NPS 1964-1966, narrative 2, 3; NPS 1965b). These recreation facilities were never built. Around 1960, YPC moved the village laundry equipment from the basement of Canyon Lodge to Lake Lodge and Old Faithful. This permitted YPC to create a small, basic employee recreation hall and a small convention center with three meeting rooms. These meeting rooms ultimately became the current employee dining hall (Hallin 1960a; Hallin 1959a). Canyon Village still does not have a recreation center for employees on par with other major visitor settlements in Yellowstone (Fuller 2005).

During the 1963-1964 fiscal year, the government added more sites to the campground in an extension to the north (McLaughlin 1964, section IV). The campground's Camper Services building was still proposed in January 1966 as was the rental trailer court. By 1968, the Camper Services building, providing laundry and showers for campers, was open for business. It was designed by Graham, Scowcroft, Hansen, and Offern Architects and Engineers in Billings, Montana. The rental trailer court was never built. A new service station dormitory was constructed after 1966, and by 1968, YPC constructed its fourth employee dormitory behind Canyon Lodge (NPS 1964-1966, narrative 3; NPS 2004, section D, 5; NPS 1964-66, narrative 3).

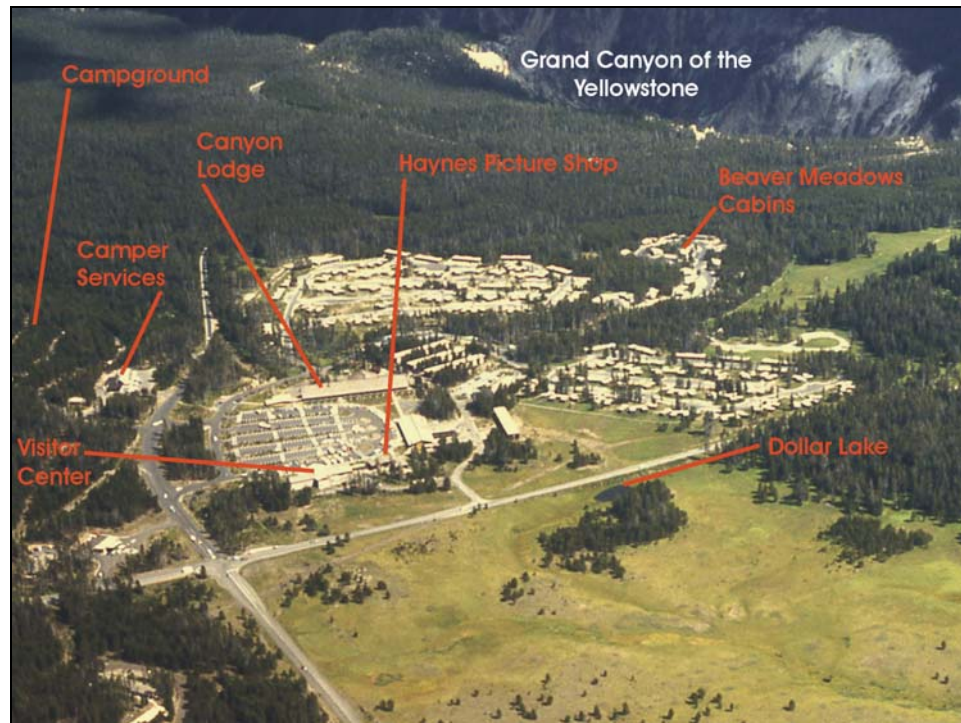
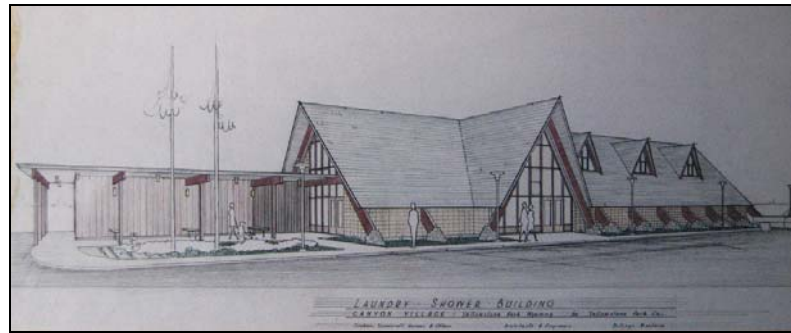


Figure 125: Canyon Village Additions: Top—Camper Services Building (Xanterra Archives); Middle—1973 air photo of Canyon Village with additions by Canter (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom left—Haynes Picture Shop (Francis Collection); Bottom right—Beaver Meadows cabin in today's "P-loop," 1997 by Peaco (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

In 1969, the cabins for the Beaver Meadows cabin loop (today's "P-loop") were built (NPS 2004, section D, 6). This was more than ten years after the first plans to complete this last cabin loop at Canyon Village. In 1958, YPC had planned to move cabins from the Canyon Campers' Cabins, arrange them back to back, and add a toilet and sink to each room (Hallin 1958a). Unfortunately, the company's financial situation caused delays. They proposed moving cabins in summer 1960, however; in 1959, YPC realized that it would be more economical to purchase prefabricated cabins for Beaver Meadows than to move old cabins and modernize them as originally planned. Unfortunately, its financial situation caused YPC to again delay the project. The Company proposed purchasing cabins in the fall of 1961 at the earliest, especially considering that the existing Canyon Village cabins were not filling to capacity. In the meantime, the NPS continued to invest in road building and utilities in Beaver Meadows. Upon learning that John Nichols was not able to move cabins in, Superintendent Garrison replied, "the government has invested more than \$200,000 in this special facility...we are not sympathetic with any move that leaves government investments of this type idle and unused." As the NPS would soon realize, YPC was financially crippled and strong-arming would make no difference (Nichols 1959; Barringer 2002, 141-142 quote).

Critical Reactions and Difficulties with Canyon Village and Mission 66

Hard feelings about Canyon Village had developed among YPC staff and management because of the financial problems, the overall layout, and the location of the facility. The company's vice president/secretary, Huntley Child, Jr., was initially enthusiastic about Mission 66, but his enthusiasm waned through time. Old Canyon

Lodge manager, Miss Eby, was initially asked to take on management of Canyon Village, but she declined. Miss Eby traveled to the park for the opening ceremony in July. Upon seeing the Formica, plastic, and chaos, she was certain she had made the right decision (Sigrist 2005; Moulton 2005; Murray 2005). After old Canyon Lodge closed, recreation director, Marty Gorder, was offered a replacement job as a park-wide recreation director based out of Mammoth Hot Springs. That year, she directed Savage Shows at Old Faithful Lodge, Canyon Hotel, and Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel. In the course of her job, Gorder visited the abandoned Canyon Lodge site on many occasions that summer. After retrieving or storing her props and costumes in the old linen room, she left feeling very emotional. Gorder was attached to Canyon Lodge and the years she had given influencing excited young folks on their way to adulthood. After decades as a Canyon Lodge leader, employee, and recreation director, Gorder ended her association with Yellowstone and YPC after 1957 (Latimore email 12/24/2007, 12/28/2007; Murray 2005).

Bruce Sigrist was the Canyon Village location manager in 1958. He recalled that tourists did not like the Village. They were paying more for the accommodations, but were unsatisfied, thinking it was just a big motel. “It is very nice but reminds us very much of nothing but a supermarket.” While they liked the food service and how close together the stores were in the commercial area, they did not like the “feel” of the place, the distance between the cabins and the lodge, and the noisiness of the cabins, which had no soundproofing (Sigrist 2005; Peckham 1959 quote).

Managers at Canyon Village were responsible for all aspects of the village operation except maintenance, which was handled out of YPC headquarters at Mammoth Hot Springs. Even with the enormous maintenance problems handled by headquarters,

the operation was so large (especially the food services) that it was difficult to make the operation successful. While the NPS described the village in 1958, as having “encouraging patronage,” the cabins did not always fill. YPC owners were afraid, because the revenue was just not there (Sigrist 2005; Garrison 1958, section 1 quote, section 6). The pressure was high to be successful at Canyon Village. Sigrist had worked as a seasonal manager for YPC for many years, but 1958 at Canyon Village proved unusually stressful. He was busy 24 hours a day “keeping my head above water...[they] expected the impossible of the managers” (Sigrist 2005).

Keeping employees happy and motivated was also difficult. There were a lot of employee problems in 1958. The operation was simply too big to create “a good feeling” for them, even though these employees had the best housing in the park. A sense of community did not develop, especially without adequate recreation facilities. There was far less camaraderie. According to Sigrist, it was possible for managers to make a difference in the experience of seasonal employees. Unfortunately, the managers at Canyon Village were under too much pressure to keep the place functioning economically to pay that kind of attention to the staff (Sigrist 2005).

Broadly speaking, there were two types of protests related to Canyon Village: First, critics were unsatisfied with the quality of the facility. Second, they disliked the design. Eventually the negative reaction to a modern design in a national park extended to the entire Mission 66 program (Carr 2005b, 372). Even before Canyon Village was complete, the new, prefabricated cabins were referred to as “‘chicken coop’ style architecture” that was odd for a national park (tourist quoted in Barringer 2002, 137). Another tourist in 1971 complained that the cabins at Canyon Village “can best be

described as a shantytown” (Levi 1971). Becket’s structures at Canyon were described by Devereaux Butcher, Executive Secretary for the National Parks Association, as “colossal and of freak design” (Carr 2004, 252). Canyon Village met such criticism because “it was stripped of associative ornamentation and was purposefully located to avoid becoming a compositional element of park scenery. By protecting the scenery, in other words, Wirth and Vint had assured that the new concession areas would never be accepted as part of it, at least not the way an earlier generation of hotels had” (Carr 2005b, 356).

The Mission 66 proposal to spend more than \$700 million on government projects nationwide was planned in just eight months. All of the park prospectuses had to be approved in 11 days. By comparison, the modern interstate highway system took more than a decade to evolve into the National Defense Highway Act of 1956 (Carr 2004, 118, 148, 187). Hallin wrote “For a project this large, a relatively short time was given for planning and design. This was an unfortunate circumstance and one which contributed to the high cost of the project...” (Hallin 1960b).

The expensive steam-heating system never worked properly; in a single month, guests summoned maintenance crews 327 times with complaints about either too much or too little heat. Underground pipes were so poorly sealed that workers flushed rocks, rubbish, and welding beads out by the bucketful, and miniature “geysers” began appearing between cabins. Plumbers had also left gaps between fixtures and the floors, allowing ground squirrels unimpeded access to bathrooms, while frost heave occurring during the winter loosened waste pipes so that toilets flushed directly onto the ground. Equally disconcerting, the bare plywood walls between cabins were devoid of soundproofing materials; hence, complaints about noise plagued company maintenance personnel. Seas of mud surrounded the cabins, as neither the YP Company nor the NPS had landscaped as plans dictated (Barringer 2002, 140).

While Yellowstone superintendent Garrison was known for his strong management skills, his experience in design and planning paled in comparison (Carr 2004, 120). Spud Murray, who was involved in the completion of the project as Canyon Village's assistant manager, suggested the problems they experienced stemmed from Conrad Wirth setting a hard and fast July 1, 1957 project completion deadline, which ultimately was not met:

Anyone with any sense would have known there was no way that [a] construction project of that magnitude in a remote area of Yellowstone Park could start in May of 1956, close down for the winter, restart in March 1957 and not have major problems. NPS, YPco, McNeil, Becket were all in over their head, but plowed blindly on because of the Conrad edict, bullied along by his hatchet man Garrison. YPco was willing to go along for they were looking at the anticipated cash flow. What that chaos did for the Savages from June to September was nothing but criminal. And what it did for the Dudes once the Village opened also was criminal. (Murray email 09/13/2007)

Canyon Village, as Yellowstone's public example of Mission 66, was just the beginning of construction work planned for parks all across the nation. While Mission 66 was promoted as a way to preserve national parks as keepers of America's heritage, the execution of the program looked much the same as modern construction for highways and urban renewal seen elsewhere all across America. Americans reacted negatively to this intrusion on park landscapes and what national parks meant to Americans (Carr 2004, 209, 339-340).

While Conrad Wirth insisted that Mission 66 was a conservation program, not a construction program, critics did not agree (Barringer 2002, 149). Devereux Butcher was quite vocal in his opposition to Wirth's plans. His protests motivated others in the

conservation community to speak out such as Olaus Murie (Wilderness Society) and David Brower (Sierra Club). Objections to the program were delivered directly to Wirth and through bitter articles in the popular press. Brower and Murie lamented the great progress toward preservation that the NPS had made over previous decades—strides that they saw as unraveling under Mission 66 (Barringer 2002, 146). There was broad criticism nationwide about developing any more acreage for tourist facilities in national parks. Opinions about developing national park tourism as a gentle, acceptable use of wild landscapes had changed. To some, construction of tourist facilities had grown to a level of destruction on par with extractive or commercial uses such as mining and logging, which were prohibited. Murie suggested that the “the symbol for Mission 66 should be the bulldozer” (Barringer 2002, 147 quote).

Even before Mission 66 was launched, critics were complaining about contemporary-style of new structures in parks in the American Southeast. Wirth responded to these critics by saying that the new, modern buildings blended with the landscape by being plain. Rustic architecture, he claimed, called attention to itself, rather than blending in (Allaback 2000, 11). Nevertheless, critics wanted structures that hearkened back to the early days of national park building. They criticized Wirth and Mission 66 for abandoning the landscape architecture and building style of the rustic era (Carr 2004, 8)

In 1963, the National Academy of Sciences added to the mounting criticism. The academy publicly claimed that Mission 66 policies had “damaged naturalness” (Barringer 2002, 162). Amidst great criticism, Wirth resigned as director of the NPS in October 1963. In January 1964 George Hartzog took over as director and canceled Mission 66

(Barringer 2002, 163-164). In direct reaction to Mission 66, environmentalists pressed for the Wilderness Act, which passed in 1964, just as Conrad Wirth left the NPS (Carr 2004, 341).

YPC Financial Difficulties

The post-Canyon Village era was a financially difficult time for YPC. The outlay for Canyon Village compounded its financial troubles with roots in YPC accounting practices, wartime revenue losses, and a tidal wave of post-war visitation (Bartlett 1989, 367). It is also unlikely that YPC was financially compensated for the loss of their investment in Canyon Lodge or Canyon Campers' Cabins (Moulton 2008). By the end of 1959, YPC funds were depleted further by additional expenses at Canyon Village in the form of unbudgeted construction and repairs. Many of these expenses resulted from contractual misunderstandings between YPC and the NPS over ground clearing and landscaping. In addition, the compressed time frame contributed to costly construction management problems, which set the stage for years of haggling and conflict with McNeil Construction over the final bill for Canyon Village (Nichols 1959; Hallin 1960b).

Tension between YPC and McNeil Construction, which had been building throughout the project, came to a head when McNeil requested that YPC make a final payment of \$217,136.24 to cover the amount that the project had over run. YPC refused to pay the extra amount, citing terms in the contract with McNeil that specified it as a guaranteed maximum arrangement, not "cost plus." According to YPC, the increased costs were due to the way McNeil Construction supervised the project. According to Huntley Child, Jr., materials were not stored properly during the winter (documented via

Haynes photographs), requiring the purchase of replacements. Child, Jr. also stated that the project was not supervised appropriately, a problem that YPC claimed it brought to McNeil's attention on several occasions, even as early as April 1957 (Child, Jr. 1958; Haines 1993, 79—inconsistently recalled Canyon Village as being a “cost-plus” job).

