NPS Form 10-900-b
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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

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This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

_X_ New Submission ___ Amended Submission

## A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Glacier National Park Multiple Property Listing

## B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

1). Development of Administrative Infrastructure in Glacier National Park 1910-1945. Subthemes include early exploration and development and the New Deal Era.

2). Development of Recreation (Concession) Infrastructure in Glacier National Park, 1910-1945.

3). Private Development in Glacier National Park, 1900-1945. Subthemes include mining, logging, agriculture, and recreation. Geographic areas are confined to the North Fork drainage, Apgar Village, and Lake McDonald Lodge, Glacier National Park.

4) Influence of Landscape Architecture on National Park Service Facilities and the Development of Rustic Building Design, 1918-1942.

## C. Form Prepared by

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organization Historical Research Associates, Inc. date July 1995

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## D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. ([ ] See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature, Preservation Officer — Date 12/14/95
Federal agency: National Park Service

Signature and title of commenting official, SHPO — Date SEP 29 1995
State agency: Montana State Historic Preservation Office

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Entered in the National Register

for Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action 1/19/96

## Introduction

This Multiple Property Submission results from a contract between the NPS Rocky Mountain Regional Office and Historical Research Associates (HRA). Representatives from the NPS Rocky Mountain Regional Office and from Glacier National Park identified the resources within the park that were be evaluated and nominated as part of this submission.

As specified by the Rocky Mountain Regional Office, this cover form is a compilation of previously completed cultural resource studies. These include a history of travel to and within the park and of associated changes in park transportation infrastructure (HRA 1980); an evaluation of private inholdings along Lake McDonald (HRA 1980); a Multiple Property Submission for select Glacier National Park administrative facilities (HRA 1984); a thematic study of the North Fork Community (Bik 1986); a components of a Multiple Property Submission for concession facilities (HRA 1991); draft Determinations of Eligibility (DOEs) for resources at St. Mary Utility Area (Fladmark 1991) and Glacier National Park Headquarters (Culpin 1982); and developmental histories/building descriptions/preliminary evaluations/site maps for many of the park's resources (Hufstetler 1987). This diverse and often duplicative collection was synthesized in four park contexts, less in-depth than the individual histories yet presenting the history of the park's myriad resources in sufficient detail to allow an evaluation of resources' historical and architectural significance.

The project was also designed to complete those facets of the evaluation process previously neglected or not required. Principally, these tasks included the documentation of trails, previously unevaluated buildings and structures, building interiors, landscapes, and settings. This information was used to facilitate the evaluation of interiors, setting, and landscapes as contributing components of properties already listed in the NRHP as well as those being newly evaluated.

## CONTEXT 1: DEVELOPMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, 1910-1945

Glacier National Park is located in the extreme northwest corner of Montana, bounded loosely by the Middle Fork of the Flathead River and the tracks of the Great Northern Railroad to the south, the Canadian border to the north, the North Fork of the Flathead River to the west, and the sheer walls of the Rocky Mountain Front to the east (Figure 1). Within this unique geographic area, a chain of events common to the Northern Rockies and to our western national parks shaped the built environment: Miners constructed adits, head frames and rudimentary trails and roads and left in the face of inadequate ore and inaccessible markets. Homesteaders attempted farms and ranches along area streams within natural meadows yet were thwarted by the area's isolation, terrain, and changes in American land-use policy, including establishment of national forests and national parks. In a pattern repeated throughout the Rocky Mountain parks, the railroad that delivered the public to nascent Glacier National Park to a large extent defined the park

experience by the creation of a grand accommodation-transportation network. Underfunded and understaffed park administrators willingly granted concessioners free reign in the type and tenor of tourist facilities, concentrating instead upon the basic needs for roads, fire trails, and an administrative center. As funding increased and as the fledgling NPS developed an architectural philosophy, the federal presence became a more palpable guiding force in the development of the park's tourist facilities. As throughout the western parks, the ready availability of the automobile dictated construction of auto camps, campgrounds, and dramatically increased administrative facilities.

## Early Exploration and Settlement

In 1900, Robert H. Chapman of the U.S. Geological Survey described the Glacier region as:

> one of the most beautiful in the world. To the east of the mountains, the plains region, drained by the Missouri and Saskatchewan river systems, stretches mile upon mile in open grass land, practically treeless.
>
> In sharp contrast to the plains rise the mountains, which, seen from the distance, present a rock wall of great steepness, extending apparently unbroken for miles.
>
> This, the eastern face of the range, is actually cut by long, deep U-shaped canyons...
>
> In the canyons are roaring streams, which head in the melting ice and snow, flow into placid lakes, and eventually the arroyos of the plains. Between the canyons, the long finger-like ridges rise to considerable heights — the timber-covered foot sloping steeply, until a region of brush-covered broken rock is reached, which in turn leads to the base of precipitous cliffs ...
>
> To the westward the mountains break precipitously, and from the foot of the steep, long, timber-covered ridges [they] reach out toward the valley of the Flathead River.
>
> Between these ridges, and extending up the canyons of the higher range, are many miles of lakes, joined by rushing steams similar to those on the eastern side.[1]

These mountains "established a natural demarkation for habitual tribal land use." While several Native American tribes accessed the Glacier region, Chapman reported that "none inhabited the area consistently." Access was limited to trails along the Flathead River's North Fork Valley and Kishenehn (Akaminal) Pass, the Brown's Pass-Upper Waterton Valley route (in season) and the circuitous McDonald Valley/Swiftcurrent Pass approach to the Waterton

[1] Historical Research Associates, Inc. [hereafter HRA], *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I.* Report prepared for the United States Department of the Interior [USDI], National Park Service, Denver Service Center, Denver, Colorado, 1980, p. 14.

Valley. The Flathead River's Middle Fork accorded the prime southern arteries, via Pitamakan, Two Medicine, and Marias passes.[2]

Before the 1880s, Euroamerican exploration was seldom attempted and seldom successful.[3] Circa 1880, the promise of mineral wealth overrode the daunting terrain, attracting the first adventurers to east-slope drainages of what is now known as the Many Glacier Valley. These prospectors settled briefly in mining camps such as Altyn, constructed crude wagon roads running from the east flank of the Rocky Mountain Front up the drainage bottoms to the mines or traversed (and improved) the steep Swiftcurrent Pass Trail from the western slopes. Subsequent incursions were also made by miners, these attracted by oil at Kintla Lake within the extreme northwest corner of the Glacier region. In 1901, the Butte Oil Company constructed a rough wagon road along the North Fork of the Flathead River, from the foot of Lake McDonald to the foot of Kintla Lake. Homesteaders, trappers, and subsistence farmers followed the miners, often settling on or logging land adjacent to or easily accessible from this sole means of access into the remote North Fork drainage.

In 1892, the Great Northern Railroad extended their line to the Pacific across Marias Pass and along the Middle Fork of the Flathead River. The railroad designated stations at Midvale (East Glacier), Lubec, Summit, Skyland, Bear Creek (Blacktail), Highgate (Nimrod), Java, Essex (Walton), Paola, Garry, Nyack (Red Eagle), Rockhill, Belton (West Glacier), and Coram — opening the intersecting drainages to exploration and settlement, and inciting increased attention by American sportsmen and conservationists.[4]

In 1897 federal rangers assumed jurisdiction of the land later comprising Glacier National Park's west side and, by 1903, they supervised all of the land subsequently held in the park's boundaries.[5] Rangers were charged with fire protection and control of game poachers, illegal homesteaders, and timber thieves. They also were responsible for establishing a rudimentary system of stations and access trails within the national forests.[6]

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[2] Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

[3] HRA, *Multiple Resource Submission for Historically and Architecturally Significant Resources in Glacier National Park, Montana*. Report Prepared for the Department of the Interior, RMRO NPS, 1985, p. 1. Hereafter cited as *Multiple Resource Submission*.

[4] HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, 1980, p. 25.

[5] HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, 1980, p. 30.

[6] HRA, *Multiple Resource Submission*, 1985, n.p.

## Park Administration and Development

In May of 1910, Congress created Glacier National Park from forest lands, transferring management from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of the Interior and altering management strategies from "multiple-use" to more rigid principles of "conservation."[7] Park managers faced many unprecedented problems, including control of a roadless area bifurcated by the Continental Divide and development of a system of facilities that would best serve the visiting public while preserving and protecting the area's scenic and natural values. Housing and maintenance facilities needed to be located near those areas of easiest access and greatest use yet out of sight of the most frequently visited scenic areas and most frequently traveled road/trail corridors.[8] Adequate funding was a persistent problem for Glacier superintendents during the first decades of park development. Demands for roads, trails, and administrative sites were an inevitable part of each superintendent's *Annual Report* to the Secretary of the Interior. First park superintendent William Logan (officially, and appropriately, titled "Superintendent of Road and Trail Construction") focused his construction projects in the park on development of an administrative center, and on a system of roads and trails that would connect administrative headquarters with the Belton railhead (and ultimately cross the Continental Divide)[9], open the park to visitors, and allow for effective fire-suppression in the backcountry.[10]

In 1910, the USDI established central administrative facilities at Fish Creek Bay, in United States Forest Service (USFS) buildings abandoned following creation of the park. Between 1917 and 1923, the park secured appropriations for the development of a new facility — a checking station, five rangers' residences, an administrative center, the superintendent's residence, and a small discreetly situated utility area, located immediately adjacent to the west entrance to the park, along the newly constructed road extending from Belton to the foot of Lake McDonald. The pace of this district's growth — slow as funds became available in the 1910s and 1920s, rapid during the 1930s and the 1950s —

[7] Please see HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, 1980, chapter 1, for a more detailed description of the lobby effort preceding creation of Glacier National Park from forest service lands.

[8] HRA, *Multiple Resource Submission,* 1985, n.p.

[9] See HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, 1980, for a detailed history of the growth of the park's road system. The principal component of this system, the Transmountain Highway or "Going-to-the-Sun Road," has been determined a nationally significant historic resource. The history of the road's development, and the degree to which its construction figured in the development plans of both park administrators and concessioners, is not repeated here.

[10] HRA, *Multiple Resource Submission,* 1985, n.p.

and the nature of this growth — increased single-family housing facilities, increased vehicular-support facilities — acted as a barometer of changes in park administration and in park visitation.

To facilitate the rangers' supervisory functions, park administrators established ranger stations at strategic locations throughout the park. These stations usually consisted of a ranger residence/office and a woodshed, with additional buildings added as needed. The garage became an essential element in the ranger station complex as park attendance increased and the park's transportation network improved.[11] The location of the principal concessioner's hotels and chalets influenced the selection of sites for administrative facilities. All of the ranger stations constructed on east or south sides of the park prior to 1920 were built in areas paralleling the Great Northern Railroad or areas frequented by visitors using Great Northern accommodations. Stations constructed during the 1920s and 1930s were strategically located along the growing park road system.

Although the USDI was responsible for development of the park's tourist-trail system, Logan noted that such a "big enterprise. . .cannot be carried out on a large scale unless one has ample means at his command, which I do not." The Glacier Park Hotel Company (GPHC), principal concessioner and subsidiary of the Great Northern Railway, thus assumed responsibility for much of the trail program, and was reimbursed for costs as federal funds became available. In the interests of economy and of expediency, the first generation of tourist trails, accessing the GPHC hotels and chalets, were most often located along Indian trails, game trails, or prospector routes, in the valley bottoms where both construction costs and scenic vistas were limited. Ascents from the valley bottoms to the mountain passes were often exceedingly steep: these trails "wound around obstacles and generally took the easiest rather than the most direct route" — or the most scenic or expensive route.

Singed with the memories and the lessons of the catastrophic 1910 fire season, park crews constructed a system of fire trails allowing (relatively) rapid access to the park's major drainages and ridge systems. These trails were often crude, steep, and although open to tourist travel, were designed to access areas of fire concern, not areas of spectacular scenery. They were augmented with a series of secondary spur roads providing vehicular acces to the edges of the backcountry; to expanded administrative facilities; to fire caches; and to lookouts. Together, this variety of resources formed the backbone of the park's "Fire Control Plan."[12]

Because rangers regularly left their stations to monitor fire and wildlife conditions and to guard against illegal hunting and trapping, small, one-room shelters known as snowshoe or patrol cabins, containing beds, provisions, a stove, and emergency supplies, were constructed at regular intervals throughout the park. Rangers on patrol could oversee their districts without having to return to the station each night. Although minor differences in detail

[11] HRA, *Multiple Resource Submission,* 1985, n.p.

[12] USDI NPS, "Fire Control Plan," *Master Plan for Glacier National Park*, Branch of Plans and Designs, 1933, on file at the Denver Service Center, Technical Information Center, Denver, Co.

characterize the back-country patrol cabins, most featured generous porch overhangs and log construction. Because view and visitor accessibility were not important considerations in locating these cabins, many were built close to park trails yet were hidden by vegetation. Fire caches, likewise, were located with small quantities of fire-fighting equipment at strategic points throughout the park. Equipment from the caches could be used to suppress a fire before the main fire-fighting unit reached the scene. Construction of these facilities was initiated in the 1920s and escalated in the 1930s as PWA funds became available.[13]

The forest fires of 1919 were especially destructive and prompted the nascent National Park Service[14] to initiate the construction of permanent fire lookouts, equipment caches, and to expand a phone-line system initiated following the fire of 1910. In 1923, Superintendent J. Ross Eakin, commenting on the need for fire lookouts, stated, "At present our fire look-out stations consist merely of tents and equipment must be packed to them each year, over very difficult trails, at considerable cost. Small lookouts should be built on these sites which will permit equipment to be stored on the ground."[15] In addition to his request for permanent fire lookouts, Eakin suggested that a number of new patrol cabins be constructed at "strategic points" in the park interior to facilitate surveillance.

The following year, the NPS authorized the construction of fire lookouts on Huckleberry Mountain and Indian Ridge and six patrol cabins in "outlying" sections of the park. Following the 1926 fire season — "the most disastrous ... in the history of the NPS" — fire lookouts were constructed at Apgar, Mount Brown, Loneman Mountain, Scalplock Mountain, Two Medicine, and a number of other locations.[16] The buildings were pre-cut and transported by pack train to the selected sites. The design was adapted from a plan used by the U.S. Forest Service.[17]

Development of communication services in the Glacier region lagged behind much of the rest of the country, due to the area's relative inaccessibility and limited population. In the park's earliest years, the Great Northern Railway's telegraph wires paralleling its main line served as virtually the only communication link between Glacier's eastern and western halves. Park officials began rectifying the problem by constructing a government telephone network in the park.

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[13] HRA, *Multiple Resource Submission,* 1985, n.p.

[14] Established as an independent division of the USDI in 1916.

[15] "Annual Report of the Superintendent to the Secretary of the Interior [hereafter "Annual Report to the SI], 1923, p. 12, Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[16] "Annual Report to the SI," 1926, passim, Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[17] HRA, *Multiple Resource Submission,* 1985, n.p.

Work began with the first park construction season of 1911, when some $1,400 was spent on 42.5 miles of line from Belton to Apgar, Logging Creek, and Sperry. The North Fork line, a primitive, earth grounded affair, had been extended some 45 miles to Kishenehn by 1914. Other short routes in the Belton area were also erected, including a direct line from Headquarters to the Belton railroad station to facilitate the sending of confidential telegrams.

The 1920s saw spur lines extended to isolated west side ranger stations and lookout sites. By 1932, a total of 251 miles of line and 91 telephone units were in operation. All ranger stations and fire lookouts were provided with telephone service. A central park switchboard was maintained in the Headquarters area.

The back-country telephone system had reached its zenith by the late 1930s, but its heyday was to be relatively short-lived. As early as 1935, park officials "hoped to replace [miles of line] with radio." By the early 1950s an FM radio communication network served much of the park; many lines faced abandonment and negotiations began to transfer other telephone operations to the local public utility. A system operated by the Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph company finally supplanted the old NPS lines the night of May 6, 1956.

Effective communication between the east and west sides of the park depended upon not only an effective telephone system but also upon a road system. The continuous stretch of the Blackfeet Highway, from East Glacier to Carway, and the Two Medicine access road were rebuilt (1929), followed (1930) by the Babb-Many Glacier route and the Theodore Roosevelt Highway, skirting Glacier's southern boundary. The Going-to-the-Sun Road, through the heart of the park, opened shortly thereafter (1933) and subsequently (1936) the Chief Mountain Highway linked Glacier National Park with its complement in the new Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Glacier Route 7 (the North Fork Road), providing the only vehicular access to the west edge of the park, was continuously upgraded as part of a grand (and never realized) plan to create a road "loop" connecting the American and Canadian components of the park. In a perfect example of the extent to which the volume and tenor of park development was dependent upon road characteristics, North Fork Road improvements were slowed considerably in the 1950s, as part of the National Park Service's official designation of the North Fork drainage as a "Primitive Area."

These primary roads were critical components of the park's Master Plan of expansion and development and were designed to "connect with the State and Federal Highways ... [and to] provide access to certain areas of interest within the Park, and at the same time serve as arteries of commercial travel." Less well developed "stub roads" branched from the primary routes to provide access to "points of tourist concentration" as well as access to ranger stations and to fire-control management zones.[18]

Expansion of the transportation network had a profound impact on concession and administrative buildings and complexes within the park: the improved transportation system was both "causative and resultant," driven by ever-

[18] USDI NPS, "Road System," *Master Plan for Glacier National Park*, Branch of Plans and Designs, 1933, on file at the Denver Service Center, Technical Information Center, Denver, Co.

increasing numbers of auto tourists and in turn encouraging an even more marked increase.[19] Beginning in the 1920s with improvements to the regional road network, the park service focused increased attention on campgrounds, a first foray into the formerly concession-dominated task of providing accommodations for park visitors. Similarly, park administrators dramatically increased the pressure on the Glacier Park Hotel Company to expand their economy accommodations.

As visitation escalated so too did the park's labor force and road-maintenance inventory. Demands on housing, warehouse, maintenance, and administrative facilities multiplied accordingly.[20] By 1933, park officials reported an egregeous shortage of office space, warehouse space, and quarters for single and married employees, temporary rangers, clerks, or visiting officials. Boathouses were needed at McDonald, Logging, Bowman, and Kintla lakes, snowshoe cabins were needed throughout the back country, campgrounds were insufficient in number and in services offered, the North Fork Road was impassable, trails were in need of reconstruction. The list continued.[21]

### "New Deal" Programs and Their Influence on Park Facilities — 1933 to 1942

This accelerated development was made possible in large part by Depression-era funding programs. In 1933 Franklin Roosevelt and a new administration established a variety of economic programs to provide work opportunities for the nation's unemployed. On March 31, 1933, the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) Act was passed by Congress and on June 16, 1933, Executive Order 6174 created the Public Works Administration (PWA). Roosevelt's "New Deal" programs proved to be especially beneficial to the national parks. In the 1920s the NPS had begun preparing long-range development plans for each of the parks. When Congress enacted relief and conservation programs, the NPS was ready to implement these plans and officials responded immediately. Through executive reorganization and massive federal funding for unemployment relief and conservation programs, the NPS consolidated its administration of federal parks and monuments and received an infusion of personnel and funds to accomplish long-

[19] HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, 1980, pp. 1-12.

[20] HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, 1980, p. 8.

[21] USDI NPS *Master Plan for Glacier National Park*, Branch of Plans and Designs, 1933, passim. (All Master Plans are available through the Denver Service Center, Technical Information Center, Denver, Co.)

term development projects. As a result, the NPS was able to complete a variety of park development projects fifteen to twenty years ahead of schedule.[22]

Between April, 1933, and July, 1942, funds and personnel provided through the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), and the Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) contributed immensely to both maintaining and improving the administrative facilities as well as the public access system at Glacier National Park.

PWA funds infused Glacier's capital improvement program, allowing construction (and reconstruction) of roads, trails, patrol cabins, and boathouses as specified in the Master Plans and as designed and located by the NPS Landscape Division.[23] The expanded Landscape Division also turned its attention, and PWA funds, to concession complexes, working with the concessioners to design and locate the auto camps and general stores that, in conjunction with campgrounds, would form the basis of the park's economy accommodations.

