D-1591

historic resources study
historic structures survey

august 1980

GLACIER

NATIONAL PARK / MONTANA

ON MICROFILM

HISTORIC RESOURCES STUDY, GLACIER NATIONAL PARK

AND

HISTORIC STRUCTURES SURVEY

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PREFACE

The Contract (#CX-2000-8-0049) between the National Park Service's Denver Service Center and Historical Research Associates of Missoula, Montana, requires HRA to complete a Historic Resources Study for Glacier National Park, Montana. The scope of this study is quite broad. It comprises a detailed history of transportation to and within Glacier National Park, a historical narrative of the creation of Waterton/Glacier International Peace Park, and the completion of a survey of privately-owned structures in the Lake McDonald Area of Glacier Park. Part I of the report includes the historical narrative, while Part II presents the findings of the structures survey. This Historic Resources Study is intended to satisfy the interpretive needs of the National Park Service (re. transportation history) and to fulfill cultural resource requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act (1966) and Executive Order 11593.

Mr. David Walter was HRA staff historian and Principal Investigator on this project. Mr. James McDonald, consulting historical-architect, was responsible for surveying structures and for assessing the architectural significance of sites in the Lake McDonald and other surveyed areas of Glacier National Park. Mr. Alan Newell of Historical Research Associates served as Project Director and coordinator for the study.

Historical Research Associates wishes to thank the many people and organizations who assisted us in completion of this report. The Glacier National Park administration (West Glacier, Montana), the University of Montana Library and Archives (Missoula, Montana), the Montana Historical Society (Helena, Montana), the Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul, Minnesota), and the National Archives (Washington, D.C.) all aided us in this project. Special thanks must go to Mrs. Peggy Reyes, librarian at the Glacier National Park Library and Archives for her valuable assistance to the Principal Investigator.

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PART I:

HISTORIC RESOURCES STUDY

INTRODUCTION

TRANSPORTATION TO/WITHIN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK:

UTILITARIANISM FOR A WILDERNESS

> *Utilitarianism: n.* the doctrine that the purpose of all action should be to bring about the greatest happiness for the greatest number.
>
> WEBSTER'S NEW WORLD DICTIONARY

> The successful development of a national park calls for harmony between natural values and the physical improvements necessary to enhance visitor enjoyment. Improvements need to be planned carefully and thoroughly, and, more importantly, with vision--for there is no point to return once the character of the wilderness is changed.
>
> Francis R. Oberhansley

The issue of transportation in the context of Glacier National Park is more complicated than it seems. A portion of this complexity derives from the nature of transportation itself: simultaneously it is causative and resultant; it operates on levels much broader than that of local events. Furthermore, in the case of Glacier, significant transportation routes historically preceded the establishment of the Park. The topic's intricacy also is enhanced because accessibility *within* the Park, after 1910, is a managed, rather than a spontaneous, development. Despite this complexity, a study of transportation to/within Glacier is revelatory--not only does it intersect all of the Park's major historical themes, but it also provides a realistic arena in which entrenched philosophical forces continue to battle.

Transportation is a binal topic, in that it encompasses both the established routes and the means by which those routes are traveled. The subject reflects the larger issue of international accessibility to this remote, relatively unpopulated area of northwestern Montana.[1] The

severe weather and the rugged character of this country directly have dictated the development of its transportation patterns. For example, Glacier Route One--the Going-to-the-Sun Road--is currently passable for less than five months each year, and it is the Park's major visitor artery.

In its initial phases, transportation in the Glacier area related directly to these elements of Rocky Mountain weather and topography. In effect, Native Americans and early white travelers accepted what the country permitted. As a result, the first routes were minimal in number and quality, and the means of travel were diverse: foot, snowshoe, horse, raft, sleigh, freight wagon, rowboat, stagecoach, steamboat. Only with the completion of the Great Northern Railway tracks through the area in 1892 was this region even potentially accessible to substantial numbers of persons who originated beyond the immediate locales.

One key to the development of transportation patterns in the Glacier area is the Great Northern Railway. James J. Hill's transcontinental line opened this remote region to national access (1892), as well as developing an internal travel system after the national park's creation (1910). The Great Northern primarily is responsible for placing the Glacier area in an effective national context. More important, the Railway invariably responded to national, rather than local, stimuli.

Transcontinental railroads were preeminent in North American transportation at the turn of the century. The Great Northern Railway was, in many ways, a functional image of the eminently successful American Industrial Revolution. From the industrialized Gilded Age emerged another pertinent element--a rising middle class, acquisitive of wealth and leisure time. Hence the popularization of the "vacation," a phenomenon formerly restricted to the upper class. Particularly James J. Hill's son, Louis, viewed the increasing numbers of the middle class in search of vacation sites. He also surveyed the miles of Great Northern track stretching from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Coast--an operation unsubsidized by the federal government and in need of traffic. Louis W. Hill believed, as early as 1905, that the two elements could be combined.

Another set of pertinent national forces simultaneously simmered in the background: the battling contingents of the American conservation/preservation movement. This movement rightfully claimed responsibility for the establishment (1891/1897) of the Lewis and Clark Forest Reserve, land from which much of Glacier National Park subsequently was created.[2] Between 1907 and 1912, this diverse movement concentrated on, and ultimately polarized itself with, the Hetch Hetchy Dam controversy.[3] Yet the proposed establishment of Glacier National Park effected a concensus for the warring factions: conservationists saw Glacier as a "wise-use," hybrid national forest; preservationists perceived the Park as a protectorate of spectacular scenery and unique geology. In effect, each faction of the movement believed it supported the utilitarian management of the Glacier National Park.

The creation of Glacier National Park, in 1910, irrevocably altered transportation patterns in and adjacent to the Department of Interior's reserve. Rather than existing as an area in which natural, commercial forces dictated the development of resources and transport routes, all of Glacier's important developmental aspects would be managed by the federal government. From this point, the history of the administrative development of Glacier would be relatively commonplace, were it not for two factors: the terms of the Park's enabling legislation (1910) and the mandates of the National Park Service Act (1916). In this context is couched the basic utilitarian question: "How should Glacier National Park be administered, to produce the greatest happiness for the greatest number?"

Local opposition to the initially preservationistic status of Glacier National Park forced exemptions in its enabling legislation. Thus *Senate Bill 2777* attempted to appease the "wise-use" *and* the preservationistic factions of the conservation movement.

> Be it enacted. . .That the tract of land. . .is hereby reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or disposal,. . .and dedicated and *set apart as a public park or pleasure ground* for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of the United States. . . .
> That said park shall be under the exclusive

> control of the Secretary of the Interior, whose duty it shall be. . .to make and publish such rules and regulations. . .which regulations shall *provide for the preservation of the park in a state of nature*, so far as is consistent with the purpose of this Act.[4]

Although created a national park, Glacier retained many characteristics of a multiple-use national forest. Herein originated Glacier's dichotomy between "wise use" and preservation.[5]

The bill to establish a separate National Park Service within the Department of the Interior (1916) enforced that dichotomy.

> The service thus established shall promote and regulate the use of Federal areas known as national parks . . .*to conserve* the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein, and *to provide for the enjoyment of* the same in manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.[6]

Glacier National Park has been administered for all but its first six years under this 1916 act. During those six years, however, a strong pattern developed--a pattern of providing extensive transportation facilities and visitor accommodations. For its first two decades, Glacier would answer the utilitarian question--"How does the Park provide the greatest happiness for the greatest number?"--with examples of "wise-use" development.

This type of development integrated two factors, transportation and accommodations.[7] To enjoy the new park, visitors required access to its scenery. So Glacier's administrations and its major concessionaire, the Great Northern Railway, developed a basic transportation system. Yet the wilderness Park was extensive, and the primitive nature of roads and vehicles limited the speed of travel: a tourist needed weeks, even months, fully to experience the scenery. Thus, on lakes situated at the ends of feeder routes, concessionaires constructed accommodation facilities.

The interdependent relationship between transportation routes and accommodations is vital to Glacier National Park's development--whether in terms of roads and hotels, trails and alpine chalets, launches and

tent camps, or truck-trails and campgrounds. The visitor sought transportation to the Park's scenery and, at the very least, needed overnight accommodations. Once the two were established, the concessionaire legitimately required the early opening and adequate repair of these routes, to operate and maintain his facility during the short season. In Glacier, difficulties involving one of the two elements invariably affected the other--they were that interdependent. Regardless of diligent advertising by the Park administration and by the Great Northern Railway, if either transportation facilities or accommodations were inferior, Park visitation to the affected area ultimately suffered.

Again, the utilitarian question was answered by the Department of the Interior, by the early Glacier Park administrations, and by the fledgling National Park Service in terms of developing visitor facilities. The "public park-pleasure ground" perception dominated not only federal management, but also the activities of Glacier National Park's prime concessionaire, the Great Northern Railway. This railroad, through its subsidiary and cooperative concessionaires, quickly established an extensive transportation/accommodations system on the Park's East Side--a system based on *rail transport to Glacier*. Between 1910 and 1917, the Great Northern was responsible for the construction of major roads and trails, for the promotion of bus-line and lake-launch systems, for the establishment of two large hotels, seven chalet complexes, and four tepee camps, and for the installation of a telephone-communication network. As a result, the basic Great Northern transportation/accommodations complex existed prior to the appointment (1917) of the first Director of the National Park Service.

That the Great Northern primarily is responsible for Glacier's transportation/accommodations system prior to 1930 is agreed among Park historians. *Why* the Railway initially became interested in Glacier, developed the system, and remained in the Park until 1960 is the cause of greater historical speculation. As noted, the Great Northern laid its tracks along the southern boundary of the future Park in 1891/1892. Yet not until 1907 did Railway executives exhibit any concerted interest

in the Glacier area. Of course, the establishment of a national park on its line would benefit the Railway's passenger traffic. Such a reserve would permit the Great Northern to compete with the rival Northern Pacific Railroad, which controlled rail access and facilities in Yellowstone National Park.

More important to the involvement of the Great Northern in Glacier Park, however, was Louis W. Hill, the Railway's President (1907-1912, 1914-1919). The company's interest in the establishment of the national park coalesced in 1907, when Louis succeeded his father, James J. Hill, to the Presidency. Glacier's East Side long had provided a favorite retreat for Louis; its development became his personal project after 1910.

The Great Northern maintained an interest in promoting, along its lines, *any* project that would generate freight or passenger traffic. Louis Hill's love for the East Side, however, raised the Railway's development of its Glacier transportation/accommodations system above corporate expediency. The Great Northern infrequently turned an annual profit from its Glacier operations, yet the Railway applied its impressive array of corporate facilities to these enterprises, under Louis Hill's personal aegis. Glacier's scenery had captured Hill, and visitors to Glacier became the ultimate beneficiaries. Following Louis' withdrawal from a controlling corporate position (1929), the Great Northern respected its commitments to the Glacier operations--long after those concerns proved economically indefensible.

The history of transportation in Glacier National Park also involved the relationships held by several federal-government representatives with those concessionaires providing services to Park visitors. Obviously the prime concessionaire was the Great Northern Railway, which functioned through its subsidiary and cooperative companies. Yet the Railway dealt with various governmental factions: the Department of the Interior, the National Park Service, and the Glacier Park administrations. Invariably the company formed an alliance with whatever representatives were most receptive to its plans, a bond which usually lasted until the governmental personnel changed.

The Great Northern's initial administrative lines extended to the national-park offices in the Department of the Interior, and later to the Directors of the National Park Service. Because of these ties, the Railway's relations with individual Glacier Park administrations often were strained. That condition was not alleviated by the fact that the company's facilities stretched the length of the Park's East Side, and Park Headquarters were located on the West Side. Transmountain travel and communication were difficult: prior to 1930, no roadway existed; only the Great Northern's Marias Pass line provided reasonable access across the Continental Divide. The psychological effects of this East Side/West Side split were even more severe.

The key to the ultimate withdrawal (1960) of the Great Northern Railway from Glacier National Park lies in the issue of transportation modes. The Railway's entire East Side operation relied on cross-country rail transport to its aptly named Glacier Park Station (East Glacier). Yet, by 1930, national transportation patterns had altered emphasis, from the train to the automobile. More than any single factor, the automobile has modified the complexion of Glacier Park--primarily by changing the character of, and the activities preferred by, the typical Park visitor. Again the matter of providing "the greatest happiness for the greatest number" becomes central. In the case of the automobile, however, the solutions are different--and the Great Northern *Railway* necessarily resisted these solutions.

With the advent of the automobile, the nature of transportation/accommodations in Glacier Park changed. The tourist required an improved road system for his vehicle. Because he traveled farther, faster, he also desired access to additional areas of the Park--since the auto permitted him to see more of the Park during his limited stay. That same visitor preferred less expensive, auto-oriented accommodations, which few Park concessionaires offered. He wanted campgrounds and cottage-camps, and he wanted increased numbers of each, as there were increased numbers of him. The National Park Service, and especially the Glacier Park administrations, attempted to meet these changing needs. The

construction of campgrounds, camp-stores, cottage-camps, and coffee-shops ensued.

More important, between 1929 and 1936, deep-gravel and macadam roads brought automobiles to and through the Park. First, 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 with its complement in the new Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. During the 1920s, federal administrators not only had foreseen the portending shift in transportation/accommodations systems, but they also effected development to adapt Glacier to that shift.

Glacier Park administrators perceived clearly the real problem inherent in the shift of transportation/accommodations systems: increased visitation. The problem was obvious and immediate. In June, 1929, they opened the West Side approach of the Going-to-the-Sun Road to Logan Pass. Glacier visitation for the 1929 season increased over the preceding year by more than *17,000 persons*--most of whom motored through the West Entrance, on their way to the Pass.[8] Some Glacier administrators initially welcomed the increased tourist figures because they provided a pointed rationale for greater federal appropriations to Glacier. However, this administrative opinion gradually would change.

No one could forecast precisely the extent of impending visitation. Yet Glacier National Park officials, during the 1930s and 1940s, perceptibly altered their philosophical position from one of "wise-use development" to one of "restrained preservation."[9] As National Park Service commentator C. F. Brockman noted, increased auto-tourism precipitated this theoretical evolution.

> The national parks are charged with the obliga-
> of preserving superlative natural regions, including wilderness areas, for the benefit of posterity. Attentiveness to the pleasure and comfort of the people

> is essential, but it cannot mean catering to absolutely unlimited numbers unless the second function is to destroy the first.
>
> In a theater, when the seats in the house have been sold out and the available standing room also has been preempted, the management does not jeopardize the main event by allowing still more onlookers to crowd upon the stage and impede the unfolding of the drama.[10]

By 1936 Glacier's major traffic arteries had been constructed, and the Park's management resisted further road development. Therefore the provision of accommodations for increasing visitation became the central concern.

Still, *to advocate* the philosophical posture of "restrained preservation" and *to realize* that position are two different acts. During Glacier's first two decades, the Great Northern Railway operated without serious deference to various Park administrations. However, the Great Depression and World War II seriously restricted--and, in some cases, suspended--concessionaire services. Between 1930 and 1946, the Scoyen and Libbey administrations employed the visitation hiatus to coalesce their authority over all Glacier Park operations.

Thus, during the post-World War II era, Glacier officials could enforce their philosophical position of "restrained preservation." By 1950 the Emmert administration had realized its perception of the utilitarian ideal; henceforth, the National Park Service and the Glacier Park management would define the means of producing "the greatest happiness for the greatest number." Glacier's application of the "Mission 66" program best exemplifies both the philosophical basis from which the Park's administration operated and its ability to enforce the tenets of that philosophy.

The issue of transportation to/within the Glacier National Park area is a complex subject. It addresses both the routes and the vehicles employed on those routes; it is so entwined with the topic of accommodations that the two become inseparable. In the Glacier region, transportation patterns are initially the result of natural commercial forces and subsequently the effect of planned administration. Further, the

topic operates before a background of such broad social themes as the rise of the middle class and the disposition of its leisure time, the evolution of the conservation/preservation movement, and the advent of the automobile, at the expense of the railroad. Finally the issue reveals the role played by the Great Northern Railway in Glacier Park, and provides a basis on which to assess the machinations by which Glacier administrations wrested control of Park operations.

Indeed, transportation to/within the Glacier National Park area is a complex topic. It historically has been addressed, however, in utilitarian terms: "What actions will produce the greatest happiness for the greatest number?" Although various factions have defined differently "the greatest happiness," the topical arena has remained constant. Oscar L. Chapman, Secretary of the Department of the Interior (1949-1953), focuses on that matter basic to the transportation subject-arena: use versus preservation.

> . . .The long-term National interest must govern the decision on any proposal that would destroy, impair, or even modify any part of the natural scene in any part of the National Park system. . . .
> . . .If these great possessions of ours are "whittled away," if they are allowed to be impaired for any but the most compelling reasons, the process is bound to be cumulative, and the end product will be mediocrity.[11]

To the extent that the topic of transportation to/within Glacier National Park is utilitarian, it is indicative of the historical dichotomy of use and preservation. Glacier Park provides an instructive microcosm, for there its administrators ultimately achieved a viable use-preservation balance--and no element reveals that balance more clearly than does the issue of transportation.

Notes

1. By establishing this report's subject as "the history of transportation *to and within* Glacier National Park," one effectively is discussing the issue of transportation/accommodations in the adjacent Waterton Lakes National Park. Hence the report's title more accurately might read: "The History of Transportation in Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park."

2. For a more detailed discussion of this topic, see Chapters I and III.
   This subject is also discussed, at some length, in the National Park Service report for which this paper is a designed complement: James W. Sheire, GLACIER NATIONAL PARK: HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY (1700-1917) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1970). This work is a publication of the National Park Service, Eastern Service Center, Office of History and Historic Architecture.

3. The Yosemite National Park's Hetch Hetchy Dam controversy is discussed in: Holway R. Jones, JOHN MUIR AND THE SIERRA CLUB: THE BATTLE FOR YOSEMITE (San Francisco: Stanford University Press, 1965), pp. 83-169; John Ise, OUR NATIONAL PARK POLICY: A CRITICAL HISTORY (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1961), pp. 85-96; Roderick Nash, WILDERNESS AND THE AMERICAN MIND (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 161-81; Elmo R. Richardson, "The Struggle for the Valley: California's Hetch Hetchy Controversy, 1905-1913," CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY 38 (1959), pp. 249-58.
   The polarization of the conservation movement further was affected by the contemporaneous "Pinchot-Ballinger Scandal" (1909-1910), itself an indication of the more deep-seated division within the reigning Republican Party. Far more evident by 1912, this split pitted Teddy Roosevelt progressives (the "Insurgent Republicans") against Howard Taft's conservatives. See: J. Leonard Bates, "Fulfilling American Democracy: The Conservation Movement, 1907-1921," MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW 44 (1957), pp. 29-57.

4. Italics mine. U.S. Congress, Senate, SENATE DOCUMENTS: S.B. 2777, 61st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1910 (U.S. STAT. 36, 354).
   Specifically, the enabling legislation also permitted: the retention of homestead and mining claims, the harvest of selected timber, the building of railroad lines along the Middle and North Forks of the Flathead River, the construction of federal reclamation projects, and the leasing of private-cottage and visitor-accommodation sites.

5. For a detailed discussion of this dichotomy, see: Curtis W. Buchholtz, "The Historical Dichotomy of Use and Preservation in Glacier National Park," M.A. Thesis, University of Montana, 1969; and Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, 1976).

6. Italics mine. U.S. STAT. 39, 535.

7. The best work addressing the transportation/accommodations issue in Glacier is: Michael J. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concessioner Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961" (M.A. Thesis, University of Montana, 1973).