YPC manager Ron Latimore described McNeil's work ethic as abusive of the intent of the contract, treating the project as if it were for the federal government during World War II and “costs be damned.” According to Latimore, McNeil Construction bosses walked all over Pete Hallin—YPC's direct liaison to McNeil. It is also likely that, with the time constraints and enormous pressure, even YPC executives did not listen to Hallin's warnings about the ongoing problems at Canyon Village (Latimore 2005).

In addition, Child Jr. pointed out that construction specifications were not met, and that McNeil had kept possession of two trucks, office equipment, and an office building, which YPC had paid for through the contract. More important, McNeil had not completed the project on time. This last complaint related to a condition clearly specified in their contract. Not meeting the deadline subjected YPC to unanticipated financial losses from a reduced number of revenue units available during the summer of 1957. Child, Jr., in his complaint to McNeil, admitted his company's marked lack of experience in construction projects of this size. He pointed out what an enormous lesson the construction of Canyon Village had been to YPC, “the lesson has been learned, and we feel no compulsion to pay for it over again” (Child, Jr. 1958).

In June of 1958, McNeil and YPC reached an agreement to settle on an amount still due to McNeil. Of the \$217,136.24 still due, the two companies settled on a total final bill of \$51,118.49 to be paid in two installments, provided McNeil completed the

remaining work outlined on a work agreement. This agreement set a loss to McNeil in contractor fees of \$98,869.05—thus YPC was not alone in shouldering the financial burden of building Canyon Village. Throughout the next several months, the two companies haggled back and forth about the cabin heating, soundproofing, and other miscellaneous problems at Canyon Village that YPC resolved alone. The letters sent, some with sarcastic jabs, culminated in an additional reduction of the June 1958 bill by \$3,255.20 in January 1959 (McNeil Construction 1959; McNeil 1959; Hallin 1960b).

After YPC gained this last concession from McNeil, its Board of Directors held out on paying the last installment pending a review of the situation and counterclaims against McNeil. In January 1960, YPC still had not paid the remaining balance due (Nichols 1960a). In February that year, YPC asked to have its remaining balance cut in half, claiming that McNeil had installed faulty control valves in cabin showers (Child, Jr. 1960). This time, McNeil did not budge. Along with providing troubleshooting advice about the shower problem, McNeil's letter requested that the remaining balance be paid in full (McNeil 1960a). After the YPC Board of Directors meeting in early spring 1960, the Board authorized YPC to pay the remaining balance. McNeil was asked to be patient until July when YPC would have working capital from summer tourism to enable the payment. McNeil's reply was short: "Took Bufferin! Slowly recovering! Thanks for your consideration in this matter." On July 14, 1960, John Nichols paid the final balance accompanied by an equally short letter: "Believe it or not, here it is!" (Galusha 1960; McNeil 1960b; Nichols 1960b).

While YPC was corresponding and negotiating with McNeil Construction, the company also began preparing a claim against the federal government for \$41,436.11 to

recover the cost of landscaping that YPC completed at Canyon Village. Early in 1957, the NPS informed YPC that the government had no funds for landscaping. Consequently, YPC had to perform the work if it wanted to correct problems related to drainage, mud, and the appearance of the village to tourists. This landscaping was the responsibility of the NPS under Section 2a “Improvement Program” of the YPC 1956 contract. That section not only required the NPS to clear the locations (a task previously in contention), it also stipulated that the government would perform landscaping concurrent with the construction of the facilities (Gough 1962, Yellowstone Park Company n. d.; Hallin 1960b).

While the NPS did complete some landscaping at the village, that work took place primarily during 1958, the year after the village opened. Apparently, there was a misunderstanding of what exactly “landscaping” meant, leading to a mix of both YPC and the NPS doing landscaping. During 1957, a significant area of Canyon Village remained muddy and unattractive. YPC undertook landscaping around the commercial buildings and in both cabin areas to protect its investment. Company officials were fielding complaints from tourists about the muddy, unattractive conditions. Starting landscaping sooner rather than later seemed critical. At high elevations in the Northern Rockies, the growing season is short. YPC took a chance and completed this work expecting to be compensated by the NPS, and that resulted in this claim. Besides, “it was mutually agreed that every effort should be made to make Canyon Village an example of the benefits to be derived from this comprehensive program. Its successful completion would do much to secure future support for implementation of the objectives of Mission 66” (Hallin 1961b; Hallin 1960b quote).

Canyon Village represented a large investment by both the NPS and YPC. The concessioner's portion was built on borrowed money and was far more expensive to construct than anticipated. Instead of committing merely \$3.5 million for Canyon Village, upgrades in the Lake area, and other concessioner projects over five years, YPC was in debt, all told, more than \$6 million for just Canyon Village. Five million dollars of this debt was backed by high interest loans (Garrison 1957a, section 1; Canyon Village Special 1957, 4; Barringer 2002, 150; Haines 1993, 98). The 1957 rates to stay at Canyon Village reflected the enormous investment. Unfortunately, the cost of lodging at the village was much more than at nearby Canyon Hotel. This difference pushed tourists to the hotel, which filled nearly every night during Canyon Village's first season, and that had not happened in many years. This surprised both the government and the concessioner. They both believed that park visitors, who had previously demonstrated a preference for motels, would naturally want to stay in this facility. Many nights that season witnessed empty cabins at Canyon Village, resulting in more unanticipated revenue losses (Haines 1977b, 377; Moulton 2008—recalled that Canyon Hotel filled only a few times each summer when all other park accommodations were full).

In 1958, these acute financial problems prompted YPC to hire a consulting firm to help them look for imaginative ways to increase tourism revenue, making use of YPC facilities throughout the park. Among many proposals, the Company considered offering spring skiing on Mount Washburn again and creating a golf course in Cascade Meadows west of Canyon Village to draw more patronage (Culpin 2003, 108). That same year they also turned a critical eye to the high cost of maintaining Canyon Hotel, while it slowly slid downhill taking Canyon Village revenue along for the ride.

Occupancy rates during the 1958 tourist season were not much different from 1957 for either the Canyon Hotel or Canyon Village. YPC Construction and Maintenance Division had begun reconstruction on part of the hotel's foundation in 1957, but the Company decided to reassess the hotel's condition and its expense to rehabilitate it. Parts of the lounge foundation had risen by a foot and some walls were displaced by up to ten inches (Hert 2005, 32). YPC enlisted the help of the architectural firm Orr Pickering and Associates of Billings, Montana to complete a professional analysis of Canyon Hotel. Their assessment was not encouraging. In addition to the evident problems with the lounge foundation and wall displacement, the firm's structural engineer determined that "the major portion of the [hotel's] structural framing system is undependable. The action of water and frost have aggravated this" (Hurlbut 1957, 2).

About the hotel's guest room wings, the firm's architect wrote: "Construction detailing in these wings is identical to framing methods used for conventional one- and two-story frame residences. The combination of floor loads from 4 and 5 stories together with the above average snow and wind loads have shown this framing method insufficient and the foundations inadequate." The firm suggested that YPC initiate an economic analysis to evaluate the cost to correct the hotel's structural problems against the hotel's overall value. According to the park engineer, if the hotel were in a zoned municipality, laws would require the owner to either correct the structural problems or close the hotel's doors to the public (Graham 1957, 2 quote; Rowe 1959).

Ultimately, the consulting firm concluded that "it was not *economically* feasible to rehabilitate the building and that it should be abandoned." This decision fit within the framework set by Yellowstone's Concessions Working Group, which met at Wirth's

request in February 1955. This working group determined that Yellowstone's Mission 66 goals included not building any more hotels. In addition, current hotels would be removed once they were no longer financially viable for the concessioner (Hert 2005, 32 quote—emphasis added; Culpin 2003, 105). The Canyon Hotel did not reopen after the 1958 tourist season. Superintendent Garrison wrote in his 1959 annual report that the hotel “has become structurally unsound and it has been determined that it is no longer safe to have visitors enjoy its hospitalities....it will be razed and the land it occupies will be restored to natural conditions” (1959, section 17).

Curiously, in the early- to mid-1950s, the 1912 pamphlet “A Miracle in Hotel Building,” which chronicled and dramatized the construction of Canyon Hotel, was reprinted by YPC (Davis 2005). Apparently, just prior to Mission 66, YPC wanted to generate interest in the hotel, implying a sense of pride in the structure and possibly their commitment to its continued use. Indeed, in September of 1957, YPC began a project to replace the Canyon Hotel lounge foundation: “It is our intention to bring the porch level back to its original elevation and jack the distorted columns and trusses of the lounge proper back into position. In addition to the work on the building itself, we also intend to install a sub-drainage system around the building, remove the existing glacial till and replace it with obsidian sand” (Hallin 1957). By all appearances, YPC planned to correct the problems affecting the lounge and continue using the Canyon Hotel.

Unfortunately, by the end of the decade, after going into exorbitant debt with Canyon Village, YPC's commitment to investing in the Canyon Hotel changed. The decision to abandon the Canyon Hotel was based more on financial considerations than on whether it was possible to rehabilitate the hotel (Rowe 1959). In his two volume

history of Yellowstone National Park, historian Aubrey Haines relayed his opinion on why the hotel was abandoned in a footnote:

The decision was rationalized by arguments to the effect that the foundations of the hotel were unsafe. They *had* suffered somewhat from the instability of the site over the forty-seven years the enormous structure was in use, but that chronic difficulty had never been more than maintenance could cope with; the real basis of the decision was financial—a simple choice between a capital investment on which interest had to be paid and one long ago amortized out of existence. (Haines 1977b, 423n12 emphasis in original)

Adeline Moulton, former YPC executive secretary suggested that YPC had too many buildings to maintain, considering the short season for generating tourism revenue (Moulton 2008). Continuing to carry liability insurance for the hotel if it was simply closed and left standing may have been unattractive as well. Prevalent post-war “slum clearance” attitudes probably influenced the decision. Today, a structure with the history and stature of Reamer’s Canyon Hotel would not only be rehabilitated (whatever the cost), it would be a National Historic Landmark (McDonald 2008).

The concessioner’s financial situation was not mentioned when announcing the hotel’s closing (Department of the Interior, National Park Service n. d.). Any connection between the demise of the revered Canyon Hotel and YPC’s dire financial straits was probably unpalatable. Canyon Village, as the highly publicized Mission 66 demonstration project, could not be known as a source of financial difficulties for YPC (Garrison 1959c). YPC was clearly searching for ways to balance its books, which was also a concern for the NPS. The company’s financial situation since the beginning of its last contract in 1956 was “discouraging, and the ability of the Company to carry out its

obligations under the Service's Mission 66 program is at stake" (Garrison 1961, section V quote). Unfortunately, within a year of closing the Canyon Hotel, YPC realized that the money it saved by not operating the Canyon Hotel did not make up for the amount of tourism revenue the hotel had brought to YPC (Nichols 1959—Note: this may not reflect the cost to properly rehabilitate the structure). Adding to YPC's financial woes, the 1959 Hebgen Lake earthquake cost the company at least \$400,000 in lost revenue after the earthquake terminated the tourist season prematurely. It also cost YPC \$20,000 in repairs (Nichols 1959).

In 1960, marking the beginning of the end of the Nichols Yellowstone Park Company, its management was placed under control of a Board representing the bank that financed Canyon Village (Haines 1977b, 377; Garrison 1961, section V). That year, Huntley Child, Jr. resigned of his own accord. The following year, a series of other high-level YPC executives resigned under pressure, including President John Nichols, Vice President Tom Hallin, and Controller Fred Burke (Barringer 2002, 155; Moulton 2008). During the summer of 1964, even after Mission 66 was cancelled, the park's superintendent exerted pressure on YPC to provide plans for financing and constructing Grant Village. However, in June 1965, the new management of YPC officially notified the NPS that it could not construct Grant Village, which was projected to cost \$6 million. YPC did not have the financial resources and did not see it as a profitable venture (Barringer 2002, 166-168).

Overwriting and Erasing the Old Canyon Cultural Landscape

Once Canyon Village was well established as a fourth generation park accommodation, YPC and the NPS began removing the old Canyon settlement. Although the old settlement entered a period of quiescence, it was not silent. Day-use tourists still slammed car doors, directed children to restrooms, walked the trails discussing where to eat lunch, and remarked about the canyon's beauty. Meanwhile, YPC moved guest cabins to other park settlements and contracted for the removal of Canyon's second and third generation service buildings, hostelryes, and infrastructure. Contractors working near the rims added the sound of jack hammers, pry bars, bull dozers, and the crackling sound of refuse burning.

Canyon Hotel Removal

The decision to close and remove the Canyon Hotel was collateral damage in Wirth's Mission 66 plan—it was a casualty, not a target. The loss of Canyon Hotel also reflected the prevalent, post-war attitude of “out with the old, in with the new.” Rod Wheaton, former NPS cultural resources executive, has lamented the loss of Canyon Hotel as “one of the great architectural losses in Yellowstone National Park” (McDonald 2008; Wheaton 2000, 16). Once the decision to close Canyon Hotel was made, YPC again, but only briefly, considered moving the hotel's west wing, this time to the Lake area. The Company recouped part of its investment in the hotel by removing equipment and furnishings that were transferable to its other tourist locations. In August 1959, YPC accepted bids from other companies to commit time, labor, and equipment to remove the rest of the hotel in return for its salvageable materials. They awarded the contract to

Carlos Construction Company of Cody, Wyoming, accepting its bid of \$25. The contractor was granted 900 days, well more than two years, to gradually salvage, then demolish the rest of the hotel. During the summer of 1959, bits and pieces of the Canyon Hotel, such as brass beds, light fixtures, windows, and brass door handles, were laid out in the hotel's lounge for sale to the public. In communities around Yellowstone, recognizable hotel relics today still adorn homes and businesses, especially in Cody, Wyoming and Gardiner, Montana (Culpin 2003, 109-110; Hert 2005, 33; Chapman 2005; McPherson 2005—recalled notice of an opportunity to obtain hotel salvage publicized in Gardiner, Montana and Mammoth Hot Springs).

Carlos Construction Company dismantled and removed most of the valuable parts of the hotel through the winter of 1959-1960 (Figure 126). At night time in the summer of 1960, park employees were known to play inside the abandoned hotel (i.e. sliding down its laundry chute). On the evening of August 8, 1960, after Carlos Construction had salvaged most of the infrastructure, such as pipes, radiators, and elevators, the upper floors of the center of the hotel caught fire and spread rapidly through the wooden hotel frame that remained. By 4 a.m., the hotel was flattened, ironically except for foundation of the revered lounge. The fire also destroyed the closest dormitory behind the hotel. Carlos Construction Company abandoned their work almost immediately and did not finish the demolition, breaking their contract with YPC. The charred remnants of the hotel remained on site through the summer of 1962. YPC eventually contracted with Tom Kardash of Livingston, Montana to complete the work begun by Carlos Construction Company (Haines 1977b, 377; Haines 2000; Hert 2005, 34-35; Hert 2001, 7; Mattson 1962; Garrison 1962).



