

The evolution of the cultural landscape in Yellowstone National Park's Upper Geyser Basin and the changing visitor experience, 1872-1990

by Karl John Byrand

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Earth Sciences
Montana State University
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Abstract:
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This thesis uses historical maps, superintendent reports, and National Park Service and concessionaire correspondence to reconstruct the development that took place on this landscape. It also relies on diaries, travel brochures, and guidebooks to reconstruct the experience that was sold to the visitor. The results should not only offer a greater insight into the changing values we place on our sacred and symbolic lands but also present park planners with a historical geographic narrative to assist them in planning future projects.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE IN YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK'S UPPER GEYSER BASIN AND THE CHANGING VISITOR EXPERIENCE, 1872-1990

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
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in

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This thesis has been read by each member of the thesis committee and has been found to be satisfactory regarding content, English usage, format, citations, bibliographic style, and consistency, and is ready for submission to the College of Graduate Studies.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

EXPLORING YELLOWSTONE'S UPPER GEYSER BASIN 1

Introduction 1
Justification 6
History of the Landscape 10
Literature Review 17
Methods and Sources 32

PERIOD ONE: 1872-1904 36

Forming a Park Idea in Early Yellowstone 36
The Upper Geyser Basin 43
Park Facilities and Infrastructure 44
Roads and Trails 49
Interpretation 54
Concessions 57
Conclusions 87

PERIOD TWO: 1905-1940 89

Favoring Use Through Development 89
The Upper Geyser Basin 97
Government Facilities 97
Infrastructure 105
Interpretation 107
Concessions 125
Conclusions 163

TABLE OF CONTENTS—Continued

Page

PERIOD THREE: 1941-1972 167

Finding a Balance Between Use and Preservation 167
Upper Geyser Basin 173
Park Facilities and Infrastructure 176
Roads and Trails 180
Interpretation 185
Concessions 192
Conclusions 202

PERIOD FOUR: 1973-1990 205

Focusing on the Ecosystem 205
The Upper Geyser Basin 207
Park Facilities and Infrastructure 207
Concessions 215
Conclusions 224

THE CHANGING VISITOR EXPERIENCE 227

Perception and Personality of a Place 227
Period One, 1879-1904: For the Fire 233
Period Two, 1905-1940: For the Fun 246
Period Three, 1941-1972: For the Feralness 261
Period Four, 1973-1990: For the Four Seasons of It 270
For the Future 276

REFERENCES CITED 281

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.	Map of Yellowstone National Park	2
2.	Map of the Upper Geyser Basin, 1880	45
3.	The Upper Geyser Basin Soldier Station	50
4.	Map of the Upper Geyser Basin, 1904	51
5.	Coaches Crossing Riverside Bridge	55
6.	Yellowstone Park Improvement Company's First Concession at the UGB	61
7.	The "Shack" Hotel	64
8.	Interior of Old Faithful	73
9.	Old Faithful Inn	75
10.	Wylie's Upper Geyser Basin Tent Camp	80
11.	Haynes's Upper Geyser Basin Studio	84
12.	Map of the Upper Geyser Basin, 1940	101
13.	The Upper Geyser Basin Bear Feeding Grounds	110
14.	The Upper Geyser Basin Museum of Thermal Activity	114
15.	The Upper Geyser Basin Amphitheater	117
16.	West Wing of Old Faithful Inn	131
17.	Shaw and Powell Camping Company Office and Dining Room	136

LIST OF FIGURES — Continued

Figure — Page

18. Old Faithful Lodge 139
19. Map of 1940 Cabins, Detail 142
20. Yellowstone Park Company Camp Office and Cabins 145
21. Brothers's Bathhouse 156
22. Hamilton's First Store in the Upper Geyser Basin 159
23. Map of the Upper Geyser Basin, 1972 178
24. Boardwalk in the Upper Geyser Basin 181
25. The Upper Geyser Basin Visitor Center 191
26. The Snow Lodge 196
27. Map of the Upper Geyser Basin, 1990 216
28. Map of 1990 Cabins, Detail 221
29. The Four Seasons Snack Shop 223
30. Northern Pacific Railroad Brochure, 1911 248
31. Yellowstone Park Camps Company Brochure, 1925 252
32. Yellowstone Park Company Brochure, 1972 262
33. TW Services Brochure, circa 1970s 274
34. Yellowstone Park/Old Faithful Memorabilia 280

ABSTRACT

National park landscapes have changed since they were first encountered as wilderness tracts and then subsequently adopted for special protection. The Upper Geyser Basin of Yellowstone National Park serves as a prime example of this evolution. This thesis investigates the primary influences on the cultural landscape of the Upper Geyser Basin, finding that it was shaped by the dictates and demands of park managers, concessionaires, and visitors. Specifically, landscape evolution was often a result of the changing values of these key shapers; these changing values and landscapes in turn altered the visitor experience.

This thesis uses historical maps, superintendent reports, and National Park Service and concessionaire correspondence to reconstruct the development that took place on this landscape. It also relies on diaries, travel brochures, and guidebooks to reconstruct the experience that was sold to the visitor. The results should not only offer a greater insight into the changing values we place on our sacred and symbolic lands but also present park planners with a historical geographic narrative to assist them in planning future projects.

> The hissings and rumblings attending an eruption of these large geysers are almost unbearable, and the very earth trembles beneath your feet.
>
> —W. O. Owen, 1883

EXPLORING YELLOWSTONE'S UPPER GEYSER BASIN

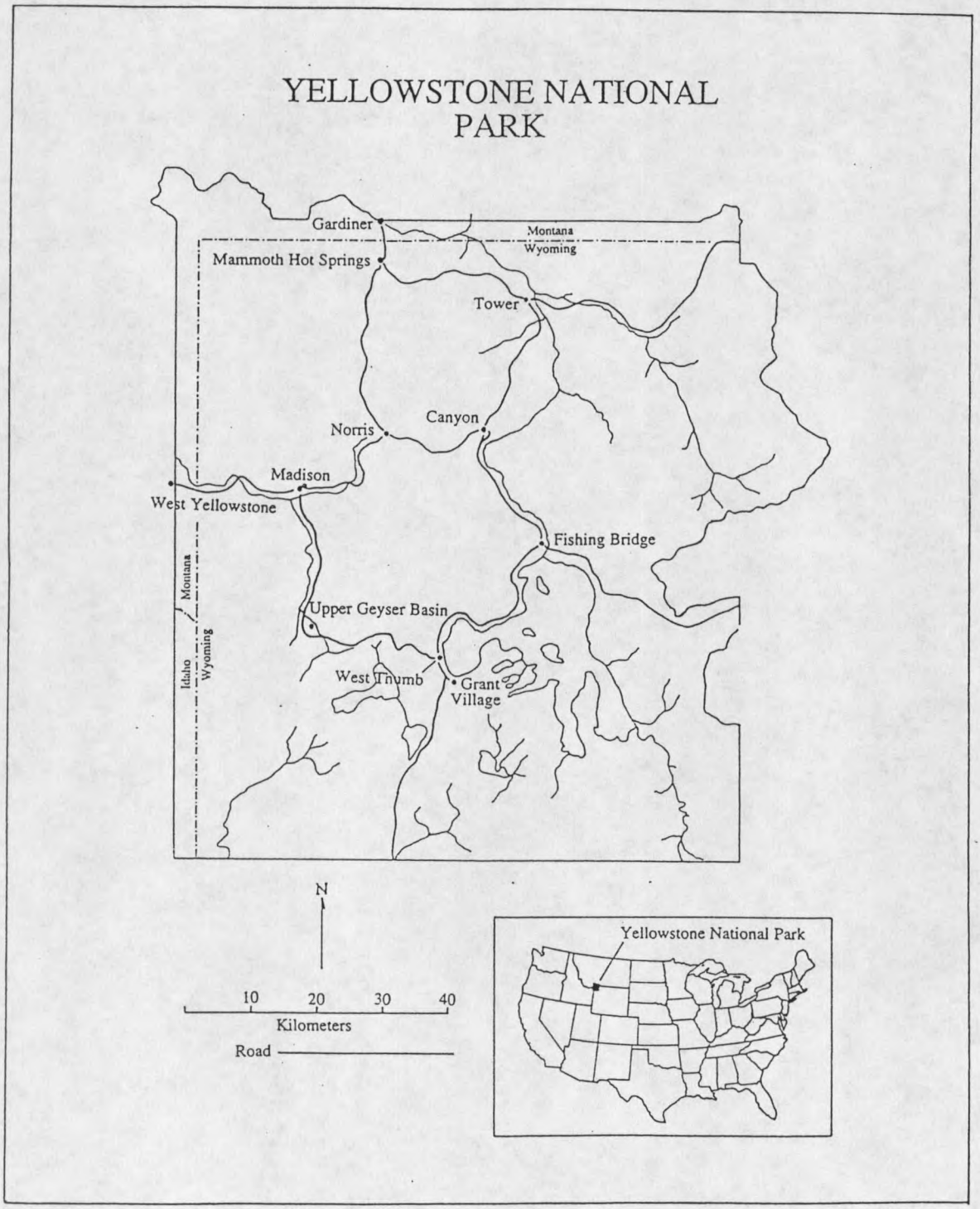
Introduction

This study reconstructs the evolution of the cultural landscape in Yellowstone National Park's Upper Geyser Basin (UGB/Basin) and the way visitors have experienced this changing landscape through time. More precisely, this work is an examination of the detailed changes in the cultural landscape that took place within this area between 1872 and 1990. I identify the external and internal forces that influenced these landscape changes, and I analyze when the greatest landscape change took place. I also examine key elements from past eras that have contributed to the present-day collection of landscape features in the UGB. Finally, I assess how these changes in the landscape affected the experiences of visitors over time and how the National Park Service and concessionaires portrayed the UGB.

Yellowstone National Park (Fig. 1) stands out as a unique area, in part because of the many geysers it contains. In fact, the park possesses approximately sixty percent of the Earth's geysers. Most of these park features are concentrated in separate pockets known as geyser basins. One particular cluster, the Upper Geyser Basin (an area in the park's southwest quadrant),

Figure 1. Yellowstone National Park

Also known as Wonderland, wasteland, wilderness preserve, and world-famous resort, the park encompasses 3,458 square miles, most situated in the northwest corner of Wyoming.



has the greatest concentration of geysers anywhere in the world. Indeed, centered in this area of about one square mile are over 150 geysers—accounting for twenty-five percent of the world's total (Bryan, 1991).

Prior to Yellowstone's establishment as a national park, the UGB was a popular destination for the early explorers of the region.

> While it was recognized that all of Yellowstone was worth preserving, it was probably the Upper Basin above all else that provided the greatest wonders and led to the founding of the world's first national park (Bryan, 1991, 21).

The UGB's significance does not depend solely on the number of its geysers, but also on their great size and strength. For instance, the intermittent geothermal fountains of Daisy, Giantess, and Beehive all spout to heights well over a hundred feet. However, the best known and most popular geyser in this area is undoubtedly Old Faithful—as indicated in part by the number of tourists it attracts every year. Approximately three million people visit Yellowstone annually; a stop at Old Faithful is certain to be on the agenda of their visit (Vale and Vale, 1989).

This reliable geyser has come to have a personality of "its" own—indeed, in many writings, people refer to Old Faithful as a "he," occasionally as a "she" (For more on the subject of gender as applied to geysers, see Majoc, 1992). Whatever its gender, Old Faithful has been billed as the "star feature," "perhaps the most loved," the "old favorite," and the "most famous geyser" (Yellowstone Park Association, circa 1902; Hubbard and Hubbard, 1915, 17; Hatfield, 1902, 54; Northern Pacific Railroad, 1947). It is always the headliner,

always spoken of in a complimentary light. Because of its dependability in giving a great "show," Old Faithful has become a mascot of sorts, an emblem of our public scenic lands. Portraits of its eruption stand out on T-shirts and other souvenirs, grace book covers and park documents. It serves as the namesake of another famous landmark, albeit a human-made one—Old Faithful Inn. Concessionaires tout their proximity to Old Faithful Geyser as a primary selling point. Park Service brochures have promoted it as "the symbol of Yellowstone National Park" (NPS, 1957). Indeed, Old Faithful is destined to become the enduring symbol of the National Park idea (Runte, 1987), perhaps because it offers a reliable spectacle "for the...enjoyment of the people" (Organic Act, 1 March 1872).

However, Old Faithful Geyser no longer stands out as a unique feature within a wild, undeveloped landscape; it has become a centerpiece of an ever-evolving cultural landscape. It is surrounded by many human-made structures, such as gift shops, gas stations, and hotels. Besides these facilities, numerous roads, parking lots, boardwalks, trails, wheelchair-accessible ramps, and bicycle paths have also been constructed—thus paving the way for easier access to and from the Basin's wonders and the facilities that service its many visitors.

The structures and pathways that have been placed in this area to accommodate these visitors have changed over time. In fact, over the years the UGB has seen a plethora of facilities come and go. Moreover, these

alterations shaped not only the landscape itself but also the way people have experienced this area through time. For instance, a visit to the UGB during the 1890s differed markedly from one in the 1990s.

The late nineteenth-century visit would have consisted of one full day (if not several) of strolling directly on the geyser cones and even peering into the features between eruptions. Visitors also passed the time by wading in the hot water overflowing from the thermal features and by dropping a handkerchief in the Handkerchief Pool, to watch it disappear, only to resurface clean. For them, the landscape offered adventure of a tactile nature—they could readily reach toward the thermal features for experimentation and play, such as to boil eggs in a bubbling pool or stuff items into a spouter, to watch them explode out during the next eruption. Before bedding down at one of the three campgrounds that the Basin offered, from where they could readily see the thermal features, visitors often topped off their evening by watching, from a close vantage point, the bears dine at the garbage dump.

The late twentieth-century encounter in this area is quite different. For instance, during the summer season, the main parking lot becomes jammed with automobiles. Waiting for Old Faithful's eruption, visitors crowd onto its surrounding benches. As it spouts, they snap countless photos and record immeasurable feet of video tape. After the show, they may then quickly visit, via raised boardwalks, some other thermal features. They scan the hillsides

for bears, but few visitors ever see one. Before heading back to their cars and on to the next site on their checklist, they may stop at the Basin's Hamilton Store for an ice cream cone or a plastic-coated place mat bearing an image of their favorite geyser. They may also stop off at the state-of-the-art visitor center to watch a short film, to get scientific explanations of how geysers work, or to learn details of the UGB's ecosystem; then, they may go on to tour the lobby of the Old Faithful Inn. Those who wish to remain overnight are limited to staying indoors, and many visitors are disappointed when they discover that room reservations for the Old Faithful Inn must be booked months in advance.

Justification

Yellowstone's Upper Geyser Basin offers a richly evolving cultural landscape that reflects visitor wants and needs, as well as past decisions made by park administrators and concessionaires. According to Peirce Lewis, studying cultural landscapes in America is of importance because they have "a great deal to say about the United States as a country and Americans as people." Landscapes reflect our tastes, our values, and our aspirations; they can be used as mirrors to reflect the cultures that have occupied and changed them (Lewis, 1979, 12). Thus, by examining a landscape we should also be able to examine the cultures that have occupied and created it; that is, the landscape can be treated as a palimpsest that contains a written record of the

cultural forces generating cultural change. Such examination proved useful in this study, for the changes on the UGB's landscape examined herein indeed reflect changes in American culture between 1872 and 1990.

Beyond furthering our understanding of the values that the American people possess, as well as showing how these values manifest themselves on a cultural landscape, a study of the UGB provides a unique opportunity. Specifically, this landscape is not ordinary, but falls within the realm of the symbolic and sacred. "Tourist attractions" could be considered "sacred places of a nation or people," places which "speak to humanity" (Sears, 1989, 7; Tuan, 1977, 164). Parks, which are normally viewed as secular landscapes, could be considered sacred space "given the force of our sentiment toward them" (Tuan, 1978, 84). Owned by the public, held in trust for the future, national parks deserve an attention different from that of tourist attractions in the Disneyland-vein. Earning special distinction are Yellowstone, with its ranking as our first national park and the most popular, and its Upper Geyser Basin, being known as "the greatest geyser basin in the world" (Haynes, 1934, 60). This sentiment is sacred not in the sense that one bows in the presence of these landscapes, but because of what they mean to us, as individuals and as a nation. The attachment of the American population to Yellowstone, and to the Old Faithful area in particular, was exemplified during the 1988 fires and the resultant media coverage around the globe given to Yellowstone,

especially to the threat the firestorms posed to Old Faithful Inn and its surroundings.

> If there was anyone in the world who hadn't heard of the Yellowstone fires by August 1, then they would soon enough. As it became apparent that one of the nation's most important historical structures, the Old Faithful Inn, was in danger of being burned, the media rushed to the park in ever greater droves. By the time...[the fire team leader] arrived to direct the first defense of Old Faithful, there seemed to be as many journalists in the park as firefighters (Sholly, 1991, 227).

The fallout from the park's fire policy resulted in more than scorched plateaus and mountainsides, but also flaring tempers. As nearly half of the park burned, "most Americans were mad," according to the park's Chief Ranger, Dan R. Sholly (1991, 231). Of course, economics and the safety of the surrounding communities played a role, but many citizens were horrified and offended by the thought of their national treasure going up in smoke.

The notion of sacred space is closely linked to that of symbolic landscapes, which also possess great meaning to people. According to Meinig,

> [a] mature nation has its symbolic landscapes. They are part of the iconography of nationhood, part of the shared set of ideas and memories and feelings which binds people together (Meinig, 1979, 164).

Studying the changing landscape of the UGB affords us an opportunity to determine the various "binding ideas and feelings" that visitors, park administrators, and concessionaires had toward this sacred and symbolic landscape over time. Moreover, we can examine how these ideas and feelings may have influenced the evolution of the Basin's landscape.

This study also reconstructs the key decisions that shaped how we have used and spatially organized what is probably one of our most highly valued parcels of public land. Specifically, this is a detailed examination of the evolution of settlement in our oldest national park's most symbolic area, and it may clue us in on the direction that landscape changes are taking in other parks in the system. Also, an investigation into the evolving ways in which visitors have experienced this area reveals the UGB's evolving cultural meanings over time. Furthermore, this study compares the landscape that the park system and concessionaires promoted and advertised with the one that the visitors actually encountered. Such an examination presents a fresh approach to what traditional historians of the National Park Service (NPS/Park Service) provide in their narratives.

Just as there is a scholarly significance to this study, there is also a utilitarian one. Specifically, after examining the available literature on Yellowstone National Park and after speaking with Yellowstone's park historian and archivist, I have learned that this landscape's spatial chronology has not been thoroughly examined. This study offers the NPS a historical geography of this area that can serve as a reference for those utilizing the park's archives. Also by reconstructing the development of this much-used area, the Park Service may learn from past mistakes so as to avoid repeating them in future construction projects, in this area as well as others.

History of the Landscape

With the reintroduction of wolves to Yellowstone in 1995, the list of species inhabiting the park now matches that of when the park was originally formed. For many Americans, this step brings us closer to ensuring Yellowstone fulfills a destiny as a wilderness preserve. Although now perceived in part as a stronghold for the wild, Yellowstone's natural landscape has undergone a human-made evolution, both physical and experiential. The UGB embodies this evolution within the parks and has been the setting for some of the most intense human impacts in Yellowstone. A number of forces have influenced its management, the most significant related to perceived visitor wants and needs, philosophical attitudes, politics, economics, and advances in technology. Whereas subsequent chapters focus in depth on how the managers, concessionaires, visitors, and other external forces affected development and the visitor experience in the UGB, the following provides a brief overview.

In Yellowstone's early years, from 1872 to 1886, management of the park depended largely on the abilities and authority of individuals, particularly those appointed by the Department of the Interior to serve as park superintendent. Doing everything within their abilities during their administration sometimes proved not enough; poaching, vandalism, and littering prevailed, and the concessionaires seemed more powerful than the official overseers. However, one man in particular proved to be more

successful in overcoming these hurdles during Yellowstone's early years and stood out as a greater and more active agent in the evolution of Yellowstone's landscape. Though only serving from 1877 to 1882, Superintendent Philetus Norris launched a massive public relations campaign, worked to preserve the park's features, and implemented many construction projects, including that of the first permanent structure in the UGB. He also greatly influenced the evolution of the park's interpretive landscape and was responsible for the laying of the first real road and trail system linking Yellowstone's unique features. Its construction greatly affected other aspects of the park's landscape, for the...

> existence [of] the road and trail network encouraged the systematic park tour, helped determine points for hotels and lunch stops, and created an aura of civilization that tourists found comforting amidst the wilderness (Bartlett, 1985, 224).

In many ways, the Army's thirty-year term as Yellowstone's guardian (1886 to 1916) was less influential than Norris's far shorter reign, although its soldiers did rid the park of most of the poachers who encroached after Norris's departure. The troops also discouraged vandalism as best they could and established soldier stations at various points in the park. Also during this tenure a great landscape change in the UGB took place with the construction of Old Faithful Inn in 1903-1904. In all, the Army brought the park up to a minimum acceptable standard.

At the Army's dismissal, the newly established National Park Service strove to exceed greatly its predecessors. At first, Yellowstone's policies were

shaped by the local superintendent, with Superintendent Horace Albright managing the park from 1916 to 1929. He brought many positive changes to Yellowstone's landscape, including an excellent ranger force and authority over concessionaires, compelling them to upgrade their facilities. After his term, however, the NPS transferred much of the decision-making power to its officials in Washington.

Even under this long-distance supervision, the parks did receive improvements through Depression-era funding and works projects. However, these improvements proved to be short-lived, for the Second World War consumed money and manpower that would have been destined for the parks. Many park facilities fell into disrepair, and interpretation was lacking. After the war a great deluge of visitors rushed to the parks, and park facilities could not handle the stress.

A reaction to this great post-World War II prosperity and travel boom was Mission 66, a ten-year project that brought development to the parks at an unprecedented scale. Specifically, the NPS designed Mission 66 to "expand the carrying capacity of the parks by reconstructing roads, adding visitor centers, and increasing overnight accommodations" (Runte, 1987, 173). The new, improved roads and facilities, however, served as an open invitation for more visitors. In turn, they required more facilities, thereby generating more development. In all, Mission 66 greatly affected the national park landscapes, including that of the UGB.

Throughout these phases of management, external forces exerted an influence on the area's landscape. As Richard Bartlett notes, "A changing America has always had an impact on Yellowstone" (1985, 309). These forces have taken many forms, such as advances in technology, which affected all of the national parks as well as the larger cultural landscape. For example, the completion of railroad spurs to Yellowstone's northern and western entrances not only made the park more accessible but also greatly increased the comfort in getting there. Instead of having to ride countless hours on rutted wagon roads, visitors now could travel via the smooth iron rails in less time. This new convenience also altered visitor numbers. For instance, after the completion of the Northern Pacific spur to Yellowstone's northern entrance in 1883, visitor numbers jumped fivefold (from 1,000 in 1882 to 5,000 in 1883) (Haines, 1977, 478).

Given the railroads' power to increase visitation, park preservationists turned to them for the campaign against resource development. The latter was looming larger as a threat to public lands, in part because technological advances made it easier to extract various resources from areas once considered "worthless." Preservationists believed that by stimulating interest in the parks by means of increased visitation, they would be more effective in thwarting such resource development. Thus, the preservationists and the railroads created what Alfred Runte terms a "pragmatic alliance" (1974, 14). The preservationists backed the railroads' park development, and in turn,

the railroads elevated park support through promotional literature, magazines, and the construction of improved facilities. In all, the railroads greatly altered the parks' landscapes as well as the park experience.

It must be understood that the key players in the dispute over resource development—both those who wanted to develop within the parks and those aligned against them—were from the same class: that of the wealthy elite. This struggle was not what would be typically viewed today as Democrat versus Republican or liberal versus conservative. The preservationists were conservative both fiscally as well as politically, tended to be bankers, lawyers, and industrialists; they were not against capitalism, but against the formation of monopolies. Their desire to protect natural areas such as Yellowstone was out of a belief that these areas should serve as classrooms, laboratories, and wilderness temples that complemented the development of industrialized America (Schrepfer, 1971).

Much like the railroad, the automobile has had a great impact on our national parks. Motorized vehicles require a different landscape, one encompassing auto campgrounds, wider roads, and service stations. Moreover, this new travel mode brought a new type of tourist, which in turn brought a cultural change to Yellowstone.

> The automobile had democratized access to the national parks. No longer the domain of wealthy and leisured travelers, the national parks now captured the attention of a variety of American travelers who wanted to use the park in new ways (Hyde, 1990a, 162).

A visit to the parks, once subjected to train schedules and expensive hotels, now became a cheaper and more convenient venture. Auto tourists, with camp gear stowed in their trunks, could now sightsee at their own pace. While it is true that the automobile granted greater access to the parks for many people, Hyde tends to generalize this democratization process too much. For example, it was highly unlikely that the automobile opened up the national park experience to Irish immigrants living in New York City or to black sharecroppers. During this initial period of "automobilization" of the United States, the process determining who would visit the parks was still quite selective. This process was based on income and the ability of that income to purchase a certain degree of mobility. To some extent this process is still selective today.

Like advances in technology, changes in economics have influenced the UGB's landscape. During the Depression, the federal government promoted the parks on a massive scale in order to stimulate the economy of the park concessionaires and businesses in bordering towns. As a result of this promotion, and the addition of other units to the park system, tourism greatly increased during the New Deal Era. In 1933, almost 3,500,000 tourists visited national parks and monuments. By the end of the decade, however, this number had more than quadrupled, to well over 16,700,000 (Swain, 1972).

To accommodate this deluge of visitors, the federal government, through its Civilian Conservation Corps and other public works programs, built and improved many new campgrounds and roads. These New Deal programs gave work to thousands of Americans and, in turn, provided the parks with much needed improvements. Their efforts, however, may have been in vain because the Second World War utilized funds and workers that normally would be destined for the national parks. As such, the parks operated on skeleton crews and many of the park's facilities fell into disrepair.

After the war, the American middle class now had, in addition to a greatly increased mobility, more leisure time and money, which many chose to spend in our national parks. In fact, the annual visitation to Yellowstone alone grew from 85,347 in 1944 to more than one million in 1948 (Haines, 1977, 479-80). The combination of prewar deterioration and the postwar visitor inrush put tremendous pressure on the park system. As discussed before, Mission 66 helped the parks out of this infrastructural shambles. However, the "improvements" that this program brought about were not well received by the entire public. During the early 1960s, a new environmental philosophy was forming. Whereas most preservationists once conceded that certain development in some areas might be appropriate, many now asserted that any form of development anywhere in the parks was outright harmful. Preservationists adopted the view

> that the facilities which made the national parks accessible to the people appeared to be just as destructive as those which aimed at physically exploiting their natural resources (Foresta, 1984, 61).

This new environmental philosophy, which conflicted with the National Park Service's original goals of development and increased visitation, would change the way a great deal of the public, as well as the NPS itself, viewed the park experience.

Literature Review

Many scholars have discussed the history of the national parks, some in a complimentary light, others with a critical tone; by examining this general history, one gains a better perspective on how and why Yellowstone's UGB evolved in the ways it did.

In his The National Parks: What They Mean to You and Me, Freeman Tilden offers an exhaustive review of most of the national parks and national monuments in the system, including Yellowstone. Along with this literary field trip, he briefly addresses what the parks mean to American citizens. Tilden explains that the parks "are not merely places of spectacular scenic features and curiosities" nor are they "merely places of physical recreation," but also that their primary purpose is preservation, plain and simple (Tilden, 1986, 16). Specifically, he states that

> their purpose is to preserve, in a condition as unaltered as is humanly possible, the wilderness that greeted the eyes of the

first white men who challenged and conquered it (Tilden, 1986, 18-19).

In comparison with Tilden's discussion, Dyan Zaslowsky provides a slightly more in-depth look at the national park system in These American Lands. In this book, Zaslowsky offers a history of the systems that govern our public lands within the United States, including the NPS. Specifically, the book covers the evolution of the Park Service, as well as the problems it has faced in trying to prevent resource exploitation. According to Zaslowsky, a major problem rests in the fact that during the early years of the NPS, its first director, Steven Mather, intensively promoted the parks and in turn developed them for tourist use; Mather could not have foreseen that fifty years later the parks would be in danger of being loved to death. Zaslowsky believes that those methods originally designed to preserve the parks from resource development interests almost eighty years ago will ultimately lead to their destruction. He advises that if we are to preserve these lands, we must have a "shift in emphasis in the administration of the national parks" by focusing not on use, but preservation (Zaslowsky, 1986, 47).

A discussion of park policy also occurs in Ronald Foresta's America's National Parks and Their Keepers. Indeed, he devotes the entire book to detailing the history of the National Park Service and its policies. Foresta contends that the NPS was confused by America's changing values, and that these changes have affected park policy as well as the criteria for the selection of national parks. According to Foresta, during the early years of the Park

Service, there was a constant struggle against losing park lands to the National Forest Service. Thus, along with development and promotion of its parks, the NPS expanded its system to counter this threat. However, starting in the 1960s, the Park Service also had to contend with a new environmental philosophy taking hold among groups that were gaining numbers. Although such groups had supported the Park Service at its inception and during its early development, they were no longer its allies: these groups argued that any development in the parks was bad, and they viewed popular park facilities as a threat. These groups gained more power in Congress through lobbying efforts; subsequently, they gained power over the NPS, which Congress controlled. Foresta believes that this powerful environmental lobby forced the Park Service to shift its base of support from the wishes of the public at large to the focused agenda of environmental groups. Consequently, public support for the parks decreased.

Alfred Runte, in The National Parks: An American Experience, details a history not of the national park system, but of the national park idea, which he believes is still evolving. Yellowstone Park and Old Faithful Geyser figure importantly into Runte's argument that the first parks in the West were surrogates for America's lack of human-made history. However, Runte tends both to generalize the average American's concern regarding this issue and to disregard the power of scenic beauty and extraordinary landscapes as motivators in themselves. Runte also believes that aesthetic quality was not

the only prerequisite: potential park lands also had to be economically worthless. However, developing technology, after the turn of the century, allowed once "worthless" lands to be exploited for their resources. According to Runte, although parks were still valued for scenic beauty, preservationists now needed to justify protection of parks on economic and not emotional grounds. To do just that, the Park Service tried to increase visitation through more development, to make the parks accessible to all; it transformed them from scenic preserves into large recreational areas. However, the increased visitation in the twentieth century began damaging not only the infrastructure but the parks' environment as well. Says Runte, the NPS now faced a dilemma: to limit visitation would risk the support of the parks; to accept more could jeopardize their existence. According to Runte, the problem now rested in the fact that in order to save the parks, the NPS would have to undo the use image it had created and focus on preservation.

Other shorter studies on the national parks and the Park Service also provide particular insight into changes within the UGB. For example, Allan K. Fitzsimmons in his "National Parks: The Dilemma of Development" looks at development in the parks, but he focuses on the location of development centers such as the Upper Geyser Basin; he explains the reasons for their placement, as well as complications associated with those locations. Fitzsimmons believes that today's problems stem from the fact that development centers "were established many decades ago, and resulted from

decision-making that occurred under circumstances far different from present conditions" (Fitzsimmons, 1976, 440-441). According to Fitzsimmons, there are three historical contrasts that affect these placements. First, transportation was much different when the park system developed many of these areas. The use of such slow-paced travel modes as horse and coach demanded that facilities be located near the most popular scenic attractions. For instance, it took early park visitors all day to travel from Yellowstone's Mammoth Hot Springs to Norris Geyser Basin. Fitzsimmons believes that accommodations near scenic areas should now be eliminated because of today's rapid modes of transportation. The second historical contrast that Fitzsimmons relates is the attitude toward the encouragement of tourism; it was much different, far more proactive, when most of the early decisions were made. As a means of gaining political support by attracting visitors, the parks developed many of these areas on an enormous scale. The third historical contrast is that the parks now receive far more tourists than when the park system first established these centers of development. During the time of low visitation, the decision-makers could not have foreseen either the steady surge of visitors who now come to these areas or their potential impact. Fitzsimmons believes that the only way to preserve the scenic integrity of these popular natural areas is to relocate development centers away from them. Indeed, such thinking has shaped past Park Service policies as the UGB has evolved during the twentieth century.

Along with general writings on the park system, literature on particular parks also touches upon patterns and processes observed at Yellowstone's UGB. In Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness, Alfred Runte focuses in part on the concessionaires as a force contributing to the destruction of that park's natural scene. Although the park system eliminated private land claims early in the Yosemite Valley's history and did not allow concessionaires to purchase park lands, Runte argues, "Individuals could still profit by promoting development; they simply could not acquire the attractions themselves" (Runte, 1987, 27). According to Runte, this policy (characteristic of most in the national parks, including Yellowstone) was one of the main causes of spoliation in the valley. As time passed, the concessionaires grew more powerful as they successfully negotiated for leniency and special privileges during the government's quest to boost visitation. One particular concessionaire, David A. Curry, successfully appealed to the press and Congress after being denied the right to expand. Runte believes that Curry's victory is significant, for it demonstrates the influence of concessionaires, whom he says always managed to get their way by justifying expansion as being in the interest of the visitor. Runte believes Yosemite's problems are rooted in the fact that the park was built on a tradition of use and not science, a postulate one could relate to Yellowstone. He says that Yosemite has failed, and will continue to fail in preserving itself,

because it is bound by the compromises of its natural heritage, in which use has been viewed as more important than preservation.

In another study of Yosemite, Stanford Demars, in his The Tourist in Yosemite, 1855-1985, examines the changing visitor experience in the park. He focuses on the different types of tourists who have visited Yosemite and how they have used its landscape. Demars believes that the idea of what our parks should be has changed (and will continue to evolve), and this in turn has affected Yosemite's landscape. Demars identifies four periods in the park's tourist history, some of which resemble trends at Yellowstone. In the first, Yosemite is viewed as a romantic pleasure resort. The onset of this period comes with the end of the Civil War and the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. Because high travel costs served as a social filter, a single, wealthy class began to dominate the Yosemite Valley. This class spent its time there quite differently than those who have visited in more recent times. For instance, while staying in Yosemite, most of the early visitors spent their time viewing the valley's wonders from the comfort of their carriages or from their hotel porches. Quiet meditation, specimen collecting, and sketching the valley's monumental features were popular activities. Overall, this class used the landscape in a social manner rather than a physical one.

The second period that Demars identifies began in the late nineteenth century. This was the period of the camping tourist, whose rise Demars

attributes to what Roderick Nash defined as the "wilderness cult." People in America were becoming disenchanted with industrial society and believed that getting back to the wilderness would bring a sense of spiritual rejuvenation. To these new visitors, hiking and camping became more than a means of getting somewhere; these activities provided an "essence of an experience" in the outdoors. Unlike their predecessors, these new visitors possessed an elitism based not on wealth but on an intellect that could comprehend and enjoy nature. During the latter part of this period, Yosemite established hotel camps to provide some basic comforts to those seeking a "wilderness" experience.

The third period starts with the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916. During this period, Demars believes that the park served as a playground for the nation. Director Mather feared the destruction of the park from exploitative interests and believed the way to save it was by increasing park visitation. According to Demars, Mather did this in three ways. First, he increased the number of park accommodations to keep up with the growing number of visitors. Second, he opened the park to many forms of recreation (e.g., skiing and fishing). Third, he implemented education programs in order to preach to the public the importance of the national parks as areas that provided leisure-time opportunities. Mather's goal was achieved, but at the cost of the park being viewed as a recreation area.

The final period that Demars identifies is what he calls "the wilderness era." During this period there was a realization on the part of the Park Service, as well as the public, that the way Yosemite Valley was being utilized may not be consistent with wilderness goals. Demars says that this wilderness movement had a threefold impact on Yosemite's landscape. First, there was a change in the popular recreation activities in the park; tennis and swimming declined in popularity, while climbing and backpacking increased. Second, to preserve some of its landscape, the park reduced overnight facilities in Yosemite Valley. Third, it prohibited motor vehicles in certain park areas. During this period, the goal was to eliminate many things that appeared inconsistent with the new park idea. According to Demars, one of the main problems in maintaining the park is that throughout Yosemite's history, changing visitor perceptions and habits have complicated the park's relationship between use and preservation, which, in turn, has changed the function and look of Yosemite's landscape.

A more historical look at a national park may be found in Curtis Buchholtz's Rocky Mountain National Park: A History. It is of particular interest to this study as it focuses on the changing perceived value of this area through settlement and visitation history, examines the challenges involved in managing a heavily used park, and reflects trends similar to those of Yellowstone. After an 1858 gold rush, this area attracted visitors because of its summer recreation resources. It grew even more popular with

the closing of the frontier in 1890, which, according to Buchholtz, made Americans realize the finiteness of our lands, the disappearance of our wilderness. The area's establishment as a national park in 1915 hinged on the Estes Park Improvement Association, organized to "promote the preservation of the local natural scene" (Buchholtz, 1983, 130). However, during this period, mass promotion and intensified development helped make Rocky Mountain National Park one of the most popular and widely visited national parks. Then again, after World War II, promotion became a focal point; indeed, according to Runte, "preservation of the area took a backseat to publicity" (Buchholtz, 1983, 198). The park promoted its improvements and advertised itself as a year-round playground with such activities as downhill skiing and ice skating. In the late 1950s, the park reevaluated its purpose and use policies. Activities such as climbing and backpacking became more popular in the park. Between 1965 and 1975 there was an almost 900 percent increase in backcountry use, which had a tremendous impact on trails and vegetation. Park planners realized that the methods that they had used to meet visitors' needs in the 1920s would not work for the 1980s, and that more research would have to be done if this area was to be preserved. The Park Service believed that greater emphasis would now have to be placed on protection of natural features and restriction of certain visitor activities.

Another relevant park study is Challenge of the Big Trees by Dilsaver and Tweed. In this study, the authors examine Sequoia National Park and highlight three stages in the evolution of national parks. They raise various points that pertain directly to this study of the UGB.

According to Dilsaver and Tweed, the first stage took place during the early years of the system, before the National Park Service existed. During this period, the goals and policies of those who oversaw the parks were unclear. At this time, Sequoia National Park lacked long-term planning because its acting superintendent could only serve two terms. (In Yellowstone, the lack of long-term planning was not resultant of any official decree but because of turnover.) Other factors that plagued Sequoia, such as scant visitation and inaccessibility, had little or no bearing on Yellowstone. More relevant to this study of Yellowstone's UGB is the authors' discussion of the second and third stages of the park system.

During the second stage, with the establishment of the National Park Service, Sequoia—and to a great extent Yellowstone—developed recreation and visitor amenities. NPS Director Mather established a use policy, which had a dual goal. First, the promotion of visitation would generate sympathy as well as a justification for the parks' existence. Second, Mather—being a businessman at heart—believed that amenities and recreational opportunities would not only generate increased visitation, but also reap a profit for the parks. In Sequoia, as in Yellowstone, these policies took the

form of the construction of roads and the establishment of interpretation programs. According to Dilsaver and Tweed, this period lasted through the 1920s and 1930s; it ended with the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

The third stage that Dilsaver and Tweed identify overlaps with the second. During this period, the NPS began questioning the appropriateness of the development and recreational activities that it had established within the parks. This questioning spurred the NPS into studying and controlling visitor use. In Sequoia National Park, this control took the form of excluding improper uses of the park, dispersing the infrastructure and activities away from Giant Forest, and regulating concessionaires. According to the authors, this new park preservation attitude would have continued, if not for the interruption of the Second World War. The war sent the parks' facilities into a downward spiral, which caused them to require more development once again. Dilsaver and Tweed believe this caused a repetition of the three aforementioned stages.

The accessibility of the national parks has received scrutiny, and this variable has been critical in shaping the pace and extent of development within the UGB. In "The National Park as a Playground," Curtis Buchholtz addresses the impact of the automobile culture on Glacier National Park. To accommodate auto tourists there, concessionaires and park planners helped change the park experience from one of physical contact to passive observation. These changes took the form of the promotion of indoor

activities in the park's chalets (e.g., dancing), as well as the development of highways, such as the Going-To-The-Sun-Road, to allow better access for automobiles. Buchholtz believes that these changes have converted the park experience from an active participation with nature to a "passive and hurried national park visit" (Buchholtz, 1978, 27).

In a similar vein, Anne Hyde, in her "From Stagecoach to Packard Twin Six," examines auto tourists in Yosemite National Park. Contradicting Buchholtz's observation of the Glacier auto tourist, Hyde believes that the auto tourist in Yosemite had a less passive experience with nature. Hyde says that "Americans, now happily ensconced in their automobiles, wanted to savor the freedom of the road by camping out in the wilds through which they traveled" (Hyde, 1990a, 161). Hyde believes that early auto travel not only gave one a feeling of freedom, but also provided an inexpensive way of vacationing, shattering the previous class structure of the national parks and making them accessible to all.

The history of Yellowstone National Park has received abundant attention by scholars, and many of their studies offer special insights into developments within the UGB. Some of these writings have been purely historical in that they offer a chronology of the park and those who have occupied it. Books such as The Yellowstone National Park, by H. M. Chittenden (edited by R. A. Bartlett), and The Yellowstone Story, by Aubrey L. Haines, provide detailed narrative histories of the park. Other writings are

recreational as well as referential, as is the case with Lee Whittlesey's Yellowstone Place Names. This work has been published for curiosity seekers who wish to know how Bathtub Spring, Bears Playground, and many other features in the park got their names.

Alston Chase's Playing God In Yellowstone is probably one of the most critical studies of Park Service policies within Yellowstone. In this work, Chase states that "today Yellowstone remains a symbol of our aspirations as a people to preserve the natural and cultural roots of our frontier experience" (Chase, 1987, 6). Chase argues, however, that the park is not what it appears to be; it is not a place where time stands still, but a wildlife refuge that is dying because of park mismanagement dating back to when the army began forcing the elk to remain in the park, and to when the National Park Act in 1916 called for the eradication of the wolf. Chase believes the ultimate destruction of the park will not come from outside forces, but from the false idea that natural regulation policy will preserve natural conditions within the park. Of most significance to this study is Chase's discussion of Grant Village. Originally designed as part of the park's natural regulation policy, as a means to lessen visitor impact on high traffic areas, Grant Village became more of a detriment than a solution. It was to replace the facilities that already existed at Old Faithful and Fishing Bridge. However, through the lobbying efforts of special interest groups, the Park Service realized that these areas were too popular and too profitable to eliminate. Those facilities

remained, and the construction of Grant Village continued. According to Chase, development in this area destroyed a watershed and prime grizzly habitat. He believes the park is not a pristine area now and will never be one again, now that humans stepped into the park and played god.

Richard Bartlett's Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged focuses on three groups of people that have occupied and shaped the park in one way or another. (This study of the UGB has adopted an approach similar to Bartlett's, recognizing that these three groups were the primary shapers of the UGB landscape.) First, Bartlett details the history of concessionaires in the park and highlights their struggle with the superintendents to gain greater control. Second, he looks at the park's superintendents in terms of their policies and works. He attributes the greatest achievements to David Wear and Horace Albright. According to Bartlett, they made the most modifications to the park and enforced the park rules as no other superintendents did. Finally, Bartlett looked at the visitors, primarily by breaking Yellowstone visitation into three distinct stages; each presents travelers with different characteristics. According to Bartlett, during the first stage, visitor composition consisted of people living near the park who traveled there by way of horse and wagon. The second stage began with the establishment of the Northern Pacific rail spur to Gardiner in 1883. This was the time of predominantly upper and middle class visitation to the park, and they were the group of people who popularized Yellowstone. The final stage

came with the introduction of the automobile to the park, which brought in a new type of visitor—who in turn altered the makeup of the park's facilities, for most auto tourists wanted to stay at lodges and campgrounds instead of hotels.

All of these earlier studies highlight three themes of particular relevance to an examination of the UGB's evolving cultural landscape. First, the Park Service is a product of its past decisions. Most of the current problems it faces are a result of these decisions; moreover, solutions that were used to remedy past problems will not work to solve those in the parks today. Second, changing values and the evolving idea of what the parks should be have affected and complicated park policies, and sometimes these policies have not been effective in preserving the parks. Finally, within the NPS there has been a growing realization that if the parks are to be preserved, there must be a shift from the traditional emphasis on use to that of preservation.