8. For complete visitation figures, see Appendix B. In this case, Glacier visitation actually rose 17,288 persons, from 53,454 in 1928 to 70,742 in 1929--an increase of 31.75 percent.

9. In terms of the transportation issue, a policy of "restrained preservation," or planned restrictive development, functions on two levels --intensive and extensive. First, such a policy emphasizes methods of handling increased visitation with the existent transportation facilities, both modes (roads, trails, etc.) and carriers (horses, automobiles, launches, busses, etc.). Possibly more important, the policy controls development by refusing to permit extensive development, such as the construction of the "North Fork-Akamina Pass Loop Road." Glacier administrators have carried the latter approach even farther, by abandoning--with locked gate, if necessary--such extant routes as the Upper North Fork Road and the Belly River Wagon Road.

   In terms of the overall transportation issue in Glacier, such an administrative policy is significant: It becomes as important which routes *are not* built or maintained as it is which roads *are* constructed or made accessible.

10. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, CONSERVATION QUOTES: A PAMPHLET (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 11.

11. IBID., p. 12.

CHAPTER I

EARLY GLACIER-AREA DEVELOPMENTS, 1800-1910

Political boundaries in Western American historically have ignored geographical logic. The typical case imposes a cartographic line, despite the physical features that establish the character of the land thus divided. The British-American boundary along the forty-ninth parallel (1819 and 1848) is such an illustration in the Glacier National Park area, particularly as that line dissects Waterton Lake. With this prime exception, however, the proposed and established boundaries of Glacier National Park are environmentally defensible. The fact that those borders have not altered in almost seventy years testifies to their essential sensibility.

The issue of such artificial boundaries is crucial to the history of Glacier National Park, because the force basic to this Northern Rocky Mountain area is its environmental character--the nature of the land itself. Robert H. Chapman, of the United States Geological Survey, early in the twentieth century prepared a description of this rugged area.[1] Commencing to the east, Chapman captures the essence of the primitive environment.

> This area of the northern Rocky Mountains is one of the most beautiful mountain regions 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 contract 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. These have been largely formed by the great glaciers which once flowed from the mighty snow-covered peaks and ridges, forming the divide between the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

The descriptive chronicler then moves into that portion of the Continental Divide later called "The Roof of the Nation."

> In the canyons are roaring streams, which head in the melting ice and snow, flow into placid lakes, and eventually into the arroyos of the plains. Between the canyons, the long finger-like ridges rise to considerable heights--the timber-covered foot sloping [upward] steeply, until a region of brush-covered broken rock is reached, which in turn leads to the base of precipitous cliffs.
>
> The canyons at the head usually terminate in great ampitheaters, rising cliff over cliff in a stairway of tremendous proportions, many steps of which retain an ice field above, until a region of huge snow banks is reached.
>
> The main Rocky Mountain mass is actually made up of two principal ranges, generally parallel, with axes in a northwesterly and southeasterly direction. The easternmost is the Lewis Range, which extends but a short distance across the Canadian boundary. The western, or Livingston, range persists much father norward.

Finally Chapman turns his attention to the area's western perspective.

> These ranges are the remnants of what was once a much wider plateau-like region of rock, which has been carved and shattered by the forces of erosion, principally those of the glaciers. Upon this great mass are the higher peaks, huge pyramids and blocks, with cliffs and precipices hundreds and sometimes thousands of feet plunging away to the roaring streams of the valleys, or ending in the great crevasse at the head of some glacier.
>
> 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 streams similar to those on the eastern side.[2]

Thus existed the natural condition of the Glacier-area wilderness: a parallel of two spectacular alpine ranges, skirted on either side by series of wooded ridges. The resultant relief created dramatic vistas. Little wonder that these sculptured mountains--often rising more than five thousand feet above the valley floors--were snow-clogged much of the year, and that they nurtured numerous glaciers.

Then, onto this virgin topographic scene, Chapman situates what remains its greatest population.

> The whole region is inhabited by wild animals. The streams and lakes abound in fish of many varieties. In the higher, barren-rock areas the white goat is found in great numbers, while on the slightly lower ridges, where some protection is afforded by stunted timber growth, brush, and slide-rock slopes, the bighorn Rocky Mountain sheep has his haunts.
>
> In the valleys and on the lower spurs are many deer and moose. In places a few elk are found. And over the whole area, from high glacier and snow field to huckleberry bush of valley and flat, the grizzly roams.[3]

Because of this substantial animal inhabitation, one might expect the Glacier area to have functioned as a prime hunting area for various Native American bands. Such, however, was not particularly the case.

The Continental Divide established a natural demarkation for habitual tribal land usage. Thus, several bands entered the Glacier area, but no one inhabited it consistently or defended it as a traditional, inherently crucial territory.[4] After the seventeenth century, the allied Siksika/Northern Blackfeet, Blood/Kainah, and Piegan/Pikuni Indians controlled the plains immediately to the east of the Rocky Mountains. These bands acquired the horse and the gun about 1750 and, thereafter, ranged from the Edmonton, Alberta, area south to the upper reaches of the Yellowstone River Valley.

This confederation--for a time joined by the Gros Ventres/Atsina--developed a buffalo-hunting culture and aggressively defended this expanse of East Slope plains against all intruders.[5] The alliance was a prime challenge to the high plains controlled by the confederated Blackfeet bands derived from the Cree, to the northeast, from the Sioux and Plains Assiniboine, to the east, and from the Crow, Cheyenne, and Shoshoni, to the southeast. In addition, Kutenai, Kalispel/Pend d'Oreille, and Flathead/Salish bands regularly penetrated the Blackfeet's buffalo grounds from the west.

These three West Slope tribes originally resided on the Great Plains,

but had been forced by the expansive Blackfeet into the wooded Columbia Drainage valleys and foothills. Their loose, generally pacific coalition ranged from the Continental Divide west into the Eastern Washington drylands, and combined a high-plateau, fish-and-berry culture with its hereditary buffalo-hunting culture. Various Kutenai, Kalispel, and Flathead bands united two or three times during the year to invade the Blackfeet buffalo ranges. They breached the Divide at points from Kicking Horse Pass on the north to the Hell's Gate-Clark Fork defile on the south; occasionally these parties used the Glacier area in their traverse.

Almost every Glacier Park alpine route over which a mountain goat successfuly might have passed now is credited a "buffalo road," yet relatively few trails can be supported historically. The predominant northern access used the Flathead River's North Fork Valley and Kishenehn (Akamina) Pass--although, in season, the Brown's Pass-Upper Waterton Valley route provided an option. The McDonald Valley also offered an approach, somewhat circuitously, to the Waterton Valley. The Flathead River's Middle Fork presented the prime southern arteries, via Cut Bank, Two Medicine, and Marias Passes--with the heaviest use falling to the first route.[6]

Thus the Glacier area served the utilitarian function of natural tribal-separation. The environment of this portion of severe topography dictated its exclusion from the traditional grounds of any band--including the shadowy Stoneys/Mountain Assiniboine. The area provided several lines of trans-Divide travel, but only during the short, snow-free season. No wonder subsequent white explorers, such as John Stevens, evinced amazement at the apparent lack of knowledge that the members of *any* native band held regarding Glacier-area traverse routes. The game on which these mounted hunters relied resided on the East Side tree-spotted plains and in the West Side meadowed valleys. The mountainous Glacier area proved but an obstacle to travel, a natural barrier.

The Native American appellations by which many prominent Glacier Park features currently are known must be attributed to tertiary, white sources.[7] Especially the preponderance of "Blackfeet" titles for East Slope features can be traced to George Bird Grinnell, James Willard

Schultz, and functionaries of federal geographical surveys and the Great Northern Railway. Each of these nomenclatures, for particular reasons, attempted to associate the aligned Blackfeet bands with the Glacier-area topography.

On the other hand, a number of West Slope designations convey authentic Native American linguistic sources: "Kichenehn," "Kintla," and "Akokala" derive from Kootenai roots. Nevertheless, the preponderance of Glacier Park designations prove that the "natural" tie between a relatively primitive Blackfeet people and an uninhabited, primitive environment proved too great a temptation to white designators. From whatever Romantic/psychological matrix this prediliction developed, it fails to hide the essential Native American antipathy to Glacier Park's topography.

The multi-national fur trade (1763-1850) provided the whites' opening wedge to many regions of the trans-Mississippi, Canadian-American West.[8] However, that pattern must be tempered by topographical realities in the Glacier area. White fur trappers and traders--whether representing the British Hudson's Bay Company, the French-Canadian North West Fur Company, or the various fascimiles of the American Fur Company--adopted Native American modes of living and transportation simply to surrive in the imminently overwhelming wilderness.

The Glacier area evinced the essence of high-Rockies topography, and it proved unprofitable fur country when compared with the foothill drainages on its skirts. For a group of men familiar with the rigors of life close to nature, the adoption of the Native American attitude toward Glacier's topography made economic sense: transverse it in season or when necessary; otherwise avoid it. Further, no little credit should be attributed to the confederated Blackfeet bands, whose aggressive actions in regard to white--particular American--penetration developed legendary proportions.[9] Thus transportation patterns in the Glacier area changed little, if any, with the initial appearance of white civilization--particularly as this cutting-edge contingent relied on travel by water routes and horseback.

The difficulty of white penetration into the Glacier area, from any

direction, tacitly was recognized by the Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851). This pact included the East Side in a vast Blackfeet reserve, "to be held inviolate."[10] In 1855 a similar treaty between representatives of the United States government and the Salish Confederation determined a reservation for the aligned Flathead, Kalispel, and Kutenai bands in the Lower Flathead River Valley. In this case the Confederation relinquished claims to the West Side of the Glacier area, including the valleys of the Flathead River's North and Middle Forks, which the bands had employed primarily as access routes to the east side of the Continental Divide. A coordinated 1855 treaty with the Blackfeet restricted the area of their "inviolate" lands, but retained the East Slope lands in the Glacier area.[11]

The 1855 treaty package recognized the conclusion drawn by Isaac I. Stevens' earlier survey of the Glacier region (1853-1854)--that the area offered no facile transverse of the Rocky Mountains. The United States Congress had charged Stevens, then Governor of Washington Territory, with determining the best route across the Northern Rockies for a transcontinental railroad. The Governor personally directed his survey in Montana and, initially, believed the Marias Pass crossing to hold the potential of just such an avenue.

Stevens detailed three reconnaissance parties to the area. In the Summer of 1853, Frederick Lander led a small group into the Summit Creek drainage from the east, but the party failed to penetrate the canyon to the Continental Divide. In October of the same year, another engineer, A. W. Tinkham, approached from the west. The Tinkham crew crossed the Flathead Valley and entered the canyon of the Middle Fork of the Flathead River. In an early-winter storm, however, Tinkham followed a trail up Nyack Creek and over Cut Bank Pass, exiting the mountains via the Cut Bank Valley.

As Stevens still wished to determine the eastern approach to Marias Pass, he detached John Doty to the East Slope in the Spring of 1854. Doty concluded that Tinkham had not located the true Marias Pass, but neither did the Doty party ascend the Summit Creek drainage to Marias Pass. Thus Stevens' final report on the Glacier area acknowledges the

unfeasibility of the Cut Bank Pass route for a traverse; it only suggests that further exploration might prove Marias Pass a viable crossing.[12]

As a result of the Stevens report, the development of any trans-Divide routes in the Glacier area were unrealized for almost thirty-five years. During the period of the initial white settlement of Montana (1855-1885), Glacier's East and West Sides retained a character of isolation, even obscurity. Despite the 1855 treaty package, the area reverted to its early nineteenth-century pattern of providing seasonal, trans-Divide access routes for increasingly combative native bands.

White penetration of the Glacier area occurred sporadically during the period between 1855 and 1885. Yet these forays were conditioned by the region's separation from points of origin, by the lack of facile approach routes, and by no mode of transportation more rapid than horse, foot, or small boat--and always by Glacier's rugged topography and conjunctive, severe weather. Such restrictions conditioned the arrival to the area of the British North American Exploring Expedition (1858-1859), under the direction of Captain John Palliser. Palliser delegated Lieutenant Thomas W. Blakiston to survey the southern Canadian Rockies, much in the fashion of the preceding Stevens Expedition. Blakiston traversed what is certainly South Kootenay Pass, but noted that its access was unquestionably seasonal.[13]

The 1846 British-American boundary agreement cartographically established the northern boundary of the future Glacier National Park and, incidentally, encouraged the Palliser Expedition. From that diplomatic pact also derived the Joint Northwest Boundary Survey (1857-1861), a project to demark the common border from the West Coast to the crest of the Rocky Mountains. The American contingent, under the direction of Lieutenant John G. Parke, approached the Glacier area from the west and established monuments on Boundary Mountain in 1860. Its British complement, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel John S. Hawkins, reached the same location during the following year.[14]

Similar boundary-survey groups ventured into the Glacier region in the process of marking the forty-ninth parallel (1872-1876) between the

Lake of the Woods and the Continental Divide. The members of this joint project--under the direction of British Commissioner Captain Donald R. Cameron and his American counterpart, Commissioner Archibald Campbell--secured the Continental Divide late in the Summer of 1876, but quickly retreated to the relative safety of the Great Plains.[15] Neither of these boundary surveys significantly affected transportation routes in the Glacier area. If anything, both projects enforced the accumulating characterization of the region as topographically spectacular, but inaccessible and inhospitable.

In addition, during this 1855-1885 period of relative obscurity, the Glacier region became involved in the practical schemes of the Montana Territorial government and the East Coast-based federal government--each of which reflected the prevalent national predilictions toward expansion and exploitation. By 1864 the placer-gold mining boom had drawn adventurers to a multitude of Montana gulches and had prompted the creation of a separate Montana Territory. One of the initial actions of the First Territorial Legislative Assembly, which convened in Virginia City late in 1864, authorized the construction of the "Fort Benton-Kootenai Wagon Road." This route would link the head of navigation on the Missouri River with the proven gold fields in the Kootenai River Valley--using the Marias Pass breach in the Rocky Mountains. However, the simultaneous decline of the Kootenai district and the development of more accessible strikes east of the Continental Divide dictated the abandonment of this transportation project.[16]

The federal government--responsible for much of the organized exploitation, description, and publicizing of the American West during the second half of the nineteenth century--also probed the Glacier region. Lieutenant John Mullan had directed the construction of a military wagon road between Fort Walla Walla and Fort Benton during 1859 and 1860. In an attempt to complement this Central Montana, Rocky Mountain traverse, the Department of the Army dispatched, in 1874, Lieutenants Charles A. Woodruff and John Van Orsdale to reconnoiter the elusive Marias/Cut Bank Pass access. Although this party duplicated Tinkham's 1853 route, via

Cut Bank Pass, the presence of Van Orsdale proved significant. Ten years hence, he would guide Raphael Pumpelly's Northern Transcontinental Railroad Survey (1881-1884) through the same pass, thereby finally eliminating the Cut Bank crossing as a viable railway traverse.[17]

The Northern Transcontinental Railroad Survey was launched by the railway baron Henry Villard, to determine the most practicable route for his line from Lake Superior to the Pacific Coast. Although Villard's initial transcontinental scheme failed, the Pumpelly Survey did exclude the Glacier area from subsequent incursion by the reconstituted Northern Pacific Railroad. The Northern Pacific ultimately laid tracks across Southern Montana (1882-1883) and approached Glacier no close than Helena, east of the Continental Divide, and Ravalli, on the Pacific Slope.[18]

Between 1881 and 1885, the Canadian Pacific Railway stretched across Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and into British Columbia. The line passed through Medicine Hat, but then looped north, through Calgary and Kicking Horse Pass. With the driving of the final spike on the Canadian Pacific, the Glacier area lay suspended between two transcontinental rail lines--and easily accessible from neither.[19]

Despite the fact that the Glacier area sat one hundred twenty-five wilderness miles from the nearest Northern Pacific depot, and even further from the closest Canadian Pacific station, it drew white adventurers during the 1880s. These men employed the more traditional means of transport --foot, boat, horseback--but they found, in this Rocky Mountain sector, justifiable reasons for the hardships encountered.

The initial group of Glacier-area visitors included such noted woodsmen/sportsmen as James Willard Schultz and George Bird Grinnell, who haunted the East Side valleys during the 1880s and 1890s. Grinnell particularly encouraged, through a series of articles in his FOREST AND STREAM publication, hunting and fishing expeditions into the area. Incidentally, his publicity of the Glacier topography would encourage significantly its reservation within a national park.

A second group simultaneously wandered through the valleys, rocky ridges, and cirques of the Glacier area: mineral prospectors. These

adventurers represented a band of thousands who, in the 1880s and 1890s, dispersed from proven Rocky Mountain strikes into every mineralogically auspicious valley. They battled into the forested North Fork Valley, clamored up the precipitous McDonald drainage, and combed the various East Slope cuts for promising outcroppings.

This wave of white incursion would develop into numerous, short-lived strikes, into such transitory mining camps as Altyn, and into the filing of almost two thousand mining claims within the present boundaries of Glacier Park. To no demonstrable extent, however, did the mining group --or, for that matter, did the sportsmen group--alter existent, primitive transportation patterns in the Glacier area.[20] Members of both categories adopted the Native American modes of seasonal travel in a wilderness environment.

One federal exploration--that of U.S. Army Lieutenant George P. Ahern --indicates the difficulties encountered in such an environment, even during the short travel season. In August, 1890, Ahern's military contingent of about twenty mounted men entered the Glacier area via the Belly River drainage, in search of a more northern pass to the Flathead Valley. After two days of high-altitude rock work, the party crossed the Divide over Ahern Pass and dropped into the North Fork watershed, along Camas Creek. Thick forests, dangerous talus slopes, precipitous cliffs, snowfields, thunderstorms, and high winds challenged the explorers throughout their trek. Ahern concluded that the rugged nature of the country prohibited such a northern passage, even when the weather permitted it.[21]

In 1890 also occurred the first major change in transportation patterns in that area which would become Glacier National Park. In that year the reconstituted Great Northern Railway, under the direction of President James J. Hill, commenced construction of a mainline extension, from Great Falls to the Pacific Coast.[22] Not only would the Great Northern introduce a revolutionary mode of travel to the Glacier wilderness, but also it would increase visitation to, and the popularization of, the area. The Great Northern Railway would become the realistic key to the creation of Glacier National Park.

Hill's proposed development of a Marias Pass route had been foreshadowed by his arch-competitor, Henry Villard, President of the Northern Pacific Railroad. As Villard's land-grant line approached Montana and built through its southern portion (1880-1883), he projected a network of feeder lines to reach commercially profitable locations. The Northern Pacific dispatched Raphael Pumpelly to the Glacier region in 1882, and again in 1883, to assess its resources and economic potential. Pumpelly's segment of the Northern Transcontinental Railroad Survey (1881-1884) determined the area rich in natural resources and the Nyack Creek/Cut Bank Pass route difficult, but the findings became moot with the collapse of the Villard dynasty in 1884.[23]

On May 7, 1887, Great Northern Railway crews began laying track at Minot, North Dakota. In an almost miraculous engineering feat, the Company's workers reached Great Falls on October 15 *of the same year*. Already Hill was peering westward. In the Autumn of 1887, he dispatched Chief Locating Engineer W. D. Barclay to survey the Marias Pass approach from the east; however, Barclay became entangled in the Cut Bank/Dawson Pass/Two Medicine morass. Hill then temporarily abandoned a westward extension and, during 1888, concentrated on developing his Montana line--particularly the recent Montana Central acquisition, reaching from Great Falls, through Helena, to Butte.