The ECW program created the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Originally conceived as a force of workers to undertake the simplest kind of manual labor, the CCC soon undertook larger, more complex projects. During the summer of 1933, 70 CCC camps were established in national parks and monuments across the country, including eight in Glacier National Park. This virtually free labor source constructed and maintained roads, bridges, trails, and campgrounds. In 1934, park staff suggested the use of CCC crews in small building construction. Although Glacier Landscape Architect E. A. Davidson recommended that the park staff wait for PWA appropriations to meet their facility needs, such funds were not quickly forthcoming and by 1934, Glacier CCC crews actively assisted in construction of ranger stations, fire caches, patrol cabins, campgrounds, park-employee housing, and maintenance facilities.[24] This use of CCC crews for park construction continued until the 1942 dissolution of the CCC. Extant examples of their work include much of the headquarters and St. Mary maintenance yards, two of the three historic residential loops in the headquarters compound, a series of combination garage/woodsheds, and the large St. Mary dormitory.

The completion of the Going-to-the-Sun Road, which freed road funds for trail maintenance and construction, and the increased availability of federal funds during the Depression, also resulted in a concerted effort by the NPS to redesign the park's trail system in accordance with standards formalized by the Landscape Division in the 1920s.

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[22] Harlan Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s*, on file at Bryce Canyon National Park Library, Bryce Canyon National Park, Utah, p. 75.

[23] Construction reports indicate that PWA funds were most often expended on "contracted" projects, supervised by NPS regional architects and engineers. The program thus had a marked effect not only on park infrastructure but on local economies.

The Landscape Division was reorganized as the Branch of Plans and Design in 1933.

[24] HRA, *Multiple Resource Submission,* 1985, n.p.; HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, 1980, p. 148; Tweed, et al., 1977:76.

Landscape Division engineers rerouted trails to provide views of spectacular scenery, to reduce excessive grades, and to minimize the amount of trail located in wet bottom areas or along sheer grades where maintenance work was most difficult. The Ptarmigan Wall Trail and Tunnel, replacing the "hard and comparatively uninteresting journey over Red Gap Pass," provides the most dramatic example of 1930s trail construction: "the wall looms up 1000 feet above the seven foot shelf which for 2000 feet was sliced out of the side out of the side of that continuous wall of rock. Previously [the wall] had acted as a barrier to the travel by both man and animal life, but it has at last succumbed to the persistent effort of man who has forced a passageway."[25] Although less dramatic, the Granite Park to Goathaunt ("Sky-line") Trail, the Swiftcurrent Pass Trail, the Lake McDonald to Sperry Chalet, and the Sperry Chalet to Sun Point trails were also either rerouted or reconstructed during the 1930s, "particular attention be[ing] given to locating the trails where the most magnificent country c[ould] be viewed and where the impression [was] most lasting."[26]

Thus during the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, park administrators began to provide a cohesive management for the entire park. The completion of the Going-to-the-Sun Road provided a unifying link to the formerly disparate portions of the park. An effective fire management plan was implemented and the CCC provided manpower and additional budgetary input that enabled the NPS to meet the challenge of effectively administering the park.[27] The construction hiatus that followed the 1930s building boom (a hiatus owed to World War II restrictions on travel and on non-emergency construction) was short lived.

In 1954, NPS Director Conrad L. Wirth reported that the national park system, designed for 25 million visitors a year, could expect in excess of 80 million visitors a year by the mid-1960s.[28] Implemented in 1956 and aimed at the 1966 fifty-year anniversary of the National Park Service, "Mission 66" was necessitated by "the growth of cities, the shorter work week, the advent of the family car, good roads across the country" and the ensuing wave of visitors to the

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[25] George W. Reed, Assistant Engineer, "Construction Report Ptarmigan Wall - North Face Trail, Account No. 501-1A," 12/1/1931, p. 31, Folder: 1927-1930, Bridges, Roads, and Trails, Box: Final Construction Reports, Ruhle Library and Archives, West Glacier, MT.

[26] Glacier National Park, Drivers Manual, 1948 (Seventh Addition) West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Park Transport Co., p. 99.

[27] HRA, *Multiple Resource Submission,* 1985, n.p.

[28] *Report of the Director, NPS, to the Secretary of the Interior*, 1943, reprint from the *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, Department of the Interior (Washington D.C.: GPO), 1954, p.334; "The U.S. is Outgrowing Its Parks," *U.S. News and World Report*, June 10, 1955, p.79.

ill-prepared national parks.[29] Mission 66 defined the federal building program at Glacier National Park for 10 years, resulting in greatly increased housing facilities and construction of visitor centers at Logan Pass and at St. Mary. Most modern incursions upon the historic built environment date from this period.

## CONTEXT 2: DEVELOPMENT OF RECREATION (CONCESSION) INFRASTRUCTURE IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, 1910-1945

It was the promise of tourism that prompted sustained private interest in what would become Glacier National Park. The experience of Yellowstone, Sequoia, Yosemite, and General Grant (created in 1872, 1890, 1890, and 1890, respectively) demonstrated that federal recreation preserves could be good business for surrounding communities. Local hostility to the "locking up" of the Glacier region was thus tempered by commercial interest in tourism.[30] Opposition also was curbed by the federal government's decision to protect private ownership of those limited facilities that had been constructed in the Glacier region prior to creation of the park.[31]

Efforts to reserve a federal enclave in the Glacier region further benefitted from the publicity provided by such men as George Bird Grinnell and James Willard Schultz. Schultz and Grinnell first visited the east-side valleys in the 1880s and 1890s; Grinnell followed his visits with enthusiastic articles on the conservation and recreational potential of the area.[32] Grinnell and others effectively linked the conservation ethic to commercial interest, arguing that Glacier's economic future was not locked within the glacial valleys and unyielding terrain but rather was intrinsically tied to protection of those features.

Eastern sportsmen and local entrepreneurs were joined by national businessmen such as Great Northern Railway Company President James J. Hill. Hill possessed the necessary vision and capital to develop a tourist infrastructure and

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Ise, *Our National Park Policy, A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), p. 173.

[31] Glacier Organic Act [Title 16, U.S.C.A.], assumed that any persons having a pre-1910 holding were entitled to "full use and enjoyment of their land." Also see Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," pp. 20, 21.

[32] HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, 1980, p. 21; George Bird Grinnell, "Crown of the Continent," *Century Magazine*, Vol. 62, (Sept. 1901), pp. 660-672.

industry in the Glacier country.[33] Just as significantly, creation of Glacier National Park coincided with an important "shift and flux in the habits of Americans at leisure."[34]

## Market Conditions and the Philosophy of Concession Development

The early decades of the 20th century were marked by the rise of a traveling middle class possessing both wealth and leisure, by an abundance of elegantly equipped transcontinental railroads, and by increased interest in the American West as the "passing of the frontier" lent a nostalgic quality to travels beyond the Missouri River.[35] Moreover, the advent of World War I and restrictions on American travel abroad forced a new appreciation of American destinations. These developments encouraged a surge of travel to the western states.

Entrepreneurs, including the concessioners in the western national parks, utilized this nostalgic interest, "chang[ing] the West into what they thought [the tourist] wanted it to be."[36] The tourists' ideal was most often defined as a West of cowboys, Indians, mountainmen and undeveloped vistas, yet a West tamed of its physical and psychological dangers. In large part, the harsh edges of the West had been softened by settlement and transcontinental travel. Psychologically, these edges were blunted by denoting western landscapes in civilized terms — "America's Alps," "America's Riviera" — and filling western resorts and parks with European architecture.[37]

Much of Glacier's early popularity (1910-1930) was tied to this nationwide interest in the West. In Glacier, where western hardship was tempered by elegant accommodations and railroad access, concessioners created a world of western myth where the traveler could escape the perceived predictability of eastern life. Visitors from the eastern states, arriving at the Great Northern Railway terminus in Midvale (East Glacier) found

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[33] HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, 1980, p. 33.

[34] Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), p. 5.

[35] HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey*, p. 2; Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, p. 7.

[36] Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, pp. vii and 37.

[37] Ibid., passim.

> a fine touch of western life, with Indians, cowboys, and picturesque characters contributing to its color. An encampment of Blackfeet is on Midvale Creek; these Indians dance, and tell stories every evening at the [East Glacier] hotel.[38]

Similarly, owners of the saddle-horse concessions sent "cow-boy attired agents" to Chicago to ride the trains with the tourists headed for Glacier. Howard Hays, owner of the transportation concession in Glacier, searched for stories of poachers and trappers to use in his drivers' interpretive monologues. Members of the "Glacier Park Tribe" (the Blackfeet), under the auspices of the Great Northern, traveled to urban centers to promote the park.[39]

An infusion of European civility moderated, and confused, the western landscape. The Great Northern pullmans bringing eastern travelers to "America's Alps" in the 1910s and 1920s were elegantly appointed. Dining and sleeping cars were finished in oak and were furnished with plush carpets, curtains and ornate lamps, prompting novelist Mary Roberts Rinehart to complain that "getting to Glacier Park Station, remote as it seemed, had been almost surprisingly easy. Was this then, going to the borderland of civilization, the last stronghold of the old West?"[40] Saddle-sore travelers, exploring Glacier's backcountry, were greeted at Swiss-style chalets by waitresses in Swiss "dirndls" who "crumbed the table and brought in desert." Lewis Hotel (Lake McDonald Lodge), the terminus of the Gunsight Trail over the Continental Divide, signaled a return "to civilization ... to stays and skirts, to roofs, and servants, ... to fox trotting and one stepping, in riding boots, with an orchestra."[41] Thus Glacier National Park concessioners created a western cultural experience while simultaneously satisfying "rail tourists [who] ... tended to look for evidence of European and eastern civilization in their western travels."[42]

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[38] Brochure, "Glacier National Park, 1920," Glacier National Park description and travels, Montana Historical Society Library (MHSL), Helena, Montana.

[39] Lon Garrison, "Parks Survive a War," in *The Making of a Ranger*, Oral History Collection [OHC], Ruhle Library, West Glacier, Montana [MT]; Howard Hays to Park Superintendent Scoyen, 2/13/37, Folder 38-1, Glacier National Park Archives [GNPA], Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 84.

[40] Ralph Hidy, Muriel E. Hidy, and Roy V. Scott with Don L. Hofsommer, *The Great Northern Railway, A History* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1988), p. 121; Mary Roberts Rinehart, *Through Glacier Park in 1915* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916), p. 13.

[41] Ibid., p. 58.

[42] Warren J. Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1979), p. 25.

The development of facilities tailored to the tangible and intangible demands of early 20th-century American tourists was the responsibility of both concessioners, who sought profits, and of the Department of the Interior/National Park Service, which had a statutory mandate to preserve the national parks for the maximum enjoyment of the public. A national concession policy was first instituted at Yellowstone National Park during the late 19th century. The creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 coincided with public distrust of government management and of monopoly. Private enterprise, subject to the laws of competition and spared the taint of monopoly's abuses and government's inefficiency, was believed best able to meet public needs. Thus the act providing for Yellowstone National Park stipulated that private enterprise would develop the park's visitor facilities under restrictions established by the Interior Department.[43]

Between 1872 and 1882, private enterprise provided inadequate hotels, poor food, and a needless duplication of transportation services. When the Northern Pacific Railway tracks reached the northwest corner of Yellowstone in 1882, a solution began to emerge. The federal government would continue to regulate concession activities, while allowing for the establishment of a "natural monopoly." The Northern Pacific had both a vested interest in the park and the fiscal resources to provide for the opulent accommodations that Interior Department officials thought befitting a national park. Public revolt against the granting of such a monopoly to a railroad — symbol of monopoly abuse and gilded-age excess — was stymied by the Northern Pacific's political power and by the paucity of other parties interested in Yellowstone development.[44]

Prior to the creation of the National Park Service in 1916, the Department of the Interior was responsible not only for assuring the development of tourist facilities but also for protecting tourist interests and for protecting federal lands for future generations. An unyielding bureaucracy subject to political graft, saddled with the management of disparate affairs, and lacking a dependable park budget, the Department's policy was often one of neglect. Park management was decentralized, with local administrators frequently giving concessioners free reign in park development. The 1916 creation of the National Park Service provided an agency solely responsible for park management and for the development of a centralized concession policy. To this end, in 1918, the National Park Service introduced a landscape engineering division, responsible for overseeing concessioners' standing operations and development plans.[45]

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[43] See Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, Chapter 1, and Richard A. Bartlett, "The Concessionaires of Yellowstone National Park: Genesis of a Policy, 1882-1892," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Jan. 1983, Vol. 74, no. 1, p. 2, for a complete discussion of the evolution of a concession policy within Yellowstone.

[44] Bartlett, "The Concessionaires of Yellowstone National Park," p. 6.

[45] Alan S. Newell, "Public and Private Interests in our National Parks," *Forest and Conservation History*, Vol. 34 (April 1990), No. 2, p. 107.

## Rail-Related Facilities: West Side and East Side Development, 1910-1930

### West Side Development

Tourist facilities located within Glacier National Park at the time of its establishment in 1910 consisted of small-scale, rustic operations built to accommodate the local tourist. Kalispell area sportsmen and the occasional eastern rail traveler were the principal visitors to the Glacier area at this time.[46] All of the tourist accommodations were located in the southwestern corner of Glacier and on the shores of Lake McDonald.

Glacier's enabling legislation granted current landholders "full use and enjoyment of [their] land." It also stipulated that all commercial operations would fall under the jurisdiction of the Interior Department. The Secretary of the Interior had the authority to cancel concessions contracts and to establish rate ceilings. Glacier National Park's first superintendent, William Logan, automatically granted permits to pre-existing facilities when he arrived in August, 1910. Logan was attracted to the rustic nature of these facilities, in part because they allowed the "poor man and his family [to] ... visit the Park without feeling that he [was] being robbed."[47] All of the buildings were simple, constructed of local materials (usually log), and stood in stark contrast to the grand hotels built on the east and west sides following the establishment of the park.

In the 1890s, Edward Dow's Belton facilities consisted of a two-story frame hotel, a small store, a dining room, and a post office; all were primitive in both appearance and services offered. After a brief overnight stay at Belton Station, the visitor could travel by stage to Lake McDonald. Prior to the 1897 construction of a bridge across the Middle Fork of the Flathead River, tourists traveling between Belton and Lake McDonald crossed the river in rowboats provided by homesteaders Frank Kelly, H. D. Apgar, and Charlie Howe. They completed their journey to the foot of the lake in wagons or buckboards.[48] At least two early entrepreneurs, Dow and Apgar, provided stage service between the Belton Hotel and Lake McDonald. Apgar's wagon was "painted red with a lot of gold on it. It kind of looked like a circus wagon."[49]

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[46] Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 18; R. H. Chapman, Acting Superintendent, to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, Folder "Apgar 1912," GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[47] Logan, quoted in Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 21.

[48] Mrs. William Haworth, interviewed by Lewis Sabo, Feb. 20, 1979, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[49] Ibid.

Facilities located along the foot of Lake McDonald in 1910 consisted of Howe's bungalow and Apgar's cabin complex.[50] George Snyder's frame hotel and two rental log cabins, built in 1894 and 1895 on the upper east shore of the lake, Geduhn's Park Cabin Resort (located just north of the Snyder facility)[51], and Kelly's Camp (located on the upper west shore of the lake ) were reached by steamboat.[52] Snyder had begun operating the 40-foot steam boat in approximately 1898. Prior to that time visitors used a rowboat to travel from Apgar to the upper-lake facilities. Between 1906 and 1911, Kelly introduced three gas-powered launches, two with a 25-person capacity and one with a 100-person capacity.[53]

The Apgar complex was described in 1910 as "simple log structures." Howe's facility consisted of a "square bungalow-type cabin that he used to rent out." Kelly and Geduhn had just "a few cabins," probably log. In 1900, Geduhn, who entertained his guests with "classical music played on an RCA Victor phonograph" and used animal skins as blankets, expanded his log cabin complex to include a two-story log hotel with five rooms. Snyder's hotel was built by Snyder (and "quite a few men who were staying in the area") during the winter months when the frozen lake aided transport of supplies. The complex consisted of a one-story, side-gabled log dining hall with a full front porch and a two-story, eight-room hotel constructed of local timber milled at an on-site sawmill. In contrast to Geduhn's animal skins, Snyder offered his clientele the luxury of Hudson Bay blankets.[54]

In 1904, Olive and John Lewis obtained title to the Snyder Hotel. Between 1904 and 1909, eleven guest cabins and a first aid/laundry building were added to the complex, making it the largest in the Glacier region. The single-story

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[50] H.D. Apgar's cabins were also leased to the Park Service as temporary headquarters prior to construction of the original Park Service Headquarters at Fish Creek. See Logan to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, May 2, 1911, Box 38, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[51] Located at the site of the present-day LaDow and Hoag properties; Gonheld (Bud) Henderson, interviewed by Cynthia Mish, Aug. 25, 1977, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[52] HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, p. 32.

[53] Living History Resource Data, Mrs. Ida Mae Snyder, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, p. 73; "Annual Report to the SI, 1911," p. 11, Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[54] Logan to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, May 2, 1911, Folder 38-1, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; Henderson interview, Aug. 25, 1977, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 17; Living History Resource Data, Mrs. Ida Mae Snyder, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; James R. McDonald Architects P.C., *Historical Preservation Architectural Guide, Lake McDonald Lodge*, Glacier National Park, Montana (Denver, Colorado: National Park Service Rocky Mountain Region, 1985).

cabins, constructed of saddle-notched cedar logs and cedar shingles taken from the adjacent forest, are extant. The original porches, however, were replaced during the 1930s with centered, single-bay entry stoops.[55]

Recreation opportunities associated with these accommodations included boating on Lake McDonald, guided fishing trips to nearby lakes, and white-water trips from West Glacier to Bad Rock Canyon. A "very big pier that went way out into the lake," a storehouse with camping supplies, and a "big hay warehouse" were all located in Apgar.[56]

The first park facility built specifically to serve the needs of national park visitors was the Great Northern's Belton Chalet complex (1910), located adjacent to the Great Northern's Belton terminal. As noted in the 1912 "Superintendent's Annual Report," the vast majority of visitors to the park were from nearby Montana communities, entering from the western gateway; 2,883 visitors hailed from Montana, only 401 from the Great Northern's home state of Minnesota.[57] Louis W. Hill's[58] decision to first invest in west-side development thus underscored Superintendent Logan's appraisal that Belton was the "natural gateway to the park."[59]

Hill's Belton "Swiss-style" chalet complex, located just outside the park boundaries, consisted of "one main two-story building, comprising the lobby, dining room, kitchen, and seven sleeping rooms, besides a large dormitory 104 by 35 feet, and three auxiliary cabins of the Swiss chalet type."[60] A "pagoda with Virginia creeper ... enclos[ed] the path between the depot and the chalet office. There was a hedge all along the walks by the railroad tracks and many varieties of trees on the well-kept lawns."[61] In contrast to the Dow Hotel, Belton Chalet offered acetylene lights, running water, central heating, and accommodations for 100 guests.[62]

Despite its proximity to local population centers, Belton Chalet suffered the same fate as the Dow Hotel. Visitors preferred those facilities located along the shores of Lake McDonald and used Belton accommodations only as

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[55] McDonald, *Historical Preservation Architectural Guide, Lake McDonald Lodge.*

[56] Henderson interview, Aug. 25, 1977, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[57] "Annual Report to the SI, 1912," p. 9, Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[58] Louis W. Hill succeeded his father, James Hill, as president of the Great Northern Railway in 1907.

[59] William R. Logan, Superintendent Glacier National Park to Clement S. Ucker, Department of the Interior, October 11, 1911, p. 2, Box 38, Folder "Apgar 1910-1911," GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT..

[60] "Annual Report to the SI, 1913," Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[61] Henderson interview, Aug. 25, 1977, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[62] Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 22.

staging stations for longer stays in the park's interior. Hill soon chose to concentrate on east-side development — where the Great Northern held a monopoly on transportation and accommodation facilities — and the Belton Chalet was relegated to the role of "step-sister."[63]

Additional west-side facilities built to accommodate park visitors included the Gold Brother's bungalows, the eight-cabin Greenwalt Camp complex, Houston Camp (all located at the foot of Lake McDonald) and Skyland Boys camp, located at Bowman Lake. Skyland Camp "provided facilities especially for boys in the section of the park that has almost every natural feature that would appeal to the youthful mind and eye." In return for the right to construct a private facility on park land, Skyland developers also provided visitor accommodations.[64]

The principal post-1910 development, however, was the Lewis Glacier Hotel (now the Lake McDonald Lodge), built in 1913-1914 on the site of the original Snyder Hotel.[65] The 65- room, three-and-one-half story Swiss-style hotel was designed by the Spokane architectural firm of Cutter and Malmgren, a firm that had "made a special study of parks and [was] especially qualified to prepare designs for bungalows in the Swiss style of construction."[66] Major timbers were obtained from the area surrounding the lodge and additional building materials were hauled by barge from Apgar. A totem pole, dating from the early years of the Snyder Hotel, introduced the western theme used in the interior. Indian rugs, skins and trophies, and arts and crafts, sapling and rush furniture adorned the vaulted lobby. Fireplaces and beams were massive and a large curved tree trunk formed the railing of the southern stairwell.[67] A corps of

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[63] HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, p. 84; J. W. Emmert to Regional Director, Region 2, July 2, 1945, Folder 50-10, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[64] "Annual Report to the SI, 1925," Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior [Report of the Director, NPS, to SI], 1922*, (Washington: Government Printing Office), p. 57; Donald H. Robinson, *Through the Years in Glacier National Park* (Glacier National Park: Glacier Natural History Association, Inc., 1960), p. 68.