Methods and Sources

I obtained most of the sources for this study from the Yellowstone National Park archives, Montana State University Special Collections, and the Montana State Historical Society. There were three primary sources from which I drew my data. The first two, the Superintendent's Reports, supplemented by missives and reports included in the archive's file

categories, contain much of the correspondence that took place between the park superintendents, concessionaires, the Secretary of the Interior, the Director of the Park Service, and other significant parties. They also contain records of leases and contracts for the use of park lands, proposed construction of buildings and building sites, financial reports of concessionaires, permanent station records, and reports on roads, bridges, and improvements. Among these sources, I focused specifically on subject matter regarding concessions, interpretation, roads and trails, and park facilities. Third, I utilized the Park Master Plans 1933-74, which contain information in text- and map-form on existing and proposed construction in the park. I investigated for use the Fireman's Fund Insurance Company maps (much like the Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps); however, they did not provide enough detail for this study. Furthermore, I discovered that, many times, records of development in the UGB were lost or just not recorded. In these instances, I used various trail and road maps, scale drawings, blueprints, guidebooks, and other miscellaneous materials in the park archives to fill in, as much as possible, any gaps that existed.

For the reconstruction of the experiential landscape, I used a variety of materials available through the Yellowstone National Park archives and Montana State University Special Collections. Most of these included travel narratives/diaries, concessionaire advertisements, and descriptions contained in guidebooks—basically any material that would provide

evidence of how the presentation of the landscape changed. The procedure was a simple, though time-consuming one: reading through all Yellowstone materials for descriptions of, or references to, the UGB and recording them.

After I gathered these data, I constructed five maps (dated 1880, 1904, 1940, 1972, and 1990) that depict the actual changes in the Upper Geyser Basin's cultural landscape, and I wrote a detailed narrative that explains the changes that have affected this landscape. The changes are categorized into three main topics focusing on Park Service facilities, Park Service infrastructure, and concessionaire facilities. Moreover, the history is divided into four periods of development, each of which are discussed in a chapter and represented on a map. The final chapter reconstructs what the visitor experience may have been like during these periods as well as how the UGB was presented to them. Specifically, for each of the four periods, I revealed the Upper Geyser Basin landscape that was "sold" by the Park Service and concessionaires, and how it was experienced by actual visitors.

The four time intervals, beginning in 1872, correspond to significant changes within the UGB. Period One (1872 to 1904) begins with the inception of Yellowstone as a national park, then goes through the first wave of development, that of Superintendent Norris, and ends with the completion of the Old Faithful Inn in 1904. Period Two (1905 to 1940) started off slowly, but ended up seeing the most intensive development in the UGB: in 1916, park control passed into the ambitious hands of the newly formed National

Park Service. At first to increase support for the parks and then to accommodate the growing numbers of visitors who sought Yellowstone's amenities as a way to escape briefly the decade-long depression, the NPS promoted tremendous physical changes within the UGB. Period Three (1941 to 1972) also witnessed great changes, though at first in terms of deterioration rather than development: during World War II, the parks fell into disrepair. However, the implementation of Mission 66 brought them back up to par, and put a new, more urban face on the UGB. Period Four (1973-1990) saw the effects of a thriving environmental philosophy, which encouraged a reevaluation of what the national park experience should be. Overall, the four time periods show the physical and cultural landscape of the Upper Geyser Basin as it evolved through time, revealing how various external forces and internal policies influenced the human development of this sacred and symbolic earth monument.

> The basin came into sight over the tree-tops below us— merely a litter of steam-jets. It might have been Lowell. Yes; the prospect suggested to my modern mind a manufacturing center in full swing.
>
> —Owen Wister, 1887

PERIOD ONE: 1872-1904

Forming a Park Idea in Early Yellowstone

Historian Alfred Runte (1987) argues that monumentalism provided a footing for the early national park idea; he suggested that the movement was a way to make up for young America's dearth of non-Indian history. Specifically, non-Native Americans could not share a collective pride in man-made monuments of their past: these Americans, primarily of European extraction, had no long-standing cathedrals, castles, or other commemorations to their ancient history. While there may be some validity to this argument, Runte tends to oversimplify. The average American living during the mid-nineteenth century probably had little concern for the fact that the American landscape was not riddled with dilapidated castles and cathedrals. It is more than likely that the new national parklands were established chiefly because of their scenic beauty and the exceptional quality of their landscapes. Regardless of the motivation, however, after the mid-nineteenth century, Americans turned to the American West as a wellspring for the extraordinary. There, they discovered a source that would equal, if not

outshine, anything that Europe, as well as the rest of America, possessed: the natural landscape. While the size of the United States alone rivaled the European continent, Americans did not use their nation's vastness as the source of pride. Instead, they relied on specific, spectacular areas that possessed outstanding beauty and sublimity. These "earth monuments" would become the Americans' collective pride, a link to the country's past (Runte, 1987, 22).

However, "monumentalism," as described by Alfred Runte, did not only lead to these lands being set aside as American hallmarks, but also influenced how they would be developed. Specifically, the key shapers of Yellowstone's cultural landscape—the managers, visitors, and concessionaires—followed the dictates of monumentalism when they were involved in the process of establishing facilities in areas deemed the most scenic. In Yellowstone National Park, the prized scenic areas lay dispersed throughout its vast acreage, leading to facility nodes, or developed stops, on a several-day tour of the park.

Park managers were one of those key shapers of Yellowstone's cultural landscape. Their policies and resources were somewhat erratic during the park's early years (1872 to 1904) in that the park operated better in some years than others. Two variables contributed to the park's uncertain management in the early years: (1) managing America's first national park meant there were no previous examples to offer guidance; and (2) little money was

available from Congress. The federal government found the reality of a national park to be a new concept, and there was not yet a National Park Service to oversee this new type of land holding in America. That would not occur until 1916.

In 1872, Congress placed Yellowstone in the hands of the Department of the Interior, which in turn appointed Nathaniel Pitt Langford as Yellowstone's first superintendent. Langford and the Secretary of the Interior had only minimal involvement with the park. In fact, during Langford's stint as superintendent between 1872 and 1877, he received no pay for the position. Having to earn a living elsewhere, he spent very little time in the park. Thus during these first years, very little development took place within Yellowstone.

Instead, the park's second superintendent, Philetus W. Norris (1877-1882), was responsible for most of the early modifications in Yellowstone. Besides launching a massive public relations campaign that promoted the park, he also emphasized the importance of not despoiling the park's features. He also built repair shops and a fortified headquarters at Mammoth Hot Springs, and he was responsible for the construction of the first permanent structure in the UGB. Furthermore, he established Yellowstone's first road system, which linked most of the park's points of interest, hired men to protect its wildlife, and placed informational signs throughout its various sites, though they were more in the form of warnings and name

postings rather than interpretation as we know it today. Not only did Norris's ambition make all these changes possible, but also the fact that Congress finally loosened its purse strings: it granted Norris $10,000 for the 1879 fiscal year "to protect, preserve, and improve the Yellowstone National Park" (Bartlett, 1985, 221).

After Norris, the superintendency of the park was mediocre at best. Patrick W. Conger, who followed Norris as superintendent (1882-1884), had many problems to deal with in the park, therefore he did not appear to achieve much during his first year in the position. He was in constant conflict with the park concessionaires and also had to attend to the problem of vandalism of the park's features. Indeed, one could say that he stayed so busy just trying to keep the natural features intact that he had no time or resources to add human-made amenities. Some of this vandalism eased when Congress appropriated money to hire assistant superintendents, but all in all "most of the assistants were failures" (Bartlett, 1985, 242). Most of these men were young, inexperienced, and quite timid in enforcing the park's laws.

The two superintendents who followed Conger did not seem to do much better. Robert E. Carpenter (1884-1885) was rumored to be in cahoots with Carroll T. Hobart of the park's hotel company. While spending the winter in Washington, D.C., Carpenter allegedly lived in the same house as Hobart and allegedly granted special favors to Hobart's company in the park.

His successor, David W. Wear (1885-1886), was not in the position long enough to do the park much good, although he did manage to hire more competent assistant superintendents.

The park's administration entered a fairly stable period after Congress removed it from civilian control and placed it in the hands of the military in August 1886. Captain Moses Harris and fifty men from the First United States Cavalry entered the park and took charge. This new overseer of Yellowstone altered the park's landscape by asserting an authoritative presence, enforcing park rules, and developing some new facilities. The army built new posts at various points and expanded old ones, improved Norris's road system, patrolled for poachers and vandals, and maintained a general peace in Yellowstone for more than thirty years.

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

A variety of people came to the park during the early period, thus park concessionaires and managers had to cater to their varied needs. Rich and middle-class visitors were the only ones who "could afford a train trip to the park" and demand more luxurious forms of accommodation during their visit (Bartlett, 1985, 47). The park concessionaires attempted to cater to these demands by constructing "comfortable places of entertainment [that] were essential to pleasing the wealthy clientele" (Hyde, 1990, 253).

As of 1883, the upper- and middle-class visitors traveled on stages run by park concessionaires from the station at Cinnabar (just north of the park's northern entrance) and as of the early 1880s, they could also choose to enter from Monida (to the west of the park, along the Montana and Idaho border). The Monida station moved to West Yellowstone, Montana, in 1908 after the Union Pacific placed a spur at this location. After 1909, visitors also traveled from Cody (beyond the park's eastern entrance). During their visit they would spend their nights at park hotels established at the various points of interest and their days examining many of the park's unique natural features. After a day of geyser gazing, many would spend their time in idle relaxation on the hotel verandas, reflecting on the day's sights, and sometimes enjoying the social experience more than the scenic one.

Along with the upper- and middle-class visitors, there were the "sagebrushers" and the "couponers." The sagebrushers visited the park by their own means of transportation and spent the night out under the stars.

They traveled from point to point on horseback, by wagon, or on foot and then camped out overnight. These visitors were often from nearby areas, such as Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming.

The couponers were a class of visitors that began to grow during the 1890s (Bartlett, 1985). They were not as well-to-do as the upper and middle classes and worked in professions such as school teaching, the ministry, etc. Like the members of the upper and middle classes, these people would usually travel to the park by train; however, they would not stay in the hotels, but in facilities provided by the various camping companies, such as Wylie, and Shaw and Powell. They purchased packaged trips and received a book of coupons at the beginning of their excursion—hence the name "couponers." They took their meals together in a dining tent, then spent their nights sleeping on beds in stove-heated, wooden-floored tents.

Different classes of visitors demanded different types of facilities. Wanting to please park patrons, and in turn make money, concessionaires were obliged to erect hotels, camp facilities, and curio shops, as well as provide transportation services within the park. This varied array of facilities demanded by the visitors and offered by concessionaires made its own mark upon the park's landscape during the early years. Indeed, much of the built environment within Yellowstone over the coming century owed its character and function to decisions made by concessionaires and approved by park managers. Between 1879 and 1904, much initial concession

development took place and this sometimes led to conflicts with the managers of the park's landscape. Arguments arose over the placement of structures and their proximity to thermal features and other facilities as well. The park management had the final say in solving these conflicts. Nevertheless, because the park managers generally favored use over preservation, by the end of this period the park's developed areas bore the marks of fledgling urban areas.

The Upper Geyser Basin

An area that posed no exception to these shaping forces is Yellowstone's Upper Geyser Basin, recognized even early on as one of the park's outstanding visual features. Its bubbling and hissing landscape is unique enough to make it of interest to all who visit the park. An island of curiosities within Yellowstone's vastly forested landscape, the UGB lies in the park's southwest quadrant (Fig. 1). It is a forested river valley at an elevation more than 7,300 feet above sea level. The Firehole River drains the Basin and flows from south to north through its center. The Basin itself is relatively flat, consisting of light-colored, barren, porous soil that is littered with geyser cones and other thermal features.

Intermittent patches of lodgepole pine exist in base areas where their root systems escape the harmful effect of the thermal features' mineral-laden waters. Thicker groves of pine are formed in zones more distant from the

geysers and on land slightly higher in elevation. Dead, mineral-coated trees stand as an indicator that the flow of these waters has changed direction or intensity over time. Not far to the east and west of the Basin, pine-covered hillsides (much of them now scarred from the 1988 fires) rise at steep angles away from the valley floor.

Park Facilities and Infrastructure

Superintendent Norris ordered the construction of the UGB's first building, a "loopedholed, earth-roofed log-house" erected in 1879 (Norris, 1879a, 6). This structure, a small building measuring 16 by 20 feet, stood "in the little grove between the Castle and Beehive Geysers in the Upper Fire-hole basin" (Norris, 1879a, 9) (Fig. 2). Near this building, Norris also constructed a stable and corral, as well as a ditch and reservoir that would provide water.

There were possibly two reasons behind the early construction of this facility. First, this may have been used as an outpost for the exploration of a route to Yellowstone Lake, for Norris stated in his 1879 Superintendent's Report, "[T]he discovery of such a route was one of the main features of my season's plans" (Norris, 1879a, 6). The opening of this route was very important to Norris for its discovery would allow those touring the park to go directly from the UGB to Yellowstone Lake or the Grand Canyon and then go on to Norris Junction without having to backtrack. Second, the cabin—with its "good stone chimney and provided abundance of fuel"—could have

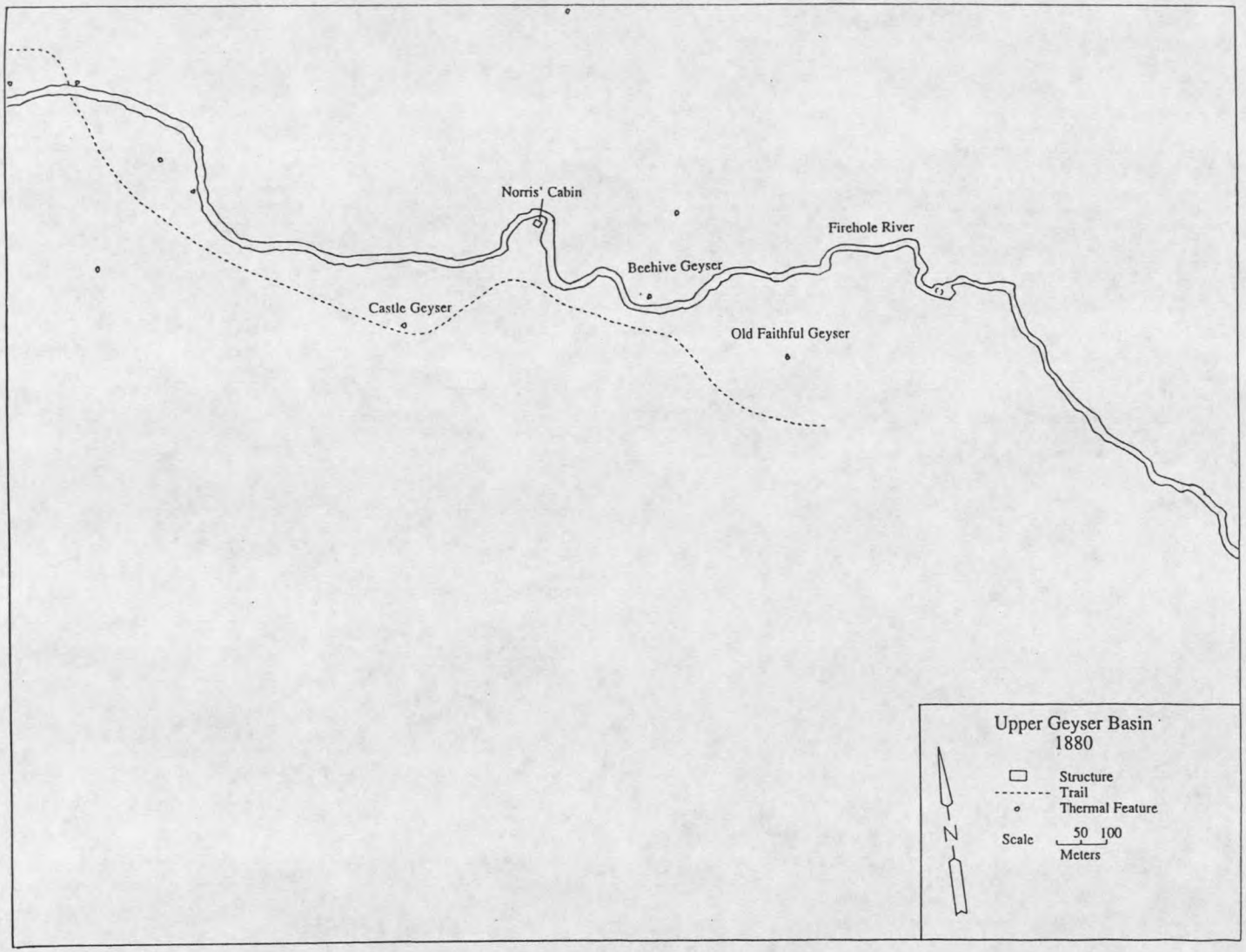


Figure 2. The Upper Geyser Basin, 1880

allowed men to remain in this park region in winter, obtaining much valuable information and sketching the UGB's thermal features and the lake regions during that season (Norris, 1879a, 9). However, Norris's plan for remaining in the UGB for the winter fell through, as he found that the

> sulphur-charged condensed steam and fogs of the Geyser Basin were too suffocating to long endure, and that the unusual deep snows had seriously blocked the passes and gorged the Madison and other streams in their cañons (Norris, 1879a, 9).

The reason for the cabin's construction was probably a combination of both rationales. In a letter to the Secretary of the Interior, Norris stated that he had constructed "a log house for the use of the assistant, and laborers while employed in that end of the park," while continued "explorations of road and bridle path routes" were made (Norris, 5 March 1879). Whatever the reason for the cabin's construction, harsh weather forced the cabin to be abandoned for the winter, although Norris had it remanned the following year.

Given that no park records exist of other such major construction projects, Norris's cabin was probably the only development undertaken in the UGB by the park management until around 1884 or 1885. Then, Carpenter, the park's superintendent from 1884-1885, entreated the Department of the Interior for financial appropriations that would allow necessary improvements to be made in the park. He reported that the assistant superintendents in the various areas of the park were living in "log houses with dirt roofs" and that the structures in general were "sadly out of

repair" (Carpenter, 18 October 1884). In reply to the park superintendent's request, the Secretary of the Interior stated that Carpenter's predecessor, Conger, had been appropriated money for the same purpose, but had never informed the Department of the Interior of his progress (Joslyn, 30 October 1884b).

Apparently Conger's funds for these improvements had been used for another purpose, or had just vanished. Thus, Acting Secretary Joslyn granted Carpenter the money to construct new facilities for the assistant superintendents, as long as the cost did not exceed $369.60 for each building (Joslyn, 30 October 1884b).

Park management probably did not erect the structure proposed for the UGB until the following summer. In a letter dated 18 July 1885, the assistant superintendent assigned to the UGB, Josiah W. Weimer, submitted plans for a house to be built within the Basin. Its dimensions were to be 14 by 22 feet; standing one and one-half stories high, it would cost a total of $400.00 and would possess the "style and finish of which should equal or excel that of the hotel" in the UGB (Weimer, 18 July 1885). This was not asking much considering the infamous condition of the UGB's first hotel, built by park concessionaires in 1885. Moreover, the new assistant superintendent's "dream house" was probably not as grandiose as he would have liked, for there is no record of a building bearing this description being constructed at

the UGB during this period. More than likely it was the single-story log house constructed in the vicinity of Norris's cabin.

After Weimer's house, the next phase of development by park management came in 1886, when the army moved in to protect the park. Captain Moses Harris became the park's new acting superintendent; he recognized that the thermal features, a constant target of vandalism, required particular attention. Visitors would break pieces off of the formations as souvenirs, they would write their names or initials on the soft surfaces of the geyser cones, and they would throw objects such as rocks and soap into the geysers. To better protect the thermal features of the UGB, Captain Harris stationed a detachment of troops there. Harris's men occupied this post from 1 June to 1 November and then would return to Mammoth Hot Springs for the winter (Harris, 1887, 1300) (Fig. 2). Even with this detachment of troops at the UGB, visitors still vandalized the thermal features. On 22 July 1888, Fort Keough in Montana Territory dispatched a unit of fifteen soldiers from the 22nd U.S. Infantry to the UGB. Known as the "immortal 15," the unit protected not only the geysers, but also the tourists: one soldier even earned a silver medal for the courageous act of rescuing a female visitor who had almost fallen into a geyser cone. Nevertheless, in 1899, the army diminished the unit, instead posting only three to ten enlisted men at the UGB.

As of 1889, this station served a key function, to register UGB campers in a logbook. This policy not only kept count of the visitors to the UGB, but

also kept track of their names just in case they were perpetrators of vandalism to the Basin's features. The 1889 Superintendent's Report indicated that the park required more money so that troop facilities could be improved. However, Congress at first disapproved financing for these improvements, as it believed that the army's presence in the park was only temporary, thus the construction of facilities would be an extraneous cost. As the military's presence became more permanent, however, park management made more improvements in its facilities throughout the park. It is unclear how many structures the army erected for the troops stationed at the UGB, but approximately four buildings and two to three tents were in use before 1904 (Figs. 3 & 4). Evidence of this can be found on a 1904 geology map of the Basin, where four buildings labeled "Military Quarters" appear in the vicinity of the Norris cabin.

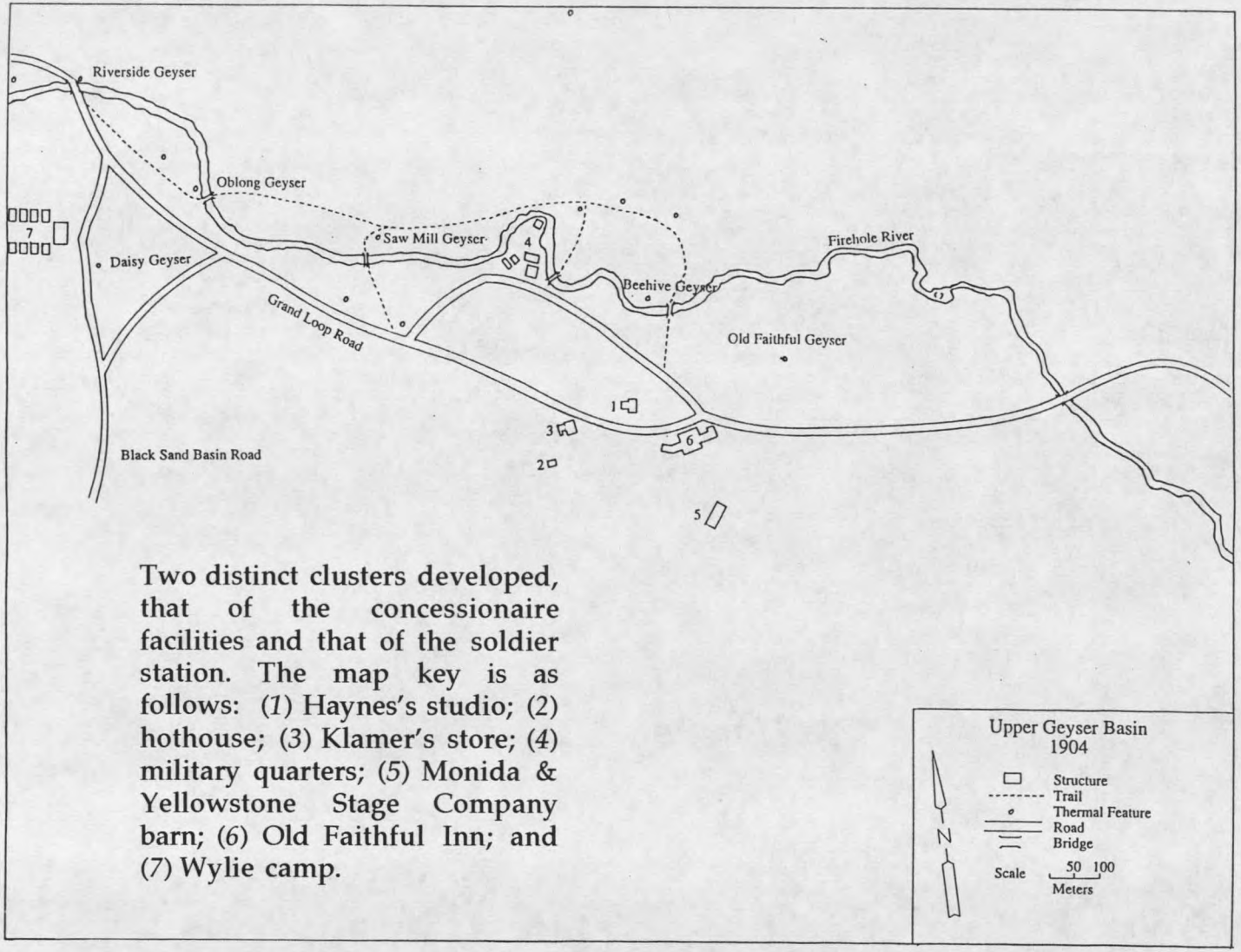
Roads and Trails

The park's first road system followed trails established by early visitors, geologists, and surveyors. Leading to the park's main scenic points, the road system remained primitive due to a lack of funds and inaction on the part of Congress. Private parties constructed the first actual roads in 1872-1873. One route came from Virginia City, Montana, through the west end of the park to the Lower Geyser Basin (LGB). The other road arrived from Bozeman, Montana, via Mammoth Hot Springs. Norris, upon his appointment as park superintendent in 1877, set about establishing a true internal road system.

Figure 3. The Upper Geyser Basin Soldier Station

At first the seasonal quarters for troops assigned as a stopgap against vandalism, the UGB outpost—growing around Norris's Cabin—subsequently became a fixture on the Firehole River. Eventually, its soldiers' primary duty would be to log in UGB campers. [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (date unknown).]





Two distinct clusters developed, that of the concessionaire facilities and that of the soldier station. The map key is as follows: (*1*) Haynes's studio; (2) hothouse; (3) Klamer's store; (4) military quarters; (*5*) Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company barn; (*6*) Old Faithful Inn; and (*7*) Wylie camp.

Figure 4. The Upper Geyser Basin, 1904

During his term, Congress appropriated over $53,000 for improvements and protection of the park. In 1878, Norris started an intensive road building campaign in which 104 miles of roadway were constructed (O'Brien, 1965, 56). This road system closely followed the existing trail system that was in the park.

In 1881, Norris developed additional roads, one from Mammoth Hot Springs to Tower Junction and another from Mammoth Hot Springs to the UGB. After searching for four seasons for a route from the UGB to the West Thumb of Yellowstone Lake, Norris finally established a decent trail linking these two locations. Norris thus created nearly all of the loop road system, except for three segments: UGB to West Thumb; West Thumb to the outlet of Yellowstone Lake (current location of Fishing Bridge); and Canyon to Tower Junction. Although roads were not in place to all of these locations, Norris established a system of trails to connect them. After the Corps of Engineers took over all road work in 1883, it added across these segments and completed the loop (Fig. 1).

It should be noted that the roads Norris established were little more than poor, narrow wagon trails. They provided access to the various points in the park, but many times only through great difficulty. Norris's engineering goal was to build the greatest amount of road with the small amounts of money he was allotted. In contrast, the goal of the Corps of Engineers, led by Daniel C. Kingman, was to strive for quality and not

quantity. This latter mentality led to the improvement of much of the park's road system, including the road to the Upper Geyser Basin.

By 1895, the Corps of Engineers "remade" the section of this road from Old Faithful to the upper crossing of the Firehole River, and it extended the rest of the park's "road system...to make a possible tour from the lake to the Upper Basin without passing over any portion of the route a second time" (Anderson, 1895, 3 & 8).

Along with the general improvements on the loop road, the Corps of Engineers also constructed a road among the UGB's thermal features. By 1900, at the UGB "a road passing among the various objects of interest" had been "partially completed" (Goode, 1900, 11). There is little evidence of exactly where this road ran, but it may have been the small loop road that links Black Sand Basin with the UGB.

The UGB also saw the construction of bridges during this period. In 1881, a pair of footbridges went up across the Firehole River in the UGB; according to Norris, neither of these spans were "very large or costly, [but] all are necessary and serviceable" (Norris, 1881, 814). One of the bridges crossed the river at a point between the UGB's hotel and the Beehive Geyser; the other crossed in the vicinity of Saw Mill Geyser. A third bridge, further down the river from these two, near Oblong Geyser, appears on a Haynes map of the UGB (Guptill, 1890); however, it is unclear as to when this went up. The Corps of Engineers rebuilt two of these bridges in 1905, along with another

located just above the UGB. Furthermore, it also constructed a bridge for wagon traffic in 1897; this bridge, which spanned the Firehole River near the Riverside Geyser (Fig. 5), more than likely replaced an older bridge that had been in this area at least since 1890. One of seven bridges constructed in the park that year, it cost $289.20 to complete (Young, 1897b, 33).

Interpretation

The development of interpretation in the UGB by park managers during this period was rather slow, undoubtedly because there was not much funding for this purpose—interpretation was not one of the early park's goals. Rather, the park's main purpose during the first period was to protect these lands from poachers and squatters, as well as to develop park infrastructure (e.g., roads) for visitors. As such, the soldiers who were the park's earlier overseers were there primarily to patrol, not to interpret. The concessionaires provided some interpretive services, but in the form of verbal communication to the visitors, not physical objects on the UGB's landscape. Concessionaires such as Wylie and the hotel company would hire interpretive guides to lead the visitors on a tour of the Basin. Many times these guides worked in other capacities for the concession companies, for instance as porters or drivers. They filled the interpretive positions for tips and found that interesting interpretive stories made for the best money, which led to less than accurate information about the UGB's features (Haines, 1977).

Figure 5. Coaches Crossing Riverside Bridge

This span was probably replaced in 1897, when a total of seven bridges went up in the park, as part of the Corps of Engineers' efforts to enhance the park's modest infrastructure. (Note: This F. J. Haynes photograph is actually one-half of a stereoscopic view. [Haynes Foundation Collection, Montana Historical Society (circa 1890).]



Nevertheless, there were attempts to provide official interpretation of this landscape in the form of guideboards created by Norris while he was park superintendent. These interpretive signs marked trails and notable natural features. These signs, however, posed one major problem: they were always in need of repair. The hot vapor emitted from the geysers rapidly weathered their wood; furthermore, they were a constant target of vandalism by park visitors. The destruction of these features was a persistent problem during this early period, and the park's various superintendents continuously had to request funds for their repair.

After Norris, other park managers made a few early attempts to mark the UGB's landscape with interpretive messages. For example, in 1884 Assistant Superintendent Weimer put up signs at the UGB specifying, "Breaking or defacing the formations and throwing things into the geysers are forbidden by order of the Sec. [Secretary] of the interior [sic]" (Weimer, 27 July 1884). He did not design these signs to educate the visitor about local features, but rather to warn them against improper behavior. A few months after emplacing these warning signs, Weimer created "several signs to mark the principal geysers and springs in the park" including those in the UGB (Terry, 1 September 1884). However, there is no clear record of which features were marked, or where the signs were located. Official interpretation of the UGB's landscape would not occur until several years later.

Concessions

From the UGB's initial discovery, the federal government understood the aesthetic value of its natural wonders, as well as the fact that many people would want to come to see these spectacular geysers in America's scenic West. Given the thermal features' remote location, visitor facilities would be necessary. As early as 1877, Superintendent Norris, in his annual report, expressed this belief to the Secretary of the Interior, as he stated that there should "be ten or twenty years' [sic] leases for hotel accommodations at each of the Fire Hole Basins" (Norris, 1877, 841). The following year, Norris and his men inspected the UGB for potential areas where concessionaires could build. They concluded that there were "several good building-sites, plenty of wood, fair water; and excellent water easily obtainable near the Castle and Old Faithful; but a scarcity of pasturage in the upper basin" (Norris, 1878, 986).

In deciding how park concessions would be managed, the Department of the Interior concluded there were several advantages to having a monopoly run the visitor facilities in the park, as opposed to several private enterprises: a monopoly would possess the greatest financial resources to engage in such a large undertaking; it would reduce rivalries by reducing the number of establishments; and it would reduce the number of people with which the park authorities had to deal. In short, the Department of the

Interior believed a monopoly would give the best service to the visitor and the least worry to the park (Bartlett, 1985).

The history of concession structures at the UGB begins with the first monopoly in the park, the Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company (YNPIC). Three men established that concession company: Carroll T. Hobart (a section superintendent for the Northern Pacific Railroad), Henry F. Douglas, and Rufus Hatch (a Wall Street financier). Hobart and Douglas supplied the management of the company, while Hatch supplied the money, including $112,000 cash and a guaranteed $30,000 more.

Once the company had financial backing, the YNPIC was ready to apply for a lease and start construction in the park. However, many problems arose that led to the company's rapid demise even before it really got off the ground. The company assumed privileges in the park that annoyed park officials and visitors alike: it cut all the timber it wanted; it shot unlimited amounts of game in order to feed its employees; and it set rates for its facilities at exorbitant prices. But the company faced its largest problem when Congress got wind of the terms of its lease.

The lease (which the Department of Interior's Assistant Secretary, Merritt Joslyn, granted to the YNPIC) allowed the company a section of land (640 acres) at the UGB and a half section at six other points of interest in the park, all of which the YNPIC could develop as it saw fit. Superintendent

Conger realized the potential danger in this contract. In a letter to the Secretary of the Interior dated 20 September 1882, Conger expressed his fears:

> Yet it is my judgment that they [the YNPIC] ask to cover entirely too much ground. The National Park is a great territory and the day is not distant in my opinion when the franchise they ask will be worth a very large sum of money. besides [sic] I believe the public would be restive were all these privileges granted to a single party or corporation (Conger, 20 September 1882).

This letter may have been the way in which the news of this land grab was let out, but historically the credit goes to Missouri Senator George Graham Vest. The story goes that while dining in a restaurant in the West, the senator overheard a conversation of some businessmen who just returned from the park. The men boasted about how much money they were going to make because of the virtually unlimited privileges of their lease. Upon returning to Washington, Vest investigated this lease and found that what he had overheard was true. He immediately set out to correct this problem. Vest was well liked and received support from many who were on the side of park preservation. One of these men, former Yellowstone Superintendent Langford, expressed his concerns with the park's lease policy in a letter to Vest. He wrote that the 640 acres granted could "be so located, as to include every sight worth seeing" and offered the suggestion that "no person or company should lease more than ten (10) acres, and that no contiguous pieces of land should be leased" but rather that "as much unleased land should remain adjacent to the leased portions" (Langford, 15 January 1883).

With the support of prominent people such as Langford, Senator Vest introduced a resolution that would direct the Secretary of the Interior to transmit all applications for leases in the park to the Senate. Jumping on the bandwagon, Senator Harrison of Indiana put forth an additional resolution that no individual or corporation could hold more than ten acres total in the park. The Senate accepted Harrison's resolution, but Vest added an additional clause to it, stating that no lease should "include any ground within one-quarter of a mile of any of the geysers or of the Yellowstone Falls" (Bartlett, 1985, 145).

The new Senate resolution affected the YNPIC plans by greatly reducing the company's holdings within the park. In March 1883, the YNPIC applied to the Department of the Interior for a new park lease. It granted the company a total of ten acres, one and a half of which was in the UGB. The YNPIC then rushed to construct facilities as quickly as possible in order to accommodate the increased number of visitors that the new spur of the Northern Pacific Railroad would bring. In addition to a hotel at Mammoth Hot Springs, the YNPIC constructed hotel camps on its holdings at other sites. The camp at the UGB lay in approximately the same area as the current location of the Old Faithful Inn, and it consisted of several small sleeping tents and a large dining tent (Fig. 6). These camps were to serve as temporary lodging for visitors until proper, more permanent facilities could be constructed. The camps "were all equipped with substantial Wall Tents,

Figure 6. Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company's First Concession at the UGB

In the background lay the large dining tent and smaller sleeping tents of the park's first monopoly. The generous conditions of its lease led to a Senate resolution to protect park features from concessionaire encroachment. As indicated by the scene in the foreground, the park had not yet formalized policies against getting too close to the hot spots: this thermal landscape was still also a tactile one. [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (circa 1883).]



carpeted and furnished with Bedsteads, spring mattresses, chairs and other conveniences, and the kitchen tents were provided with large Hotel Cooking ranges"; for the purpose of storing the heavier articles of equipment in these stations, the Company erected log storehouses at each point (Hatch, 1 December 1883).

Even though the company managed to accommodate the visitors of the 1883 season, by the end of the year, the YNPIC was broke. The company had many unpaid debts and owed money to many employees from the previous season. One group in particular, artisans who had been working on the Mammoth Hotel, staged a sit-down strike in which they held the hotel for a period of over four months.

Because of these problems, Hatch attempted to place the company into receivership, but Douglas and Hobart countered this move by having a receiver of their own appointed. The U.S. Attorney General approved Douglas and Hobart's receiver, and Hobart became manager of the decaying company.

During the period of the YNPIC's receivership, Charles Hobart made plans to construct a hotel facility in the UGB. In November 1884,

> Mr. Carroll T. Hobart entered into an agreement with one Charles F. Hobart for the construction of a hotel building at the Upper Geyser Basin upon the grounds leased to the Park Improvement Company (Harris, 1888, 634).

The YNPIC proposed a two-story building containing thirty-four rooms; the construction materials were to be "sound and of good pine or spruce lumber" (Hobart and Hobart, 5 November 1884).

In January 1885, Hobart submitted plans for the hotel to the Secretary of the Interior. In this letter, Hobart stated that the hotel would be completed by June 1st of that year at a cost of $20,000. He also included a line drawing that showed the elaborate layout of this potential new visitor facility. It was a two-story, T-shaped structure containing thirty-five guest rooms as well as a dining room, ladies' and gentlemen's parlor, and a large front porch.

The actual building, however, was a far cry from what was presented in the plans. Indeed, the first hotel facility at the UGB was affectionately known as the "shack." It was a small building located on the same plot of land as the YNPIC's tent camp, which it replaced (Fig. 7). The "shack" hotel could lodge only around fifty persons and appeared to be a rightful possessor of its unflattering nickname. Basically, many considered this building an engineering disaster, desiring that it be razed and replaced by a better facility. For example, even though the "shack" had just been built that year, Acting Superintendent Moses Harris, in his annual report in 1886, wrote of the hope that

> the structures at the Lower and Upper Geyser Basins may soon be replaced by others more suitable for the accommodation of the increasing number of annual visitors (1886, 9).

Figure 7. The "Shack" Hotel

A Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company holding that replaced the tent facilities in 1885, this building not only served 50 guests at a time, but also served as a source of frustration: Haynes claimed its site was his, the Superintendent asserted it was too close to Old Faithful Geyser, and many alleged it unsafe. It burned down in 1894, shortly after the passage of the Hayes Act, which approved the construction of another hotel on its site. [Haynes Foundation Collection, Montana Historical Society (circa 1888).]



The problems with the shack were not minor; in fact, park managers considered them to be beyond repair. In the 1888 Superintendent's Report, Moses Harris wrote that:

> The building at the Upper Geyser Basin was pronounced by Mr. Charles Gibson, in a letter to the department dated August 2, 1887, 'a cheat from beginning to end.' He also states in the same letter that 'the architects and carpenters condemned it as unsafe and liable to fall down,' but that 'it was made tenable by props and braces.' In my opinion the building is still in an unsafe condition, and its faults of construction are such as to render it improbable that they can be remedied without the demolition of the building (1888, 637).

The quality of its construction was not the only problem the shack presented—its location within the Basin was the cause of much consternation, for two reasons. First, the site of the hotel supposedly did not belong to the Hobarts; rather, F. Jay Haynes, the photographer concessionaire, claimed to have a lease on the site. Second, the hotel stood within one-quarter of a mile of Old Faithful Geyser. This situation should not be considered too unusual for any of the buildings within the park during this period. In a letter to the Secretary of the Interior, reporting on an inspection of the lease sites, Superintendent Wear stated:

> I regret to say that I find nearly every building is erected on ground not embraced in the leased lots or parcels of land, especially is this so at the Upper Geyser Basin where Messrs Hobart also has erected a large hotel, knowing it to be on land not covered by their lease, and within 300 yards of 'Old Faithful' (Wear, 13 July 1885).

In this same letter, Wear wrote that when he confronted Hobart about this situation, Hobart stated that by the Department of the Interior, he was "authorized to locate and erect buildings anywhere he may choose, regardless of his lease" (Wear, 13 July 1885). The Department of the Interior responded that was untrue, that the YNPIC's building should be on the site leased to it in March 1883 (which was then revised in December 1884), and that it should not be within one-quarter mile of any object of interest. To verify the hotel's improper siting (as well as to survey other buildings and sites within the park), the Department of the Interior sent a special agent, W. Hallett Phillips, to investigate. Phillips inspected the buildings and the plat sites in the park; he found that the hotel in the UGB did not lay "on the ground embraced in the original or modified lease," and that the hotel was indeed "within a quarter of a mile of one of the principal geysers, Old Faithful" (Phillips, 12 September 1885).

Changes in 1886 helped to solve partially the alleged Haynes/YNPIC lease siting conflict. That year, the receivership of the Improvement Company ended and Charles Gibson, a St. Louis lawyer, and his Yellowstone Park Association (YPA) took control of the hotel monopoly in the park, as well as the shack. Before granting new leases to the YPA, the Department of the Interior had the plats in the park (which were haphazardly surveyed in the first place) carefully remade so as to assure no future land conflicts occurred between concessionaires.

Nevertheless, there were other conflicts that had to be resolved. Although the YPA purchased the shack, its site was not the same parcel of land leased to them (which was supposedly improperly surveyed). The YPA claimed that the superintendent was berating it for not building a better hotel facility at the UGB, and that the Department of Interior would not relocate its lease site to where the current hotel stood, and would not allow it to build on ground that was not covered in the lease (Bartlett, 1985). This situation helped create a stagnation in the hotel situation at the UGB.

In addition, the hotel's proximity to Old Faithful Geyser was problematic. As discussed previously, the legislation passed by means of Senator Vest's efforts stated that leases for concessions could not "include any ground within one quarter of a mile of any of the geysers" or any other object of interest in the park (Sundry Civil Bill, 3 March 1883). Congress established this act in the park because it feared that "people or corporations would obtain proprietary rights within the park and charge visitors for the privilege of viewing its wonders" (Anderson, 1893, 4).

Although the location of the dilapidated barn-like shack violated this Congressional Act, it remained on the UGB's landscape for as long as it did for one simple reason—many believed that this site was the only suitable one in the UGB for a hotel: "From its porch every active geyser in the basin can be seen." Park administrators thought that to place it farther back from its present location would ruin its scenic vantage point (Harris, 1889, 148). The

Department of the Interior now believed that the 440-yard clause contained in the 1883 Sundry Civil Bill needed to be reduced to one-half of that distance. It affirmed that the park's lease policy had removed all fear of any concessionaire monopolizing the scenic areas in the park; as such, it thought that the law should be repealed. Once this was done, the site on which the hotel stood could be resurveyed to fit the YPA's lease, and a new hotel could be constructed there. Thus, in 1890, a bill went before Congress to challenge the 1883 Act, but no action took place for several years.

In the meantime, the shack fell into further disrepair; it closed to overnight guests by the 1893 season, being used only as a lunch station. This change greatly inconvenienced visitors to the UGB, for now "tourists have to return for the night to the Fountain [the hotel in the Lower Geyser Basin], and on the following morning make their third trip over this 10 miles [between Fountain and the UGB]" in order to continue their journey to Yellowstone Lake (Anderson, 1893, 4).

In 1894, the bill that had originally gone before Congress in 1890 passed. Known as the Hayes Act, it increased lease holdings for those in the park from ten to twenty acres and reduced to one-eighth of a mile the distance that buildings could be placed from objects of interest. With the passage of this bill, the superintendent joyfully reported that the

> immediate effect of this act will be the authorization of a hotel at the Upper Geyser Basin, on the site now occupied, but illegally, by the lunch station at that place. A hotel here has long been one of the greatest needs of the Park [sic], and should the

> Park Association be able to raise the money and complete the building it would add much to the attractiveness of the tour (Anderson, 1894, 4).