Early in 1889. James J. Hill determined to secure the reported Marias Pass route, to provide a direct line to the undeveloped Flathead and Kootenai Valleys. Quite late that summer, he directed C. F. B. Haskell to survey the Marias Pass approach from the west. Simultaneously another Great Northern engineer, John F. Stevens, was dispatched to approach the Pass from the east, via the Summit Creek drainage. Both parties experienced extreme hardship in attaining the summit during mid-winter--Stevens on December 11, 1889, and Haskell on January 5, 1890. Yet both engineers lauded the feasibility of the Marias Pass route for the Great Northern's mainline extension.[24]

The construction season of 1890 was used by the Company's survey crews to locate the line's right-of-way from Great Falls--north to Shelby

and west through Cut Bank and Browning--to the East Glacier (Midvale) site. Thence the survey party staked up Summit Creek to the Pass, down Bear Creek and the Middle Fork of the Flathead River, into the main course of the Flathead stream, through Bad Rock Canyon, and emerged in the Upper Flathead Valley. During that summer construction crews also laid track from Great Falls to Cut Bank, along the survey route. At the same time, additional Great Northern parties hacked crude tote roads the length of the John F. Stevens Canyon. When early winter snows slowed work, the men congregated in the tough boom town of McCarthyville, several miles west of the summit.[25]

With the slowly melting snows of April, 1891, tracking crews quickly moved west of Cut Bank and into the Marias Pass defile. By September 14 the mainline attained the summit of the Rocky Mountains; on New Year's Eve the track was completed to the fledgling Kalispell townsite. Finally Jim Hill's transcontinental dream was realized when the line reached Everett, Washington, in July, 1893.

Yet, as of New Year's Day, 1892, the Glacier area recognized change. The Northern Rockies had been breached by a revolutionary mode of transportation. No longer could the region expect to retain its wholly wilderness condition, despite its rugged topography and harsh environment. Changes were inevitable--and they would commence immediately.

Once Jim Hill had determined to push his mainline to the Pacific Coast, his selection of the Marias Pass route was a necessary gamble. For the Great Northern, unlike the Northern Pacific, was not a land-grant railroad; it received no large blocks of public land to subsidize its construction. Thus Hill required relatively undeveloped valleys through which to run his traffic lines--valleys that could be populated as a result of railroad access, valleys that would develop prosperous agriculture and industry to sustain his freight traffic.

The Upper Flathead and the Kootenai Valleys offered just such potential in 1890. The self-sustaining nature of Hill's operation placed a premium on the intimate involvement of the Great Northern with all of the commercial endeavors of the residents along its lines. And Hill's

involvement was intimate. For example, he owned and directed the development of the Kalispell Townsite Company, assuring its early success by designating Kalispell the Flathead Valley's division point on his line.

Passenger travel always would be a secondary concern to the Great Northern. Jim Hill knew that the success of his company rested in its role as a freight carrier--and that success relied directly on the prosperity of the people and the lands that the mainline chose to serve. Hence the selection of the Marias Pass route: little profit would result from dropping south from Great Falls and paralleling the already established Northern Pacific tracks through Western Montana, Idaho, and Eastern Washington.

The effect on the Glacier area of Jim Hill's decision to develop the Marias Pass route was immediate. The railroad designated stations on its east-to-west line between Browning and Columbia Falls--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--thereby opening many intersecting drainages to exploration and settlement. Midvale and Belton became the obvious points-of-entry to the Glacier region, as they lay closest to the respective East Side and West Side valleys. For example, Milo B. Apgar and Charlie Howe, during the Summer of 1892, hauled their possessions in a two-wheeled cart over the Great Northern's tote road to the Belton access point. There they plunged into the cedar forests of the McDonald Valley and became--with Frank Geduhn--the initial settlers at the foot of the Lake.[26]

The construction of the Great Northern line brought more than quick settlement to Glacier's West Side. The type of local commerce percipitated by Jim Hill's decision to develop the Marias Pass route is illustrated by the endeavor of James A. Talbott, a Columbia Falls entrepreneur, and his steamboat "The Oakes." In the Spring of 1892, with the promise of Great Northern freight access at Columbia Falls, Talbott determined to exploit significant coal deposits along the North Fork of the Flathead River, above Canyon Creek. Talbott sent the remodeled steamboat "Oakes"

into the North Fork's spring runoff to return a load of sample coal--only to see the vessel disintegrate in the raging stream's muddy waters and to see his employees forced to fight their way through virgin forests, back to Columbia Falls. Nevertheless, the attempt is instructive: the promise of mainline access not only spurred immigration and settlement, but it also fostered plans for development of the Glacier area. The advent of railroad transportation brought settlement and development to the Glacier region, each of which necessitated modes of transportation cruder than the railroad itself--that is, foot and horse trails, river and lake boats, and wagon roads.

The Upper Flathead Valley experienced a dramatic wave of settlement during the period between 1890 and 1895. Yet relatively little of this influx lapped into the Glacier area, primarily because the only transportation link between the Flathead and McDonald Valleys was the Great Northern right-of-way. The settlers at the foot and head of Lake McDonald, in the lower North Fork Valley creek drainages, and in the Middle Fork watersheds exhibited a singular characteristic: subsistence exploitation. They were practicalists, not commercial developers; they were exploiters--in the *real* sense of the term; people who used productively the resources of the immediate environs.[28] And those resources varied, from homestead land to oil deposits, from commercial timber to fur-bearing animals, from coal outcroppings to scenic wonders.

The first settlers of the Lower McDonald, the Middle Fork, and the North Fork Valleys concentrated upon subsistence homesteading and supplemented their incomes with seasonal work in the Flathead Valley. Yet, such 1890s residents as the Apgar Brothers, Charles Howe, Frank Geduhn, George Snyder, and Frank Kelly quickly adapted to the reality of seasonal tourism. For the access provided by the Great Northern's line had attracted sportsmen, as well as scientific explorers and wilderness adventurers. More important, the area's scenic beauty immediately beckoned summer vacationers--despite the absence of Great Northern publicity during this decade.[29]

These seasonal visitors required accommodations, provisions, and

services, so opportunistic local residents expanded their activities to provide such necessities. Rental cabins burgeoned at both ends of Lake McDonald; woodsmen-settlers became part-time guides; residents provided meals, horses, boats, and an earthy ambiance. Thus, from the inception of easy access to the fringes of the Glacier area, the region's scenic beauty has attracted seasonal visitation--and those tourists have required accommodations and an internal transportation system.[30] The finite natural resources of the area--such as coal, oil, timber, and game --would prove an impetus secondary to Glacier's development for tourism.

The proximity of the foot of Lake McDonald to the Belton station dictated its immediate development. Ed Dow constructed two hotels (1893, 1896) across the tracks from the Belton depot, but consistently lost customers to the lakeside cottages simply because of the latter's superior scenery.[31] Yet between the two points lay a boggy, thick, virgin forest of redcedar, hindering access. Area settlers would battle for an adequate feeder road from the rail line to the foot of Lake McDonald until 1912--and then be dissatisfied with its seasonally impassable condition.

Local residents cooperated to hack a crude wagon road through this forest morass in 1893. Yet, prior to the construction of the first bridge across the Middle Fork of the Flathead River (1897), travelers from Belton crossed the stream in rowboats, and then walked or rode horses, wagons, or buckboards to the foot of Lake McDonald. Members of the community again united during the Summer of 1895 to widen the track and to corduroy some particularly miring sections--for the purpose of assisting George Snyder wagon-freight a forty-foot steamboat from the depot to its Lake launching point. The project provided two benefits: the improvement of access to the foot of Lake McDonald, and the initiation of steamboat traffic on the mountain lake.[32]

The beauty of the Lake McDonald Valley was not wasted on the executives of the Great Northern Railway. The opportunistic Company's policy --because it could not rely upon a land grant for financial support-- dictated the exploration of lands adjacent to its line, to determine their developmental and publicity potentials. Thus, in 1894, Great Northern

Passenger Agent F. I. Whitney dispersed Professor Lyman B. Sperry, of the University of Minnesota, to "search the valley carefully in the hope of finding evidence of living glaciers in the area" of Lake McDonald.[33] Sperry returned in July, 1895, with a Great Northern photographer. Financed by Company funds, the party located Sperry Glacier and cut a serviceable saddle-horse trail into Avalanche Lake, as well as recording the remarkable beauty of the Valley.[34]

By the mid-1890s, the presence of tourist travel in the McDonald Valley appeared secure. George Snyder typified that promise: he had erected (1894-1895) a frame "hotel" and two rental log cabins at the head of the Lake. Further he forced the improvement of the Belton-Apgar road and provided, in season, steamboat transport the length of the Lake. This means of passenger and freight conveyance proved particularly effective, as a circuitous horse-trail from the foot to the head of Lake McDonald was not developed until 1896.[35] Seasonal residents and tourists provided a lucrative diversion for the Valley's subsistence settlers. These homestead families simply met the accommodation/transportation demand in the best manner that the environment and their economic resources permitted.

Still, a trip to the Glacier region for a Chicago sportsman-adventurer must have proved an incongruous experience. This outlander could travel, via the relatively rapid Great Northern mainliner, from Lake Michigan to Belton Station--almost two thousand miles--in less than two full days. Yet, the trip from Ed Dow's rustic Belton Hotel to George Snyder's frame hostel consumed fully one-half that time: first a walk from Dow's establishment to the edge of the Middle Fork of the Flathead River; then a rowboat thrust to the north side; a slow, rough ride in Dow's buckboard "stagecoach" from the riverbank, through the redcedar forests, to the dock at the foot of Lake McDonald; hence--if Snyder's "Whitney" were docked and its firebox stoked--to the head of the Lake.

The comparison in travel time only intensified the contrast in the scenery, the commercial development, and the pace of living between Chicago and the McDonald Valley. With the advent, in 1892, of national access to the Glacier region, the natural beauty of the region forced

commercial decisions for its residents--especially because that beauty attracted seasonal vacationers and travelers. Yet that same rugged topography would dictate transportation patterns in the area for decades. At least into the 1930s, transport modes and routes respected almost completely the environment's vagaries: transportation accepted what the environment permitted. As a result of this attitude, travel in the Glacier region remained essentially seasonal, relatively primitive, and often patchwork in nature--as in the Belton-to-Snyder Hotel trip.

The creation of the "Flathead River Road," in 1901, marked the next district of the Glacier area opened to travel, if only by primitive and seasonal means. The construction of this road--stretching from the foot of Lake McDonald north to parallel the North Fork of the Flathead River, to the foot of Lower Kintla Lake--was prompted by potential mineral deposits. Much as the initial wagon roads into East Side valleys were located by prospectors during the 1890s and early 1900s, oil developers believed a significant pool of crude existed at the head of Lower Kintla Lake to merit drilling a test well. Thus a road into the North Fork became necessary to convey the heavy drilling equipment from the Belton station to the well site.[36]

The Kintla Lake oil project was controlled by a group of businessmen based in Butte, Montana. Early in the Summer of 1901, their crew commenced clearing a narrow wagon-path over McGee Hill and the succession of North Fork ridges. During the subsequent autumn, the men hauled drilling equipment to the foot of Kintla Lake--although the clearing crew had left stumps in the right-of-way, attempted no grading, and constructed no creek bridges. In 1902 the competitive Kintla Oil Company used the same road to transport its equipment to a drilling site beside the North Fork River, just below the mouth of Kintla Creek.[37]

By 1905 both of these speculative oil ventures had proved unproductive. Yet an approach to the North Fork area was established. With the opening of the valley to legal homesteading in 1906, the "Flathead River Road" would provide access to venturesome subsistence settlers--an access situated completely within the subsequent boundaries of the Glacier

National Park. Furthermore, this "Inside Road" established the long-lived possibility of a North Fork loop road, using either the Akamina or the South Kootenai Pass, to link Lake McDonald with Cameron and Waterton Lakes.

The Great Northern's mainline initiated access to the Glacier region in 1892. Still the development of local travel routes depended upon several factors: (1) the attraction of tourists to the Lower Lake McDonald Valley, and the accommodation of those visitors; (2) the advent of early mineral exploration within the East Slope valleys; (3) the prospect of oil exploitation in the Upper North Fork Valley.

Simultaneously, however, an improved trail system evolved in the Glacier region. Although this system remained secondary to a dependence upon the wagon-road routes, it established a basic network of feasible trails that, subsequently, offered potential road-route development. The trails in Glacier, used by various Indian bands, formed the structure of a complex for foot and horseback travel. Prior to 1910, the U.S. Forest Service was responsible for the greatest expansion of this system--a system that rapidly would gain the Glacier National Park the nickname of "The Trails Park."

By 1897 federal forest rangers had assumed jurisdiction of the land later comprising Glacier's West Side and, by 1903, they supervised all of the land subsequently included in the Park's boundaries.[38] Held variously within the Lewis and Clark and the Flathead National Forests, the Glacier area presented a huge, rugged, primitive district for these dedicated men to administer. Their duties included protecting specifically assigned territories against forest fires, game violators, timber thieves, and unlicensed homesteaders. Critical to the performance of all these functions was the development and maintenance of a sound trail network.

Thus, between 1897 and 1910, such a network evolved, based on forest-ranger location and use. These trails were not elaborate--often existing as little more than paths winding along creeks and over ridges --but the rangers maintained them for horse travel, and they were available to the hardiest of seasonal travelers. Moreover, these trails

established the feasibility of various crossings of the Continental Divide, as well as the improbability of developing other pass routes. For example, Ranger Frank Liebig's marking and use of the Gunsight Pass trail--an eastward extension of the Sperry Glacier trail into the St. Mary Valley--created a favorite horse-party trip between hotels in the 1910s and 1920s.[39]

Federal forest rangers, who participated in the more orderly development of a transportation system of Glacier's West Side, observed a less structured scenario along the East Slope. As noted, two groups of East Side visitors--first the sportsmen-hunters and then the earliest mineral prospectors--improved by use, during the 1880s and early 1890s, crude Indian trails into East Side valleys. However, each group resorted to the most primitive means of travel and neither significantly affected transportation patterns on the Slope.

By 1895 mineral prospects appeared so promising that the area between the Continental Divide and the current eastern boundary of Glacier Park became a matter of negotiation between the federal government and Blackfeet tribal leaders. This "Ceded Strip" was purchased in 1896 for $1,500,000, specifically to permit mineral exploration. At the time of purchase, however, the only recognized trails into the area led into the Swiftcurrent, St. Mary, and Cut Bank Valleys from the east.[40] The official opening of the "Ceded Strip" occurred on April 15, 1898, although adventurous prospectors surreptitiously had located claims in the district prior to that date.

For approximately five years (1898-1903), a minor copper boom enveloped the East Side valleys, particularly the Swiftcurrent drainage, where the town of Altyn developed. Despite some promising outcroppings, however, none of these strikes proved more than marginally profitable. Then, just as the copper boom waned, a petroleum seepage in the Swiftcurrent Valley precipitated an East Slope oil and natural-gas rush--a speculative boom that proved equally unprofitable.[41] Thus the forest rangers charged with supervision of the East Side lands observed a spasmodic incursion of prospectors.

These miners hacked out trails to their claims, and developed crude wagon roads to move heavy equipment into valley locations from Browning, on the Great Northern rail line.[42] One of the more significant set of ruts led across the high plains, via Duck Lake, to the Lower Sherburne Valley, where a dozen oil rigs ultimately were located and abandoned. A more remarkable feat involved the transportation of concentrator and sawmill equipment from the head of Lake Sherburne, up the narrow Canyon Creek cut, to the mine site beside Cracker Lake.[43]

Nevertheless, none of these mining prospects was permanent. In terms of the development of Glacier transportation, the booms simply indicated that prairie-to-valley routes could be located, in season, given sufficient cause. The complementary result--that forest rangers developed a trail network by which to supervise the dispersed mining and lumbering activitites--was at least as significant. For, by 1906 or 1907, the somewhat chaotic boom-and-bust mining cycles ended on the East Slope, and commercial interest in that portion of the Glacier area dissipated. To no little degree was this disinterest encouraged by the primitive transportation modes and routes from the Great Northern Railway stations at Browning and Midvale to the East Side mountain valleys. In 1908 adventurers in the mold of George Bird Grinnell still led pack strings or drove freight wagons loaded with supplies from Browning into the Swiftcurrent Valley for a month's stay.

On the West Side, however, a more orderly tourist trade had developed by 1908--including a bridge over the Middle Fork of the Flathead River, Ed Dow's thrice-daily stage service between Belton and Apgar, and two launches on Lake McDonald. Visitors could rent cabins and obtain meals in Apgar, or secure similar services at the head of the Lake, in the Geduhn cabins or in the new hotel built by John Lewis on the property purchased from George Snyder. Several outfitters guided horse trips from the Lewis Hotel to various points in the Upper McDonald Valley.[44]

The lesson of early Glacier-area development seemed clear: barring some unforeseen mineral discovery, this portion of the Blackfeet National Forest best would support subsistence homesteading and visitor accommodation.

In Glacier valleys where these pursuits were practiced, the residential population had grown and facilities gradually had improved. Transportation routes and modes reflect this development: although they suffered the effects of a harsh environment, more facile travel resulted from increased population and increased use. The mining ventures had opened some areas with roads and trails--for instance, the North Fork Valley--but settlers and landlords would maintain and improve those lines of travel and communication. Scores of North Fork homesteaders, most of whom filed claims under the Forest Homestead Act (1906), had corduroyed, graded, relocated, and extended portions of the original "Flathead River Road" by 1910.[45]

If the lesson of the early economic development of the Glacier area had been learned by its subsistence settlers, the region's spectacular topography forced an equally effective postulate on more nationally attuned wilderness observers. The proposition that the Glacier area should be protected under some legislative structure, because of its unique environment, coalesced in the white-hot controversy that had raged among conservationists from Washington, D.C., to San Francisco Bay since the late 1890s. In fact, it was the national conservation movement that forced inclusion of the Glacier area in the several Northern Rockies forest reserves and national forests. In the absence of opposition from mining interests--which, by 1906, had tried, and failed, in the region--the concept of "the Glacier National Park' gained popular support among nationally oriented conservationists.[46]

Publicity regarding the Glacier area, however, necessarily preceded its unofficial nomination for protection. As noted, Lieutenant John Van Orsdale, in 1883, suggested such a designation. Yet sufficient popular support for the concept derived specifically from the notes and articles of George Bird Grinnell in FOREST AND STREAM (1885-1910) and CENTURY magazines. Particularly Grinnell's CENTURY article (1901), "The Crown of the Continent," was distributed widely among Eastern Seaboard newspapers in support of preserving the Glacier area.[47] With the national publicity generated by the FOREST AND STREAM series, the issue of the Glacier

National Park became one of several controversies over which the conservationists battled the preservationists. The conclusion that neither--*or both*--contingents were victorious is supported by the legislation that created Glacier National Park (1910). An enabling act that advocated "preservation in a state of nature," while it endorsed "a public park or pleasure ground" would prove the source of recurrent administrative problems. The issue of transportation is one touchstone to the complexity of those problems.

The topic of transportation further is enmeshed in the convoluted matrix of forces reputedly or actually involved in the formation of Glacier National Park. The traditional historical interpretation of this creation credits the Great Northern Railway Company--and particularly James J. and Louis W. Hill--with the effective political power to force preservation of the Glacier area under national-park status. Although this perception long has been accepted as historically valid, it better belongs in the realm of popular myth. Like other such mythical creations --for instance, the belief that the State of Montana always has served as the handmaiden of the Anaconda Copper Company[48]--the myth of the Great Northern's creation of Glacier National Park exhibits several basic characteristics.