Figure 126: Canyon Hotel Removal: Top—Canyon Hotel and Canyon Lodge in winter, between late 1940s and 1954—dates: after LP gas tanks installed at Lodge, before removal of Cascade Creek high bridge (Whittlesey Collection); Bottom left—Canyon Hotel dismantling (Whittlesey Collection); Bottom right—Canyon Hotel fire at 2 a.m., August 8, 1960 (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

The origin of the fire has long been a topic of speculation and park lore. The fire was never investigated. Park Historian Aubrey Haines suspected that the fire was accidentally caused by Lake area park employees. According to two former YPC managers, the common Company understanding at the time was that the contractor set fire to the hotel after removing most of the salvageable materials. However, the

contractor lost heavily when tools and trucks left on site were also lost in the fire. Carlos Construction had also, just days before, cancelled its fire insurance, thus eliminating payout as a motive. The Canyon Hotel fire remained a topic of discussion even decades later when individuals claimed to have been the person who sprinkled the kerosene or dropped the fateful match (Hert 2000; Haines 2000; Sigrist 2005; Latimore 2005; Hert 2005, 35; Fuller 2005—middle-aged male visited Fuller at his Canyon home c1980, unannounced, claiming he helped set the hotel fire by pouring the kerosene). If Carlos Construction did save time and labor by setting the fire, it could explain the timely change in Carlos Construction insurance coverage.

YPC as the lessee of that land was responsible for the final landscaping of the hotel site. They completed landscaping work in 1962 in association with converting the site to a new horse concession operation for Canyon Village tourists (Culpin 2003, 110; Yellowstone Park Company 1961; Yellowstone Park Company 1962; Hallin 1961a; Hert 2005, 35; Mattson 1962; Garrison 1962).

Canyon Lodge Removal

With the opening of Canyon Village in 1957, Canyon Lodge and its cabins located on the South Rim between the two falls was abandoned and plans for dismantling the facility were made. One of the first structures removed from Canyon Lodge was the Hamilton dormitory on June 18, 1958. Unfortunately, while the dorm was en route to Old Faithful along the Grand Loop Road, another vehicle crashed into the back of the truck transporting it. A passenger of the car, an Old Faithful Lodge employee, died in the

accident (Garrison 1958, section 2; Culpin 2003, 125—dorm may have been used for Old Faithful YPSS housing).

YPC contracted for the removal of the vast majority of Canyon Lodge with Walter Myers and Lawrence Christensen, both of Virginia City, Montana. An agreement signed in November 1958, launched the 1959 dismantling and demolition of the lodge and removal of many support buildings, including the dude (tourist) bath house, recreation hall, barn with corral, old barn, old powerhouse, blacksmith shop, powerhouse, old light plant, and many employee cabins and dormitories. The agreement permitted the Virginia City men to move, demolish, tear down, or burn buildings on site. In return, Myers and Christensen could salvage any reusable structures or materials for profit. Rubble and non-combustible materials were either buried on site or transported to the local dump on the old cutoff road from Norris Geyser Basin three miles from the Lodge site. Wood materials that were not salvaged, buried on site, or brought to the dump were prepared as firewood. The contractor stored firewood at the Lodge's wood yard on Woodchopper Hill before selling it back to YPC for \$12 per cord (Hallin 1958b; Hallin 1958c; YPC 1958, 1-5; NPS 1965—shows corral still on site). During the process of dismantling and demolition Canyon Lodge, Marty Gorder traveled to Yellowstone and revisited the site of her beloved Canyon Lodge. At the time of her visit, only the masonry fireplaces were still standing (Figure 127). Kurt Stempel recalled Gorder saying “I just sat on a log and could not stop crying” (Stempel email 09/24/2007).



Figure 127: Canyon Lodge Dismantling: Top left—Willson's 1925 lobby west and east fireplaces still standing; Top right—Dismantling of original Shaw and Powell dining room and 1921-1923 kitchen addition (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Bottom—Cabin removal work underway, July 1959 (lodge site circled), with tourists parked at Upper Falls eastern overlook parking area (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

The buildings that housed heavy physical plant equipment at the lodge, such as the boiler room and the old log building that housed the electrical generator, were not moved in 1959. These were permitted for removal after fall 1959 (probably in summer 1960) due to complications related to load limits on Chittenden Bridge (Hallin 1959b). Once the majority of structures were removed from the site, YPC sold the water tank and water system infrastructure to Chris Haugen of Cody, Wyoming. Haugen bought the system for \$235.20 including the recoverable salvage, which included the 100,000 gallon water tank, pumps and pump house along the river below Upper Falls, and the pipeline from the river bank to the storage tank. Superintendent Garrison suggested that the contractor work with the NPS in the field to determine how to remove the pipeline from the canyon's wall and near its rim to minimize damage. Also complicating the removal of the water system was the weight of the storage tank. It exceeded the load limit on Chittenden Bridge. Ultimately, it was removed from the park by floating it across the river above the bridge and trucking it out of the park via the South Entrance, probably under a special permit for transporting large loads (Hallin 1959c; Garrison 1959a).

Although buildings such as the old recreation hall (labeled "storage bldg" on plat) could have been burned on site to facilitate removal, the contractors were able to find a home for the old recreation hall and three other Canyon Lodge structures. Charles Bovey purchased these buildings for his historic structures museum at Nevada City, Montana. Materials from the Shaw and Powell-era dining room (logs and flooring) and logs from the old recreation hall were used to build Nevada City's wagon shop and music hall, respectively. The linen room with its upper floor dormitory and the dude (tourist) bath house were reconstructed quite faithfully. The linen room is very recognizable as the

back wing of the Nevada City Hotel. The dude bath house is a smaller, less prominent building on the northwest corner of California and Brewery Streets, rebuilt with a slightly less severe roof pitch than the original (Godsey 2006, 107-109).

YPC proposed moving 200 of the Canyon Lodge cabins to Lake Lodge where they would be modernized (Canyon Village Special 1957, 5). Cabins were also sold to the public for \$300 plus transportation costs. Others were reportedly moved to West Thumb, Fishing Bridge and Roosevelt Lodge. Roosevelt Lodge also received the carpenter shop and horse stalls, although the corral was removed later in 1965 (Bush email 08/13/2005, 06/22/2007; Culpin 2003, 112, 125; NPS 1965b; NPS 1966). In October 1960, only three women's dorms were left near the site of old Canyon Lodge (Savage Gulch, Sleepy Hollow, and Duck Inn), along with a few other structures. It is likely that these three four-room dorms were moved to Old Faithful Lodge for employee housing. Decades later, crews removed hundreds of tossed ducks (chamber pots) and their covers from the upper canyon at Duck Point (above Lower Falls). Ducks were still present below Duck Point in the 1970s, along with a few flat-top wood stoves used in the cabins (Warr email 07/21/2005; Murray email 12/22/2007; Culpin 2003, 112).

West Rim Settlement Removal

With the opening of tourist services at Canyon Village, the West Rim stores were eventually closed and removed. Even with the new campground present (opened in 1956), the old Canyon Campground may have been available to tourists as late as 1962 (Haynes 1962, 130). The Hamilton Store and filling station at Canyon's West Rim served tourists at least through the summer of 1956, but probably was not open in 1957. The old

store was not open in 1958 (Haynes 1957, 135—not on map or in text; Shellenberger email 07/05/2005). Haynes Picture Shop (Figure 128) may have been open through the early part of the 1959 season while Haynes built his new picture shop at Canyon Village that same year. Haynes' empty shop was used from 1959 until 1961 as headquarters and lodging for the Craighead grizzly bear research team until they moved operations to the Canyon Bus Complex. Haynes' West Rim shop was razed in 1961 (Haynes 1959, 133; Craighead email 02/26/2008; Culpin 2003, 131).

The Canyon Ranger Station with community center operated at the West Rim through 1958 while the new so-called "visitor center" was under construction (Shellenberger email 07/05/2005, 08/16/2005; Shellenberger 2002, 6). The ranger station may have been functioning concurrently with the visitor center during 1959, the same year it was removed (Haynes 1959, 133; Haines 1977b, 414n46). Ranger talks were delivered at the old Canyon Campground amphitheater until the new amphitheater was constructed at Canyon Village in August 1957 (Haynes 1957, 135).

While YPC deliberated how to finish building accommodations at Canyon Village, the Company's third generation accommodation at the canyon's West Rim remained open to tourists, although some of its cabins were moved to other tourist locations as early as the fall of 1958. By 1958, this rustic cabin tourist settlement near the campground was referred to as Canyon Campers' Cabins. During 1958, its cafeteria was not operational, although the upper floor of the building was still used as a dormitory for both men and women. Campers' Cabins guests utilized Canyon Village services, and staff members were bussed to the village for their meals. John Shellenberger, a Campers' Cabins washroom porter in 1958, recalled that tourists could enter the cabin area from

both the Grand Loop Road (Figure 129) and the Ranger Station near Upper Falls. Bears were still quite a nuisance, raiding garbage cans and spreading refuse on the ground.

Employees remained unofficial bear managers in 1958 as well (Garrison 1959c;

Shellenberger email 07/05/2005, 07/16/2005, 07/17/2005).

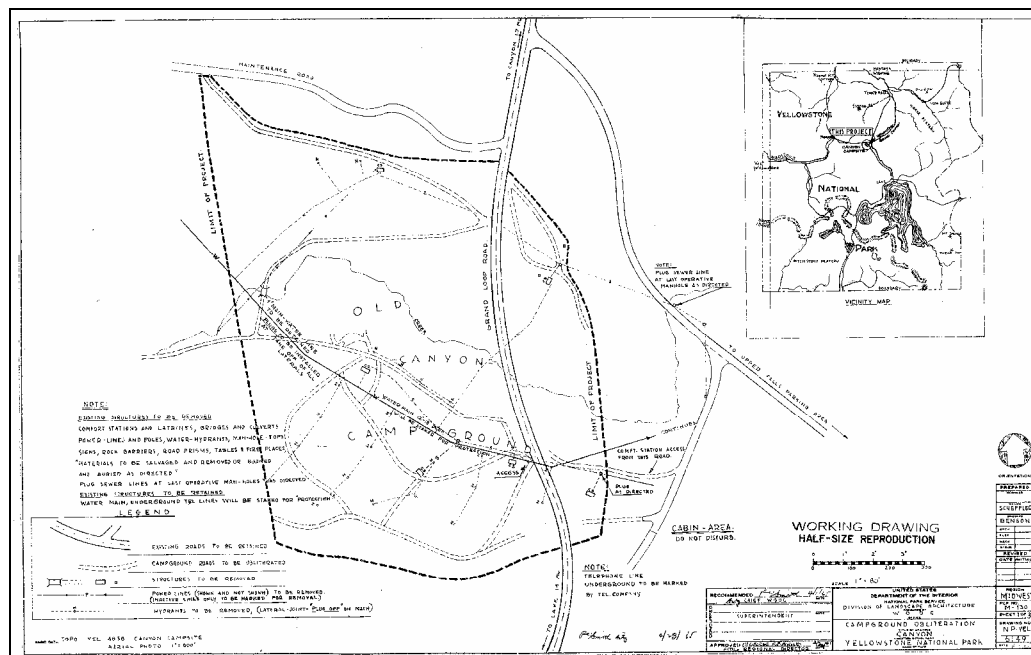


Figure 128: Haynes Picture Shop and Campground Removal Plan: Top—Haynes Picture Shop, 1958, by Haynes (Whittlesey Collection); Bottom—Campground obliteration plans, April 1965, showing Canyon Campground bisected by Grand Loop Road (NPS 1965a)



Figure 129: West End of Canyon Campers' Cabins in 1958 with Grand Loop Road traveler in background (Shellenberger Collection)

Canyon Campers' Cabins hosted tourists and provided revenue for YPC into the early 1960s. It also housed some Canyon area employees. In 1961, 125 cabins were still available for use (Haynes 1962, 130, 133; Follows email 07/13/2005; Latimore 1961). Park planners and YPC hoped to move and modernize these cabins for use in the Beaver Meadows cabin loop at Canyon Village, but later decided against moving the structures. In 1965, the building that housed the cafeteria and office was removed, along with 55 cabins. The tourist facility was not open in 1966. Planners proposed to create a parking area at the site of the cafeteria and office as well as picnic grounds east of the cabin area in the trees ironically where the "wild ducks" had been tossed, but this picnic area was never constructed. By February 1966, all of the old Canyon settlement at the West Rim

was gone and merely a memory (NPS 1965b; NPS 1966; Whittlesey 2003, 11; Haynes 1966, 133; NPS 1966, narrative 3).

Canyon Bus Complex Removal

After the Canyon Hotel was closed, the structures at the Canyon Bus Complex were targeted for removal, along with the rest of the old Canyon settlement near the canyon. For a brief period of time, YPC continued to employ and house bus drivers in the Canyon area, though the market for full park tours had diminished significantly. In 1959, the road to the top of Mount Washburn was reopened for YPC chartered bus trips staffed by Canyon's drivers. Canyon drivers shuttled tourists to the summit every half hour from a new parking lot on the mountain's north side, because private vehicles were not permitted. Canyon drivers offered this service during the summer months through at least 1972 (Whittlesey 2001, 6; Garrison 1959b, section 28; Garrison 1960, section 11; Wyckoff 2008).

The bus complex mess house and adjacent buildings were used as concessioner housing, though plans to remove these structures along with the three driver bunkhouses and the Cody Bunkhouse were noted as early as 1961. However, with the impending removal of the Haynes Picture Shop near the West Rim, the renowned grizzly bear researchers, Frank and John Craighead and team, needed a different place for their headquarters, which had been at Haynes' old shop since 1959. YPC and the NPS assigned the bus complex mess house and adjacent cabins to the Craigheads for their ongoing summer research project (Whittlesey 2001, 10; Craighead email 02/26/2008).

The Craigheads' thirteen-year project was headquartered at these two Canyon locations from 1959 until 1968, utilizing buildings that the NPS planned to remove from Canyon's cultural landscape. At the Canyon Bus Complex, the Craighead team of researchers lived in the residential wing of the mess house and cabins immediately to the east. The kitchen wing and main hall were used by the team for meals and as a research laboratory (Figure 130). The Craigheads' study provided groundbreaking and badly needed knowledge about Yellowstone's grizzly bears. Above and beyond that, their research popularized the idea of a greater Yellowstone "ecosystem" and marked a renaissance in the use of radio telemetry in wildlife studies (Craighead email 02/26/2008; Craighead 1979, 4, 26, 199; Schullery 1986, 105).

The Craighead research team carefully captured grizzlies, recorded basic statistics, and fitted them with radio collars. They then monitored the bears' far-ranging movements from their Canyon laboratory (Figure 130), part of which they converted to a telemetry base station. Day and night for years, summer researchers inside the Canyon base station listened to electronic sounds indicating the activities of individual grizzlies up to 20 miles away. When bears moved too far from the base station (or a supplemental radio field station eight miles south), the Craigheads electronically monitored bears on foot, from cars, from air planes, and from peaks such as Mount Washburn. From high-elevation locations such as Mount Washburn, the Craigheads gained access to a vast, unprecedented remotely sensed grizzly study area (Craighead 1979, 26).

During this time of transition at Canyon, park managers were focused on getting rid of old facilities and bringing in replacements such as the new concessioner Community Building and its parking lot planned for the site of the driver bunkhouses

Removal of structures on the north side of the bus complex (driver bunkhouses, repair garage, and Bull Pen) was planned to make room for the Community Building (NPS 1964; NPS 1965b, NPS 1969). In the mid-1960s, YPC was still trying to recover both financially and politically from the fallout of creating Canyon Village. The company was run by representatives of the village's mortgage holder and they were on the verge of notifying the NPS that they could not build Grant Village. It is possible that their lack of financial resources caused YPC to place construction of the proposed concessioner Community Building on hold. Ultimately, the structure was never built.