Strangely enough, in November 1894, shortly after Congress passed the bill, the dilapidated hotel at the UGB burned to the ground. The YPA replaced it with a small, wood-frame building that served as a lunch station but had no means to accommodate overnight guests; the YPA was without overnight facilities in the UGB until 1900 or 1901 when finally it set up a number of stove-heated, wooden-floored tents in the same area as the former hotel. This temporary facility could accommodate 96 visitors (Pitcher, 1901).

During this period of decaying hotel facilities at the UGB, Gibson and the YPA fell into financial trouble. The company (which the Northern Pacific Railroad partly owned) sold out the rest of its shares of stock to the Northern Pacific, which in turn sold all its shares to the Northwest Improvement Company (a subsidiary of the Northern Pacific Railroad). This business arrangement allowed the YPA to maintain its identity within the corporation. The railroad was never interested in the hotel operation, believing that the real money lay in the transportation business. Worried about its profits in the park, it sold one-third of the interest of the YPA to Harry Child (vice-president of the Yellowstone National Park Transportation Company) in 1901. The Northern Pacific maintained its interest in the company (through the Northwest Improvement Company) until rumors of

its monopolizing all of the businesses in Yellowstone emerged. The Sherman Antitrust Act of 1904 quickly took care of the alleged railroad monopoly by forcing the Northern Pacific to sell out completely to Child. However, the railroad guaranteed its surreptitious involvement in the park's affairs by loaning Child sums of money for improvements from time to time.

With Child running the YPA, and the railroad behind him, great changes took place on the UGB's landscape. In 1901, several factors contributed to the construction of a new hotel at the UGB. First, the Department of the Interior was pushing Child, the new president of the YPA, to build a new hotel in this area. Indeed, the Department had been pressuring the hotel company ever since a road opened from the UGB to West Thumb in 1891. This new road would allow visitors to continue their journey directly from the UGB to Yellowstone Lake without having to backtrack to Madison Junction, east to Canyon, and then south to the lake. However, the only way that visitors could take advantage of this shortcut was by staying overnight at the UGB. Thus, the UGB required a decent overnight facility other than that offered by Wylie, a camp concessionaire. The department now hoped that the YPA under Child would be able to provide such a facility.

The second factor that allowed the construction of this new facility was the passing of the Hayes Act in 1894, which not only doubled the size of lease

holdings, but halved the distance buildings had to be from objects of interest. Moreover, it permitted the concession company to use up to ten acres of its lease holdings at one site.

The third factor involved the economic feasibility of the UGB hotel. Shortly after the turn of the century, traffic increased through the park's West Entrance, by means of Haynes's Monida and Yellowstone Transportation Company. For example, during the 1903 season, the Monida and Yellowstone Company carried 16.5 percent of the 8,090 park visitors who used the transportation companies (Haines, 1977, 484). Finally, the Northern Pacific Railroad, wishing to maintain its financial relationship with Child, advanced needed funds to the YPA to build a decent overnight UGB facility.

Construction of Old Faithful Inn, still in popular use today, began in 1903; it opened in time for the 1904 season. This new structure, with its 140 rooms that accommodated 316 guests, was remarkably better than any previous overnight facility in the UGB. After its completion, Acting Superintendent Pitcher wrote:

> 'Old Faithful Inn' is a remarkably beautiful and comfortable establishment. It is constructed chiefly of stone and logs, and while rustic in appearance, it contains all of the modern conveniences which the traveler of to-day is accustomed to, such as electric lights, baths, etc. This establishment is a great improvement on the tents which were used at this place for a number of years (1904, 9).

Indeed, Pitcher understated the remarkableness of the building, for it was a monumental architectural achievement. The mastermind behind this

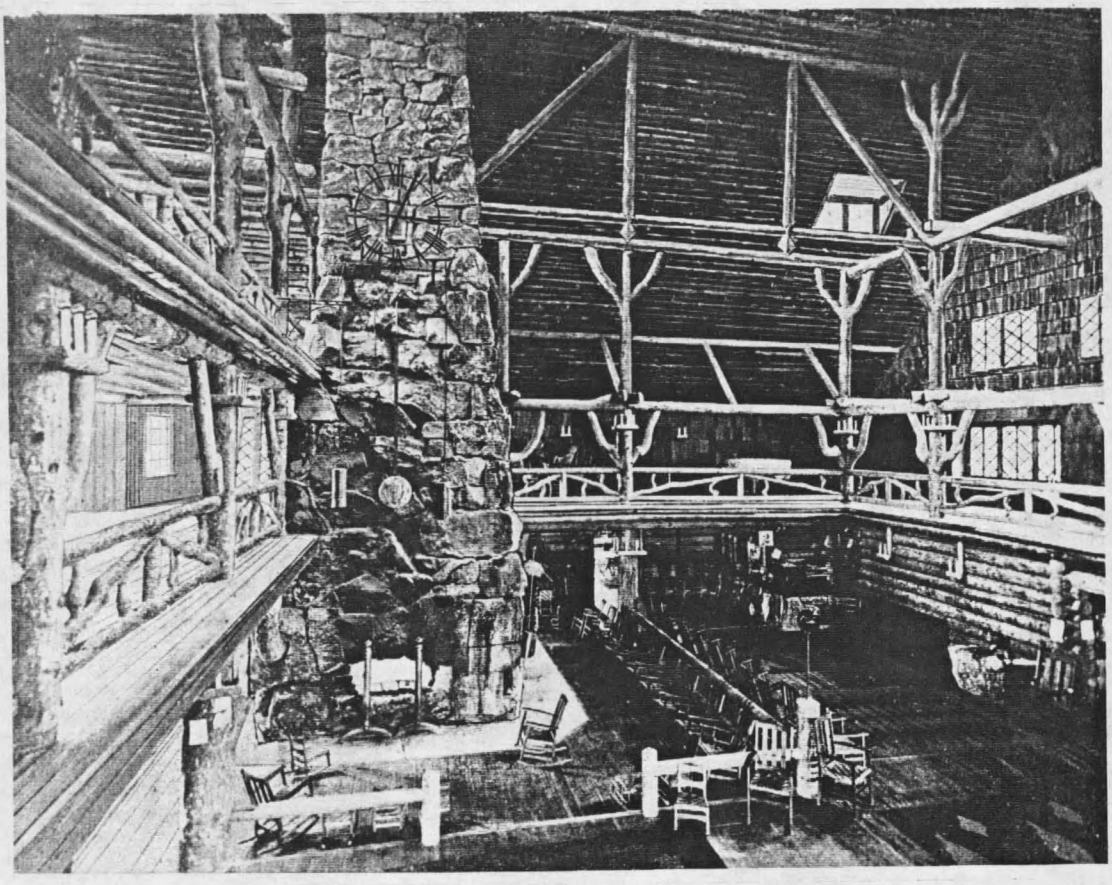
feat was Robert C. Reamer, an architect originally from Ohio who trained in Chicago and then moved to San Diego to open an architectural firm. It was here that Reamer met Child (who wintered in California) and became fast friends with him. Child, through the YPA, entrusted thirty-year-old Reamer with $200,000 to build the Inn, giving him complete freedom in design and supervision.

The result was the "first 'rustic' hotel built in the national parks in a large-scale effort to harmonize construction with the natural surroundings" (McClelland, 1993, 62). Reamer tapped into several design traditions to create this architectural wonder that became a standard for resort hotels in the American West. For instance, he used dormers, which were borrowed from late Victorian architectural styles, as a way to convey the "message of a traditional past" (Leavengood, 1985, 502). Reamer also drew on an Adirondack tradition by using rustic (that is, rough-looking or unfinished) construction materials outside of the Inn as well as inside. For instance, the log walls were hand-adzed on two sides, with rough bark remaining on the other two. For the doors he incorporated thick, rough, wooden slabs, and wrought-iron hinges and knockers.

The crowning achievement of the Inn was its interior lobby (Fig. 8). From floor to ceiling it measured 85 feet; surrounding it were balconies with gnarled, knotted, wooden railings on each floor. Contained in the lobby was a fourteen-square-foot chimney that served eight different fireplaces (four

Figure 8. Interior of Old Faithful Inn

This lithograph postcard by F. Jay Haynes illustrates some of the details that made the lobby not only the centerpiece of the hotel, but also a landmark in architectural design. Rustic beauty welcomes lodgers after their day of touring the geyser basin, and the gigantic clock reminds them of scheduled eruptions. [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (circa 1905).]



large ones on each end and four smaller on the corners). A huge wrought-iron clock hung from one end of the chimney; its dial was sixty inches in diameter, and from pendulum to top it measured twenty feet. The hotel's interior decoration reflected the natural motif—tables and chairs of heavy oak, Indian rugs, and electric lights that looked like candles. The only real exception to the Inn's natural motif was the grand piano in the lobby.

Toward the rear of the building was a huge half-octagonal dining room that measured sixty-two feet across. It contained a large fireplace and a series of plate glass windows, which allowed dining visitors to watch the geysers spout. (The windows of the dining room are now partitioned off by a small bar, and the view of the geysers is obstructed by the Inn's east wing.)

The outside of the Inn was just as unique (Fig. 9). It had enormous log walls, a capacious porte cochere, and a steeply slanted roof with dormers jutting out at various points. Topping it was a large observation platform that held a searchlight for nighttime illumination of the Old Faithful Geyser, and six long flagpoles, each crowned with a large copper ball. Reamer oriented the entire structure so that visitors could not have the greatest view of Old Faithful Geyser from their room windows, but rather saw it from the porte cochere as they pulled up in wagons. He chose this angle, supposedly, so as to "put arriving guests directly on a viewing axis with the geysers, reminding them of disturbing forces beneath the earth's surface"

Figure 9. Old Faithful Inn

Park authorities regarded the Inn as the antithesis of its predecessor, the "shack." Designed to offer a sense of security to those who chose to lodge overnight on the smoky landscape, the Inn soon became an attraction itself, with many visitors adding it to their itinerary as a must see, either after watching Old Faithful erupt or while waiting for that main event. [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (circa 1905).]



(Leavengood, 1985, 503). Overall, Reamer designed the Inn to give the visitor a sense of shelter within the UGB's haunting, smoking landscape.

With the establishment of the Old Faithful Inn, park officials as well as visitors finally got what they wanted, a decent overnight facility at the UGB. This building continues to be one of the most spectacular and enduring human-made features on the UGB's landscape, if not in the entire park.

Other buildings have been associated with the hotels at the UGB. For instance, in 1885 a privy for the shack hotel became a small bone of contention. Mr. Carpenter, former superintendent-turned-hotel-manager at the UGB, placed the structure about thirty yards east of the hotel, in a "beautiful little grove between his house [the hotel] and Old Faithful" (Weimer, 18 July 1885). Assistant Superintendent Weimer complained that the outhouse's location could be more discreet, such as behind the hotel, and that the hotel grounds were "utterly intolerable for a dog" because they were constantly littered with trash and other debris (Weimer, 18 July 1885).

Another hotel-related structure was a hothouse built in 1897, designed to raise "green stuff for the winter keeper and for similar purposes for the hotel" (Master Plan, 1939). This building, which stood not on YPA land but in an area behind where the Lower UGB Gas Station is today, rested on a hot spring formation so as to keep it heated year round (Fig. 4). W. Howe, the manager of the YPA's hotels, ran the hothouse. Perhaps because this structure did not lay within the YPA's leased parcel, Howe feared "that the

Park Association would be deprived of the use of [this] experimental hot-house which the Association had constructed at the Upper Geyser Basin." However, the Secretary of the Interior later reassured Howe, saying that "it is in the interest of the tourists that it [the hot-house] be continued" and that the YPA would "be permitted to maintain this hot-house at the Upper Geyser Basin, and make such additions thereto" (Bliss, 24 September 1898). The Secretary of the Interior's word was true, for this building remained on the UGB's landscape at least until 1939, where it appears on the Master Plan of the UGB.

The Yellowstone Park Association's overnight facilities, with their related structures, were not the only concessionaire buildings at the UGB during this period. For instance, W. W. Wylie of Bozeman, Montana, established a camp company here. As early as 1892, Wylie, a school teacher, petitioned to establish camps within the park. These camps catered to a different clientele than those run by the hotel company, the middle-class Americans "whose affluence and mobility was rapidly rising" during this period (Bartlett, 1985, 188). Wylie believed that those of moderate means should also be able to enjoy the Yellowstone experience, and that through the "Wylie Way" it could be done. For example, during this period a Wylie tour of seven days cost $35, while a six-day tour with the YPA was $50 (Haines, 1977). It must be understood, however, that although middle-class Americans were using these facilities, there was not a strong class segregation

within them. The camps were also used by the upper classes as well. This class combination was a factor of both rising visitation and the need for overnight facilities for all classes of visitors. The Wylie camps could provide these accommodations rapidly and cheaply because of their low overhead. Also, these camps were not only a national park phenomenon. During this period they began to appear in other areas in the region, such as Montana's Gallatin Canyon, reflecting the growing popularity of this recreational activity. (For a more detailed discussion of these facilities in Gallatin Canyon, see Cronin and Vick, 1993).

However, before Wylie could fulfill his dream of supplying low-cost lodging in the park, he had to overcome the resistance of the park superintendent: Acting Superintendent Anderson believed that these camps were a general nuisance to the park, as well as great source of rubbish and unextinguished campfires. In his 1892 report, Anderson stated,

> I do not think such established institutions as the Wylie tours should be permitted. They establish permanent or semipermanent camps, and to the greatest extent possible conduct their business outside of the control or supervision of the superintendent of the park (1892, 7).

Anderson further expressed his concerns in his 1893 Superintendent's report:

> The great objection to granting these leases [for permanent camps] is the fact that a permanent camp is only a step removed from a shanty or a 'shack', and it would be a desecration of the Park [sic] to allow such to spring up. Furthermore, we should recognize the right of those who come with their own transportation to use any occupied bit of ground for their camps (1893, 9-10).

Anderson's objections to the unsightliness of the camp company structures seems a rather unusual statement, considering the fact that the park allowed the unsightly, dilapidated "shack" hotel to linger as long as it did on the UGB's landscape.

In spite of Anderson's objections, the Department of the Interior granted a license to Wylie in 1896. It thereby gave him the privilege of conducting parties through the park as well as establishing four permanent camps where these parties could stay overnight, albeit in tent facilities rather than lodges. Even after Wylie received authorization to conduct business in Yellowstone, however, Acting Superintendent Anderson remained opposed to the type of development camping companies such as Wylie's brought to Yellowstone. Anderson stated that his "great objection to this form of business is the establishment of unsightly, vermin-breeding shanties near the roadside" (1896, 4). In spite of Anderson's constant objections, the Secretary of the Interior allowed Wylie to remain.

Wylie placed his UGB camp on a timbered hill south of Daisy Geyser, near Cyclops Spring (Figs. 4 & 10). This put the camp near the north end of the UGB and out of the way of the other facilities in the Basin. He used rows of wood-floored tents with red-and-white (sometimes blue-and-white) striped canvas tops. Each of the tent rows had clever 'street' names, such as Rough Way, Pleasant Way, No Way, all of which reflected the camp's emphasis on leisure and fun (Bartlett, 1985). Along with the smaller sleeping

Figure 10. Wylie's Upper Geyser Basin Tent Camp

Despite Acting Superintendent Anderson's objections to what he saw as being only a step up from a shanty town, W. W. Wylie secured a lease for his canvas community in 1886, after four years of petitioning for one. Gaily striped walls offered shelter from the elements and privacy from neighbors; larger tents, a short walk uphill, presented the campers with places to dine, dance, and otherwise dally. (Note, this photo is actually from the next period.) [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (circa 1916).]



tents, there were a few larger tents that served as a dance hall, a meeting hall, and a dining area. This campground remained on the UGB's landscape until 1917, when the Wylie camping company merged with another, the Shaw and Powell Camping Company.

Another to hold a lease for concessions at the UGB was F. Jay Haynes, who, with his family and heirs, would maintain a business in the park from 1881 to 1968, a total of eighty-seven years (Bartlett, 1985). A photographer with a studio in Minnesota, he contracted in 1875 with the Northern Pacific Railroad to photograph all of the important sights along its line. During his travels he discovered the opportunity in photographing the wonders of the park and, after 1881, spent a portion of every year there. Haynes realized that photographing Yellowstone's wonders would be a lucrative business within the park, and this led him to apply for a lease. In December 1881, Haynes sent to the Secretary of the Interior a set of photographic views of the park and a letter expressing an interest to lease "a small tract of land in the Park [sic] upon which to erect a photographic studio" (Haynes, 30 December 1881). The letter also contained a crude drawing by Haynes of the desired site. It was a square ten-acre tract of land in the UGB, bordering the river across from the Beehive Geyser.

On 20 March 1884, Haynes acquired a ten-year lease for "eight acres of land in the Park [sic], at the Upper Geyser Basin, with the privilege of erecting buildings thereon for the preparation of photographic views" (Joslyn, 20

March 1884a). However, Haynes shortly thereafter altered the parcels of land in his lease. In a letter addressed to his wife Lily, F. Jay stated that he had been selecting four acres of land at Mammoth Hot Springs and four acres at the UGB "instead of 8 acres all in one place" (Haynes, 29 July 1884). Haynes probably did this so he could open two photo studios within the park instead of one and thus spread out his business interests. However, during the period of Haynes's first lease, he did not build on his site in the UGB, probably because he was focusing most of his efforts and finances on his Mammoth Hot Springs studio, his business with the Northern Pacific Railroad, and his park transportation business, which will be discussed later.

In 1895, Haynes applied for a lease renewal, which he received. However, it recommended that Haynes "have a survey made of the ground" that he wished to lease, given that he had applied late in the season; however, such a survey may also have been recommended to avoid any future conflicts over parcels of land in the park, such as those with the YNPIC (Couper, 17 September 1895).

Specifically, in reaction to Haynes's lease application, W. G. Pearce, Vice President and General Manager of the YPA, expressed concern over the site in a letter to Haynes. The YPA was concerned that Haynes's new site (and the new building that would come with it) would lie directly in front of the site that the YPA had selected for its new hotel. This apparently posed a problem for the YPA, for a building in front of its hotel would

> not only interfere considerably with the beauty of the outlook from the hotel, but [would] also, to some extent, mar the general appearance of the Upper Geyser Basin (Pearce, 18 October 1895).

Even though the YPA objected to this construction, Haynes built on this site anyway, for it was not known when the YPA would be able to procure a lease, or be able to receive the needed financial backing to construct its hotel. In the same letter, Pearce stated: "We have no lease at the Upper Geyser Basin and we have no definite plan for the construction of a hotel there" (Pearce, 18 October 1895). In 1897, shortly after Haynes obtained his second lease, he constructed a log-cabin photo studio at the UGB (Fig. 11). This structure was one of the most attractive in the UGB during this time, and it very much met with Acting Superintendent Young's approval. In the 1897 Superintendent's Report, Young said that the

> cabin is the most beautiful and most appropriate in the park. The logs for the side walls were sawed from native live pine on three sides; the fourth or outer side of each log was peeled and shaped with [a] drawknife. After being placed they are held in contact and shape with hardwood maple pins. The inside is finished with Wise basswood, and floored with Oregon pine, oiled. The roof is made of Washington cedar shingles, 4 1/2 inches to the weather. Size of building, 24 by 50 feet, with addition 16 by 16 feet—one story, with 10-foot walls; a shingled porch 10 feet wide along the entire east front. The cabin is rustic in appearance throughout (1897a).

Haynes's UGB studio stood on the south side of the Firehole River, at a point approximately 700 feet southwest of the Beehive Geyser (which lay on the opposite bank) and about 350 feet northwest of the current location of

Figure 11. Haynes's Upper Geyser Basin Studio

Offering "Park Views" to visitors, Haynes's first endeavor in the UGB area, built in 1897, received compliments for its attractive design from Acting Superintendent Young. Though later moved to another site, the building still stands, albeit unoccupied and in a state of disrepair. Although overlooked, it is now the oldest building on the UGB landscape. [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (date unknown).]



the front of Old Faithful Inn (Fig. 4). Within this shop, Haynes sold photographic and lithographic images of the park's features, as well as postcards and other souvenirs. His images would have an impact on the way Americans perceived the UGB and Old Faithful Geyser, as his was the most commonly distributed artwork on Yellowstone. Moreover, in the Haynes Guides, annually published, he subsequently offered suggestions on the best ways to photograph Old Faithful and thus influenced individuals in their touristic pursuits.

Haynes also dabbled in the area of park visitor transportation. In 1891, Haynes and William H. Humphery petitioned the Department of the Interior for a lease, so as to establish a transportation concession in the park. Having their lease approved, Haynes and Humphery formed the Monida and Yellowstone Stage Company. This new concession differed from the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company (YPTC), which carried its passengers from the Northern Pacific Line via the park's North Entrance. Specifically, the Monida and Yellowstone Company carried passengers from the Utah Northern Line, which during this period terminated at the town of Monida, on the Idaho/Montana border. It also differed from the YPTC in that Haynes painted his coaches red, instead of the transportation company's traditional yellow.

On 19 December 1899, the Monida and Yellowstone Stage Company leased eight parcels of land within the park for the purpose of establishing "a

stage and transportation line for the transportation through and over the various roads in the Park of persons desiring to travel through and over the same" (Ryan, 19 December 1899). Its site in the UGB was a one-square-acre tract located 883 feet south of Old Faithful Geyser, an area that placed the parcel almost directly behind, and to the east, of the Old Faithful Inn. The previous year, 1898, the Monida and Yellowstone Company had constructed "three neat barns" on sites selected by Acting Superintendent Erwin (Erwin, 1898, 9). The barn built at the UGB held eight horses and was probably sited on land that was leased the following year (Fig. 4). In addition to housing stock, it contained extensions for "grain and sleeping quarters for drivers and stocktenders" (History Card File #97).

In addition to Haynes's log-cabin studio and his Monida and Yellowstone barn, a general store/curio shop/post office went up at the UGB in 1897. Mr. H. E. Klamer, originally a mountain man, one-time Deputy Sheriff of Uinta County, Wyoming, and son-in-law of George L. Henderson (assistant superintendent of the park from 1882-1885 and builder of the Cottage Hotel at Mammoth Hot Springs) applied for a lease in 1897 to build a store. The Department of Interior issued him one the same year, but the park did not receive it until 1898. Klamer's store was a two-story frame building, 20 by 30 feet, with a small, roofless planked porch fronting it. He designed this structure as both a store and a dwelling for himself. In the shop part,

Klamer sold tourist supplies, Indian baskets, curios, and souvenirs; he specialized in Indian blankets.

The building (which lies west of the Inn and southwest of Haynes's studio) still stands in the same place on the UGB's landscape, but it is now the Lower Hamilton Store. Klamer remodeled it in 1907, while Charles A. Hamilton also refurbished it in the 1920s (Fig. 4). This business would flourish under Hamilton's management during the next period.

Conclusions

By 1904, humans had well modified the landscape of the UGB. While the development of roads, trails, bridges, and interpretive facilities was modest, concessionaire and park facilities had not only come into being, but also began to expand. These structures developed in two clusters on the UGB's landscape (Fig. 4). The concessionaire facilities lay south and west of the Old Faithful Geyser (except for the Wylie campground) and were somewhat dispersed through this area. Two factors played a role in their placement: the closeness to Old Faithful and Geyser Hill; and the available views of thermal feature eruptions.

The military quarters clustered tightly within a shallow oxbow on the Firehole River, which lay northwest of the concessionaire facilities. This oxbow held the first park facility, Norris's cabin, which Superintendent Norris had placed there because of initial site advantages. The rationale

behind subsequent military quarters in this location was more than likely inertia: these new facilities grew around Norris's cabin simply because this was the area of the UGB where its protectors had always stayed.

Farther up the river the Upper Basin lays,
There a Pool of vivid Emerald near one of Rainbow hue,
The lovely Morning Glory—I can't picture it for you.
The Devil has a Punch Bowl, keeps it boiling too,
The Giant and the Giantess you'll see as you pass thru,
The Castle, Grotto, Daisy, Lion and Devil's Ear,
Econamic [sic], Lioness, Beehive, the Pyramid, so sere.
Every hour Old Faithful plays, goes up two hundred feet,
To see her streaming upward, it surely is a treat.
—Mrs. J. A. Evans, 1924

PERIOD TWO: 1905-1940

Favoring Use Through Development

During this period of national park history, four major events altered forever the landscapes of the parks: the inception of a National Park Service; the permitting of automobiles into the parks; World War I; and the Great Depression. All of these events had direct consequences for the evolution of Yellowstone's UGB. Indeed, by the time this period came to a close in 1940, the UGB's landscape experienced alterations as never seen before.

Early in this era, the utilitarian movement, which had arisen during the late 1800s, threatened the very integrity of the national parks. It sought to use, on a sustainable basis, the resources of lands set aside for preservation. This movement, headed by Gifford Pinchot (head of the National Forest Service after 1905), called for the long-term planning of America's natural resources in the public interest. The basic premise of this philosophy was that America's forestlands should lie fallow, but be harvested on a sustained basis

like crops. The utilitarians posed a threat to the national parks, for "their 'gospel of efficiency,' as [Samuel] Hays calls it, subordinated aesthetic values and discounted any persons who were concerned with nature preservation" (Twight 1983, 6). Those who opposed utilitarianism recognized that, in order to prevent such usage, they would have to reorganize the federal departments in charge of public lands. They sought consolidation, given that prior to 1916, any one of a number of agencies—such as the Department of the Interior, the Department of Agriculture, and the War Department—might control a particular park or monument: management of the specific area remained in the hands of the agency that had originally held it before it was marked for preservation. Those who feared the utilitarian movement believed that a single bureau overseeing all national parks and monuments would be better equipped, given a unified front, to secure public lands against non-preservation interests, thereby safeguarding them against impairment for future generations. Thus, anti-utilitarianists helped establish the National Park Service, in August 1916, with the support of the railroads, the media, and determined, charismatic individuals such as Stephen T. Mather. The latter became NPS's first director, although his influence on park administration began a year before the Park Service's actual formation. Mather was so charismatic an individual, as well as a shrewd businessman, that he could be considered to be solely responsible for the morphology of the national park system in the first decades after the Park Service's formation.

His program of promoting the parks was so successful that the national parks would not have taken the direction they did without him.

With the NPS came a new, and improved, overseer to Yellowstone—the park ranger. As guardians, rangers offered more than the soldiers who had held the job of protecting the park and its wonders for thirty years. After all, the soldiers were not trained woodsmen. Moreover, they lacked knowledge of the park's natural features, and they did not have the duty of performing interpretation for visitors. The military also cost more to maintain than a professional ranger force, and the War Department complained that the park interfered with the soldiers' training. Thus, the soldiers left the park in July 1918, when Congress approved funding for a civilian ranger force. Under the NPS, rangers became "more than protectors" of the park: they lectured, aided in informational services and museum development, and guided tours (Haines, 1977, 303). These changes were all part of a greater plan by Stephen Mather and Yellowstone Superintendent Horace Albright to educate the visitor on the importance of these natural areas and, in turn, gain support for the parks.

The establishment of the NPS also altered the concessionaires' landscape in two specific ways. The first revolved around Director Mather's strong belief in a controlled monopoly; he reasoned that by limiting the number of businesses allowed in the park, he would not only provide the visitor with quality services, but also protect the companies themselves from

competition. Therefore, throughout this period the NPS forced many of the park concessionaires to consolidate; by 1940, there were only three corporations serving visitors in Yellowstone. Second, the NPS also created a landscape engineering division to evaluate all concessionaire and government construction in the parks. By ensuring that this development was to some degree in harmony with the parks' natural landscapes, this department had a direct bearing on the appearance of park structures during this period.

The Park Service also affected visitation between 1905 and 1940 by more effectively marketing the parks with specific promotions. For example, with the conflict in Europe during World War I, the NPS implemented the "See America First" program. This campaign took advantage of the war by promoting America's scenic lands as alternatives to those in Europe. The NPS was just one of many who adopted this program. For example, tourist advocates and industries also employed the See America First program as a means to promote tourism in the United States. The adoption of this program in turn defined the touring experience, as well as presented the tourist advocates' vision of America as a nation (Shaffer, 1994). (For more on the See America First movement and tourism, see Shaffer, 1994). This marketing strategy contributed to an increase not only in awareness of the parks but also in usage—the details of which will be presented in a discussion of the Great War's impact.

The second major development during this period occurred when the parks began admitting automobiles. In Yellowstone, both the Army and the concessionaires had been reluctant to give into auto usage. The military believed that automobiles and horses could never safely share the same road: it argued that given the park's narrow thoroughfares, serious accidents might occur. The concessionaires initially wanted no part of auto tourism in Yellowstone either, given the transportation companies' substantial investments in horses and carriages. Instead of admitting to these financial prejudices, however, park administrators claimed that the road conditions were the largest factor in prohibiting automobile entrance. This excuse did not work for long, for Congress appropriated funds for the improvement of Yellowstone's roads.

Nevertheless, the real pressure for auto usage in the park came from the American public and Stephen Mather, who hoped to "persuade Americans to visit the national parks" by making the latter available to as many types of people as possible (Bartlett, 1985, 87). He was also operating under the fear that support for the parks would wane and then they would be placed in the hands of non-preservation interests. Thus, he sought to attract a growing lobby, those people who were switching to autos and would enjoy cruising through the nation's scenic monuments. Americans were achieving a level of mobility that had never been seen before; the automobile was replacing the horse as the transportation of choice and park

administrators realized that this "technological advance [had] to be accepted" (Bartlett, 1985, 86-87).

In August 1915, Yellowstone admitted automobiles. The immediate effect of this policy "was the motorization of the Park's [sic] public transportation and a reorientation of all development in the area" (Haines, 1977, 273). Concessionaires had to stock supplies for the auto tourists, roads required upgrades, and general park facilities needed to be redesigned "to meet the needs of the new era" (Haines, 1977, 352). And indeed, it was a new era: by 1920 there were 1,196,000 passenger cars built in the United States (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974, 556). The automobile democratized the parks and changed their landscapes forever.

While the car may have made the parks more accessible, two specific events took place that made them more attractive as destinations, World War I and the Great Depression. As mentioned previously, the war helped draw attention to America's national parks. "Since the traveling public could not vacation in Europe after 1914," the Park Service urged them "to see America first" (Sherfy, 1978, 204). Many Americans took this advice; whereas in 1914 the number of Yellowstone National Park visitors was 20,250, the following year, that figure more than doubled, to almost 52,000. In the next two years, the number decreased somewhat, until 1918, when it dropped off drastically to 21,000. Perhaps this decline reflected the tensions from America's entering the war; nevertheless, the number of tourists that year

was still greater than the figures shown in prewar visitor statistics. Then the following year, when the war ended, Yellowstone visitation swelled to 62,000, the highest level the park had ever seen.

That record number offers no comparison, however, with the growth in visitation seen during the Great Depression. In 1929, more than 260,000 people entered Yellowstone; they kept coming in increasing numbers, until 1940, when more than 526,000 toured Yellowstone. During the Depression, the NPS added more units to the park system and publicized the parks widely, to boost both the economies of towns that bordered the parks and the fortunes of the concessionaires who had businesses within the parks. As a result, visitation to all the parks increased on an enormous scale. In 1933, 3.5 million people visited the parks and monuments in the system. By 1940, this number had increased to over 16.5 million visitors (Swain, 1972, 318).

The parks also received increases in both funding and employees during the depression. Between 1933 and 1940, the number of employees in the parks increased by over 5,000, and the Park Service received around $218 million in funding during this period, in addition to its usual $10 million to $13 million per year (Swain, 1972, 324). Most of this money was in the form of emergency conservation projects, such as those administered through the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA). These projects modified the parks' landscapes, as well as put thousands of unemployed Americans to work. In fact, it has been argued that

the "the programs of the National Park Service became an integral part of the New Deal's fight against the depression" (Swain, 1972, 327).

Despite the aid these projects gave to both the parks' and the American economy, there were those who did not approve of all the development. Preservationists from organizations such as the Sierra Club believed that since Stephen Mather had taken charge, the parks had been drifting away from their true mission. They further believed that the culmination of this drift occurred during the depression and that the Park Service needed to reevaluate the development that was taking place within the parks. Fearful of losing its strongest supporters, the Park Service began plans to curtail park development.

Up to this point these four influences—the formation of the NPS, the automobile, World War I, and the Great Depression—had a tremendous impact on Yellowstone's landscape and that of the UGB. Not only did they initiate the building of interpretive structures and trails, but they also helped to change the way visitors viewed the landscape—and even how many got to view it. For instance, because law enforcement adopted an educational focus, there were now trained park rangers to act as informative liaisons between the visitors and the natural landscape. However, features that were once admired at a leisurely pace now began to be seen as a blur through car windshields. Also, because of autos, the UGB's cultural landscape grew more expansive: once containing several small clusters of development, the UGB

now needed to have these areas filled in with roads and structures that catered to auto tourism. Likewise, it needed to satisfy those Americans who decided to "see America first" because World War I kept them from summering in Europe. These factors, as well as the work programs of Roosevelt's New Deal, contributed to a great alteration of the UGB's landscape. During this second period, there was more human development here than there ever has been, and perhaps ever will be.

The Upper Geyser Basin

Government Facilities

Expansive development in the UGB followed the dismissal of the army troops from their base at the Firehole River oxbow in 1916. Then, the Park Service not only took over the former military structures for its own use, but also added many new facilities. It built structures that served interpretive purposes, added and improved trails and roads, and provided new campgrounds for the automobile tourist. The latter expressed a desire for camping facilities separate from those offered by the private camping companies; park administrators responded, realizing that areas with "a few conveniences" for the automobile camper "would be appreciated" and that their development could be financed through automobile entrance fees (Brett, 1915a, 24-25). Thus, in 1916, automobile camps opened throughout the park, including in the UGB.

The automobile camp at the UGB was originally just east of the Old Faithful Geyser, along the Firehole River behind a camp owned by Shaw and Powell Camping Company (S&PCC). Site choice probably related to the fact that one could gain entrance to the camp via the S&PCC's existing road system: there was no need to develop a new driveway through the thick trees bordering the Basin. Moreover, the site also offered ready access to the thermal features and other facilities.

Development within the UGB's auto camp took the form of a large, wood-framed shed with a corrugated steel roof. This shed, built at a cost of $292.81, stood just eight feet high; however, it was 60 feet long by 32 feet—large enough to hold twelve automobiles (Brett, 1916, 42). Along with the shed, there were also toilet facilities, cooking grates at each campsite, and free firewood.

This public camp and the others within the rest of the park, all available at no extra charge, grew very popular. In fact, by 1919, approximately two-thirds of the visitors to Yellowstone stayed overnight at these facilities (Albright, 1919, 21-22). This popularity led to overcrowding problems, and park officials realized that something had to be done with the camps, especially the one in the UGB. So many visitors entered that particular camp that the automobile shelter was not large enough to hold all of their vehicles. The obvious solution would have been to build more shelters, but a park landscape architect advised against that, for he believed

they "are not attractive structures at best," and they could make the camps appear "more or less ugly" by overdoing them (Punchard, 1919, 8).

Aside from the shelter being too small, other problems existed in this UGB auto camp. For example, ever since the camp first opened, there were difficulties supplying it with fresh water. Park officials had suggested that the water system be "extended," and that its sanitation be "improved" (Albright, 1919, 100). A second problem lay in the camp's proximity to the private S&PCC camp. With increased visitation to the park and the increasing overall popularity of camping facilities, the S&PCC concessionaires determined that "the camping company [would] have to expand" (Punchard, 1919, 8). However, any expansion of that camp would have had a direct effect on the public auto camp. A report on available auto camps in the park proposed a solution to the overcrowding—move the auto camp "across the Thumb road in a grove of trees" (Punchard, 1919, 8).

In accordance with this recommendation, park administrators, in 1920, moved the auto camp from its site near the river to "the thick timber on the opposite side of the road from Old Faithful" (Albright, 1920, 55-56). They had to remove much timber to create the new sites and roadways; however, the new auto camp proved to be superior to the former site. The camp stood on "level sandy soil," "screened by trees from the road," and was "convenient to the objects of interest" in the Basin (Albright, 1920, 55-56). The park made

plans to pipe water in from the hill south of the site, but as a temporary measure, it tied the facility into a line from the hotel's system.

In laying out the camp, the designers created a road grid. Specifically, one road ran parallel to, and 250 feet south of, the main Basin road. From this avenue, they placed three other roads 180 feet apart at right angles, and then connected these roads by two others running perpendicular to the three. The result was four rectangular plots of land that could be used for camping (Fig. 12). The capacity of this facility was much larger than its forerunner, for it could accommodate 350 automobiles.

Visitors staying at this facility had use of the camp's picnic tables, metal tent frames, and firewood. As with the previous camp, the firewood was free, save for visitors supplying some elbow grease: park employees hauled the wood in on a daily basis, but it arrived in the form of whole logs—visitors could take as much as they could cut. A policy against providing pre-cut wood went into effect because the Park Service had found that "people could not be trusted to use wood moderately when it was cut for them, but built fires several times larger than were necessary." Similarly, it found that when "they are required to cut firewood from a log, their camp fires are noticeably smaller" (Hill, 5 December 1922).

The UGB's second public auto camp offered comfort stations, and their number may reflect an increase in visitor numbers. In 1921, the park built

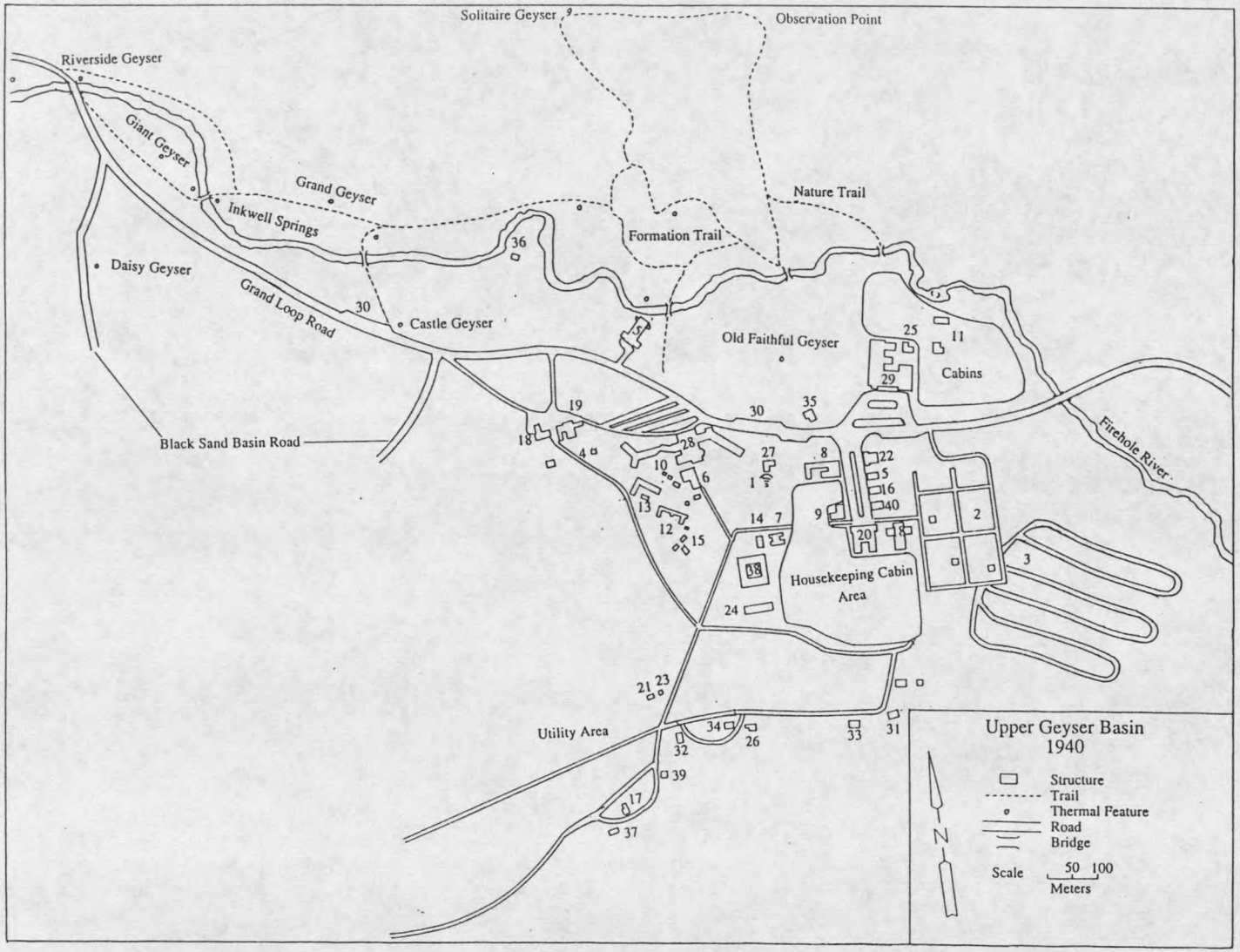


Figure 12. The Upper Geyser Basin, 1940

Key for Figure 12, Upper Geyser Basin, 1940

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

two comfort stations, then added two more each in 1923, 1926, 1927, and 1928, making for a total of ten. These buildings measured 17 by 25 feet and provided both men's and women's facilities. The builders used rough boards and batons, and they shingled the roofs to make the comfort stations appear "well in the woods where they are located" (Albright, 1921, 19-20).

Despite such attempts to create a rustic atmosphere, urbanization made its mark on the campground. For instance, the Park Service added street lights in 1928. Then in 1929, it doubled in width the camp's roads, from 20 to 40 feet so as "to accommodate the traffic that is attracted to the bear feeding grounds" (Toll, 1929, 20-21).

The auto camp was a consistently popular overnight facility in the UGB. For example, during the 1930 season a total of 10,689 cars and 33,524 campers used this facility (Toll, 1930, 9). Not only did the many overnight visitors affect the auto camp, but so did the S&PCC, as its housekeeping area had expanded at a rapid rate. The only logical solution was to move the more mobile of the two, the auto camp, to yet another location.

As such, in 1939, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) began work on a new auto campground, this one located southeast of the second (Fig. 12). However, CCC staff completed only three sites before being called away to another project in the park. The third auto camp would have to wait until the end of World War II.

In addition to auto campgrounds, the second period also saw construction of ranger facilities. In 1919, park officials observed that many of the ranger stations were in "a dilapidated condition and should be rebuilt" (Albright, 1919, 101). However, park administrators chose not to rebuild the UGB's station, which stood at the soldier station site on the oxbow, quite distant from the Basin's other human features. Instead, the NPS built a new UGB ranger station in 1919, locating it in a small grove around 450 feet southeast of Old Faithful Geyser (Fig. 12). The new site offered the advantage of being more convenient to the other visitor facilities in the UGB. The new ranger station was a wooden, eight-room structure that measured 68 by 46 feet at its widest points; it contained an office and ranger living quarters.

In 1923, the NPS razed the old soldier/ranger station and cleaned up the site. That same year, it constructed a combined winter rangers' quarters/summer mess. This building was a two-story, log-and-board structure that measured 24 by 43 feet. Its original site was probably at the northwest end of the second auto camp; however, in 1932, the Park Service moved the entire building, remodeling it into a four-room house for the ranger naturalist.

That building's new location lay in the utility area, a wooded area in the UGB's southwest quadrant that the NPS had, during this second period of development, set aside for employee facilities (Fig. 12). There, it also constructed a ranger dorm, a ranger apartment, and a bunk house, as well as

a tool cache, a storage barn, and a garbage incinerator. Then, in 1935, the NPS added an employees' camp to the area, siting it according to the park's landscape architects. This facility contained pit toilets and its own water supply.

During this period, the Park Service also added a sewage facility to the UGB. Specifically, in 1921 it started construction of a sewage system and disposal plant as a way "to protect the Firehole River from pollution by raw sewage from Old Faithful Inn, the permanent camp, the auto camp and ranger station" (Albright, 1921, 35). Completed in the spring of 1923, this system lay at the oxbow of the Firehole River—near the site of the razed soldier station (Fig. 12). In 1937, this sewage system became "inadequate to care for the increased demands with the result that a considerable quantity of raw sewage was escaping to the Firehole River" (Rogers, 1937, 34). To alleviate the problem temporarily, the park obtained PWA funds and placed additional collection tanks and a sludge bed at this site. This facility continued to run until 1940-41, when the NPS constructed a new sewage facility in the Basin's utility area (Fig. 12).