A. It contains a sufficient amount of verifiable fact to gain initial plausibility. In this case, the Great Northern *did* open the Glacier area to national access, *did* involve itself in enactment of the enabling legislation, and *did* develop, subsequently, an extensive transportation/accommodations network on the East Side.

B. The myth fulfills the interpretive needs of its advocates. Specifically, the portrayal of the Great Northern as the "bad-guy robber baron" in the history of Glacier focuses popular anti-corporate, anti-Eastern, and anti-upper-class prejudices; it also provides a convenient target for "preservationists" who would minimize development of the Glacier wilderness environment.

C. It perpetuates its existence by the repetition of its canons, and will continue this perpetuation as long as the myth fulfills the interpretive needs of its supporters.

In the case of the last mythical quality, the extant examples are numerous. Donald H. Robinson's THROUGH THE YEARS IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, for years the standard history, offers the common presentation.[49]

> The truth of the matter was that the late Louis W. Hill, Sr., then president of Great Northern, was foremost among the sponsors of the bill, hoping with [Montana] Senator [Thomas H.] Carter, Congressman [Charles N.] Pray, George Bird Grinnell, and others to create a public recreational area for Montana which would attract tourists and subsequently [become] a source of passenger traffic and new income dollars for the state.[50]

As recently as 1970, in GLACIER NATIONAL PARK: HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY, historian James W. Sheire relie upon this traditional interpretation. Sheire's report perceives the formation of Glacier National Park as the culmination of four popular, contemporary forces.

1. The movement to preserve areas of wilderness, because of their restorative powers on civilized men's souls.

2. The movement to reserve areas of natural beauty as "pleasure ground" sites for the varied recreational activities of the American people.

3. The recognition that unique natural-science locations deserved protection as "outdoor laboratories--museums."

4. The chauvinistic movement to establish enclaves of spectacular American environment as national symbols, particularly in comparison to similar European landscapes.[51]

Yet Sheire notes, following a discussion of the national conservation/preservation movement:

> The second major actor in the politics of Glacier National Park was an economic interest, the Great Northern Railroad, as led by the empire builder, James J. Hill, with the assistance of his son and successor, Louis Hill. . . .
>
> . . .Unfortunately, there is no documentation that James J. turned the Glacier project over to his son and vice-president. Nevertheless, *there is little doubt that Louis Hill was* the railroad official *responsible not only for promoting the park movement and the legislation*, but also for the development of the park itself.[52]

Fortunately, this pervasive opinion has crept only slightly into the current standard history of Glacier, C. W. Buchholtz's excellent survey of MAN IN GLACIER. Buchholtz, in addressing the legislative creation of the Park, notes simply that the "Great Northern supported the park legislation," and cautiously that "[James J.] Hill's [*sic*] influence *apparently* made the park possible."[53]

Yet, Robinson, Sheire, and to some extent Buchholtz merely rely on preceding interpretations of the Great Northern's role in the creation of Glacier. For example, Madison Grant's EARLY HISTORY OF GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, MONTANA (1919) presents a basic version of the popular myth.

> At length, howver, Mr. L. W. Hill, who had visited the region, became an enthusiastic partisan of the bill, and Congressman Pray, of Montana, took it up. Mr. Hill saw in it great possibilities for the public benefit as well as important material advantage to the Great Northern Railroad. With these new interests behind the project, the bill passed both Houses and was signed by President [William Howard] Taft [on] May 11, 1910.[54]

Glacier National Park officials also have perpetuated this interpretation. In an explanatory memorandum to the Office of the Director of the National Park Service (1939), Chief Naturalist George C. Ruhle noted that,

> . . .Leaders in the fight for the establishment were two Senators, Carter and [Joseph M.] Dixon from Montana, Bois [*sic*] Penrose from Pennsylvania, who had hunted in the region, Representative Pray of Montana (now Judge Pray at Great Falls), *Louis Hill, President of the Great Northern Railway*, and Mr. Grinnell.[55]

As this inaccurate interpretation has survived so doggedly, what are the sources of its perpetuation? Those sources vary, although the prime foci involve antipathy toward corporate powers, toward Eastern policy dictation, and toward wealthy visitors to the Glacier area. Interestingly, those persons who attribute to the Great Northern Railway the creation of Glacier National Park share two characteristics: (1) they comment from a perspective that *chronologically follows* the Great

Northern's development of a transportation/accommodations network in Glacier; (2) they were not privy to the pertinent legislative mechanizations during the 1907-1910 period. Thus, ignorant of the contemporary situation, they conclude that the company that subsequently constructed a coordinated railroad-hotel-bus-horse-trail camp-launch-chalet system on the East Side *must* have been responsible for establishing the national park in which that network later located.

In truth, such was not the case. Individuals involved directly in the legislative mechanics of Glacier's enabling acts are consistent in their omission of the Great Northern Railway as *the* party responsible for the Park's creation. For example, George Bird Grinnell, in a 1914 letter to the editor of THE MENTOR magazine provides a synopsis of the legislative history.

> Soon after 1902 I spoke to Senator T. H. Carter about setting aside this recently purchased track [the "Ceded Strip"] as a national park, and found that he was disposed to favor the suggestion. I then took up the matter with friends in Montana, and induced them to write to Senator Carter about the project. The result was that a little later he introduced a bill, which passed the Senate once or twice, and at last, in 1910, passed both houses, and was signed by President Taft, May 12, 1910 [*sic*], and the Glacier National Park became a fact.[56]

Given Grinnell's involvement in the creation of Glacier, through national preservation organizations, FOREST AND STREAM pieces, and on the local level--and the time at which he authored this account--his failure to cite the Great Northern is telling.

Grinnell's pivotal role in the creation of Glacier is indicated by an extant letter written by Montana Representative Charles N. Pray. The Congressman just had concluded directing the final enabling act through the House and a joint Conference Committee.

> Dear Mr. Grinnell:
>
> I have been notified by telephone from the White House that the President had just signed the Glacier National Park bill. The bill has now become law and I sincerely hope that someday in the near future, when

> you are in the West on your summer vacation, that I may have the great pleasure of meeting you in the new National Park.
>
> With many thanks for your assistance in creating a sentiment favorable to this measure. . . .[57]

The full text of Pray's note makes no reference to the Great Northern Railway, nor did the Congressman write a similar congratulatory message to Louis W. Hill.[58]

Pray also wrote a lengthy "Recollections Concerning the Establishment of Glacier National Park." In this useful account, he presents the Great Northern in no role other than that of effective developer of East Side tourist facilities following 1912.[59] Similarly, L. O. Vaught--an Illinois attorney with Congressional connections during the 1907-1910 period, and a summer visitor to the Glacier area for more than fifty years--portrays the Railway's involvement. In reply to a 1948 request from Glacier Chief Naturalist M. E. Beatty, Vaught recounts in documented detail the forces requisite to the creation of the Park--failing in any context to cite the Great Northern Railway. As Vaught concludes: "No one man, no group of men were responsible. It was a growth, a development."[60]

Yet possible the most instructive example of this interpretive problem is an article written by longtime Kalispell businessman and civic leader W. C. Whipps. Entitled "The Great Northern Wild Animal Preserve," this diatribe appeared in a 1932 issue of the KALISPELL TIMES, to widespread community acclaim.[61] Whipps, during the 1907-1910 period, became intimately involved in the legislative manipulations to set the terms of the Park's enabling act. However, in 1932, he found little to redeem his earlier support of the Park.

The article is a lexicon of criticism concerning impertinent rangers, policies of forest-fire protection, game-management, and dog-control, and private-property rights in Glacier. Yet Whipps reserves his most concentrated bile for the Great Northern, "this soulless corporation." The Railway is scored for its alteration of East Side geographical names, for its honoring of John F. Stevens at Marias Pass, for its management of the then recently purchased Glacier (Lewis) Hotel on Lake

McDonald, and for its "high-toned," "classy" hotels, which ignore the typical auto tourist, the "forgotten American."

Certainly Whipps qualifies as a critic of Great Northern activities in Glacier. Had he not been involved in the legislative activities that produced the Park, he might be expected to present the common, and inaccurate, premise that the Railway performed as the driving force behind the establishment of the Glacier area as a national park. *Yet he does not.* Whipps is decisive regarding the involvement of local citizens--and the absence of a Great Northern mailed fist--in the creation of Glacier.

> If the few public-spirited Kalispell men who initiated the matter and wrote and signed the first letters to Senator Thomas H. Carter and to President [Theodore] Roosevelt, asking that the timber be saved from the ravages of the timber barons and the axemen, and that a national park and game preserve be created otu of the wonderfully magnificent territory now comprising what is known as Glacier National Park, had foreseen or imagined what the outcome of those letters would be, the letters would never have been written.

Whipps then correctly locates the Great Northern in the chronologic history of Glacier.

> Well, what has happened? It wasn't long before Uncle Sam, not so lavish or generous with his billions as he later became, in scattering billions to European countries, turned this magnificent territory over to the grasping maws of the Great Northern Railway company for alleged development, but really for exploitation. . . .

Thus is illustrated, by a prominent Flathead Velley leader, the relatively passive role of the Great Northern Railway in the creation of Glacier National Park. Whipps intense dislike of the Railway's activities in Glacier and the Flathead Valley nominates him as a prime advocate of the traditional contention that the Great Northern forced the creation of the Park for commercial purposes. Yet his knowledge of the contemporary legislative manipulations of the enabling act prevented his advocacy of this convenient, mistaken interpretation.

Therefore, if this perception is a function of popular myth--and it is--and if this interpretation essentially is incorrect--and it is--*what was the role of the Great Northern Railway Company in the creation of Glacier National Park?*

The Great Northern operated neither remarkably nor mysteriously in the legislative process that established Glacier National Park. Rather, the Company functioned as a placator of Park critics and as a supporter of Park advocates. Internal Company correspondence reveals a low--and subsequently a lower--profile for the Railway.[62] When viewed in the larger context of the complex Lakes-to-Coast operations of a non-land-grant railroad, the issue of the creation of Glacier more properly assumes a realistic perspective.

The Great Northern relied, for operational costs and reasonable profit, upon its freight traffic. Thus any commercial endeavor adjacent to the mainline drew the Great Northern executives' attention and support: North Dakota irrigation projects; Central Montana townsite developments; Washington State orchard ventures. If a potentially profitable development occurred *off* the mainline, a spur could be constructed to the location. In fact, during the period that Congress deliberated the creation of Glacier National Park (1907-1910), the Great Northern commenced its greatest trackside project--the homestead population of Montana's High Line.[63] In comparison to the potential profit of this homesteading movement, the relevance of a seasonal "Glacier National Park" operation descends to its realistic economic priority in the Company's overall perspective.

In 1907 James J. Hill transmitted the Presidency of the Great Northern Railway to his son, Louis Warren Hill. This act preceded, by more than five months, the introduction, by Montana Senator Thomas H. Carter, of S.2032--"A Bill to Establish the Glacier National Park." James J. Hill became Chairman of the Board of Directors; in reality, he became a retired, patriarchal booster of Great Northern interests. Louis immediately assumed complete control of the Company's extensive operations, respecting his father's unofficial retirement and relying upon him

primarily for his effective personal ties.[64]

The Great Northern's actions relevant to the legislative creation of Glacier National Park developed tow distinctive phases--patterns established by Congressional legislative processes. The first phase extended from December, 1907, to March, 1909; the second, conclusive phase lasted from June, 1909, to May, 1910.[65]

The role developed by the Company during the first phase was one that relied on longtime Congressional contacts to assuage local protests to the bills' provisions, while encouraging bill movement through the committee process. This function proved particularly necessary, as the national preservation and conservation contingents were locked in controversy regarding the Hetch Hetchy Dam construction. Company interests in the Glacier issue were delegated by Louis Hill to his General Traffic Manager, W. W. Broughton.[66] This subordinate communicated regularly with Company attorneys and lobbyists in Washington, D.C., as well as with Senator Carter, the sponsor and manager of both S.2032 and S.5648. Broughton then informed Hill of the progress of events, and advised the President regarding options on actions and communications.

Two related pieces of correspondence, transmitted early in 1908, indicate the mechanics of this process, as well as the posture of the Company during this first phase. On January 10, Brought reported to Hill.

> Senator Carter says that he does not want any publicity made of this [S.2032] at the present time, also that several vigorous protests have been forwarded to him from parties in Montana relative to the outlines as described in the Bill and that it is more than possible that the outlines will have to be changed, and until the matter is definitely settled, he wishes as little publicity as possible on the subject, and in that way avoid adverse agitation which he anticipates will arise.[68]

Hill then replied directly to Senator Carter.

> I realize that the question of advocating a National Park in the Lake McDonald District is one which should not be given any particular publicity at this time, as such a course would naturally tend to bring out local opposition. . . . It occurs to

> me that if the squatters or residents of this district could get title to their homesteads, it would eliminate a good deal of the opposition.
>
> . . .Our people all understand that there would be no advantage to us in stirring this matter up, and are being very quiet about it, but if we can help you in any way please let us know.[69]

The exchange reveals a corporate attitude of some restraint. Obviously the Great Northern desired the creation of Glacier National Park for the potential increase in its passenger-traffic profits. Yet the Railway perceived the delicate nature of Carter's position and assumed a subordinate posture.

Louis Hill's interest in the creation of Glacier was consistent, although he relegated its supervision to his Traffic Manager. That interest was fired by the Great Northern's longstanding competition with the Northern Pacific Railroad, which historically had served Yellowstone National Park with rail access, internal transportation, and accommodations. Repeatedly Hill emphasized that the establishment of "the Glacier National Park" would "make a new Yellowstone Park in the northern part of Montana."[70] In a letter to John H. Carroll, the Company's prime Washington attorney and lobbyist, Hill was even more emphatic: "It is a matter we are very much interested in, as it is practically opening up a Yellowstone on our line."[71]

Still, the Great Northern maintained a relatively low profile during this first phase of Congressional deliberation. Broughton initiated a "grass roots" letter campaign through railroad-union executives along the mainline, but Company pressure on Congress remained insignificant until mid-February, 1909--when Congressional action threatened to kill S.5648 in the House.[72]

The focus of opposition to S.5648--and, thus, the focus of Great Northern attention--was House Speaker Joseph G. Cannon (R.-Ill.). On this occasion, Louis Hill reverted, by telegram, to his father and to the patriarch's established lines of influence.

> COMMERCIAL BODIES OF ALL CITIES IN NORTHWEST FROM HERE TO COAST HAVE WIRED AND WRITTEN THEIR REPRESENTATIVES URGING FAVORABLE ACTION ON GLACIER PARK BILL PARTIES

> IN CHARGE OF BILL ASK IF YOU CANNOT WIRE SPEAKER CANNON ASKING HIS ASSENT FOR RECOGNITION OF CONGRESSMAN PRAY TO BRING UP BILL MONDAY IS UNANIMOUS CONSENT DAY[73]

Jim Hill contacted Congressman Cannon, and the Company's lobbyists maintained pressure on the House Speaker for more than a month. Nevertheless, S.5648 died in the House in March, 1909, with the conclusion of the Sixtieth Congress' First Session.

The undistinguished life and demise of S.5648 speaks poorly for the mailed-fist image of the Great Northern Railway as the dictatorial creator of Glacier National Park--that image projected by advocates of the mythical interpretation. In truth, Speaker Cannon opposed the initial establishment of the Park because of the variety of Flathead Valley objections and because of his ties to the Northern Pacific Railriad, through Chicago-based affiliates.[74]

One of the local points of opposition to S.5648 insisted that the Great Northern was attempting, through the creation of Glacier National Park, to eliminate competing railroads from the Flathead Valley.[75] Speaker Cannon fastened his opposition to this criticism, providing legitimacy for his position in some circles. In fact, the Great Northern and Milwaukee Road right-of-way surveys that sped through the North Fork Valley during the Spring of 1909 were anticlimactic, given the death of S.5648. The completion of these parallel surveys, however, effectively eliminated that specific point of opposition to the Park's creation.

The second phase of Glacier Park's Congressional establishment commenced with the introduction, by Senator Carter, of S.2777--"A Bill to Establish the Glacier National Park"--on June 26, 1909. General Traffic Manager Broughton informed the Great Northern President of its comparison with the preceding, unsuccessful, bills.

> The only substantial change in this bill from the original [S.2032] is the park limits and the same provision [S.5648] for jurisdiction of the park being under the Secretary of the Interior instead of the Secretary of Agriculture.[76]

The *obvious* difference among the bills was that conciliatory moves and time--December, 1907, to June, 1909--had dissipated much of the local opposition to the creation of the Park.

The Company position remained constant: the creation of Glacier would provide the Great Northern a profitable passenger-traffic attraction, with which to challenge the Northern Pacific in Montana. However, Louis Hill, during the Summer of 1909, determined to project an even lower profile for the Railway: he withdrew supervision of the legislative process from his General Traffic Manager and entrusted it to his personal secretary, H. H. Parkhouse. The conclusion must be drawn that President Hill believed inevitable the Congressional passage of S.2777.

During this second phase of legislative deliberation, the Great Northern concentrated upon two objectives: the support of persons advocating the establishment of Glacier National Park; the accumulation of information regarding the Glacier area, basic to promoting its wonders to the American public. For example, Louis Hill authorized a Railway representative to contact the preservationistic American Civic Association and to encourage its support of the Glacier bill; he also orchestrated an ultimately aborted 1909 tour of the area's East Side for three Atlantic Coast newspaper correspondents.[77]

The Glacier bill passed the Senate on February 9, 1910, and immediately moved to the House. At only one point in this entire legislative sequence was the Great Northern's President required to exert any personal influence. Early in March, 1910--as Louis Hill was engrossed in managing the massive homestead movement to Montana's High Line--S.2777 stalled in the House Committee on Public Lands. Personal-secretary Parkhouse deemed the occasion sufficiently important to code a portion of his telegram to the President.

> HAVE LETTER FROM SENATOR CARTER TO EFFECT GRANARY [GLACIER] PEDIGREE [PARK] BLUNDER [BILL] SURGEON [STUCK] INDELIBLE [IN] PYTHON [PUBLIC] LEAVENINGS [LAND] COMMITTEE OF HOUSE ASKS IF YOU CAN TAKE UP WITH CONGRESSMAN [Asle J.] GRONNA OF NORTH DAKOTA

> [Andrew J.] VOLSTEAD OF MINNESOTA AND [William W.] MCCREDIE OF WASHINGTON WHO ARE ON COMMITTEE MR [L. C.] GILMAN WILL TAKE UP WITH MCCREDIE DO YOU WISH TO WIRE OTHERS[78]

Hill transmitted the requested messages and, by April, 1910, S.2777 had exited the Committee--with amendment--passed the fullHouse, and moved to a joint Conference Committee.[79]

Simultaneously Louis Hill and the Great Northern reverted to its low profile and reassumed its function as placator of Flathead Valley critics of the Park. For example, in March, 1910, Kalispell attorney and businessman Sidney M. Logan contacted President Hill regarding the exclusion from the proposed Park of some land in the vicinity of Java, on the Middle Fork of the Flathead River. Private-secretary Parkhouse, with Hill's permission, contacted Senator Carter. That action produced apparent results, contained in an April 8, 1910, letter from Hill to Logan.