In 1965, the Yellowstone community was within seven years of celebrating the park's Centennial in 1972. A project not requiring a YPC capital expenditure was a "Beautification Program," under which the continued clean up of the Canyon Bus Complex fell. NPS and YPC officials traveled to Canyon in the summer of 1965 to discuss the site. The group decided that the tin storage shed, the older portion of the Bull Pen, and the buildings used by the Craigheads could stay, but debris around the rest of the site, including the foundations of already removed structures needed to be cleaned up. As part of the Beautification Program, the remaining portion of the Bull Pen, the repair garage and the tin shed were targeted for a new coat of paint. Not mentioned in correspondences but also still on site were the driver bunkhouses, which may have been in use for concessions staff housing (Whittlesey 2001, 10, NPS 1969).

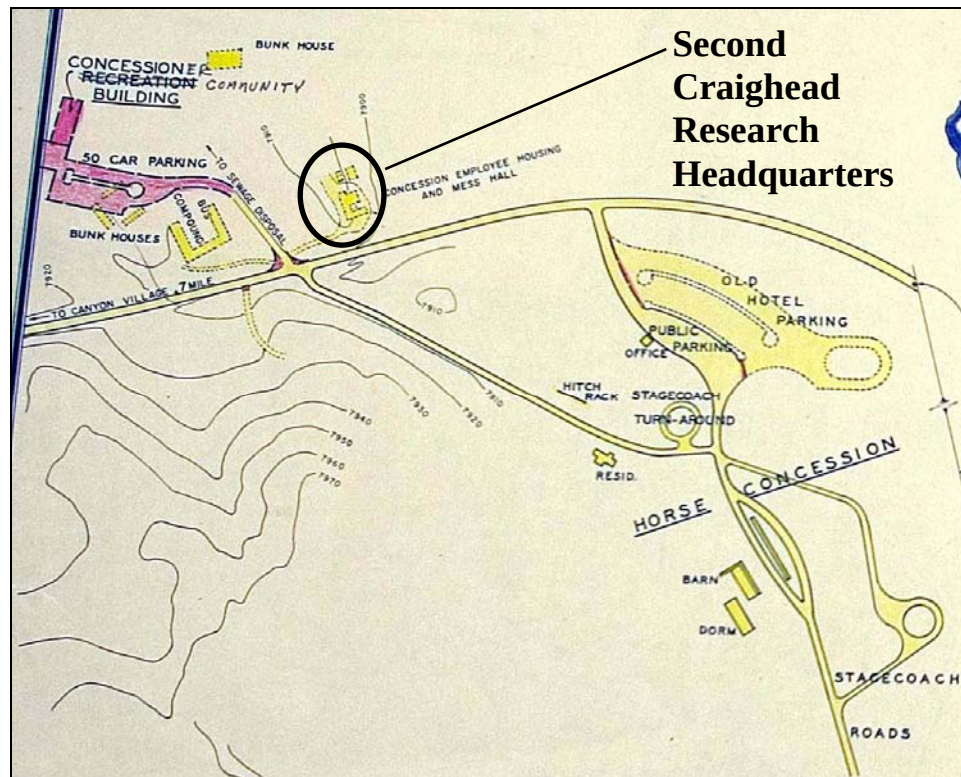


Figure 130: Canyon Bus Complex, Craighead Lab, and New Saddle Horse Operation: Top—John Craighead plotting the home range of a grizzly in the Canyon laboratory and base station, probably at the mess house (Craighead 1979); Bottom—Detail of June 1964 Canyon master plan location of proposed Community Building and Craighead headquarters (NPS 1964)

Meanwhile, the Craigheads were in the sixth year of their grizzly bear study in Yellowstone—the fourth year located at the bus complex mess house. The relationship between the Craigheads and the NPS was cooperative; however, from early on there existed a certain level of tension between the researchers and park administrators. These scientists were gathering data and gaining great knowledge about a highly political park resource—the grizzly bear. In spring 1967, as Yellowstone’s managers were considering how and when to close the park’s dumps (for decades an undesirable yet significant food source for grizzlies), the Craigheads submitted an unsolicited draft advisory document hoping to influence the NPS with its decisions. The release of “Management of Bears in Yellowstone National Park” brought the existing tensions between the Craigheads and NPS managers to a head. Managing park resources was the responsibility of the NPS. The Craighead’s management plan, and reaction to it, generated debate, confusion, and misunderstandings over how each party thought grizzly bears should be managed in Yellowstone. The debate was followed very closely in the media, which escalated tensions. Throughout the next several years (and beyond) these differences developed into emotionally charged dialog and controversy about management of Yellowstone’s venerated grizzly bears (Craighead 1979, 194; Schullery 1986, 104-136).

About a year after the release of the draft document (fall 1968), just as the bear management conflict was starting to take shape, the removal of the Canyon mess house became the next priority in the continued clean up of the Canyon Bus Complex. The mess house was razed and burned. For the remainder of their study, the Craigheads moved their operations and staff to their personal house trailer, although their research agreement included housing provided by the NPS. To the Craigheads, removing the mess

house was part of a concerted effort to disrupt their research. The NPS claimed the mess house was removed in preparation for the park's Centennial celebration (Craighead 1979, 199). Whichever it was, the Craigheads' use of the mess house occurred amidst decades-old NPS and YPC plans to transform Canyon's cultural landscape.

Removing the Canyon mess house further damaged the relationship between the Craigheads and the NPS, although their study did continue in Yellowstone until 1971. The loss of their centrally located headquarters contributed to the developing "perfect storm" of politics, academic freedom, and bureaucratic control surrounding the complex and emotionally charged maturation of Yellowstone's grizzly management plan (Craighead 1979, 199, 208; Schullery 1986, 107). For ten years, Old Canyon's waning cultural landscape fortunately was available to host the Craigheads' ground breaking research on grizzly bears and much of what we know today as the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem.

In September 1969, the driver bunkhouses, five adjacent cabins, the repair garage the northeastern (older) portion of the Bull Pen, and the tin shed were still on site. In 1970, the NPS conducted an inspection of the site determining that the only structures to be kept were the tin shed and two cabins that were residences, but the cabins were slated for removal the following summer. By the mid-1970s, only the tin shed remained. The tin storage shed was removed in 1996 as part of the contract to enlarge the sewer treatment plant along the canyon's north rim (NPS 1969; Whittlesey 2001, 11—mentions park rumor of a *second* Craighead "bulldozing event" involving cabins in the early 1970s, which is not mentioned as such in Craighead 1979; Tompkins 1994).

Canyon Hotel Site Converted to Horse Concession

With the loss of the Canyon Hotel, its disturbed lease area was selected as the location of the YPC saddle horse operation after consideration of other sites. Since before 1947, while the Canyon Hotel was operational, it had its own hitch rack and adjacent horse concession, relieving the Canyon Bus Complex of that purpose (Whittlesey 2001, 9). The recently closed Canyon Lodge settlement also included saddle horses for hire with corral and barn, generating revenue and contributing to Canyon Lodge's culture and sense of place.

Constructing a replacement saddle horse facility for Canyon Village lagged behind the initial plan of village construction. In late 1956 while Canyon Hotel was still open, planners chose a site north of the village parking lot (near the current amphitheater) for the hitch rack. Hired saddle horses would have been led to the hitch rack along a trail near Cascade Circle from the stables, which were planned for south of the village, probably at the Canyon Bus Complex (NPS 1956). In 1957, Yellowstone's landscape architect and superintendent considered using the eastern or southern side of the current Canyon Bus Complex for both YPC and NPS corrals and barns. This choice presumably took advantage of the existing corral and stables structures used during the stagecoach era of transportation (Garrison 1957c). Other sites under consideration included an area west of the Canyon Hotel in the Cascade Creek drainage and an area on a ridge in the trees near the hotel's existing hitch rack, which was north of the hotel parking lot (Mattson 1957). The NPS also considered simply renting corral and barn space from YPC, but eventually settled on minimizing its expenses. Instead the NPS chose to continue using the current CCC-constructed barn and corral southwest of Chittenden Bridge, both of

which are in use today. Their expenditure for that decision consisted of adding improved access to that site in the form of a new road section completed sometime after February 1966 (Garrison 1957d; NPS 1966).

In spring 1961, YPC constructed and began operating a saddle horse concession above the Canyon Hotel's unsightly charred remains and foundation, which were still in place. YPC offered both horseback and stagecoach rides in 1961. To build the facility, YPC originally planned to move a large building from Canyon Lodge for use in hay storage. The Company also planned to move cabins to the corral area for wrangler housing, because the bunkhouse in the Canyon Bus Complex was slated for removal. However, they chose instead to use both of the hotel's still-standing men's dormitories for these purposes. The men's dorm closest to the hotel foundation was converted into a hay barn, to which YPC attached a corral (Figure 131). The hotel's second men's dorm farther uphill was retained as wrangler housing. YPC completed its work removing the Canyon Hotel remains when YPC's new contractor Tom Kardash obliterated the hotel foundation and contoured the lease area in the fall of 1962. At this time the parking lot remained. The hotel winterkeeper's quarters was also retained nearby as housing for the winterkeeper, whose focus changed from the hotel to Canyon Village (Hallin 1961a; Yellowstone Park Company 1961; Haynes 1961, 137; Mattson 1962; Yellowstone Park Company 1962; Garrison 1962; NPS 1966).



Figure 131: Canyon Hotel Structures Retained: Top—Men's Dormitory Converted to Hay Barn, by Peaco, 1992 (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom—Winterkeeper's quarters, 2005 (author photo)

Touring Changes at Canyon

Overlook construction at the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone evolved from primitive pole and rail fencing to dimensioned lumber in the early 1900s. In the 1930s, several overlooks were reconstructed of native stone utilizing NPS rustic designs, including Artist Point, Upper Falls, and Lookout Point. Just prior to the start of Mission 66, the style of landscape architecture employed for Canyon's overlooks entered a state of transition, but not before a fourth rustic overlook was constructed at Grand View. During Mission 66, less expensive modern designs using steel and concrete were employed at Canyon when three overlooks were reconstructed. As a result, two styles of landscape architecture are in use at Grand Canyon overlooks today. Besides a change in materials, two earthquakes played a role in altering trails and overlooks at the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone as well.

When motorized trips to the summit of Mount Washburn were restarted again on July 1, 1959, they began with a reopening ceremony attended by NPS Regional Director Howard Baker and the governors of Montana and Wyoming. Tourists had been restricted from driving to the summit since 1947. They were still prohibited from driving their own vehicles, but they could purchase a ride to the summit on a YPC bus. By the time of reopening, a new parking lot for tourist vehicles was constructed on the route of the northern summit road a mile from its junction with the Grand Loop Road. Tour busses departed every half hour from the new parking lot during the summer months at least until 1972. Tourists could also purchase a seat on tour buses bound for the summit from Lake Yellowstone Hotel and Canyon Village between 1959 and 1961 inclusive (Garrison

1959b, section 28; Garrison 1960, section 11; Latimore 1961; Wyckoff 2008—1972 Mount Washburn bus tour; Garrison 1959b, supplement section 5—states the summit road had been closed since 1942).

West Rim—Arriving at Canyon

With the Grand Loop Road bypass, a fourth Canyon Junction, and the construction of Canyon Village, tourists no longer “arrived at Canyon” along its West Rim. The transformation of Canyon enabled a distinct change in the West Rim’s tourism geography. When the West Rim settlement was removed, the old road along the river at Chittenden Bridge and utilizing Canyon Bridge was closed to automobiles. The main route to Canyon from the south no longer funneled tourists to a major park feature—the brink of Upper Falls. Tourists could still enjoy Upper Falls and walk or bicycle on the old road, but they had to turn off the Grand Loop Road to start their exploration.

After Mission 66, when tourists “arrived at Canyon,” their arrival point moved a mile north of the canyon to the fourth Canyon Junction next to Canyon Village. In addition, more tourists arrived from the west via the new Norris Cutoff Road because it was no longer classified as a service road. As independent travelers, automobile tourists did not follow the older tradition of counterclockwise travel around Yellowstone. They often arrived at Canyon from the north over Dunraven Pass. When they arrived from the south, they followed the new Grand Loop Road section, as it veered away from the river and the Grand Canyon traversing forests and meadows. This new section of road was no longer a bypass; it became the Grand Loop Road and is so today.

The old road along the West Rim over Canyon Bridge became a walking and biking path between 1959 and 1964 (NPS 1959; NPS 1964). When tourists turned off the Grand Loop Road to view Upper Falls, they parked at the brink of the Upper Falls at the new 100-car parking lot, which was constructed by the end of 1965. As park managers often did, new facilities such as parking lots were constructed on abandoned cultural landscape sites. When workers laid the new Upper Falls parking lot, they erased and overwrote evidence of the Haynes Picture Shop and the Ranger Station. In 1965, a new picnic ground was still proposed near the Upper Falls parking lot (in the trees near the Campers' Cabins office site), but it was never constructed (NPS 1966, map, narrative 2, 3). During this time of transition, most of the trails along the canyon were considered “not well enough defined and surfaced to guide and accommodate visitors.” Planners still wanted to provide one continuous, safe trail from Artist Point on the South Rim to Inspiration Point on the North Rim (including travel over Chittenden Bridge and along the West Rim through Cascade Creek ravine). A program to realign these trails and upgrade them to modern standards began in 1965 (NPS 1966, narrative 2).

North Rim Drive—The Inspiration Point Road

The west end of the North Rim Drive was connected to the bypass near the Canyon Hotel by 1951, probably as the bypass was completed in 1949 and 1950. This permitted park planners to discontinue use of the old winding road to the West Rim settlement that crossed Cascade Creek ravine on the 1903 steel high bridge. The high bridge was removed in late summer 1953. Also at the west end of the North Rim Drive, the long staircase to the brink of Lower Falls was removed late in 1956 (Haynes 1951,

130; NPS 1956c). Access to the brink of Lower Falls was restored via a switchback dirt trail in 1957 referred to today as “Long Trail” (Haynes 1959, 133). As late as 1954, the old 1889 log truss bridge (part of P. W. Norris’s road system) was still in place over Grotto Pool. By then it was moss covered and decrepit. While it looked idyllic, it was unused and impassable (Strempel email 11/26/2006; 06/23/2007; Haines 1993, 89—may imply that the old bridge was gone after World War II).

As late as 1950, Rustic-style overlook construction was still preferred for tourist infrastructure at Canyon. Reconstructing Grand View overlook was in progress during 1950 using native stone and masonry (Figure 132). Grand View was the fourth and last canyon overlook to employ a Rustic style. It was completed and available for tourists in 1952 (NPS 1950; NPS 2006a, 71). Just two years later, prior to Mission 66, the reconstruction of Inspiration Point began, employing a modern NPS style. This marked the transition point at Canyon when rustic overlook style was abandoned.