[65] The original Snyder Hotel was located on the site of the dining room of the current facility. Analysis of photos of the Snyder Hotel suggests that it could have been incorporated into the lodge structure; McDonald, *Historical Preservation Architectural Guide, Lake McDonald Lodge*, Figure 1.

[66] McDonald, *Historical Preservation Architectural Guide, Lake McDonald Lodge*; "Annual Report to the SI, 1914," Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; Chief Clerk to Wm. R. Logan, Feb. 5, 1912, Box 38, Folder "Apgar 1912," GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[67] McDonald, *Historical Preservation Architectural Guide, Lake McDonald Lodge*, Figures 15-24.

bellboys and a full orchestra supplied "eastern" civility.[68] Recreation opportunities included boat trips on Lake McDonald, and guided pack trips to Avalanche Lake, Sperry Glacier, and over Gunsight Pass to the eastern side of the park.

Clientele consisted of both the local tourists, who had traditionally been the core of west-side revenue, and eastern tourists who visited the hotel via either the Belton terminus or the Gunsight Pass Trail. "Lewis had learned that a large portion of tourists who visited the park desire first-class service and are willing to pay for it."[69] The perceived needs of this same clientele would dictate the nature of development on the park's east side.

### East Side Development

Louis W. Hill's role in the establishment of Glacier National Park remains an issue of historical debate. His significant role in developing an elaborate accommodation-recreation system on the east side of Glacier National Park, however, is unquestioned.[70] Hill's interest in Glacier is attributable to a variety of factors. A national playground along the Great Northern route tied the railway to America's burgeoning tourist industry and boosted the Great Northern's passenger trade. This increase enabled the Great Northern to compete more effectively with the Northern Pacific Railway Company. Moreover, the need to increase passenger travel meshed well with Hill's long-standing interest in the West generally and in the Glacier region in particular.

The success of the passenger trade was dependent upon adequate lodging, transportation, and recreation facilities within the park. The Great Northern's role quickly escalated from that of providing rail transportation to the park to that of primary concessioner. The Department of the Interior had long maintained that tourist facilities belonged in the hands of private enterprise. The Great Northern proved to be the only enterprise with adequate financial resources and sufficient pecuniary interest to invest heavily in Glacier's development. As one writer has suggested, "the Great Northern adopted the Park as its own."[71]

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[68] Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 29.

[69] *The Daily Inter Lake*, June 18, 1914, quoted in Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 30.

[70] See, for example, HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I.*

[71] HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, p. 6; Hidy, et al., *The Great Northern Railway*, p. 124; Tom Dillon, *Over the Trails of Glacier National Park* (Minneapolis: Great Northern Railway, c. 1912), p. 6.

Four years after passage of the Glacier National Park enabling legislation, the Great Northern Railway Company had constructed an elaborate European style hotel-trail-chalet network valued at over two million dollars.[72] This development was concentrated on the east side of the Continental Divide where a minimum of private land patents (in contrast to the park's west side), allowed the Great Northern to develop a monopoly on accommodations.

In support of the accommodations network, the Great Northern made Glacier National Park the figurehead of its passenger rail service, extolling Americans to "See America First [via] The Great Northern Railway National Park Route," and embarking on an extensive media campaign to advertise the wonders of "The Park." Journalists and artists under the auspices of the Great Northern toured the Glacier backcountry, lodged at Great Northern accommodations, and sent glowing depictions of both to the eastern and midwestern markets.[73]

By 1914, the Great Northern's Glacier advertising budget exceeded $300,000 a year.[74] By the end of that same year, the majority of park visitors arrived at the eastern park entrance at Midvale (East Glacier) rather than at Belton station, once seen as the park's "natural gateway."[75] These visitors were predominantly upper-middle class, from Illinois, Minnesota, or the eastern seaboard and represented the growing segment of the American population possessing both leisure time and discretionary income:

> The horrors of the emigrant cars and the high cost of the first class cars served to sift the choicest of Eastern grain on the Far West, insuring the predominance of a 'superior class of people.'[76]

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[72] In 1915, the Great Northern Railway created the Glacier Park Hotel Co., a subsidiary responsible for Glacier Park management. The name was later changed to the Glacier Park Co., HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, p. 71.

[73] Hidy, et al., *The Great Northern Railway,* p. 124; Ober, "Enmity and Alliance;" Nora Spanish, interviewed by Francis W. Welling, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, pp. 81-82.

[74] Hidy, et al., *The Great Northern Railway,* p. 124.

[75] "Annual Report to the SI, 1914," Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT. The eastern park entrance at Midvale was advertised as the "official gateway of the Park" in blatant disregard for the Belton station and the Interior Department's Headquarters on the west side; Great Northern Railway Co. letterhead, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[76] Quoted in Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, p. 9.

Park facilities and attractions were designed to appeal to traveling America's new-found interest in the West and long-standing interest in Europe. Locomotive bells, symbol of the railway, were located at the summits of Swiftcurrent, Logan, Siyeh, Gunsight, Cut Bank, Piegan, and Stoney Indian passes, as well as at Grinnell Glacier. Their presence conformed "to an old Swiss custom."[77] Louis Hill christened the Blackfeet tribe the "Glacier Park tribe," arranged for "costumed" members of the tribe "to meet the train and invite people into the Park," and modeled his early tent camps after tepee villages. Interior and exterior design of Great Northern facilities were alternatively rustic, oriental, or European. Placement of facilities along a rail, road, and trail system was both consciously European and appropriate to Glacier's western topography and lack of roadway infrastructure.[78]

The large hotels built at the ends of rail, stage, or coach transportation routes formed the cornerstones of Louis Hill's accommodations network. These hotels were in turn located at the end of boat lines or horse trails that led to tent camps or, by 1914, to backcountry Swiss-style chalet complexes. Bus, boat, and saddle-horse facilities, integral to the accommodations network, were operated by private concessioners — veiled subsidiaries or complementary companies — who guided guests along Great Northern-maintained trails and roads, and lodged guests at Great Northern hotels.

Rudimentary access to well-appointed facilities highlighted the contrast between western nostalgia and eastern comfort. Many of the tent camps and chalets were accessible only by foot or horseback. Eastern "dudes," embarking on one day to two week circle tours of the Glacier backcountry, were guided by "cowboys," lunched near glacial lakes and then dined in comfort on chinese linen and blue willow china. Both "the vogue of the West ... as a place of open spaces and outdoor life" and the insistence upon a West stripped of "physical and psychological dangers" were thus satisfied.[79]

This "mingling of Old World and New World themes" was perhaps best displayed in the grand hotels accessible by rail and auto routes. At the Glacier Park Hotel:

> guests arrived in 'jinrikishas', entered through a Chinese pagoda and imitation cherry blossoms, and chose between Swiss-costumed waitresses in the dining room or Geisha-girl waitresses in the grillroom, but on the other hand they ate to the sound of tom-toms beaten by Blackfoot Indians (educated at Carlisle), and the furnishings included bearskins and Navajo rugs on the floors and pelts and skulls on the walls.[80]

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[77] Robinson, *Through the Years in Glacier National Park*, p. 69.

[78] Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 84; Spanish interview, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, p. 68.

[79] Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, pp. 136, 139.

[80] Ibid., p. 164.

At the Many Glacier Hotel, the 178 rooms:

> were furnished in the rustic style to give the forest and camp atmosphere, but there is something more than rustic to them for the guests, inasmuch as every room has hot and cold running water, telephone, steam heat, and practically every convenience of the modern first-class hotel.[81]

Additional luxuries included a barber shop, a tailor shop, and a swimming pool.[82]

Yet such "world class service" was not limited to the major hotels. During the tourist seasons of 1911 and 1912, the Great Northern and its agent W. J. Hilligoss accommodated tourists at portable tent camps located at Midvale, Many Glacier, Two Medicine Lake, Cut Bank Canyon, Going-to-the-Sun Camp, Upper and Lower Saint Mary Lake, Gunsight Lake, and Sperry Glacier.[83] Lower St. Mary, Upper St. Mary and Many Glacier camps consisted of "a number of Indian tepees grouped around a central cabin which includes a range and cooking utensils." Feather pillows, soft sheets, and hot water were provided.[84] At all the camps, "food and service given was excellent and [was provided] at a reasonable charge."[85]

Former park resident Eva Beebe remembered that guide Howard Eaton's groups at the tent camps often exceeded 200 people and consisted of "surgeons and wealthy people." At St. Mary camp "they would have a huge fire and Indian dancers, some from as far away as New Mexico, would perform. After the dances the Chiefs would make some of the folks 'blood brothers' and give them Indian names."[86]

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[81] John Willy, "A Week in Glacier National Park," *The Hotel Monthly*, Aug. 1915, p. 51, quoted in Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 63.

[82] James R. McDonald, *Historical Preservation Architectural Guide, Many Glacier Hotel, Glacier National Park, Montana* (National Park Service: Denver, Colorado, 1985).

[83] "Annual Report to the SI," 1911-1914, all in Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[84] Dillon, *Over the Trails of Glacier National Park.*

[85] Rates, in 1912, were $3.50 per day for horse and guide, $3.00 per night for tent-camp accommodations, and .75 per meal; "Annual Report to the SI, 1912," p. 6, Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[86] Eva Beebe, interviewed by Cynthia Mish, May 22, 1974, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

The original tent camps, however, were short-lived. By the summer of 1912, construction of "a number of splendid hotel colonies," located on the original sites of the tent camps, had begun.[87] By 1914, The Great Northern had completed construction of chalets at Two Medicine, Cut Bank, St. Mary, Going-to-the-Sun, (also known as Sun Camp or Upper St. Mary), Many Glacier, Gunsight, and Sperry.[88] Granite Chalet was constructed during the summer of 1914. These complexes consisted of a dining room, guest quarters, an employee dormitory, and corral facilities. Granite, Sperry, and Gunsight were accessible only by foot or horseback. Going-to-the-Sun was accessible by either boat, launched from the St. Mary complex, or by horseback.[89] All were constructed in the "Swiss style" at locations deemed "the most beautiful and convenient" in the park.[90] Local quarries and forests provided the necessary stones and logs and additional building materials were brought in by auto, freight, or pack train. During the construction of Granite Chalet, 60-horse teams made the nine-mile trip over Swiftcurrent Pass daily. A large kitchen range was brought in on a travois.[91]

At Sperry Chalet, Great Northern wool blankets covered the beds and Chinese linen and blue willow china adorned the tables. "They had fish-bone trays, egg cups, three or four different size soup bowls ... They seemed very out of place, really. You wouldn't expect to find that type of china-ware up in the mountains." Each room came with a blue and gray speckled chamber pot, a wash basin, either speckled or white with blue trim, and a kerosene lamp. Oil

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[87] Dillon, *Over the Trails in Glacier National Park.*

[88] After its inaugural season of 1913, Gunsight Chalet was destroyed by an avalanche and was never rebuilt.

[89] A set of railroad tracks led down into the water next to the dock at St. Mary Chalet. A wagon on the tracks hauled luggage off and on to the launches; Frank Harrison, interviewed by Cynthia Mish, August 1, 1975, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[90] Dillon, *Over the Trails of Glacier National Park*, p. 38; "Annual Report to the SI, 1913," p. 9, Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[91] Norwegian immigrant, Signe Tollefson worked as a stonemason on many of the park's first buildings. Jim Brown was one of the builders at Going-to-the-Sun Chalets. "Austin and Hill" built St. Mary Chalets; Henderson interview; Harrison interview, both at OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; James R. McDonald, *Historical Preservation Architectural Guide, Granite Park Chalet, Glacier National Park Montana* (prepared for the Rocky Mountain Region, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, 1985); Angus and Lily Monroe, interviewed by Cynthia Mish, Oct. 19, 1975, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

stoves heated the lobby.[92] A neighboring tent camp of two- to four-room Kenyon house tents provided additional bed space.[93]

At Going-to-the-Sun Chalet — "one of the most popular in the park"[94] — the waitresses wore Swiss costumes, with white blouses and caps, and skirts and bodices of either blue, yellow, rose, or purple. The large lobby, located in the lower level of the two-story dining facility, contained a phonograph "and help and 'dudes' and cowboys all danced."[95]

At Granite Chalet, vertical log slabs formed the interior walls and large stone slabs with sedimentary ripple marks covered the lower-level floors. Upper-level floors were tongue- and- groove planks. Wood stoves provided heat and gravity-fed pumps provided water.[96] Exposed trusses, picture windows, animal trophies, photos of Glacier, and linen tablecloths adorned the dining room at Two Medicine camp.[97]

A "typical pack trip" utilizing these facilities might:

> go from East Glacier to Two Medicine Chalets via the Mt. Henry Trail [and then] to Cut Bank Chalets. This route was up past Old Man Lake. Then to St. Mary Chalets, located near the Ranger Station, [via] the old Boundary Trail; then by boat to the Sun Chalets at Sun Point — the best of the Chalets. Then Flattop to Sherburn Dam to Many Glacier [with] side trips to Cracker, Grinnell, and Iceberg; then over Swiftcurrent to Granite "to take in the bears"; then either back to Many or down to McDonald via the Packer's Roost trail. [Sometimes] there were up to 180 people and over 200 horses in a party.[98]

Glacier Park Hotel, constructed just outside the park on Blackfeet Tribal land secured in 1912, and the Many Glacier Hotel, constructed on the site of the Many Glacier Chalet in 1914, formed the nexus of Hill's "string of Swiss

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[92] Marjorie E. Foster, interviewed by Beth Ladeau, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[93] Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 60.

[94] "Annual Report to the SI, 1913," Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[95] Harriet Blankhelm, interviewed by Cynthia Mish, Oct. 2, 1976, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[96] McDonald, *Historical Preservation Architectural Guide, Granite Park Chalet.*

[97] James R. McDonald, *Historical Preservation Architectural Guide, Two Medicine Store (chalet), Glacier National Park, Montana* (Rocky Mountain Region, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, 1985).

[98] Monroe and Monroe interviews, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

chalets along a ... 100 mile ... scenic route."[99] The hotel was modeled after the forestry building displayed at the Portland, Oregon, Lewis and Clark Exposition of 1905 — a building appealing to Hill because of its "rustic splendors."[100] The contracting firm of Evanston and Company, Minneapolis, supervised construction of the 206' x 96' frame-with-log-column main building, an auxiliary chalet, two dormitories, a laundry-warehouse, and unspecified service facilities. A 100' addition to the hotel was completed in 1914.[101]

The Many Glacier Hotel, located at the foot of Swiftcurrent (McDermott) Lake, was strategically placed at the trailhead to Granite (under construction) and Going-to-the-Sun Chalets, and at the terminus of the stage road to Midvale Depot and Two Medicine camp. Construction workers quarried locally available stone for the foundation, fireplace, and waterfront terraces, and milled timber at a sawmill built near the site in 1913.[102]

Although Hill provided only accommodation facilities, the links in his network were filled by transportation and tent-camp concessioners who "enjoyed a close working relationship" with Great Northern officials.[103] During the 1920s, the Park Saddle Horse Company, the exclusive saddle horse concessioner, supported the hotel-trail-chalet network with tent camps at Goathaunt, Red Eagle, Cosley (Crossley) Lake, and Fifty Mountain. At Cosley Lake, lodgepole pine from "near-by timber stands" provided the frames for the 10' x 12' tents, each of which contained "a small wood stove, a double and 3/4 bed, a screen door, a washstand made from quaking aspen, and a chamber pot."[104] These tent camps provided important links in the Inside Trail — East Glacier to St. Mary via Two Medicine, Cut Bank, and Red Eagle — and the North Circle pack trip — to and from Many Glacier, via Fifty Mountain, Goathaunt, and Cosley Lake.

The Prince of Wales Hotel, constructed in 1926, represents the final addition to the Great Northern's chain of accommodation facilities, and the first and only venture across the park's northern boundary into Canada. The Prince of Wales Hotel Complex resembles previously developed properties in terms of both large scale and rustic design.

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[99] Dillon, *Over the Trails of Glacier National Park*, p. 7.

[100] Louis Hill, quoted in HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, p. 76.

[101] McDonald, *Historical Preservation Architectural Guide, Glacier Park Hotel.*

[102] McDonald, *Historical Preservation Architectural Guide, Many Glacier Hotel.*

[103] Howard Hays, president Glacier Park Transport Co., to J. R. Britton, Traffic manager, Intermountain Transportation Co., November 7, 1938, Folder 38-1, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[104] Bill Wanser, interviewed in *Going-to-the-Sun Magazine*, OHC, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

Additional post-1914 resources included boat facilities for the cruiser *International* and Goathaunt Camp, developed by private entrepreneur H. H. Hanson between 1918 and 1927. This latter camp consisted of "a tourist supply station at the south end of Lake Waterton for the sale of lunch stuffs, cigars, tobacco and other tourist supplies and to maintain a few tents for the furnishing of sleeping accommodations to tourists." A boat landing was constructed of the "old logs lying on the shore of the lake and ... the dry small timber down on the mountain side."[105] By 1923, the complex had been expanded to include permanent kitchen and lodging facilities. Facilities associated with the *International* included a boathouse and a small cabin for the launch skipper.

Transportation between accommodation facilities was provided by either foot, horse stage, auto, gasoline launch, or saddle-horse. The Great Northern operated a 64' and a 25' launch on St. Mary Lake, both of which provided boat service between St. Mary Chalet and Going-to-the-Sun Chalets. A 30', 15 person capacity, launch was reserved for "special pleasure trips on St. Mary Lake." Facilities associated with the St. Mary boat service included a boathouse, cradle, track, and winch.[106] The *Little Chief* and the *Sinopah*, built by Captain J. W. "Billy" Swanson with cedar-planked hulls, and an approximately 50-passenger capacity, began operation on St. Mary Lake in the late 1920s. The 73 foot, 250 passenger *International* began operation on Waterton Lake in 1927 and the *DeSmet* first plied Lake McDonald in 1930. Swanson instituted launch service on Two Medicine Lake in 1920; facilities associated with this operation included two boathouses and a pier. Rowboats were available at Two Medicine, Swiftcurrent, and St. Mary.[107]

Between 1911 and 1914, W. A. Brewster offered the east side's primary stage and auto transportation. His three stages between Midvale, St. Mary, and Many Glacier were expanded in 1913 with the introduction of six 7-passenger Chalmers touring cars to be used exclusively by tourists lodging at Great Northern facilities. Reports of poor service, however, left Brewster vulnerable to competition from rival concessioner Roe Emery who, by 1913, had introduced a fleet of White touring buses. In 1914, Hill granted Emery the exclusive privilege of transporting Great Northern clientele. By 1915, Emery and the newly incorporated Glacier Park Transport Company held sole right to the auto concession service on the east side of the park. Brewster's stage, St. Mary to Many Glacier, however, continued

[105] Acting Assistant Director of the Department of the Interior, F. W. Griffith, to W. W. Payne, Feb. 26, 1918, Folder 38-6, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[106] J. M. Cathcart, Great Northern Railway Company, to J. L. Galen, Supt., Glacier National Park, March 6, 1913, Folder 37-6; Jeffries, Manager Glacier Park Company, to J.W. Emmert, Glacier National Park Superintendent, May 31, 1951, Folder 37-5, both at GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[107] Holterman, Jack, "Boats in Glacier" (unpublished document, no date), GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

to provide the primary means of transportation during periods of bad weather or poor road conditions.[108] In 1915, the Glacier Park Transport Company, had twenty 12-passenger White touring buses and seven, 6-passenger White touring cars, all of which operated between the Midvale Depot, Many Glacier, Two Medicine, and St. Mary.[109] Bus service on Glacier's west side, between Belton and Glacier Hotel, and Belton and Bowman Lake (Skyland Camp) was established by the 1920s.[110]

Boat, stage, and auto service, however, penetrated only the perimeter of the park. Glacier remained "a trail park" during the first two decades, where the "coach-and-four [and] the honking automobile" were seen as incongruous elements.[111] In 1915, 17 separate concessioners supplied saddle horses and guides for backcountry trips. The newly formed National Park Service consolidated the saddle horse operators in 1916 by ordering that "the saddle and pack horse transportation service in the reservation be handled by one company" and declining to renew outstanding concession permits.[112] George Noffsinger of the Park Saddle Horse Company became the sole concessioner, eventually accumulating more stock "than all of the other National Parks combined [approximately 1000 head]."[113] Despite these numbers, saddle-horse shortages were occasionally "acute ... due to unprecedented demand for large numbers by camping parties."[114]

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[108] Superintendent, Glacier National Park, to Roe Emery, June 24, 1914, Folder 37-10, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[109] Supervisor, Glacier National Park, to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, Dec. 16, 1915, Folder 37-10, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[110] Various correspondence, 1914-1923, Folder 37-10, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[111] Dillon, *Over the Trails of Glacier National Park*, p. 6.