Infrastructure

During this period, the NPS added new bridges, roads, parking areas, and trails to the UGB's landscape. This was a period of greatly increasing development in not only the UGB but also the entire park. The Park Service

increased infrastructural development to make the park more accessible to the increasing number of visitors, as well as to promote visitation itself.

However, in 1911, well before the inception of the NPS, the park built and refurbished several bridges in the UGB. For instance, that year the Inkwell Springs footbridge, which stretched over the Firehole River near Inkwell Springs, went up; it linked the Castle and Grand group of geysers with the Daisy, Giant, and Riverside group on the other side of the river. That same year, the park also built a wagon-traffic bridge near Riverside Geyser. Moreover, during that year, it replaced many of its worn-out wooden bridges with steel ones, including the Riverside Geyser Bridge. Specifically, a 65-foot steel arch structure replaced that old wooden bridge, which had been built near Riverside Geyser in 1897.

Bridge building continued later in this second period as well. In 1937-38, the NPS spent approximately $55,000 to construct a sixty-foot concrete-encased steel girder bridge (Rogers, 1938, 10). Like the Inkwell Springs footbridge, it spanned the Firehole River, but lay at the other end of the Basin (southeast of the permanent camp). In 1938, the Park Service base-coursed not only the bridge's surface, but also the two new parking areas it had developed in the Basin during 1937. These parking areas were widened sections of the Grand Loop Road; they allowed drivers to pull off and park in convenient spots. One lay between the east wing of the Inn and Old Faithful Geyser, and the other faced Castle Geyser (Fig. 12).

Other road and trail developments predated the new parking areas. In 1924, the Park Service constructed a new 1300-foot roadway "to provide space for future expansion of the Old Faithful Permanent Camp" (Albright, 1924, 9). Also, in 1935, the NPS graded the grand loop road from Madison Junction to Old Faithful to a width of 28 feet, widening it approximately ten feet (Culpin, 1994).

Road improvements made by the Park Service became increasingly important during this period. The NPS was now catering more to automobile visitors and thus prioritized infrastructural improvements to meet their needs. It wished to make the park, as well as the UGB, more accessible to this type of visitor, whose numbers were increasing. For example, by 1917, 5,703 automobiles entered the park; by 1919, this number had nearly doubled to 10,737 (Bartlett, 1985).

Finally, two trails, Formation Trail and Nature Trail, also joined this landscape. Because of the self-guided form they took, however, they fall well into the discussion of the interpretive landscape.

Interpretation

At the same time the NPS created auto camps and infrastructure improvements to offer conveniences to the park's travelers, it also added interpretive features to the landscape in order to enhance and shape the visitors' park experience. That park experience is somewhat different from the one of today's visitors. Of course, just like the tourists during the second

period, today's Yellowstone visitors expect to see a geyser spout, hear the thunder of Yellowstone Falls, and gaze at herds of bison and elk. However, they don't expect to see a bear; they just hope they will be lucky enough for that experience—bear sightings are now a rarity for present-day park visitors. However, sightings were once quite common, in part because the NPS established particular facilities to show off bears on a regular basis. In the earlier era, bears stood out as an integral and essential part of the UGB landscape.

Indeed, during the second period, visitors could have their "bear sighting" experience on a set schedule, simply by attending one of the evening bear feedings. These events were an extension of the days when the hotels discarded garbage behind them, instead of hauling it to a dump. The visitors soon found they could watch the bears congregate over the garbage at night, and thus they gathered there themselves. However, with the number of bears so large, and the visitors so near, this activity "soon matured into a bear problem" (Haines, 1977, 117). As a result, the concessionaires had to move their trash. However, the bears followed the garbage, and the visitors invariably followed the bears.

The NPS decided to cater to the visitors' desire to see bears by constructing feeding grounds at various locations throughout the park. For example, in 1919, the park established a dump/bear feeding ground within walking distance of the UGB, behind the automobile camp and

housekeeping area. It consisted of wooden benches for the visitors, a wire barricade strung between trees and posts, a shallow ditch so as "to keep people from going beyond the danger line," and an armed ranger in case things got out of hand (Albright, 1919, 60-61). There was also a special feeding platform on which the bears could dine, and a sign claiming that this was a "LUNCH COUNTER FOR BEARS ONLY" (Fig. 13). While stopping at the grounds in the evening, visitors received lectures on the bears from interpretive rangers. One of these rangers in the UGB was Walter P. Martindale, a man who delivered his bear lectures while seated on horseback; he became somewhat famous for his "Sermon on a Mount" (Haines, 1977, 304). Because of the number of bears and the lectures, this feeding area, as well as the others, became "one of the most interesting features of the park to the majority of tourists." It also required "careful regulation" (Albright, 1919, 60-61).

Not only did the feeding grounds produce a "very bad odor," but they were also in too close a "proximity to the highly developed recreation area" [the campground and housekeeping area]; this location drew bears to the campground where they had been "troublesome" (Edwards, 1934). Thus, a 1934 PWA project proposed to build a better feeding facility at a site a mile or more from the UGB. However, before this new facility could be built, the park discontinued all bear feeding grounds in 1936, except at the Otter Creek pit near the Canyon area. There, the NPS had erected a new facility with a tall

Figure 13. The Upper Geyser Basin Bear Feeding Grounds

Catering thrills to visitors by catering garbage to bears, the Park Service established dumps where both populations could gather, being separated by only a wire barricade, a shallow ditch, and an armed ranger. It became a popular spectacle, another major reason to visit Yellowstone. Nevertheless, the park closed the UGB feeding ground in 1936, fearing that the site was increasing the likelihood of a bear attack. Ironically, six years later, there was a fatal mauling in the UGB: while walking to a cabin camp rest room, a visitor surprised a bear (Whittlesey, 1995). [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (date unknown).]



chain link fence and a concrete feeding platform. The elimination of this activity elsewhere followed the realization that bear feeding grounds "enticed grizzly bears into the crowded utility area, which condition was considered as hazardous because of the nature of this species of bear" (Rogers, 1936, 20).

A specific incident at the UGB's feeding ground justified this park decision, although it did not involve grizzlies. One evening during a Ranger Martindale lecture, a scuffle broke out over a bit of garbage: "A big black bear chased a little black bear through the wire [barricade] and through the spectators," which effectively closed "down the bear show at Old Faithful" (Haines, 1977, 304). By 1940, the NPS stopped bear feedings in the park altogether, as "an attempt to placate some of the 'purists'" who had been placing pressure on it during the 1930s (Swain, 1972, 329).

Other than the bear feeding grounds, little other development in the way of interpretation took place during the early portion of the second period. Until 1916, concession company employees and park soldiers still provided oral descriptions of park landscapes: troops in the UGB "gave 'cone talks' to park visitors as early as 1888, albeit with varied degrees of accuracy and success" (Brockman, 1978, 26).

In 1916, however, the newly formed NPS initiated a more structured interpretive program. Stephen Mather and Horace Albright were "well aware of the importance of visitor understanding and appreciation of the

significant park features"; they also realized that previous interpretive attempts "left a great deal to be desired" (Brockman, 1978, 30). Visitor education became one of the primary missions of the Park Service. Because the NPS implemented lecture programs, employed professional interpretive personnel, and constructed amphitheaters, the parks became a place where the visitor could not only observe wonders of nature, but also learn about them. The Park Service hoped that by generating an understanding of the parks' features and history among the visitors, it could gain mass support for the park system. Its efforts toward that goal led to a great alteration of the parks' interpretive landscapes.

These changes in park interpretation are clearly revealed on the UGB's landscape during this period. When the NPS established its interpretive program, it made plans to construct interpretive museums in the park system. "The need for park museums was first recognized in 1920, but it was several years before the Park Service found sources to fund construction" (McClelland, 1993, 99). Then, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation donated $118,000 for educational work in the park (Albright, 1928, 1-2). The Park Service used a portion of that money to build a museum at the UGB, beginning its construction in July 1928.

Herbert Maier, an architect whose works had been commissioned several times by the American Association of Museums, both designed and supervised the construction of this new interpretative facility. In his designs,

"Maier used landscape techniques and features to blend museum buildings and structures with the natural setting they were trying to interpret" (McClelland, 1993, 239). In blending, structures are made inconspicuous through the use of natural materials. Thus, Maier used stone and wood for his designs; many times he would specify that these materials be shaped with primitive tools, to give the building rough lines and a rustic look. Along with blending, Maier used "screening" as a way to make his structures unobtrusive on the landscape—placing the buildings behind natural features, such as trees and rocks, or within alcoves. If none of these natural screeners were available, he would plant vegetation indigenous to the building's area.

The Museum of Thermal Activity, as the UGB facility became known, posed no exception to Maier's blended designs. It was a primitive-looking, L-shaped building made of logs and stone located approximately 200 feet east of the Inn's east wing (Figs. 12 & 14). As its main entrance faced Old Faithful, those exiting it had a direct view of the erupting geyser. Maier completed construction during the spring of 1929, thus it opened to the public on 20 June of that year (Toll, 1929). After its unveiling, the museum "proved to be one of the main points of interest in the park" (Toll, 1929, 3).

Until this time, the UGB had not possessed an interpretive facility of this caliber. The structure contained an information office with a ranger naturalist stationed at a desk during open hours, a study room for ranger

Figure 14. The Upper Geyser Basin Museum of Thermal Activity

With the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916 came the mission for a comprehensive program for visitor education. The UGB museum had to wait until 1928 for its groundbreaking, however, because funds were slow in coming. Intentionally using natural materials to blend his design into the Basin's backdrop, architect Herbert Maier made the museum rather inconspicuous. Nevertheless, it attracted visitors with its information office and its exhibits, which included a working model of a geyser. [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (circa 1929).]



naturalists, and an open courtyard. It also boasted a section with exhibits on thermal activity, including a model of a working geyser, as well as historical, zoological, and botanical displays. Some of the specific exhibits during this period were sinter specimens from Iceland, sections from various types of trees, and displays of skulls and insects. In addition, an easel posted the "educational program for the immediate vicinity," and two blackboards announced the eruption times of various geysers located in the UGB (Report of the Educational Department, August 1930—July 1931, 3).

The open court, located at the museum's rear, served as a lecture area for the ranger naturalists, as well as a place to exhibit live snakes, frogs, and wildflowers (Reports of the Naturalist Division, June 1931). However, after just three years of such use, the Park Service converted the courtyard into an exhibit area planted with trees, shrubs, and wildflowers that were indigenous to Yellowstone. It removed the rear wall of the enclosure, putting up lattice work so as to enable "visitors to look through from the court into the amphitheater or vice versa" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, July 1933).

The amphitheater itself developed as a means to "provide ample room for the large crowds that...taxed the capacity of the court almost since its construction" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, 25 July 1931—31 July 1932, 6). Just as with the Museum of Thermal Activity, Herbert Maier designed and supervised the construction of this new facility funded by the American Association of Museums. He located the amphitheater behind the museum's

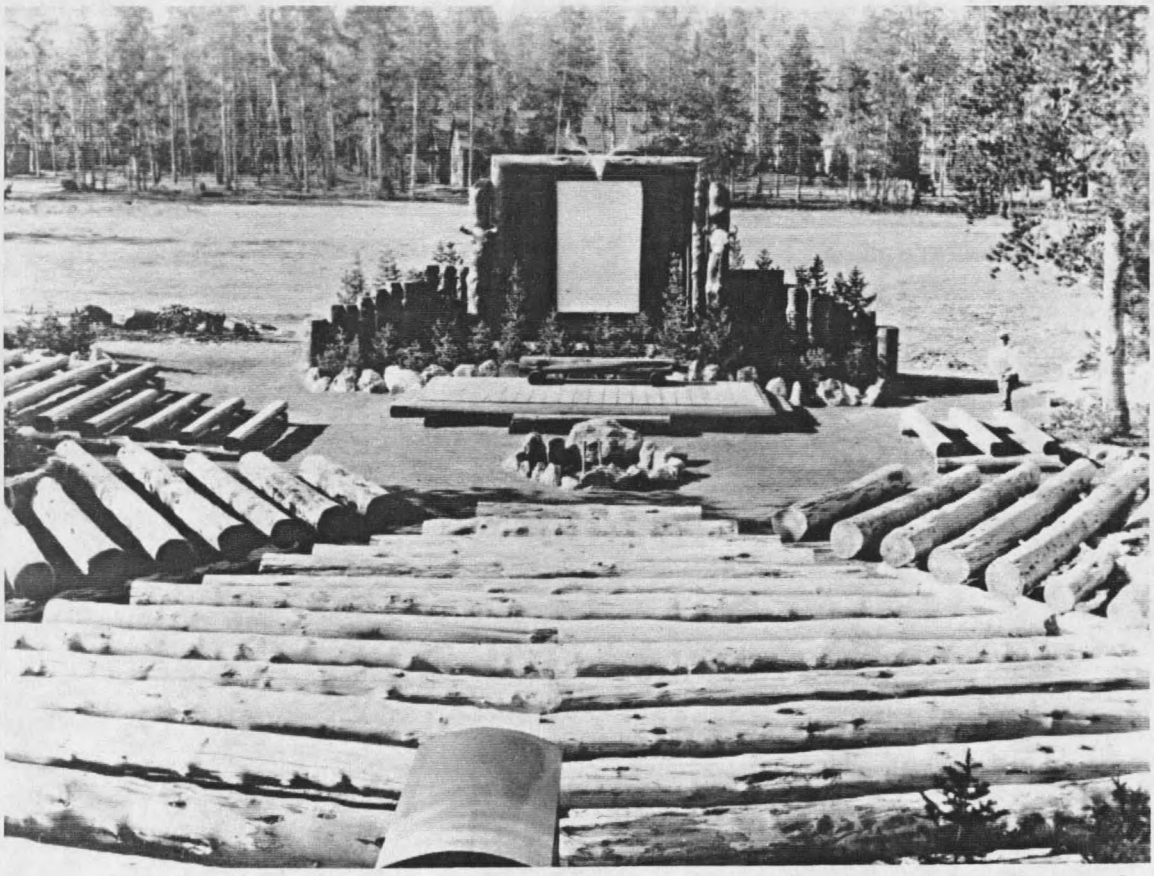
courtyard and planted several trees around it as natural screening. He also arranged its seating into a semicircle, with the visitors facing away from the museum. The seats themselves were long benches, made from rough, hewn logs. A low, log stage with a large projection screen backing it stood front and center of this lecture area (Fig. 15). This semicircle design, which had the capacity to seat 800, was a variation of a Greek amphitheater, and "was better suited to the intimate woodland surroundings and use for evening lectures and slide shows" than the open court (McClelland, 1993, 148).

The concept of the amphitheater was not new to the Park Service. For example, one such facility had been built in Yosemite National Park in 1920. In fact, "outdoor theaters and amphitheaters appeared across the nation in the early twentieth century; they were a popular feature in parks, college campuses, and private estates" (McClelland, 1993, 148). Perhaps the best example of this type of architecture at the time was the Greek Theater at the University of California, Berkeley. This facility was well known in outdoor architectural circles, and Maier "clearly drew from the Berkeley example" when designing the Old Faithful Amphitheater (McClelland, 1993, 148).

The park dedicated this facility on 27 August 1932 and used it "each evening during the season for campfire talks on natural history and other Yellowstone subjects" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, 1 July 1935—30 June 1936, 2). The usual format of the talks entailed community singing, announcements of upcoming lectures, a lecture itself (with subjects ranging

Figure 15. The Upper Geyser Basin Amphitheater

When the museum's open court proved too small to accommodate the many visitors coming to hear ranger naturalists lecture, the Park Service built a large amphitheater just behind it. Seating 800, the new facility, also designed by Herbert Maier, opened in 1932, offering evening programs—campfire talks that made use of short slide shows; the projection box is at the foreground, center. [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (circa 1933).]



from natural history to park history), and then an illustrated segment. The rangers kept the latter brief, in comparison with the naturalist's talk, for they believed that "personal contact with the Ranger Naturalists" would give "the visitors a better understanding of the park and a keener appreciation of nature and park features" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, 2 August 1935b).

The amphitheater at the UGB was not the only area where lectures took place. For instance, in 1930, the interpretive department at the UGB started a program of delivering lectures at Old Faithful Geyser during each eruption. This lecture proved to be quite popular and at times would attract 2,000 or more persons (Reports of the Naturalist Division, July 1930a, 2). That same year, rangers began delivering evening lectures while a spotlight on top of the Inn illuminated Old Faithful Geyser. These "cone talks" were 8- to 10-minute, unillustrated lectures scheduled previous to each eruption. The lecture would give information on the thermal features in the UGB, especially Old Faithful Geyser.

Along with the lectures, the rangers offered several guided trips in the UGB. These walking tours included a hike around the formations with a ranger naturalist who would explain various features along the way. In 1931, the Ranger Naturalist Division began offering all-day hikes a few times a week in "an endeavor to meet the many requests for longer hik[e]s" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, June 1931). These longer walks with the ranger

would head from the UGB to destinations such as Mallard Lake and the Madison Plateau. The Naturalist Division encouraged visitors to stay overnight at the UGB so that they would be able to participate in the all-day hikes. That same year, the Naturalist Division also added moonlight hikes, with a maximum group of 300, to Observation Point so as to see a nighttime eruption of Old Faithful Geyser. It also added exploration hikes to nearby Hillside Springs and Little Firehole Meadows during this period. These added attractions to the UGB's interpretive lineup were "received most enthusiastically" (Report of the Educational Department, 25 July 1931—31 July 1932, 4).

Nevertheless, the park reduced the number of guided trips in 1932. Concessionaires complained that the trips "were usurping too much of the tourist's time" at the points of interest in the park and perhaps reducing purchasing time in the stores (Report of the Educational Department, 5 July 1932). As a result of this complaint, the rangers offered only two all-day trips per week, making several two-hour hikes available during the rest of the week.

Along with the stationary lectures at Old Faithful and the amphitheater, as well as the on-foot trips, there were interpretive lectures in the UGB that allowed visitors to travel to points of interest by means of their automobiles. The NPS initiated these auto caravans in 1931 and kept them as a daily service until 1939. From the Museum at the UGB, the "Chasing

Geysers" program would take the visitors to areas such as Black Sand and Biscuit Basins. During the program's first year, the trips took place during the morning. However, the second year, and thereafter, the park rescheduled the trips to the afternoon, in an attempt to encourage "more people to participate in walking trips during the morning" as well as "hold more parties over for another day at these points" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, June 1931).

The Park Service discontinued the auto caravans in 1939 because of the problems they caused with traffic congestion and parking. In lieu of the popular program, two rangers stationed themselves in the UGB to contact the public and give interpretive information. The NPS declared that this new approach was more successful than the chasing geysers program in that "more people were contacted in the basin" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, 23 October 1939, 1).

As noted previously, rangers also delivered lectures at the UGB bear feeding ground located south of the automobile campground. Topics ranged from Yellowstone bears and how one should deal with them to the winter life of rangers. These lectures were very popular and would at times attract 1,500 visitors (Reports of the Naturalist Division, July 1935a, 2). In addition to these lectures, rangers offered well-attended talks on various subjects at both the Inn and the auto camp.

Along with providing oral interpretation, the park also developed interpretive signs during this period. In 1907, about 600 enamel-coated metal

signs replaced the wooden signs, with the park using metal stakes and cementing them into the ground so as to give them better support. Around a decade later (1918), the rangers expressed a need for more metal signs. In response, the Park Service purchased more for the purpose of showing road junctions, mile posts, objects of interest, etc. However, World War I interfered with this plan: the signs could not be marked because of a "lack of skilled labor for this [type of] work" (Albright, 1919, 36-37). As such, the park could not complete and install the signs until 1920. Many of these signs were colored green and white; red ones indicated dangerous areas. There is no clear record of where rangers placed any of these signs.

By the end of this period, many improvements in interpretation had taken place. However, much still needed to be done. For example, in 1939, the ranger naturalists complained that the museum was overcrowded, because of its dual purpose as a museum and a ranger station, and exhibits needed to be revised. Similarly, the annual report on the naturalist activities at Old Faithful Station for 1939 recommended several modifications for the UGB's interpretive landscape. Specifically, it stated that new specimens with better labels needed to be placed on display in the museum, that the electrical connection to the amphitheater needed repairs, and the Observation Point Trail needed to be improved. In addition, the report stated that many of the signs located at thermal features were "antiquated" because "many of the geysers have changed their activity since the signs were put up" (Woodward,

1939, 10). Thus, despite nearly twenty years of intensive development to the UGB's interpretive landscape, still more improvements were needed; however, these would have to wait until the end of World War II.

During the second period, an integral part of park interpretation involved the establishment of two nature trails in the UGB, mentioned briefly in the Infrastructure section of this chapter. Of all trail development occurring within Yellowstone, these two probably represent the most ambitious projects. These trails resulted from an inspection of the park's educational activities by Ansel F. Hall, Yellowstone's chief naturalist. Hall found that there was "an acute educational problem at Upper Basin" because it had only two ranger naturalists on duty at any given time, thus reaching "less than twenty per cent" of the visitors at the Basin with the interpretive service (Hall, 1926, 2). Instead of requesting that more ranger naturalists be hired, Hall suggested several alternatives to the problem. He recommended, first, the "complete labeling of the Formation Trail with all data that could be supplied" as well as the same for the Black Sand Basin Trail; second, "the construction and maintenance of a Nature Trail to Observation Point"; and third, the establishment of a museum with a wildflower garden at the UGB (Hall, 1926, 2). The NPS accepted Hall's recommendations, creating not only the Museum of Thermal Activity, but also the two self-guided trails.

The first, the Formation Trail, still allowed the visitors to trod on the bare soil of Geyser Hill from feature to feature, but it now offered written

interpretations of what they were observing. To improve the Formation Trail, the Park Service installed thirty-eight signs that marked the various thermal features. These signs gave such information as the height of a particular geyser's eruption, its interval, etc. Other interpretive signs, placed between thermal features, gave general information regarding geological phenomena. For example, one sign in the vicinity of Old Faithful Geyser asked and answered the question, "WHY DO GEYSERS ERUPT?" (Hall, 1926, 4). It also explained the geological process that makes geysers possible. In addition to the educational signs, the trail posted large one-foot-long metal arrows that indicated direction and distance (in paces) to the next thermal feature.

Like the newly labeled Formation Trail, the Nature Trail represented a great leap in the UGB's interpretive landscape. This new trail was a two-mile loop that essentially circled the Formation Trail. The Park Service designed the Nature Trail so it could be accessed either via the bridge that crossed the Firehole River near the Inn or via a bridge that lay behind the permanent camp. From these points, the trail skirted the perimeter of Geyser Hill, ascending to Solitary Geyser and Observation Point before leading visitors back to their points of origin. Between 1931 and 1932, the Park Service changed the portion of the trail leading from the bridge behind the permanent camp to Observation Point, so as "to eliminate steep pitches and excessive dust from some of the formation traversed." Nevertheless, the trail

did not deviate radically from its original placement (Reports of the Naturalist Division, 25 July 1931—31 July 1932, 14).

The Nature Trail allowed the visitor to take a guided nature walk—but without the aid of a ranger naturalist. It educated the visitor by pointing out various features, and it even worked the absence of a human guide into its interpretive theme. For example, the signs that marked the entrance of the trail stated:

> An unseen Ranger Naturalist will accompany you to help you become acquainted with the flowers, trees, and birds of the trail side. Your Government has prepared this trail for your enjoyment and understanding (Hall, 1926).

This ambitious trail used 249 signs to point out various biological as well as geological features. Along with the signs, there were also other interpretive tools, such as a ladder that visitors could use to look into a pine siskin's nest and a hinged door cut below the knothole of a pine tree that allowed one to see a western bluebird's nest. In addition, the builders placed a series of small logs across the trail at "frequent points" (Hall, 1926, 75A). These logs, six feet six inches high, held rustic interpretive labels and prevented visitors on horseback from using the trail.

In 1930, another short nature trail joined the UGB landscape. Neither NPS staff nor CCC personnel built this trail, but rather nine boy scouts, who were supervised by their scout master and sent to the park by Chief Naturalist Hall (Reports of the Naturalist Division, August 1930b, 3). In constructing this quarter-mile-long trail, they used signs made from "Aqua

proof" fabric and labeled with waterproof India Ink (Reports of the Naturalist Division, August 1930—25 July 1931, 2). The trail opened to the public the following year.

During the same year the scouts built their trail, NPS began making plans for another at the UGB. By 1932, one mile of the Geyser Hill Trail lay paved with an emulsified asphalt surface, which cut down on erosion on Geyser Hill by keeping visitors' footfalls from the soil; it also gave them an apparent course to follow. This modification became the first "permanent" path on Geyser Hill, and many believed it to be "a fine addition to the work in the Upper Geyser Basin" (Toll, 1932, 7).

Work on the UGB trails continued through 1934 as a Public Works Program. Specifically, that project created more hard-surfaced footpaths on the UGB's trail system and established a section of trail near Grand Geyser. The result of this effort was the expansion of the UGB's trail system to the northwest, reaching ever nearer to Riverside Geyser.

Concessions

When the newly formed NPS took control of Yellowstone in 1916, Director Mather was determined to preserve both the natural integrity of the parks themselves and the visitor experience. To accomplish this, he sought more careful and consistent regulation of park concessions. Mather did not choose to place the concessions under public control, but to put the private enterprises operating in the park "under stringent government regulation to

ensure that the commercial operators fulfilled their responsibility to the traveling public" (Blodgett, 1990, 61).

To implement this policy, Mather consolidated many of the park concessions. For instance, whereas several private enterprises had been running the transportation, hotel, and camp operations in Yellowstone National Park, Mather united them into three large corporations. The Park Service now treated the concessionaires as a regulated monopoly and closely monitored their performance. If a concession failed to provide what the Park Service deemed to be adequate service to visitors, its lease could be revoked, and another concession could take its place.

Along with regulating the concessionaires themselves, Mather believed that regulating concession structures could also help preserve the visitor experience.

> Service engineers and architects had to study every change, every proposed 'improvement,' weighing its benefits against its potential for disrupting the landscape (Blodgett, 1990, 62).

This second policy contributed to the creation of a landscape engineering division in the parks. This department assessed all proposed structures—government and non-government—and ensured that "the natural condition of the parks must be disturbed as little as possible consistent with necessary development in the public interest" (Blodgett, 1990, 63). This policy had a direct impact on the cultural landscapes of the parks, given that

structure placement, as well as appearance, was a product of Park Service regulation and management.

Post-1916 construction decisions within the UGB clearly reflected these new regulations. For instance, to have an appearance that harmonized with the landscape, most UGB concession structures incorporated materials that created a rustic look. The NPS also required that structures be placed a good distance from the Basin's thermal features, not only to prevent damage, but also to make them less obtrusive.

Additions to the Old Faithful Inn during this period posed no exception to this policy. In 1913, the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company added a wing because "increased facilities for caring for tourists" were much needed in the UGB (Brett, 1913c, 5). The wing was a three-story structure containing more than 100 rooms that jutted from the southeast end of the Inn. Placing the wing at this end of the Inn kept it out of the view of visitors entering the UGB from the north. Workers completed the wing in time for the 1914 season, and it greatly increased the UGB's visitor capacity.

While the Inn's first wing went up without consternation, the second one did not. Indeed, before the second wing got off the ground, a couple of problems arose. First, after the park's superintendent saw the plans for the wing, he wrote to Harry Child expressing concern. Superintendent Albright believed that the new wing's design was "so totally different from the old building" that he thought it was "bound to be commented on adversely"

(Albright, 1 June 1927c). Furthermore, Albright feared that Robert Reamer, who designed the Inn, its first wing, and this one, would "have his reputation considerably impaired" because of his plans (Albright, 1 June 1927c). This wing's design was in the French "Mansard" style, which allegedly did not fit in well with the Inn's log cabin motif. The new wing could not match the traditional style because it required a flat, tightly sealed roof: unlike the Inn, the rooms within the proposed wing had plastered walls, which would be susceptible to leakage from the rain and snow; log walls could withstand the effects of dripping water from a leaky roof. Aware of this design problem, Albright believed that the only alternative was to find a way in which the third floor of the new wing could "be harmonized with the roof line and general exterior features of the old hotel [Inn]" (Albright, 1 June 1927b).

The wing's proposed location at the west end of the Inn posed another problem, but there was no other place where it could be built. Thermal features and other buildings restricted available land to a narrow corridor northwest of the Inn. The 1913 wing had not presented this type of problem because Reamer had placed it almost directly behind the Inn. When viewing the Inn from the front, one could not really see it. However, the appearance of the second wing was of great importance because it would "be the first part of the building that the incoming tourists...[saw]" when entering the UGB (Albright, 1 June 1927b).

The Park Service asked Reamer to redesign the wing to make its appearance conform more with the Inn. Reamer submitted one design that was essentially the same as the original, except that the dormers on the third floor were flat, instead of slanted, as he had originally planned. The NPS rejected this design, believing it was still too different from the Inn's style. Reamer submitted another plan in which the roof of the wing was slanted much like that of the Inn. This design cut down on the wing's room capacity, rerouted the plumbing system, and would have possibly leaked in a short period of time. The Park Service found this unacceptable not only because of these problems, but also because it still was a "distinct change in design from the original [Inn] building" (Albright, 1 July 1927e).

Since the contract had already been let, and work begun, the Park Service allowed the wing to be built under Reamer's second design (the one with the flat dormers). Even during construction, the wing received criticism. While visiting the park during the summer of 1927, P. H. Elwood, professor of landscape architecture at Iowa State College, stated that it was a "very serious architectural blunder" and that the park's landscape engineer must not have been consulted (Albright, 17 September 1927f).

Indeed, the landscape architect, Mr. Vint, had been informed of the wing's plan and objected to its design, but had later changed his mind. He said that the more he saw of the wing, the better he liked it (Albright, 17 September 1927g). Likewise, Superintendent Albright also changed his

opinion of the wing, believing that it grew "more harmonious with the surroundings" every time he went to Old Faithful; he further felt that when completed it would not "be considered obnoxious at all" (Albright, 17 September 1927g). Whether this wing truly grew on them or they were just accepting something they could not change, the wing was there to stay. When finished it looked, from a bird's-eye view, like a giant "Y" with its base connected to the west side of the Inn. It contained four floors, 150 rooms, and 95 bathrooms. It still stands today, but because of road rerouting in the UGB, it is one of the last structures seen by visitors arriving in the area (Fig. 16).

The Hotel Company modified the Inn in other ways during this period. In 1920, it began expanding the dining room, removing the back wall on either side of the fireplace to add the extension. When completed the following year, the dining room's capacity had increased by 125 seats. In 1927, the company added onto this same dining facility, as well as onto the Inn's lobby.

The Hotel Company also added housing facilities for its employees, but not in the utility area—rather it kept to the Inn area. Around 1913, it built a men's one-story dormitory, with a capacity of ninety persons, behind the Inn. The slanted-roofed, log-trimmed wood structure has the shape of an "E" with a stunted center bar; it still stands today, but is used as a carpenter shop and an employee pub (Fig. 12). Because of increased visitation to the

Figure 16. West Wing of Old Faithful Inn

Like some other previous UGB structures (namely, the "shack hotel" and the bathhouse), the second addition to the Inn inspired some controversy and criticism. Superintendent Albright objected to the building's proposed style; the NPS asked for another design, then another—settling on the second even though Albright and the park's landscape architect thought it incongruous with the Inn and its surroundings. They changed their minds after its completion in 1927. [Author's collection (1995).]



UGB, the Hotel Company also built a large dormitory for female employees in 1919. By moving its workers into their own quarters, the Inn could make room for more visitors. Then between 1921 and 1923, it constructed another girls' dormitory. When finished, that dorm contained fifty-eight rooms, thus releasing fifty additional rooms for tourist use in the Inn; the company added twenty more rooms to the dorm in 1927. This facility stood southwest of the Inn proper, or almost directly behind the Inn's west wing; it is still used as a dorm (Fig. 12). The Hotel Company also added a girls' laundry facility that same year, a small rectangular building nestled in the L-shape of the second girls' dorm. Like the dorm, it still serves the same function today.

Along with these housing facilities, the Hotel Company added other smaller structures. For example, it placed a small caretaker's quarters behind the Inn, and then, in 1913 and 1926, it built two separate engineers' quarters in the same locale. The Hotel Company also built a plethora of other structures, scattering them throughout this area. These included a carpenter and paint shop, a pipe shop, a tailor shop, a boiler house and power plant, a hose house, and a large boiler room/laundry. This last structure, built in 1929, stood behind the Inn's dining room. In 1936, the Hotel Company increased its size and redesigned it "to serve both the hotel and lodge operations" (Rogers, 1936, 32-33).

Much like the Hotel Company, the Wylie Permanent Camping Company improved its facilities during this period. For example, in 1909,

Wylie received permission to tap into Punch Bowl Spring so that the camp might have access to a source of hot water. That same year, it won approval to construct "one log storehouse, 20 by 40 feet," as long as it sited the building "in the timber back of the present ware-house [sic] and kitchen, out of sight of the traveled road" (Benson, 19 August 1909). This log storehouse was the only permanent structure Wylie built on its grounds in the UGB until 1915. Then, A. W. Miles, president and owner of the Wylie Permanent Camping Company (as well as an ex-Montana Senator), wrote to the park's acting superintendent requesting permission to construct a log office/dining room. Miles justified this permanent structure by writing that "the extremely cold nights and mornings and the damp weather which prevails throughout the Park [sic]" necessitates such a facility "for the comfort of our guests" (Miles, 29 July 1915). Acting Superintendent Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd M. Brett of the First Cavalry sent Miles's request to the Department of the Interior with a personal endorsement. Brett supported log dining rooms and offices for the camp companies, believing that "such buildings have proven a great addition to the permanent camps from every standpoint" and add "very materially to the comfort and convenience of the guests" (Brett, 30 July 1915b). The Department of Interior authorized construction, and Brett relayed this permission to Miles. The Camping Company could construct the building as long as it was "erected under the supervision and to the satisfaction of the acting superintendent of the park" (Brett, 12 August 1915c).

This structure was the last major development in the UGB's Wylie camp. Two years later, Wylie merged with the Shaw and Powell Camping Company (S&PCC), forming the Yellowstone Park Camps Company; it subsequently removed the Wylie camp.

The S&PCC itself resulted from a merger of sorts: Amos Shaw, a Great Lakes ship captain (who moved to Livingston, Montana, in 1890) met J. D. Powell, and they organized S&PCC in 1892. Together they ran camping trips in the park for twenty-one years; however, at first the park did not allow them to construct any permanent facilities. Then, in 1913, the year of Shaw's death, S&PCC received permission to construct permanent camps in the park, including one in the UGB.

The UGB camp stood in a small grove just east of Old Faithful Geyser (in the same area where the Old Faithful Lodge stands today). Along with the standard array of wooden-floored canvas tents at the camp, S&PCC also constructed a kitchen facility, 24 by 28 feet, at a cost of $415.45 (Shaw and Powell Camping Company, 1913). Several months later, the S&PCC applied to the Department of the Interior for permission to construct a dining room facility at its UGB camp. It originally wanted to build a dining structure 30 by 40 feet; however, "after one summer's experience with permanent camps," it had "decided that a little larger building so as to provide for increased business, and also providing for a lobby to be used as an office and entrance way to the dining room," would be economical (Brett, 26 March 1914b). The

Department of the Interior granted the S&PCC permission to build this facility "as soon as weather conditions in the park permitted" (Miller, 31 March 1914). Completed in 1915, the dining room measured 40 by 50 feet, while the office/lobby (which was connected to the dining room) was 30 by 40 feet (Fig. 17). This facility piped water in from 900 feet away. By the spring of 1915, the S&PCC had fifty tents, which could house 176 visitors (Shaw, 21 May 1915). These tents were much the same as the Wylie tents. They were stove-heated, red-and-white striped canvas shelters, with wooden floors and beds.

The S&PCC and Wylie merged in 1917, in response to Director Mather's preference for "consolidation of the park concessions" (Bartlett, 1985, 189). The new company abandoned ten of its former campsites in the park, built one new facility, and reconstructed the five remaining. One of those abandoned was the UGB's Wylie campground. Closing the Wylie site was a logical choice since the original Shaw and Powell camp, which was slated to remain open, was closer to the UGB's other facilities. Now with one permanent camping facility in the UGB, large-scale development began. In 1919, the camp company expanded the dining room and constructed a new kitchen, commemorating the dining room's completion on 22 August with a trout dinner for a party of visiting governors. Two years later, it built a new recreation pavilion, which "proved a successful addition to the entertainment features at the camp" (Albright, 1921, 39).

Figure 17. Shaw and Powell Camping Company Office and Dining Room

A veteran of running camping trips in Yellowstone for 21 years, the S&PCC finally secured in 1913 the right to establish permanent camps in the style of Wylie. Two years later, the company built this facility to give its campers a large hall for comfortable dining, as well as to accommodate its office—thus, its growing business. [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (circa 1917).]



At this same time, the managers of the merging parties were not getting along very well; the companies terminated their alliance in 1920 by selling out to Howard Hays. He continued the business for four more years under the name Yellowstone Park Camps Company; he then sold out in 1924 to Vernon Goodwin, who changed the company's name to the Yellowstone Park Lodge and Camps Company. That arrangement did not last long either, because after holding onto the business for only four years, Goodwin sold it to H. W. Child in September 1928 (Haines, 1977, 421, n35).

In 1924, the camp company, under Goodwin's direction, began construction of a new lodge building. The initial development entailed the building of a large dining room, a veranda overlooking Old Faithful Geyser, a new kitchen, and a commissary. The company finally completed all of the planned work on this building by 1926, except for a new lobby and recreation hall. That year Superintendent Albright sent a letter to Goodwin, the president of the Yellowstone Lodge and Camps Company, and entreated him to complete work on the Lodge. As Albright believed that Goodwin could obtain some good examples from looking at the concessionaire development in Zion National Park, he suggested that Goodwin make a trip to see its lodges before doing any more work on the one in the UGB. He also warned Goodwin that the Department of the Interior and the Park Service were "going to insist that the Camps Company finish the Old Faithful Lodge" in the fall (Albright, 15 April 1926b).

Albright also contacted D. R. Hull, who had helped in designing the Lodge's kitchen and dining hall with a Mr. Underwood. Albright requested that he and Underwood help with this problem. Apparently, planning for the Lodge had been poor, and without a new recreation hall, the dining room and kitchen buildings resembled a "factory more than a resort" (Albright, 15 April 1926a). Albright told Hull that the old amusement hall had to be torn down and

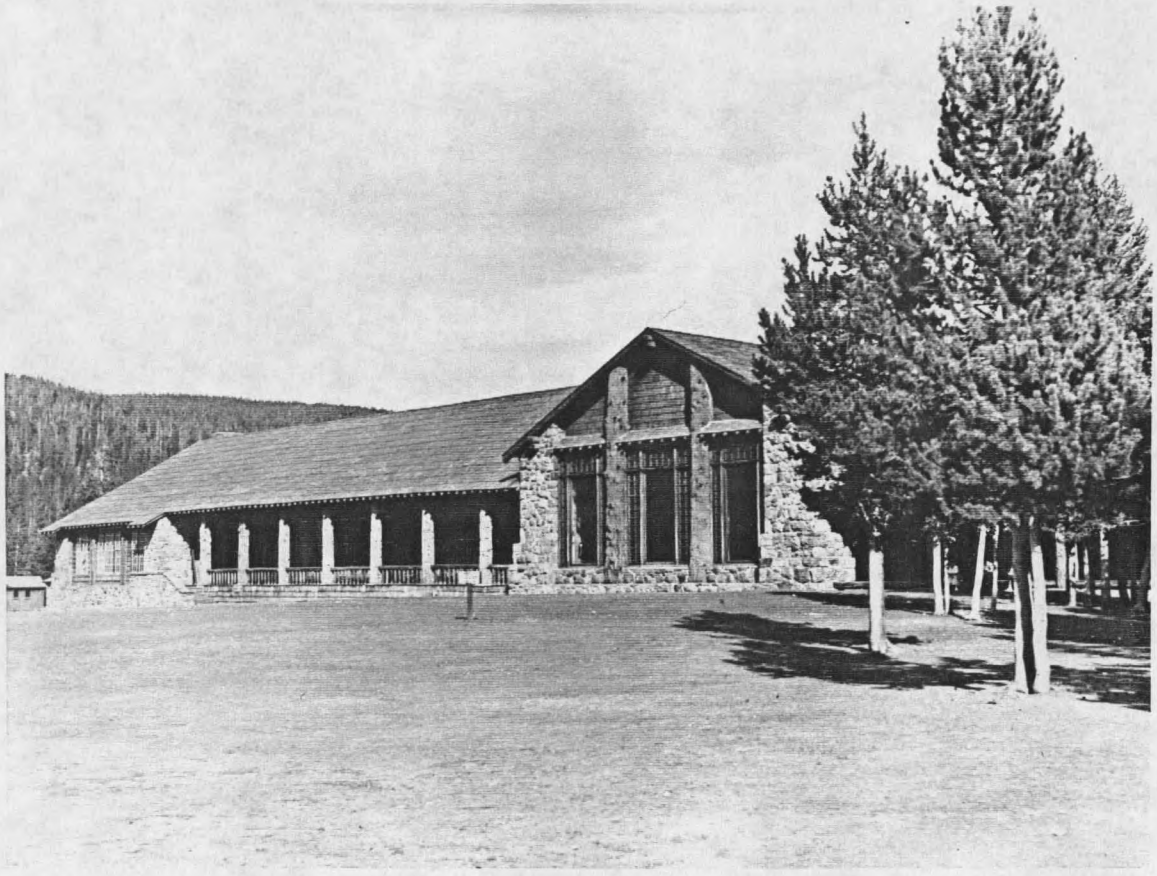
> that the only two fellows in the world that could design something that would tie into that dining room and kitchen building would be Underwood and yourself (Albright, 15 April 1926a).

Hull and Underwood obliged, adding in 1928 a new recreation hall and a new lobby to the Lodge. Still standing today, just east of the Old Faithful Geyser, this building is the largest structure on the UGB's landscape, except for the Old Faithful Inn, and it still serves the same function (Figs. 18 & 12).

The camp company constructed several other employee/service buildings in the area. In 1923 and 1924, it built two dorms, then added, sometime between 1924 and 1930, a two-story dorm. These buildings more than likely stood in the cabin area east of the Lodge. The first two were crude-looking log structures, while the third was wood-board. One slept sixteen, the second, thirty to forty persons, while the third accommodated fifty to sixty. None contained toilet facilities. By 1930, the assistant superintendent considered one to be in "exceedingly poor condition and unsanitary" and the other two in "poor" to "fair" condition (Edwards, November 1930). The camp

Figure 18. Old Faithful Lodge

In seven short years, the camps concession at the Upper Geyser Basin went through three change of hands, with at first Wylie and S&PCC merging, then selling to Yellowstone Park Camps Company, which in turn sold its holdings to Yellowstone Park Lodge and Camps Company (YPLCC). The latter began construction of the Lodge, at first establishing the dining area seen here, as well as a veranda, kitchen, and commissary. The first reign of YPLCC was also a short one, with it selling to H. W. Child in 1928. That year, he oversaw the completion of the Lodge. With the addition of its recreation hall, it became the second-largest building on the UGB landscape. [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (circa 1929).]



company also built another employee housing facility in this area by 1930, constructing a linen room and quarters directly behind the recreation hall. The first floor held a boiler room and linen facility, while the second provided housing. A broad, L-shaped made from unfinished lumber, it still stands in the same location today (Fig. 12). The final employee housing unit built here during this period was a girls' dorm. Completed in 1940, the large two-story wooden structure sits northeast and down the hill from the Lodge. It presently serves the same function (Fig. 12).

The camp company also erected several service buildings, including five comfort stations between 1924 and 1940. Along with these toilet facilities, the company also built, in 1926, a small (16 by 30 feet) laundry building for employees; in 1938, it began construction of an employee bathhouse.