The Inspiration Point trail and overlook were located on a narrow promontory that jutted out into the canyon—well known as a fairly vertiginous downhill jaunt since well before the turn of the century. To improve safety, Yellowstone’s engineers drew new plans for the stairway and platform using tubular steel rails and concrete. These plans were drawn locally by Yellowstone engineers. The use of these modern materials predated Mission 66. The park began the upgrade in November 1954 by removing the wooden stairs and preparing the point for a new platform. Construction began about the same time that Wirth created the NPS WODC and EODC, and just months before Mission 66 was established. By the end of the 1955 touring season, the new stairway and overlook were completed (NPSj; NPSk; NPS 1955; McClelland 1998, 469—asserts

Inspiration Point rebuild was part of Mission 66). Inspiration Point overlook platform was damaged in a June 1975 earthquake when its supporting rock collapsed. Crews completed the reconstruction of the new trail terminus by September 1975. Fixing the overlook shortened the distance visitors could walk along the promontory (Townsley 1975, 12).

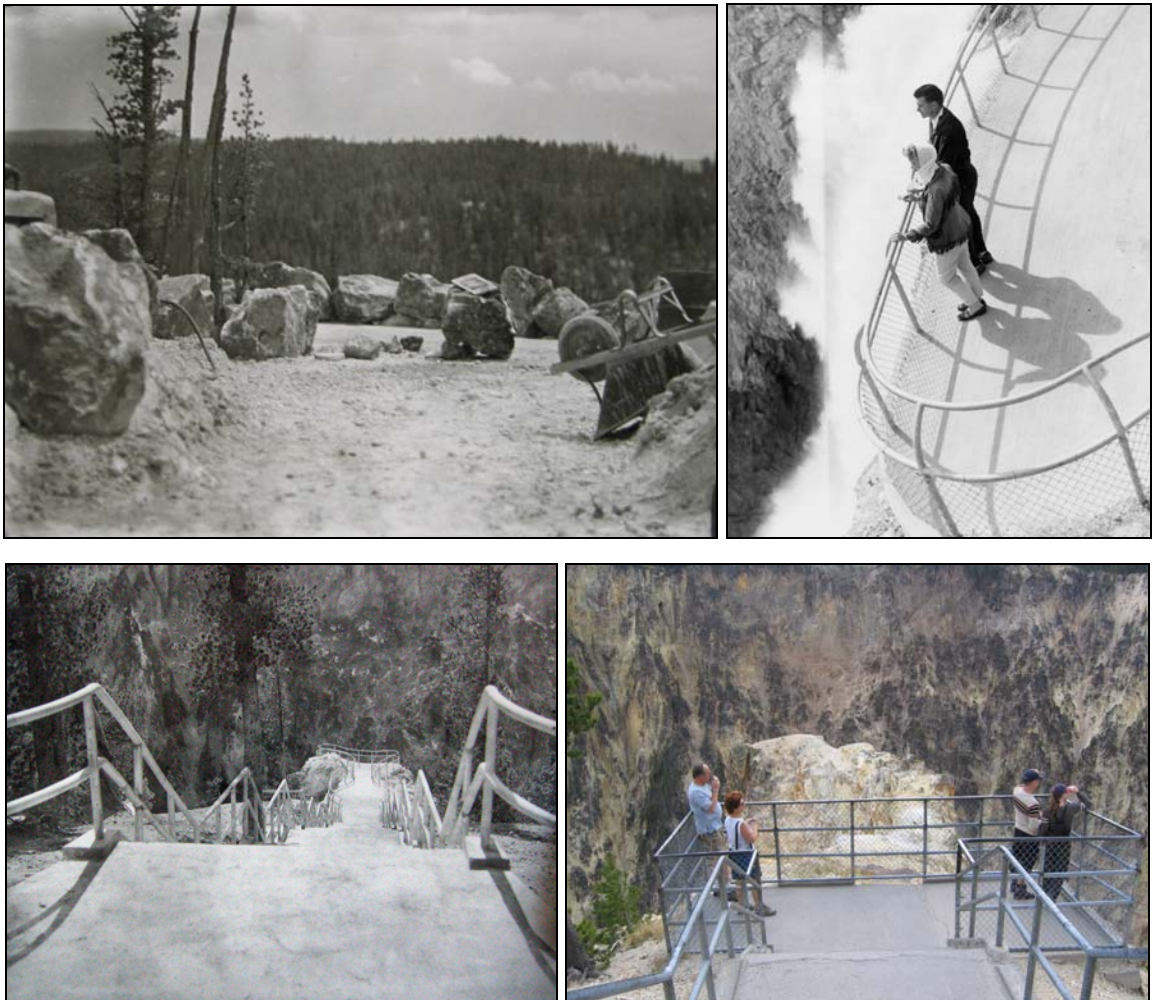


Figure 132: Canyon Overlook Infrastructure Transitions: Top left—Grand View under construction, 1950 (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Top right—Lower Falls in 1958 (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom left—Rebuilt Inspiration Point Overlook, October 1955 (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom right—Shortened trail to Inspiration Point Overlook, 2005 (author photo)

In 1971 and 1972, the government reconfigured a portion of road connecting Inspiration Point with the North Rim Drive. Two short sections of road were constructed on either side of the existing road from Grand View Junction. These road sections were farther away from (north of) the canyon's North Rim to improve tourist views from Artist Point on the canyon's South Rim. This change eliminated Grand View Junction, replacing it with today's T-shape junction that connects Inspiration Point with the North Rim Drive. This road change probably coincided with designating the North Rim Drive a one way (south bound) road (Hudson email 04/08/2008).

South Rim Drive—The Artist Point Road

During the fall of 1960, Chittenden Bridge (the 1903 Melan Arch bridge) underwent inspection for safety. Engineers concluded that it was structurally weakened. The bridge was closed to the public immediately and plans to replace it were underway (Garrison 1961, section I). Replacing this bridge with a more modern design also eliminated the visibility hazard created by the arched road surface in the Melan Arch design. Drivers of modern cars sat much lower inside the vehicle than drivers of stagecoaches or early model automobiles. Without Chittenden Bridge, tourists could not visit Artist Point, one of the most popular points from which to view the canyon and Lower Falls. Demolition of the old bridge and construction of a new bridge on the same site began in 1961. The new bridge, called the Chittenden Memorial Bridge, was completed in 1963 and dedicated to the memory of U.S. Army Corps Engineer Captain Hiram Chittenden on August 9, 1963 (Davis et al 2004, 167; McLaughlin 1964, section

1; Haines 1977b, 244—suggests bridge was replaced in 1962; Haines 2000—suggests the old bridge was structurally sound and could have been retained).

By 1964, the parking lot and trail to the eastern brink of Upper Falls overlook was no longer offered to tourists (NPS 1964). One year later, a new parking lot for 47 cars and 3 busses was created on the south east side of Chittenden Bridge (NPS 1965; NPS 1966). The NPS embarked on a reconstruction of the Artist Point Road during 1966. The road was closed to tourists during that summer while work progressed. It reopened to tourist use in 1967. Between 1965 and 1966, the Artist Point parking lot was reconstructed adding a concrete retaining wall and concrete steps from the parking lot to the pedestrian promenade. In 1970 the traffic flow at the Artist Point parking lot was modified. Sidewalks and a traffic island were added in the process of separating parking for cars and busses from pedestrian walk ways. This physical change also enabled a change to one-way traffic flow in the parking area. These alterations, sparked by Mission 66 plans, significantly altered the look of the Artist Point tourist stop by removing much of the earlier landscape architectural elements representative of the rustic era of park design (McLaughlin 1966, section 1; NPS 2003, part 1, page 16, 23).

Uncle Tom's Trail and Parking Lot. The August 17, 1959 Hebgen Lake Earthquake damaged the wooden Uncle Tom's Trail, which extended to the base of the canyon below Lower Falls. The park closed the trail to tourists until it was rebuilt using steel and concrete between June 1965 and July 1966. The trail along the South Rim between Uncle Tom's Trail and Artist Point was also reconstructed during this time period (NPS 1964; Goss 2002, 32; McLaughlin 1966, section 1). Although planners

indicated an interest in extending the trail to the bottom again, the rebuilt trail terminated at a point farther up the south side of the canyon. The new trail terminus did not permit tourists to reach the bottom of the canyon nor access the well-worn dirt trail toward Red Rock Point or trails toward the falls that had developed over the previous several decades (NPS 1965; NPS 1966). Even after the Uncle Tom's Trail rebuild, park planners demonstrated their intent to keep the Sunset Point Trail and its extension to the wading area along the southern bank of the river between the two falls. In 1962, while Uncle Tom's Trail was closed to tourists, Sunset Point Trail, which shared the same trailhead, was still advertised for use. In 1971 and 1972, Uncle Tom's Trail was reconstructed again, including the addition of a new overlook (NPS 1966; Haynes 1962, 132; Anderson 1972, 13).

Pre-war park planners had envisioned converting the Canyon Lodge site to a large parking lot to accommodate tourists viewing Upper Falls. Parking on the West Rim had been quite limited near Haynes Picture Shop. In addition, the view of Upper Falls from the South Rim near old Canyon Lodge was considered its best. This perspective was more direct and picturesque than the view from the West Rim, although the trail on the West Rim still led to the Upper Falls brink. When the removal of Canyon Lodge was completed in the early 1960s, the abandoned site became available for this priority parking lot (Figure 133). In 1965, as part of the Artist Point Road reconstruction, the NPS created an 89-car and 9-bus parking lot, which also served tourists descending Uncle Tom's Trail or hiking the South Rim Trail to Artist Point (NPS 1965; NPS 1966).



Figure 133: Abandoned Canyon Lodge Site before Parking Lot: Tourists destined for either Sunset Point Trail to Brink of Lower Falls or the South Rim Trail to Artist Point between 1960 and 1964—Uncle Tom’s Trail was closed (Stremmel Collection)

THE LEGACY OF PLACE AT CANYON

Today, when tourists turn off the Grand Loop Road to visit the brink of Upper Falls and walk along the Canyon's West Rim, few realize they are traveling on the woven geographies of two places in time. On the way to Upper Falls, tourists travel on a portion of the original West Rim road. As the road curves toward the falls, drivers steer past the unmarked, treed-in, and somewhat buried second Canyon Junction at the abandoned road to Cascade Creek. Farther along toward Upper Falls, they pass a curious, rectangular, tree-lined field on the left, sporting two narrow openings, each suspiciously wide enough for an automobile (Figure 134). With a keen eye, the back-seat passenger may wonder about an unsigned, southbound, uphill road on the right. The asphalt looks old. Where does that road go? The geography that today's tourists navigate enroute to the brink of Upper Falls terminates at a large, modern parking lot with restrooms. While finding a place to park, the driver's attention is dominated by a paved lot and other tourists. The pavement also simultaneously obscures the landscape and history of a once bustling, yet quaint human place. Today's Upper Falls parking lot occupies most of old Canyon's central business district—its "main street," where for decades tourists and park staff stopped for a soda or gasoline, mailed packages home, and shared stories about where they were going and where they had been.



Figure 134: West Rim Settlement Then and Now: Top left—Second Canyon Junction at West Rim, November 1930 (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Top right—Current site of Second Canyon Junction, August 2006 (author photo); Bottom left—Pryor General Store (1930s) (Warr Collection); Bottom right—Abandoned Pryor Store Site in 2005—(author photo)

Multiple layers of cultural landscapes and geographies are all around us. Modern condominium complexes take on the name of adjacent nineteenth-century farmsteads. Early twentieth-century road scars persist as narrow pathways through mature stands of trees. As the tools and the needs of communities change, so do the cultural landscapes that sustain them. Unlike rural places and municipalities, cultural landscapes in national parks develop and evolve in response to tourists' desire to spend a night or many near remarkable natural features. Because the federal government controls and administers these reserves on behalf of the American people, the evolution of national park cultural

landscapes is a managed process (Alanen and Melnick 2000, 6-9; Carr 2005b, 358; Osman 2005).

The changing sequence of Canyon's cultural landscape features have been described throughout this thesis with reference to tourist overnight accommodations delineated into four generations. Yellowstone's first generation of accommodations was created by many entrepreneurs. These first tourist services included illegal structures built by squatters as well as the official, yet ephemeral, rickety hotels, livery stables, and temporary tent camps. Once the federal government permitted a railroad-backed concessioner monopoly, a second generation of accommodations and services secured the roots of the park's "organically grown" tourist settlements. In the second generation, the park's large, refined, and well-known hostelries such as the second and third Canyon Hotel were built.

Admitting automobiles to Yellowstone was a watershed event for Yellowstone's cultural landscapes. It marked a transition to the third generation of visitor overnight accommodations. The park's permanent tent camps, established for independent travelers in the second generation, were fully developed into rustic lodges such as Canyon Lodge, built in the regional pioneer log tradition. Lodge utilities and cabin accommodations increased incrementally, as did an overall process of landscape intensification, keeping pace with increases in automobile tourists until World War II. Unfortunately, Canyon's third generation of accommodations developed essentially as a "house of cards." Canyon Lodge, Canyon Tourist Cabins, and the retail stores along the West Rim were established at a location later interpreted to be in violation of the Hayes Act of 1894.

Correcting this apparent violation, coupled with the desire to increase cabin counts and camp sites, spawned the fourth generation of accommodations at Canyon—present Canyon Village. While a pre-war execution of the fourth generation at Canyon would still have resulted in a relocated, pre-conceived place, the delay caused by World War II fundamentally altered its pattern and form. Decentralized, modern, automobile-focused developments common all across post-war America influenced the design and execution of Canyon Village. The roots of how most Americans live today are reflected in this village: Canyon's fourth generation cultural landscape.

The Evolving Meaning of Place at Canyon

Canyon created powerful attachments to place as well as an arena for political battles. The setting attracted nomadic and adventurous travelers and it promoted well-financed industrial tourism. With national parks as reservoirs of national identity, a place such as Yellowstone's Grand Canyon came to mean more to people than just pretty scenery (Carr 2005a).

Reproductions of Thomas Moran's painting of Yellowstone's Grand Canyon hung in nearly every American grade school (Davidson et al 2006, 107). For generations of young people, these reproductions connected Canyon's magnificence to what it meant to be an American. Reinforcing this impression were tourism brochures and park advertisements with imagery of the canyon and its settlement of overlooks, trails, lodging, and promised experiences. They suggested that a visit to Yellowstone's Grand Canyon was entirely possible. Once at Canyon, tourists planned their uniquely American vacation from the naturalistic built environment set so close to the canyon's rim. Back at

home they shared stories of Canyon's cultural landscape, displaying their photographs and souvenirs, transferring place knowledge to others. Many of Canyon's concessioner and government staff members developed an even stronger, more enduring sense of place. They too spread the word about Canyon. In many cases they started a kind of chain migration of seasonal workers to experience for themselves a summer (or several) along the canyon's rims. Superintendent Rogers underestimated the meaning of the Grand Canyon to people when he wrote of the proposed Canyon Village, "travelers, after all, were only looking for a place to sleep and would take a bed where it was available" (Rogers 1943c).