[112] Superintendent of National Parks to all Saddle-horse Concessionaires, n.d. (c. Feb. 1916), Folder 39-1, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[113] "Annual Report to the SI, 1920," p. 4, Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[114] Superintendent Glacier National Park to the Hon. Franklin K. Lane, August 18, 1919,, Folder 39-1, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

Louis Hill's Great Northern-financed park concessions operated under little control from the Department of the Interior between 1911 and 1916.[115] The railroad's willingness to invest heavily in the park's concessions was seen by the Department of Interior as benefiting congressionally mandated park goals. Limited congressional funding, primitive communication lines between the east and west sides, and a lack of a clearly stated national concession policy also resulted in the Great Northern's ability to operate in Glacier with virtual impunity.[116] The Great Northern offered an accommodation-transportation-recreation network "appropriate" to a national park and provided the east-side transportation infrastructure necessary to park administration. Superintendent Hutchings reported that "this Park is especially fortunate in having a hotel system second to none and coordinating transportation that offers to the tourist interesting and, at the same time, convenient methods of access to all portions of the park."[117] Moreover, park administrators, granted insufficient funds for construction of those roads and trails essential to park administration, frequently found themselves traveling on roads and trails built by the Great Northern in support of its accommodation

[115] For a complete discussion of the interdependent relationship between park and Great Northern officials see Michael G. Schene, "The Crown of the Continent: Private Enterprise and Public Interest in the Early Development of Glacier National Park, 1910-17," *Forest Conservation History*, April 1990, Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 69-75.

[116] "Annual Report to the SI, 1917," p. 17, Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

Not all east-side concessionaires escaped regulation to the same degree. The 1916 decision to combine all horse concessions clearly reflected the nascent NPS's desire to create more manageable and presumably more efficient monopolies. Similarly, the NPS's displeasure with H. H. Hanson's Goathaunt facilities reflected the NPS's increased control over the nature of park facilities. In 1919, the NPS denied Hanson's request to expand his operation on the grounds that "we want to study the development of this region in its relation to improvements already made on the east and west sides of the park before proceeding with any further development of the northern section of the park." However, in 1920 a permit was granted for the construction of permanent kitchen and lodging facilities. By 1923, the NPS rued its decision:

> It might have been better not to have granted the concession until we could get somebody in there who could deliver the goods in better shape than Mr. Hanson. You will realize that our disinclination to take radical action by canceling the permit instead of giving him additional time is due to the fact that, as experience has shown in other Parks, these old-timers always raise the cry that they are the pioneers and are held down by the Park Service. [Yet], Mr. Hanson only has a five-year permit, expiring in 1925, [and] we think the situation will take care of itself eventually.

Horace M. Albright, Acting Director of the National Park Service, to W. W. Payne, Superintendent Glacier National Park, May 2, 1919, Folder 38-6; Arno Cammer, Acting Director of the National Park Service, to J. Ross Eakin, Superintendent Glacier National Park, August 14, 1923, Folder 38-6, both in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[117] "Annual Report to the SI, 1920," Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

network.[118] Administrators, thus at the largesse of the Great Northern, were not inclined to criticize Great Northern development.

Hints of discord in this relationship were seen only in terms of the Great Northern's disinterest in west-side development and the National Park Service's inability to expend the necessary funds for east-side trail maintenance and construction. Federal officials criticized the Great Northern for its refusal to expand into the west sides's North Fork or "finger lake" region (an area especially vulnerable to forest fire and to poaching and thus of special concern to park administrators). In turn, Louis Hill repeatedly chastised park administrators for spending their limited funds on the Lake McDonald road and west-side fire trails while ignoring their commitment to the east-side tourist-trail network.[119]

## Automobile-Related Development, 1930 - 1966

By 1930, hints of discord had escalated to a serious conflict of interest as increased automobile travel changed the National Park Service's perception of tourist needs. Throughout the national park system, the automobile revolutionized the nature of tourist facilities. Beginning in the 1910s, "motor 'gypsies' ... declaring their independence from the monopolistic rail-hotel complex," started camping along rudimentary roads.[120] These haphazard campsites evolved first to public campgrounds, then to cabin camps, and finally to motels. Similarly, the bohemian "gypsy," escaping the modernism of urban life and protesting the "soft and effete" nature of train travel, was replaced by the mainstream American tourist who, in the interest of time, convenience, and economy, chose to travel by automobile.[121] In 1925, NPS Director Stephen Mather reported that

[118] In 1911, the Great Northern constructed transportation routes from Midvale to McDermott with spin roads to Cut Bank Canyon, Two Medicine Lake, and St. Mary Lake. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 74; HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, pp. 77, 78. Great Northern crews also constructed the trail from Lake McDermott (Swiftcurrent) to St. Mary Lake. Expenditures were later reimbursed by the federal government.

[119] HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, pp. 74-71; Hearings in Glacier Park Matters, February 5, 1913, Folder 30-13, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; Logan, Superintendent Glacier National Park, to Clement S. Ucker, Dept. of the Interior, October 11, 1911, Folder "Apgar 1910-1911," Box 38, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; Howard H. Hays, Glacier Park Transport Co., to H. M. Albright, August 5, 1927, Folder 37-10, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; Schene, "The Crown of the Continent," pp. 71-73.

[120] Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, pp. 3-4.

[121] Ibid., pp. 30, 89.

> the modern automobile procured at reasonable cost has given the average American, as well as the rich man, the opportunity to see his country. Among the thousands of cars nightly parked in the large parks, the cheaper makes by far predominate.[122]

"World-class" railroad facilities did not meet the needs of this new travelling public.

The Great Depression further compounded the threat to the rail-hotel complex. Hotel occupancy rates fell from 70 percent in 1929 to 51 percent in 1932. Over 80 percent of all hotel mortgages were in default by 1932, a situation blamed on both the faltering economy and "the tourist camp menace" that provided an attractive and affordable recreation alternative.[123] In Glacier National Park, the combined effect of increased automobile use and the Great Depression resulted in a 45.9 percent decrease in rail travel during the tourist season of 1932. Occupancy rates at Great Northern hotels suffered accordingly.[124]

In response to the demands of the motoring tourist, Mather called for development of spartan inexpensive facilities where tipping, dress codes, and lavish furnishings were not required.[125] Not surprisingly, the rail-hotel industry, desperately trying to retain its original clientele and to protect its original investment, responded slowly and unwillingly.[126] The Great Northern Railway was no exception and this clash between railroad interests and the interests of the auto traveler introduced a new era in Great Northern-NPS relations and a new era in the development of Glacier National Park.[127]

Following completion of the Theodore Roosevelt Highway along the southern edge of Glacier National Park (1930) and of the Going-to-the-Sun Road across the Continental Divide (1933) automobile travel to Glacier National

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[122] *Report of the Director, NPS, to SI, 1925*, p. 2.

[123] Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, p. 143. Quote is from hotel journal and appears on p. 146.

[124] Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, p. 143; "Annual Report to the SI, 1932," p. 5, Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[125] *Report of the Director, NPS, to SI, 1923*, p. 63.

[126] Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, p. 78; *Report of the Director, NPS, to SI, 1923*, p. 63.

[127] Great Northern recalcitrance is further attributable to Louis Hill's 1930 retirement from the Great Northern Board of Directors. Hill's successor, W.P. Kinney, was less sympathetic to the Great Northern's emotional, if increasingly unprofitable, commitment to Glacier National Park and was hesitant to sanction new development. HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, p. 89.

Park increased dramatically.[128] Public complaint against the nature of Great Northern facilities also increased, with the lack "of affordable accommodations and of stores for the sale of provisions and supplies to auto campers ... caus[ing] considerable criticism."[129] *The Kalispell Times* editorialized that:

> there should be erected at once at every camp, good, substantial, permanent buildings of one, two, three and four rooms for just the 'forgotten man' ... There should also be constructed at every camp a building for a restaurant or cafeteria where meals may be obtained at a reasonable price.[130]

Park administrators responded by demanding a commitment to the construction of car-camp/cafeteria/camp store facilities at Many Glacier, St. Mary, and Lake McDonald and by insisting upon a move away from what was increasingly described as the pretentious and obtrusive design of existing structures. They cited marginal growth in rail travel, the profusion and financial success of car-camp facilities outside park boundaries, and the determination of a private consulting firm that Great Northern prices were too high and accommodations too limited, as additional evidence of the need for auto facilities.[131]

The Great Northern, under contract to meet the needs of tourists as determined by NPS officials, responded with plans to develop a car-camp facility at Swiftcurrent, near the Many Glacier Hotel, and at Roes Creek (Rising Sun), along the west shore of St. Mary Lake. These facilities were to be "simpler than hotels or chalets ... yet more substantial than tent camps" and were to be located at sites most easily served by Glacier's road system. The NPS suggested low rambling structures of uniform design, deemed less pretentious in character and less likely to

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[128] By 1937, over 90 percent of park visitors arrived in private automobile. Howard H. Hays, Glacier Park Transport Company, to E. T. Scoyen, Superintendent Glacier National Park, April 30, 1938, Folder 38-1; "Annual Report to the SI, 1930," Superintendent's Annual Reports; "Annual Report to the SI, 1934," Superintendent's Annual Reports, all in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[129] Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 115; "Annual Report to the SI, 1931," p. 11, Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[130] C. W. Whipps, "The Great Northern Wild Animal Preserve," *The Kalispell Times*, Oct. 6, 1932, quoted in HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, p. 153.

[131] E. T. Scoyen, Glacier National Park Superintendent, to A. J. Binder, Manager Glacier Park Hotel Co, Feb. 28, 1933, Folder 50-8, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 115.

"predominate [their] setting."[132] Although designed by concession architects, the complexes conformed to these general NPS specifications. The Swiftcurrent development (1933-1940) consisted of a camp store and 54 small uniform cabins, arranged in circular tepee configurations.[133] Each cabin provided one or two bedrooms and a sitting room with enamel sink, wood stove, and wooden picnic table with benches. Walls and floors were constructed of painted wood and roof framing members were exposed. Lapped siding and shingles covered the exterior walls and the gable roofs of the single-story cabins. The camp store, sided with board and batten and resting upon a stone foundation, continued the rustic theme.[134] A coffee shop was added to the camp store in 1940 and the entire facility was soon booked to over capacity. The tourist response at the East Glacier Auto Camp located at Roes Creek was as enthusiastic. This facility, designed by the Great Northern and approved by the NPS, consisted of a camp-tender's cabin, campground, camp store, coffee shop, employee dormitory, and 19 spartan, inexpensive cabins. Each cabin, "instead of being grouped with others in a plaza ... occupied a selected site among the gnarled, windswept Douglas firs."[135] Additional services included a gasoline pump, oil, free air, and water.

By 1940, the Park Service was able to inform the national media that

> visitors to Glacier National Park who want moderate-priced eating and sleeping accommodations will find them ... in the Many Glacier and St. Mary Lake Sections of the Park. [The lunchroom at Many Glacier and cabin complex at Roes Creek] will supplement the Swiftcurrent housekeeping cabins which up to this year were the only accommodations less elaborate than hotels or chalets ... Increased automobile travel, however, has brought an annually larger number of people who desire accommodations simpler than hotels or chalets, and yet more substantial than tent camps.[136]

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[132] USDI, National Park Service, Glacier National Park, News Release 40-7-27-FTH, Folder 50-9; A. J. Bender to Horace Albright, Director, National Park Service, 4/29/1930, Folder 37-2; Frank E. Mattson, Landscape Architect to the Regional Director, October 10, 1946, Folder 50-10, all in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[133] The Heaven's Peak fire of 1936 destroyed 31 of the original cabins. All were replaced in 1937.

[134] Mark Hufstetler, "Glacier Historical Structures: Narrative Histories," unpublished manuscript on file at the GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[135] USDI, National Park Service, Glacier National Park, News Release 40-7-27-FTH, Folder 50-9, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[136] Ibid.

Yet, even with these substantial improvements, park officials recognized the need to continue adding automobile-related facilities. As early as 1941, park superintendent Donald S. Libby advised National Park Service Director Newton B. Drury that:

> the fine new Coffee Shop [at Swiftcurrent] has proven to be inadequate in size. Probably there is adequate business to justify doubling the capacity. The number of cabins or cabin rooms must be increased by at least 40.[137]

and at Roes Creek:

> the small number of cabins and the size of the coffee shop were not able to care for the actual number of visitors. At least 40, if not 80, additional cabin rooms [were] needed and ... twice the size coffee shop [was] justified.[138]

NPS plans for additional accommodations concentrated on the west side of the Continental Divide where visitor facilities were limited and where the pending completion of the Going-to-the-Sun Road promised to magnify the lack of facilities for automobile tourists. Around 1930, the park service began an aggressive (if ultimately unsuccessful) campaign to purchase private inholdings and a cabin-camp building site at the foot of Lake McDonald in the vicinity of Apgar. The park service was more successful in acquiring the Lewis Hotel on the east side of Lake McDonald, under the condition that the facility be managed by the Glacier Park Company (heir to the GPHC). Lewis Hotel, operated by a private investor with limited capital, had proved inadequate to meet the needs of the increasing number of tourists. Armed with the hotel company's threat to build a "fine hotel" on lake property adjacent to the Lewis Hotel, the NPS convinced Lewis to sell his property for the appraised value of $225,000. NPS funds, however, were limited and the Glacier Park Company provided half of the purchase price in return for a 20-year concession contract and a promise that the loan would be repaid when federal funds became available. In June of 1930, the former Lewis Hotel, renamed Lake McDonald Lodge, opened under federal ownership and private management — an arrangement increasingly sought by

[137] Libby, Superintendent Glacier National Park, to the Director, Aug. 1, 1941, Folder 37-4, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[138] Ibid.

the National Park Service.[139] This acquisition concentrated the primary park accommodations under the control of one concessioner and allowed for greater NPS control of accommodation development.[140]

Between 1930 and 1960, the NPS alternately advocated razing the Lake McDonald Lodge and replacing the structure with "lodge type accommodations ... meaning a main building containing a limited number of rooms ... supplemented with lower-priced cabins," or retaining the old facility in the interest of "preserving and perpetuating the atmosphere and character which now attracts the visitor to the hotel." Under the latter plan, either "six-room cottages" or "multiple cabins containing no more than 16 rooms to one floor," would expand guest capacity.[141]

Ultimately, efforts to convert Lake McDonald Lodge to a car-tourist facility were limited to construction of a filling station/garage and the remodel of the ca. 1904 cabins constructed by John Lewis. The cabins' original full-width porches and full-log railings were replaced with gable-roofed entry stoops, interiors were remodeled, and cabin 9, containing "fourteen rooms ... far below any park standard for accommodation," was replaced. Furthermore, service buildings located on the east side of the lodge, the rear of the facility when "the approach to the property was from the lake," were removed in deference to the auto tourist forced to "enter the hotel from the back door" following the 1929 completion of the Going-to-the-Sun Road past the complex.[142]

Plans for the construction of a large cabin-camp complex at Apgar and/or expansion of the Lake McDonald Lodge, were, however, continually stymied by Great Northern reluctance to commit to such an expenditure. Difficulty in purchasing sufficient inholdings for an Apgar building site, and continued disagreement within the NPS over the advisability of initiating new development at the foot of the lake rather than remodeling or rebuilding the Lake McDonald facility, also slowed west-side development.

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[139] Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," pp. 45-46; "National Park Concessions, Report of the Concessions Advisory Group to the Hon. J.A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior," 2/9/1948, Library, Department of the Interior, p. 6.

[140] Lawrence C. Merriam, Regional Director, Region 2, to the Director, February 8, 1944, Folder 50-10; Acting Director National Park Service to F.J. Solinsky, August 9, 1930, Folder 50-8, both in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, p. 91.

[141] Lawrence C. Merriam, Regional Director, Region 2, to the Director, Feb. 8, 1944, Folder 50-10; Frank E. Mattson, Resident Landscape Architect, to the Regional Director, Region 2, Oct. 14, 1948, Folder 50-10; W.G. Carnes, Acting Chief Architect, to the Director, Feb. 27, 1934, Folder 50-8, all in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT. The Glacier Park Co. began managing the Village Inn at the foot of Lake McDonald in 1960.

[142] E. T. Scoyen, Glacier National Park Superintendent, to the Director, National Park Service, Feb. 19, 1934, Folder 50-8; McDonald, *Historical Preservation Architectural Guide, Lake McDonald Cabins*; A. A. Aszmann, Glacier Park Hotel Co. Manager, to E. T. Scoyen, Superintendent, May 27, 1937, Folder 37-3; E. T. Scoyen, GNP Superintendent, to A. A. Aszmann, Glacier Park Hotel Co. Manager, Dec. 10, 1935, Folder 50-9, all in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

In addition to demanding additional facilities from its primary concessioner, the NPS (beginning after 1916, escalating in the 1930s) began to exercise greater control over the aesthetics of park development. In the most dramatic exercise of NPS control over park aesthetics, Director of the National Park Service Stephen Mather personally supervised the destruction of the Many Glacier sawmill in 1925 after numerous pleas to the Park Hotel Company to remove the "unsightly and dangerous" lumber piles, mill, and "shacks" met with no success.[143]

By the 1930s, faced with rapidly expanding tourist numbers and the commensurate need to expand facilities, the NPS published a primer on its architectural philosophy. Arno B. Cammerer, National Park Service Director, wrote

> a basic objective of those who are entrusted with development of such areas for the human uses for which they are established, is ... to hold these intrusions to a minimum and so to design them that, besides being attractive to look upon, they appear to belong to and be a part of their setting ... Though a park structure exists solely for the use of the public, it is not required that it be seen from some distance. In its most satisfying expression, the park structure is designed with a view to subordinating it to its environment, and it is located so that it may profit from any natural screening that may exist ... As a rule, park structures are less conspicuous and more readily subordinated to their settings when horizontal lines predominate and the silhouette is low ... [However,] since the concession building must be located at the 'crossroads' of the park, and must proclaim itself to the public, it cannot be exactly the shy violet among park buildings. It must announce its commercial traffic unmistakably but with subtlety. It is the Jekyll and Hyde among park structures.[144]

Few of the Great Northern facilities announced their presence with subtlety. Thus the Park Service determined that the "colossal size" of the "pretentious" Many Glacier Hotel, with its "extravagant theme" and "unprofitable space in lobbies, sitting rooms, expansive halls, and stairway" was to be avoided in future development. Similarly, the garages and gas pumps erected at hotels throughout the park in the 1930s were not to be "unduly conspicuous"

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[143] The sawmill, built in 1913 in conjunction with hotel construction, was used until 1922 to process firewood for the hotel. J. R. Eakin, Superintendent, Glacier National Park, to H. A. Noble, Glacier Park Hotel Co., September 1, 1922, Folder 37-2, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; *Great Falls Tribune*, August 11, 1925, quoted in Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 95.

[144] *Park Structures and Facilities* (U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, 1935), Forward, pp. 4, 5, 95.