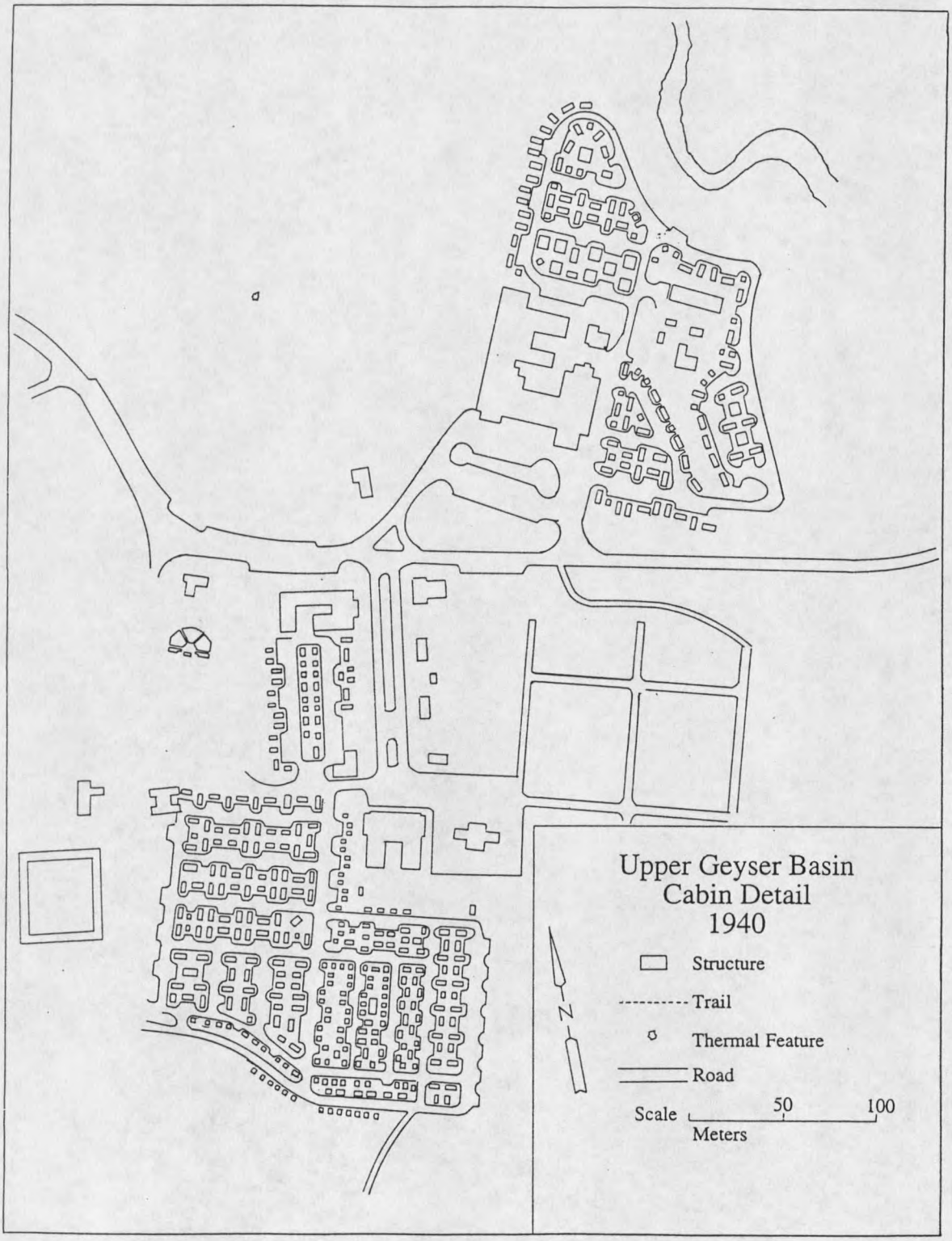
Scattered among the Lodge, dorms, and service facilities were the tourist cabins, the smallest, but most important structures on the camp company's landscape. These wooden buildings, which ultimately would replace the tents, first appeared in the UGB in 1921. In that year, the camp company built fifty cabins; when completed, they increased the capacity of the camp by more than 500. In 1923, it constructed sixty more as part of the camp company's transition to more permanent and comfortable facilities. While still not quite a hotel room, the cabins (also known as lodges) were much more weatherproof and offered more privacy. These structures, built in single-, double-, and quad-room sizes, are essentially the same shelters seen

on the UGB's landscape today. Development of these structures advanced at a rapid rate during this period. Over the next six years, the camp company built approximately 200 cabins in the area. By 1929, the total in the UGB's Lodge area was 309; in 1935, it was 315 (Toll, 21 October 1935). In 1937, the company added twenty-two more cabins. By 1940, it had almost completed work on seventy-seven more (Fig. 19).

In part, this cabin development took place because Superintendent Albright wanted to improve lodge facilities throughout the park. His goal was to remove most of the old tent facilities and to replace them with "more than one hundred cabins dispersed as needed at the various camps" (Bartlett, 1985, 96). These buildings may have been an improvement over the tent facilities, but they were still poorly constructed and unattractive.

Along with its various projects in the Lodge area, the camp company also built cabins across the road, next to the auto camp, in the late 1920s. Known as the Housekeeping Cabins, these structures offered an alternative to the other lodges in that visitors could "prepare their own meals, furnish their own bedding if desired, and have their automobile adjacent to the cabin" (Toll, 21 October 1935). These facilities were for those who did not wish "to sleep on the ground or cook over an open fire" (Haines, 1977, 361). They gave park visitors the convenience and economy of camping without the burden of packing a tent.

Figure 19. Camps Company cabins, 1940



Within this area the camp company established economical accommodations, the tent-top facilities. These were essentially holdovers from the Wylie and S&PCC days, in that visitors slept in canvas tents with wooden floors. Some were built on site, while many others came from across the road. For example, in 1927, the company moved fifty-five canvas tents from the Lodge area to that of the Housekeeping Cabins; in 1929, it built another 106 new tent cabins here, making for a final total of 256.

The company also erected more permanent facilities in this vicinity. In 1929, it began construction on sixty permanent cabins and two visitor comfort stations and, in 1930, 147 more cabins. It wired these for electricity in 1931, then wired the tent cabins in 1935. At that point, the company had 370 permanent cabins there; the following year it built thirty-five more. Then in 1939, the company moved fourteen cabins from the Lodge to the Housekeeping area (Toll, 21 October 1935) (Fig. 19).

The camp company also made other modifications to the Housekeeping area. For example, in 1925, it built a lunch counter and delicatessen in the public auto camp, then constructed a cafeteria two years later. It placed the latter between the museum and Haynes's new photo studio (Fig. 12). It was a large U-shaped building, designed to service the needs of visitors who were not seeking a formal dining experience. This cafeteria underwent additions in 1935 and then again in 1939-1940, when the camp company added a boys' dormitory to it. This concessionaire also built,

in 1929, a wood-framed structure just west of and across the road from the Hamilton Upper Store (Fig. 12). Although it had a second-floor dormitory that accommodated twenty-four persons, it primarily served as a company headquarters and office for the Housekeeping Cabins. A large sign, "Tourist Cabins," let the visitors know this was where to register for overnight facilities (Fig. 20). This building remained on the UGB's landscape until 1955, when it burned to the ground. Across the street and to the east of this building stood a wood house/laundry, measuring 14 by 30 feet. The camp company built it in 1933 as an employee laundry facility.

Unlike the camp company during the early portion of this period, F. Jay Haynes at first did not make any great changes to his UGB photo business; he simply continued to sell souvenir postcards. However, in 1910, two Californian visitors to the park observed that there were no facilities for amateur photographers to get their film processed. Seeing a business opportunity, these individuals sent a letter to the Department of Interior requesting they be allowed to establish a business "where finishing could be done satisfactorily and at a reasonable cost" (Biebew, 9 March 1911). In reply, Secretary of the Interior Walter Fisher contacted acting superintendent Brett, wanting to know if there was "sufficient demand for this class of service" and if so, could Mr. Haynes make provision for this type of business "under his contract with the department" (Fisher, 13 March 1911). Haynes received a copy of this letter, probably from Brett as he acknowledged it as received in

Figure 20. Yellowstone Park Company Camp Office and Cabins

As the camp company expanded its holdings in the Housekeeping area to include a lunch counter/deli, a cafeteria, and a boys' dormitory, it found it necessary to construct, in 1929, an office area to best handle its interests and accommodate visitors looking for simple lodging that was just a few steps removed from camping out. To make the most of this lease holding, the company included a 24-person dormitory on the second floor. (Note, some of the Housekeeping Cabins can be seen at upper right.) [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (circa 1930).]



his reply to the acting superintendent. Haynes responded that he would "be pleased to introduce this feature to Yellowstone Park" and would be able to have the service "in operation for the present season of 1911" (Haynes, 23 March 1911a).

Because of the expansion of his photo business, the Department of the Interior granted Haynes permission to construct extensions and other buildings on his lease holdings. In May 1911, Haynes found "it necessary to build a small addition" to his log cabin studio at the UGB and sent floor plans to Brett for his approval (Haynes, 6 May 1911b). He received permission to add the small wing, which jutted from the rear of the building and measured 10 feet in length, 16 feet in width, and 20 feet in height. Haynes also chose to remodel this shop in 1923, and then, three years later, installed four illuminated outside showcases for displaying photographs at the front of the shop.

Then in 1927, Haynes built a two-story, log-trimmed living quarters and photo shop/finishing plant in the auto camp. This building replaced his original UGB shop; its first floor measured 60 by 78 feet, and the building had a total square footage of 5,032 feet. He located it on the corner of the promenade, next to the Brothers's auto camp bathhouse (Fig. 12), where it was at the center of visitor facilities and offered many customer contacts. It

contained modern photo-processing equipment, such as machinery for enlarging standard 35-mm film and positive film printers for 35-mm film.

However, in 1930, Haynes began arranging to remodel this studio; he wanted to convert its photo-finishing rooms into a laundry and bedrooms after transforming his old log-cabin studio into a photo-finishing plant. He initiated these major changes in response to a report by Haynes, Inc.: it anticipated that "improvements in approach highways, park highways and transcontinental arteries" were going to be so great in the "next five years" that it was possible to receive an eighty percent increase in visitation to Yellowstone (Haynes Picture Shops, Inc., 1 March 1930).

As part of the plan, Haynes relocated his log-cabin studio, originally erected in 1897, to the UGB's utility area in 1933 (Fig. 12); however, rather than keeping it as a studio, he sought to make it a complete photo-finishing plant. The conversion took him until 1936; he had it re-roofed a year later. Haynes moved the old studio because the Park Service encouraged it: as part of its plan to eliminate artificial intrusions within scenic areas of the parks, the NPS believed that it would be desirable to remove this structure "from its current position and place it in an area further away from the geysers" (Haynes Picture Shops, Inc., 1 March 1930). The photo-finishing plant is still present on the UGB's landscape today. Although abandoned, it is in fact the oldest building in the Basin, but perhaps the least recognized by today's visitor.

Haynes expanded his photo business holdings in other ways. In 1918, he established a small photo stand in the office of the permanent camp. Then on 26 June 1922, he opened another sales stand, this one adjoining the Old Faithful Inn lobby. Later, in 1940, he built a warehouse in the utility area.

During this period, Haynes's transportation company also witnessed great changes, including that of its name—from the Monida and Yellowstone Stage Company to Haynes's Yellowstone Western Stage Company. That was a minor modification, however, compared with what would happen next, given Mather's request that concessions in the park be consolidated and the fact that automobiles were now coming into the park: the NPS realized that autos and horses could no longer share the road.

During a conference in Washington in December 1916, Stephen Mather, the Secretary of the Interior, and concessionaires from Yellowstone met to discuss the consolidation of the park's concessions. They decided that the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company (Harry Child's other company) would "be charged with the duty of motorizing the park," as well as "conducting transportation through the park," and that this company would "purchase the good will of the Yellowstone Western Stage Company" (Mather, 21 December 1916).

With this decision made, Haynes was out of the transportation business. To pay his stockholders, Haynes had to sell off the Yellowstone Western Stage Company's old equipment. In order to accomplish this,

Haynes applied for a one-year extension of his lease "for the storing and disposal of its [the Yellowstone Western Stage Company's] personal property" (Haynes, 29 December 1916). Haynes received the extension and sold what he could.

With Haynes out of the picture, the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company (YPTC) was now the sole transportation provider in the park. Harry Child, needing money to purchase a fleet of automobiles, borrowed $470,000 from the Northwest Improvement Company, an affiliate of the Northern Pacific Railroad (Bartlett, 1985, 178). With its auto fleet, the YPTC began construction of new facilities in the UGB. For example, in 1921, it built a new chauffeurs' and mechanics' bunkhouse, then two years later, it constructed a new twelve-room bunkhouse. In 1926, it moved this bunkhouse to the utility area to make room for a new drivers' bunkhouse and wash house. This facility was an H-shaped building and contained nine bedrooms and a washroom. Completed in 1927, it stood around 300 feet behind the museum amphitheater (Fig. 12). Just west of this bunkhouse, the transportation company constructed a mess house for use by all Yellowstone Park Company employees. This was a small building only 91 by 58 feet at its widest points.

The same year it completed its new bunkhouse (1927), the YPTC applied for permission to establish a service garage in the automobile camp. The park's landscape architect, Mr. Vint, required that he be the one to

"locate the site for the shop on his next trip to the upper geyser basin" (Albright, 30 June 1927d). Vint ended up placing this small garage just south of Haynes's photo shop in the auto camp and north of the camp company's laundry building. Along with this garage, the transportation company erected a sixty-horse barn and a new storage garage. The latter was a one-story, fort-like, square structure 208 by 212 feet with an open courtyard for automobile storage; it lay south of the mess hall and the H-shaped employees' bunkhouse. South of the storage garage stood the horse barn, a large rectangular building. Most of these structures would remain in the UGB until the late 1960s (Fig. 12).

While many of the UGB facilities went up without contest, one in particular endured controversy, mistakes, and red tape. In 1912, a Salt Lake City attorney, Henry P. Brothers, wrote to the Department of the Interior wishing to obtain information on how to "establish and conduct public baths at one of the hot springs in the Yellowstone National Park" (Brothers, 14 October 1912c). When asked for his recommendation, acting superintendent Brett replied, "there is little if any demand for this kind of accommodations on the part of the public, and I doubt if such a venture would be a success" (Brett, 24 October 1912).

Rather than give up, Brothers solicited the opinions of several acquaintances who were annual park visitors. He then forwarded their positive responses to the Secretary of the Interior, again requesting a lease.

He argued it was unfair that he had been denied at such an early stage of the application process, especially when that denial was based solely on the opinion of the park's acting superintendent. Brothers requested that he be allowed to examine a parcel of land for a bathing facility, in the presence of the acting superintendent so that the selection he made "would not interfere in any way with the proper protection and administration of the park" (Brothers, 8 May 1913a).

Assistant Secretary of the Interior Lewis C. Laylin honored Brothers's request, but specified that the acting superintendent or another park official file a report on the selected sites. Brothers made arrangements to meet with Brett at the Old Faithful Inn on 20 June 1913. One can only speculate what happened at this meeting between the two men, but one thing is certain, something was said or done that drastically changed Brett's opinion of a bathhouse in the UGB. During his meeting, Brothers selected a site on low ground near the Firehole River across the road from the Haynes Studio. He proposed a log structure with a rustic appearance that would fit in with the Inn's motif. He also planned a large plunge and several small baths, which would use hot water from nearby springs and the cold water from the river. The plunge apparently helped sell Brett on the idea: in his report, he said of the large plunge, "this method of bathing would appeal to the traveling public and would be enjoyed" (Brett, 25 June 1913a).

After receiving Brett's endorsement, the Department of the Interior instructed R. B. Dole, a chemist for the U.S. Geological Survey, to "look into the matter of the disposal of the water to be used in connection with the baths" (Dole, 23 September 1913a). In his inspection, though, Dole looked at the wrong site, thinking Brothers wanted to develop a small marsh area known as the Frog Pond, which stood between the Haynes Studio and the river; Dole termed it a "swampy and insanitary site" (Dole, 23 September 1913a) Fed by a small stream that was used as a sewage disposal channel for the Inn, Klamer's store, the Haynes Studio, and the transportation companies, that site's sanitary hazards were apparent.

Dole also pointed up the lack of hot water to feed the facility; its intended primary source was to be Spring Number 2, located next to Haynes Studio. However, that source would leave the bathhouse without an adequate water supply since it dried up every summer. He offered that the only potential water source was the Chinaman Springs, located near Old Faithful Geyser. As Dole believed the two connected with each other via underground channels, he warned that it was "not at all improbable that this withdraw [of water] might affect Old Faithful Geyser" (Dole, 23 September 1913a, 5). Dole recommended that a new site be selected, one possibly on the other side of the river from the soldier station.

To inspect Dole's suggestion, Henry Brothers returned to the UGB on 27 August of the same year. He objected to the site, for it stood "on a high hill

and...[was] most impracticable from every standpoint." He maintained that the original site was the

> only logical place for establishing baths and if any other place should be used the possibility of other baths being established at this place would be a constant menace to the safety of the investment (Brothers, 6 September 1913b).

In the same letter he also expressed that Dole was mistaken about that site's location: after speaking with F. Jay Haynes, who was in the UGB during Dole's inspection, Brothers found that "Dole did not understand where I propose to erect the bathhouse and thought that the pond indicated on the blueprint [the Frog Pond]" was the site (Brothers, 6 September 1913b).

Even given the discovery of this mistake and Brett's continued support, Brothers still faced a struggle. Specifically, Assistant Secretary Laylin was concerned that the proposed plat violated the Hayes Act of 1894; he instructed Brett to look into it. Brett found that the site was only "285 feet from Beehive Geyser," thus indeed in violation of the Act (Brett, 18 October 1913b). Brothers responded with his belief that the Act only "applied to the leasing of areas for the hotels and the out-buildings connected therewith." (Brothers, 14 October 1913c). Brett concurred, stating that he had no objections to granting Brothers a lease at this site. He foresaw no problems, saying that though it is "rather close in a straight line to Beehive Geyser, it is across the river from it, and on lower ground" and that the bathhouse "would not interfere in any way with the formations, or obstruct the view from any hotel, camp or surrounding country". (Brett, 18 October 1913b).

Frustrated by the red tape, Brothers telegrammed Brett, requesting that an engineer resurvey the plat and move it so that it was more than one-eighth of a mile from Beehive Geyser. In response, Brett reassured Brothers that the loophole in the Hayes Act might preclude the need to move the facility.

At this point, Dole submitted another report, this time on the original site. Though it did not pose any health hazards, he still argued that the potential damage to Old Faithful was unknown, so another location "opposite the soldier station or slightly below it" should be considered (Dole, 6 November 1913b). Assistant Secretary of the Interior Laylin contacted Brett and requested that he "carefully consider the suggestions and recommendations" made by Dole, but also gave him the final say in the matter (Miller, 8 November 1913). Brett found "no [other] site suitable for a bath-house," and added that the extraction of "hot water from the pools near the Firehole River" would not affect Old Faithful Geyser (Brett, 24 November 1913d). To corroborate Brett's opinion, Brothers had an engineer examine both the original site and Dole's recommended ones. The engineer, C.F. Lack, found that construction on the other side of the river would be expensive and would not justify its cost, for "very few would walk this distance to and from the bath house [sic] through the heat and dust just for a bath" (Lack, 29 January 1914). Lack also determined that any effect on Old Faithful was purely speculative; both he and Brett believed that using hot

water already running out of the ground would not possibly affect Old Faithful (Brothers, 5 February 1914).

In 1914, the Department of the Interior granted Brothers a ten-year concession to run a natural hot water plunge and bathhouse. That same year, Brothers started construction across the road from the Haynes Studio, creating an open plunge 50 by 100 feet and five private plunges, each 5 by 10 feet (Brett, 1914a, 7) (Fig. 21). Opening on 1 July 1915, it proved to be "popular with travelers as well as with employees of the park" (Brett, 1915a, 8). Over the next decade, it drew more than 11,000 bathers a year.

Brothers erected a log residence next to the bathhouse in 1923 to serve as a dwelling for himself and his employees during the visitor season. During that fall, he added a thirty-foot extension to the plunge and partitioned off part of the original section to create a wading pool for children (Albright, 1924, 30). He also added dressing rooms during this time. In the next couple of years, Brothers installed bathtubs and added a washing machine.

Early in 1927, Brothers requested permission to erect a bathing facility in the UGB's auto camp. Albright, who normally would not have supported a pay bathing facility in a Park Service campground, believed that the situation in the UGB was unique, so an exception should be made. He wrote to the NPS Director that if the Park Service offered free-of-charge baths in the auto camp, "it would greatly impair the investment of our concessionaire"

Figure 21. Brother's Bathhouse

Enduring "red tape" (denials as well as mistakes and controversies regarding potential locations), Brothers finally secured a lease in 1914 that was good for the next decade, then received renewals thereafter. After accommodating thousands of paying customers each year, Brothers retired, selling the facility to C. A. Hamilton in 1933. Hamilton frustrated the Park Service when he ignored its orders to relocate the bathhouse, choosing to remodel it instead. [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (circa 1915).]



(Albright, 11 March 1927a). Thus, the Park Service drew up an amendment to Brothers's lease that allowed him to build in the auto camp.

Brothers's new building measured 52 by 18 feet and had a front and rear porch. It contained six bathtubs, twelve showers, and two toilets (Albright, 1928, 19). In the rear of the building was a free laundry facility, which the park provided. In 1928, Brothers, who supplied hot water for the laundry facility, installed laundry tubs, as well as electric irons and boards, for the campers' use. This building stood just south of the new Haynes photo studio on the corner of the plaza/promenade (Fig. 12).

In 1933, Henry Brothers, making little, if any profit from his business, decided to retire, selling his facilities to Charles Ashworth Hamilton. From St. Paul, Minnesota, Hamilton came out to the park shortly after the turn of the century and had worked several seasonal jobs. For instance, he worked as an assistant to L. C. Wells, the purchasing agent for the YPA, and then after that, as secretary to Harry Child, president of the YPA. Through these positions Hamilton became well acquainted with the businessmen, as well as the businesses, in the park.

In 1915, Hamilton seized his first business opportunity. For just over $20,500, he bought the UGB store from the widow of Henry Klamer, who had died in 1914. Hamilton paid Mrs. Klamer one-quarter of the price up front; Hamilton's friend Huntley Child, Sr., backed him with another third.

Hamilton maintained the Klamer tradition by selling general merchandise, curios, and souvenirs.

Hamilton made improvements to the site. In 1920, he built a 250-foot concrete walkway leading to Old Faithful Inn, and in 1923, he started to enlarge his store. When completed the following year, the building measured an enormous 160 by 110 feet. Two stories high, it had a six-room apartment on the second floor and two large wings at the rear. With this addition, Hamilton's UGB store was now "the largest and best operated in the national park system" (Albright, 1924, 29). In 1925, Hamilton completed work on the knotted wood porch, then in 1926, added a restaurant and delicatessen. He held off on further construction until 1938, when he placed a ten-foot extension on the store's northwest end. This store eventually became known as Hamilton's Lower Store (Fig. 22).

Hamilton participated in other development in the UGB. In 1923, he erected a small grocery at the auto camp; in 1925, he built a thirty-foot addition on this store. It sold a full line of groceries as well as beverages from its soda fountains. As convenient as this store was for the auto tourist, Hamilton wanted something larger and more "handy to the Old Faithful Auto Camp"; thus, he embarked on a new and more ambitious construction project (Petersen, 1985, 68). In 1928, he had Rasmus Detlef Rasmussen, his employee since 1921, build another store in the UGB auto camp to replace the small grocery. Wanting it finished quickly, Hamilton

Figure 22. Hamilton's First Store in the Upper Geyser Basin

Bought from Henry Klamer in 1915, this shop became the first Hamilton holding in what would eventually become a large enterprise of concessions that included gas stations, other stores, and the bathhouse. This photo shows the structure before Hamilton's major additions in 1924, which made this the biggest store in any national park. Not content to stop there, the next year Hamilton added a porch; the year after that, he added a restaurant and deli. The store still stands today. [Yellowstone National Park Photo Archives (circa 1920).]



remained in the park the entire winter to help with the construction. When completed, this building—made from logs Rasmussen selected from the surrounding forest—was a large U-shaped structure with a 150-foot frontage, as well as a second-floor dormitory that accommodated forty-eight persons. Huge, square, stone pillars supported the store's three large gabled entrances. Upon entering, the visitor found a vaulted ceiling, supported by stripped, varnished logs. At the rear of the building stood an enormous stone fireplace and chimney; the store also had several counters for displaying goods. It opened for business in the spring of 1930 and has been a fixture on the UGB's landscape ever since (Petersen, 1985) (Fig. 12). A couple of years after constructing this Upper Store, Hamilton leased space in the Old Faithful Lodge for a curio shop (Petersen, 1985, 75). Therefore, by 1932, he maintained three stores in the UGB.

Hamilton also became involved in the park's filling station concession. In 1916, the Childs, father and son, held the rights to build gas stations in the park; Hamilton proposed that he manage these facilities. The Childs hesitated, believing that automobiles would never catch on in the park and that the business proposition was futile. Shortly thereafter, however as the automobile's prospects improved, the Childs changed their minds. They entered into an agreement with Hamilton in 1916 in which they would sell fuel with him on "a fifty-fifty basis" (Petersen, 1985, 45). Through this agreement, Hamilton built a filling station at the UGB in 1920,

locating it just west of his Lower Store in the Basin (Fig. 12). However, operations did not begin until the following year because Hamilton installed the fuel tank too late in the season. The gas station measured 80 by 24 feet and contained hydraulic hoists, electric fuel pumps, and a rack for draining crank cases. He installed a forty-foot canopy over the fuel pumps in 1926 and a modern rest room facility in 1939. In 1927, Hamilton built another gas station in the UGB, just east of his Lower Basin auto camp store. A cross-shaped structure, it measured 108 by 86 feet at it widest points and contained two separate fuel pump bays (the cross arms), as well as service bays (Fig. 12).

Along with his stores and fuel stations, Hamilton also entered into the business of providing baths to the UGB's visitors. As mentioned previously, when Henry Brothers retired in 1933, Hamilton became interested in the bathhouse concession. Hamilton wrote to the NPS and requested that he be allowed to take over the bathhouses. In June 1933, Director Albright sent Hamilton a telegram granting him permission, but under the condition that "within a year" the first bathhouse be moved "to another location" (Bartlett, 1985, 197). This request was part of a Park Service plan to remove what it believed were "artificial intrusions" on scenic landscapes. It considered the Brothers's bathhouse such an intrusion, for visitors who approached the UGB from the north got their first view of the eruption of Old Faithful from over the roof (Bartlett, 1985, 197).

In spite of the order from the Park Service, Hamilton did not move the bathhouse. In fact, he commenced improvements on it immediately. Hamilton cut trees from the nearby woods and, with Rasmussen's help, put up a new building around the plunge. He converted the bathhouse into an enormous log structure with a stone base. It contained an employee dorm, showers, and a public laundry facility. (In 1940, he added a wood lattice fence on the west side of the pool to enclose the clothesline.) He kept the plunge the same size, but consolidated the five smaller pools into two. The crowning achievement of this structure was its roof, with skylights made of two-inch thick glass to allow the sunlight to shine on the bathers. There was also a twenty-five-foot lifeguard tower that had a rope swing attached for rescuing any drowning victims; even so, two youths did drown during this period (both in 1937); another drowned here during the next (Whittlesey, 1995).

Hamilton completed renovations in the spring of 1934 and used the remodeling as an excuse "for retaining the bathhouse/pool at its original location" (Bartlett, 1985, 198). The new and improved Hamilton bathhouse remained at the UGB and proved to be "quite popular during the warm summer days," and afforded "comfortable bathing both day and night" (Toll, 1934, 4 & 22). Visitors may have appreciated this facility, but the Park Service did not.

Conclusions

A great deal of development took place on the UGB's landscape between 1905 and 1940—while a few buildings were razed or burned, nearly a thousand buildings went up, given the Lodge, the new concession structures, cabins, tents, stores, the Inn's wings and holdings, and other employee and service facilities. Expansion occurred in a southeasterly direction, with the abandonment of those to the far northeast (e.g., the Wylie camp and Haynes's original studio) (Fig. 12). Out of a desire to be as near to the UGB's visitors as possible, as well as its showpiece, concessionaires began to build closer to Old Faithful Geyser and the auto camp. These trends, and the fact that, after 1916, all construction was subject to the approval of the park's landscape division, had the strongest bearing on where structures went up in the UGB. The policy not only applied to concessionaire structures, but government buildings as well.

Once established, the National Park Service also built many new visitor facilities on this landscape: a museum, an amphitheater, a campground, a ranger station, and a bear feeding site, as well as many government employee facilities. It constructed these to provide the visitor with as rich a park experience as possible—hoping that, in return, it would earn more support for the park itself. This stemmed from Mather's national park vision, that the parks should cater to all, regardless of outdoor interests. Thus, all types of visitors would partake in the varied activities that the

parks' landscapes had to offer—bringing with them money and taking home "unique" experiences to share and entice others to come.

The Park Service constructed government buildings under the same guidelines as concession structures—placing them so they would not interfere with the UGB's thermal features, but nonetheless have easy access. This led to the abandonment of the old soldier station, which was northwest of the Basin's main features, and the establishment of new government facilities closer to Old Faithful and the visiting public.

Along with developments around Old Faithful, there were increasing activities, both government and concessionaire-related, in the so-called utility area. Structures designed for strictly employee and maintenance services went up in a wooded area southwest of the other buildings in the Basin. This was the beginning of attempts to segregate employee and visitor facilities and to keep less attractive structures (e.g., tool caches and incinerators) from the visitors' view. The great exception to this was the Inn's service and employees' buildings. However, these structures, hidden well behind the Inn, stood in an area where visitors were not likely to venture.

Bridge and trail development was also greater at this time than during the previous period. Automobile traffic required new bridges at the entrance and exit of the UGB, and the automobile campground incorporated a new road system. New trails, two using interpretive markers to a great extent, cut

through the Basin, portions of some being paved to curb erosion. In all, the increasing foot and automobile traffic demanded that the UGB keep up by providing an appropriate infrastructure. Likewise, the increasing number of visitors required great investments in interpretation during this period. Through private and government funding, the Park Service constructed a museum and amphitheater, presented interpretive displays and lectures, and offered guided walks.

This was also the period of greatest change and addition of concessionaire facilities to the UGB's landscape. Concessionaires catered to increased visitation as well as the new automobile tourist. They constructed a wide range of new overnight facilities, such as lodges, tent cabins, and housekeeping cabins, so that visitors could have choices in accommodations. Likewise, they built a wide range of restaurant facilities, again so visitors could decide between a formal dining experience or a quick stop at a cafeteria. Or, visitors could make their own meals, after a stop at one of the stores for groceries. Concessionaires expanded activities by opening up a recreation hall and bathhouses, and they built gas stations to accommodate motorists. In all, these facilities reflected changing visitor trends and the concessionaires' response to meet those needs and thereby profit.

Between 1905 and 1940, the UGB witnessed its most intensive development. Because of a philosophy of use during this period, the human imprint could be seen virtually everywhere in the Basin. However, because

of the impending Second World War and a new belief of what our parks should be, the use concept would change and with it, the look of the UGB's cultural landscape.

> The trumpetings of these subterranean monsters bring to mind a herd of mammoth elephants, deep within a pool, spouting water and emitting grunts of joy and satisfaction.
>
> —Olin D. Wheeler, 1895

PERIOD THREE: 1941-1972

Finding a Balance Between Use and Preservation

Great changes occurred within the national park system between 1941 and 1972. Many park facilities deteriorated, then the Mission 66 program, instituted to upgrade the parks' infrastructure and facilities by 1966, moved and removed many park structures, as well as added others. All this investment vastly altered the park landscapes. Yellowstone's UGB was no exception. By 1972, the cultural landscape had been modified as never before. Unlike the development during the previous period, however, this period witnessed a down-scaling and reorganization. Many of the alterations are still quite visible today.

Early in this period, national park facilities deteriorated because America's involvement in World War II had a tremendous impact on park funding and manpower. "Much of its [the parks'] staff had been drafted into the armed services, its concerns were of low priority to the administration, [and] its appropriations were minuscule" (Foresta, 1984, 49).

By war's end, Park Service and concessionaire facilities were in shambles. At the same time, thanks to a healthy postwar economy, millions

of Americans headed out on the road to visit the national parks, twice as many as compared with before the war. "By 1954 the parks were absorbing 54 million visitors a year, with a level of staff and the run-down facilities designed for the 27 million visitors in 1940" (Everhart, 1972, 35). This postwar visitor deluge hurt the parks because facilities "throughout the system, designed to accommodate prewar levels of demand, were degraded and destroyed by a combination of overuse and neglect" (Foresta, 1984, 50).

In the mid-1950s, Congress and the Park Service implemented a solution to this problem. In order to bring the parks back up to par and deal with increased visitation, they created Mission 66, a ten-year project designed to "expand the carrying capacity of the parks by reconstructing roads, adding visitor centers, and increasing overnight accommodations" (Runte, 1987, 173). As such, Mission 66 strove not only to repair the facilities, but also to capitalize on rising visitor interest—the program sought to invigorate further visitor use and support of the parks by catering to as many types of visitors as possible. Nevertheless, Mission 66 focused primarily on development that was based on the needs of the automobile visitor, who by 1956 made up 98.7 percent of all park visitors (Haines, 1977, 375).

To best meet visitor needs, the Park Service had to upgrade the parks' management, through "increased staffing and changes in protection and interpretation" (Haines, 1977, 374). Such expansion allowed the NPS to reinstate and create new interpretive programs, as well as keep a closer eye

on natural features. To better prepare this new staff, the Park Service established two training centers: one at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, and the other at the Grand Canyon in Arizona (Everhart, 1972).

Besides adding staff to handle the problems of increased visitation, the Park Service sought to lessen visitor impact in other ways—by spreading visitation not only out over a wider area, but also over a longer period of time. First, it eliminated and/or downsized facilities in some areas of the parks. For instance, it tried to down-scale overnight facilities in high impact areas such as Yosemite Valley and on the east side of Rocky Mountain National Park; it then shifted these facilities to lesser-used areas of the parks. Second, the Park Service lengthened the visitation seasons of some parks as well as promoted winter use in others.

The NPS also made it a high priority to purchase private lands contained within the parks. During Mission 66's "first seven years, more money was made available to acquire private properties within the parks ('inholdings') than in all the preceding years" (Frome, 1992, 64). The Park Service's goal was to buy, by the end of Mission 66, about 700,000 acres (Ise, 1961, 548).

All of these tactical changes had quite an effect on the parks' landscapes. Increased staffing gave the parks more employees to offer guidance and protect park features, the dispersal of visitors and facilities

helped to alleviate some of the impact on the parks' natural areas, and the acquisition of inholdings made the parks more of a public possession.

Of all the changes made as a result of Mission 66, physical modifications had the greatest impact on the parks' landscapes. The Park Service transformed the road systems the most, given that it received $16 million from the 1956 Federal Aid Highway Act (Ise, 1961, 550). Specifically, it built or upgraded some 2,000 miles of roads in the parks as part of the Mission 66 program (Foresta, 1984). These new and improved roads, including one-way avenues and bypasses, provided easier and quicker access for visitors throughout the parks. While these changes may have decreased traffic jams, the cloverleaves and off-ramps did give some of the parks' landscapes the look of an interstate highway.

So that visitors could have state-of-the-art stopovers in their travels, the Park Service established many new visitor centers. As a result of Mission 66, it built more than 130 new visitor centers in the national park system (Everhart, 1972, 37). The parks' landscapes changed not only because so many of these new facilities went up, but also because they were so different from the interpretive museum-type buildings of the past.

> ...the new visitor centers were ambitious modern structures that housed information and interpretive facilities, exhibits, rest areas, and administrative offices. In larger parks they might also include souvenir stands, cafeterias, large audio displays, and even auditoriums (Foresta, 1984, 54).

This new type of interpretive facility concentrated visitor activities, providing a specific place in a scenic area where everyone could obtain guidance and information.

As splendid as these new visitor centers seemed, they were not without their early critics. Certain visitors complained that new visitor facilities urbanized the national parks. In 1961, Weldon Heald commented in *National Parks Magazine* that "an overlay of our restless twentieth-century civilization is being imprinted upon the original wilderness with incongruous and disturbing results" (1961, 7). He believed that some of the new centers bore the sameness of many other modern structures found on the American landscape, possessing all the charm of airport terminals and post offices.

Mission 66 also affected the concessions landscape as concessionaires tried to keep up with the Park Service modifications. For instance, they constructed more eating facilities, filling stations, and stores. However, their most ambitious plans involved increasing sleeping accommodations for visitors. For example, in Yellowstone many of the concessionaires replaced older cabin quarters with modern motel-type units; they aimed to increase accommodations from 8,500 to 14,500 persons (Haines, 1977, 375).

Mission 66 helped not only the concessionaires and visitors, but also the parks' employees. When the Park Service increased its staff, it constructed additional quarters for both the seasonal and the permanent

employees, some in the form of modern trailer-court facilities. In all, Mission 66's ten-year period saw the building of 2,000 new houses for park employees (Everhart, 1972, 37). These facilities provided badly needed housing, but in many of the parks, small residential neighborhoods and mobile-home parks began to mushroom. This housing gave pieces of the parks' landscapes a sameness that might be found anywhere in rural or suburban America.

Despite all this development, Mission 66 did seek to preserve the parks' natural landscapes and wildlife. For example, it eliminated overnight camping facilities in high impact areas to help decrease erosion and promote revegetation. Moreover, it launched a campaign to "promote use of the backcountry and thus take some pressure off the narrow strip of terrain adjacent to the roads" (Haines, 1977, 382). To protect the integrity of park wildlife, the NPS, through Mission 66, implemented educational programs against bear feeding and removed "problem" animals. Whereas these programs did not directly alter the park's physical landscape, one particular element of the new bear policy did—the new method of garbage disposal. Many of the parks installed garbage incinerators, so as to eliminate congregations of bears at sanitary landfills. This change dispersed bears away from the visitor facilities toward lesser-used areas of the parks.

When assessing its attempts to preserve the parks' natural landscapes, some have found Mission 66 lacking. Many preservationists assert that it

catered specifically to automobile visitors, developing areas in the parks for them while showing little regard for the natural environment. They believe it gave visitor comforts, facilities, and enjoyment a higher priority than the protection and perpetuation of the resources and natural systems for which the parks were established (Frome, 1992). While it did focus on development of facilities for automobile-oriented tourism, Mission 66 did greatly expand, through the construction of visitor centers and other interpretive facilities, opportunities for the visitor to understand the parks' natural systems.

Upper Geyser Basin

Mission 66 also undoubtedly had a lasting effect on the UGB. As a result of this development program, the look of the Basin's landscape was altered, as was how its features were presented to the visitor. The establishment of a new visitor center and self-guided walks around the geyser basin created a more impersonal interpretive environment. Also, the establishment of a bypass road and parking areas that were placed a good distance from the thermal features forced visitors to get out of their vehicles and walk to Old Faithful as well as to the other thermal features in order to see them erupt. Gone were the days of "drive-by viewings" when all visitors had to do was sit in their car on the Grand Loop Road, which once passed right by Old Faithful, and watch the thermal display.

The changes that Mission 66 brought to Yellowstone's Upper Geyser Basin were often slow in coming. This lag in development can be attributed to the Park Service's desire to eliminate many of the facilities at the UGB and relocate them elsewhere in the park. The 1956 park master plan offers a reason for this decision: all of the past development at Old Faithful "including the roads, now encroaches seriously upon the thermal areas of the Upper Geyser Basin." It further specified that all of the development "is programmed for removal and new facilities of comparable capacity are to be provided on a new site" (Rough Draft Report on Yellowstone Mission 66, 1956, 172).

Old Faithful was to become strictly a day-use area, with new parking areas, rest rooms, and boardwalks with interpretive displays around the thermal features that would allow visitors to engage in self-guided tours. The plan proposed to build new overnight accommodations and restaurant facilities several miles to the south in the park's Lower Geyser Basin; this area would then be dubbed Firehole Village. The park administration believed it would be more capable of absorbing the impact of the greater visitation that the park was receiving.

The concessionaires probably did not protest this plan very much or take it very seriously. The Yellowstone Park Company was in debt and in the completion stages of Canyon Village; this area, targeted by Mission 66 for development, could supposedly replace the profits lost from the Old Faithful

concessions. Also, the Yellowstone Park Company (YPC) knew that Old Faithful Inn was a candidate for the National Register of Historic Places: the chances of this building being razed were slim. Moreover, the other main park concessionaire, Hamilton Stores, Inc., would have had little objection to this plan, as it still allowed for that company to maintain a store and service station in the UGB. Park planners believed that these facilities would "not intrude on the central activity" of the Basin (Ronscavage, 1968, 3).

As such, the plan to eliminate much of the human development on the UGB's landscape continued through this third period with more down-scaling. Nevertheless, despite this call for downsizing at the UGB, some modest development did take place during the early years of Mission 66. The program did not intend that these minor modifications handle the increased future visitation being predicted, but rather serve as upkeep measures: the Park Service believed that "during the interim years, it [the UGB] must function and some improvements are necessary" (Mission 66, The Development Program, 1955, no page number).

By 1966, the UGB had still not been converted into a day-use area, though plans continued to call for the removal of overnight facilities. However, park managers realized that this process would take quite some time. They had scrapped the plan to construct Firehole Village, and the UGB's new potential replacement at Grant Village, on Yellowstone Lake, was plagued with problems. With Yellowstone's centennial rapidly approaching

in 1972, the NPS wanted its facilities to be at their best; of course, its crown jewel—the UGB—had to be included in these plans. Thus, although Mission 66 officially ended in 1966, it left in its wake a number of specific plans that were to alter the UGB's landscape. Indeed, between 1970 and 1972, as a direct result of Mission 66, the UGB underwent a radical landscape change.

Park Facilities and Infrastructure

During World War II, many of the park's campgrounds witnessed revegetation because of decreased use. However, even as the natural features of the campgrounds experienced renewal, their human-made portions fell into disrepair. Because of a lack of funding as well as a shortage of personnel, both during and immediately after the war, it was not until 1949 that the Park Service began repairs to its UGB's campground. Then, it rebuilt tables, fireplaces, and pit toilets, and purchased new garbage containers.

Along with these improvements, the Park Service finally finished constructing the campground begun in 1940. To the three sites that the CCC had built, the NPS added 110 to 115 more camp sites (Rogers, 1949, 17-18). This third auto camp, which lay east of the second, used three long parallel loop roads. The facility also contained fourteen comfort stations, as well as fire pits and tables at each site (Fig. 12).

Although this third campground was a recent development, the Park Service called for its removal because of the Mission 66 goal to convert the UGB into a day-use area. Indeed, the camping facilities had to be removed to

make room for a new planned bypass road and new parking facilities. Once eliminated in 1969, the only overnight UGB visitors were those who could afford to pay the rates charged by Old Faithful Inn and Lodge. Today, the west side of the parking area covers a portion of the third campground.

During this period, the Park Service worked to improve utility facilities in the UGB. As early as 1955, it initialized proposals to bring in power and telephone service from outside the park, which at that time were being provided by generators and NPS phone operators. By 1958, Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Company took over phone services; in 1959, the Montana Power Company began providing power. Also during this period, the NPS installed an FM base station at Old Faithful in order to improve radio communication throughout the park.

The park also installed sanitary dump stations near the YPC's bus campground in the UGB area to handle the refuse produced by bus visitors. (Then in the early 1970s, the NPS made the concessionaire move this campground so it could add a bypass road and parking lots). Moreover, in 1940-41, the park constructed a new sewage system in the utility area and placed a sewage spray field southwest of it; the NPS chose the utility area as the site because of its desire to eliminate artificial intrusions on the parks' scenic and natural landscapes. In 1959, the park's management converted the spray field into several sewage lagoons (Fig. 23). This facility is still used today, although one of its lagoons ruptured and leaked in the spring of 1995.