Nevertheless, Yellowstone's Grand Canyon as a geologic park feature held more sway with the NPS than the settlement that developed nearby. When pre-war NPS planners wanted to restore key national park places to purely picturesque landscapes for tourists, Yellowstone's Grand Canyon was apparently the first on the list (Carr 2004, 131-134—*some* Yosemite development removal was discussed in 1945). The groundbreaking 1963 Leopold Report on wildlife management in the national parks called for a policy whereby the natural conditions in parks ideally should reflect "a vignette of primitive America." To accomplish this goal, park places that have been ecologically influenced by past management decisions and development should be corrected (Everhart 1972, 59; Schullery 1997, 168). Decades before the Leopold Report, NPS planners were also searching for a sort of vignette of primitive America for Canyon. However, rather than seeking an ecological ideal as the Leopold Report suggested, pre-war planners were seeking a scenic ideal—a picturesque primitive American landscape. Their plans to transform Canyon back to a more natural state reflected the sensibilities of Stephen

Mather and Horace Albright, and what they thought national parks should be for Americans.

The restoration of the Canyon Rim Sacred Area to a more natural state occurred with little or no regard for any developed “sense of place.” After all, a park’s sense of place was not and is not protected by the Organic Acts of either Yellowstone or the NPS. Canyon’s transformation disappointed many returning visitors who wished to stay, once again, at Reamer’s beloved Canyon Hotel. Many others were disappointed they could not relive their honeymoon in a Canyon Lodge cabin by Upper Falls. The change also launched a new kind of tourism and exploration of the canyon’s rims. Using the terms of a cultural anthropologist, 1950s Canyon Lodge staff members today still “actively revisit” the abandoned lodge site on pilgrimages both individually and in groups. They travel to Canyon from states across the country and have done so frequently throughout the fifty years since Canyon Lodge was removed. It is difficult, even appalling, for them to mentally map the asphalt, concrete bathroom, and barren landscape of Uncle Tom’s Trail parking lot to the charming, rustic, wooded Yellowstone lodge they knew (Murray email 12/27/2005). Nevertheless, these well-educated, now retired professionals persevere, spending Yellowstone vacation afternoons exploring the woods surrounding the parking lot. They arrive equipped with attachment to place, as well as maps, photographs, archival documents, and GPS units (Figure 135).

Former staff members somewhat relive their Canyon summers while locating much-loved cultural artifacts. They revisit foundation remnants, “Hair Cutting Rock,” “Horizontal Geyser,” the slick rocks along the path through the cabin dorms, and a 1950s dorm radio antenna still hanging from a tree. Navigating the new geography of the

abandoned Canyon Lodge site is confusing, but clues abound. When Canyon Lodge structures were removed, apparently contractors simply lifted cabins onto flatbed trucks and drove them away. The cache of pine cones underneath these structures was left in place to germinate into dense, rectangular lodgepole stands. These young stands recreate portions of Canyon Lodge's former cultural landscape. In 1973, Lloyd Warr located the site of a particularly significant social place—the large, rustic women's dormitory called the "Rat Trap." Warr arranged and today still maintains a series of rocks marking a location near the Rat Trap site, which has also since grown-over with a dense stand of trees. His marking assists others in imagining the Canyon place they love while finding their way around the lodgepole maze (Warr email 07/05/2005).

The ground surrounding the Uncle Tom's Trail parking lot is thus sacred to an ever waning number of Canyon Lodge staff members. Theirs is a personal, nested "sacred area" within the formal, government-defined Canyon Rim Sacred Area. While the Yellowstone Plateau of the mid-nineteenth century was transformed from fur trappers' rumor to reality, the old Canyon settlement near the rims has been transformed from reality to park lore. It exists now primarily in the park's archives, and the in the memories and photo albums of septuagenarians.

But should you go back, step carefully, lest you wake a sleeping memory....pine smoke in the rain, moonlight on the water, bits of laughter against the sound of hurrying feet on the gravel, the slow warm of the autumn sun on the brown stained cabin logs...the sad wind blowing, hardest on the hilltop. The summer is ending and each day a part of your summer washes away until you stand on your own little part. Miss Eby's lovers and fighters again to dust. (Spud Murray in 1961, quoted in Gorder 1976, 8)



Figure 135: Canyon Lodge Site Then and Now: Top left—Canyon Lodge with Canyon Hotel in the background, 1950s by Stempel (Stempel Collection); Top right—Current Uncle Tom's Trail Parking Lot, 2005 (author photo); Bottom left—1950s Canyon Lodge staff members convene again to revisit the abandoned Canyon Lodge site, 2007 (author photo); Bottom right—Canyon Lodge staff members near the site of the Rat Trap dormitory, 2007 (author photo)

Canyon's Two Contested Tourist Settlements

All of the third generation facilities on either side of the brink of the Upper Falls were built using pioneer log construction—representative of the western regional building style at the time. Many travelers to the American West and Yellowstone had seen decades-old, decrepit log cabins dotting the landscape all across the expanding United States. Log construction seemed synonymous with the challenging settlement

conditions endured by hardy American pioneers not so long ago. The building styles at Canyon, both pioneer log and the Prairie style of the second generation Canyon Hotel, pre-dated the formal adoption of an architectural style by the NPS. However, each was an example of a contributing style that used native materials (logs, rustic wood surfaces, and stone masonry). Architects and crews also preserved the contours of the existing natural landscape, and harmonized the built environment with the natural. These architectural and landscape priorities were employed consistently in the developing national park system beginning in the late 1920s. The style was later called “Parkitecture” (McClelland 1998, 17, 91).

The Parkitecture style of rustic building construction was both expensive and labor intensive. Its prevalent and popular use in municipal, state, and national parks was facilitated throughout the 1930s via unemployed New Deal laborers, such as those enrolled in the Civilian Conservation Corps. The basic principles of this style not only emphasized the natural, they also demonstrated a reverence for the nation’s westward-expansion past. One principle specified to “avoid rigid, straight lines when possible, creating the feeling that the work was executed by pioneer craftsmen” (Wheaton 2000, 17). The early architecture of Canyon’s West Rim settlement, while not specifically Parkitecture, fit this principle well. The naturalistic visitor facilities at Canyon created the feel of a pioneer experience in a nation fast losing its frontier lands and wildness. Nearly all of Canyon’s initial settlement structures were designed in styles that became the foundation for Parkitecture. These buildings were designed to blend with their environment, adding materially to the national park “scene.” Pioneer log construction, the

primary building style originally used at Canyon, had fostered a feeling at Canyon of visiting the mythic American Frontier.

Cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky identified a *doctrine of first effective settlement* as a way of understanding the cultural evolution of a place through time. Zelinsky suggested that the initial cultural landscape that developed in a place often played a critical role in the social and cultural experience of subsequent visitors and residents (1992, 13). Canyon's organic cultural landscape created an important legacy at the canyon's rims that also influenced how the settlement grew through time.

Under the control of park planners and landscape architects, additions to existing structures and cultural landscape intensification at Canyon followed suit to maintain the character of the original settlement. However, with plans to move Canyon's visitor settlement, contractors surveyed new geography, cleared its vegetation, and disturbed the soil, making the new location vulnerable for a style change to take root. Historical geographer, Donald Meinig suggested that in the mid-twentieth century, as settlements in the American West evolved past an initial stage of isolation through a stage of forming regional identities, settlements were subjected to strong influences of national culture. Enabled by improved communication and marketing networks, the diffusion of national cultural norms influenced leaders of western places, affecting how their settlements grew and intensified. Meinig wrote that only "subcultures with tenacious social patterns (religions, languages, race) can persist as distinct" (1972, 163).

Ordinarily, diffusion of national culture would only gradually influence Yellowstone's established cultural landscapes. Indeed, the NPS, with its indoctrinated planners and landscape architects, controlled Yellowstone's development. However, by

moving Canyon's facilities to a new location, the new settlement site, in essence, became "disturbed ground." Seeds representing mid-twentieth century national culture were broadcast to Canyon, influencing the new settlement's style in much the same way that pioneering exotic weeds spread easily to freshly tilled soil. For Canyon's impressionable, emerging cultural landscape, park planners and concessioner architects were, as Meinig predicted, influenced by national priorities of efficiency, convenience, and economical building techniques. Planners chose a new kind of tourist development for Canyon over mythic, naturalistic styles strongly associated with national park places. Also in keeping with mid-century cultural norms, McNeil Construction Company mimicked Levitt and Sons as they passed along the hidden costs of quick and inexpensive workmanship to the buyer—the Yellowstone Park Company.

Post-war park planners and utilities designers also passed along hidden problems to future park administrators. When pre-war planners re-examined development at Canyon, they did so knowing they could not place any building or structure within Canyon's sacred area. However, after the war, park planners stopped mapping Canyon's sacred area on master plans. By omitting the sacred area, post-war planners set in motion a process of cumulative Canyon Rim Sacred Area violations. During the process of building Canyon Village, the NPS constructed the village sewer treatment plant a few hundred years north of the canyon's North Rim. About half of the 1957 plant—the plant's entire sludge lagoon—was inside the sacred area. It violated the 660-foot sacred area by about 130 feet (NPS 1969).

Between 1971 and 1973, the sewer plant was upgraded and expanded to 3.5 acres of land, including clearing many trees and constructing a new "lower pond" closer to

canyon's rim, increasing the sacred area violation that began with the Mission 66 plant. The sewer plant was upgraded again between 1993 and 1995 to a more complex (tertiary treatment) system designed to meet requirements for systems that discharge into a Class I stream. This upgrade doubled the plant's acreage along the canyon rim to seven acres (Figure 136). Portions of the three new oblong ponds also today violate the Canyon Rim Sacred Area (Hudson email 03/21/2008; TerraServer 2003; NPS 1990, 1, 5; Tompkins 1994).

By no longer mapping this rustic-era, landscape architecture ideal called a "sacred area," later park managers were made unaware of priorities set by pre-war planners. Tim Hudson, Yellowstone's Chief of Maintenance during the mid-1990s expansion, said he knew nothing about the Canyon Rim Sacred Area. In fact, Canyon's sacred area was not mentioned in the sewer plant environmental assessment for this project (Hudson email 08/27/2007; NPS 1990). Without mapping its boundaries, the Canyon's invisible sacred area was vulnerable to compromise in favor of the needs of modern society, similar to the fate of so many unmarked, indigenous sacred sites around the world (Carmichael et al 1994, 2). If national park sacred areas are as valuable today as pre-war landscape architects and planners deemed, perhaps these zones should be revived, assessed, and protected under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.

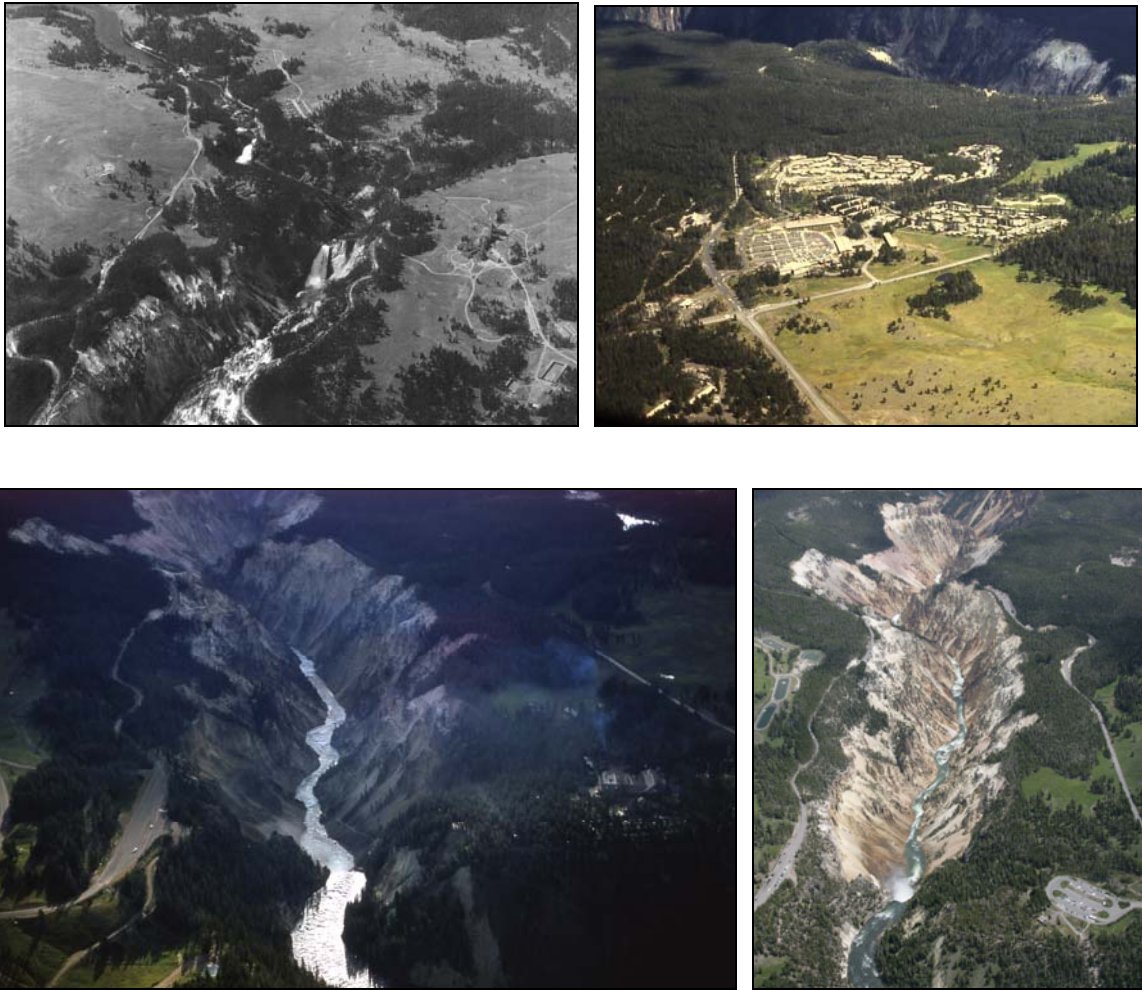


Figure 136: Canyon Settlement and Sacred Area Before and After: Top left—Organic settlement in 1932 (National Archives); Top right—Preconceived, decentralized, suburban-like settlement, 1973 by Canter (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom left—Canyon's sacred area in 1956 with roads, Lower Falls parking lot, and Canyon Lodge at right (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Bottom right—Canyon's sacred area in 2005 by Peaco, with sewage treatment plant, roads, Lower Falls parking lot, and Uncle Tom's Parking lot at right (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

To Steve Fuller, Canyon Village maintenance foreman since 1973, Canyon Village is the “Levittown of Yellowstone” with Howard Johnson colors (Fuller 2005). As a Yellowstone National Park cultural landscape, Canyon Village today represents a hybrid human place. It reflects American post-war affluence, increases in automobile ownership, and large suburban developments while simultaneously serving national park tourists in a large, western, wilderness reserve. Unlike other visitor places in Yellowstone, Canyon Village is the park’s first visitor settlement that is not adjacent to the natural feature for which it is named (Figure 136). This parallels the decentralized, suburban development patterns seen throughout twentieth century America where automobile-friendly businesses were located away from earlier central business districts. Just as motorized travel increased during the suburbanization of America, an automobile trip to view the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone became in the 1950s the most common excursion from Canyon Village.

Cecil Doty, a principal post-war architect for the NPS, explained that by the 1950s there was a distinct change in philosophy regarding construction and landscape architecture in national parks: “that’s why you started seeing [concrete] block in a lot of things. We couldn’t help but change....I can’t understand how anyone could think otherwise, how it could keep from changing” (Doty quoted in Allaback 2000, 12). Even while the NPS coped with sharp criticism about modern development in parks, the Canyon Village arrangement was desirable enough to park planners that they repeated its

suburban design in Grand Canyon National Park. The village at Yavapai Lodge (envisioned during Mission 66) was patterned after Canyon Village with a large parking lot surrounded by commercial buildings (Carr 2005b, 367).