("considerable policy [was] involved" in NPS insistence that this standard be adhered to).[145] Glacier Park Transport Company's plans to cover the roof of the new garage at Many Glacier with prepared roofing material rather than wood shingles and to locate the garage along the main road rather than behind the water tower were thus denied. The dormitory at Many Glacier was constructed away from the lake so as to "avoid a gradual increase in the number of buildings along the shoreline." New saddle-horse facilities at Many Glacier, constructed in 1926, were to be "of uniform design," preferably in the "rustic style" (park superintendent Charles J. Kraebel noted that "I have been sharply censured in the past for permitting the erection of new structures without formal approval"). In 1941, corral facilities at Lake McDonald Lodge were moved from their original site adjacent to the lake to a wooded area far enough from the Going-to-the-Sun Road to be "inoffensive." Yet, in recognition of the "Jekyll and Hyde" nature of concession facilities, NPS administrators sanctioned the request to build hotels at Rising Sun so that "visitors on the Going-to-the-Sun highway get a better view of the Rising Sun development."[146]

World War II effectively stalled park development and NPS demands upon concessioners. Gas rationing measures limited private travel and suspended all sightseeing transportation operations.[147] The Glacier Park Company, the Park Transport Company, and the Park Saddle Horse Company were thus granted permission to suspend those operations deemed economically unfeasible. Although the high mountain tent camps and all sight-seeing trips — either by boat or tour bus — were closed or canceled in 1942, alternate chalet and hotel facilities, bus service between railheads and hotels, and day saddle trips remained available. Following three seasons of dismal visitation, most of

[145] By June 1940, the Glacier Park Transport Company reported gasoline pumps and oil stations at Many Glacier, Sun Camp, and Lake McDonald Lodge. Similar facilities at Swiftcurrent and Rising Sun were to be installed by the 1941 season. Howard H. Hays, President Glacier Park Transport Company, to D. S. Libby, Superintendent Glacier National Park, June 28, 1940, Folder 38-2, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[146] Jerome C. Miller, Regional Landscape Architect, to the Regional Director, Region Two, May 2, 1949, Folder 38-1; Frank E. Mattson, Landscape Architect, to the Superintendent, Glacier National Park, November 8, 1948, Folder 50-10; J. R. Eakin, Superintendent, to the Director, Sept. 20, 1930, Folder 51-7; Western Union Telegram, Goodwin to Director National Park Service, Sept. 27, 1920, Folder 51-7; Memorandum to the Director, National Park Service, Nov. 23, 1920, Folder 51-7; D. S. Libbey, Superintendent, to George W. Noffsinger, President, Park Saddle Horse Company, Sept. 6, 1941, Folder 51-8; Memorandum to the Superintendent, Aug. 23, 1941, Folder 51-8; Memorandum from the Regional Director, Region Two, to the Superintendent, Glacier National Park, Oct. 24, 1952, Folder 37-5, all in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[147] Howard H. Hays, President, Glacier Park Transport Co, to A.J. Dickinson, Great Northern Railway, June 8, 1942, Folder 38-2, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

these limited services were also cancelled and only the Rising Sun Coffee Shop and Cabin Camp and the Lake McDonald boat rental concession remained open.[148]

The Park Saddle Horse Company and the Cut Bank, Going-to-the-Sun, and St. Mary chalet complexes, already challenged by the depression and the increased popularity of auto-related recreation and accommodations, did not survive the war curtailments.[149] In mute testimony to the demise of Hill's rail/trail network, the Park Saddle Horse Company ceased operation and all three chalets were razed in the late 1940s. The "largest saddle horse operation in the world ... [with] guides who knew the trails thoroughly and were lavish with their home spun yarns around the evening campfires" was replaced by a variety of small-scale operators who, due both to the breakdown in the chalet network and the increased speed with which travelers toured the parks, concentrated on short day trips.[150] Expanded car-cabin facilities and campgrounds filled the accommodation void created by the destruction of the chalets and package rail/bus "circle tours" became the modern equivalent of the Inner and North circle pack trips.[151] Glacier National Park's carefully cultivated image as a Western trail park was no longer an effective marketing device or a reality.

The Glacier Park Transport Company, purchased by experienced transport concessioner Howard Hays in 1927, was also affected by increased auto traffic, the depression, and World War II travel restrictions. Ironically, Hays "when [he] bought out the bus line, in effect bet $400,000 that [Glacier was] not a trail park." Much anticipated in-park highway development was crucial to Hays' success. Hays, however, also bet that Glacier would remain "a resort park ... where the majority of visitors are more quality conscious than price conscious." Hays cultivated this clientele by advertising heavily in rail journals and avoiding advertisements in the AAA, Auto Clubs, and State Highway

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[148] Memorandum, Noble J. Wilt, Acting Director, Park Operators Division, to the Superintendent, Glacier National Park, June 25, 1942, Folder 38-2; J. W. Emmert, Superintendent, Glacier National Park, to Howard H. Hays, President, Glacier Park Transport Company, June 8, 1945, Folder 38-3, both in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[149] In 1926, 26 percent of park visitors leased the Park Saddle Horse Company horses and guides. Many of these tourists had also stayed at the chalets. In 1940, only 3 percent of park visitors used those same facilities. E. T. Scoyen, Superintendent, Glacier National Park, to the Director, National Park Service, February 28, 1933, Folder 33-4; Annual Financial Reports, 1926-1940, Park Saddle Horse Company, Folder 33-4, both in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[150] Lon Garrison, "Feature Story on Park Saddle Horse Company, Glacier National Park," 1945, Folder 39-7, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[151] The juxtaposition of the Rising Sun car-camp and the deteriorating and soon-to-be destroyed Going-to-the-Sun Chalets underscored this transition. Glacier Park Transport Co. Brochure, "Glacier National Park," 1940, Folder 38-2, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

Commission publications.[152] Yet as highway development sped the displacement of Glacier's traditional rail clientele (dependent upon leased transportation) with the auto tourist, Hays' investment began to falter. In 1955, Hays sold the Park Transport Company to the Glacier Park Company.[153]

Following "the return to normalcy," during the late 1940s, Glacier visitation increased 61.3 percent, with the majority of those tourists arriving by private automobile.[154] This influx of tourists was experienced throughout the National Park System, prompting a reconsideration of National Park Service policy toward concessioners. A "Concessions Advisory Group" composed of representatives of the AAA, the American Hotel Association, the American Institute of Accountants, "conservation interests," and the "general public" was created by Congress in 1941. The group was charged with a study of the extent and location of facilities and the advisability of government ownership. They determined that development should be as inconspicuous as possible, that government ownership under private management best served the public interest, and that overcrowding of facilities posed the greatest impediment to satisfactory service.[155] By 1949, Newton Drury, Director of the National Park Service, deemed the shortage of visitor accommodations throughout the park system acute and called for rapid and extensive expansion of tourist-related infrastructure. Maximum-hour labor laws introduced in the 1940s also necessitated the expansion of employee dormitories at accommodation complexes and created an additional demand on concessioner resources.[156] The Park Hotel Company, faced with losses in excess of one million dollars over the course of the 1940s and with continued occupancy rates of just over 50 percent in its primary facilities, responded by declining to renew its concession

[152] Howard H. Hays to E. T. Scoyen, Superintendent Glacier National Park, April 30, 1938, Folder 38-1; Howard H. Hays to J. R. Britton, Traffic Manager, Intermountain Transportation Co., November 7, 1938, Folder 38-1, both in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[153] The Great Northern, though retreating from Glacier, believed that a concession package guaranteeing monopoly over park activities would be more attractive to perspective buyers.

[154] "Annual Report to the SI, 1947," Superintendent's Annual Reports, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[155] "National Park Concessions, Report of the Concessions Advisory Group to the Hon. J.A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior," 2/9/1948, Department of the Interior Library, pp. 1-6, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[156] Frank E. Mattson, Landscape Architect, to the Superintendent of Glacier National Park, Nov. 8, 1948, Folder 50-10, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

contract.[157] Between 1950 and the 1960 sale of Great Northern infrastructure to Don Hummel, the Great Northern (operating under one-year contracts) concentrated on improving the marketability of existing services and facilities.

In 1954, the Glacier Park Company transferred ownership of Granite and Sperry chalets to the U.S. government.[158] In 1959, the Two Medicine Chalets, from whence "men and women ... from across the nation ... s[at] on the rustic porches, f[ed] ground squirrels, and look[ed] out across the lake," were razed on the grounds that the neglected and little-used accommodations were no longer "adequate or safe." Only the dining room and Chalet C survived. The dining room was converted to a campstore for the use of hikers and car-campers. Chalet C was converted to housing for the boat concessioners.[159] Belton Chalet, "which cater[ed] to the automobile visitors on No.2 Highway and ... [was] not essential to the operations ... within the Park" had been sold in 1946.[160] Going-to-the-Sun, St. Mary, and Cut Bank chalets had been destroyed in 1947. The original chalet network thus decimated, the Great Northern reluctantly turned its attention to the remodeling and expansion of those facilities catering to car-tourists and capable of accommodating large numbers of tourists.

Boat facilities, though no longer critical links in the park's transportation network, were expanded to accommodate the recreation demands of the increasingly numerous auto tourist. By the mid-1940s, the Glacier Park Boat Company, the Glacier Park Company, and the Glacier Park Transport Company operated boats on Lake McDonald, Two Medicine, and Waterton lakes. Vessels constructed post-World War II included the *Morning Eagle*, cedar-planked with a 65-passenger capacity, which began operation on Lake Josephine in 1945, and the mahogany-planked, 40-passenger capacity *Red Eagle*, built by the Stan Craft Boat Company in 1957 and operated on St. Mary Lake. The construction of a new dock at Rising Sun to accommodate the *Red Eagle* allowed the destruction of the deteriorating Sun Point dock.[161]

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[157] "Annual Report to the SI, 1947," p. 2, Superintendent's Annual Reports; Memorandum, Howard W. Baker, Regional Director, to Newton Drury, Director of the National Park Service, n.d., Folder 50-12, both in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[158] Thomas J. Allen, Acting Director, Region Two, to Edwin C. Matthias, Vice President and General Counsel, Great Northern Railway Co., March 24, 1954, Folder 50-12, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[159] "Fire removes Two-Medicine Chalets," *Hungry Horse News*, Hungry Horse, Montana, Folder 50-12, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[160] J. W. Emmert, Superintendent Glacier National Park, to the Regional Director, Region Two, July 2, 1946, Folder 50-10, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[161] Holterman, "Boats in Glacier."

Beginning in the early 1950s, the Great Northern expanded both the Rising Sun and Swiftcurrent auto camps with 14- and 28-unit medium-priced motels. Private bathrooms, increasingly demanded by auto tourists, were installed in Lake McDonald, Rising Sun, and Swiftcurrent cabins.[162] The interiors of the Many Glacier and Glacier Park hotels also were remodeled over the course of the decade: cocktail lounges and gift shops were added, bathrooms upgraded, bedrooms remodeled — "simplicity being of primary importance" — and convention services developed. Facilities were also upgraded to conform to NPS building codes.[163] However, promised construction of three multiple-unit motels adjacent to Lake McDonald Lodge and a motel or auto camp at Apgar was never realized.[164]

In a final step toward marketability, the Great Northern enlisted the services of Donald Knutson of the Knutson Hotel Corporation.[165] Knutson introduced playhouse programs featuring Broadway actors, jazz features, and square dance schools and increased advertisement of additional recreation opportunities. This "activities program" promised to "offer more fun per minute than a circus."[166] Plans were made to "dress all employees [at Glacier National Park Hotel] in Indian-type costumes" and to "attire the employees [at Many Glacier Hotel] in Swiss-type clothing." The Glacier Park Hotel was renamed the Glacier Park Lodge in hopes that the new name would "better describe the casual

[162] This same move away from the car-cabins, so popular in the 1930s, occurred at national parks and private resorts throughout the country. Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, Chapter 6, passim.

[163] Jeffries, Manager Glacier Park Hotel Co., to J. W. Emmert, Superintendent Glacier National Park, Jan 29, 1953; Jeffries, Manager Glacier Park Hotel Co., to J. W. Emmert, Superintendent Glacier National Park, Jan 28, 1953; Jeffries, Manager Glacier Park Hotel Co., to J. W. Emmert, Superintendent Glacier National Park, April 30, 1952, Folder 50-11; J. W. Emmert, Superintendent Glacier National Park, to the Regional Director, Region Two, Oct.24, 1952, Folder 37-5; Sanford Hill, Chief Western Office, Division of Design and Construction, to Chief, Division of Design and Construction, Feb. 8, 1955, Folder 50-12; John Budd, President Great Northern Railway Co., to Wirth, Director National Park Service, June 7, 1955, Folder 51-2; Knudson to J. W. Emmert, Superintendent Glacier National Park, March 5, 1957, Folder 51-1, all in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[164] The Glacier Park Company felt that "under no circumstances should they attempt to build a hotel unit next to the new motel being built by Mr. Mackin at the Village Inn on private land at Apgar." Acting Superintendent Glacier National Park, to Regional Director, Region Two, Oct. 26, 1955, Folder 51-2, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[165] The park service "understood that the Great Northern enter[ed] into a contract with Mr. Knutson for a three year period to manage the Glacier Park Company ... and during that period the Great Northern would probably put up about $3,000,000 for an improvement and revamping program," Howard G. Baker, Regional Director, to the Superintendent, Glacier National Park, Oct. 31, 1956, Folder 50-12, GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[166] HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, p. 177; Knutson, quoted in Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 178.

vacation atmosphere ... [and] lure more auto travelers." In addition, Knutson solicited early and late season conventions, the modern equivalent to the "captive clientele" of the 1910s and 1920s.[167]

Knutson's development of car facilities and revamping of rail facilities' image coincided with the introduction of the nationwide "Mission 66" program. Implemented in 1956 with completion scheduled for the 1966, 50-year anniversary of the National Park Service, Mission 66 was necessitated by "the growth of cities, the shorter work week, the advent of the family car, good roads across the country" and the ensuing wave of visitors to the ill-prepared national parks.[168] "An intensive study of the problems of protection, public use, interpretation, development, staffing, legislation, financing, and all other phases of park operation" was to be followed with a "comprehensive and integrated program of use and protection that will harmonize with the Service's obligations under the Act of 1916."[169]

However, the Service's obligations under the Act of 1916 had always inspired debate.[170] The continued conflict between development of a pleasure ground and preservation of park resources — including the resources of wilderness and solitude — infused the Mission 66 era. Development advocates struggled to expand administrative and interpretive facilities, to improve recreation options, and to increase "bed counts" in order to provide for the 80,000,000 park visitors expected in 1966. Simultaneously, preservationists, both inside and outside of the federal bureaucracy, argued that the national parks were becoming "resorts" cluttered with "'contemporary' buildings of freak and austere design" when they were designed to be preserved as "wilderness."[171] A solution was seen in the development of

[167] In 1959, the Glacier Park Co. realized its highest profit margin for Glacier holdings. This increase was credited to the more than 15,000 convention days booked during the 1959 season. Howard G. Baker, Regional Director, to the Superintendent, Glacier National Park, Oct. 31, 1956, Folder 50-12; Office Memo, William O. Carlson, Public Relations Director, May 20, 1957, Folder 51-1, both in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT; Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," pp. 183-184.

[168] The national park system, designed for 25 million visitors a year, would receive in excess of 80 million visitors a year by the mid-1960s. Between 1940 and 1954, visitation to Teton National Park was up 932 percent, to Olympia up 664 percent, and to Glacier up 264 percent. *Report of the Director, NPS, to SI,* 1954, reprint from the *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, Department of the Interior (Washington, D.C.: GPO), 1954, p. 334; "The U.S. is Outgrowing Its Parks," *U.S. News and World Report*, June 10, 1955, p. 79.

[169] Lon Garrison, "Mission 66," *National Parks Magazine*, July-September, 1955, p. 107.

[170] For a more complete discussion of this debate within the context of Glacier National Park, see HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, Chapter 1, and Curtis W. Buchholtz, "The Historical Dichotomy of Use and Preservation in Glacier National Park," Master's thesis, University of Montana, Missoula, Montana, 1969.

[171] Devereux Butcher, "Our National Parks In Jeopardy: Resorts or Wilderness?," *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1961, p. 45.

"appropriate and harmonious" facilities outside park boundaries or at park entrances rather than in the scenic heartlands. This solution stood in stark contrast to Louis Hill's vision of hotels and chalets "in the most scenic and convenient sites in the Park." It also represented a change from first NPS Director Stephen Mather's vision of concessions that included:

> Golf links, tennis courts, swimming pools, and other equipment for outdoor pastime and exercise ... [The parks] should be extensively advertised as a place to spend the summer instead of five or six days of hurried sight-seeing under constant pressure to keep moving.[172]

Responsibility for concession-oriented Mission 66 improvements at Glacier National Park was shared by the Glacier Park Company and by Don Hummel of Glacier Park Inc., who purchased all Great Northern holdings in 1960. Improvements included a new coffee shop at Lake McDonald Lodge, service stations at Rising Sun and Lake McDonald Lodge, and a swimming pool at Glacier Park Lodge (outside NPS jurisdiction). In addition, in 1960 the Village Inn Motel at Apgar was purchased by the NPS from inholder William Mackin. Managed by Glacier Park Inc., this purchase culminated a 30-year effort to link the primary concessioner with Apgar facilities. Plans for a floating cocktail lounge on Lake McDonald and a "souvineer [sic] stand" at the newly completed Logan Pass visitor center were rejected as "out of keeping in a National Park."[173]

In 1946, NPS Director Newton B. Drury wrote:

> the National Park Service hopes to select concessioners that are amply financed to install the facilities, are able to conduct the business in a sound manner, will work closely with the National Park Service and have sympathy for and understanding of its policies and its obligations to serve the public.[174]

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[172] Stephen Mather, quoted in Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, p. 198.

[173] Roger Ernst, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, to Senator Hubert Humphrey, April 1, 1960, Folder 51-1; "Annual Report to the SI, 1963," p. 3, Superintendent's Annual Reports; Jackson E. Price, Assistant Director, to Regional Director, Region Two, May 29, 1957, Folder 51-2; Martin B. Thiede, General Manager, Glacier Park Company, to Mr. Jack Emmert, January 30, 1958, Folder 51-2, all in GNPA, Ruhle Library, West Glacier, MT.

[174] *Report of the Director, NPS, to SI*, 1946, p. 317.

Such ideal concessioners were not, however, expected to invest without "a reasonable expectation of fair earnings and the ultimate amortization of their interests."[175]

The search for balance between private profit and public service dominates the history of concessions within Glacier National Park. Anticipating public demand and serving public needs was a mandate of the NPS and was in the best interest of those private entrepreneurs who risked federal interference, a short travel season, and constant flux in American travel patterns in hopes of realizing a profit. The nature and pace of concession development within Glacier National Park thus provides a stage for the study of the appeal of the American West, changes in travel patterns, the ongoing and much-documented debate between development and conservation interests, and the relationship between federal custodians and private entrepreneurs.

West-side development, prior to creation of the park and full development of an eastern rail clientele, was primitive in design and services offered. This ambiance, "western" yet not self-consciously so, was dictated not only by the limited funds of the private developers, but also by limited transportation means and the nature of the local clientele. On the park's east side, the Great Northern, with the full support of the Interior Department, consciously created a western experience of horses, Indians, and isolated destinations, suitable to the eastern travelers' nostalgic journey into the vanishing American West. European comforts, also demanded by the predominantly wealthy clientele, tempered the rustic theme. Delivered to this pre-industrial haven by the symbol of the Industrial Age, rail clientele provided a captive (and thus profitable) audience for Louis Hill's rail/trail, hotel/chalet network.

As the auto tourist, independently mobile and possessing limited funds, replaced the captive and wealthy clientele, the nature of the accommodation/transportation/recreation infrastructure evolved. This evolution was prompted both by an increasingly powerful National Park Service "obligated to serve the public" and by the inevitable conclusion of the principal concessioner that its rail network was no longer profitable. Post-1930 development of low-cost, car-camp facilities thus clearly represented the "new" traveling public, more interested in economy, less interested in European comfort or expensive western nostalgia. Space-efficient motels replaced the cabin camps that only twenty years earlier had supplanted the vaulted ceilings, "wasted lobbies," and endless hallways of the railroad hotels. Time-intensive trail trips were rendered obsolete. Nightly limits were imposed at most Glacier facilities and tourists — once encouraged to "spend the whole summer"[176] — were encouraged to tour the park quickly, and to stay at entrance or out-of-park accommodations.

Although this evolution was ultimately dictated by the demands of the traveling public and the pecuniary interests of the concessioners, it was also closely controlled by the National Park Service. Glacier superintendents first warned of the impending flood of auto travelers in the 1920s and called for the completion of cabin camps, campstores,

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[175] Ibid., p. 312.

[176] Stephen Mather quoted in Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, p. 198.

and cafeterias in time for the opening of the Theodore Roosevelt and Going-to-the-Sun highways. The Great Northern acquiesced to these demands after rail travel dropped dramatically and after a private consulting firm indicated that the railroad's accommodation network no longer reflected market conditions. Similarly, the National Park Service demanded an increase in tourist facilities to accommodate increased tourist traffic and sought concessioners able to make the needed investment and interested in doing so.