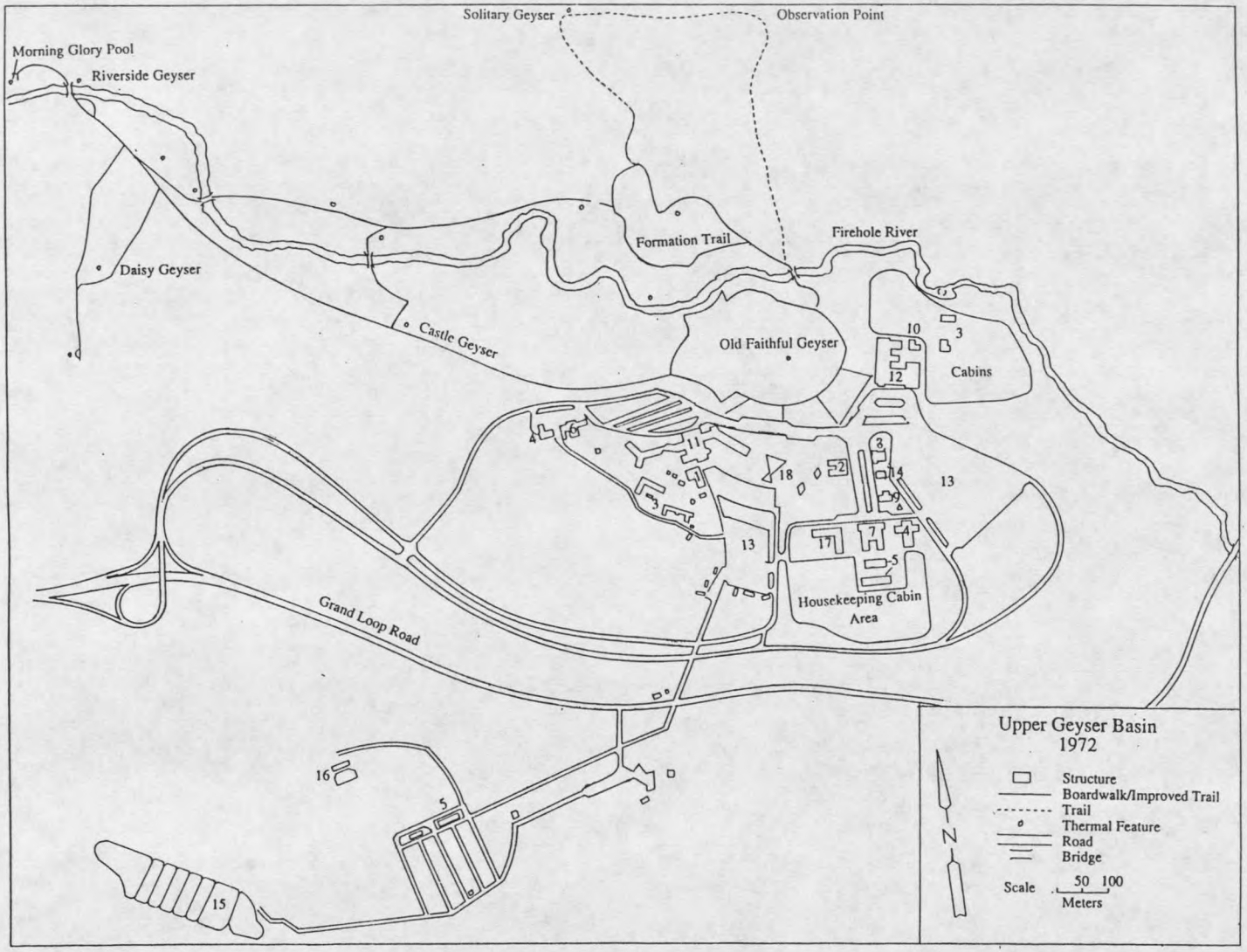


Figure 23. The Upper Geyser Basin, 1972

Key for Figure 23, Upper Geyser Basin, 1972

1. Boiler Room/Laundry
2. Cafeteria
3. Dorm
4. Gas Station
5. Hamilton Dorm
6. Hamilton Lower Store
7. Hamilton Upper Store
8. Haynes's Studio
9. Laundry & Shower Building
10. Linen Room
11. Old Faithful Inn
12. Old Faithful Lodge
13. Parking Area
14. Post Office
15. Sewage Lagoons
16. Sewage Plant
17. Snow Lodge
18. Visitor Center

Roads and Trails

The trail system through the park's thermal features remained a problem for park officials. The system allowed visitors to gain a close-up view of the thermal phenomena, but this closeness also tempted many visitors to wander from established trails—thus causing potential harm to thermal features and to themselves. In response, the Park Engineers' Office, in March 1947, sponsored a conference in which "the problem of the development of walkways for the protection of thermal areas was discussed" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, March 1947a).

The park's engineers and landscape architect believed the solution lay in the creation of a boardwalk system around the thermal features in the park. Thus, during the summer of 1947, park staff emplaced 2,000 feet of boardwalk throughout the park, including 668 feet at Castle Geyser and 257 feet at Morning Glory Pool, both in the UGB. The installation of this pre-fabricated wooden trail system "reduced wear at [thermal] formations by some 90%" (Rogers, 1948, 14-15). Although some boardwalk work took place in 1948, the NPS suspended the project until 1953 because sufficient funds were not "available for any great expansion of the raised walk program" (Rogers, 1952, 21). In 1953, money did become available, although its source is unreported. Thus, NPS reinstated the program, and by June it had completed all of the boardwalks in the park's geyser basins (Fig. 24). It even completely replaced with a wooden walk the Geyser Hill Trail, which had been paved

Figure 24. Boardwalk in the Upper Geyser Basin

As a way to protect both the fragile thermal landscape and the visitors, the park engineers and landscape architect opted to develop raised walkways in 1947. Some emplacement occurred from 1947 to 1948, but the project had to be delayed until more funds were available in 1953. That June, the park completed the Basin's boardwalk system. Unfortunately, the system is not foolproof—for example, in 1970, a nine-year-old boy died at the UGB when he jumped off a boardwalk into the searing-hot Crested Pool. Part of the family lawsuit called for fences around all 150 pools in the UGB area. The court did not award this, recognizing that posted warnings should be enough. Nevertheless, today the boardwalk at Crested Pool does have a guardrail. [Author's collection (1995).]



with bituminal cinders. The NPS had determined that the cinders were not satisfactory trail materials in this area of the park, for the cinders "deteriorate[d] under the heat and the visitors [threw] the material into the geysers and springs" (Rough Draft Report on Yellowstone Mission 66, 1956, 173).

While converting the Geyser Hill Trail into a boardwalk, the Park Service doubled it in width at key stopping points "so that crowds [could] be assembled in a large group without getting off the walks onto the formation" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, June 1953, 4). It also established "stopping stations"—essentially long, narrow planks that jutted toward the objects of interest. Here, interpretive guides could distance themselves from the crowd of visitors and stand closer to the feature being discussed. This arrangement not only allowed the interpretive rangers a better vantage point for lecturing, but also helped them to set "a good example with respect to staying on constructed walks" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, June 1953, 4). Unfortunately, these boardwalks were not impervious to the effects of the geysers and the weather; by 1961, certain segments required replacement.

By 1971, the Park Service constructed a trunk trail leading from Castle Geyser to Morning Glory Pool. Part of a plan "to obliterate all of the present Grand Loop Road from Castle Geyser" to Hamilton's Lower Store and service station, this trail essentially covered a portion of the old Grand Loop Road and became a part of the Basin's loop trail system (Lovegren, 1968, 1). The

NPS designed this sturdy paved trail to double as a service road and a bike path, and erected signs indicating such—this accommodation for bicyclists, as well as the park's incorporation of signs that posted designated snowmobile routes, certainly complied with Mission 66's credo, to cater to as many types of visitors as possible.

The Park Service also reconstructed a footbridge across the Firehole River in 1967; that same year, it resurfaced most of the roads in the UGB as a means to cut down on the dust problem. Nevertheless, such resurfacing was not the only change the road system underwent, given that the most radical alteration to the UGB's landscape took place during the period's last years. Specifically, between 1970-1972, park planners established a bypass road system in the UGB. Although planned in the early 1960s, financial priorities in other areas, debates over potential location, and a dispute over whether the road was actually necessary all delayed construction until the 1970s.

Originally, park planners had selected two potential sites for the roadway. The first bypassed the Basin by ascending the hill to the east; this would have led visitors behind Solitary Geyser and Observation Point, giving access to the Basin via a side road. The second potential site followed the current road to southeast of Biscuit Basin, where it skewed south until it was well past the UGB. The road would then resume its previous course. Through this option, access to the UGB would be gained by using an exit ramp and cloverleaf.

The park landscape architect, Frank E. Mattson, supported the latter course because he believed that

> if a bypass were constructed on the southeast side of the river and on a location which was intended to serve the valley also with several access points, it would immediately become an intrusion into an undisturbed natural hillside (Mattson, 1962, 5).

However, while Mattson favored the valley location over the first choice, he nonetheless had some reservations about establishing a bypass road system in the UGB at all. In his report to the Park Service, he wrote:

> The general consensus has been that there will be very little park visitor traffic which would bypass Old Faithful. Therefore, a road which actually bypassed the area, such as we are familiar with in bypassing small cities and towns, would contribute very little toward solving a traffic problem within the development or within the Upper Geyser Basin (Mattson, 1962, 5).

Mattson then suggested that the problem of crowding in the Basin was the result of Old Faithful being the "Number One attraction," as well as containing the "largest concentrations of visitor facilities" in the park (Mattson, 1962, 6).

Despite Mattson's comments, the NPS completed the bypass within a decade of his report. When finished in 1972, this road—complete with overpass, cloverleaf, and one-way routing—gave the entrance to the UGB the look of an exit on the New Jersey Turnpike. Along with the new bypass road, the park also kept to Mission 66 plans by installing two new large parking areas that could hold 1,500 automobiles. These lots—with their improved lighting systems and planted trees—greatly altered the UGB's

landscape for their construction required the removal of not only the auto campground, as discussed previously, but also some concessionaires' facilities.

Interpretation

New investments in interpretation slowed dramatically during World War II. Because of the lack of interpretive personnel, skeleton crews staffed the only two park museums that remained open, those at Old Faithful and Mammoth Hot Springs. The NPS temporarily discontinued most lecture programs until after the war. Some geyser talks still took place, with the rangers delivering many of these to U.S. soldiers on leave.

After the war, staffing and programming returned to prewar levels; furthermore, the Mission 66 years radically altered the UGB's interpretive landscape. Now there was a desire not only to present this landscape to the visitor, but also to preserve it from potential harm. Thus, the park erected signs and boardwalks as a means to decrease visitor impact. The eventual goal was to eliminate completely physical contact with the Basin's natural features. In this new age of the UGB's interpretive landscape, visitors could no longer dip handkerchiefs into thermal pools or gaze directly into geyser craters.

During the war years the park rangers did not improve the amphitheater or use it to show films; the 1942 Report of the Naturalist Division explains succinctly that the latter was "[d]ue to war time" (Reports

of the Naturalist Division, 1942, 1). The park reports did not specify the exact reason for this policy change; it is unlikely that air raids could have posed a threat this far from the coasts. Nevertheless, Yellowstone Park management saw fit to suspend outdoor evening activities. Instead, it made arrangements to present films inside, at the government canteen at Mammoth and at recreation halls at various locations in the park. Not until the war's end did rangers once again show films at the amphitheater.

At that time, the amphitheater required new log seats (with some of the lumber coming from the dismantled bear feeding grounds) and a refurbished stage. In addition, the NPS added a new projection house, screen, and PA system. The rangers deemed these additions, especially the PA system, great improvements, for they "served to increase the ease and scope of interpretation" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, July 1954, 3).

As mentioned previously, the war affected lecture programs. For instance, because of the lack of interpretive personnel in 1943, "all campfire programs, nature walks, and guided trips were discontinued" in the park (Rogers, 25 October 1943). Yellowstone did not resume the regular interpretive schedule until after the war.

Then in 1960, the park altogether canceled geyser walks. This walking lecture format was "eliminated in favor a self-guided trail on Geyser Hill" (Chief Park Naturalist, 25 July 1960). Instead of providing a ranger naturalist

to accompany visitors, park administration placed interpretive leaflets at the start of the Geyser Hill Trail, so visitors could now guide themselves.

Even though it eliminated this lecture format, the Naturalist Department still offered nature walks along Geyser Hill and to Observation Point. Nature walks differed somewhat from geyser walks in that rangers discussed natural features other than geysers. The Naturalist Department offered one to six of these walks daily. This change allowed the rangers to make contact with the increasing number of people visiting the UGB during the postwar years.

Even before the self-guided program, park administrators established new interpretive signs on the UGB's landscape during this third period. For instance, in 1947, it placed at strategic points around the thermal features seventy-two signs that said "keep off" and "dangerous." Mounting them on angled blocks of wood for easy visibility, rangers placed the signs in the Basin in hopes of stopping "people from wandering indiscriminately over thermal features and into dangerous areas" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, July 1947b, 2).

In 1953, rangers moved the keep-off signs to the edge of the newly completed boardwalks. Likewise, they moved barrier logs around Old Faithful Geyser, placing them closer to boardwalks, to keep visitors off that cone completely, and to "reduce the erosion which is taking place in this area" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, June 1953, 4). Nevertheless,

visitors continued to walk onto Old Faithful's cone. In 1966, the Naturalist Division made another attempt to prevent this intrusion by ordering new signs. The new markers were white, painted with black lettering to make them more conspicuous. This strategy apparently worked, for a 1966 report indicated that since "they were installed the number of people approaching the cone has been cut down considerably" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, 8 September 1966, 7).

Visitors to Old Faithful not only saw changes during this time, but heard them as well. An improvement to the lecture program came with the addition of a portable public address system in 1947. This system, which could be carried by a ranger from place to place,

> served a very useful purpose in the presentation of geyser talks at the eruption of Old Faithful and to groups congregated at the Riverside and Daisy Geysers (Reports of the Naturalist Division, August 1947c).

Starting in 1950, a PA system at the museum announced Old Faithful's upcoming eruptions; in 1952, another PA system—this one right by the geyser itself—offered rangers a chance to give formal talks to the large crowds gathering for the spectacle. The park administration replaced it in 1964 with a wireless microphone FM public address system; this new system allowed the interpretive rangers easier movement while giving their talks and eliminated the "need for an unsightly control panel and wires near the geyser cone" (McLaughlin, 1965, Operations section).

Along with this new system, the Naturalist Division experimented with providing a recorded cone talk. It found that delivering the cone lecture in this manner freed up man hours and eliminated "the possibility of unsatisfactory talks"; however, the method suffered "from the lack of the personal touch" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, October 1964, 3).

While later in this period the interpretive physical landscape of the UGB's buildings would undergo some major transitions, early on there were only minor modifications. For instance, in the museum, 1947 saw the overhauling of the miniature geyser; 1948, the repair of display cases; and 1954, the raising of the display cases so that they could better meet the visitor's eye. That same year, the museum installed a new information desk, then added flood lights in 1958. These lights "improved the ability to see the exhibits and...improved the appreciation by the visitor" (Reports of the Naturalist Division, September 1958, 6). Finally, in 1966, park staff redecorated the interior and exterior of the building and installed new lighting; however, just five years later, the Park Service razed the building to make way for an entirely new visitor center complex.

This large-scale addition seemed to contradict the idea that Mission 66 slated this area for downsizing, until one considers that it could serve as the center of a day-use area once all overnight facilities and concessions were removed. Superintendent Anderson placed the visitor center on the "highest priority on planning for major interpretive developments" in the

park, because "the Yellowstone Centennial [was] on the horizon and approaching as high speed freight" (Anderson, 23 July 1969).

Originally designed in 1968, although construction did not begin until 1971, this modern set of buildings offered quite a change from the old museum, whose site it usurped (Fig. 23). The new complex contained

> three theaters, a reception-information center, rest rooms and three electrically operated 'prediction boards' which give the approximate times of the eruptions of Old Faithful and other geysers within the park (*Parks and Recreation*, October 1972, 10).

This structure did somewhat resemble the old museum building in its architectural motif (Fig. 25). The park's landscape architect, John A. Ronscavage, believed that the center's size and shape were not of concern; rather, for him, most important was that it used wood and stone as building materials, as well as brown as its predominant color—just like its predecessor. He believed that the use of such materials and color would allow the visitor center, as well as any other new buildings constructed in the UGB, to "blend fittingly with their forest background" (Ronscavage, 1968, 4).

The complex opened in 1972, in time for the park's centennial. Since that summer, its three theaters have staggered their programs as a way to alleviate visitor congestion when presentations were letting out. During the winter months, however, only the main theater, which is housed in the main building, offers films.

Figure 25. The Upper Geyser Basin Visitor Center

Built as a way to help polish Yellowstone's crown jewel in time for the park's centennial, the visitor center opened in 1972. Like that of its predecessor (Museum of Thermal Activity), the visitor center's design made it rather rustic-looking. However, this complex added a multimedia approach to its interpretative offerings, with three theaters staggering film presentations. [Author's collection (1995).]



Concessions

War-time neglect and Mission 66 also affected Yellowstone's concessionaires. Actually, for them, the neglect started a little earlier. In the still economically depressed late 1930s, the concessionaires balked at spending money on improvements, even though their businesses were busy. Then, during the war, "all construction, and nearly all planning, ceased." Because of the "reluctance to upgrade facilities in the late 1930s, [they] were totally unprepared for the tide of humanity expecting service and facilities in the immediate post-World War II years" (Bartlett, 1985, 366).

This was definitely the case with the park's principal concessionaire, the YPC. During the 1940s the company lost approximately $750,000; by the early 1950s, the YPC wanted out of the park concessions business. Although the owners put the company up for sale, it did not receive a buyer until 1966. That year the Goldfield Corporation bought the company; six months later the General Baking Company (which later changed its name to General Host) purchased Goldfield's outstanding stock in the YPC. General Host was a conglomerate, and this was the first time in Yellowstone's history that a concession company was owned by this type of corporation. However, the General Baking Company proved that bigger is not always better. Because of lawsuits and its diverse other interests, General Baking did not run the park's concessions any better than the YPC. In fact, it was the only company

to have its concession canceled in the park: the U.S. government purchased its privileges and then sold them to TW Enterprises in 1979.

First because of the war and then because of its desire to get out of the concession business, the YPC made only two improvements to Old Faithful Inn during this third period. In 1948, it added an automatic sprinkler system and in 1966, as a better way to accommodate its overnight guests, it resurfaced and increased the size of the Inn's parking lots.

In 1941, the YPC did make a substantive change to the Old Faithful Lodge and Housekeeping area when it provided all of the tourist cabins and lodges with running water. However, the company then suspended all other modifications until well after the war. Visitation and staffing dropped so low during World War II that the only cabins and cafeterias kept open in the park were at Old Faithful and Fishing Bridge. These limited facilities remained the only ones available in the park until 1946, when visitation increased and more employees became available. Even at that point, though, the YPC made no moves to improve its facilities.

Then in 1953, it began construction on thirty cabin units in the lodge area. These cabins, completed in 1954, shared a bath between each room. Their construction was part of a plan by the YPC "to either replace or rehabilitate every lodge and tourist cabin now operated, and to build additional cabin accommodations" (Yellowstone Park Company, circa 1953).

Despite the proposed overhaul, the YPC did not place any more cabins in the UGB until four years later, and the ones that it did add were not new. Rather, it moved campers' cabins from Mammoth Hot Springs to West Thumb and Old Faithful, and "rehabilitated [them] for use in these more popular areas" (Garrison, 1958, section 3). Its decision to move these "used" cabins, rather than build new ones, suggests that the YPC opted to be prudent in the face of the Park Service plan to downsize the UGB area's overnight facilities.

The YPC did choose to expand its day-use services. In 1948, it made plans to open a sandwich shop in the UGB as a means "to relieve the pressure on the Old Faithful Cafeteria and other eating establishments" in the Basin (Rogers, 1948, 6). For the site, it chose to lease the former Brothers/Hamilton auto camp bathhouse, which stood east and across the road from the cafeteria. The Park Service had been using the building to store vehicles after Hamilton discontinued it as a bathhouse in 1942. Along with establishing the sandwich shop, the YPC also added a lunch counter to the Lodge in 1953 to relieve "much pressure [on the other eating facilities in the UGB] and provide service there throughout the day" (Rogers, 1953, 14). This counter, which could seat forty-two persons, remained open from 6:30 a.m. until 10:00 p.m. every day of the season. In addition to taking on this new enterprise, the YPC renovated the Lodge's rest rooms and shower facilities and later refurbished its floors.

In its Housekeeping area, the YPC constructed a public laundry and bath facility, adding it to the cabin office. This new facility, which opened in July 1954, burned to the ground less than a year later. The 3:00 a.m. fire was of "undetermined origin" and "completely destroyed the Old Faithful tourist cabin office building," as well as the girls' dormitory, which was in the same building (Rogers, 1955, 2). Fortunately, no one was killed, though damages to the structure were estimated at $100,000.

The YPC would eventually spend $160,000 toward erecting a new facility in another location. While the year of construction is unclear, the YPC built this new structure between 1955 and 1968. It originally used the building as the new housekeeping cabin office and a cafeteria. So that it would be farther from the UGB's thermal features, the YPC placed it just west of Hamilton's Upper Store, where it still stands (Figs. 26 & 23). In 1972, the YPC converted this structure into the Snow Lodge. Up until this time, there were no winter overnight facilities for visitors at the UGB. While the Snow Lodge contradicted Mission 66's plan to scale down overnight activities in the UGB area, it directly corresponded with Mission 66's goal to extend visitation into the winter season. Furthermore, it helped to attract more types of visitors, again complying with another Mission 66 objective. In its first season of operation, the Snow Lodge was so popular that it received 3,411 overnight guests; the following year many new cabins had to be added (Anderson, 1972, Concessions section).

Figure 26. The Snow Lodge

Its appearance contradicts the goal to downsize the UGB area, toward making the Basin a day-use only area. However, rather than being an entirely new building on the landscape, the Snow Lodge is instead the result of a conversion project, one in which the Yellowstone Park Company transformed its second housekeeping office (which had replaced the one that burned down in 1954). Moreover, the Snow Lodge did meet another Mission 66 objective, by helping to extend the visitation season. It opened in time for the winter of 1972-1973. [Author's collection (1995).]



There were very few alterations to Haynes's facilities between 1941 and 1972. In spite of the slow business during the war, F. Jay Haynes's son, Jack E. Haynes, kept his UGB picture shop opened. However, he made no changes to his facilities until 1956, when he built an addition onto the Haynes's Old Faithful Shop. Then, no more modifications took place, even when the family sold its concessions to Hamilton Stores, Inc., in 1968.

Much like Haynes, Inc., Hamilton Stores, Inc., made few alterations to its facilities during this period. Between 1943 and 1945, Hamilton's Stores served meals and took care of overnight guests in the UGB, probably by putting up lodgers in its employee dorms. However, the company made no improvements to its UGB facilities until 1951. That year it began construction on a girls' dormitory and dining room for store employees. Two years later, it completed construction of this dorm, a large two-story wooden, rectangular building, 122 by 39 feet. The dorm went up directly behind the Hamilton Upper Store and remains there today (Fig. 23). Also in 1953, Hamilton installed a soda fountain in its Upper Store; it seated eighty people. Superintendent Edmund B. Rogers believed that it "help[ed] materially to serve visitors there [in the UGB]" (Rogers, 1953, 14). As mentioned previously, Hamilton's small bathhouse in the automobile camp closed in 1942, probably because of the greatly decreased visitation during the war. Once discontinued, the company removed the tubs and other furnishings

and the building became a storage area for government vehicles until 1948, when the YPC leased it for the sandwich shop.

Hamilton's large bathhouse posed some major problems. In 1944, Director Dury reminded C. A. Hamilton that he was in violation of his previous contract and that the bathhouse had to be removed. This finding stemmed from the previous period in which the Park Service decided to do away with what it considered artificial intrusions in the parks' natural areas. However, since "there was a war on and labor was scarce" the NPS allowed it to remain "until up to six months after the end of the war" (Bartlett, 1985, 198).

The war ended and Hamilton, still not wanting to remove the bathhouse, further protested. He obtained delays through political ties in Washington and convinced the NPS to allow the facility to remain until he could amortize his investment. In 1946, Director Dury, knowing that the park was facing "another difficult season in the immediate postwar years" convinced the Secretary of the Interior to allow Hamilton to operate the bathhouse until the end of the 1949 season (Bartlett, 1985, 198). At that time, Hamilton was to move the bathhouse to another site. He capitulated and signed his new lease with the park. The terms of the lease stated that ...

> The concessioner shall, following the close of the 1949 travel season but prior to December 31, 1949, demolish the bathhouse and swimming pool, remove all water supply lines and devices used in connection with the bathhouse and swimming pool and restore the site to a natural condition satisfactory to the Secretary and without cost to the Federal Government. Such

> razing and removal of all evidence of development and debris and restoration shall be completed prior to December 31, 1949 (Petersen, 1985, 103).

However, the Secretary of the Interior, Julius A. Krug, saw the terms of this lease and sent a note to Director Dury stating that he would not "like to see the pool demolished until you [the Park Service] can provide another in the same general area" (Bartlett, 1985, 199). Per the Secretary's request, Dury selected another site in the UGB for the pool, a "centrally located site in the Old Faithful area" (Rogers, 15 June, no year). This was probably the one indicated on the 1939 and 1940 master plans for this area, a plot of land in the old auto camp, across the road from the Lodge cabins. After selecting a site, the NPS sent a memo to the press stating that Hamilton's contract was to expire in December 1949, and that if interested, others should apply. Specifically, the memo said that it was

> the desire of the Department of the Interior to give responsible persons or firms an opportunity to study the business covered by the expiring contract and, if interested, to make application to conduct the business under a new contract, the length of the contract to be subject to later negotiation (Rogers, 15 June, no year).

The end of December came, but the bathhouse still stood. Hamilton said that in June 1949, he had acquired estimates from contractors for razing the bathhouse, but that NPS Acting Regional Director Howard W. Baker had sent him a telegram in April 1950 requesting that the facility remain; Baker then changed his mind, telling Hamilton to demolish it. However, it was not the power of the NPS or the Department of the Interior that finally ceased

the bathhouse operations. The U.S. Public Health Service closed it for the 1950 season "because the water in it was not completely changed twice every twenty-four hours" (Bartlett, 1985, 199).

The bathhouse sat dormant for the 1950 season, and on May 2, 1951, demolition work began. By the end of July, the contractors had completed removal work; Hamilton then had the area filled in and the grounds landscaped. The total cost of razing the facility stood at $13,400 (Rogers, 1951, 9). Upon inspection the park superintendent believed that an "excellent job was done in the razing of the building and restoring the grounds to their natural condition" (Rogers, 1952, 19). Hamilton made no attempts to build a new bathing facility in the UGB, probably not only because he would have had to spend $30,000 to $35,000 to bring the facility up to public health code, but also because the Park Service now had the goal of removing certain types of activities from the public eye. The removal of these so-called "artificial intrusions" was part of a larger effort by the NPS to regain support, especially from the more traditional preservationists. Increasingly during the 1930s and 1940s, the Park Service had come under fire by this group because of its use policy. This adjustment in the way the landscape was presented to the visitor was not out of a greater understanding of the park's ecosystem, but more of a political move for self-preservation.

The above demolition date of the bathhouse contradicts that given in Richard A. Bartlett's Yellowstone a Wilderness Besieged. In this work he

lists the demolition date as 1957 (1985, 200). I believe this date to be incorrect, as well as his statement that Hamilton moved the Lower Store and service station back from the Basin's thermal features as a way to comply with the elimination of artificial intrusions within the park (1985, 197). The information I reviewed gave every indication that the pool was removed from the landscape by 1951 (Rogers, 1951, 9; and Rogers, 1952, section 19). I also could find no evidence that Hamilton's Lower Store and gas station were moved from their original sites.

The only other renovation undertaken by Hamilton during this period involved a building in the utility area. In 1954, the company requested to alter an old CCC building it had been leasing in the UGB's utility area. It used half this building as an employees' residence and the other half for storage. Hamilton Stores requested to expand the dormitory space and was granted permission "to make these alterations"; it was also allowed to paint the building "dark brown with green trim similar to that used on the Old Faithful upper store dormitory" (Rogers, 11 June 1954).

During this third period, the Yellowstone concessionaires' transportation system also underwent three changes, all of which took place within four years of each other. In 1955, the park superintendent granted a trial-basis permit to Snowmobiles of West Yellowstone, to bring visitors on occasional snowmobile day trips to Old Faithful. Winning a permit renewal in 1958, the company made more than fifty trips in the 1959 season, carrying

a total of 500 passengers (Garrison, 1959, section 29). In 1966, it served 3,154 passengers (McLaughlin, 1966, 3). In 1956, a "drive-ur-self" service made rental cars available to the public at various locations inside and outside the park; Old Faithful Inn served as one station. Then, in 1959, the park superintendent implemented a new policy of night-trucking, limiting the times in which trucks could carry supplies to concessionaires: they could pass through the park only between 5 p.m. and 7 a.m.

Conclusions

The years between 1941 and 1972 offer two distinct periods of landscape change. During World War Two, the UGB experienced a period of landscape stagnation. At that time, concessionaires and park managers alike made few alterations; those they did make resulted from a desire to maintain existing facilities. Improvements were modest and no new construction took place. The second period began when the Mission 66 program went into effect in 1956. This ten-year project, launched by Congress and the National Park Service, initially had little impact on the Basin as this area was low on Yellowstone's priority list for improvements. Nevertheless, early on, Mission 66 called for a drastic change to the UGB's cultural landscape: that it be converted into a day-use area. Moreover, some of the UGB facilities underwent specific alterations during this period—the park paved roads,

constructed boardwalks, and built a new automobile campground in the Upper Geyser Basin.

Plans stemming from Mission 66 did affect the UGB landscape after the end of that ten-year project. For instance, as part of Mission 66's objective to convert the area to day-use only, the Park Service razed the museum to make way for a state-of-the-art visitor center. Also not completed until 1970-72, the bypass route and parking lots originated from these same plans. Moreover, the removal of the auto campground to make way for the parking lots eliminated a whole group of overnight visitors and thus achieved a portion of Mission 66's goals to cease overnight camping in high-use areas. However, other related goals fell through, with the Park Service abandoning plans for the Firehole Village and delaying the Grant Village complex.

Mission 66 (as well as the resultant 1970-1972 development) made for intensive down-scaling and rearranging of the UGB's cultural landscape (Fig. 23). Except for the Old Faithful Inn, the Lodge, the cafeteria (and their related structures), the new visitor center complex, the Haynes Studio, and Hamilton Lower Store and gas station, many of the other facilities were either removed or moved a greater distance from the Basin's thermal features. For instance, the bus compound, horse barn, ranger station, woodshed/laundry, two bathhouses, auto camp garage, as well as many of the Lodge and housekeeping cabins were all moved away from the UGB's thermal features. Also, the park routed automobile through-traffic away

from the Basin and established spacious parking areas for those who wished to stop.

The UGB's interpretive landscape changed as well. Instead of standing within a campfire ambiance, rangers now conducted lecture programs indoors in one of the visitor center theaters. They offered fewer nature walks and geyser talks; the norm was now a self-guided thermal experience. A small pamphlet that described the Basin's thermal features served as a substitute for a ranger naturalist. Visitors could see the features at their own pace and absorb as much or as little information as they wished.

While on their self-guided tours, the visitors traveled via elevated boardwalks, and their feet never touched natural ground. They received, from signs posted at various points in the Basin, warnings of the dangers that lay below these lofty pathways. To have physical contact with the thermal features was now forbidden. The National Park Service also shifted toward nature walks and increasingly de-emphasized the purely thermal experience of the UGB. These actions, as well as the new landscape they created, would set the pace for the years to come.

We must be walking, amid boiling pots and pits, over a terrible furnace.

—Charles Dudley Warner, 1896

PERIOD FOUR: 1973-1990

Focusing on the Ecosystem

Between 1973 and 1990, changes in Park Service philosophy, management, and funding all had a direct impact on the parks' landscapes. These changes stemmed in part from the 1960s, with the growing belief in environmentalist circles that park development and preservation were incompatible with each other. To the environmentalists, the Mission 66 program epitomized this incompatibility. As a result, a split occurred in which "environmental groups adopted increasingly strict preservation norms while the Park Service embarked on Mission 66" (Foresta, 1984, 89). Because this development program was in direct contrast to the new environmental philosophy, the parks lost the support of their traditional and most valued allies.

This new movement became more pervasive in the 1970s and, as such, gained many other supporters, including America's professional elite. Once key supporters of the Park Service during the Mather era, this group of powerful and wealthy citizens were now "more in sympathy with the views of the environmental movement on national park policy than with those of

agency leadership" (Foresta, 1984, 73). This alignment against park development found support within the Ford and Carter administrations. Specifically, two Assistant Secretaries of the Interior, who took care of all park affairs during this period, were in favor of less park development. Both Nathaniel Reed, who served under President Ford, and Robert Herbst, under President Carter, were environmentalists; they attempted to instill environmental values within the Department of the Interior and administer the parks with these values in mind. While these men were in office, environmental groups had the ear of the Department of the Interior, and thus more of a say in park development. This power from above, as well as from outside, forced Park Service Director William Whalen to reevaluate the role of the Park Service, as well as the role of the parks themselves. Whalen believed that the Service was in a period of stagnation, and his goal would be "to bring the agency in line with modern times, socially, economically, and environmentally" (Foresta, 1984, 91).

One final change that altered the parks' landscapes during this period was the establishment of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) under the Nixon administration. With the creation of this financial overseer, the Park Service lost control of its budget and, in turn, lost funding for many development projects. As a result, it had to curtail much development on the parks' landscapes because of the lack of money.

The Upper Geyser Basin

Park Facilities and Infrastructure

Broad changes within the National Park Service had a direct influence on shaping the UGB's cultural landscape. During this period there was a shift in interpretive emphasis from simply examining the geyser spectacle to experiencing the ecosystem. Thus, new interpretative programs educated the visitor about the importance of the ecosystem and the need to protect it. Moreover, the NPS itself reevaluated the purpose of the parks and the function of their landscapes. It examined past development and the potential harm to natural features.

The Park Service discovered that high numbers of visitors and extensive development in the UGB were causing problems. Specifically, the new road system confused visitors, the YPC's many buildings were not being properly maintained, and structures actually blocked the view of some of the Basin's thermal features. Overall, the study reported visitor "services and support facilities were intermixed in an undesirable way" (Draft Development Concept Plan, February 1984, 1).

This evaluation resulted in the 1974 Master Plan for Yellowstone National Park. It is slightly ironic that the Master Plan's specific purpose for the UGB actually mirrored one of Mission 66's goals for that area, in that it stated:

> high priority should be given to gradually converting the Old Faithful development into a scenic day-use area, an objective that necessarily will take many years to achieve (Draft Development Concept Plan, February 1984, 3).

Another study, in 1980, also examined the problems of previous development in the UGB and proposed solutions to them. The result was the 1984 Draft Development Concept Plan (DCP). This plan had two primary goals: to "protect and enhance the thermal features of the Upper Geyser Basin, the Firehole River and other significant natural resources"; and to take into consideration the Basin's cultural resources (DCP, 1984, 8). The plan specified that certain elements of the UGB's natural landscape were better off undisturbed by development; namely, the UGB's thermal features, winter wildlife habitat, the Firehole River and other streams in the Basin, rock outcroppings, Ross' bentgrass, and the threatened grizzly bear. However, along with the UGB's natural resources, the plan sought to protect the Basin's cultural resources as well. For instance, many of the buildings in the UGB were on the National Register of Historic Places. Buildings such as Old Faithful Inn and Lodge were valued because of their unique architectural and historical significance, in that they reflected the early concession business in the park. Likewise, other buildings in the UGB were valued because they were "representatives of visitor accommodations from the early period of automobile tourism and as examples of rustic architecture" (DCP, 1984, 13).

In recognition of such cultural values, the plan called for preserving some UGB historic structures; however, it also designated others for

demolition. First, the park planned to eliminate structures placed on the historic register in December 1982. Thus, it called for the removal of all the tourist cabins as well as the support buildings, except for the Lodge's linen room and the Inn's power house/laundry and caretaker's quarters. Under this plan, all summer season lodging would occur in the Inn, winter season in the Snow Lodge. All employee housing would be moved to the designated employee housing and maintenance area.

In order to preserve these cultural repositories that would be banished from the UGB's landscape, the park made plans to create "a photographic interpretive exhibit at Old Faithful" and to designate an interpretive area at "the Tower/Roosevelt area where the park's best examples of such structures are still extant" (DCP, 1984, 13-14).

Alterations did take place on the UGB's landscape between 1973 and 1990, although they did not always follow the directions or details of the long-range planning initiatives. Most of the changes to the Park Service facilities were more upkeep measures than development and removal. Indeed, most of the effort went into repairing the new visitor center. For example, after eighteen years of repairing, reconditioning, and readjusting, the park removed the center's three electronic prediction boards in 1990. Their chronic service problems had stemmed from the fact the parts for the Italian-made equipment were "nearly impossible to acquire" (Townsley, 1978, 12). For the main area, the ranger/naturalists opted to replace the

electronic board with the ultimate in low-tech—a sign with interchangeable letters to announce geyser eruption times. They simply eliminated both the second board, which stood at the end of the east parking lot, and the third, whose location was not recorded in the division reports.

The visitor center did undergo some minor additions during this period. In 1978, Park Service staff installed book shelves and cases. It placed these away from the visitor center's information desk so that the "naturalist and the information desk were better able to respond to the visitor's needs" (Townsley, 1978, 11). In 1990, they installed a new sales desk and book display racks.

To save energy, the visitor center, in 1979, lowered its ceiling and installed a wood stove. Because the auditorium was too large to heat from this source, rangers did not show films there in the winter, but instead presented slide shows in the visitor center lobby. However, in 1983, because of numerous visitor requests for the film, Superintendent Robert D. Barbee turned the heat back on in the auditorium. "[T]he auditorium was much preferred over setting up chairs in the lobby for the evening program, and daytime visitors greatly appreciated the geyser movie" (Barbee, 1983, 14).

Along with improvements to the main visitor center building, park staff modified the rest-room and theater buildings. In 1979, the rest-room building, as well as all other UGB comfort stations, became accessible to handicapped visitors. And in 1981, the park installed special water heaters

and solar collectors in the rest-room building to save energy. In 1989, park staff removed the seats from the west theater building to convert it into a lunchroom for snowmobilers and erected a wall in the rear of this room to permit the construction of offices. Because the theaters' ceilings leaked in the winter, second roofs were erected over the existing ones in 1990. This design contained an air space that would help prevent the formation of ice, which was the primary cause of leaking.

Even though the Park Service curtailed development during this period, the UGB's interpretive programs were many and varied. Besides numerous slide presentations, a nine-minute movie titled *Yellowstone, A Living Sculpture,* ran at regular intervals in the visitor center. The visitor center also continued interpretive displays such as weather and seismograph exhibits. An exhibit area located in the mall outside, in the area between the visitor center building and the west theater building, included two glass cases mounted on concrete pedestals. Because of deterioration through weathering, these displays were completely refurbished and remounted in 1985.

Along with displays, the Park Service offered interpretive walks during this period. The self-guided walk established during the 1950s continued to be one of the most popular ways for the visitors to view the Basin. There was also a ranger-led version of the same walk, although in 1973 the Naturalist Division discontinued it because of "'competition' from

eruptions of major geysers and the use of the walk route by others who were not a part of the guided activity" (Anderson, 1973, 7). Nevertheless, Twilight Geyser walks and Stream Ecology walks continued.

An interpretive program that harkened back to the past was the implementation of an automobile caravan in the UGB. This program, begun in the fall of 1973, focused on viewing park wildlife. A ranger would lead groups of visitors (who followed in their own vehicles) to various areas of the park. The ranger lectured via a radio system—the visitors would all tune to the same A.M. frequency on their car radios.

Another program offered during this period featured guided walks for foreign visitors who spoke German and French. Implemented in 1976, the program occurred twice weekly during August. French- and German-speaking volunteers from one of the park's concession companies conducted the walks. This program stemmed from a belief that the park was "experiencing foreign visitation at a high enough rate to warrant special interpretive programming" (Townsley, 1976, 13).

Along with foreign language programs, the ranger/ naturalist division implemented two more programs in 1977. One was a "mountain man's interpretation of the thermal areas" and the other "the experiences of a chambermaid working at Old Faithful Inn in 1915" (Townsley, 1977, 15). In 1983, environmental skits joined the UGB's interpretive program. These short plays emphasized the importance of the park's ecosystem by addressing

issues such as the pine bark beetle's role and the park's diminishing bear population.

All of these programs reflect a Park Service emphasis in changing the visitor experience. Stream ecology walks and environmental skits showed that the NPS was using the UGB's setting and its natural inhabitants to educate the visitor on the value of the park's ecosystem, instead of just giving them a geyser experience. Also, by presenting programs on past perspectives, the Park Service not only dramatized the cultural history of the UGB, but gave the visitor the opportunity to reflect on the progress of our understanding of this natural area.

The Ranger/Naturalist Division also began offering interpretive programs in the winter. For example, starting in 1973, rangers led winter discovery walks twice a day from mid-December until mid-March. There were also evening slide shows at the visitor center and, while the auditorium was still open, showings of the film *Yellowstone, a Living Sculpture.* The rangers also offered guided snowmobile tours on winter Saturdays starting in 1980; however, "very little interest was shown" for this activity. In 1983, they began giving guided ski tours and animal track walks as well (Townsley, 1980, 10). Once again, these programs showed a shift in Park Service philosophy: the programs not only emphasized an understanding of the winter ecosystem in the UGB, but also focused on the ambiance of the

winter season in Yellowstone. From these programs, the winter visitor learned that Yellowstone was clearly a different park during this season.

Considerable trail repairs and upgrades also occurred in the UGB during the second half of this period. For instance, in 1979, the park began new boardwalk construction. Geyser Hill saw the replacement of its boardwalk system, the second following the same route of its predecessor. Though just finished in 1980, this boardwalk system nevertheless required replacement once again in 1986—at a cost of $30,000 (Barbee, 1986, 16). In 1980, the park widened the section of boardwalk near Grand Geyser in order to accommodate the "large crowds [that] often assemble to await the eruptions" (Townsley, 1979, 14). The following year, park staff installed wooden benches on this same section of boardwalk, so as to allow visitors to rest while waiting for Grand Geyser to play. Park staff also replaced deteriorating asphalt trails, such as that on the south side of the Firehole River (1984) and the asphalt section of Geyser Hill's thermal walk, which passes through the woods (1987).

The Park Service also made improvements to the UGB's infrastructure during this period. For example, the NPS began construction on a new waste water facility in 1973 and completed it in 1976, at a cost of $1,133,500 (Townsley, 1976, 30). At this time, the Park Service also expanded employee facilities in the UGB's concessionaire/employee housing area. In 1973, it constructed a residence for the operators of the new sewage plant—

albeit near the septic tank/lift station area. In 1978, the Park Service constructed two dorms for the YPC employees in the employee housing area and, in 1985, it paved the parking areas for these dorms. In 1987, "because of [a] poor housing situation," park administration made plans to build two new houses at the UGB. The following year, it completed these three-bedroom homes, with their attached garages (Barbee, 1988, 15-16). Then in 1990, the Park Service built a four-plex structure for its employees. In 1986, it also installed hot tubs for its employees who remained in the UGB during winter. Superintendent Barbee provided these facilities "in order to reduce winter stress" (Barbee, 1986, 21).

In addition to these structures, the concessionaire/employee area contained, by this period's end, a dorm for the Haynes/Hamilton workers, two other apartment buildings for NPS employees, a fuel company dorm, another dorm for the YPC, a trailer and barn for Montana Power Company, and four buildings that were part of the bus service area (Fig. 27).