> I have had this up with Senator Carter and now have advice from him that he has suggested the bill be amended by striking out in line three, page two, the words "where it intersects" and insert in lieu thereof the words "Essex station and thence due east to" so that the bill as amended will read "thence following the said right of way to Essex station and thence due east to the west boundary of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, etc."[80]

In this undramatic fashion the role of the Great Northern Railway in the creation of Glacier National Park terminated. Senate Bill 2777 emerged from the joint Conference Committee on April 26, passed both the House and the Senate on April 29, and received President Taft's signature on May 11, 1910--becoming *Public Law 171*.[81] As noted, Representative Pray immediately informed preservationist George Bird Grinnell of the President's action. Neither Pray, nor Senator Carter, nor Senator Dixon, nor any other Congressman so congratulated Louis Hill--or a single other Great Northern Railway representative.[82]

Thus, indeed, the traditional interpretation that the Great Northern designed, directed, and ultimately achieved the establishment of Glacier

National Park is mythical. Because of the financial benefits that obviously would accrue to the Railway, it supported the creation of the Park. Yet a complex sequence of forces and events finally produced *P.L. 171*--and the Great Northern was but one, albeit concerned, party to its passage. Unfortunately, events subsequent to 1910 have created the mythical role of the Great Northern as the responsible party. In reality, President Louis Hill foresaw the ultimate establishment of the Park and withdrew the Railway from a position of force. By May 1, 1910, Hill had issued his first formal publicity: "Advance information relative to Glacier National Park, in Montana."[83]

Hill correctly perceived that publicity was the key to attracting tourists to the new Park. Not only had widespread publicity produced the rapid homestead settlement of Montana's High Line, but also Louis Hill early received the message from his father, James J. Hill.

> You must put your light on the hill and you must not hide it in the bushal any longer. YOU MUST LET THE WORLD KNOW WHAT YOU HAVE GOT. YOU WILL BE BETTER OFF, AND THEY WILL BE IMMENSELY BETTER OFF.[84]

However, Louis Hill would be forced to learn a lesson already discovered by the executives of the Northern Pacific Railroad in Yellowstone National Park: if one successfully promotes spectacular natural wonders to increase passenger-traffic profits, the resultant tourists require adequate access and transportation from the rail line to the sites, as well as suitable accommodations near those sites. Regrettably the newly created Glacier Park offered restricted access, minimal transportation facilities, and primitive accommodations, confined to the Lake McDonald Valley.

Glacier National Park, in May, 1910, offered rudimentary wagon roads from the Belton depot to the foot of Lake McDonald, from Apgar to the foot of Lower Kintla Lake via the "Flathead River Road," and from the Browning station to the outlets of Upper St. Mary Lake and Lake Sherburne. All of these access routes suffered from the seasonal vagaries of a harsh environment and only necessary maintenance. Lake McDonald

alone provided launch travel. In most cases, access to the scenic wonders of the Park--for instance, Sperry Glacier and Avalanche Lake--relied upon horse travel over rugged mountain trails. East Side wagon roads and trails exhibited particularly poor repair, following the withdrawal of the mineral and petroleum prospectors.[85]

In addition, hotel/cabin accommodations existed only in Belton, Apgar, and at the head of Lake McDonald. These facilities reasonably could serve but a limited number of seasonal visitors--not the thousands whom the Great Northern wished to "See America First." The East Side was devoid of accommodations, with the exception of the bunkhouse of George Flower, at the foot of St. Mary Lake. "He can accommodate a limited number of people, perhaps ten or twelve."[86]

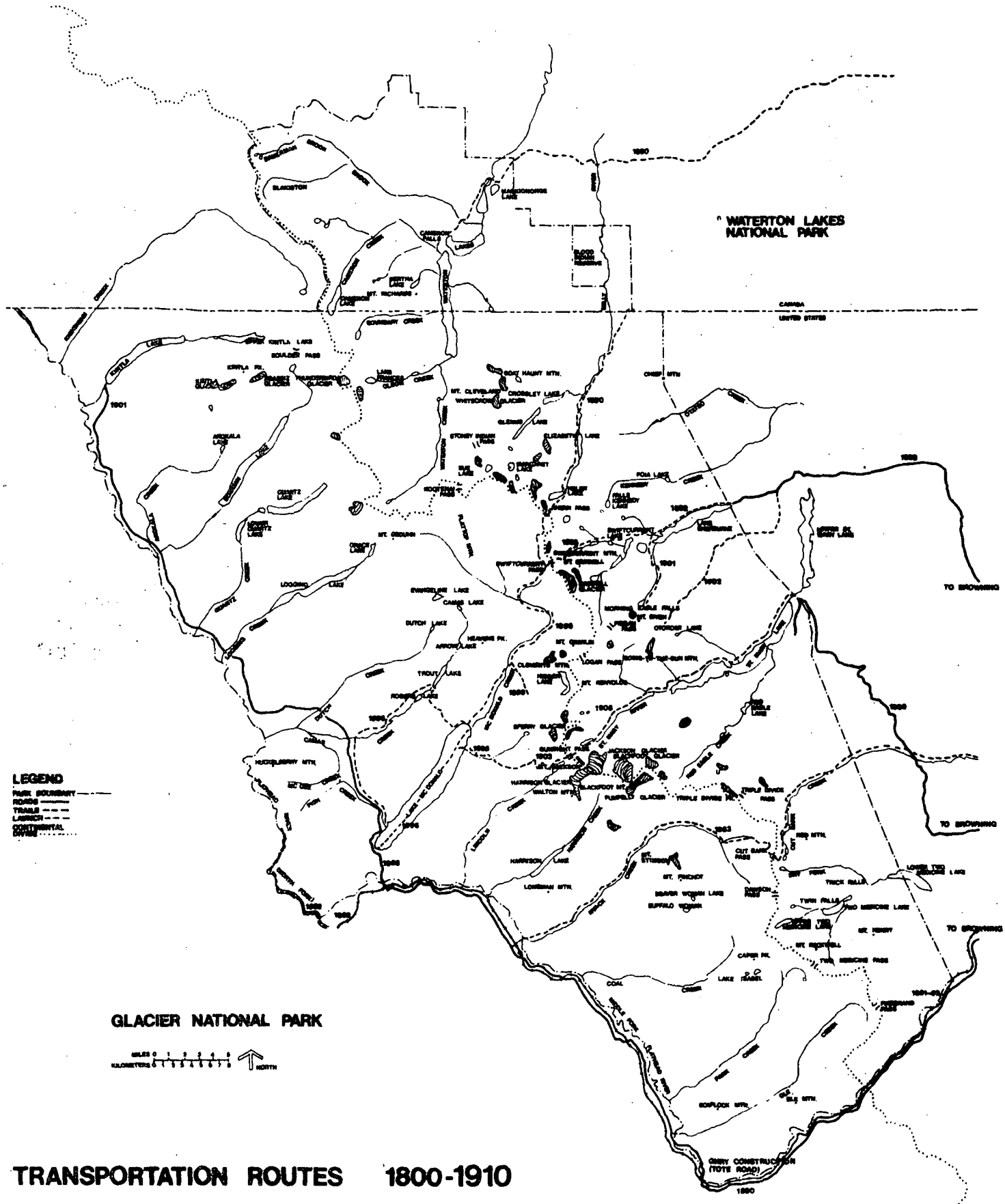
The state of transportation/accommodations in the new Park during the summer of 1910 was obviously primitive, and known to its new governmental administrators. That August, Major William R. Logan assumed his position, *not* as Superintendent of Glacier National Park, but as "Superintendent of Road and Trail Construction." Louis W. Hill slowly became as realistic. As the months progressed, he perceived the need for access, transportation facilities, and accommodations--particularly on the Park's spectacularly scenic East Side.

Louis Hill would be drawn by the necessity of fulfilling these needs, and thus would embroil the Great Northern in essentially non-railroad projects. In September, 1911, the President still suffered the learning process. At the National Parks Conference, held in Yellowstone, he commented on the Railway's situation in Glacier.

> . . .This year there have been considerably more than 3,000 people in Glacier, and so far we have only advertised Glacier in a sentimental way. There are not sufficient accommodations in Glacier for taking care of the tourists.
>
> We have established several camps, but *we do not wish to go into the hotel business; we wish to get out of it* and confine ourselves strictly to the business of getting the people there just as soon as we can, but it is difficult to get capital interested in this

> kind of pioneer work. With the cooperation and assistance of the Government we hope within two or three years to get financial people interested in the park and then we can get out and attend to railroading.[87]

This one of President Louis Hill's predictions would not prove correct--but the transportation/accommodations network in Glacier National Park would become the beneficiary of that failure.



TRANSPORTATION ROUTES 1800-1910

Notes

1. The Lieutenant Van Orsdale quotation appears in (Fort Benton) THE RIVER PRESS, September 5, 1883. At the time, Van Orsdale was a First Lieutenant in the Seventh Infantry, U.S. Army.
   The second quotation is a gross abridgement. For the full text of the enabling act, see U.S. Congress, Senate, SENATE DOCUMENTS: S.B. 2777, 61st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1910 (U.S. Stat. 36, 354).

2. Chapman's report is printed as a component of each committee report accompanying the several bills to establish the Glacier National Park, 1907ff. See, for example, U.S. Congress, House, Committee on the Public Lands, REPORT 2100, TO ACCOMPANY S. 5648, 60th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1909.

3. IBID.

4. IBID.

5. Numerous supportive accounts depict this pattern, yet the most persistent, authoritative source is James W. Sheire, GLACIER NATIONAL PARK: HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Office of History and Historical Architecture, Eastern Service Center, 1970), Part I.

6. This loose grouping, later known as the Blackfeet Confederation, can be traced best in the following works: John C. Ewers, THE BLACKFEET: RAIDERS ON THE NORTHWESTERN PLAINS (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958); Walter McClintock, THE OLD NORTH TRAIL; OR, THE LIFE, LEGENDS, AND RELIGIONS OF THE BLACKFEET INDIANS (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968); Ferdinand V. Hayden, CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ETHNOGRAPHY AND PHILOLOGY OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE MISSOURI VALLEY (Philadelphia: C. Sherman and Son, Publishers, 1862); Esther S. Goldfrank, CHANGING CONFIGURATIONS IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF A BLACKFOOT TRIBE DURING THE RESERVE PERIOD: THE BLOOD OF ALBERTA, CANADA (New York: J. J. Augstin, 1945); J. H. Bradley, "Blackfoot War with the Whites," CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTANA 9 (1923), pp. 252-55; Bradley, "Characteristics, Habits, and Customs of the Blackfoot Indians," CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTANA 9 (1923), pp. 255-87.

7. Please see the comparative discussion of Cut Bank and Marias Passes in the work of H. Holly Geoghegan, "Marias Pass," unpublished honors paper (Meadville, Penna.: Allegheny College, 1979). This work, seen in manuscript, shortly will be on deposit in the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (hereafter cited as GPA).

8. Please see the compilation of Mr. Jack Holterman, Whitefish, Montana, regarding the disparate sources of names given to Glacier National Park features. The work of Mr. Holterman is painstakenly thorough and its authenticity can be trusted; this on-going card-catalog project is housed in GPA. The basic published source for Glacier Park place names is the continuing series, Glacier Park Transport Company, GLACIER NATIONAL PARK: DRIVER'S MANUAL (East Glacier, Montana: Glacier Park Transportation Company, 1937ff.), much of which derived from the research of Chief Park Naturalist George M. Ruhle.

9. See the two basic works, Hiram M. Chittenden, THE AMERICAN FUR TRADE OF THE FAR WEST: A HISTORY OF THE PIONEERING TRADING POSTS AND EARLY FUR COMPANIES OF THE MISSOURI VALLEY AND THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, AND OF THE OVERLAND COMMERCE WITH THE SANTA FE, 3 vols. (New York: Harper Publishing Company, 1902); Paul C. Phillips, with J. W. Smurr, THE FUR TRADE, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961).

10. The obvious encounter is the 1806 meeting of Captain Meriwether Lewis' small party with several Piegan braves on Two Medicine Creek. However, between the 1780s and 1870s, the various, aligned Blackfeet bands proved equally formidable in defending their occupied lands against white penetration--if not white-originated whiskey and smallpox. See particularly Ewers, THE BLACKFEET; McClintock, OLD NORTH TRAIL; Goldfrank, CHANGING CONFIGURATIONS IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF A BLACKFOOT TRIBE; Bradley, "Blackfoot War."

11. Regarding the Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851), see C. J. Kappler, comp., INDIAN AFFAIRS, LAWS, AND TREATIES, 2nd ed., 5 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904-1941).

12. See U.S. Congress, House, Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Public Lands, "Compilation of Material Relating to the Indians of the United States and the Territory of Alaska, including Laws and Treaties affecting Such Indians" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950); A. J. Partoll, ed., "The Flathead Treaty Council of 1855," PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUARTERLY 29 (1938), pp. 283-314; Partoll, ed., THE BLACKFOOT INDIAN PEACE COUNCIL, Sources of Northwest History, No. 3 (Missoula: University of Montana Press, 1937).

13. United States, War Department, REPORTS OF THE EXPLORATIONS AND SURVEYS TO ASCERTAIN THE MOST PRACTICABLE AND ECONOMICAL ROUTE FOR A RAILROAD FROM THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN, MADE IN 1853-1854, 12 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1855-1860). This set was republished as: Isaac I. Stevens, REPORTS AND SURVEYS..., 11 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Thomas H. Ford, 1960).

14. This exploratory project commonly is known as the Palliser Expedition; further information can be found in: John Palliser, SOLITARY

RAMBLES AND ADVENTURES OF A HUNTER IN THE PRAIRIES (London: John Murray, 1853); Irene Biss Spry, THE PALLISER EXPEDITION: AN ACCOUNT OF JOHN PALLISER'S BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN EXPEDITION, 1857-1860 (Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada, 1964). A much more complete version of the latter work is Spry, ed., THE PAPERS OF THE PALLISER EXPEDITION, 1857-1860, Publications of the Champlain Society, Vol. 44 (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1968).

15. Marcus Baker, "Survey of the Northwestern Boundary of the United States, 1857-1861," U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY BULLETIN NO. 174 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900); Otto Klotz, "The History of the Forty-Ninth Parallel Survey West of the Rocky Mountains," THE GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW 3 (1917); George F. S. Stanley, ed., MAPPING THE FRONTIER: CHARLES WILSON'S DIARY OF THE SURVEY OF THE FORTY-NINTH PARALLEL, 1858-1862, WHILE SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH BOUNDARY COMMISSION (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970); D. W. Thomson, MEN AND MERIDIANS: THE HISTORY OF SURVEYING AND MAPPING IN CANADA, 2 vols. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), Vol. I: PRIOR TO 1867.

16. At this time, the U.S. Army was projecting a concerted campaign against the native bands of the Northern Great Plains. The Custer encounter on the Little Big Horn River--in June, 1876--precipitated considerable excitement throughout the region's high plains.

17. See "An Act to Incorporate the Fort Benton and Kootenai Wagon Road Company" in, Territory of Montana, ACTS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS OF THE TERRITORY OF MONTANA, PASSED BY THE FIRST LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, CONVENED AT BANNACK, DECEMBER 12, 1864 (Virginia City, Montana: D. W. Tilton and Company, 1866), pp. 630-31.

18. Regarding the construction of the Fort Walla Walla-Fort Benton Military Wagon Road, see: (John Mullan), MILITARY ROAD FROM FORT BENTON TO FORT WALLA WALLA, EXEC. DOC. 44, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 8, 1860-1861 (Series #1099); (John Mullan), REPORT ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MILITARY ROAD FROM FORT WALLA-WALLA TO FORT BENTON, SEN. DOC. 43, 37th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1863; John Mullan, MINERS AND TRAVELERS' GUIDE TO OREGON, WASHINGTON, IDAHO, MONTANA, WYOMING, AND COLORADO, VIA THE MISSOURI AND COLUMIA RIVERS (New York: W. M. Franklin, 1865); W. Turrentine Jackson, WAGON ROADS WEST: A STUDY OF FEDERAL ROAD SURVEYS AND CONSTRUCTION IN THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST, 1846-1869 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), pp. 260-96; John Strachan, BLAZING THE MULLAN TRAIL... (Rockford, Ill.: Edward Eberstadt and Sons, 1952); A. Howard, "Capt. John Mullan," WASHINGTON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY 25 (1934), pp. 185-202; Joe Baily, "Mullan's Axe and Shovel Passage," THE PACIFIC NORTHWESTERNER 2 (1958), pp. 1-8.

19. Regarding Pumpelly, see: Raphael Pumpelly, MY REMINISCENCES, 2 vols. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1918).

Basic works regarding the Northern Pacific Railroad include: J. B. Hedges, HENRY VILLARD AND THE RAILWAYS OF THE NORTHWEST (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930); Louis T. Renz, THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD MAIN LINE DURING THE YEARS 1870 TO 1888 (Walla Walla, Wash.: author, 1973); Northern Pacific Railway Company, General Land Office, THE CORPORATE HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY (St. Paul: Northern Pacific Railway Company, 1921); E. S. Dellinger, "Lake Superior to Puget Sound," RAILROAD MAGAZINE (May, 1947).

20. J. M. Gibbon, STEEL OF EMPIRE: THE ROMANTIC HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC, THE NORTHWEST PASSAGE OF TODAY (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1935).

21. The demise of Blackfeet opposition to white incursion is addressed in: Ewers, THE BLACKFEET; Goldfrank, CHANGING CONFIGURATIONS IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF A BLACKFOOT TRIBE; Alexander Johnson, comp., THE BATTLE OF BELLY RIVER: STORIES OF THE LAST GREAT INDIAN BATTLE (Lethbridge, Alberta: author, 1966); Oscar Lewis, THE EFFECT OF WHITE CONTACT UPON BLACKFOOT CULTURE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROLE OF THE FUR TRADE, American Ethnological Society Monograph No. 6 (New York: American Ethnological Society, 1942); Wesley C. Wilson, "The U.S. Army and the Piegans: The Baker Massacre on the Marias, 1870," NORTH DAKOTA HISTORY 32 (1965). See also: U.S. Congress, House, "The Reduction of Indian Reservations," EXEC. DOC. 63, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1888 (Series #2557).

For the official mechanics involved in the federal transfer of the "Ceded Strip," see: John M. Kauffman, "Glacier National Park, Montana: A History of Its Establishment and the Revision of Its Boundaries," 1954 typescript, GPA.

22. G. E. Culver, "Notes on a Little Known Region in North Western Montana," WISCONSIN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ARTS AND LETTERS (1891), pp. 187-206. Culver quotes Ahern's official report to the effect:

> Aug. 22: As I led the pack train out this morning, I felt extremely anxious, as there were several places on the trail where a mis-step meant certain death. At the north end of the [Helen] lake the trail zig-zags up a very steep, grassy slope for 800 feet and then over loose slide-rock--talus--for 1,100 feet higher to the cut-walls, which loom up 2,000 feet above the slide-rock.
>
> The trail now follows narrow ledges straight for the gap [Ahern Pass], which is on the same level and 500 yards west. At one place we climbed a narrow and very steep rock fifteen feet high, in which we had to

cut steps. We led our most troublesome animals over this. My feelings were indescribable when I started up this rock, not knowing what the horse would do. The ledge was about eighteen inches wide, the upside wall sloping back. On the lower side was a fall of 1,900 feet.

(Culver, "Notes," p. 191)

23. The work of James J. Hill in salvaging the Great Northern Railroad from economic ruin and in establishing it as a financially successful transcontinental line is addressed in: J. G. Pyle, THE LIFE OF JAMES J. HILL, 2 vols. (New York: Peter Smith, 1936); Great Northern Railway Company, "The History of the Great Northern Railway Company," SHIPPER AND CARRIER (February, 1925); Great Northern Railway, THE EMPIRE BUILDER AND SOME OF THE MEN WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREAT NORTHERN EMPIRE (St. Paul: Great Northern Railway, 1929); Great Northern Railway, ANNUAL REPORTS, 1890-1970 (St. Paul: Great Northern Railway, 1891-1971).