In response to increased public outcry that the national parks were becoming more playground than nature refuge, the NPS also struggled to enact a policy accommodating both preservation and development interests. Architectural requirements increasingly stressed the unobtrusive and the serviceable. Sites of scenic splendor, once actively sought by concessioners with the approval of the NPS, were increasingly dismissed in favor of building sites less disruptive of the natural landscape. National Park Service and concessioner advocates of varied recreational opportunities — often equated with circus attractions — increasingly debated with public and private advocates of limited development.

The stream of tourists entering the park by rail, by automobile, and in ever-increasing numbers provided the link between phases of infrastructure development. Mutually dependent NPS administrators and concessioners struggled to accommodate, transport, and amuse this stream in a manner that both allowed for private profit and reflected varying philosophies on the purposes and needs of a national park.

## CONTEXT 3: PRIVATE DEVELOPMENT IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, 1900-1945

### North Fork Drainage[177]

By May, 1910, when Congress created Glacier National Park from the Flathead and the Lewis and Clark national forests, 35 homesteaders had established residence along the east bank of the North Fork of the Flathead River or along the narrow valleys of the river's many tributaries, on land wholly within the nascent park's boundaries. Glacier's enabling legislation did not "effect any valid existing claim, location, or other entry under the land laws of the United States or the rights of any such claimant, locator, or entryman to the full use and enjoyment of his land";[178] park designation did halt further homestead entry and induced the exodus of population and services to land on the west bank of the North Fork (under the less-restricting jurisdiction of the U.S. Forest Service). William Adair's decision to move his store, the primary commercial enterprise on the North Fork, from Sullivan Meadow to Polebridge in 1913 reflected this shift in the concentration of settlers.

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[177] Unless otherwise indicated, the following discussion of North Fork settlement is taken from Patricia Bik's study *Settlement on the North Fork in Glacier National Park*, 1986 (available through the MT SHPO, Helena, MT).

[178] Public Law No. 171, May 11, 1910, quoted in Bik, *Settlement on the North Fork*, p. 1.

For most, a subsistence on the North Fork could be achieved only through a combination of wage employment and agriculture. Each homesteader constructed an average of five substantial log buildings, as well as miles of pole or log snake fencing.

> In passing through the country one may see cabins, barns, chicken coops, pig pens and woodsheds, each in some stage of construction. Despite the obstacles one encounters in freighting in material, no fewer than 12 buildings have gone up in the past year. Most of these are not the ordinary squatty little dirt-roofed cabins, but trim looking buildings with two stories, full-sized windows, real doors and neatly and cozily furnished inside.

The "Flathead River Road,"[179] constructed by oil speculators in 1901 and appropriated (and maintained) by the settlers, formed a critical link in what was otherwise a scattered community. NPS administrative facilities, including the Logging Creek and Polebridge Ranger Stations, testified to the private community's unique location within the legal and physical confines of a public park.

The exodus of the east-side community — in part inspired by climatic and topographic conditions and imparted substantial momentum by federal restrictions on land use — was well underway by the early 1920s. This exodus was virtually complete by the late 1930s when an informal census taken by mail carrier Ray Price indicated that few of the early settlers remained.

**Lake McDonald**

During the 1910-1920 period, construction of visitor accommodations was stimulated by the development of the western portion of the Going-to-the-Sun Road (1919-1929) (see concessioner development, above). Yet another trend in community evolution occurred during this period: the subdivision of homestead (private) tracts into summer-cottage sites. H. D. Apgar, Charles Howe, and George L. Ramsey established this pattern along the lake shore, providing small, private cabin sites for summer residents. Although the renting of cabins was somewhat remunerative to these developers, the sale of small tracts was more profitable — for the purchaser usually contracted the seller to build a cabin on the new site, thus providing winter employment for the permanent residents.

The Half Moon fire of 1929 dramatically altered the character of the Lake McDonald community. The fire burned to the edge of Lake McDonald, consuming many private residences. Many early settlers left the area rather than rebuild. New visitor accommodations relied on frame rather than cedar-log construction.

A settlement pattern pertinent to this sector at the foot of Lake McDonald quickly applied: the development of extended-family claims. Summer homes were passed, from generation to generation, within families. Although park

[179] Also known as the North Fork Road and officially titled Glacier Route 7.

administrators have obtained title to a number of small parcels as they became available, the majority of homes remain in private ownership.

## CONTEXT 4: INFLUENCE OF LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE ON NATIONAL PARK SERVICE FACILITIES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSTIC BUILDING DESIGN, 1918-1942

Rustic design in Glacier National Park can be traced to three different stimuli: "environment," "culture," and "conservation ethic." Those who were developing facilities in the region at the turn of the century constructed their cabins, barns, and associated facilities from locally available materials, using the distinctive methods of local craftsmen working with rudimentary tools. Distance from supply centers, limited funds, and a plethora of local timber and stone, rather than adherence to a formal design principle, dictated this construction. Within Glacier National Park, buildings reflecting these vernacular roots of rustic architecture include surviving remnants of the North Fork community, the Logging Creek Ranger Station, the earliest of the patrol cabins, and the Granite Park Trail Cabin.[180] In acquiescence to the region's heavy snowfall and often bitter cold, logs were tightly notched by skilled craftsmen, roofs were steeply pitched and, in ranger stations, patrol cabins, and trappers cabins, front gable ends were extended, creating a large open porch sheltering the entry and providing space for firewood storage.

In contrast, the hotels and chalets constructed by the park's earliest concessioners reflected the deliberate attempt (culturally rather than environmentally imposed) to create a rustic "western style" attractive to eastern guests. These western-style accommodations represent critical elements of the movement defining and establishing western culture as a national heritage.

Post-1918 park structures reflect the more formal design principles incorporated within rustic architecture: following the establishment of the National Park Service (1916) and its Landscape Division (1918), park service officials attempted to reconcile the incongruities of man-made improvements within national parks by the development of a landscape-architecture philosophy and of an architectural style compatible with the environment and with the parks' "pioneer history."[181] First NPS Director Stephen Mather wrote

[180] Although postdating development of rustic style, the Granite Park Trail cabin was constructed by NPS employees working without the benefit of formal architectural plans, in mimicry of an earlier generation of backcountry cabins.

[181] Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916 to 1942* [hereafter *Presenting Nature*] Washington D.C.: USDI NPS, Interagency Resources Division National Register of Historic Places, 1993), p. 1.

> in the construction of roads, trails, buildings, and other improvements, particular attention must be devoted always to harmonizing of these improvements with the landscape. This is a most important item in our programs of development and requires the employment of trained engineers who either possess a knowledge of landscape architecture or have a proper appreciation of the esthetic value of park lands. All improvements will be carried out in accordance with a preconceived plan developed in special reference to the preservation of the landscape, and comprehensive plans for future development of the national parks on an adequate scale will be prepared as funds are available for the purpose.[182]

By the late 1920s, park superintendents, with the assistance of Landscape Division staff and of landscape architects assigned to each park, had begun preparing development plans for parks. These "master plans" (as they came to be known in 1932) were used to justify and apply for appropriations, and covered a variety of topics including the development of roadways, trails, campgrounds, administrative and concessioner buildings, and water and waste disposal systems. The master plans incorporated large maps illustrating the existing and proposed development areas, and provided text with specifications and the rationale behind the development schemes.[183]

Preliminary field work for the preparation of the maps and text was conducted by NPS landscape architects during the summer, and incorporated into master plans for various parks during the winter months. Both landscape architects and architects worked together within the Landscape Division, the former contributing their knowledge and sensitivity of specific park environments and the latter their understanding of structural systems and building design.[184]

One of the results of the establishment of the Landscape Division was the evolution and formalization of the concept of rustic architecture as it should be applied to NPS improvements. For buildings, this philosophy of appropriate development first developed as a rustic interpretation of the period's popular Craftsman style, utilizing stone foundations, stone courtyards, shingles on the walls and roofs, log columns, decorative (carved) brackets under the eaves, exposed rafters, stone fireplaces, and wood elements to break up wall surfaces.[185] By the 1920s, an "exaggerated rustic"[186] style had evolved, utilizing "pioneer log construction" in a construction style that, "through the

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[182] Halan D. Unrau and G. Frank Willis, "Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s" (Denver: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1983), p. 25.

[183] Ibid.

[184] William C. Tweed, Laura E. Soulliere, Henry G. Law, *National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942*, National Park Service Western Regional Office Division of Cultural Resource Management, February 1977, p. 51.

[185] HRA, *Multiple Resource Submission,* 1985, n.p.

[186] Tweed, et al., *National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942*, p. 96.

use of native materials in proper scale, and through the avoidance of rigid, straight lines and over sophistication, gives the feeling of having been executed by pioneer craftsmen with limited hand tools. It thus achieves sympathy with natural surroundings and with the past."[187] Exaggerated-rustic buildings were most-often constructed of log, with chopper cut ends, large porch areas extending the building's horizontal line, shingled roofs (doubled every fifth course for texture), and extensive use of stone in chimneys, foundations, access paths, and porch columns.

By the 1930s, although the "most important" or most highly visible buildings in a complex continued to illustrate labor-extensive exaggerated-rustic design, the majority of park residential and administrative facilities were constructed in a simplified rustic style, again reminiscent of Craftsman architecture and making "only minor concessions to the environment"[188] — including simple massing, horizontal profiles, rustic siding, an exposed log framing system, stone fireplaces, and subdued paint tones of greens, browns, greys, and mustards.[189]

"Taking into account the demands of present day economy," the majority of the buildings constructed by CCC crews were "not intended for public view" and were "not highly stylized" but rather were designed for "efficiency and functionalism" using "more economical, even if less picturesque and durable, materials, and methods."[190] Designed by the NPS Landscape Division, these examples of "simplified-rustic" architecture — primarily maintenance buildings and secondary structures — were usually rustic only in that they displayed rough-sawed wood exteriors and were finished in various tones of brown or gray.[191] Glacier's two CCC-constructed utility areas (Headquarters and St. Mary) clearly illustrate this trend in both materials and design and in building placement: simple wood-frame maintenance buildings are placed in a utilitarian linear design, facing the gas and oil house and the large asphalt-covered vehicular yard.[192]

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[187] Albert H. Good, Architectural Consultant, *Park and Recreation Structures, Part I - Administration and Basic Service Facilities*, report prepared for the USDI NPS (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1938), pp. 4-5.

[188] Tweed, et al., *National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942*, p. 97.

[189] In the RMRO Inventory Forms and NRHP Nominations and DOEs, these buildings are described as being of a "simplified rustic" architectural style.

[190] Albert H. Good, Architectural Consultant, *Park and Recreation Structures, Part I - Administration and Basic Service Facilities*, p. 4.

[191] Tweed, et al., *National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942*, p. 76.

[192] In the RMRO Inventory Forms and NRHP Nominations and DOEs, these resources are described as being of a "utilitarian" architectural style.

The designs for most of the buildings constructed in Glacier National Park originated from (or were approved by) NPS landscape architects for the Western Region, located in San Francisco. Because these architects designed similar buildings for other western parks, floor plans were similar; ranger stations, patrol cabins, residences, and equipment sheds in Glacier evidence the same structural configuration and use of materials as those in Yellowstone or Yosemite. Concession facilities throughout the national park system, prompted by similar tourist demands and obliged to comply with standard NPS specifications, also showed marked similarities. The differences, if and when they occurred, were due primarily to modifications of standard designs made by the local contractors, or to alterations in the use of materials dictated by locally available wood or stone.[193]

The principles of rustic design were applied not just to buildings but to all man-made intrusions upon the landscape. NPS landscape architects encouraged the protection and preservation of natural scenery, vistas, and vegetation; prohibited the importation of exotic plants; and used "naturalistic techniques in planting, rockwork, or logwork."[194] At Glacier National Park Headquarters, paths and walks were "constructed ... of flagstone or steeping stone construction using the excellent flat slabs of stone which are obtained from the roadside above Lake McDonald."[195] The Landscape Division strongly urged that Glacier officials place "telephone wires underground ... in developed areas as it becomes possible."[196] At Two Medicine campground, landscape architects "reserved the space between road and lake for foot traffic only and for shrub and tree screen along the lake-side."[197] "Excessive clearing" during the course of trail construction or maintenance was discouraged. Trail landscaping requirements included review by the Landscape Division and a commitment to limiting "evidence of construction outside the trail prism." Guardrails, parapet walls, water bars, and bridges were constructed of locally available stone and log in simple and unobtrusive designs. Where trail construction required blasting, trees were to be wrapped to avoid scarring. In 1934, Chief

[193] Superintendent Glacier National Park to the Director, NPS, September 1920, Box D22-26, File: Development and Maintenance, Roads and Trails, General Corr. 1916-1924, Glacier National Park Ruhle Library and Archives, West Glacier, MT; HRA, *Multiple Resource Submission,* 1985, n.p.

[194] Linda McClelland, *Registering Historic Park Landscapes in the National Register of Historic Places.* Unpublished manuscript available from the author, USDI NPS, Interagency Resources Division, Washington D.C.

[195] USDI, NPS, "Headquarters Development Plan," in the *Master Plan for Glacier National Park*, Branch of Plans and Designs, 1933.

[196] USDI NPS, "Many Glacier Development Plan" in the *Master Plan for Glacier National Park*, "Many Glacier", Branch of Plans and Designs, 1933.

[197] USDI NPS, "Two Medicine Development Plan," in the *Master Plan for Glacier National Park,*, "Two Medicine", Branch of Plans and Designs, 1933.

Engineer F. A. Kittredge, after reviewing the reconstructed Gunsight Pass Trail, reminded park Superintendent Scoyen that "the protection of vegetation, the proper sloping and the obliteration of visible portions of the old trail are vital portions of the new trail construction."[198]

In testimony to landscape's status as a constructed rather than a natural entity, landscape architects "improved" as well as protected the natural environment: trees were strategically cleared to provide those traveling the Going-to-the-Sun Road along Lake McDonald with lake and mountain views; NPS-constructed trails did not always follow their historic antecedents along the shortest course and did not always follow topographic dictates along the easiest course but instead often climbed to spectacular vistas.

## Summary and Conclusions

Congress created Glacier National Park in 1910, almost twenty years after the discovery of gold along the park's east side (ca. 1890), after the Great Northern Railway opened the valley lands to settlement and to tourism (1892), after the discovery of oil at Kintla Lake (1901), and after the United States Forest Service reopened "agricultural land" to settlement (1906). Stump lands, mining adits, remnants of wagon roads, and the permanent improvements of those classified after 1910 as "inholders" remain as testimony to both this early period of the park's history and to the administrative response to private land within a federal park.

The establishment of concessioner and administrative facilities within Glacier National Park mirrors development in many of the other western parks. Prior to the time that the NPS established a formal internal architectural review policy, concessioners generally operated with a free hand in terms of the design and layout of improvements. After establishment of the Landscape Division, the NPS began to wield more control over the character and design of tourist facilities.

In part, the change to stricter control over concessioners development stemmed from the changing needs of the American tourists — to which the NPS responded. Because many of the original park concessioners were subsidiaries of railroads, a paramount consideration on the part of the concession was to increase railroad travel. As more Americans acquired automobiles, patterns of tourism changed. The majority of guests no longer arrived in the parks via railroad. Using their own vehicles, they toured the country freely, unrestricted by railroad timetables. Auto-tourists also tended to require simpler, less expensive accommodations. Because the railroads received no direct benefit from these guests touring the park, their subsidiaries did not acquiesce easily to the demand for new types of facilities. The NPS exerted pressure on concessioners to create more economical facilities (e.g., cafeterias, housekeeping cabins, etc.),

[198] Glacier National Park Archives, Glacier National Park, West Glacier Montana: "Development and Maintenance: Roads and Trails," General Correspondence, 1911 - 42; F. A. Kittredge, Chief Engineer, to E. T. Scoyen, Park Superintendent, 7/21/34, Folder 67-4, Box D30, Ruhle Library and Archives, West Glacier, MT.

thus this agency's maturing internal policy assured that it could administer the parks according to the needs of the American public.

The entry of the United States into World War II arrested facilities development within the national park system. The personnel and monetary resources once attributed to New Deal projects in general and to park development in particular were absorbed into the war effort. Further significant enhancement of park facilities would not take place until the creation and implementation of the Mission 66 program, during which both visitor and administrative facilities once again received attention and upgrading.

## PROPERTY TYPES AND REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

The following section identifies property types associated with each of the three major themes of park history; provides descriptive information regarding the characteristics of the resources included within each property type; and defines the physical characteristics that resources must possess to adequately and accurately reflect associated themes (registration requirements).

Resources in Glacier National Park are significant for their relationship to prominent themes in park history: **private development; concession development; park administration and development.**[199]

Homestead structures along the ridges and valleys drained by the North Fork of the Flathead River, complexes of summer homes lining the shore of Lake McDonald, mining adits in the Many Glacier region, remains of the Kintla Lake oil rig, and the region's first roads reflect private development. This myriad of resources suggests a variety of property types. However, because of limits to the resources evaluated under the terms of this contract, only one property type — **Summer Homes** — is developed in the following pages.

The concessioners' distinctive hotels, chalets, boathouses, and auto camps evidence the park's primary attraction as a tourist retreat. Properties associated with concession development are best categorized, or "typed," by their association with development of **World Class Accommodations** or with development of **Economy Accommodations**.

NPS-constructed resources reflect the host of concerns of those charged with the cryptic task of "conserv[ing] the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life" within the park's million acres while simultaneously "provid[ing] for the enjoyment of the same."[200] The NPS responded to this task with three general categories of properties: resources associated with **Major Developed Areas**, resources associated with **Minor Developed Areas**, and **Circulation Systems**.

Defining -- and uniting -- all three contexts are the attributes, numbers, and needs of the traveling public: this link between themes is perhaps best demonstrated by campgrounds, "Economy Accommodations" developed by the NPS

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[199] The property types used by HRA are based upon historical association, rather than upon the basis of shared architectural similarities. It is this historical linkage between resources that facilitates interpretation and evaluation of facilities within Glacier National Park.

[200] U.S. *Stat.* 39, 535, quoted in HRA, *Historic Resources Study, Glacier National Park and Historic Structures Survey, Part I*, 1980, p.4.

in association with both "Minor" and "Major" developed areas. Similarly, many of the resources associated with these property types are linked by an adherence to the tenets of rustic architecture — either its vernacular roots (private development), as a formal design principle mitigating the intrusive impact of man-made structures within a pristine environment (park administration and development), or as a self-conscious reflection of western culture (concession development). While architectural classifications have not been used to define property types, vernacular and rustic design features are central to a resource's historical and architectural significance.

## General Standards

The following standards of integrity, criteria for establishing levels and areas of significance, and boundary justifications, were applied to all Glacier National Park historical resources. Additional guidelines for evaluating Glacier resources within the context of the region's unique history are provided in registration requirements developed for each property type.

### Integrity

In order to qualify for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criteria A and C, Glacier National Park resources must possess integrity of materials, workmanship, and design as these concepts relate to exterior surfaces. Buildings should also occupy their original locations, and the setting of district configurations should not be compromised by the addition of intrusive elements.

In the early 1940s, park administrators began a concerted attempt to reroof park buildings with non-flammable asphalt shingles, corrugated metal, or modern metal panels. Because this general policy dates to the historic period (and in recognition of park resources' vulnerability to fire), alterations in roofing material have not been deemed a significant adverse effect to physical integrity.

Integrity of location and setting will be an important contributing element to buildings in district configurations, and proposed as eligible under criteria A and C. However, integrity of location and setting is not critical for individual buildings recommended as eligible only under criterion C. Some moved buildings may also be eligible under criterion A if they currently occupy areas in which their historic association with neighboring resources is retained, and if they retain their historical appearance as it relates to the building's historic function. A number of Glacier resources have been moved during the historic period to accommodate changing infrastructure needs. In most cases, the building's period of significance dates to this change in setting and in function; NRHP criteria consideration B (moved properties) was thus not deemed applicable.

Interior spaces contribute to a building's significance *if* they retain physical integrity; under this standard, the prosaic, unfinished, dirt-floor, exposed-stud interiors of woodsheds, barns, and warehouses — if conforming to historic interior specifications — contribute to our understanding of the building's historic function and design.[201] In those instances in which an interior has been substantially modified but retains some historic features, those individual features were determined to contribute to a building's significance. It is important to note, however, that the eligibility of a building or a district is never dependent upon the integrity of interior spaces.