Concessions

Much like the improvements to Park Service facilities, concession improvements (not including employee housing) were modest during this period. However, great changes did take place with concessions management. As stated in the previous chapter, the General Host Corporation took control of the YPC holdings in 1966. However, this large corporation did not run the park's concessions any better than the previous

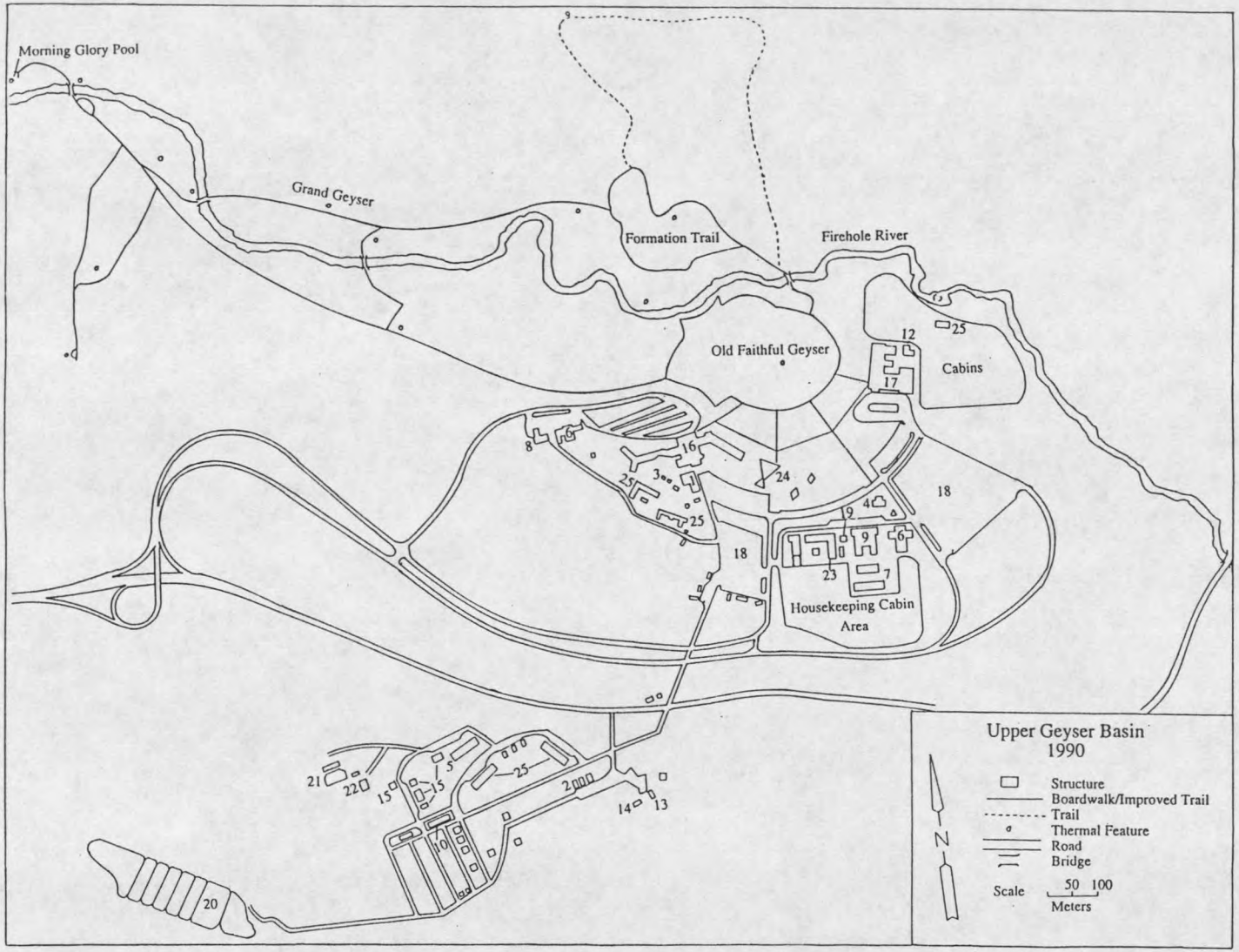


Figure 27. Upper Geyser Basin, 1990

Key for Figure 27, Upper Geyser Basin, 1990

1. Boiler Room/Laundry
2. Bus Service Buildings
3. Caretaker's Quarters
4. Four Seasons Snack Shop
5. Fuel Company Dorm
6. Gas Station
7. Hamilton Dorm
8. Hamilton Lower Store
9. Hamilton Upper Store
10. Haynes/Hamilton Dorm
11. Haynes's Studio
12. Linen Room
13. Montana Power Barn
14. Montana Power Trailer
15. NPS Apartment/House
16. Old Faithful Inn
17. Old Faithful Lodge
18. Parking Area
19. Post Office
20. Sewage Lagoon
21. Sewage Plant
22. Sewage Plant Operator's Residence
23. Snow Lodge
24. Visitor Center
25. YPC/TW Dorms

concession operations, the corporation agreed to make $10,000,000 worth of improvements to its park facilities. However, by 1976 no improvements had been made, and the YPC facilities continued to deteriorate.

Since General Host had not met its obligation in running the YPC, the Department of the Interior and the NPS ordered a concessions review team in February 1976

> to investigate the deteriorating situation and submit its report to the park superintendent, the regional director of the Rocky Mountain Region, and the director of the National Park Service (Bartlett, 1985, 372).

The review team investigated every aspect of the park's facilities and identified the major problem areas: the "management structure, policy and emphasis, personnel policy, food service, lodging, facility deterioration," as well as "decor and maintenance" (Yellowstone Concessions Review, 1976, 2). In reviewing all of the YPC's park facilities, it cited cases of leaky roofs, broken floor tiles, broken screens and windows, poor hotel desk service, and an inadequate and over-worked staff. In short, the review team found that the YPC was "providing the visitor with facilities and services at an unsatisfactory level" (Yellowstone Concessions Review, 1976, 3). It recommended that these problems be rectified and that a public transportation service to Morning Glory Pool be provided. Nevertheless, the facilities and service offered by the YPC continued to deteriorate so badly that, in 1979, General Host had its lease revoked. This cancellation was a significant event in Yellowstone concessionaire history, for it was the first

time that a major concession had its lease taken away. Thus, the U.S. Government forced General Host to sell its possessory right of the YPC for the sum of $19,000,000.

Now that the YPC and General Host were out of the picture, the government granted, in 1980, a two-year trial lease to Trans World Corporation (TW), the former owner of Trans World Airlines. Partly out of satisfaction with TW's performance in running the concession, but also with the realization that concessionaires needed longer-term contracts in order to reap a decent profit and place more money back into their facilities, the Park Service granted that company a thirty-year contract in 1982. TW continues to run the park's major concessions at a satisfactory level today.

All in all, General Host's poor management and the Park Master Plan\Development Concept Plan's (DCP) goals of converting the UGB into a day-use area led to little development during this period. However, TW did improve one facility, the Inn. In 1982, it installed fire-rated gypsum board in the Inn rooms; it also replaced some of the logs in the main building and re-shingled the wings of the Inn. It completed the latter task in 1984 at a cost of $379,837 (Barbee, 1984, 7).

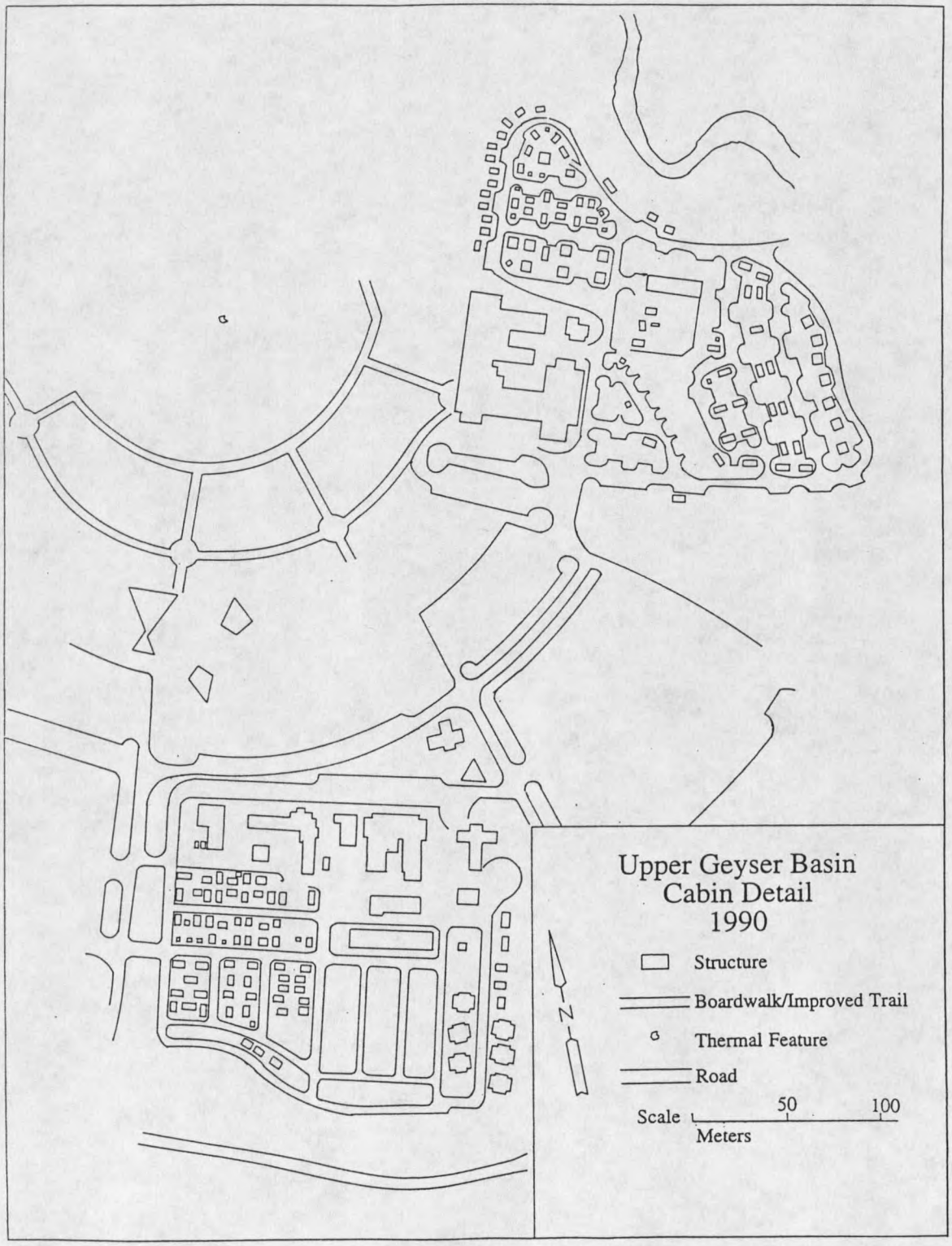
In 1983, TW remodeled the Inn's kitchen so as to bring it up to national electric safety codes. In 1986, it rehabilitated the Inn's rest rooms, replaced the sprinkler system, and removed asbestos from the building. It also installed new carpeting, renovated the gift shop, bar, and dining area,

and added a new rear entrance. All in all, TW spent "over two million dollars" on these improvements to the Inn during this period (Barbee, 1988, 4). To celebrate, it held a ceremony commemorating the restoration of this historic structure on 23 May 1988 (Barbee, 1988).

It should be noted that during its tenure at the earlier part of this period, the YPC did make some minor attempts to improve facilities. In 1973, it winterized twenty cabins adjacent to the Snow Lodge so as to expand "its winter operations at Old Faithful" (Anderson, 1973, 2). The addition of these cabins raised the winter pillow count in the UGB to 180 (Anderson, 1973, 2). Further improvements to the Snow Lodge would have to wait until TW took over. However, the only modification it undertook was to install fire-rated gypsum board in the Snow Lodge's rooms in 1982.

Like the Snow Lodge, improvements to the Old Faithful Lodge were modest during this period. Except for TW installing a new sprinkler system in the Lodge building and its recreation hall in 1982, no other major development took place. In fact, the largest alteration to the Lodge's facilities was the removal of many of the lodge and housekeeping cabins (Fig. 28). In 1983, the Park Service entered into an agreement with the state of Wyoming and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation "for the removal of 78 cabins at Old Faithful" (Barbee, 1983, 55). It removed these cabins in order to fulfill a portion of the 1974 Park Master Plan and the Concept Development Plan goals, that is, to remove the overnight facilities at the UGB and convert

Figure 28. Cabin Detail, 1990



the Basin into a day-use area. Toward this goal, it removed seventy-seven other cabins in 1985. Despite the Master Plan, when twelve Snow Lodge cabins burned in the 1988 fires, TW replaced them the following year.

The only other major change to the concessionaire landscape during this period was the addition of a restaurant and the removal of the cafeteria. In 1973, there was a fire at the campers' laundromat and shower building, which stood northeast of the Upper Store. The YPC converted this damaged building into a fast-food facility that would be operated during the winter and summer seasons. The YPC chose not to keep it to its original use for two reasons. First, the structure and contents received $89,000 worth of damage, a large repair price for a campers' facility, considering the campground had been removed four years earlier. Second, a fast-food facility was more consistent with the goal of converting the UGB into a day-use area than was a shower and laundry facility (Anderson, 1973, 11).. The YPC dubbed this structure the Four Seasons Snack Shop; it continues to be a fixture on the UGB's landscape (Fig. 29). The YPC also removed the cafeteria around 1975—not only as a way to comply with NPS wishes of further ridding the Basin of facilities that were artificial intrusions, but also because there were now several alternative dining options for visitors. Along with these changes, the Haynes Studio was moved from its previous location (across from the cafeteria) around 1973-1974 to its current location as a final push by the NPS to place many of the visitor facilities away from the thermal features (Fig. 27).

Figure 29. The Four Seasons Snack Shop

When a fire damaged another of its facilities (the campers' laundromat and shower) in 1973, the Yellowstone Park Company decided to convert the structure into a fast food restaurant that it could keep open all year long. The Park Service approved the plan as it complied more with the day-use goals than did a camper facility and also because it served winter guests. [Author's collection (1995).]



Conclusions

New developments on the UGB's landscape between 1973 and 1990 were very modest. Because both the 1974 Park Master Plan and the Concept Development Plan of the 1980s called for converting the Basin into a day-use area, the Park Service kept construction of its facilities to a minimum. It implemented most of the improvements as upkeep measures and not as additional visitor facilities. Thus, the NPS did repair and replace trails and boardwalks, as well as alter the visitor center to make it more energy efficient, given that it was to provide interpretive services during the winter as well as summer. Many of the traditional interpretive programs continued, and the Naturalist Division implemented some new ones that largely focused on the park's ecosystem.

Unlike the visitor area of the UGB, there was a considerable amount of development in the Basin's employee housing area, as well as at the sewage facility (Fig. 27). The Park Service placed employee facilities in this part of the Basin because another Master Plan goal called for separating the UGB's employee and visitor facilities, which had become intermixed, and therefore confusing, throughout the years of development in the Basin.

The development of concession facilities followed a pattern similar to that of Park Service facilities during this period. Concessionaires made repairs to the Inn, Lodge, and Snow Lodge buildings, but did not perform any

additions. In fact, they moved the Haynes Studio and removed the cafeteria, as well as many of the cabins in the Lodge and Snow Lodge areas as part of the Master Plan's goal to convert the UGB into a day-use area. A fast food service was the only significant addition to the concessionaire's landscape during this period. The Park Service approved this structure because it harmonized with the UGB's future function as a day-use area as well as served winter visitors.

By 1990, development in the UGB slowed to a halt. Plans to convert the Basin into a day-use area stalled as well. In the early 1980s, as Grant Village was being constructed, the reality of the removal of many of the UGB's historic structures began to be contemplated. Dedicated friends of Old Faithful, such as the Committee to Protect our Yellowstone Heritage, pointed out to the Park Service that the Inn and other buildings were on the Register of Historic Buildings, and that "no studies had ever been done to prove that this community threatened the geyser basin"; as such, they "demanded better justification for the plan" (Chase, 1987, 227).

In addition to the aforementioned protests, the state of Wyoming, a supporter of Grant Village, also objected to the proposal. It complained that the removal of Old Faithful lodgings would force visitors to stay in West Yellowstone, Montana, for overnight accommodations, and thus serve as competition to Wyoming businesses. In making the decision regarding the UGB's day-use status, the NPS had to weigh several variables. The Park

Service realized that it had no clear evidence that the UGB's development would harm the thermal features. It also realistically accepted the fact that the Inn would never be allowed to be destroyed. The razing of this structure could possibly bring as much public outcry as the stopping up of Old Faithful Geyser itself. Finally, since the bulk of Yellowstone lay within Wyoming, the NPS may have felt a strong kinship with the state and therefore wanted to mitigate the situation the best it could. Weighing all of these variables, the NPS found that conversion to strictly day-use was unwarranted and scrapped the removal plans.

Regardless of what is removed, added, or remodeled on this landscape, one thing is certain: the visitors will come. Throughout the history of Yellowstone National Park, visitors have been drawn to the UGB. Their main purpose of a visit to this area was not to sleep or dine in the Old Faithful Inn, not to swim in the pool, and not to watch bears at the feeding grounds; the visitors came to see the geysers, and they always will.

> This grand exhibition is alone sufficient to satisfy the expectations of the most exacting sight seer [sic].
> —W. C. Riley describing Old Faithful Geyser, 1890

THE CHANGING VISITOR EXPERIENCE

Perception and Personality of Place

The landscape of the Upper Geyser Basin does not stand out as an island immune to change. Rather than being isolated, it has been molded by the American culture, the national park idea, and even marketing ploys. Nor is the UGB's landscape static over time—its human features have evolved to reflect the transformations of its external influences. Once wild and remote, then soon on its way to being a pocket of urbanity, the face of the Upper Geyser Basin has changed, as did the ways its agents promoted it. In turn, its visitors have discovered experiences different from those who entered its smoky landscape before them.

While this chapter focuses on how the Park Service and concessionaires promoted the UGB, as well as how visitors actually experienced this area of Yellowstone, it is important to note that the larger regional and cultural milieu also has an impact on landscape perception. Specifically, images of the overall West play a crucial role in determining the visitor experience of Yellowstone's UGB. Likewise, how we perceive a place is many times based on images that are carried to us from other travelers.

Whereas today Aunt Mary can bring us back a videotape, others in earlier times did not have this option. For example, the West's early explorers had no way to show us this landscape except through what Anne Hyde calls "word pictures." When Fremont brought back the first descriptions of the area that is now Wyoming and Utah, "the words he selected had a great impact on the American perception of this region" (Hyde, 1990b, 2). Like Fremont, many others carried descriptions with them as they returned from the West, and these too had a bearing on how the American public perceived the entire region.

The increasing role of tourism in the West, particularly by the late nineteenth century, also shaped how people perceived the UGB. According to John F. Sears, tourism "demands a body of images and descriptions of those places—a mythology of unusual things to see—to excite people's imaginations and induce them to travel" (1989, 3). Thus, as time went on, and more people passed through the West, more word pictures and images became available to the American public; most of these impressions of the western landscape came from verbal descriptions, paintings, and photographs. The work of artists "conferred value on the scenes depicted and helped shape the vision of tourists who visited them" (Sears, 1989, 5). Not only do these images spur visitors on, but also, like Aunt Mary, they give a preconceived notion of the destination.

Human perceptions are important in this type of study. Hyde states that the "history of perception is crucial in understanding how the region [the West] has been used" because "shifting perceptions reflected the ways in which American culture defined itself" (1993, 352 & 351). Sometimes perceptions evolved because of changes in society. Tuan states that "as society and culture evolve, attitude toward an environment can change" (1974, 75). As a people we are constantly reevaluating our relationship with the world around us. Our perception of the environment is not static, but dynamic; while changes may be slow in coming, they nevertheless do occur.

The importance of place also has a bearing on this study. For example, Tuan and Meyer both believe that places, aside from being just geographic locations, possess their own distinct personalities (Tuan, 1978; Meyer, 1994). Places "are the foci of people's attention, concern, and emotion" (Meyer, 1994, 3). A place acquires a personality through modifications by generations of human beings (Tuan, 1978). The net result is a changing and cumulative personality of place; when applied to an area in our national parks, it reflects a changing visitor experience.

The national parks and their meaning, which makes them appealing to visitors, have evolved over the years. Lowenthal, Tuan, and Runte believed that the parks were originally established not only because of their visual importance, but also as a surrogate for early America's lack of human [white] history (Lowenthal, 1976; Tuan, 1977; Runte, 1987). These areas

possessed stunning beauty and unique landscapes that far outrivaled those in Europe. While this may be initially true, the parks evolved into more than just scenic areas; they became areas where one could recreate, and then later, places where ecosystems might be preserved. Moreover, there are those who believe that the parks' purpose goes much deeper. Meyer states that the parks are "deeply humanized landscapes, endowed with meanings beyond those associated solely with their value as ecosystems" (1994, 9). These scenic areas may actually serve as culturally sacred places in our increasingly secular society. "Tourist attractions" could be considered "sacred places of a nation or people," places which "speak to humanity" (Sears, 1989, 7; Tuan, 1977, 164). Accordingly, a trip to the parks is not unlike a pilgrimage to the holy land, a religious and rejuvenating experience. Meyer also suggests that the values of landscapes associated with such sacred places change over time and are a function of accumulating human experiences and imprints in such localities (1994). In particular, Yellowstone's UGB and its centerpiece of Old Faithful Geyser could be viewed as a prime example of an area possessing these accumulated human experiences and imprints. Meyer also suggests that certain elements of Yellowstone's landscape have not changed and that this "stasis" plays a role in the meaning, and perhaps even the appearance of the current landscape. While this concept may hold true, Meyer fails to examine the mechanisms causing the unchanging elements on the Yellowstone

landscape, and these mechanisms may offer an even deeper explanation of our attraction and fondness for Yellowstone.

It is apparent, however, that our feelings toward Yellowstone are related to our attitudes toward wilderness, which have also evolved over time and have contributed to changing visitor experiences in Yellowstone. For example, humans once thought wilderness to be a harsh and undesirable place that needed to be tamed and made habitable (Nash, 1982; Tuan, 1974; Hyde, 1990b). They hardly regarded the forest as a place for a vacation or spiritual rejuvenation. However, because of technological advances, the eradication of indigenous peoples considered hostile, and changing social attitudes toward nature, our perception of wilderness changed, deeming it more hospitable. "Rather than avoiding the American wilderness, Americans now sought ways to experience it" (Hyde, 1990b, 259).

Visitors rushed west to experience the parks and the wilderness housed within them, and they continue to do so. "Since public attitudes toward nature change over time, the Park Service must constantly adapt its policies to keep pace with these changes" (Meyer, 1994, 4). Many times these changes take the form of alterations to the parks' landscapes; in turn, these modifications affect the visitor experience.

Finally, the changing culture of tourism itself has shaped the visitor experience in the UGB. Once only a luxury of the wealthy, "summering in the West became more and more available to middle-class groups" until

eventually stronger "emphasis was placed upon outdoor family recreation" (Athearn, 1986, 140 & 147). Facilities became available to accommodate varied classes of visitors, and as the parks changed, their social landscapes became more heterogeneous.

According to Sax, the major difference in the tourist experience in the past compared with today is that "the setting in which they lived in the parks was fairly primitive and marked a sharp contrast with life at home," whereas, "tourism in the parks today, by contrast, is often little more than an extension of the city and its life-style transported onto a scenic background" (1980, 11-12). While in the parks today, the visitor has access to almost all of the same amenities available at home. Sax, however, tends to generalize this experience to every park visitor. He seems to forget that today, more than ever, the parks receive a great diversity of visitors, many of whom are not touring in their television-equipped Winnebagos, but who are camping under the stars or hiking in Yellowstone's backcountry.

All of these cultural, economic, and technological factors contribute to a changing visitor experience in our national parks, one which can be observed by examining materials that reveal not only the elements that actually existed, but also how relevant parties promoted the parks and how visitors perceived them. Specifically, this study of the changing visitor experiences in the UGB primarily utilized guidebooks, travel brochures, and diaries. Montana State University Library's Special Collections held most of

the sampled guidebooks and diaries, and the Yellowstone National Park Archives proved most useful by providing the published travel brochures.

By examining images of the UGB as promoted in guidebooks and travel brochures, I investigate the landscape that the NPS and concessionaires sold to the visitor. I then compare this promotion with the genuine landscape; analyzing elements in the Basin, as done in the previous chapters, reveals how people actually experienced the UGB. For example, I compare the popular image of this area, created by the concessionaires and the Park Service, with the actual condition of services present in the UGB. I also examine how this popular image of the UGB evolved over time, resulting in a very different visitor experience today versus fifty or one hundred years ago.

Period One, 1879-1904: For the Fire

During this period, a variety of material promoted the UGB, most in the form of brochures and pamphlets published by concessionaires and railroads, as well as guidebooks published by several individuals. An examination of this period's literature reveals that it does not promote the Basin's human features on a large scale; rather, it promotes the UGB as a natural landscape in which the geysers stand out as the key features. The UGB's uniqueness as a thermal landscape and the reliability of Old Faithful Geyser appear to be the chief selling points.

Such was the case with the sampled literature published by the Northern Pacific Railroad (NPRR), specifically five brochures dating from 1888 to 1904. A NPRR brochure dated 1888 reports that the UGB "contains the largest assemblage of powerful geysers in the world," and then further adds, "after a little time spent in this basin, the visitor is almost certain to conclude that he has at length reached the climax of the wonders of the park" (Hyde, circa 1888, 29-30). Another brochure touts Old Faithful: "The sight of this geyser in eruption is one of the most remarkable to be seen in the park" (NPRR, circa 1904, 50). Out of the five brochures sampled, three refer to the UGB's or Old Faithful's uniqueness.

Four of the five railroad brochures make no mention of any other UGB features besides the thermal ones. Only the 1904 NPRR brochure discusses another feature, when it refers to the newly built Old Faithful Inn. The brochure calls it a "new, modern, unique, and altogether fitting hostelry," and that "from the inn [sic] the entire geyser basin is, practically, in sight" (NPRR, circa 1904). No other references to facilities appear in the railroad literature of this period.

The park's camping companies also promote the UGB's natural landscape, focusing on the Basin's uniqueness, and to a small degree upon their camping facilities' easy access to the UGB's thermal features. Of the five sampled camp concession brochures, dated 1890 to 1904, three promote the uniqueness of the UGB or Old Faithful. For example, a Shaw and Powell

Camping Company (S&PCC) brochure circa 1903 asserts that the UGB is "the most interesting geyser formation in the park" and also states that the visitor could "camp for the night within sight of Old Faithful Geyser" (Shaw and Powell Camping Company, 1903). A brochure by the Wylie camping company, while not promoting the UGB as diligently as the S&PCC, still gives the visitor a very favorable impression of this area. It states:

> Our camp here is in a beautiful grove next to the Splendid, Riverside and Giant Geysers. Two nights are spent at this camp giving ample time to visit the remarkable wonders of this locality. A guide at this camp shows tourists about the basin (Wylie Camping Company, 1898).

A Yellowstone Park Association (YPA) brochure from this period notes the UGB's uniqueness as well. Published around 1902, it describes the UGB as well as its facilities:

> There is no hotel at the Upper Geyser Basin, but it is the most unique and novel stopping place on the drive. There is a dining room, of course, and tents,—great roomy tents, really roomy because there are six private rooms, fully furnished, with good beds, chairs, wash stands, etc. A taste of tent life in the wilderness, yet with all the comforts of home (YPA, circa 1902).

This brochure further tells the visitor: "Old Faithful is the star feature, not only of the Upper Basin, but of the Yellowstone Park. Ever faithful, always on time, an eruption fresh every hour" (YPA, circa 1902).

An independent travel company from Boston, Massachusetts, which offered park tours, produced the last brochure sampled. Although its section on the UGB is strictly a listing of the Basin's thermal features, it does give Old Faithful Geyser special recognition, describing it as "the most famous of

all the Yellowstone Park geysers, the frequency and regularity of its eruptions having afforded opportunities for careful observation and record" (Raymond & Whitcomb, 1890, 39).

Guidebooks also offer a means to investigate how the UGB was promoted to the visitor. Indeed, they offer a very useful medium, for the books literally guide the potential visitor through the park, pointing out what are considered the valuable sights and experiences. During this period, they promote the UGB's landscape in a fashion very similar to the other materials examined; that is, they point it up as a strictly thermal experience, as well as a most unique area.

For example, a travelogue written for the *Indianapolis Sunday Journal* in 1901 (published 25 years later as a souvenir pamphlet) describes the UGB as "the amphitheater of more geysers, large and small, regular and irregular, than can be seen elsewhere in the world of unending marvels" and further depicts Old Faithful as "not the largest, but admired for its constancy...Regular as the sun" (Miller, 1926, 11-12).

Another guide, written by Olin Wheeler and published in 1901, describes the UGB as "the most lively and eccentric spot known" of its kind (1901, 73). Wheeler also describes the uniqueness and reliability of Old Faithful, writing that "Old Faithful is quite different from the other geysers and is probably the favorite one. Its periodicity lengthens a little each year, but it plays regularly every sixty-five to seventy minutes" (1901, 78).

A guidebook published during this period, Geyserland and Wonderland, a View and Guide Book of the Yellowstone National Park, by W. F. Hatfield of Idaho, also paints a similar picture of the UGB. Of it, Hatfield wrote, "This Basin bears every indication of being the oldest within the Park and certainly by far the most interesting." He further called Old Faithful an "old favorite" (1902, 51 & 54).

Another guidebook, Wonder-land Illustrated, praises Old Faithful "for its operations are as regular as clock-work, of most frequent occurrence, and of great power...Old Faithful will ever be the favorite of tourists, as it never fails in regularly giving a display of its powers" (Norton, 1873, 2-3). Several other guides offer a similar image of the Basin and Old Faithful. In fact, ten different guidebooks published between 1873 and 1901 all promote the UGB in this manner.

Probably the most popular as well as the most enduring guidebook published on Yellowstone was the Haynes Guide. First printed in 1890, this Guide continued to be revised and sold until 1966. Its examination proves interesting for it provides a yearly chronicle of verbal and visual images presented to the potential visitor. Like the other guides examined, the Haynes Guides during this period emphasize the importance of Old Faithful as well as the UGB in general. A. B. Guptill authored the guides published during this period; he told the visitor

> the principal geysers of the Park [sic], which are the most powerful in the known world, are situated in this basin...The

> most remarkable is Old Faithful, having an eruption every hour, throwing a three-foot column of water 150 feet high, and located within a few hundred feet of the hotel in the Upper Geyser Basin (1890, 8 & 57).

Through such descriptions the reader learns that the UGB is a unique and wondrous place not only in the park, but also in the world as well.

The Haynes Guides of this period also contain several descriptions and habits of what could be considered the major thermal features in the Basin; they list geysers such as the Giant, Beehive, Castle, and Old Faithful. They also provide a geyser time table, and, starting in 1892, a section explaining geyser action. They tell the reader that the main activity while in the Basin is geyser gazing. Overall, the Haynes guidebooks sold the visitor a purely thermal experience.

The Haynes Guides also contain several photographs of the UGB. For most of this period, they depict major thermal features and nothing else. For instance, the Guides show photos of Old Faithful, Giant, Castle, and Beehive Geysers as well as a few others. These photos are devoid of humans or any of their structures. However, in 1902, the Guide introduced a photo depicting visitors standing very near to the erupting Giant Geyser; in the 1904 Guide, a photo of the Inn appears. Prior to the introduction of these two photos, the visitor received an image of an unpeopled landscape.

Even though all but two of the images presented during this period are devoid of human presence, the Haynes Guides do give very short descriptions of some of the UGB's facilities. Like some of the other

promotional literature sampled from this period, the Haynes Guides emphasize on the facilities' nearness to interesting features. For example, the 1890 Guide says that the hotels "are located at convenient distances throughout the Park [sic], in close proximity to the various objects of interest" (Guptill, 1890, 10). Two years later, the Guide adds that all of these facilities contain telegraph service and "are steam-heated, electric-lighted and supplied with bathing facilities (both hot and cold)...In furnishing and table service these four hotels compare favorably with those of metropolitan cities" (Guptill, 1892, 123). These descriptions tell visitors not only that their stay at the UGB will put them very near to the thermal features, but also that they will be as comfortable in the UGB's facilities as anywhere else. This latter depiction was perhaps somewhat misleading given that the UGB's shack hotel was notoriously in a perpetual shambles.

The Haynes Guides present other specific contradictions between what was promoted and what actually existed in the UGB. These disparities occur both in the text and on a map. For instance, while the 1896 Guide lists the UGB's lunch station instead of the hotel, the 1902 Guide, under the section "HOTELS OF THE PARK," lists six hotels, one being in the UGB. However, the Yellowstone Park Association (YPA) did not begin construction of the Inn until 1903. At the time, the YPA only had a tent camp in the Basin. The listing of this phantom hotel may have given the visitor a false idea of homelike overnight facilities in the UGB. Moreover, the visitor may have

also gained a false idea of the Basin's lodging through the UGB map used in the Guide during this period. The map shows the major thermal features, streams, and trails of the Basin. However, what is most interesting about this map is its depiction of the one form of non-tent lodging available to the visitor at this time: the "shack" hotel. The map portrays the building as an idyllic cottage-like structure with two wisps of smoke rising from its chimneys. This drawing conveys to the visitor a warm and secure shelter in this remote and exotic landscape—a deceptive image considering that the "shack" hotel was less than cozy, given that the wind would pass between the cracks of its flimsy walls. Moreover, the guidebook used this image as late as 1907, even though the hotel burned down in 1894. This portrayal may have given the less-literate visitor the impression that a hotel stood in the Basin between 1895 and 1903, when there actually was not one until the Inn went up in 1903-1904.

The Haynes Guides also list camping facilities, including that of the Wylie camp. Also, starting with the 1896 edition, the Guides depict areas where visitors could pitch tents and set up camp in the Basin. For instance, it specifies that the park did not allow the UGB visitors to camp "within 100 feet of any main traveled road" nor "between the Riverside Bridge and Old Faithful" (Guptill, 1898, 133 & 136). The Guides further designate two camping areas: the first was off the Grand Loop road before the Riverside Bridge, and the second lay "200 yards south of Old Faithful; on the banks of

the Firehole" (in the same area as the first auto campground) (Guptill, 1898, 136). The Guide offers the visitor some consolation for the restrictions, saying that the Riverside camp "is the most central camp in the Upper Basin, being near several of the large geysers" (Guptill, 1898, 136).

Along with promotional images that the park and its concessionaires presented to potential visitors, this study investigated materials that may reveal the UGB's actual visitor experience. Specifically, thirteen Yellowstone diaries sampled from this period corroborate similar aspects of the visitor experience in the UGB during this time. Indeed, like the promotional materials, seven of the diaries speak of the uniqueness of the UGB or the reliability of Old Faithful Geyser. For instance, in his book Sacred Places, John F. Sears relates Margaret Cruikshank's experiences during her visit to the UGB in 1883:

> Old Faithful, wrote Cruikshank, was the 'perfect geyser' partly because it rose 'so straight and clean, unfettered by side spurts and splashings,' but principally because 'He is so entirely all that we had anticipated and was so reliable, playing for us every hour. 'Why if it weren't for him there'd be no Park,' one of the drivers told her, 'the whole thing would be a fraud' (1989, 173).

Others who visited the UGB during this period echoed a high opinion of Old Faithful. For example, while touring Yellowstone by means of a bicycle in 1883, William Owen complained in his diary about the unreliability of many of the thermal features in the UGB. Owen said, "The eruptive periods [of the geysers] can no more be predicted with anything like precision than one's fortune can be foretold." However, he then qualified his statement:

> The one exception is 'Old Faithful,' and the regularity of this noble geyser is quite as remarkable as the irregularity of the others. It never varies many minutes from its predicted period, playing once an hour, frequently to the very minute (1883, 34).

Rudyard Kipling, while on a visit to Yellowstone in 1889, also remarked on the reliability of Old Faithful. Kipling said that "[b]y the time you look at all the other geysers he [Old Faithful] will be ready to play" (1889, 105). After examining many of the other geysers in the Basin, Kipling penned "we went over to Old Faithful, who by reason of his faithfulness has benches close to him [from] whence you may comfortably watch" (1889, 106). To Kipling, Old Faithful was a feature that would wait while the other wonders of the Basin could be explored—if one missed the last eruption, one merely had to make himself comfortable, because in a short while it would go off again. Finally, Charles M. Buckle, on his journey to the park in 1885, also remarked on the reliability of Old Faithful by saying "Old Faithful goes off regularly once every hour. It is one of the finest but some others ascend to a higher altitude" (1885, 6). Buckle indicated that Old Faithful is the "finest" not because of the height it ascends, or shear volume of water it expels, but because of its reliability of erupting "once every hour."

These diaries also show that the visitor was in close contact with the UGB's natural features during this period. The visitor experience on this landscape was not only one of sights, sounds, and smells, but also one of touch—it was a tactile landscape. During the park's early years, the visitors could venture to the thermal features and examine them close up.

Specifically, of the thirteen diaries sampled, five refer to touching or being in close physical contact with the Basin's features. For example, while in the UGB in 1882, Mrs. Tom Foster described her experience at Castle Geyser: "I went up nearly to the top, and peered over its smoking edge—but I got my face burned for trying it" (1882, 39). John Muir also described this urge in other visitors, that between the eruptions of certain geysers "some adventurer occasionally looks down the throat of the crater" (1885, 50).

This tactile experience went far beyond peering at the innards of a geyser. John Muir commented on some of the visitors stroking the column of the smaller geysers with a stick, and Mrs. Foster wrote about visitors stuffing towels, hats, stones, and other foreign objects down the cone of Old Faithful and waiting for them to be spat out by the geyser's force. Many of the visitors would also write their names in the soft silicate formations of the geyser cones. For example, W. O. Owen, while on his way to the UGB, stopped at Fountain Geyser; he reported that he and his companions added their names "[t]o the many autographs already inscribed here" (1883, 33). Likewise, Kipling commented on this same activity, saying that after Old Faithful's eruption, many tourists "betook themselves to writing their names in the bottom of shallow pools" with their hairpins (1889, 106). Owen Wister, while in the UGB in 1887, remarked that in the shallow water-filled indentations around Old Faithful's cone, "the names of asses were to be seen, written in pencil" (1887, 74).

While scrawling names in the geyser formations may have been unacceptable to some, other more domestic forms of physical contact seemed permissible. For example, Mrs. Foster commented on being able to do one's washing cheaply in Queens Laundry—a thermal feature, not a human-made facility—as well as boiling eggs and potatoes in Devils Well. W. O. Owen made tea with the water from one of the UGB's thermal features; he reported that it gave him both vertigo and a blinding headache (1883). Owen Wister recorded in his diary for 26 August, "Washing clothes in a small geyser" (1887, 73).

Many of the visitors had closer contact with the Basin's features simply because they could camp almost wherever they pleased—with only two restrictions, as mentioned previously: areas "within 100 feet of any main traveled road" and "between the Riverside Bridge and Old Faithful" were off limits (Guptill, 1898, 133 & 136). For example, W. O. Owen, while on his tour of the Basin, wrote that after arriving "at the upper geyser Basin [sic] we pitched our tent on the east side of the Firehole River in the very midst of the geysers, at a point commanding an excellent view of the valley" (1883, 33). Mrs. Foster also comments on freely selecting a camping spot in the Basin, saying that "we are going to camp in the shade of these trees, just at the foot of 'Old Castle'" (1882, 40). (Obviously, Mrs. Foster's party opted to ignore the restrictions.) Finally, Owen Wister remarked on camping "within the trees a short ride away from the UGB's hotel" (1887, 71).

When contemplating the visitor experience we must also keep in mind that gender played a role in how this landscape was experienced. Specifically, women—to some degree—were engaged in different activities than men while in the park. This holds true especially for the class of visitors known as the sagebrushers. In the diaries sampled, there are many accounts of women being engaged in the same domestic chores they performed at home. Women still had to cook, set the table, do dishes, wash clothing, etc. while on their journey to and through the park. This experience holds true for even the more recent visitor experience. Bill Wyckoff fondly recalls a conversation with his grandmother about her visit to the park some years ago. Bill's grandmother complained that she had to cook, clean, etc., while all the men did was "goof off." (Wyckoff, 1995) (For more on perceptions and gender, see Hyde, 1993; and Kay, 1991).

In all, the visitor experience of this period was what we might call a thermal experience. The visitors' main purpose for venturing to the UGB was to enter a thermal landscape, and Old Faithful Geyser appeared to be the highlight of their journey. Other activities to occupy the visitors' time seemed unnecessary: the wonders of the Basin were all that they needed or wanted—albeit some did come with unusual ways of interacting with those features, whether it be doing laundry or watching an explosion of towels. As a result, the UGB offered few facilities during this period. Furthermore, one

promoted facility did not exist; of those that did, the materials promoted their comfort and close proximity to the UGB's thermal features.

Period Two, 1905-1940: For the Fun

Between 1905 and 1940, the UGB's landscape underwent great alterations. As a result, the visitor experience changed, and both the Park Service and concessionaires portrayed the landscape much differently than during the previous period. Although they still promoted the UGB as a unique area with comfortable and conveniently located facilities, they also increasingly emphasized both the human-made structures and visitor participation in activities other than geyser gazing.

Much like the previous period, literature published by the railroads still emphasizes the uniqueness of Old Faithful Geyser as well as the UGB. In fact, twelve of the seventeen railroad brochures sampled refer to Old Faithful or the UGB as being one of the most unique or important stopping points in the park. For example, in two separate pamphlets, the Northern Pacific Railroad promotes the UGB as "the most important of all the geyser basins in the Park" and "the most weird spot of the sort in the universe" (Wheeler, 1905 & 1906, 16 & 5).

The railroad brochures changed somewhat during this period, adding descriptions of the UGB's overnight accommodations. Many emphasize the comfort and location of these facilities. For example, a Union Pacific

brochure dated 1921 reports, "You can sit on the broad gallery of the Inn and watch Old Faithful play only 200 yards away" (Union Pacific, 1921). A Northern Pacific brochure says that the Old Faithful Camp and the Inn "are near Old Faithful Geyser; opposite, and but a trifle farther away," are many of the Basin's other thermal features (NPRR, 1922). Out of the seventeen sampled railroad brochures, eleven emphasize the facilities' location in reference to the Basin's thermal features (Fig. 30).

Along with promoting the comfort and convenient location of the UGB's overnight facilities, many railroad brochures focus on the uniqueness of the Inn. This period was the first time in the UGB's history that it possessed a first-class overnight facility. Prior to the Inn's construction, the only other hotel in the UGB was the "shack," and this architectural eyesore was surely nothing to boast about. Now the UGB had not only a structurally sound hotel, but also a unique architectural work.

The railroads promoted the Inn almost as vigorously as Old Faithful Geyser itself. This marketing strategy is not unusual considering that the Northern Pacific backed the construction of this hotel through its Northwest Improvement Company. For example, an early Northern Pacific Railroad brochure says that the Inn "is almost as great an attraction for Yellowstone Park as the wonderful geyser phenomena or the profound Grand Cañon" (NPRR, no date—pre-auto). Another Northern Pacific brochure says that "Old Faithful Inn is nearly as great an attraction at the Upper Geyser Basin as

Figure 30. Northern Pacific Railroad Brochure, 1911

At first glance, this brochure provides an insignificant look at the UGB. It does, however, convey two very important points. First, in one succinct statement, the text emphasizes the remarkableness of both the Basin's landscape and the Inn. Second, the photo submits the idea that even while resting from the day's activity, one can still focus on the UGB's thermal spectacles. By showing a solitary figure, the photo indicates this is a peopled landscape; but because the visitor is turned away, the thermal features get the attention, as does the sheltering environment of the veranda. [Brochure from Yellowstone National Park Archives; photo by author (1995).]

location of Fort Yellowstone, the military headquarters. Here, at the large Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel, the ingoing and outgoing tides of tourists meet and mingle. Mammoth Hot Springs is a little Wonderland in itself. Set down in any large city it would attract tourists and visitors by the thousand. Here it is but one of a thousand wonderful objects.