    The railroad initially operated as the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railroad--known as the "Manitoba Line"--but, in 1889, it reorganized as the Great Northern Railway. The latter appellation is used in this report to designate both companies.

24. The Pumpelly Expeditions of 1882 and 1883 are described in: Pumpelly, MY REMINISCENCES. Pumpelly's group (1883) included the packer and guide William R. Logan--later the first Superintendent of Glacier National Park--and Lt. John Van Orsdale, who had traversed the same route with Woodruff in 1874, subsequently calling for its preservation as a national reserve.

25. Daniel C. Haskell, ed., OUR RECONNAISSANCE FOR THE GREAT NORTHERN (New York: New York Public Library, 1948); Flandrau, MARIAS PASS; Genevieve Murray, MARIAS PASS, Sources of Northwest History, No. 12 (Missoula: University of Montana Press, 1938); Geoghegan, "Marias Pass."

26. Great Northern Railway, ANNUAL REPORTS, 1890, 1891. The Great Northern used these tote roads--evidences of which still can be observed along the U.S. #2 highway route--to deliver materials to predetermined points on the right-of-way. The Railway simultaneously transported supplies and construction materials to a Flathead Valley temporary terminal--via Missoula, Ravalli, and Flathead Lake--by wagon and lake steamboat.

    The character of McCarthyville, during its shortlife, is depicted in: Montana News Association, "M'Carthyville, Near Glacier Park, Once Toughtest Town in the World," MYSHAM ECHO, July 19, 1923.

27. Great Northern Railway, MAP OF THE MAINLINE, 1903 (St. Paul: Great Northern Railway, 1903); Leona Harrington, ed., THE HISTORY OF APGAR, MONTANA (West Glacier, Montana: Apgar School, ca. 1950).

28. J. H. Ridenour, "The Voyage of the Steamer Oakes," 1942 typescript, GPA.

29. One of the key difficulties with Professor Buchholtz's interpretation of the progression of Glacier-area events, in MAN IN GLACIER (West Glacier, Mont.: Glacier Natural History Association, 1976), is his ambivalent use of the transitive verb "exploit." The prime meaning of this term is "to make use of; to turn to account; to utilize productively." Only secondarily does "exploit" mean "to make *unethical* use of, for one's own advantage or profit." Yet Buchholtz consistently employs this subordinate meaning to indicate that, somehow, diabolical forces have conspired against the absolute preservation of the Glacier area in a pristine environmental state--long *before* the Park itself was a legislated reality, let alone a manageable reality.

    In fact, the Glacier area was used, by the people who populated it prior to 1910, in a relatively responsible, conservative fashion. Realistically, no concerted environmental rape occurred here--given the national tenor and precents of the Gilded Age--because no large amounts of extra-Montana capital infused local entrepreneurial schemes.

30. Please see the various "Historic Structures Survey" area-narratives that complement this report. The basic source concerning the settlement of the Glacier region's West Side remains Leona H. Harrington, ed., HISTORY OF APGAR (West Glacier, Mont.: Apgar School, ca. 1950).

31. This position is supported specifically by the accounts contributed to Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR, *passim*; by various oral interviews conducted during the 1960s and 1970s by Park Service personnel, transcripts of which are housed in the GPA: by Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, Chapters III and IV; by Michael J. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance: Park Service- Concessioner Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961," unpublished Master's Thesis (Missoula: University of Montana, 1973), Chapter I.

32. "Chronological History File, 1893, 1896," GPA; Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," pp. 16-17; Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, pp. 37-38.

33. Donald H. Robinson, THROUGH THE YEARS IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, ed. Maynard C. Bowers (West Glacier, Mont.: Glacier Natural History Association, 1960), p. 62; Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR, *passim*; various interview references in "Glacier National Park Oral History Collection"--especially those of Mrs. Frank Liebig--GPA.

34. Letter, F. I. Whitney to Lyman P. Sperry, August 13, 1893, File 4319, Folder 17, "General Correspondence," President's Subject Files, Great Northern Railway Collection, Minnesota Historical Society and Archives, St. Paul, Minnesota (hereafter cited as GNR Coll.).

35. "Chronological History File, 1895," GPA; GNR Coll., File 4319.

36. "Oral Interview with E. J. Cruger, 1952," GPA; Letter, George C. Ruhle to Editor, KALISPELL NEWS, March 18, 1939, History File 101, GPA; "Chronological History File, 1897," GPA.

37. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, pp. 33-36; Robinson, THROUGH THE YEARS, pp. 40-43.

38. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, pp. 33-36; Robinson, THROUGH THE YEARS, p. 40; various, isolated references in: "Glacier National Park Oral History Collection," GPA.

39. Please see an explanation of the legislative process involved, in Chapter III, footnote 7.

40. Please see the map accompanying this chapter.

41. Kauffman, "Glacier National Park: Establishment and Boundaries"; Robinson, THROUGH THE YEARS, pp. 36-39; "Chronological History File, 1894-1896," GPA.

42. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, pp. 34-36; Robinson, THROUGH THE YEARS, pp. 40-43.

43. Please see the map accompanying this chapter.

44. Robinson, THROUGH THE YEARS, p. 38; Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, p. 34; "Oral Interview with Charles Nielson, 1952," GPA; "Chronological History File, 1901," GPA.

45. Robinson, THROUGH THE YEARS, p. 62; Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR, passing references; "Chronological History File, 1896," GPA.

46. For a further discussion of the settlement of the North Fork Valley, see the "North Fork of the Flathead Area" portion of the Historic Structures Survey, which complements this report. Supportive references can be found in the testimonies of various North Fork residents: "Glacier National Park Oral History Collection," GPA.

47. The history of the conservation issue in the United States has been addressed in some detail in, for example, Samuel P. Hays, CONSERVATION AND THE GOSPEL OF EFFICIENCY (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); Roderick Nash, WILDERNESS AND THE AMERICAN MIND (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); J. Leonard Bates, "Fulfilling American Democracy: The Conservation Movement, 1907-1921," MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW 44 (1957), pp. 29-57.

As that movement impacted the creation of Glacier National Park, the situation can be simplified. By 1906-1907, two camps had developed within the general movement: (1) the "wise use conservationists," who advocated the productive management of such forest resources as timber, grazing, minerals, water power, etc.; leaders included the forester Gifford Pinchot, Land Commissioner Edward Bowers, and Secretary of the Interior James Garfield; this management policy most nearly coincides with the current philosophy of a U.S.D.A. Forest Service multiple-use program; (2) the "preservationists," who advocated varying degrees of protection for areas of natural beauty, for the benefit of future generations; leaders included such prominent figures as John Muir, Robert Underwood Johnson, Frederick Law Olmstead, and George Bird Grinnell; this management policy most nearly coincides with the current philosophy of a U.S.D.A. Forest Service wilderness-area program.

At the time that the first Glacier National Park bill was introduced in Congress (1907), the conservation movement was beginning to focus its "wise use"-versus-"preservation" opposition in the context of the construction of the Hetch Hetchy Dam, above San Francisco, California. This issue existed from 1907 into 1912 and functioned as the prime combative arena for the two factions.

Fortunately--or, perhaps, unfortunately--the issue of the creation of Glacier National Park was contemporaneous. Thus both contingents relegated the terms of the Glacier enabling act to a subordinate priority. The main result of this sutation was that the opposing philosophies uncomfortably were combined in S. 2777 (1910). Each faction claimed credit for the creation of the Park; each faction perceived its philosophy realized in the Park's mandates; each faction then returned to the larger battleground.

The Hetch Hetchy Dam controversy is discussed in: Holway R. Jones, JOHN MUIR AND THE SIERRA CLUB: THE BATTLE FOR YOSEMITE (San Francisco: Stanford University Press, 1965), pp. 83-169; John Ise, OUR NATIONAL PARK POLICY: A CRITICAL HISTORY (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961), pp. 85-96; Nash, WILDERNESS AND THE AMERICAN MIND, pp. 161-81; Elmo R. Richardson, "The Struggle for the Valley: California's Hetch Hetchy Controversy, 1905-1913," CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY 38 (1959), pp. 249-58.

48. Grinnell's first trip to the Glacier area occurred in 1885, and his second in 1887. From 1885 Grinnell, as editor of FOREST AND STREAM, included either articles or descriptive notes concerning the area in almost every issue--thereby constructing a favorable general reception to the concept of preserving the area under national-park status.

49. See an analysis of this belief in: Michael P. Malone, "Montana as a Corporate Bailiwick: An Image in History," MONTANA PAST AND PRESENT (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1976), pp. 55-76.

50. The Robinson work appears in several post-World War II issues, the several later printings edited by Maynard C. Bowers. This work has been superceded by Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER (1976).

51. Robinson, THROUGH THE YEARS, pp. 52-53. The current standard history of Glacier, C. W. Buchholtz's MAN IN GLACIER (p. 47) perpetuates the interpretation, although its author wisely is cautious:

> [The Flathead Valley residents'] fear of a Great Northern monopoly in their valley seemed justified, since the Great Northern supported the park legislation. . . .

52. Sheire, HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY, pp. 135-70. Sheire's development of these four forces is derived initially from Congressional discussions of the various Glacier National Park enabling acts.

53. Italics are mine. IBID., pp. 176, 179.
The recent graduate thesis of Michael J. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," similarly follows the traditional pattern, including such undocumented statements as (p. 20), "Through the prolonged agitation of state legislators, Great Northern representatives and other Park advocates, Congress passed the bill creating Glacier National Park. . . ."

54. Italics are mine. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, p. 47.

55. Madison Grant, THE EARLY HISTORY OF GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, MONTANA (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1919), p. 8.
Professor Lyman Sperry, a fringe member of the Great Northern contingent in Glacier, even earlier (1915) promoted the Railway as the essential force in Park creation. In a letter to Kalispell Chamber of Commerce Secretary Perley N. Bernard, Sperry delegates responsibility:

> While its creation would--*probably*--not have been made when it was except for the influence of such men as yourself and various Chambers of Commerce in Montana, it is equally true that the proposition did not take on signs of life in Washington till the Great Northern officials had told Senator Carter to "Go to it."
>
> (Italics are mine. As quoted in: Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, p. 47)

56. Italics are mine. Letter, George C. Ruhle to Mary Madeline McGrath, March 15, 1939, "Creation of Glacier National Park" folder, Historical Files, GPA.

57. Letter published in conjunction with the article by William T. Hornaday, "Glacier National Park," THE MENTOR (1914), pp. 1-12. The letter also recounts the history of early white penetration--including Grinnell's--into the Glacier area.

58. Letter, Charles N. Pray to George Bird Grinnell, May 12, 1910, as quoted in Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, p. 49.

59. A photocopy of the entire Pray letter can be found in the Historical Files, GPA. The conclusion regarding the non-existence of a Pray-to-Hill letter is based on a thorough survey of pertinent Great Northern Railway President's Subject Files in the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

60. Charles N. Pray, "Recollections Concerning the Establishment of Glacier National Park," 1954 typescript, GPA.

61. Letter, L. O. Vaught to M. E. Beatty, February 24, 1948, "Creation of Glacier National Park" folder, Historical Files, GPA. See the obituary of Vaught in the (Columbia Falls) HUNGRY HORSE NEWS, February 4, 1955.

62. W. C. Whipps was a leading Kalispell business and civic leader during the 1907-1915 period, involved in home-furnishing sales and real estate, as well as serving as Kalispell's mayor in 1910 and 1911. Whipps' article--in the KALISPELL TIMES, October 6, 1932, p. 5--was the result of several "Letters to the Editor" that appeared in the TIMES during September, 1932, each critically questioning the management of Glacier National Park. Other letters subsequently published in Kalispell's three newspapers (the TIMES, the DAILY INTER-LAKE, and the FLATHEAD MONITOR) generally supported Whipps' position.

63. This statement, elaborated in the subsequent test, is based upon an intensive examination of the Great Northern Railway President's Subject Files in the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

64. A wholly subjective estimate of the Company's internal correspondence, transmitted between 1907 and 1910, would establish 25% of those communications concerning national railroad issues, 35% regarding Montana homestead developments, 20% addressing branch-line expansion and operation, and 20% pertaining to miscellaneous topics. The "creation of Glacier National Park" falls within the last group, comprising approximately 3% of the total 1907-1910 correspondence volume.

The term "High Line" designates that strip of Northern Montana served by the Great Northern's mainline, generally stretching from Culbertson west to Browning.

In addition to the numerous promotional publications of the Railway and local organizations, see: Carl F. Kraenzel, WORLD OF

CHANGE (Toronto: Rockefeller Foundation, 1942); Mary Wilma Hargreaves, DRY FARMING IN THE NORTHERN GREAT PLAINS: 1900-1925 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957); Joseph Kinsey Howard, MONTANA: HIGH, WIDE AND HANDSOME (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), pp. 1-37, 167-250; Michael P. Malone and Richard B. Roeder, MONTANA: A HISTORY OF TWO CENTURIES (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976); K. Ross Toole, MONTANA: AN UNCOMMON LAND (Norman: University of Oklahome Press, 1959).

65. This subjective judgment is based upon a decisive reading of the Great Northern Railway President's Subject Files in the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

66. The legislative acts included are S. 2032--introduced by Senator Thomas H. Carter on December 11, 1907, which died in the Senate Committee on Public Lands on May 1, 1908 (SEN. REPORT #591)--and S. 5648 --introduced by Sen. Carter on February 24, 1908, which died before the House in March, 1909. Sen. Carter introduced S. 2777 on June 6, 1909; it passed both houses on April 29, 1910; the bill was signed by President William Howard Taft on May 11, 1910 (PUBLIC LAW 171).

67. This statement is based upon thorough review of the Great Northern Railway President's Subject Files, in the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

68. An intriguing, but undocumented, statement appears in Donald H. Robinson (as edited by Harry B. Robinson), "The Move Toward Parkhood," GLORIOUS GLACIER (Helena, Montana: Montana Historical Society, 1958), p. 22: "The truth of the matter was that the Great Northern was backing the bill principally at the request of Senator Carter and Congressman Pray." The author of this statement evidently is editor Harry B. Robinson, as the original text, quoted on page 35 of this report, presents a contradictory interpretation.

69. Letter, W. W. Broughton to Louis W. Hill, January 10, 1908, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 25.

70. Letter, Louis W. Hill to Senator Thomas H. Carter, January 15, 1908, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 25.

71. Letter, Louis W. Hill to Senator Porter J. McCumber (R-N.D.), February 8, 1909, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 25. See also Aubrey L. Haines, THE YELLOWSTONE STORY: A HISTORY OF OUR FIRST NATIONAL PARK, 2 vols. (Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming: Yellowstone Library and Museum Association, 1974).

72. Letter, Louis W. Hill to John C. Carroll, February 6, 1909, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 25.

73. Regarding the "grass roots" letter campaign, see the correspondence from Charles W. Gordon, of Gordon and Ferguson, St. Paul, to Broughton, February 10 and 11, 1909, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 25.

The circumstances under which the first Glacier Park bill suffered were outlined by another Washington attorney for the Great Northern, R. E. L. Smith, in a letter to Broughton on February 9, 1909, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 25:

> Confirming our wire of to-day regarding Glacier Park bill [S. 2032], now in House committee. We had a long interview with Mr. Pray this morning, following which we wired you. Mr. Pray advised us that the only chance he had of getting any action favorable to the establishment of this park was by an amendment in Committee, which practically destroys the bill as framed in the Senate. There was strong opposition to the measure in the Committee and [were] threats to kill the bill unless amended as stated.
>
> The bill, as amended, will be reported tomorrow, and will, we expect, pass. It is subject to objection, however, and may be killed, and inasmuch as it will come up under suspension of the rules or by request for unanimous consent, it is entirely impracticable to attempt to do anything for it on the floor of the House. It will not be up on regular call of the Calendar, so as to have the right to a regular vote, but it will be up under suspension of the rules, or by unanimous consent request, and one objection can throw it out. No one can possibly foretell who might thus oppose it, hence the impossibility of missionary work in this direction.
>
> If the bill passes as reported by the House Committee, it will then go to Conference, unless the Senate agrees to accept the House bill.

74. Letter, Louis W. Hill to Chairman James J. Hill, February 12, 1909, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 25.

75. See particularly correspondence from Louis W. Hill to H. V. Jones, a correspondent for the MINNEAPOLIS JOURNAL, February 22, 1909, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 23, as well as the letter from W. B. Rhoades to Theodore Roosevelt, February 11, 1909, included in the "Legislation Creating Glacier National Park" folder, Historical Files, GPA.

76. See the (Kalispell) DAILY INTER LAKE, January through March, 1909, for various elaborations of this position.

77. Letter, W. W. Broughton to Louis W. Hill, August 3, 1909, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 25.

78. See the following correspondence: Letter, W. W. Broughton to H. H. Parkhouse, September 3, 1909; H. A. Noble to H. H. Parkhouse, December 21, 1909; H. H. Parkhouse to Louis W. Hill, October 19, 1909--GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 25.

One might note that neither of these tacts meets the criteria for heavy-handed Congressional manipulation by a corporate power.

79. Letter, H. H. Parkhouse to Louis W. Hill, March 5, 1910, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 24. These three senators are all Republicans from states served by the Railway's mainline.

L. C. Gilman, at this point, served as Assistant to the President of the Great Northern and was situated in Washington, D.C., on other Railway business.

80. Letter, Louis W. Hill to William R. Logan, Superintendent of the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation, Montana, March 14, 1910, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 24; "Legislation Creating Glacier National Park" folder, Historical Files, GPA.

Senator Gronna's response to the Hill communique is typical (March 8, 1910, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 24): "MESSAGE RECEIVED WILL MOVE TO REPORT GLACIER [*sic*] PARK BILL FAVORABLY IN COMMITTEE TOMORROW." One can only speculate regarding the influence that L. W. Hill's telegrams imposed on members of the Committee and, ultimately, upon its reporting of S. 2777.

81. Letter, Louis W. Hill to Sidney M. Logan, Logan and Childs, Kalispell, Montana, April 8, 1910, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 24. This suggested amendment never was incorporated in S. 2777, quite probably because Sen. Carter believed that additional amendments to the bill would weaken its chances of passage.

82. "Legislation Creating Glacier National Park" folder, Historical Files, GPA.

83. This statement is based upon a thorough examination of the pertinent Great Northern Railway President's Subject Files, in the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

84. This four-page description, over the signature of Great Northern General Passenger Agent S. J. Ellison, is contained in GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 23.

85. Montana, Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry, Department of Publicity, "Speech of James J. Hill on President Taft's Day at the Montana State Fair in Helena, September 27, 1909" (Helena, Mont.: Department of Publicity, 1909), p. 10.

86. Please see the map accompanying this chapter.

87. Great Northern Railway Company, "Advance Information Relative to Glacier National Park, in Montana" (St. Paul: Great Northern Railway, 1910), p. 3.

88. Italics are mine. U.S. Department of the Interior, PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL PARK CONFERENCE, HELD AT THE YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK, SEPTEMBER 11 AND 12, 1911 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 5.

CHAPTER II

LOUIS HILL'S DREAM

William R. Logan arrived at the newly created Glacier National Park in early August, 1910, amidst a conflagration of such proportions that it affected most forest lands in eastern Idaho and western Montana. Directing crews from the heavily timbered northwest reaches of the Park to the eastern slope near Midvale (East Glacier),[1] Superintendent Logan had little time to consider the more long-range challenges of his new post. When Logan did turn his attention to the administrative needs of shepherding development in Glacier Park, he recognized the enormous task that faced him.