## Period of Significance

The majority of Glacier National Park resources continue to evolve in response to changing administrative concerns and to changes in the number and habits of park visitors. The period of significance for these resources was determined to extend to the end of the historic period (1945); this period of significance will change yearly. Resources determined ineligible for listing simply because they were not yet 50 years old were so identified and a recommendation made for reevaluation when appropriate.

No modern resources were recommended eligible under criteria consideration G because of the lack of the post-World War II historic and architectural context requisite to the establishment of exceptional significance.

## Level of Significance

All Glacier National Park historical properties were evaluated at the state or local level of significance. Those possessing significance at the state level were determined by the Cultural Resource Division of the Rocky Mountain Regional Office, NPS, to possess a level of physical integrity and a degree of architectural and historical significance not found in similar sites in the Rocky Mountain Region. These properties included: Glacier National Park Headquarters Historic District; Swiftcurrent Auto Camp Historic District; Rising Sun Auto Camp Historic District; and the Tourist Trails Historic District. Both the Tourist Trails and the Headquarters historic districts may possess national significance. However, comparison of these properties with other similar properties throughout the national park system was beyond the scope of this contract.

[201] This would include finishes which represent "replacement in kind" or the use of materials that present an appearance that is similar to historical appearances.

## Boundary Justifications

When possible, boundaries were drawn to incorporate the full range of development during a property's period of significance. In a number of instances, this standard resulted in the inclusion of modern, noncontributing resources easily excluded from a district yet located on the site of historic resources. (See, for example, the inclusion of the modern garage and shop #453 within the boundaries of the St. Mary Utility Area Historic District and the inclusion of modern equipment shed #236 within the boundaries of the Headquarters Historic District.)

To the extent possible, open space historically used to define functionally and architecturally discrete areas of use was incorporated within site boundaries. When such inclusion was not practical, modern development of the open space was defined as an adverse effect to district integrity.

In a number of instances, historical associations suggested that property boundaries be drawn to incorporate a variety of associated structures, resources, and sites. In many instances, however, associated resources had already been listed in the NRHP and delineation of revised and expanded district boundaries was impractical. However, all critical historical associations were noted and should be incorporated within interpretive and management efforts.

## Resources Associated with National Park Service Administration and Development

The three property types for resources associated with Park Administration and Development — **Major Developed Areas, Minor Developed Areas, and Circulation Systems** — draw on the classifications that defined the park's development schematics: the Master Plan. These resources will most often be classified as components of a district, with state or local significance.[202]

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[202] The use of the Master Plan schematic was proposed by Linda McClelland, NPS Washington Office, draft Multiple Property Listing entitled *Registering Historic Park Landscapes in the National Register of Historic Places*.

However, HRA has drawn only loosely upon McLelland's proposed property-type classification, largely due to the extent to which concessioner property types and registration requirements have already been developed (HRA 1991). For example, McClelland's classifications encourage development of one historic theme - park development, 1916-1942, that recognizes the extent to which concessioner and administrative facilities were linked both by shared circulation systems and by a shared responsibility to the demands of the Department of Interior, the Landscape Division, and the public. Under this scheme, appropriate property types would include district's encompassing both federal and concessioner resources and concessioner resources geared to both rail and to auto tourists.

Resources within each of these three themes are most likely to be eligible to the NRHP under criteria A and C.[203] Under criterion A, Glacier National Park infrastructure developed by the NPS reflects the range of activities in which NPS personnel were involved during the historic period, the (shifting) focus of administrative concern, and the character of the park's labor force and of park visitors, particularly as these evolved over time. Resources associated with this theme may meet National Register criterion A in any of the following areas: Politics/ Government, Entertainment/Recreation, or Conservation.[204]

Individual properties may also be eligible under criterion C, for their association with rustic design (either exaggerated or simplified). Architects working for the NPS Landscape Division created many buildings and structures for the western parks. Moderate in scale, and unobtrusive in design, most of these resources were designed to blend with and to complement the natural elements of the western landscape. Within Glacier National Park, NPS-designed buildings include log and wood frame — the latter finished with materials that impart a rustic appearance. Site furnishings, including walkways, light fixtures, and bridges, also made use of native materials and will contribute to a district's significance. For roads and trails, landscape architects concentrated on placement, vistas, the design of associated structures (such as bridges, guardrails, and tunnels), and on road "flow" — preferably along natural contours.[205]

## Major Developed Areas: Description and Registration Requirements

As defined by the NPS, Major Developed Areas included not only central park administrative, housing, and maintenance units, but also the centers of tourist use and accommodation -- the concessioner village, which often

[203] Eligibility under criteria B and D is dependent upon the site-specific development and integrity of each property and can not be anticipated simply on the basis of general historical or architectural associations or themes.

[204] There is no doubt that the New Deal, including the CCC, was a significant chapter in American social, cultural, and economic history. However, HRA believes that those resources remaining in Glacier National Park speak not to the social significance of the CCC but to the NPS administrative response to a new labor and funding source; in the absence of CCC-living complexes, the resources tell us much about the needs, resources, and activities of the NPS during the Depression Era but little about the character, the living conditions, or the social significance of CCC enrollees or the CCC program. For these reasons, we have not developed a Civilian Conservation Corps property type and have not argued that CCC-constructed resources are significant for their association with American social history.

[205] McClelland, *Presenting Nature*, p. 103.

included a variety of levels of visitor services and an administrative and/or NPS maintenance component. However, Major Developed Areas included in this Multiple Property Submission are limited to the primary west- and east-side NPS administrative facilities — Glacier National Park Headquarters and the St. Mary Utility Area. These districts are by definition located along the park's road network within ready access of the towns and transportation corridors that link the park to the "outside." Primarily developed after the Landscape Division had formalized standards regarding placement of man-made intrusions in the park, they are also hidden from the view of passing motorists.

In both of these districts, the built environment tells us much about the historic development of the park: St. Mary was developed between 1933 and 1945, a period during which completion of the Going-to-the-Sun Road provided a unifying link to the formerly disparate portions of the park, allowing centralization of east-side administrative functions, and during which cheap CCC labor allowed construction of those facilities integral to this centralization — equipment sheds, barn facilities, and a large CCC-constructed men's dormitory.

Park Headquarters demonstrates a more pronounced evolution. Employee housing has evolved from exaggerated-rustic residences for full-time employees, prominently located along the park's primary west-side entrance; to CCC-constructed simplified rustic dwellings; to development of male dormitories for seasonal employees (now coed); to "temporary" salvaged buildings for the burgeoning number of married personnel. Administrative offices, first concentrated in the exaggerated-rustic log building "announcing" entrance to the park, were later scattered throughout the complex in "make-do" infrastructure solutions until a new administrative center was established during the modern period. Beginning ca. 1928, armed with emergency fire appropriations, and extending through the 1930s (armed with Depression-era appropriations) the Branch of Plans and Design developed an orderly maintenance yard defined by linear rows of virtually identical equipment sheds; the expansion of this yard corresponded with commensurate expansions in the park's transportation network. In conformity with NPS landscape philosophy that maintenance areas be screened from domestic complexes and from the public, the utility area component of the Headquarters Historic District was "well screened from the road and administrative center, yet accessible." Within this range of function is seen the full range of NPS rustic architecture, 1917-1945: exaggerated rustic, simplified rustic, simple utilitarian maintenance facilities.

### Registration Requirements

Registration requirements developed as part of a Multiple Property Submission are not designed to supersede, or to exceed, National Register standards of integrity, as defined in *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply The National Register Criteria for Evaluation.* Rather these requirements are designed to identify those physical aspects of

a property that must be retained for a property to reflect the historical and/or architectural themes identified in the historic context.

Historically significant resources associated with Major Developed Areas will by definition be components of a district — these areas were defined by the volume of resources and by the juxtaposition of domestic, administrative, and maintenance facilities. Retention of the basic patterns of development and evidence of the extent to which resources were segregated by function will be critical to integrity.

For example, within Glacier National Park Major Developed Areas (St. Mary Utility Area and Glacier National Park Headquarters), linear rows of equipment sheds, oriented toward a central gas and oil house, created a distinctive site plan. In these instances, the mass and placement of a resource — defining its relationship to the district as a whole — is a more critical component of physical integrity than the material integrity of individual buildings.

## Minor Developed Areas: Description and Registration Requirements

Glacier resources in Minor Developed Areas are extensive and include ranger stations, patrol cabins, boathouses, fire lookouts, and equipment caches. Ranger stations traditionally included a joint administrative/residential unit, a barn, a wood shed, and a pit toilet. The presence of boathouses or garages was dependent upon the location of the development site along a lake or along the park's road network. Those front-country stations distant from the two Major Developed Areas were generally equipped with oil and gas houses and limited maintenance facilities.

Patrol cabins, fire lookouts, and boathouses did not exist in clusters yet were by definition linked as components of a larger administrative "district" or fire-control unit. Patrol cabins were generally located a day's travel apart and were linked to each other and to the base ranger station by trails and by telephone; fire lookouts were linked by trail and phoneline and their placement was determined by fire hazard and by sight lines.

### Registration Requirements

The vast majority of the park's historic ranger stations, lookouts, and patrol cabins were listed in the NRHP in February 1986, most often as entities independent of each other and exclusive of the trails that linked similar properties. While these nominations have not been amended, it is important to note that, for example, patrol cabins eligible to the NRHP under criterion A are historically significant for the extent to which they are associated with a larger patrol network of similar cabins, linked to each other and to a central district station, by trail and by phoneline. Retention of these spatial relationships is a critical component of the physical and associative integrity of the resources.

## Circulation Systems: Description and Registration Requirements

Resources associated with this property type include historic trails, roads, phonelines, and directly associated buildings and structures, including entrance stations, parapet walls, trail cabins, and "packers' roosts."

The definition of Circulation Systems as a property type under the general theme of **Park Administration and Development** is an artificial classification based upon the park service's legal responsibility, assigned in 1910, to maintain and to develop park trails, roads, and phonelines. It is important, however, that this classification not disguise the importance of the property type to all themes of park history: historic circulation systems provide a thematic as well as a physical link between park resources. They allowed Euroamerican incursion into the region, provided visitor access to concession facilities, facilitating park service control of poaching and of fire, and made the park accessible — and therefore enjoyable — to the people. As man-made intrusions upon the natural environment, circulation systems also attracted the attention of the landscape division and frequently reflect the principles of rustic design.

In a deviation from the Master Plan schematic yet in recognition of the extent to which phonelines (like roads and trails) link resources, HRA has included historic phonelines under Circulation Systems. Due to the shared linear characteristics of these resources, this matrix also facilitates the delineation of registration requirements.

### Registration Requirements

The historical significance of circulation systems is best understood in the degree to which they linked resources; ideally, they should be evaluated as components of a district (including designed or cultural landscapes). In those instances when auxiliary components of a system have already been listed in the National Register of Historic Places (e.g. lookouts and patrol cabins), it may be most appropriate to add the circulation system to existing nominations.

### Trails

Tourist trails access the most scenic areas of the park, are generally well maintained, exhibit careful attention to location, and were most often reconstructed under the watchful eye of the Landscape Division. Grades are not to exceed 15%, parapet walls, water logs, and bridges are constructed of log and stone to mitigate intrusions upon the natural environment. During the historic period, these trails provided access not only to scenic vistas but to the tent camps, chalets, and hotels of the primary concessioner; they were a critical component of a network of facilities.

In the early years of Glacier National Park, the distinction between tourist trails and fire trails was a de facto rather than formal distinction: the Great Northern Railway constructed trails accessing its tourist facilities; the NPS

constructed fire and patrol trails required for effective management of the park. Neither tourist nor fire trails adhered to standard specifications: by necessity, these were strictly functional resources.

By the 1930s, the NPS Master Plan clearly differentiated between tourist trails and fire trails: tourist trails were accorded significant attention by the Landscape Division and were frequently rerouted; fire trails retained their utilitarian function of providing the quickest possible access to areas of the most immediate fire danger, and were officially described as "low standard trails which will serve to provide emergency access to areas yet discourage tourist travel over them." These trails are of steeper grade, narrower tread, and are generally unmaintained beyond clearing required for passage. They link patrol cabins and fire lookouts and historically were roughly paralleled by phonelines. Retention of these physical characteristics and historical associations are critical to a fire trail's NRHP eligibility.

By the ephemeral nature of the resource, trails retain little historical material: "new" dirt fills the tread; new bridges ford the creeks. In contrast, rock cuts, retaining walls, and switchbacks in rocky areas are structural elements that are little changed. Retention of historic trail alignment, topography, and construction techniques should thus be considered the integral components of physical integrity. Although subject to routine maintenance, and occasionally rerouted, if a trail is to be determined eligible for inclusion in the NRHP, its origins and destinations should remain unaltered, as should the principal vistas accessed. The trail should conform generally to historic trail specifications and should traverse the same type of terrain as during the historic period (thus demonstrating the same range of construction techniques). The removal of prominent features of the trail, such as a dramatic reduction or increase in grade, or the elimination of a series of switchbacks and or rock-wall cuts, could eliminate a trail segment from consideration as an eligible property.

### Roads

Like trails, roads conformed to two general classifications: those connecting the park with the larger state and federal highway system and those designed to provide administrative and/or tourist access to isolated corners of the park. And, like trails, roads varied considerably in the level of engineering, architectural, and construction effort and skill required of their construction.

To be eligible to the NRHP as an historically or architecturally significant resource, a road must conform generally to design standards evidenced during the resource's period of significance, including width, curvature, and surface material. Alignment should generally follow the historic course, thus contributing to our understanding of the degree to which the road linked disparate components of the park. The retention of those associated resources — ranger stations, trails cabin, lookouts, tourist facilities, community centers, homesteads, etc. — that defined the road's

administrative function is also critical to physical integrity and to integrity of association. Roads eligible to the National Register under criterion A for their association with Park Administration and Development will most often be identified in the Master Plan as an important part of the developmental schematic of the park or of a park area. Those significant for their association with private settlement must have played a significant role in the development and evolution of community characteristics, including the location and nature of building clusters.

Roads eligible under criterion C will most often reflect the tenets of rustic landscape architecture — in the use of native materials and the protection of natural features and scenic qualities — or will demonstrate feats of engineering or of construction.

**Phonelines**

Beginning in the 1930s, the NPS replaced above-ground front-country phonelines with buried cable. In 1956, in the culmination of a process that began with the introduction and ready availability of the short-wave radio, all but the Polebridge to Numa Ridge section of the backcountry network was abandoned. This last line was abandoned in 1986 and burned in the 1988 Red Bench Fire. Given the few remaining components of what was once an extensive communication system, HRA recommends a liberal definition of physical integrity for these resources.

While it is extremely unlikely that the lines will retain a majority of original or even historic components, modern maintenance techniques mirrored those used during the historic period and did not significantly impair physical integrity. Areas traversed by phonelines were routinely subject to fire and to insect infestation (and subsequent deadfall): the loss of "poles" is thus consistent with historical development and also does not significantly impair integrity. Retention of the line itself, of historic insulators, and of the historic alignment — including the terminal points — are the critical components of physical integrity. In those instances when the physical condition of the line itself is particularly impaired, the inclusion of intact terminal points will be essential to establishing integrity and to interpreting historic line use.

## Resources Associated with Concession Development

Borrowing from James Hill's boast and definition of GPHC resources as "World Class" accommodations, and from the public's plea for "Economy" accommodations for the "forgotten man," HRA proposes two property types associated with concession development: World Class Accommodations and Economy Accommodations.

Although concessioner facilities include a variety of different types of resources, all were designed and developed to provide accommodations and recreation opportunities to Glacier National Park visitors. Indeed, during the peak years of early development (1911-1927), the accommodations were designed to become part of the entire Glacier National Park "experience."

As indicated in the contextual document, National Park Service policy and the economic leverage of the Glacier Park Hotel Company represent the major forces that influenced the development of concessioner facilities. Although a number of small independent developers initiated some construction within the park prior to and immediately after its establishment (1910), most of these facilities are no longer present or have been incorporated into and altered by subsequent concessioner development.

The relative influence of National Park Service policy and the Glacier Park Hotel Company varied over time, but the primary orientation of both entities was economic. Each responded to external influences, which in large measure shaped the character of concessioner facilities. After a short period of initial development (which catered to a local, and presumably low-income tourist market), the major emphasis on development of concessioner facilities changed to entice a new clientele to the park — the relatively new and moderately wealthy American middle and upper class.

Accommodations (hotels and chalets) built during this early period (1911-1927), combine the use of rustic materials with monumental or "colossal" scale. For purposes of this report, rustic materials are defined as materials of the land — in Glacier these include log, stone, and rough cut timber.

Hotel and chalet construction sites were selected for their scenic qualities, with emphasis on high mountain lakes and expansive vistas in the interior of the park. The National Park Service and the Glacier Park Hotel Company promoted Glacier National Park as a "Trail Park" — the idea being that in order to truly experience the park, visitors should immerse themselves in the wild "untamed" landscape. However, even though the emphasis was on the "wilderness" experience, the intent was to construct buildings on a scale to match the environment rather than to blend with or be hidden by that wild landscape.

The addition of other types of architectural details give some of these early buildings an eclectic appearance. Several, such as Lake McDonald Lodge and Many Glacier Hotel, employ the use of architectural details which have been described as "Swiss" style, although this should not be thought of as a formal architectural style (such as "Georgian," "Craftsman" or "Second Empire"). At Many Glacier Hotel, elements of the "Swiss" style include jig-saw cut wood balusters, door and window trim, and roof brackets, all of which are reminiscent of the small chalets found in rural areas of Switzerland and Germany. These details function in the same manner as bracket detailing in Victorian-era houses.

The backcountry chalets fit more appropriately the description of rustic architecture. These buildings, constructed of locally quarried stone or of log, are smaller in scale than the concessioners' hotels and lack the details that give the hotels their confusing character. However, the siting of the chalets parallels that of the hotels, in that there were constructed on prominent high points of land, and stand out in the environment. Indeed, they appear to have been deliberately placed to be identified as destination points, visible to the park's backcountry users.

Tent camps, operated by the horse concessioner, linked the large hotels and the chalets via a system of horse pack trails, and provided adventure for the more daring visitor. The Glacier Park Hotel Company and the horse concessioner operation worked closely to ensure that the tent camps offered all of the services expected by the "first class" traveler.

Although the tent camps likely provided the park visitor with a wilderness experience, it can hardly be said that visitors to these facilities were "roughing it." Pack strings, some of which consisted of up to 200 head of stock, delivered supplies that included feather pillows for use by camping guests. However, unlike the hotels and chalets, the tent camp sites had no improvements that could be considered permanent. Wooden tent platforms and a corral for stock, and probably garbage pits and latrines represented the improvements at these locations.

It was not until the 1930s that the character of concessioner facilities began to change. This change was due to the national economic depression that resulted in a decrease in the number of "first class" travelers, as well as an increase in tourism by people traveling to Glacier National Park via automobiles. Generally, these people had less time and money to spend in the park, thus they were more interested in economy than in "world class" accommodations. The character of the concessioner facilities developed after 1930 reflects this change in clientele. These park visitors did not require formal dining rooms, but wanted simple accommodations and meals at reasonable prices.

New facilities developed during this era incorporated small cabins and store/cafeteria facilities. These later concessioner facilities lack the elaborate interior public spaces (the lobbies, dining rooms and ballrooms) and associated amenities. The sites of these new facilities also were different from those associated with the park's initial concessioner development. The NPS selected these sites on the basis of proximity to major roadways rather than to scenic vistas.

By the early 1930s, the Landscape Division of the National Park Service had formalized its building design policy. The NPS no longer approved of the "colossal" buildings that characterize the early hotels and chalets. Instead, it preferred small scale buildings — designed with rustic materials and placed in a manner that would blend with, or at least not clash with the environment.

Concessioner facilities developed between 1933 and 1945 fall within the property type Economy Accommodations. These facilities are fundamentally different from earlier complexes, in terms of the design (including scale, relationship of interior to exterior space) and selection of construction site. The individual cabins serve as the

private space reserved for guests. These complexes lack the interior public space typically associated with hotels and chalets. Public space is almost exclusively located outside, where the visitor is meant to appreciate the natural aspects of the park. The buildings that house the store/cafeterias can be considered informal public space, and also represent a change from earlier food service, which emphasized first class service.

Later development within the park, which took place during the 1950s, represents a logical extension of the trend towards public demand for cheaper accommodations. The change from individual cabin units to the construction of the large boxes referred to as "economy" motels at the auto camps, and at previously undeveloped sites like Apgar (i.e., the Village Inn), reflects the most recent private response to the public demand for accommodations within Glacier National Park.