The majority of architectural styles in Yellowstone trended toward the natural (Pioneer, Rustic, Stick, Shingle, and Arts and Crafts all culminating into “Parkitecture”). However, the architecture of Yellowstone is more accurately described today as demonstrating a “microcosm of American design” (Wheaton 2000, 14). Just as Yellowstone was an experiment in preservation and recreation, it has played host to an eclectic collection of styles other than Parkitecture and its naturalistic precursors. Also employed in Yellowstone were Colonial Revival, Chinese, French, Art Deco, and Moderne styles, many at park headquarters in Mammoth Hot Springs (Wheaton 2000, 15-18).

The presence of Modern architecture at Canyon Village today fits well within Yellowstone’s history of architectural experimentation, even though it is quite different from Canyon’s first effective settlement. The radical evolution of Canyon’s cultural landscape has clearly presented two contested visitor experiences of Canyon as a revered national park place (Figure 137 and Figure 138). As one former employee noted:

[Canyon Lodge] cabins now have water and bath rooms, and the souvenir shops are certainly larger, but those warm fuzzy feelings that only pine scented wood smoke on crispy nights could bring are gone. (Strempel email 10/07/2005).



Figure 137: Exterior Cultural Environment Rephotography Pairs: Top left—Old Canyon Lodge, early 1950s by Stempel (Stempel Collection); Top right—New Canyon Lodge at Canyon Village, 1957 by Haynes (Whittlesey Collection); Middle left—Canyon Ranger Station (Yellowstone Museum Collection); Middle right—Canyon Ranger Station/Visitor Center, 1960 by Haynes (Whittlesey Collection); Bottom left—Haynes Picture Shop, 1924 by Haynes (Goss Collection); Bottom right—Haynes Picture Shop at Canyon Village (Francis Collection)

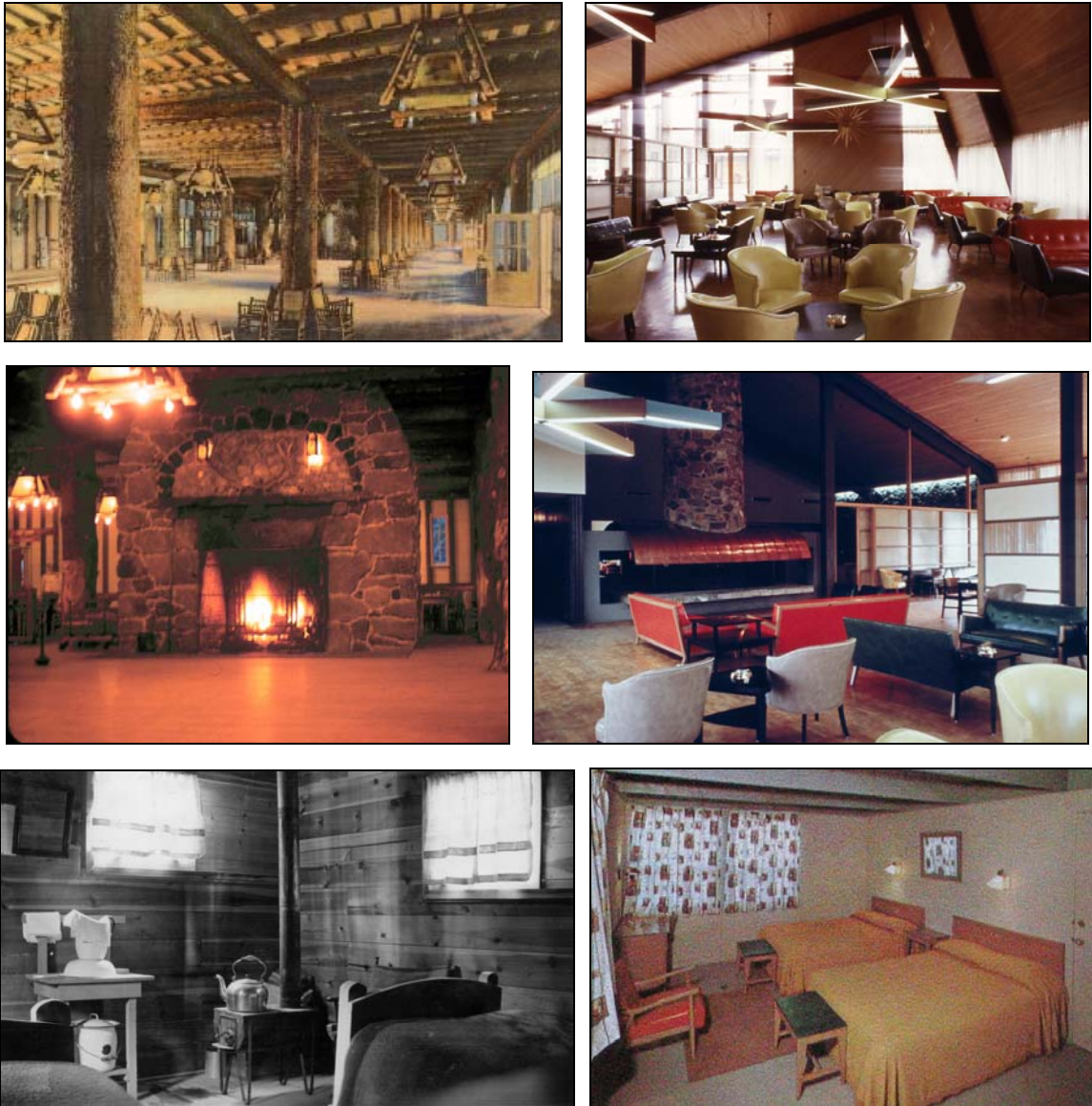


Figure 138: Interior Cultural Environment Rephotography Pairs: Top left—Canyon Lodge lobby, 1929 by Haynes (Francis Collection); Top right—Canyon Lodge lounge at Canyon Village by Haynes, c1957 (Whittlesey Collection); Middle left—Canyon Lodge east fireplace (Godsey et al); Middle right—Canyon Lodge fireplace at Canyon Village, 1957 by Haynes (Whittlesey Collection); Bottom left—Canyon Lodge cabin by Gorder (Warr Collection); Bottom right—Canyon Lodge cabin at Canyon Village (YPSS Archives)

Historian Sarah Allaback has written, “The rustic image of the built environment in many parks came to be associated with the experience of nature itself; this powerful association remains strong in the public imagination even today” (2000, 33). In fact, visitors to Yellowstone are often drawn to historical displays and activities that replicate what an earlier visit to Yellowstone was like (Schullery 1997, 133). Unfortunately, the design of Canyon Village prevents it from satisfying that particular curiosity. Zelinsky’s doctrine of first effective settlement is also useful for understanding the legacy that Canyon Village leaves for tourists and park managers today. In August 2005, during a field work observation at the Canyon Village Registration Building, a very upset registered guest approached the front desk while her companion lagged several feet behind. She pointedly asked front desk clerk, Kidron Hegwood from Mississippi, “I want to know—where is the Lodge?” She continued with her angry remarks: “Those are awful cabins. That is a ghetto! You should be ashamed of yourself!” Her initial question expressed a desire to stay at a traditional park lodge. After all, she had booked accommodations at “Canyon Lodge and Cabins” in Yellowstone National Park (Xanterra Parks & Resorts website). She clearly demonstrated her cultural expectation to stay in lodge-style accommodations so often associated with western national parks, especially Yellowstone. Ms. Hegwood later explained that complaints of that kind were not uncommon at the Canyon Lodge front desk, although she did characterize that evening’s exchange as an over-reaction.

Recognizing the workmanship and style problems at Canyon, the NPS began planning for lodging redevelopment in the late 1980s. The lodging redevelopment plan proposed replacing the prefabricated Mission 66 cabins in Aspen Hill and Cascade Circle with several “mini lodges” in Cascade Circle only (Figure 139). While redeveloping Canyon’s lodging is a required element in concessions contracts, a balance between the concessioner’s capital expenditure and return on investment now receives greater attention than it did in the days of YPC. This is due to the passing of the Concession Policy Act of 1965, which grants park concessioners the possessory interest they desperately sought in the 1940s (Bartlett 1989, 376). Canyon’s lodging redevelopment has begun with the opening of Cascade Lodge (1992, constructed by the NPS) and Dunraven Lodge (1998, constructed by Xanterra Parks & Resorts, Inc.) in Cascade Circle. The design of each mini-lodge is intended to “return the ‘Park-itecture’ to the Canyon area.” In addition, because rustic replacements contrast with Becket’s International style structures, planners have also considered altering the look of existing structures in the commercial area to provide style consistency (NPS 1996, Executive Summary-Conclusion quote; NPS 1988, 21).

In addition to disappointing its tourists, the legacy of Canyon Village, as that site’s first effective settlement, today adds challenges for Yellowstone’s administrators. The NPS replaced the 1958 Canyon Visitor Center with a new facility, which opened in 2006 (Figure 139). Before proceeding with its design phase, all of Canyon Village underwent a cultural resource evaluation as required by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The commercial area was determined to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places because of its association with Mission 66.

This determination encouraged careful attention to the new structure's architectural design (Finley 2000).

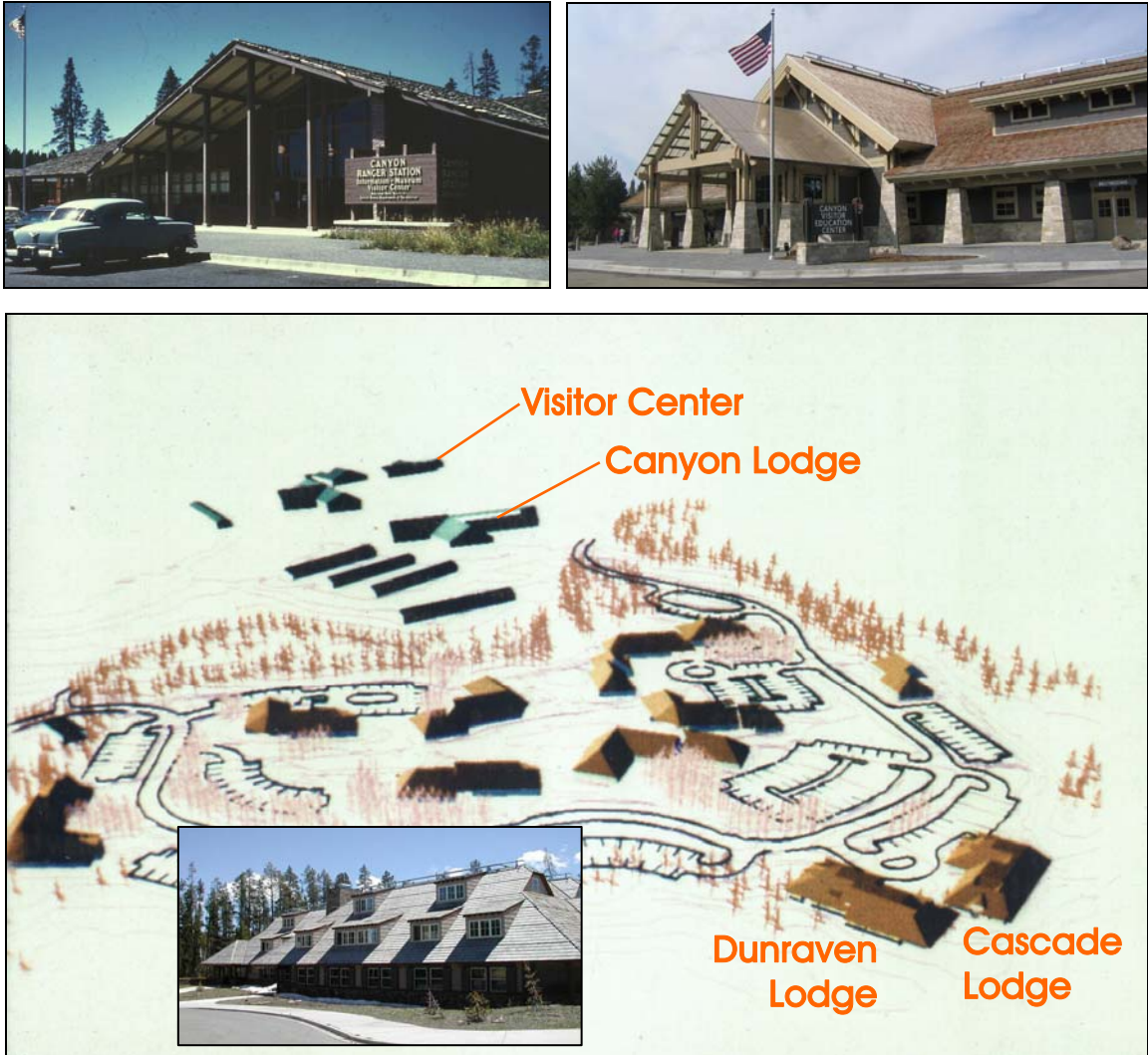


Figure 139: Altering Canyon Village: Top left—Canyon Ranger Station/Visitor Center, 1960 by Haynes (Whittlesey Collection); Top right—Canyon Visitor Education Center, 2006 (author photo); Bottom—Computer Simulation of Canyon Lodging Redevelopment Plan at Cascade Circle (NPS 1988); Inset—Dunraven Lodge (Xanterra Parks and Resorts website)

Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office officials suggested mitigation of the Mission 66 visitor center removal from this historic district through modifications to the new building's design. Instead of a Modern execution, the new structure's style should recall the look of the historic Canyon Hotel. It is unclear how introducing design elements of the Canyon Hotel compensate for the loss of a decidedly Modern structure inside a district deemed eligible for the National Register due to its Modern Mission 66 association. Indeed planners intend (when needed) to replace International style buildings in the commercial area in a similar fashion (NPS 2001b, 15; NPS, 11). With the mixing of architectural styles at Canyon Village, the legacy of this Mission 66 demonstration project seems to be continued hybridization, perhaps because few agree on what to do with Canyon Village.

The legacy of Canyon Village also includes the generation of its own patently negative "creation myth." This Yellowstone sub-myth exists independently of the park's overarching revered creation myth, which tells of hardy Montana explorers meeting around a campfire and imagining the Yellowstone Plateau set aside for the good of all Americans (Schullery 1997, 56-57; Schullery and Whittlesey 2003). When Canyon Village opened, it was accompanied by NPS acclaim. Canyon Village was proclaimed an example of the benefits of the Mission 66 program. It was also proclaimed a demonstration of good facility design employed to solve Yellowstone's post-war visitation crisis and was readily replicated elsewhere. Rather reversed from those beginnings, Canyon Village's negative creation myth implies that the village is the unwanted cultural stepchild of Yellowstone National Park. It is evident through the words

and exclamations of park historians, concessioner managers, and NPS staff in Yellowstone.

Examples of the disdainful Canyon Village creation myth at work include that of Barry Cantor, former Director of Engineering for Xanterra Parks & Resorts joking, “We should have let the fires of 1988 burn through and take Canyon Village with it.” During a professional talk about the history of Canyon Hotel, Yellowstone National Park staff reacted with much laughter as they were shown late 1950s photographs of Canyon Village, as if it were meant to be Canyon Hotel’s successor (Cantor 2005; Hert 2000). Canyon Village’s creation myth was likely handed down throughout the last several decades through the ranks of park staff and Yellowstone enthusiasts (including me when I trained concessioner hotel and lodge front desk staff in the 1990s).