Chief among Superintendent Logan's problems were the affects of physically divided Glacier Park. Those spectacular mountains that had challenged early man in his migrations through the northern Rocky Mountain region and had attracted the attention of recreation-minded Americans at the turn of the century now hindered the superintendent's ability to govern the use of the national playground. It is little wonder that William Logan's official title was that of Superintendent of Road and Trail Construction. During the next twenty years, Logan and his successors would emphasize the necessity of linking the inaccessible reaches of the Park through a network of roads and trails.

Few roads and trails existed in Glacier Park in 1910. A poorly maintained road along the North Fork of the Flathead River served areas in the western portions of the reserve, while two roads from Browning to Lakes Sherburne and St. Mary offered access to the Park's eastern boundary. Only two trails, one across Swiftcurrent Pass and one leading over Gunsight Pass, linked the eastern and western sections of Glacier. (See accompanying map in Chapter 1.) Superintendent Logan ambitiously recommended in his first annual report (1911) that a twenty-five mile "driveway" be constructed between Belton and Lake McDonald and that a new steel bridge

be erected across the Middle Fork of the Flathead at the west entrance to the Park. The price tag for this construction was a measly $125,000.[2] Again in 1912, Logan's successor, R. H. Chapman, recommended that these improvements be made, and supplemented with two additional roads, one from Lake McDonald to Waterton Lakes and one from McDonald Creek to St. Mary.[3]

Notwithstanding the need for more roads in Glacier Park, the cost of a major construction program was too high. In 1911, the Park's first full year of operation, Congress appropriated only $15,000 for maintenance and improvements. Appropriations rose dramatically the next year, 1912, when Congress provided $69,200 for Park operations. This sum was slim compared to the enormity of the task, and federal support varied little from that low figure over the next five years.[4] The money that did enter Glacier was used efficiently for the construction and improvement of short "feeder" roads throughout the Park, but a large-scale program of major road construction lay outside the limits of federal purse strings.[5]

Adequate funding was a persistent problem for Glacier Park directors during the early years 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.[6] Of equal concern to all supporters of the National Park System was the lack of a central administration in Washington, D.C. During Glacier National Park's first six years of existence, it operated, as did all national parks and some national monuments, under the supervision of the Department of the Interior. A central parks bureau was absent in the Department, each national reserve functioning rather disjointedly through an Interior Clerk. Failure to consolidate the policy and directions of the nation's parks within one central bureau forced the reserve to compete against one another for Congressional benevolence each spring during appropriations hearings. The situation also allowed "inferior" parks to vie for entrance into the federal jurisdiction with the result that Congress was even more reluctant to fund a possible "pork barrel" system.[7]

An effort to place the National Park System on more secure financial footing began soon after Glacier National Park entered the federal domain.

In 1913, Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane appointed an Assistant Secretary, Adolph C. Miller, to a post overseeing the nation's recreational reserves. While in that office, Miller drafted support from other eager conservationists to help coordinate the direction of the park system.[8] Aided by the staff in the Department of the Interior, the movement for a separate national parks bureau gathered strength in Congress during 1914 and 1915 and, in 1916, Congress passed the National Parks Act. Stephen T. Mather received the first appointment as Director of the National Park Service. With the help of an Assistant Director and a Chief Clerk, he instilled a sense of direction to the loosely knit national park program.

Creation of the National Park Service in 1916 did much to legitimatize the federal system of public parks. The central bureau did not arrive in time, however, to assist Glacier Superintendent William Logan and his successor in developing the vital transportation network in the Park. Without an effective administrative arm in the nation's capitol, Glacier supervisors could have little confidence that the physical restraints on administration of the Park could be understood or that their pleas for roads and trails would reach receptive ears.

Lack of adequate funding and the absence of a central administrative authority were joined by a third factor to complicate the development of Glacier National Park after 1910. Appointments to the superintendency of the Park were governed not by civil service criteria, but by political patronage. This fact often made nominations to the post a fertile ground for political intrigue and it contributed to a rapid turnover in Park administrators. During the first twenty years of Glacier's existence (1910-1930), ten individuals served as Park Superintendent. Two of those supervisors served repeated terms as Acting Superintendent, and the average period of service for each administrator was less than three years. While most superintendents of Glacier Park between 1910 and 1930 urged the construction of roads, trails and administrative facilities, no doubt the constant fluctuation in leadership deterred more rapid Park development. After 1931, with the institution of a civil service appointment, superintendent tenancy increased to an average of six years.[9]

Lack of adequate funding, an absence of central control, and the constant change in supervisory personnel at Glacier National Park created an administrative vacuum during the Park's early years. The construction of roads and trails to and within Glacier was vital not only to the effective administration of the national reserve, but to the financial success of the Park's major supporter, the Great Northern Railway Company. Knowing the necessity for a rapid improvement in the Park's facilities, Louis W. Hill, President of the Great Northern Railway Company, tacitly agreed to enter the leadership vacuum in 1911.

Louis Hill suggested the proper role for the Great Northern in Glacier Park affairs at the first annual National Park Conference, held at Yellowstone Park in September, 1911. Hill asked the visiting superintendents to join with the railroads in promoting the western National Parks. The Great Northern president was especially interested in Montana's Glacier Park and anticipated that within three years it could be made a major tourist attraction. Hill was particularly interested in the railroad's role in this scenario, specifically in the field of advertising and accommodations. He urged the federal government to join with the railroads in promoting Glacier National Park and in attracting capital investment to this new public recreation area.[10]

Federal officials in charge of Glacier National Park also desired a close working relationship with Louis Hill's railroad. The Park's first supervisor, William R. Logan, advised President Hill one month before arriving in Glacier that he (Logan) had been offered the superintendency.[11] During the first few years of the Great Northern's involvement in Glacier, Louis Hill and his agents in Washington maintained a close relationship with Chief Clerk Clement S. Ucker, who was the Department of the Interior official responsible for the Montana park. Both gentlemen conferred each season on the progress of the Park's development, while exchanging suggestions for improvements.[12] Assistant Secretary of the Interior Stephen Mather emphasized this railroad-government cooperation best when he wrote Hill in 1915, stating that ". . .the Department and the railroads must cooperate much more closely, if the national parks are to be used by any

large percentage of the American people."[13]

Louis Hill was more than anxious to join Logan, Ucker, and Mather in promoting and developing this newest national park. Hill's dream was to see a public park, catering to the recreation-minded American touring public and served by the elegant facilities of his transcontinental railroad. Hill envisioned a European motif for Glacier and, not surprisingly, likened it to the Swiss Alps. His approach to funneling travelers to and through the area was also European in its design for a rail, road and trail network. A chalet-style architecture for tourist accommodations completed the Old World atmosphere that Louis Hill hoped to create at Glacier Park.

Officials in the Interior Department and at Glacier welcomed the aspirations and plans of the Great Northern Company's enthusiastic president. Assistant Secretary Stephen Mather broached the idea of an "Americanized-Swiss plan" as a model for federal parks in 1915. His design included taking ". . .over [the] Swiss idea of inns, chalets, and camp-sites at intervals of nine and twelve miles over a complete chain of roads and trails, and combine their management with up-to-date American methods."[14] Local Glacier Park superintendents may not have endorsed the Hill plan to Mather's extent, but they had no hesitancy in using the railroad magnate's monetary resources to finance needed road and trail construction.

An example of the Glacier Park officialdom's acceptance of the Great Northern as a benefactor is the construction of the Divide Creek-Upper St. Mary Lake Wagon Road during the summer of 1912. The 4.8 miles of road was designed to link the 27-mile road between Midvale (East Glacier) and Divide Creek, which the Great Northern Company had under construction in 1912. Late in June, 1912, Clerk Ucker informed the Secretary of the Interior that a recent bid for constructing the road would have to be refused since the Park appropriation would not warrant acceptance of the $18,000 price tag. The Interior Department Secretary did allow, however, Glacier Park to grant permission to the Great Northern Company to finance construction of the road with the provision that, if Congress appropriated additional monies, the Park would reimburse the railroad for the road. A. Gutherie and Company of St. Paul, Minnesota, began clearing the wagon

road from Divide Creek in 1912 and completed construction in 1913. With additional funding in late 1912, the Glacier Park superintendency was able to reimburse the railway company for its assitance.[15]

The Great Northern Railway Company's assistance in Glacier Park's first years of development was, generally, a blessing to Park officials. This benefaction, however, did offer some liabilities. One persistent problem for the Park was the lack of a balanced program of improvement. Louis Hill's dream for the public reserve encompassed the limited version of the railroad industry. Out-of-state tourists, brought to the national park by the Great Northern, would enjoy the spectacular wonders of Glacier while lodging in the splendid hotels of the railroad company. President Hill planned to realize this dream on the eastern border of Glacier Park, an area served exclusively by the Great Northern Railway Company. Louis Hill had little concern for promoting the western half of the Park. That portion of the reserve housed the administrative organs of Glacier and, while Park superintendents were primarily concerned with roads as instruments of improved communication and management, Hill saw the value of roads mainly in terms of attracting increased tourism. It is not surprising that the one major Great Northern complex on the West Side of the Park, the Belton Chalets, construction in 1910, were allowed to languish in comparison to the railroad's facilities on the east slope.

Louis Hill's commitment to improving the tourism potential of Glacier National Park also forced him to become intimately involved in Park administrative affairs. This occurred both at the national level, through Chief Clerk Clement Ucker, and at the local Glacier headquarters. Hill and the Great Northern recognized the importance of attracting national figures to the Park and often sponsored the tours of federal dignitaries through Glacier.[16] President Hill's efforts at promoting official awareness of the newest national park reached the extremes in 1914 of urging the naming of the road around St. Mary Lake after Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane. The honor, aptly titled "Lane Highway," was gratiously refused by the Secretary.[17]

Louis Hill's involvement in Park politics was often perniscious and

ironic. On the death of William Logan in 1912, the Interior Department began a search for a new superintendent for Glacier. Louis Hill offered the name of one Alfred Jackson, a Great Northern Railway Company engineer from St. Paul, Minnesota. While continuing to urge Jackson's appointment to the post, Hill learned that James L. Galen, brother of Montana Attorney-General Albert J. Galen, was a contender for the nomination. Realizing that political influence in Montana was more important than loyalty to a railroad employee, Hill suggested to Attorney-General Galen that he (Hill) could diplomatically withdraw his support from Jackson. James Galen was subsequently awarded the superintendency of the Park and served in that capacity from 1912 to 1914.[18]

Notwithstanding the problems associated with Louis Hill's entanglements in Glacier Park affairs, it is clear that the reserve's road and trail system would have been severely retarded without the Great Northern's financial and political support. Generally, Park officials were pleased with the railroad's ability to enter the vacuum created by insufficient funds and political constraints. Similarly, Louis Hill was pleased to have the opportunity to realize his dream for this northwest wonderland. In seizing this chance, however, Hill mistakenly assumed that the Park would continue to be malleable to his policies.

Improved transportation systems between 1910 and 1916 secured increasing numbers of tourists to Glacier National Park. Greater numbers of tourists meant greater awareness of the Park's recreation potential and the successive Park superintendents did not ignore this reality. Creation of a National Park Service in 1916, the close of World War I in 1918, and increased automobile use served to turn public, and Congressional, attention to this national playground. As the Glacier Park administration grew in strength during the 1920s, it challenged the position of the Great Northern Company and Louis Hill.

The federal challenge to Louis Hill's Great Northern Railway Company had to await the development of roads and accommodations in the Glacier National Park. That development is characterized by the dichotomy between the East and West Sides of the Park. Between 1910 and 1930,

construction on the east slopes of Glacier was dominated by Louis Hill's railroad and its subsidiary, the Glacier Park Hotel Company. Hill's effort on the East Side was designed to exploit the tourist, and whence the financial, potential of the national park. While Glacier Park superintendents on the West Side concentrated on the same aspect of road and facility development, the immediate effort was directed at bridging communication and administrative gaps.

Superintendent William Logan focused his first construction projects in Glacier National Park on improving the roads from Belton, on the Great Northern rail line, to administrative headquarters at the foot of Lake McDonald. In 1911, Logan supervised the clearing of a new "government road" from Belton to Lake McDonald, along the right-of-way of an earlier route (see Map in Chapter 1). During the same season, Logan accepted plans for a road from the Lake McDonald area to the Park's future administrative site at Fish Creek. Financial constraints hampered completion of this short segment of road until the summer of 1913.[19] Maintenance on the third major road on the West Side, the North Fork Road, continued throughout the period from 1915 to 1930. Various superintendents repeatedly asked the Interior Department for sufficient funds to improve this often impassable wagon road. But, as late as 1929, Glacier Park Annual Reports reflect that passage over the road was, at best, precarious.[20]

Trails west of the Continental Divide in Glacier Park received more attention than did roads during the first years of the reserve's existence. Pathways to Avalanche Basin, Sperry Glacier, and Granite Park were available to Park personnel and visitors alike in 1911. During the 1915 construction season, Superintendent S. F. Ralston led a drive to clear and improve trails to Logging Quartz and Bowman Lakes.[21] Construction of two new trails in 1916, one from Lake McDonald to Granite Park and a new trail to Sperry Glacier, emphasized the importance of West Side development during those early years.

Even with the improvements to roads and trails in the west half of Glacier Park, lack of communication with the East Side of the reserve made effective administration nearly impossible. Despite pleas in the 1910s

for a transmountain road from Lake McDonald to either Waterton or St. Mary, the only means of freighting goods and personnel from west to east until 1930 was by pack animal or by railroad from Belton to Midvale. Prior to completion of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway in 1933, Lake McDonald was the terminus for most Park administrative efforts on the West Side of the Park.

The presence of numerous local concessionaires also characterized the development of the West Side of Glacier National Park during the first two decades of the reserve's history. Homesteaders and entrepreneurs such as Harvey Dimon Apgar, Frank Geduhn, and George Snyder entered the lower and upper Lake McDonald areas during the early and mid-1890s. Joined by John Lewis and Frank Kelly at the turn of the century, these resident concessionaires offered cabin and hotel accommodations and transportation to local and out-of-state tourists.[22] In the first decade after establishment of the Park, a number of these Lake McDonald business expanded their facilities and subdivided their land-holdings. From their headquarters at Fish Creek, and later at Belton, Glacier Park officials viewed this expansion as a mixed blessing.

The availability of accommodations for the vacationing public was the foremost consideration of Glacier's officialdom when they implemented a policy of issuing permits to concessionaires in 1910. Frank Geduhn's and Frank Kelly's rental cabins at the head of Lake McDonald and John Lewis' operations at the old Snyder Hotel in the same area evidenced the type of accommodations that would attract future visitors to the nation's newest part. Completion of Lewis' 65-room Glacier Hotel in 1914, constructed with timbers obtained in the Park, suggested the confidence that both local developers and Park employees had in the public reserve's tourist future.[23] Similar expansion in the community of Apgar at the foot of Lake McDonald in 1911 indicated that economic optimism prevailed on the West Side of the Park.

Resort owners on Lake McDonald served another necessary function for Glacier Park administrators. Gasoline-powered launches, operating from the government dock at Apgar, plyed Lake McDonald during the first twenty years of the Park's history. Frank Kelly was the major boat concessionaire on

Lake McDonald between 1906 and 1921. During that tenure, he operated as many as three launches between Apgar and his "Kelly Camp" near the mouth of McDonald Creek.[24] With no road from the lower end to the upper reaches of Lake McDonald during the 1910s, Kelly's fleet offered the government the only means of transporting men and material to the northern portions of the area. The transportation and accompanying facilities expansion were invaluable to the supervisory efforts of Glacier Park administrators. In addition, accommodation improvements on the West Side encouraged Congressional investment in Glacier National Park.

Despite the rewarding aspects of these improvements, Park administrators were uncomfortable about one facet of this development. A tendency to sell private lots, exhibited by some local residents, produced a note of caution in federal overseers of Glacier National Park. Frank Geduhn was one of the first residents of the Lake McDonald area to take advantage of increasing tourist attention in Glacier. In 1907, Geduhn started supplementing his seasonal income by subdividing his property and selling lots to summer vacationers.[25] Nine years later, John Lewis, owner of the old Snyder Hotel, followed Geduhn's example by promoting Glacier Villa sites at the head of Lake McDonald. Frank Kelly was another local West Side resident who sold substantial portions of his Kelly Camp to one Horace Chadbourne in 1930, who immediately subdivided the land into lots known as the Hollybourne.[26] Since the Park's beginning, Park superintendents had repeatedly urged the reduction in number of Glacier Park "in-holders." Park officials opined that the extensive amount of patented land, especially in the Lake McDonald area, made "enforcement of game laws and the location of roads and trails" extremely difficult.[27] Glacier Park's first supervisor, William Logan, argued in 1911 that:

> At the present time the most desirable land at the foot of Lake McDonald is held in private ownership, and I am satisfied that the land can be purchased cheaper to-day by the Government than at a later date.[28]

Failure to institute such a policy during the first years of Park administration allowed the proliferation of small landowners around Lake McDonald

during the 1910s and 1920s.[29]

In 1919, local entrepreneur John Lewis cleared and graded approximately three and one-half miles of road along the east side of Lake McDonald. Lewis' expenditure of $3,200 for the project encouraged the National Park Service to begin the long-advocated construction of a Transmountain Road. Initiation of this "cross-Park connector" in 1920 not only enhanced the Glacier administration's ability to supervise affairs throughout the reserve, but supported a growing emphasis on providing low-cost services for automobile visitors to Glacier.

Other concessionaires such as the Gold Brothers at the south end of Lake McDonald and the Apgars at the same location attempted to keep pace with this rising use of automobiles. Indeed, even the far northwestern regions of the Park at Bowman Lake underwent development with the location of the Culver Military Academy's "Skyland Camps" in 1922.[30] Notwithstanding these improved facilities, as the Going-to-the-Sun Highway neared completion towards the end of the 1920s decade, Glacier Park officials recognized that small concessionaires on the West Side could not adequately serve the burdgeoning tourist population.[31]

Glacier Park officials may have had conflicting opinions about the benefits of West Side improvements, but they faced an even greater challenge for improvement of the East Side of the national park. The absence of adequate roads and trails through the Glacier Park section of the Continental Divide separated West-Side based federal supervisors from East Side facilities. As early as 1911, it was apparent to most participants in the Park's policy that the local administration was not able effectively to direct East Side development.

Great Northern Railway Company President Louis Hill was one of the first individuals to comment on the Park's official shortcomings. In a statement to a Culbertson, Montana, newspaper, Hill reportedly criticized Superintendent William Logan for spending his entire 1911 appropriation on residential improvements and a few roads on the West Side of the Continental Divide. In response to this attack, Logan argued that the $15,000 available for road and trail construction was much too scanty

to spread liberally through the Park. He claimed that he had expended these funds for improvements to the Lake McDonald area since this area received the heaviest use by tourists.

> You understand that heretofore the gateway to Glacier National Park has been via Belton--that the tourists coming in here made short trips up McDonald Creek, Sperry Glacier, and over into the Bowman Lake country and through that section of the Park, hardly anybody ever coming over from the east side through the mountains, although I know full well some of the grandest scenery in the Park is in the neighborhood of Swift Current, St. Mary's, and Two Medicine.[32]

Logan added that he had instructed his trail crew to assist East Side developers in cutting pathways to tent campsites, but that he simply had not had the financial resources to perform the task adequately. Logan accurately appraised the difficulty of his job when he stated that:

> This is a big enterprise, involving within the limits of the Park, almost one million acres--trails to be cut in many places through dense timber, over mountains and trail construction is no easy matter and cannot be carried out on a large scale unless one has ample means at his command, which unfortunately I have not.[33]

Hill later denied making this criticisms of Logan, but his displeasure with the direction of federal policy was evident.[34]

Louis Hill expected greater government assistance in realizing his dream for Glacier National Park. Yet, the fact that federal fiscal support was lacking did not deter him or alter his plans for the national park. In 1911, preparatory to a major construction project on the East Side of Glacier, W. J. Hilligoss located six "tent camps" in the Park. Each camp consisted of approximately twenty tent houses and one kitchen-dining hall; they were served by a network of horse trails stretching from Midvale to Lake McDermott (Swiftcurrent).[35] Hilligoss was Louis Hill's first agent in Glacier and, as such, situated these tent camps in areas that would be susceptible to Hill's chalet-style accommodations program.