Most of these new motels do not meet the age criterion for consideration as cultural resources, although they represent a continuation of the trend of NPS and concessioner response to external public demands. The architectural style expressed in the built environment prior to 1940 appears to have been subverted by cost effectiveness and the need to respond to an ever-increasing load of tourists demanding accommodations within the park. At this time, it would be difficult to justify the significance of the concessioner facilities established since 1945, since none possess characteristics which would make them qualify under the criteria exceptions as stated in *National Register Bulletin* 15.

## World Class Accommodations: Description and Registration Requirements

The property type of World Class Accommodations is comprised of a number of component parts including; hotels, chalets, tent camps and the trail systems that connect them. While all should be considered important components of this property type, the values and qualities of significance, and registration requirements for each component are different. The period of historical significance for this property type is 1914-1927.[206]

### Hotels

As indicated above, the majority of the hotels were constructed when the main concern of both the National Park Service and concessioners was to develop facilities that enhanced the park and increased visitation. The hotels are all very large in scale. The only concession to blending them with the landscape appears to have been the use of rustic

[206] Although registration requirements have been established for tent camps (HRA, *Historic Context and National Register Guidelines for Concession Operations, Glacier National Park, Montana*, 1991), these archaeological sites were not surveyed or evaluated as part of this MPS. The discussion of levels of significance, areas of significance, and registration requirement is therefore not repeated here.

materials and building designs. Hotels tend to be located at sites noted for their scenic qualities, such as near mountain lakes and/or vistas, and the design of the buildings appears to have been selected in order to "create" a wilderness atmosphere and to enhance the view through the built environment.

Typically, the hotels contain large lobbies and formal dining rooms. The interior space arrangement, reflects the intent on the part of the people financing construction — to attract visitors from the upper end of the economic scale. Associated facilities, such as dormitories, pump houses, etc. are clustered in the vicinity of the main hotel buildings, but do not interfere with the view from the main facility.

The large hotels contribute to the overall significance of World Class Accommodations in that they serve as staging areas or portals to the park interior. The hotels represent some of the first components established for this property type, and have the potential to embody the spirit and intent of early NPS policy and concessioners' desires to attract a specific type of visitor to Glacier National Park. The primary value of these facilities is associative (eligible under National Register criterion A) — in that they can establish a cognitive link between past policy and events, and the present park visitor.

Individual properties may also be considered significant for their architectural values (eligible under National Register criterion C). Glacier's large hotels appear to represent excellent examples of rustic, monumental architecture, including what has been previously informally identified as "Swiss chalet" style.

When establishing registration requirements for this component of World Class Accommodations, it is important to remember that these facilities have been continually occupied since construction and have been subject to changing NPS policy. Thus, a certain amount of remodeling — especially with regard to interior spaces — is inevitable. Indeed, exterior appearance, and the relationship of the built environment to the natural environment, would appear to be more critical to maintaining the associative value of a given property.

Additions made in the vicinity of a property, if they disrupt the relationship between the historical improvements and the view that they were built to enhance, could be considered sufficient to eliminate a property from eligibility under criterion A. New additions to hotel buildings that have been constructed since 1930 should be evaluated for architectural compatibility — especially with regard to scale and massing. This would also be true of new construction and site improvements. It is important that new buildings, which are not architecturally or functionally compatible with the historical building complex, not overwhelm the original complex.

Changes to the defining characteristics of interior hotel space should be considered on a case-by-case basis. Where modifications alter or obscure distinctive structural systems that contribute to the architectural and/or associative significance of a particular building, they should be counted as adverse effects that degrade the integrity of the building.

Many of the interior alterations that have already taken place (e.g., the addition of rooms with private baths to some hotels), have not altered the basic arrangement of interior space. Remodeling of rooms for new functions should not be sufficient to eliminate a building from eligibility if the basic relationship between private (guest rooms) and public (dining rooms, etc.) remains the same.

Alterations such as these will likely have to be judged from the standpoint of cumulative effect. That is, it is unlikely that any single modification would be enough to eliminate a building from eligibility. However, a point may be reached where the cumulative effect of many small changes will exceed acceptable limits.

**Chalets**

There are few remaining examples of the chalets. These buildings formerly were located in remote areas, at scenic vistas within the Glacier backcountry. In terms of architecture, the chalets shared rustic design with the hotels, however, they are smaller in scale. These differences appear to be due to their locations, which precluded importation of large quantities of building materials. Both extant backcountry examples (Sperry Chalet and Granite Chalet) are made of locally available stone, and timber cut from surrounding forests. Also, a smaller number of people visited the chalets than visited the larger hotels, since most were accessible only via pack trail.

The chalets contribute to the overall significance of World Class Accommodations in that they were designed and built to draw early park visitors into the Glacier backcountry, to observe the scenic splendors of the park. They are components of the first comprehensive system of accommodations within the park and possess associative value (eligible under criterion A). These buildings may also possess architectural merit (eligible under criterion C).

The former locations of chalets may also possess some significance, if new development of the area has not altered the natural landscape and the original vista. Although the improvements may have been removed, these areas could represent the basic concept of "site," as a former location of historically significant activity.[207]

Similar to the major hotels, the remaining chalets have been continuously occupied since construction. Therefore one must expect modifications to have occurred to the historical buildings and to the site area in general. Also like hotels, the most significant and also the most vulnerable quality of significance is the relationship between the built environment and the natural environment. Modern additions to the historical buildings, and to the site area in general, should not exceed the scale of development of the original complex, nor interfere with the relationship between the historical buildings with the view/vista that the complex was built to enhance.

[207] Judging from the thorough removal and "clean-up" efforts by National Park Service personnel, it is unlikely that any of these former locations would possess an historical archaeological component.

## Economy Accommodations: Description, Historical Significance and Registration Requirements

"Economy Accommodations" represent a significant change from the types of concessioner facilities developed prior to 1930. Unlike World Class facilities, economy accommodations consist of individual, self-contained units that demonstrate no significant linkage between individual properties. In addition, the scale of individual buildings and site layout is dramatically different from earlier facilities, and represents a response to changes in the behavioral patterns of the national population. The period of significance for this property type is 1933-1945.

Complexes that include economy lodging generally are located near major automobile transportation routes or road junctions. Complexes generally consist of a series of one- or two-unit private guest cottages, with public space limited to the exterior spaces. A camp store and cafeteria is usually located nearby, and may be combined within a single building.

Architectural designs continue the rustic theme established during the initial phase of concessioner facilities development. However, the scale of individual buildings constructed at the auto-camps is dramatically smaller than those established as part of the system of World Class Accommodations.

In the case of early improvements being renovated to fit the pattern of "Economy Accommodations," the buildings should reflect their primary association with the tourist trade.

The primary value of properties within this type is associative (eligible under criterion A). These facilities are representative of a major shift in National Park Service policy made in response to external changes in the leisure patterns of the American public. The character of the buildings constructed at these properties also exemplify a shift in National Park Service policy regarding the character of new building construction within a National Park primarily established for its natural beauty. As such, individual buildings and/or buildings complexes may be found eligible under National Register criterion C, specifically as representative of small scale, rustic building design.

### Registration Requirements

Like hotel and chalet complexes, "Economy Accommodation" complexes will have been continuously occupied since establishment, and it is likely that some modifications have been made to individual buildings and to the building sites as a whole. However, unlike hotel and chalet complexes, the qualities of significance of these types of facilities are not as dependent upon the interaction between the built and natural environment. In a sense, the development of these complexes was contained within the building site, and was not designed to bring the natural environment into the building complex. Eligibility will depend upon integrity of individual buildings and whether or not new building construction exceeds, in number and scale, the level of development present during the historical period.

## Resources Associated with Private Development

Resources associated with this park theme vary greatly, depending upon their location within the park, their period of development, and their abandonment or continued use. Those evaluated under this contract, however, fall into two general categories: Subsistence Agriculture/Mixed Economy; Summer Homes.[208]

### Subsistence Agriculture/Mixed Economy: Description and Registration Requirements

Resources associated with Subsistence Agriculture/Mixed Economy are significant for their association with an isolated frontier community dependent upon a primitive transportation network and upon area resources for building materials, subsistence, and economic development. Extant components of this property type being evaluated under this contract are without exception located on park land drained by the North Fork of the Flathead River and have been evaluated for eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places during the course of two studies: Patricia Bik's 1986 study of *Settlement on the North Fork* and Douglas Scott's 1989 *Evaluation of Cultural Resources Affected by the Red Bench Fire, Glacier National Park*. HRA has thus not developed registration requirements for individual sites associated with this property type. The following discussion relates to the standards of integrity by which one should judge the cultural landscape.

As established in the historic context (Chapter 3 above), and in considerable depth in Bik's study of North Fork homesteading, the North Fork community consisted of a series of 35 homesteads, all containing a house, animal shelter, large garden, and wagon-road access. Most contained at least four outbuildings, as little as six acres of cultivated natural meadow or as much as 60 acres, and log fencing. Many contained an irrigation system and an orchard. With only one exception, the buildings were constructed of log, often by one of the community's master builders, and thus were both a tangible response to the natural environment and a reflection of "the repeated use of methods, forms, and materials of construction ... indicat[ing] successful solutions to building needs or demonstrat[ing] the unique skills, workmanship, or talent of a local artisan."[209] All of these "physical components"[210] of the landscape reflected the

[208] Tourist facilities developed by "inholders" and still in private ownership should be evaluated according to the property types and registration requirements associated with *Concession Development*.

[209] USDI NPS Bulletin 30 *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*, Washington D.C., NPS Interagency Resources Division, n.d., p.19.

(continued...)

unique characteristics of the community: isolation; small-scale subsistence agriculture; reliance upon vernacular architecture; and setting within the confines of a federally administered park.

Cultural, physical, and political forces converged to a unique degree to form the parameters of the community: the river formed a natural demarcation and defined the limits of NPS jurisdiction; the community was linked by the 40-mile Flathead River Road, the sole primary transportation corridor (and "just a hole cut through the timber and a narrow one at that").[211] The community was monitored by federal authorities stationed at the Polebridge and the Logging Creek ranger stations. This federal control, limiting additional settlement and agricultural, ranching, trapping, and hunting opportunities, to a large extent dictated the nature of the community's development after 1910; the political boundaries of the area thus correlate to cultural boundaries.

On a smaller scale, the contour of the community was defined by the environment and the topography: Bik writes that

> few of the claims totaled the full 160 acres allowed by law. The often irregular shapes of North Fork homesteads were scribed no doubt so as to encompass the maximum amount of open meadow land in any one claim. In addition to obtaining as much meadow land as possible, the settlers located near free-flowing springs or on creek or river banks where shallow wells could be dug.[212]

With few exceptions, homesteads were located within one mile of the Flathead River Road, along either the North Fork of the Flathead River or one of the river's many small tributaries. Houses were sited either to take advantage of the protection that timber or swales offered from snow and wind or (in polar contrast) to take advantage of prominent vistas.

**Registration Requirements**

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[209](...continued)
Most of these were not "the ordinary squatty little dirt-roofed cabins, but trim looking buildings with two stories, full-sized windows, real doors and neatly and cozily furnished inside" (quoted in Bik, *Settlement on the North Fork*, p. 51).

[210] USDI NPS Bulletin 30 *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*, pp. 5-6.

[211] Mary Schoenberger Kickbusch, quoted in Bik, *Settlement on the North Fork*, p. 12.

[212] Bik, *Settlement on the North Fork*, p. 32.

To be eligible to the NRHP, a landscape must retain those features that speak most directly to the community's historical development.[213] Within the North Fork community, significant for its reflection of diversified subsistence agriculture within an isolated environment distant from supply centers, these resources would include the Flathead River Road, the buildings, structures, and small-scale features that defined historic land use, and evidence of the nature of the area's agricultural development.

Those features determined to be critical to an understanding of the community's development must retain physical integrity. Circulation systems should follow historic design standards and alignments; fields must be demarcated from surrounding land, either by means of fences or of changes in vegetation; buildings should remain in sufficient number to testify to the standard vernacular design/construction techniques and to the historic size and spatial organization of the community.

## Summer Homes: Description and Registration Requirements

Resources associated with the property-type Summer Homes will generally consist of single units or of a residence/garage complex constructed in the vernacular or rustic style making use of local materials. The buildings will be evaluated as individual resources or, when appropriate, as components of a district. NPS-owned summer homes evaluated in this Multiple Property Submission[214] are located within Apgar Village or adjacent to Lake McDonald Lodge. The majority of resources associated with this property type, however, remain in private ownership.

These resources may be eligible for inclusion in the NRHP under criterion A, for their association with pre-park settlement and development of the Glacier region, or under criterion C for their association with vernacular architecture or with rustic design as developed outside the purview of the NPS Landscape Division.

### Registration Requirements

Retention of those architectural features that demonstrate rustic architecture as developed outside the purview of the NPS Landscape Division will be critical to a building's physical integrity. Integrity of setting and of association will be dependent upon retention of the scenic vistas and access routes that determined a resource's historic siting.

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[213] USDI NPS Bulletin 30 *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*, p. 21.

[214] Buildings #44, #291; #1105, #1106.

## G. Geographical Data

All of the resources included in this submission are located wholly within Glacier National Park, Flathead and Glacier counties, Montana.

## H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Because of the volume of existing material, including building-specific delineations of historical development, archival research was limited to those sources considered best able to fill data gaps. These gaps included information on trail construction and maintenance, interior features, site development, and the implementation of rustic design within the park.

## Archival Collections

### Glacier National Park Archives and the George C. Ruhle Library, West Glacier, Montana

Trail- and building-construction files at this repository contained building construction orders, project completion reports, and brief (and inconsistent) descriptions of maintenance and reconstruction. These documents provided valuable technical information on standard and building-specific interiors, and park-wide reconstruction projects — most notably those initiated in response to changing building health/life-safety codes.

Correspondence files provided valuable information on the historic context within which a reconstruction project was undertaken. For example, letters originating from the park superintendent's office delineate the need to increase employee housing and expand maintenance facilities in response to increased visitation and to changing labor laws. These historic factors resulted in both new construction and the remodeling and reuse of existing buildings.

Similarly, correspondence and technical reports regarding trail maintenance and reconstruction clearly document the transition during the 1930s from the use of "utilitarian" trails built along routes that required minimal construction effort, to "scenic" trails, often blasted from solid rock and sheer elevations yet providing access to Glacier's most scenic vistas. Also documented was the effort to construct trails at a grade more accommodating to hikers and pack horses.

The National Park Service's increased attention to landscape and setting following the 1918 creation of the Landscape Division has been well documented. Correspondence originating from this division proved valuable in

documenting the procedures and consideration behind initial site selection and the evolution of the developed landscape at specific sites.

HRA also reviewed transcripts of 39 oral histories for additional information on building interiors and setting, and regarding the North Fork area. We found little material not already included in NRHP nominations or the North Fork thematic study.

**Glacier National Park Maintenance Files, Headquarters**

Individual building files, housed in the maintenance division of park headquarters were reviewed for building-specific information. These files generally consisted only of ca. 1950 "GNP 150-A forms" that specified builder, date of construction, interior and exterior finishes, and descriptions of remodels to date. Remodels initiated post-1986 were also occassionally documented in these files. No information was included on changes instituted between 1952 and 1986.

**Rocky Mountain Regional Office (RMRO), Denver, Colorado**

Building-specific files maintained by the RMRO contain Determinations of Eligibility for the St. Mary Utility Area, Glacier National Park Headquarters, the Polebridge to Numa Ridge phoneline, historic photographs, and site inventory forms. This data was augmented with a review of the Real Property Files.

The amount of information included in the Real Property Files varied. However, most building cards include a brief description of additions, remodels, and reconstruction work undertaken between 1956 and the present. The files also contained the same "GNP 150-A" forms found at the park. We did not find Real Property Files for all buildings associated with this project.

**Denver Service Center, Technical Information Center, Denver, Colorado**

This repository contains an invaluable collection of interior and exterior blueprints, site maps (including those associated with the park's Master Plans), and technical reports pertaining to many of the buildings and sites associated with this project. Copies of many of these plans are included as "Additional Documentation" in the nominations associated with this Multiple Property Submission.

**HRA Library, Missoula, Montana**

Data gleaned from a review of HRA's Glacier National Park archival collection included information on trail systems, trail construction and trail maintenance, construction and maintenance of the North Fork road, ranger station site selection and interior design, in addition to site-specific landscape design and service-wide landscape policy.

**Mansfield Library, University of Montana, Missoula, Montana**

The library's special collections contained a number of ca. 1930 accounts of travel to Glacier, guidebooks, and information manuals. Morton Elrod's *Guide and Book of Information of Glacier National Park*, and Agnes Laut's *Enchanted Trails of Glacier Park* provided especially useful information regarding park interiors, the historic (and often primitive) road system, and the system of Circle Tours that defined the park during the 1910s and 1920s.

## Secondary Sources

Secondary source research was limited to those works suggested by the RMRO, most notably William Tweed, Laura E. Soulliere, and Henry Law's study of *National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942* (1977) and NPS Architectural Consultant Albert H. Good's 1938 three-volume study of *Park and Recreation Structures* (1938).

## Field Recordation

Field recordation involved a number of different tasks, including:

- Field checks of existing building descriptions
- Determination of potential district boundaries
- Review of landscape features
- Survey and documentation of previously unevaluated resources
- Review of interiors of those buildings more than 45 years old
- Trail survey
- Location and cursory descriptions of pit toilets
- North Fork landscape survey

Prior to the initiation of field work, HRA personnel converted existing NPS List of Classified Structures (LCS) forms to the RMRO inventory form. This task familiarized key field personnel with the number, characteristics, and

distribution of Glacier National Park's historic resources. Data gaps were generally limited to interior and landscape characteristics. Building descriptions, however, were often cursory and frequently failed to provide a building's orientation, relationship to the rest of the site, or the elevation of architectural components, including porches, windows, and doors. Much of HRA's field recordation efforts centered around upgrading these descriptions to standards stipulated in NPS *NRHP Bulletin 16*.

The GNP 150A-form discussed above blueprints detailing interior finishes (if available), and an interior survey form prepared by Jim McDonald guided the interior review: HRA compared current interior finishes and floorplans to original and ca. 1950 finishes, noting alterations. HRA personnel photographed the major interior spaces. In some instances, access to all rooms of buildings or to all of a series of identical buildings was denied.[215] In the latter case, field personnel made sure that a representative sample of similar remodels was documented. For example, the cabins within the Lake McDonald Lodge Historic District were remodeled in the early 1980s. All of the buildings were completely refinished with identical modern, incompatible materials. HRA personnel documented the interiors of a representative of each type of unit.

Pit toilets associated with ranger stations, lookouts, and patrol cabins were not included in the 1986 National Register nominations. HRA was asked (1993) to locate and describe those toilets described in the NPS's real property files as extant. Some were found to be modern, others were not found at all, others appear to be historic. However, it is extremely difficult to document construction dates for these prosaic and frequently moved buildings. Because of the general lack of historical information and because of the buildings' small size and insignificant use, they were not counted as contributing or noncontributing components of associated sites (as per *National Register Bulletin 16A*, p. 17). With only one exception (Kishenehn Ranger Station Historic District), pit toilets are located outside site boundaries as currently defined. Thus HRA discussed them in a group Determination of Eligibility (DOE) rather than in an addendum to specific nominations. The pit toilet at Kishenehn is located in the center of the historic district and is described in an addendum to the original nomination.

Field documentation of trails included hiking the length of the trail, and documenting its physical characteristics (both "unique" and "typical") through written notes and photographs. Physical characteristics include the width of the tread, whether or not the grade is actually constructed or "impromptu", the steepness of the grade, and the topographic orientation of the trail (i.e., river grade or ridge top).

HRA's review of the North Fork Valley, preparatory to evaluation of the historic landscape, involved a search for agricultural landscape components (as defined in *National Register Bulletin 30*) including fences, circulation

[215] Most access problems involved buildings controlled by the concessioners.

networks, fields, orchards, building complexes, and irrigation systems. This search was guided by site forms prepared by Patricia Bik in 1986 and forms prepared by Douglas Scott of the NPS Midwest Archeological Center (MAC) following the Red Bench Fire that burned much of the North Fork Valley.[216]

[216] Douglas D. Scott, *Evaluation of Cultural Resources Affected by the Red Bench Fire, Glacier National Park*, USDI NPS Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1989.

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