The "Springs" Hotel stands near the foot of a rounded ridge jutting out to the Gardiner river from the neighboring mountain. It faces Lookout hill. Fort Yellowstone flanks the hotel on the east and the marvelous painted terraces and hot steaming pools rise step by step in large, striking masses at the west and but a short walk away. Liberty Cap is their guardian sentinel and a faithful one.

The building has accommodations for 250 guests, is high-ceilinged and roomy, steam heated, electric lighted, and supplied with modern hotel conveniences—private baths, barber, etc. The well-known Nurnberger Orchestra—selected from the Theodore Thomas Orchestra at Chicago—is located at the hotel during the tourist seasons, and adds life and variety to the surroundings.

The view from the hotel is an unusually inviting and varied one. A few miles distant, but clear and distinct in the rarefied atmosphere, rises the rounded, ridgelike Bunsen Peak; farther away and toward the southeast the low lying timbered mountains near the Grand Canyon are seen; to the east, and nearest at hand, stretches the long, low, lava escarpment and plateau of Mt. Everts; to the northwest and north stand out in noble array the high, snow-flecked peaks around Crevasse, beyond Gardiner.

Nature intended Mammoth Hot Springs for just such a restful, inspiring use as mankind has made of it.

The Fountain Hotel

Forty miles to the south as the stage coaches run, located in a most peculiar, open valley in the mountains—Lower Geyser Basin—is the Fountain Hotel. Through the valley runs the unique Firehole river with its myriad hot water streamlets fresh from the spouting geysers and steaming hot pools. The hotel is a large, unpretentious, comfortable, "homey" structure with electric lights, steam heat, etc., and its delightful hot-water baths are supplied from one of Nature's own hot pools near-by. The hotel takes its name from the Fountain Geyser a short distance away, whose wonderful and comparatively frequent eruptions may be seen from the hotel. Near the geyser are the singular Mammoth Paint Pots, one of the most interesting features of the entire park.

The Fountain Hotel is set down in the midst of as rare and marvelous a collection of natural objects as is to be found on the globe. A little time is necessary—a day or two—to fully see and enjoy these interesting things. There are geysers of many kinds and hot pools of infinite variety. Paramount among these are the Great Fountain Geyser and Firehole lake.

Within easy access is Midway Geyser Basin where Excelsior Geyser slumbers and Prismatic lake lies garbed in radiant hues.



Veranda, Old Faithful Inn

Old Faithful Inn

A most unique hotel in a most unique region characterizes Old Faithful Inn in a few words. It were almost vain to attempt to describe

is Old Faithful Geyser itself" (NPRR, 1913). Eleven of the seventeen sampled brochures promoted the Inn's uniqueness as a drawing feature to the Basin.

Finally, some of the railroad brochures from this period promote other visitor activities in the UGB, primarily dancing and bear watching. Seven of the seventeen sampled brochures refer to these other activities in the UGB. For example, a Northern Pacific brochure circa 1904 says that the Inn's spotlight shows "the geysers in play under the electric light and the bears feeding at the edge of the woods" (NPRR, circa 1904). A Union Pacific pamphlet says that in Yellowstone, "Dances and other amusements are frequently provided in the evening. Outdoor diversions are featured at the camps, where impromptu entertainments are given around the campfires" (Union Pacific, 1925).

The hotel as well as the transportation and camping companies also promoted similar topics in their brochures of this period. However, unlike the railroad literature, only two of the twenty sampled brochures from this period refer to the uniqueness of Old Faithful Geyser. There also appears to be a paucity of brochures that boast of the uniqueness of the Inn. Once again, only two of the twenty sampled brochures refer to the Inn's uniqueness. One pamphlet says of the Inn: "Descriptions and photographs fail to do it justice, and it must be seen to be appreciated" (YPTC, 1905).

The concessionaire brochures of this period mostly emphasize the comfort of their facilities and their location in relation to the Basin's thermal

features. For example, a Yellowstone Park Hotel Company (YPHC) brochure tells visitors that they will be "lodged in great hotels which have few peers for service and no superiors in design and comfort in any land" (YPHC, circa 1910). A Yellowstone Park Camps Company (YPCC) brochure of this period also refers to the comfort of its facilities. This pamphlet tells visitors to expect "comfortable clean beds, good food, good entertainment, real sight-seeing and a genuine 'Out west' atmosphere" (YPCC, 1923).

As for the facilities' accessibility to the UGB's thermal features, a YPTC booklet dated 1904 tells visitors that the Inn is so close to the thermal features that they could "sit here [on the verandas] in an easy chair and watch the eruptions of geysers" (YPTC, 1904). Likewise, a 1918 YPCC brochure emphasizes this convenience by saying that "the faithful old geyser is but a stone's throw away" from its UGB camp (YPCC, 1918). A 1924 pamphlet from the same company reports, "Old Faithful Geyser is in the front door yard of the camp" (YPCC, 1924). Out of the twenty concessionaire brochures sampled from this period, ten refer to the location of their facilities in relation to the UGB's thermal features, and ten comment on the comfort of the facilities.

The concession brochures during this period increasingly refer to other activities available in the Basin. Much like the railroad promotional literature, the concessionaire brochures emphasize bear watching as well as other recreational activities. For example, three (from the YPTC and the YPHC) of the twenty sampled brochures use bears as a selling aspect of the

Basin. A 1904 YPTC brochure states, "for you are about as sure to see bears as you are Old Faithful, although it must be admitted that the bears are not quite so regular in their habits as this celebrated geyser" (YPTC, 1904). A YPHC brochure also promotes the presence of bears by saying "You can photograph a wild bear and eat a course dinner within the same hour" (YPHC, no date—post-auto).

Camp company brochures, while not emphasizing the Basin's bear feeding grounds, do promote other recreational and social activities for visitors. Two of the brochures refer to singing around a campfire and dancing in the recreation tent (Fig. 31). For example, a Shaw and Powell Camping Company (S&PCC) brochure of this period tells visitors:

> The amusement tents add greatly to the gaiety of the camp. The tents are large and spacious, a beautiful hardwood floor makes it ideal for dancing. Music is supplied and the tourists are made to feel at home under the guidance of the carefully selected entertainers. Fun in abundance around the camp fire and in the amusement tents of the Shaw & Powell Camping Company (Shaw and Powell Camping Company, no date).

A series of brochures distributed by the hotel and camp company further promote recreation activities other than geyser gazing. Titled "What to Do at Old Faithful," these brochures not only promote the overnight facilities in the Basin, but also list activities that range from walking along Geyser Hill, swimming in the bathhouse plunge, visiting the bear feeding grounds, and taking speed boat trips on Yellowstone Lake. One "What to Do" brochure entreats visitors to "Spend an Extra Day At Old Faithful" and to "explore all

Figure 31. Yellowstone Park Camps Company Brochure, 1925

While using more than half of the page's text to discuss Yellowstone National Park's natural offerings, this brochure uses the rest to tout its facilities' amenities. In mentioning the Old Faithful Camp, it focuses on the proximity to thermal attractions. Although the text makes no mention of accessibility, the photograph at top clearly shows automobiles on the doorstep. Moreover, the photo at the center of the page indicates nothing about the landscape nor its thermal features; rather, the focus is on a social activity, singing. [Brochure from Yellowstone National Park Archives; photo by author (1995).]



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Old Faithful Camp

Ideal Yellowstone Vacations

WONDER is the great appeal of Yellowstone Park. It brings hundreds of thousands of travelers from the world over. Wonder geysers, hot water volcanoes, boiling pools, uncanny caverns that hiss and roar, terraces richly colored, knotted trees and petrified woods, a mountain of glass, lakes of green and blue, and innumerable other miracles of Nature crowd a journey through Yellowstone with amazement and overmastering interest.

Yet Yellowstone has much more—it is beautiful as well as astonishing. Its dense forests, its lofty mountains, its meadows of flowers, its swift, clear streams with their wonderful cascades and waterfalls are quite enough for the endowment of any park.

Then there is the climax, the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River, that sublime gulf which has baffled pen and brush to describe. Many tourists cross the continent year after year for the inspiration of the Grand Canyon. It is a dazzling and unbelievably beautiful picture.

Yellowstone Lake is another great attraction. It is more than 7,700 feet above sea-level, yet it is 20 miles long and 15 miles wide, cool, clear, deep and filled with fighting trout.

Animals and birds—what a paradise for them! Elk, deer, antelope, buffalo, moose, beaver, big-horn sheep, bear roam at will. There are scores of species of birds. They have been zealously protected for years. Today, unafraid and curious, Yellowstone animals are as interested in visitors as the visitors are in them.



The Spirit of the Camps!

Pictures in this booklet show some of the typical camp buildings. The Yellowstone Park Camps Company has the largest camp resort system in the world. Its buildings, both large and small, are of solid, permanent construction and most of them are new. Yellowstone's popularity has been increasing so rapidly that large crews of builders have been steadily employed during the last three years erecting new structures to accommodate the public. Half a million dollars has been expended for improvements and new buildings in the Yellowstone Camps since the war.

THE YELLOWSTONE CAMPS

Mammoth Hot Springs—Facing the Springs and with verandas affording an unsurpassed view of the gorgeously colored Terrace Mountain.

Old Faithful—In the Upper Geyser Basin, within a few rods of Old Faithful, the Giant, The Giantess, Grotto and a dozen other world famous geysers.

Yellowstone Lake—On the beautiful lake shore, with lodges among the woods.

Grand Canyon—Close to the Great Fall, amid the pines and within a few steps of the canyon's edge.

Camp Roosevelt—On the Tower Falls road, a splendid place to go for extra stopovers for saddle horse trips, to fish, rest and to see beaver, bear, buffalo, deer, elk and other park animals.

Sylvan Pass Lodge—The fine new lodge on the Cody road, located amid some of the most spectacular mountain scenery in America.

of the region on an unhurried, restful schedule of your own" ("What To Do," circa 1925).

Guidebooks of this period promote the UGB in a similar manner. Besides the Haynes Guides, I found only two guides from this period, both of which refer to the appeal of Old Faithful. A Little Journey to Yellowstone Park describes it as "perhaps the most loved" (Hubbard and Hubbard, 1915, 16). The other guide, dated 1927, says that it "can be depended on not to disappoint the tourist" (Blakeslee, 1927, 14). These independent guides also promote the comfort and location of the Basin's facilities. One guide says that "both the hotels and camps are thoroughly comfortable" and that the dining room of the Inn "commands a view of nearly all the principal geysers of this region" (Blakeslee, 1927, 7 & 13). The other guide also promotes the Inn's location, touting that some of its rooms are "where you can see and hear Old Faithful" (Hubbard and Hubbard, 1915, 17).

Of all the materials sampled, the Haynes Guides of this period provide the greatest insight into the promotion of the visitor experience. Nevertheless, the Guides promote the uniqueness of the Basin much like the concessionaire brochures. For example, starting in 1916, the Guide tells the visitor, "The geysers at the Upper Basin are greater in number and in size than the famous geysers in Iceland," and that the "highest geyser, the Giant, and the most famous geyser, Old Faithful, are in this basin" (Haynes, 1916, 9). This guide and those that followed tell the visitors to look for geysers other

than Old Faithful while in the UGB (Haynes, 1916). But even with this advice, Old Faithful did not shrink in importance. Starting in 1928, the Guide lists Old Faithful as "one of the most popular in the Park [sic], because of the remarkable regularity with which its eruptions occur, and the excellent opportunities afforded for observation" (Haynes, 1928, 61).

The Haynes Guide did experience other changes during this period. For example, the map of the UGB became less artistic and more technical in nature. Instead of the quaint drawing of the Basin and its hotel, which was used during the previous period, the Guide changed its map in 1908 into more of a reference map that lists almost all of the Basin's thermal and human features. From that point, it continually updated the UGB's map to include facilities being added to the UGB's landscape. This cartographic shift was probably the result of several factors. For instance, the addition of more human features to this map could be reflecting that UGB's built environment was becoming as appealing as its natural one and thus needed to receive "equal billing" on these maps. This shift could also be viewed as an effort for greater self-promotion by Haynes. With a new studio and two photo stands in the UGB, Haynes probably had a hidden agenda in giving visitors better directions to his facilities in map form. Finally, this shift could be viewed as simply a factor of more features being added to this landscape. Because of the increasing complication in finding facilities in what was

becoming a "small town," visitors needed a better guidance system. The explanation is probably a combination of all three of these factors.

The Guide also changed in that it recorded a greater number of the UGB's thermal features. Whereas the Haynes Guides of the previous period list approximately twenty-five of the UGB's thermal features, they more than doubled that number, to fifty-four, by 1912. The cataloguing of these features on the map and in the text presented a more accurate as well as a more objective landscape to the visitor. Listing most of the features and showing their locations, the Guides no longer directed visitors to a few specific geysers. People now chose the features they believed to be the most worthy of their vacationing time.

The Haynes Guide also changed how it presented these features to the visitors. The 1919 edition was the first to describe the Basin's human and natural features in terms of distances on an automobile odometer. This translated the landscape's features into distances that were very precise and predictable—reflecting the radical new way in which visitors experienced the park during this period. Specifically, the automobile was now the vacationing transportation mode of choice. Most visitors no longer moved according to someone else's timetable, but rather saw the park at their own pace. This marked a shift from a chronological to a spatial precision while touring the park. Haynes capitalized on this change by altering his guidebooks to suit the needs of the automobile visitor.

The rising use of the automobile may have presented problems for the concessionaires, as its comfort, convenience, and speed encouraged the visitor to see the UGB as more of a quick pit stop and stay there for shorter periods of time. Perhaps this is why the Haynes Guides, starting in 1934, told the visitor,

> There is so much to see and do at Upper Geyser Basin that one should stay several days...It is the greatest geyser basin in the world...There are many reasons why one should see the Yellowstone Park leisurely (Haynes, 1934, 60).

Probably the greatest change in the Haynes Guide, as well as the greatest indicator of how its landscape was 'humanized' during this period, is manifested in the photos it includes. Aside from being seen by only Yellowstone's visitors, these photos reached a wider audience, and in turn had an impact on how this landscape was presented to the public; that is, most of the images of Yellowstone that reached the public were Haynes's photographs, and his images set the standard of how popular images in the park were perceived. This standard was further accentuated in later guides when Haynes added a section that gave recommendations on the best ways and techniques for photographing Old Faithful Geyser.

Haynes' guidebook photos during this period depict a landscape much different from that of the previous period. Although the Guides still have photos of thermal features throughout this period, they portray an increasing number of human features. For instance, prior to 1910, the Haynes Guides portray only thermal features except for a photo of the Inn, starting in the

1904 guide. However, in 1910, the number of photographs of human features increases to two, with the addition of a UGB Wylie camp photo. The number of human features portrayed increases further in the 1916 guide: this edition has thirteen photos of human features. For example, there are two photos of the Wylie camp, two of the Inn, two of the S&PCC (interior and exterior shots of the office), one of the geyser baths, and one of the Haynes photo shop. Not only do these photos portray humanized landscapes, but they include people as well: almost all of these photos show humans in some way. The Haynes, Wylie, and S&PCC photos have visitors at the entrance of their facilities. The photo of the Brothers's geyser bathhouse has an inset of swimmers.

Besides those photos that deal directly with concessionaire facilities, the Haynes Guides present photos showing visitors involved in activities other than geyser gazing. For instance, there is a photo of many visitors on a footbridge leading to Geyser Hill and another photo of visitors in the first automobile to enter the park. Furthermore, the 1916 guide contains three photos of horseback riding activities, with three different guides on their mounts in the UGB. These photos tell visitors that the UGB now offered more than geyser gazing activities; the UGB was a place where one could recreate and spend an entire vacation.

Throughout this period, Haynes Guides added other photos of human features, such as the Lodge, the new Haynes Studio, and the museum. In

receiving these images, the visitors saw that the UGB was a humanized, protected landscape that had much to offer in the way of comforts and activities.

Along with portraying the facilities in photos, the Haynes Guides began to offer verbal descriptions of them as well. For example, in 1906, the Guide started including a one-and-one-half page description of the Inn. Along with providing a detailed description of the Inn's building materials and its unique features, it tells the visitor that the Inn is "the most extensive log structure yet devised by man, with every convenience and luxury of the modern hotel" (Guptill, 1906, 56). Later, starting with the 1910 Guide, it reports that all of the park's hotels "are first-class in every respect" and that "perhaps the most talked of hotel is the Old Faithful Inn" (Haynes, 1910, 133).

As other facilities went up to the Basin, the Haynes Guides offered descriptions of them as well. For example, starting in 1914, it began listing the S&PCC UGB camp, the Klamer store, and the Haynes Studio. Descriptions of the Haynes Studio note that it sold souvenirs and general merchandise. In addition to discussing the store's electric siren that was used to announce the eruptions of the UGB's largest geysers, the Guide also boasts of a miniature geyser on display in the studio. Two years later, the 1916 Guide includes a drawing of this miniature geyser, which it dubs "Old Faithful Jr" (Haynes, 1916, 65). The Guide describes it as a "real hot water, erupting geyser" that had free demonstrations daily "in the interest of science"; the text instructs

visitors, "Do not fail to see it" (Haynes, 1916, 65). After the construction of the museum in 1928, the 1929 Haynes Guide describes it as housing "valuable and instructive exhibits which all should see." It thereby gives an alternative to the Haynes Studio's "educational experience" (Haynes, 1929, 61).

Along with the educational features, the Haynes Guides promoted recreational and social activities as well. Starting in 1930, the Guide tells the visitor that the Lodge is not only a place where one could spend the night, but also engage in "special programs and dancing in the large recreation hall" (Haynes, 1930, 57). The Guide also promotes the bathhouse during this period. After the renovations made by Hamilton, the 1934 Guide described it as

> the largest geyser water swimming pool in the world...The 1934 patronage was so great that it is evident that park guests are finding this swimming pool a desirable addition to the group of utilities in the Upper Geyser Basin (Haynes, 1934, 54).

The addition of photos and descriptions of the Basin's human features emphasize recreational aspects of a visit to the UGB. Although the UGB's visitor experience during this period was still a scenic spectacle, it was also one in which there was much more to do than look at the natural wonders. Visitors in the UGB knew that they were in a visually and geologically unique area of the park, as well as the world, but there was much more. If attention spans lulled, there were plenty of other activities to occupy the visitors' time in addition to the thermal experience. Swimming, horseback riding, watching bears feed, dancing, and other pastimes could fill up the

visitors' days and nights. With so much to see and do, the UGB potentially became a vacation destination in itself. This transition is perhaps a factor of an increasing postwar mobility through the automobile and its ability, to some extent, to democratize the vacationing experience. Private-transportation vacationing was relatively inexpensive, which made a family vacation to Yellowstone more feasible. Also during this period there was an increasing demand for more varied recreational activities by the American public. These activities would serve as a way to counter the routine of life in what was becoming an increasingly urbanized and industrialized society. Furthermore, vacationing was becoming more family-oriented; visitors of various ages, such as children, prompted a wider range of activities. Finally, this transition is also reflective of a shift in Park Service philosophy under its charismatic director Mather. As a way to promote the parks and gain support during this period, the parks were developed as popular recreational areas for all to vacation in; to attract visitors, the Park Service promoted activities other than sight-seeing.

With the increased development and visitation of this period, the UGB's landscape became populated and humanized. The UGB took on the look of a small town in the middle of a vast wilderness. The area's human and natural worlds became increasingly separated. While in the UGB, visitors possibly no longer knew they were in the wilderness, but rather

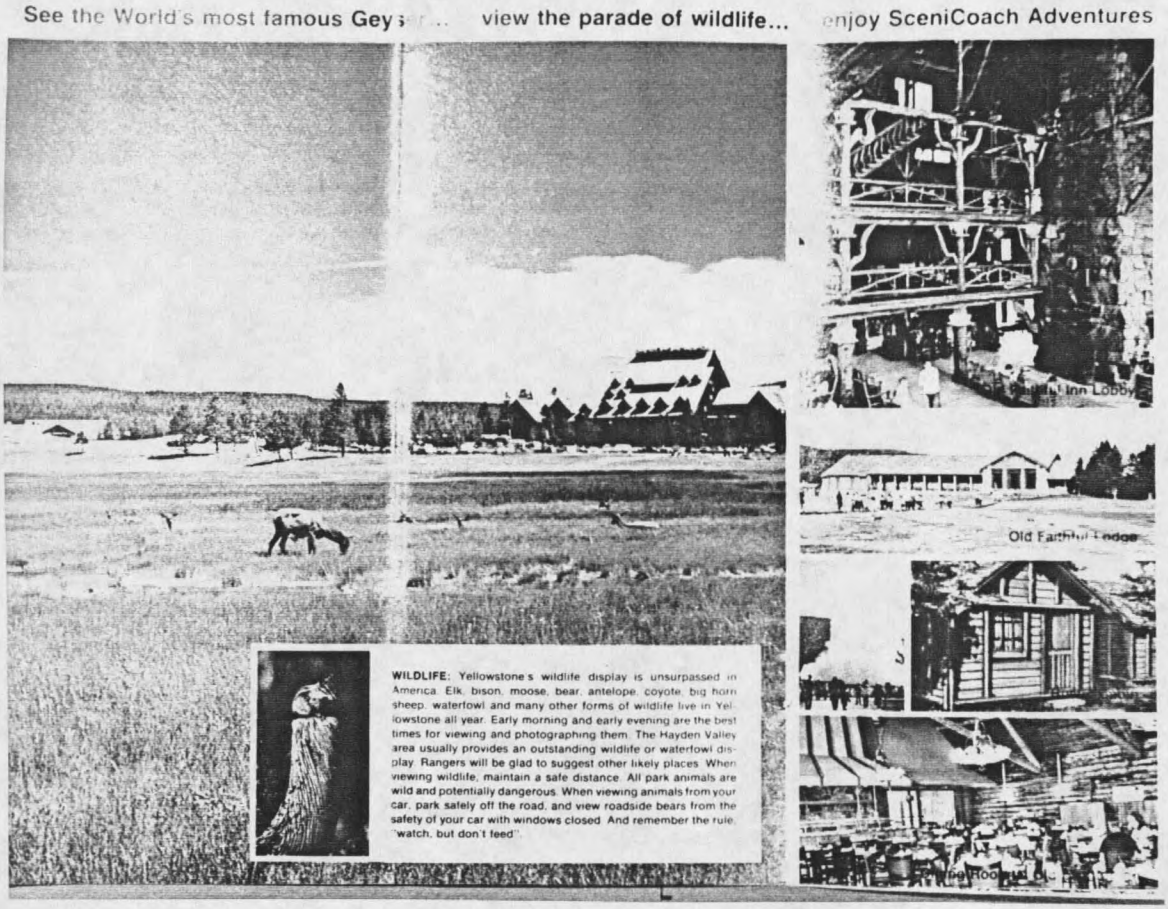
thought they were simply staying in a resort town that happened to lay within a national park.

Period Three, 1941-1972: For The Feralness

During this period, 1941 to 1972, the visitor experience in the UGB again changed, although early on the advertising materials did reflect that of the second period. Promotion included the comfort of the overnight facilities, but some of the sampled sources reduce the descriptions of these human features. They also decreasingly refer to recreational activities other than outdoor, nature-oriented pastimes. Overall, promotion, in addition to emphasizing thermal features in the Basin other than Old Faithful, leaned increasingly to a wilderness aspect (Fig. 32). A 1947 Northern Pacific brochure, the only railroad pamphlet found from this period, does promote the UGB in a fashion similar to the previous period. It emphasizes the uniqueness of Old Faithful and the proximity of the Inn to the Basin's thermal features, as well as promotes other recreational activities. For example, it touts Old Faithful as the "most famous geyser" (NPRR, 1947). The brochure includes a pictorial of many of the other thermal features in the Basin; its caption says, "The Inn faces Old Faithful and a dozen other famous geysers in the Upper Basin" (NPRR, 1947). Other photos in the brochure depict visitors engaged in various activities in the Basin—swimming in the

Figure 32. Yellowstone Park Company Brochure, 1972

Devoting nearly three-quarters of the page to the topic of wildlife, this brochure indicates some of the changing attitudes toward Yellowstone during this period. The layout completely disregards both thermal features and social activities. The larger photograph definitely conveys a feeling that Old Faithful Inn's front yard is a wild landscape. [Brochure from Yellowstone National Park Archives; photo by author (1995).]



pool, lounging in the Inn lobby. In another, a large group stands near Old Faithful as it erupts.

Concession brochures of this period were also difficult to find: of thirteen sampled brochures, twelve were from the YPC. Ten of these, dated 1941 to 1958, describe and picture the YPC facilities in the Basin. Much as during the previous period, these brochures emphasize the comfort and luxury of the facilities. They tell visitors that all of the park hotels have "luxurious lobbies, large and comfortable guest rooms and beautiful dining rooms, where meals equal to the best are served" (YPC, 1941). The brochures also list other facilities in the hotels such as a barber shop, beauty parlor, cocktail room, etc. In addition to discussing the hotels, these pamphlets describe YPC's camp facilities, emphasizing, as in previous periods, their comfort and attractiveness. One selling point of the Lodge's dining facilities stands out as particularly interesting, that the dining room and coffee shop has "college girls to wait on you" (YPA, 1958).

These brochures also promote recreation experiences as related to the concessionaire offerings. For example, one brochure says that the Inn possessed "endless verandas with easy chairs for vacationing loafing" (YPC, 1956). Another brochure tells visitors,

> be sure to stay a few days at Old Faithful—inspect all the geyser basins, visit the Museum, let the youngsters do some horseback riding on dependable horses, with cowboy guides. Enjoy the dances and entertainments in Yellowstone every night (YPC, 1941).

Even though the literature still promoted recreation in the UGB, it increasingly emphasized wilderness and nature. For instance, since the elimination of the bear feeding grounds in the UGB in 1936, some of the sampled literature contained warnings about this activity. A series of brochures published by the YPC called "Accommodations and Services at the Disposal of Visitors to Yellowstone Park," much like the "What to Do" pamphlets of the previous period, warned against feeding the bears. I found only two of these pamphlets, one dated 1941 and the other 1947. Since these two had warnings, one can assume the others printed between these years also contained them.

Two brochures from the 1960s focus less on describing the UGB's facilities; they do, however, emphasize the Basin's wilderness aspect. For example, a YPC brochure dated 1965 describes this area as a "rustic village [that] has sprouted in the wilderness surrounding famous Old Faithful Geyser" (YPC, 1965). Another YPC brochure from the 1960s also focuses on the wild aspect of the park: although it reports there are "three hundred miles of surfaced roadway for your pleasure...cabins, lodges and hotels," it further adds "yet 95 percent of Yellowstone is unaware of man's presence...room to breath, to live and have fun" (YPC, 1962-63).

Pamphlets published by the Park Service show one drastic change during this period. Specifically, the NPS brochures published during the previous period mainly listed park rules and regulations—they did not

describe available facilities in the UGB. In contrast, NPS pamphlets of this period describe park accommodations. For instance, a series of four pamphlets, dating from 1941 to 1956, list the facilities available in the Basin. These pamphlets state that the UGB's hotels are "first-class hotels with the charm of a wilderness setting, and the prices are comparable with those prevailing in metropolitan hotels of the same type" (NPS, 1949). Likewise, subsequent brochures discuss accommodations: of seven NPS pamphlets dated between 1957 and 1967, five promote the UGB's built landscape, describing Old Faithful Village as "a bustling community whose activities are timed to the performances of the world's most renowned geyser, which has become the symbol of Yellowstone National Park" (NPS, 1957). This increased promotion of concessionaire facilities by the NPS was perhaps reflective of the Park Service's desire to take a more active role, as well as greater control, in cleaning up the image of the YPC, which had deteriorated along with its facilities during this period because of the war. Also, the promotion of wilderness with aesthetic, natural-looking concession facilities could be construed as part of the image-cleaning in which the Park Service was engaged. The NPS would not only remove artificial intrusions from the public eye, but it was also pumping up the image of its developed areas by accenting their more natural aspects.

The NPS brochures also promote the natural landscape, in part by informing the visitors of other geysers as well as other thermal areas. For

instance, one 1967 pamphlet tells the visitor, "After you have seen Old Faithful, check at the visitor center for a prediction on when other large, spectacular geysers in the vicinity will erupt" (NPS, 1967a). Another brochure recommends that "No [sic] one of the three geyser basins—Upper, Midway, and Lower—should be missed, for each has its own claim to fame and is worth exploring" (NPS, 1957). This same brochure further emphasizes the nature aspect of the visit by saying, "Your tour is not complete without a preliminary visit to the Old Faithful Visitor Center, where the 'why' and 'how' of geysers are explained." It also advises visitors "not [to] miss Geyser Hill and the Gentian self-guided nature trails east of Old Faithful" (NPS, 1957). Finally, another 1967 brochure sells visitors on other thermal features in the Basin by saying, "For many, Old Faithful is the park's greatest attraction," but that "there are numerous other geysers that share the Upper Basin" (NPS, 1967b). These brochures reflect Mission 66's goal of reducing impact on the high-use areas by spreading visitation out over a greater area through the promotion of the less-used areas of the park.

The Haynes Guides also offer an interesting insight into the way the UGB was presented to the visitor during this period. A fascinating aspect of the Guides during the early portion of this period is that descriptions of the UGB's human features become shorter, and photos of these features are fewer. For example, the 1935 Guide contains photos of the Inn, the Haynes Studio, the Lodge, Hamilton store, the swimming pool, and the museum,

and only five photos of thermal features. However, beginning in 1939 the Guides contain only five photos taken in the UGB, and only one of these depicts either humans or a human feature. This paucity continued until 1950. This may be reflective of the UGB's war-time landscape: visitation had greatly decreased and some of the facilities closed while others fell into a state of disrepair. Beginning in 1951, photos of the facilities and of people in the Basin begin to reappear. Out of twenty photos of the UGB in this Guide, at least ten depict humans or human features. With America recovering from the war, these Guides show the UGB once again as a peopled landscape. Nevertheless, they also show a great decrease in the number of photos presenting recreational activities, as compared with before World War II. Although a photo of visitors dancing in the Lodge's recreation hall consistently appears in this period's Guides, no photos appear of visitors horseback riding or swimming in the pool—even though during the previous period, the Guides offered many such photos. With the pool being removed in 1951, the lack of swimmers is quite understandable, but all through this period visitors could rent saddle horses in the UGB. The lack of such pictorial promotion may reflect an emphasis on more of a sightseeing experience, and less of a recreational one.

In the Haynes Guides of this period, there is also a reduction in the length of the descriptions of the Basin's facilities. For example, in the 1920 Haynes Guide, the Haynes picture shop is described as having "a complete

line of photographs, prints, lantern slides, photographic supplies, post cards, cameras and films" (Haynes, 1920, 77), whereas in the 1949 Guide, this description is reduced to "a Haynes picture shop" along with the listing of all the other concession facilities in the Basin (Haynes, 1949, 90). The only facility descriptions that appear to remain constant are that of the museum and the amphitheater. Throughout this period, as with the last, the Guides report,

> The museum contains very interesting exhibits pertaining largely to geysers and hot springs. Park ranger naturalists of the National Park Service, who conduct hikes and motor caravans throughout this area, operate the information desk, and give the lectures in the amphitheater (Haynes, 1952, 95).

The continual inclusion of this description in the Guide and the reduction of the other facility descriptions accentuate the nature experience of the UGB.

During this period the visitor experience changed markedly from the previous one. Because of the deterioration of many of the parks' facilities during World War II, the literature reduced promotion of them. After the war, the Mission 66 program sought to construct certain types of new park facilities, while eliminating others. It also sought to eliminate activities now considered by the NPS to be inconsistent with the new national park values. The UGB was no longer a place to go swimming or to observe bears being fed. Visitors now came there to enjoy its natural features, as well as those in the surrounding area. The visitor experience increasingly became more natural and less recreational during this period. The promotion of activities

such as swimming and horseback riding decreased in favor of more environmentally friendly activities, such as hiking in the backcountry, watching the Basin's thermal features, and observing wildlife. (The latter was expressly more natural, without the artificial intrusion of bear feeding grounds.) This change reflected the Park Service's goal of eventually converting the UGB to a day-use area. Along with the shift from recreational to natural, however, the visitor experience was increasingly becoming one of passive observation, with less physical contact with the landscape in the geyser basins.

There was also a change in the visitor experience, because of the elimination of many of the recreational activities, their related facilities, as well as the campground. The elimination of recreational activities essentially shortened the visitors' stay. There was now no pool to act as a diversion and hold the visitor in the Basin. Those who wanted to occupy their time now had to do so through more environmentally friendly activities such as ranger-led nature walks. Those who did not care for this type of activity more than likely left the Basin after they saw what they considered to be an adequate number of thermal features. Because of the elimination of the campground, the visitor experience was changed in two fundamental ways. First, visitors could no longer experience a night at the UGB while sleeping under the stars. This perhaps eliminated a certain romantic quality that was once part of the visitor experience. Second, eliminating the campground

decreased available sleeping accommodations and forced those who wanted to remain for the night to pay for their lodging. Although only costing a modest fee (around $13.50 for a room with a private bath in the Inn and $6.50 for the Lodge), this still deprived the few who could not afford the price for this opportunity; furthermore, those who could afford the experience would have to make reservations well in advance. This visitation experience trend would continue into the next period.

Period Four, 1973-1990: For the Four Seasons of It

In part, visitor experiences between 1973 and 1990 resembled those of the previous period, but with an even stronger emphasis on seeing the Basin in a more natural, and less recreational, fashion. However, one distinct change did occur: for the first time in Yellowstone's history, visitors could enjoy a winter stay in the UGB, which offered a markedly different experience from summer visits. Literature sampled during this period presented this four-season aspect, as well as promoted thermal phenomena, wildlife, and nature as key features in the UGB.

The way the Park Service sold the UGB to the visitor paralleled its modifications in policy and promotion. The NPS had reevaluated the purpose of the parks, focusing more on their ecological values and less on their recreational ones. As such, the NPS sold the parks as a place to partake in more nature-oriented, environmentally friendly activities.

During this period, the concessionaire literature still promoted the comfort and convenience of the UGB's facilities, but more references to wildlife and other thermal phenomena began to appear. Out of eleven sampled concessionaire pamphlets that presented material on the UGB, ten promote other thermal phenomena in the park. For example, several of the pamphlets refer to Old Faithful as "one of 10,000 thermal features in Yellowstone" (YPC, 1972). Another reports, "There are many things about which you can say 'when you've seen one, you've seen 'em all'...but geysers are not included in this category" (Dean Publications, 1974).

These concessionaire pamphlets also promote wildlife viewing: six of the eleven visually promoted the Basin's wildlife; four promoted the subject verbally. One advises that while walking along the Basin's boardwalk to "look for wildlife" (YPC, 1973). Another relates, "Elk and bison wander through the geyser area, enchanting photographers" (TWA Services, 1983). With increasing references to other thermal phenomena and wildlife during this period, the concessionaire literature promoted the UGB more for its wilderness charms and thermal variety and less for its recreational activities and the spectacle of Old Faithful. This wildlife promotion is perhaps reflective of a greater understanding for, as well as an increasing respect toward, wilderness values and wildlife. During this period the workings of the park's ecosystem became clearer through the examination of scientific studies such as those made by the Craigheads during the previous decade

(See Craighead, 1979). These values were then translated into the promotion of a different kind of visitor experience.

Representative NPS brochures of this period emphasize similar aspects of the Basin. For example, a 1974 pamphlet says, "Old Faithful is the park's favorite attraction for many persons. But sharing the Upper Geyser Basin are numerous other geysers" (NPS, 1974). The other brochure sampled recommends that while in the UGB to "obtain predicted eruption times for Old Faithful and several more geysers" (NPS, circa 1982).

With the construction of the Snow Lodge, the YPC and its successor, TW Enterprises, promoted winter-time activities in the UGB. Many of the ten sampled brochures issued by both companies publicize the UGB in winter as the heart of Yellowstone. Indeed, one brochure tells visitors,

> The Old Faithful area is the warm winter heart of Yellowstone, the seasoned veteran of years of winters, with a cheerful fire to greet skiers at day's end (TWA Services, 1970s).

This literature promotes the UGB's Snow Lodge as a place where visitors could be cozy in the winter landscape of the UGB. Indeed, nine of the ten sampled brochures refer to this aspect. In addition to coziness, eight of the ten sampled brochures refer to relaxation. For example, one tells visitors, "A friendly fireplace invites you, your family and friends, to drop worldly cares" (YPC, 1974-1975). Another says that at the Snow Lodge "a crackling fire beckons you to relax with family and friends while you relive a day of fun in the snow" (TWA Services, circa 1980).

As for that day of fun, all of the sampled literature promote skiing, snowmobiling, snowshoeing, and snowcoach tours as the prime activities to partake in while in the UGB. Nevertheless, the emphasis is on sightseeing, through a different means, rather than pure recreation.

Much like the summer promotional literature, the winter brochures also highlight viewing wildlife (Fig. 33). Out of the ten sampled brochures, six refer to wildlife watching as an activity. For example, one pamphlet suggests that in the UGB "wildlife is much in evidence, often wandering right into the Old Faithful visitor complex" (TWA Services, circa 1980s). Another brochure informs visitors, "Buffalo, deer, moose and elk stand quietly in deep snow, staring back at you" (TWA Services, 1980-81).

I found only one Park Service brochure from this period that promotes the UGB's winter landscape. Much like its concession counterparts, this brochure emphasizes outdoor winter activities, such as wildlife watching and skiing as it relates to sightseeing. Of the Basin, it says, "Skiers and snowshoers pass towering steam columns rising from geysers and hot springs, and have the opportunity to view bison and elk" (NPS, 1976).

Much like the previous period, the visitor experience of this period focused on the viewing of wildlife and thermal phenomena. However, the sampled promotional literature reveals an even greater emphasis on these activities, reflecting increasing environmental trends. It promotes the parks for their wilderness values, as well as their ecosystems. The park experience

Figure 33. TW Services Brochure, circa 1970s

Sulfurous clouds, snow, and skis get the emphasis in the full-page photo. (Note, the original brochure is in color). As with the photo in Figure 30, the solitary person with his back to the viewer helps draw attention to the landscape. However, here the text does not point up the uniqueness of this landscape, but rather the physical features that might tempt a Nordic skier. Moreover, the text primarily concentrates on the comfort of facilities and the accommodations made for both skiers and snowmobilers. While there is not textual mention of wildlife, the inset at left provides a visual cue. [Brochure from Yellowstone National Park Archives; photo by author (1995).]



in general had mostly moved away from a previous emphasis on recreation and easy access. The Park Service was attempting to educate visitors on the values of these wild lands, and its promotion reflects this attempt.

As one way to further these goals, the Park Service added a new visitor experience during this period, that of winter. It aimed the winter visitor experience toward viewing wildlife and thermal features, but indicated that visitors would encounter these wonders through a different vehicle: visitors could ski from feature to feature and watch erupting geysers surrounded by a blanket of snow. Visitors would also see the UGB's landscape without the massive crowds who are present during the summer season. However, winter visitors also had fewer facilities available to them while in the UGB.

With the reduced number of facilities and with fewer people in the Basin, the Park Service and concessionaires promoted this visitor experience somewhat differently than that of summer. They sold sightseeing by skis or snowmobile as the daytime activity and relaxation in the warmth of the Snow Lodge as the evening one. Overall, they promoted the UGB's wintertime landscape as a place where visitors could engage in simple pleasures of the natural world, participating in an experience that reflected the park values of the period. So successful was the winter promotional campaign that winter visitation increased from over 69,000 during the 1974-1975 winter season to over 118,000 for the winter season of 1989-1990. These numbers still continue to rise.

For The Future

Once a wild, remote area, the UGB is now a humanized landscape capable of welcoming the largest of Winnebagos. Today, millions from around the world stride on its boardwalks, gawk at its thermal splendors, scrutinize the vista for any signs of wildlife, and peruse its shops for souvenirs. Visitors begin calling a year in advance to book a room at the Inn; those not fortunate enough to get a reservation at least stop off to admire the landmark's rustic elegance.

Today's tourists experience an Upper Geyser Basin far different from that of visitors of more than a century ago, even twenty-five years ago. Once sought only during Yellowstone's brief summer for its "fire"—that of an extraordinary thermal landscape—the UGB then became known for its fun activities, then later because of its connections to a feral terrain. Then in 1972-73, the UGB opened to winter visitors, offering a whole, new, remarkable experience.

Through it all, this landscape has seen extensive modifications; thus, one can not help but wonder what its future will bring. Indeed, as of April 1995, the park began construction in the UGB of a large, two-story facility for its backcountry office and rangers. A log structure that is replacing two deteriorating trailers, it complies with current NPS commitments to minimize facilities and to ensure that those in place harmonize with the natural landscape.

Given the UGB's many roles—tourist attraction, the heart of Yellowstone, a sacred hallmark of America, geologic wonder, and pitstop—its management is not easy. The Park Service must face those who believe NPS policy is too strict, wanting more development to accommodate tourists and profit-making possibilities, and those who think it too lenient. Of the latter, there are some who would like to see the park prohibit private vehicles, or at least motorhomes. That sentiment no doubt increases, even if momentarily, among tourists caught in an August traffic jam or left without a parking space in UGB's enormous lots. Finding less support is the viewpoint that Yellowstone should ban all tourists, at least until it has a chance to recover from the development impositions placed on it in the last century. After all, technology is making it more possible for people to view the UGB's wonders without ever entering the Basin itself. Currently, the IMAX theater presentation of "Grizzlies, Geysers, and Grandeur" now plays in West Yellowstone, Montana, and in such far-reaching areas as Washington, D. C. Will this six-story-high show become an established, customary way for people to experience Yellowstone? Or will it motivate viewers all the more to become real-life visitors?

How will other recent developments affect the UGB? For example, scientists have discovered that bacteria dwelling in the Basin's thermal pools provide many uses, from stripping paint to separating byproducts from gold ore, to multiplying DNA strands—thereby drastically improving techniques

in genetic research. Park administrators, scientists, and biotechnology/ pharmaceutical firms are now attempting to forge the direction for further research and revenue-sharing, all recognizing the potential for more uses and for profits from these applications. Could this biological breakthrough lead to the establishment of a bacteria research center in the Basin? Could it result in further protection of the UGB's ecosystem, even imposing more limitations on the visitor experience? (Milstein, 1995).

Besides the boardwalks, guardrails, and warning signs designed to protect the UGB's fragile landscape from visitors—and them from its dangerous features—another restriction offers further preservation. Specifically, a recent Congressional act limits parties from tapping into thermal sources that lie outside the park. This legislation recognizes that the UGB is not an island unto itself—that realization is not too remarkable, especially given the fact that many have worked more than twenty years toward ecosystem protection and enhancement in the Greater Yellowstone area. What is remarkable is the act's name. Rather than being called the thermal protection act or the Yellowstone act, it is entitled the Old Faithful Protection Act—as if all the work were not meant to keep the entire ecosystem intact, but just the one feature. Am I surprised? No, I am reminded of those like Rudyard Kipling who called Old Faithful Geyser not an it, but a "he"—who referred to Old Faithful not as erupting, but as "playing."

For them, and for so many who have come to visit Yellowstone National Park, Old Faithful has become much more than a geyser on a thermal landscape, more than a symbol that graces T-shirts, pamphlets, books, videos, and other materials about Yellowstone and America's national park system (Fig. 34). For Kipling and others, Old Faithful is a living personality, always dependable in his play. Thus, perhaps Old Faithful won the distinction of being celebrated in the title of the new legislation because of the questions that certainly have come to the minds of many UGB visitors: what if Old Faithful goes the way of other geysers that have plugged up, dried off? What if he dies?

This personality, born of its dependability in erupting and our dedication toward wanting to see that happen, makes Old Faithful the centerpiece of a landscape that endures both thermal outbursts and the consequences of being loved, even revered, by humans.

Figure 34. Yellowstone National Park/Old Faithful Memorabilia

On display are just some of the souvenirs available from Yellowstone concessionaires. The visuals of Old Faithful stand out; however, note that on three of the four items, the name "Old Faithful" is not even mentioned. It would appear that this dependable geyser has become an icon synonymous with Yellowstone. [From author's collection (1995).]



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