While attitudes toward Canyon Village may have origins in the economic difficulties presented by this development to both the government and YPC, this creation myth probably also formed, in part, from widespread national reactions to post-war Modern landscape architecture in national parks: “The increasingly alienated relationship of architecture to the surrounding landscape—arguably a central characteristic of modernist landscape design and planning—had far more influence on the perception of Canyon Village than the style or details of the structures themselves.” Yellowstone’s administrators might also have poked fun at Canyon Village to absolve and distract themselves from the legacy of problems commonly left behind by Mission 66 projects (Carr 2005b, 356 quote; Carr 2005a).

This creation myth may be affecting government and concessioner investment in the cultural landscape at Canyon. To Canyon’s maintenance foreman, Steve Fuller,

Canyon today feels like a Yellowstone cultural landscape “colony” constructed inside the park. The concessioner and park administrators extract profits from this large tourist settlement, but they do not reinvest a proportionate amount back into Canyon Village, especially when compared to money they spend on historic structures at Old Faithful and Yellowstone Lake (Fuller 2005). The NPS and the primary concessioner are left with the very difficult situation of managing Canyon’s aging commercial buildings and poorly constructed cabins that can not be replaced expediently at the expense of the concessioner. Indeed, redeveloping tourist facilities at Canyon is the most difficult aspect of contract negotiations between the NPS and the park’s concessioner (Hensleigh 2008). The legacy of Canyon Village left for today’s administrators demonstrates the exceptional power wielded by Conrad Wirth in the 1950s before the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, before the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, and before financial security was extended to private park businesses through the Concession Policy Act of 1965. Says one longtime observer:

The history of Yellowstone reveals a recurring mistake of confidence, with each generation imagining itself on the brink of solving “the problem”.... We’ve imagined ourselves wise enough to control [change in Yellowstone] and have rushed to judge what is wrong with it. And every time we looked hard enough, we discovered that there was more wrong with our judgment than with Yellowstone. (Schullery 1997, 246, 247)

Canyon’s Cultural Landscape as a Political Frontier

The history of Canyon’s cultural landscape in Yellowstone National Park reflects both the popularity of the area’s natural features and the federal government’s mandate to

develop and protect the same. The early transformation of Canyon's environment not only altered the landscape, it set down the first chapter in an unwitting "text."

Landscape has become the text on which social meaning is inscribed; the palimpsest of power; the site of resistance; the scrim that alternately conceals the workings of capitalist society and reveals our projected identities (Knowles 2001, 466).

Canyon's earliest cultural landscape text reveals the formation and evolving strength of federal government management in a national park. Subsequent chapters in Canyon's landscape story clearly illustrate the importance of changing transportation technology and the evolution of American cultural values. Canyon's cultural landscape also reveals how the federal government controlled and guided park development while facing these technological and cultural changes. From the beginning, Yellowstone was a testing ground for industrial tourism and how it would or would not be accommodated (Schullery 1997, 127). Ultimately, Canyon's landscape provides distinct clues about this testing ground and the evolving political relationship between Yellowstone's tourist service providers—the park's concessioners—and those in charge.

Historian Greg Nobles offered another interpretation of the debatable idea of an American "frontier" that is useful to a discussion of Canyon's evolving cultural landscape. Nobles applied the term "frontier" not geographically, where the idea meets its greatest criticism (i.e. Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier thesis" of the American West), but rather in the realm of politics. According to Nobles, a frontier of control exists when, "no culture, group, or government can claim effective control or hegemony over others" (Nobles 1997, xii quote, xiii, xiv). In our case, although the Department of the

Interior was charged with managing development in Yellowstone National Park, a national park was a new and unfamiliar category of land use. Early federal managers were thus inconsistently effective in controlling where tourist settlements were established in Yellowstone as they familiarized themselves with their new stewardship role. These inconsistencies reveal a shifting “national park frontier” of control, enabling organic settlements to establish. This frontier evolved through time and reflected how the federal government matured in its vision to develop Yellowstone for tourists, yet protect the park for future generations. It is and was predictable that this national park frontier played out within the geography of Yellowstone with its unparalleled geologic features and status as the first national park.

Management of Yellowstone began under the Department of the Interior in 1872 with the signing of the park’s two-paragraph-long Organic Act. This brief text placed a boundary around millions of acres of wild land, including Yellowstone’s Grand Canyon, and assigned control of tourist activities and settlement to the Interior Department. In 1883, the Organic Act was adjusted by Congress (Sundry Civil Appropriations Act) to, among other things, more specifically define limits to the locations of tourist development. For Canyon, the 1883 Act *prohibited* development within one-quarter mile of Yellowstone Falls. Following this Act, Canyon’s first generation of accommodations, the YNPIC tent hotel and the YPA addition of a prefabricated first Canyon Hotel, were erected at the West Rim, but in violation of the 1883 adjustment. YNPIC naturally selected the prime location for a tourist settlement at the canyon’s West Rim while the government ignored the violation. At the time, concessioner leases were enforced by two parties: The local (and often ineffective) assistant superintendents and Yellowstone’s

absentee landlord at the Department of Interior. The confusion caused by this split of authority almost permitted the installation of “appliances” in the form of an elevator and aerial trolley at the head of Yellowstone’s Grand Canyon! Even legislators entered this frontier of political control when passing adjustments to the park’s Organic Act in 1883, 1890, and 1894.

Despite its passage, the Hayes Act of 1894, was not explicit enough to provide unquestionable direction regarding tourist development that could detract from the experience of the canyon’s rims. The Hayes Act reduced the ruling strength as well as the development-free zone established in the 1883 Sundry bill. The Hayes Act stated that concessioners could not build within one-eighth mile from the canyon’s rims. This did not apply to government structures such as the Canyon Soldier Station at the West Rim. The text clearly defined applicability to concessioner *hotels*. Legislators did not anticipate controlling other concessioner businesses common in western settlements such as stores, eating establishments, informal camping areas, or alternate lodging besides a hotel. More important, while Hayes Act language did bring the federal government closer to controlling Canyon’s settlement, Congress weakened the “shall not” and “may not” language used to define where hotels could be built. The Hayes Act did not require enforcement of the spatial limitations regardless of concession type:

This Act, however, is *not to be construed as mandatory upon the Secretary of the Interior*, but the authority herein given is to be exercised in his sound discretion. (Haines 1977b, 476 emphasis added)

This discretion left room for the Secretary of the Interior to lease land within one-eighth mile of the canyon's rim to William Wylie and Shaw and Powell for their permanent camps just before and just after the turn of the century. This flexibility made the park's political environment more hospitable to concessioner businesses, which was arguably needed at the time. The permanent camp company leases and their subsequent camp construction began a process of re-establishing the organic, formerly illegal, West Rim settlement produced during Canyon's first generation of accommodations.

This legal West Rim settlement at Canyon grew in size and intensity when the Department of the Interior delegated control of national parks to Stephen Mather with the establishment of the NPS in 1916. Mather's admission of automobiles to Yellowstone (compounded by his parks public relations campaigns) sparked Canyon's landscape intensification. Horace Albright followed Mather as NPS Director in 1929. Albright strengthened the effectiveness of the NPS (and his office) by hiring professional planners and landscape architects who adopted master planning and the practice of zoning for park management. Albright's professionalization of national park landscape design transferred the discretion offered through the Hayes Act down the chain of command from the Secretary of the Interior through Albright's directorship to the service's new planners and landscape architects.

With master planning and zoning tools, the NPS's new design teams graphically mapped the spatial language of the Hayes Act's into newly designated zones—Yellowstone's "sacred areas." This action marked a significant turning point in the "national park frontier" of control. It is through this master planning process that earlier lease decisions made by the Secretary of Interior were overturned by planners

empowered to condemn Canyon's organic settlement based on their interpretation of Hayes Act as law. Remarkably, the frontier had shifted enough to counter the strong influence of Canyon's first effective settlement, enabling planners to break Canyon's settlement location, pattern, and style.

Canyon's 1939 master plan narrative declared that Canyon's settlement "continues to violate this act to a considerable degree." Planners transferred what had been an Interior Department option into an imperative. They further justified their decision to rigidly interpret the Hayes Act based on pressing, popular, and arguably appropriate ideas from the dominant culture: ideas related to land conservation, free public access, environmental health, aesthetics, as well as government savings by using one, not three separate water and sewer systems at Canyon. Hegemony over the park's primary concessioner began in 1939 when YPC agreed to build the new, preconceived settlement at Canyon while simultaneously abandoning its previous investments near the canyon's rims without compensation for possessory interest. Little did YPC realize the ultimate cost of that concession once the railroads pulled their rail lines and financial resources away from the boundaries of Yellowstone National Park.

While dominion over YPC in Yellowstone began in the late 1930s, the plans for Canyon Village existed only on paper. The NPS began planning a pre-conceived settlement for Canyon. The NPS spent federal dollars on surveying and development of village utilities while YPC was somewhat financially cushioned under its twenty-year contract signed in 1936. When that contract expired in 1956, it coincided with three additional changing conditions—deteriorating tourist facilities, the unprecedented boom in post-war tourism, and Conrad Wirth's tenure as a very strong Director of the NPS.

Wirth cited the development of Canyon Village as an example of “better cooperation between the concessionaires and the government.” Instead, these four elements in the evolving national park frontier of control combined together to form the start of YPC’s own “perfect storm,” which ultimately swamped YPC with Canyon Village (Wirth 1980, 270 quote, 271). Ultimately, Canyon Village was not an example of successful partnerships with a national park concessioner.

Still, the national park frontier of control continued its evolution when the public objected to Mission 66 as overdevelopment and when legislators passed the Concessions Policy Act of 1965. The most recent “redevelopment” chapter of Canyon’s cultural landscape text illustrates this shift in power as administrators cope with the legacy of Wirth’s domination over YPC.

Wirth later credited Mission 66 for “restoring the full beauty of the canyon” (Wirth 1980, 209). The belief in the late 1950s was that Canyon’s organic settlement was removed because it “encroached upon the view of the Canyon” (Canyon Village Special 1957, 3). To test that logic, when the two most famous Yellowstone viewsheds (the canyon with Lower Falls and the Upper Geyser Basin) are compared, it is evident that tourist development at the Upper Geyser Basin by far presented a greater challenge to restoring the full beauty of that park landscape (Figure 140). Canyon, as Yellowstone’s second most famous visitor development, was politically easier to control by the NPS. Planners also could point to Hayes Act specifications that they deemed law and declare entire buildings, indeed entire developments at Canyon, in violation of the Act. At the Upper Geyser Basin, a few feet of Old Faithful Inn’s East Wing and a few yards of Old Faithful Lodge violated the Old Faithful Sacred Area, a one-eighth mile zone encircling

the geyser (NPS 1933). Planners were empowered to remove Canyon's settlement based on spatial rules, not on an altruistic sense of duty toward restoring tourists' views.

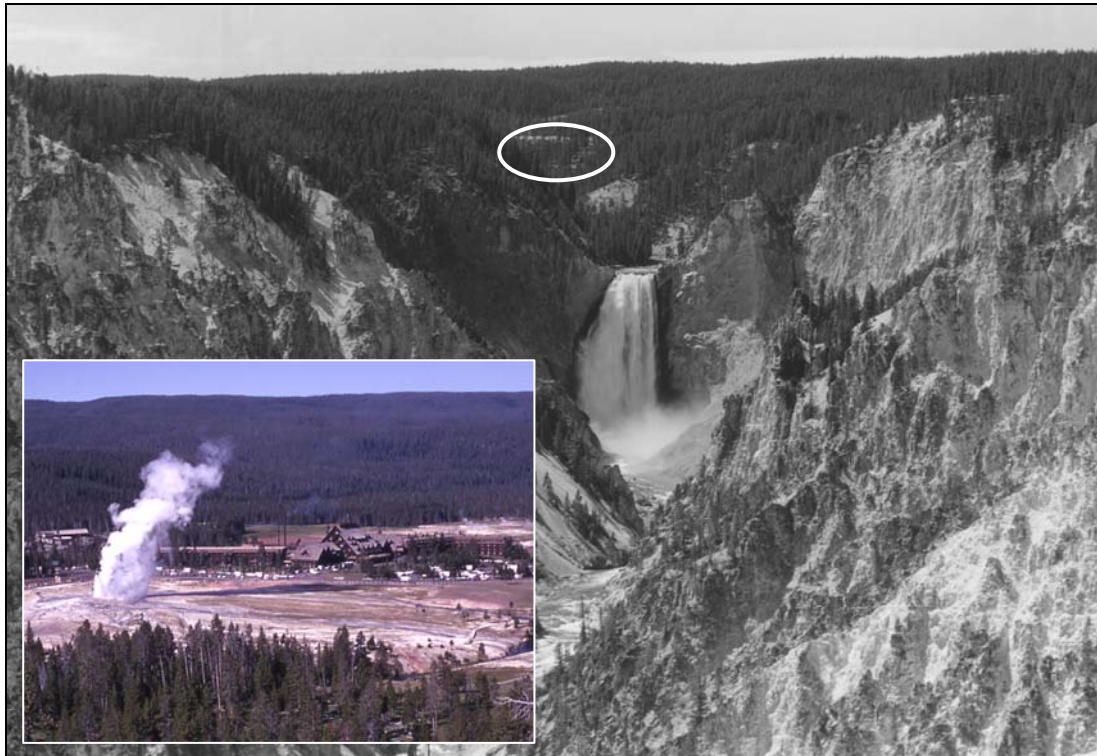


Figure 140: Developed Sites Visible in Two Famous Yellowstone Views: Main graphic—Yellowstone's Grand Canyon from Artist Point, 1936 with temporary CCC camp and forested site of Pryor's Store circled (Yellowstone Photo Collection); Inset—Old Faithful Geyser and Old Faithful Inn from Observation Point, 1969 (Yellowstone Photo Collection)

In addition, the structures targeted for removal at Canyon had far fewer human advocates, or the “agency” granted through cultural status. These were the smaller structures that were previously considered “lower class” service buildings for early sagebrushers and later automobile tourists. Imagine the NPS aiming the first late-1930s wrecking ball at an iconic, railroad-class hotel such as Old Faithful Inn. Choosing to move Canyon's organic settlement first was a test, enabled by turning the Hayes Act

guidelines into rules that were unquestionably violated at Canyon. The cultural landscape changes made at the start of Mission 66 were more an exercise of power than a restoration of a revered park view, especially when park managers were faced with the post-war recreation crisis and by embarrassing, outdated, and deteriorated tourist facilities.

In the 1950s, meeting the dual mission of the NPS—to both provide for the enjoyment of parks while protecting them—meant transitioning to low-impact visitor facilities. Conrad Wirth and the NPS saw the transition to Canyon Village as an example of how this low-impact approach could work in Yellowstone and elsewhere. The village could accommodate a large number of tourists in a contained space separate from sensitive features. Canyon Village was created as a preconceived, fourth generation place designed with specific goals in mind—Yellowstone's first such settlement. Canyon Village today is an example of park planners imagining facilities designed to meet visitor needs while protecting resources, but it is also a demonstration of the power and control that the NPS had evolved to wield.

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