Late in the summer 1911, President Hill detailed more formally his

plans for constructing permanent facilities in Glacier. The program required constructing a large hotel and smaller chalets at seven locations in the Park. The most prominent facility was the hotel to be constructed at Midvale (East Glacier), which was to be modeled after the Portland Forestry Building in Portland, Oregon. Visitors to Glacier Park would step down the stairs of the Great Northern "Empire Builder" at Midvale and be introduced to the "rustic" splendors of Glacier through this lavish log hotel. Hill thought that the name of the hotel should be "Home Ranch."[36] From Midvale, the Park visitor could travel to a number of smaller chalets at Two Medicine, Cut Bank Creek, St. Mary Lake, Gunsight Pass, Sperry Glacier, or Granite Park. The last two chalet sites were located on the West Side of the Park and, aside from the Belton Chalets built in 1911, offered Louis Hill's only plan for including the other half of Glacier in his vacation scenario.[37]

Construction began on the Great Northern's Glacier Park facilities in 1912. Work during that season was relentless, especially on the Midvale hotel. Under the supervision of the Minneapolis contracting firm of Evanston and Company, more than fifty railroad carloads of logs were delivered to the Midvale site during the spring of 1913. Some of the logs to be used in the 200 x 100 foot hotel building were so large that they consumed the space of an entire rail-car.[38] While construction crews wrestled with the Great Northern's largest facility, other workmen proceeded with the erection of chalets at seven locations.[39] During the 1913 summer tourist season, the Great Northern crews completed construction on all major railroad company facilities.[40] Hill continued the building program the following year (1914) with additions to the Going-to-the-Sun chalets on the Narrows on St. Mary Lake and the construction of a chalet at Granite Park and a hotel at Many Glacier.[41] By 1915, Hill's building plan for Glacier Park's eastern slopes was complete and his dream neared realization. (See Appendix G for a listing of Great Northern buildings.)

Louis Hill recognized the importance of the availability of first-class accommodations in Glacier Park in order to attract the type of tourist that he desired. Consequently, he involved himself in all aspects of

the railroad's operation in Glacier--from ordering the correct style of furniture for a "Swiss-chalet" to suggesting that Wenatchee Valley, Washington, apples be placed in the grand hotel at Midvale.[42] The Great Northern official also advised on the placement of chalets, by suggesting to Hilligoss that a linear arrangement was fine for tent camps, but inappropriate for chalets.[43]

While Hill may have been able to direct his own employees in implementing his design for Glacier Park, he had less success with the government officials who were responsible for the national park's administration. This problem is best illustrated in reviewing Hill's attempts to link his chalet camps through a network of roads and trails. The Great Northern executive recognized the crucial relationship between a transportation system and hotel accommodations. He viewed the Park essentially as a "horse and foot" vacationland. Visitors, deposited at the Company's hotel in Midvale or bussed to the facilities at Many Glacier, would mount horses or travel on foot through the scenic wonderland to high mountain chalets. During the first few years of the national park's existence, Hill tried to realize this vision through his work with local Glacier officials.

The Great Northern's assistance in completion of the Divide Creek to St. Mary Lake portion of the Blackfoot Highway in 1912 illustrated one aspect of this cooperative effort. Hill sought a similar arrangement with William Logan's temporary replacement in 1912. Hill asked Superintendent R. H. Chapman to allow him to send a crew to construct a trail from Lake McDermott (Swiftcurrent) to Piegan Pass and down to St. Mary Lake. This pathway would have linked the McDermott camps with those at Going-to-the-Sun, two important company facilities. Hill offered to build the trail on a cost-reimbursable basis, for no more than $1,000. If the cost exceeded that figure, the government would not have to reimburse the railroad for the additional amount.[44] The trail was constructed on this basis in 1913.

In another instance, however, success was not as evident. In 1912, Hill chastised Chapman's administration of the Park for ignoring the inconvenience to tourists caused by poor quality trails. Discussing the

situation of a vacationing party from Minnesota that had attempted to travel from Lake McDonald, across Gunsight Pass to the Company's East Side accommodations, Hill related to Chapman that the poor trail had forced the group back from the West Side. Hill sarcastically referred Chapman to the Great Northern's 1912 road work in Glacier.

> It would seem that of the time our people have been building a forty-mile Wagon road, your people should have been able to have picked up a small foot-trail and make it passable for the short distance it was bad. The season is rapidly advancing and we will soon have lost the year without having accomplished very much.[45]

Hill was more direct in a later letter to Chief Clerk Ucker when he stated that "Mr. Chapman has not done anything as yet in the Park that has been of any particular value."[46]

The condition of Gunsight Trail Pass and other major Park pathways remained a particular sore spot for Louis Hill. The importance of this transportation network to tourism was not lost on Glacier Park's administrative chiefs, but the need to provide access for supervisory purposes was of more immediate concern. Generally, between 1915 and 1933, the construction and maintenance of roads and trails benefitted both interests. In 1913, the federal government issued a contract to the Great Northern Company to construct and reconstruct trails at Two Medicine and between Going-to-the-Sun Chalets and Gunsight Pass.[47] During the same season, Glacier Park officials authorized work on the Red Eagle Trail and the Piegan Pass trail, and the Great Northern completed clearing and surfacing roads along Cut Bank and Two Medicine Creeks. The U.S. Reclamation Service also contributed to Glacier Park's road system when, in 1914, it graded the road from the Park boundary, along the Lake Sherburne project, to Many Glacier.[48] By 1916, with a total of 83 miles of road, most of the major East and West Side roads were complete in Glacier Park.[49]

Great Northern executive Louis Hill sought other ways of improving the transportation system in Glacier Park during its first decade of service. In 1912, the Great Northern Company received permission from the Park administration to operate two 32-foot long launches (Red Eagle and

Glacier) on St. Mary Lake. Each craft was capable of seating twenty-five passengers. One year later, the railroad company replaced the Red Eagle with a larger 64-foot boat, the "St. Mary." Hill's specifications required a "big powerful sea worthy boat that will carry lots of supplies and people."[50] The "St. Mary" was just such a craft with a 14-foot beam and the capacity to carry 75 passengers plus freight. The Great Northern Company expanded launch service in 1920 by placing a 40-foot passenger boat on Two Medicine Lake. In 1928, a 73-foot launch serviced the Waterton Lake traffic.

Louis Hill's plan for expanding the facilities in Glacier National Park included the establishment of an efficient transportation program. He enlisted the aid of other businessmen for this project. W. A. Brewster, a Canadian tourist concessionaire, was the first such entrepreneur to enter the passenger and freight market in Glacier Park. In 1912, Brewster received a concession permit from the Park to run three stage coaches between the Midvale Great Northern Depot and Many Glacier camp. The journey required two days of travel, with an overnight stop at St. Mary.[51]

Louis Hill successfully negotiated a contract with Brewster and Company to carry Great Northern freight. The Railroad executive also induced Brewster to offer horse transportation for Park visitors, but Hill was satisfied with neither service. One day in late summer of the 1912 season, Hill telegraphed W. A. Brewster at Belton, Montana, complaining about one of the stage drivers. As Hill explained, the previous evening a Brewster employee had kept Hill's family standing for hours in the rain at the Midvale depot, waiting for a ride to Many Glacier. President Hill was concerned as much for other tourists' inconvenience as his own and he told Brewster that, "There is no excuse for this and tourists wont [*sic*] tolerate it without complaining and I don't blame them."[52] Louis Hill also attempted to keep Brewster's horse rental rates down to a maximum of $1.00 per day. Hill's efforts to make the concession more attractive to tourists ran counter to the Park administration that believed a $3.00 per day charge was imperative to insure quality service.[53]

W. A. Brewster responded to Hill's criticisms by expanding his business

the following season (1913) with the introduction of six seven-passenger Chalmers touring cars. The cars were to be used exclusively to serve the Great Northern Company's tourist business and were the first experiment in motor service in Glacier.[54] While the new automobiles received compliments for their comfort, Brewster's poor service continued to spawn complaints from tourists. In one letter to Louis Hill in 1913, a disaffected visitor to Glacier complained that "reservations made from St. Marys Camp back to the hotel [Midvale] meant absolutely nothing."[55] This was a complaint reminiscent of many tourists' dissatisfaction with their vacation plans, but it was one that was particularly upsetting to Louis Hill, who had the grandest expectations for Glacier National Park.

Late in the summer of 1912, Brewster and Company faced the competition of Rowe Emery and his fleet of White Auto Buses. Despite poor road conditions, Emery operated his vehicles efficiently and the following season (1913), he received a concession permit for the Midvale-Many Glacier run. Rowe incorporated his business in 1914, naming it the Glacier Park Transportation Company and, in that same year, he entered into a three-year contract with the Department of the Interior. During the same year, Hill switched allegiance from Brewster and signed a contract with Emery to provide service between East Glacier and St. Mary.[56]

Rowe Emery continued his successful operations in Glacier National Park for the next thirteen years. Contractual obligations between the Great Northern Railway Company, its subsidiary, the Glacier Park Hotel pany and the Glacier Park Transportation Company, coordinated transportation services throughout the East Side of the national park. In 1927, Emery sold his company to Howard Hayes of Riverside, California. Cooperation between the new owners and the Great Northern Company continued under the management of Hayes' General Manager, Fred Noble.[57]

Creation of a pack horse concession in 1915 completed the transportation network in Glacier National Park. During the Park's first year of operation, Josiah Rogers employed his string of horses to pack supplies and visitors through the federal reserve. In 1911, W. J. Hilligoss led a large herd of horses to and from his tent camps on the East Side of the

Park. Proliferation of the number of small horse concessionaires between 1910 and 1915 spurred Kalispell attorney W. N. Noffsinger to form the Park Saddle Horse Company in 1915. This outfit incorporated many of the smaller concessions and directed operations from a base at Duck Lake. Under their -X6 brand, these outfitters owned more than 1,000 head of horses and served as many as 10,000 Glacier visitors annually. In 1925, the horse company located the "North Circle Trail," linking three permanent tent camps at Fifty Mountain, Goathaunt, and Crossley Lake. The following year (1926), the company blazed a second "Inside Trail" from East Glacier to Many Glacier, via Two Medicine, Cutbank Chalet, Red Eagle, and Sun Camp.[58]

The essential elements of Glacier National Park's transportation and accommodations network were complete by 1915. Louis Hill's scheme to link his hotels and Swiss chalets through a system of roads and horse and foot trails reached fulfillment in less than five years. The effort had taken a strong financial commitment from Hill and the Great Northern Railroad Company. Without their aid, it is likely that the process of road and trail construction on Glacier's East Side would have been delayed for many years. By 1915, the presence of this summer vacationland in northern Montana required Hill to define more clearly corporate responsibilities. Consequently, he separated the functions of the railroad in the national reserve from those outside of it. Hill formed a new company, which he called the Glacier Park Hotel Company, and placed it under the leadership of Great Northern executive W. P. Kenney.

Louis Hill's successful establishment of a tourist industry in Glacier National Park was due, in part, to a national advertising campaign. Soon after creation of the nation's newest public park in 1910, Hill launched a publicity campaign through his Great Northern Art Show. With a display of hand-tinted photographs prepared by F. H. Kiser of Portland, Oregon, the Great Northern presented potential visitors with the grandeur and spectacular scenery of the Montana wilderness.[59]

During the first years of development in Glacier Park, the Great Northern Company directed its advertising campaign primarily at eastern

cities. In hopes of diverting the well-to-do American tourist away from Europe, the railway company sponsored its "See America First" campaign. The phrase had patriotic as well as aesthetic appeal. Glacier National Park was a key component of Hill's promotional scheme. As if to capture the best publicity aspect of the old and new worlds, he labeled Glacier the "Switzerland of America." One gimmick used by the Great Northern to attract attention to the Park was a query to local newspapers throughout the country asking for information on Glacier.

> Editor questions and answers: Please be so kind as to tel me where Glacier National park is and on what railway it is? And why is it called the Switzerland of America?
>
> Yours Truly
>
> A Subscriber[60]

This idea appealed to Louis Hill not only for its potential for mass circulation, but for its apparent low cost.

Hill used other means to publicize the scenic and educational aspects of a vacation in Glacier National Park. The railroad company supported publication of numerous books and pamphlets on the Park. Travel monographs such as M. E. Holtz's and Katherine Bemis' GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, ITS TRAILS AND TREASURES, and Mary Roberts Rinehart's THROUGH GLACIER PARK offered prospective vacationers an intimation of the pleasures of traveling through Glacier. More historical works by James Willard Schultz and Grace Flandrau emphasized the legacy of the Park and the Great Northern's role in the bequeath.[61] Hill also employed Blackfoot Indians in his efforts to attract visitors to Glacier Park. Warriors in full regalia were placed in tepee camps outside the doors of the East Glacier Hotel where they could meet arriving guests. Hill proposed photographing these retainers on horseback and submitting the photographs to national magazines for distribution throughout the country.[62]

Louis Hill's greatest efforts at promoting Glacier National Park involved attracting distinguished visitors to the public reserve. In 1911, he sponsored a renowned group of travel agents and journalists on their first visit to the new national park. One year later (1912), Hill

entertained President Taft's party as it journeyed through Glacier to the Pacific coast. Again in 1912, Hill invited a number of newspapermen from throughout the country to Glacier on a vacation and tour. These efforts were lavish at times, but they served to publicize Glacier's vacation potential as well as to generate Congressional interest in augmenting facilities in the Park.[63]

Louis Hill's investment in Glacier National Park was considerable. His railroad supplied money to build roads, trails, and accommodations in the Park and contributed much-needed talent and ideas to an advertising program to publicize this northern national playground. Hill had a dream for the Park, one that included a combination of transportation methods. Visitors arriving to Glacier by train would travel by autobus to accommodations at St. Mary, Going-to-the-Sun or Many Glacier, where they would mount horses or travel by foot to the Park's scenic spots. In suggesting a September trip to one old friend, Hill devised a plan whereby all of the Park's major East Side attractions could be seen. East Glacier, St. Mary Lake, Many Glacier, Iceberg Lake, Swiftcurrent Pass, and Granite Park were selected as points of interest for this special traveler. In his closing remarks, Hill admonished his friend to ". . .not cut short what I have suggested, as you will never forget it if you see these places."[64]

Hill recommended on more than one occasion that visitors travel to Glacier during the early fall months. To him, this was the most beautiful time in the Park. Unfortunately, it was also a time in which the weather changed suddenly and dramatically. A late summer and an early winter have always restricted the tourist season in Glacier Park. Although Louis Hill anticipated keeping his facilities open for longer periods during the fall months, he was never able to generate enough visitors to maintain the operation past mid-September.[65] Heavy snowfall during the winter in Glacier proved an added liability as many facilities annually sustained some degree of damage. In March, 1916, for instance, the chalet group at Gunsight Pass was obliterated by a snowslide.[66]

Environmental constraints were not the only problems that Louis Hill

had during what one historian titled his "Golden Years."[67] By restricting the greatest proportions of his operations to the east slopes of the Continental Divide, Hill excluded substantial profits from facilities on the West Side of the Park. Granite Park and Sperry Chalets offered some attraction to West Side visitors, but the location of these accommodations tied them more closely to facilities to the east. The Belton Chalets functioned as Hill's one group of truly West Side developments, and these structures were always the "step-sisters" to the more grandiose hotels at East Glacier and Many Glacier.

As early as 1912, Louis Hill had the opportunity to purchase additional buildings in Glacier Park's western section. Harvey D. Apgar offered to sell Hill "Apgar House" in 1912, less than one year after Apgar had completed construction of the hotel. Hill flatly denied any interest or intention to purchase additional lodging facilities so close to the Belton Chalets.[68] Two years later, Hill rejected a similar overture from John Lewis to buy the recently completed Lake McDonald Hotel. As Hill's agent, H. H. Parkhouse related to an associate, "He [Hill] said it would be all right if any one else wishes to purchase it from Lewis, but it is something we do not want to take over."[69]

Louis Hill may not have wanted to purchase the Lake McDonald Hotel from John Lewis, but he did want to restrict the latter concessionaire's business. During the Great Northern's first years at Glacier, Hill constantly admonished his employees to offer more competition to Lewis. In one such missive to W. P. Kenney, Hill claimed that:

> At Lewis' Hotel they are doing everything they can against our interests, discouraging people from taking the trip through the park and through our camps; and when people go to Sperry they furnish them with a lunch. This is something we have never done from Sperry to Lewis'.[70]

Hill recommended that the railroad change some of the routes to the camps "so that people will not go over the mountains, but stay on the east side."[71] A letter in a similar vein to a noted photographer indicated the degree to which the Great Northern Railway executive tried to

discourage visitation to West Glacier. He strongly suggested that this individual "keep on the east side of the range as the west side is frequently cloudy and not good for photographs; the timber is also in the way to get good photographs."[72]

Louis Hill's reluctance to contribute to the development of the west half of Glacier National Park was an irritation to many people, especially the Glacier Park administration. Despite rumors that other railroads might invade the western portion of the Great Northern's domain, as late as 1928, Hill still argued against expanding further into the Lake McDonald area. Indeed, as one historian notes, Hill's failure to enter this market contributed to the closure of the Belton Chalets for a brief period in 1930.[73]

One reason for Louis Hill's reluctance to expand his concession operations on the West Side of Glacier National Park was the amount of time he devoted to managing the Great Northern's facilities on the East Side. While a general manager supervised the day-to-day functioning of the Hotel Company's accommodations, Louis Hill never relinquished his right to address even the smallest details.

Evidence of Hill's concern for every facet of the Company's involvement in Glacier abounds. In one early memo to his employees in 1912, Chairman of the Board Hill commented on the construction of ancillary buildings for Lakes McDermott and St. Mary. Hill advised that all "Door[s] should be placed in real of all additional small chalets as originally instructed."[74] In a similar missive to one employee in Glacier in 1915, Hill stated that

> I hear complaints concerning the lunches that are being carried out by tourists from the Many-Glacier Hotel. Early attention should be given to this matter as it is one of the point people frequently complain of from year to year, and there should be no excuse for it, as we charge them enough to give them a good luncheon.[75]

Consistent with his image of the Park, Hill suggested that a good sandwich of "Swiss" cheese and rye bread be included in the lunches.[76]

Periodic inspections by the Chairman of the Great Northern Railway

Company Board kept Glacier Park employees conscious of official oversight. Hill's review of Company operations at St. Mary and Sun Point in 1915 revealed some minor, but disturbing, failings. The cold room at St. Mary Camp was in such poor repair that flies were entering and lighting on the meat. Slowness of service prevented table linen at Sun Point Camp from being returned from the laundry and there were no hooks at shelves at either location. Hill even expressed concern that "the only place for this soap dish now is in the sink."[77] Again in 1923, Hill's inspection of the Park revealed shortcomings. Drinking water was warm, there were not enough mattresses for the guests, and the grounds at Granite Park Chalet were dirty. Hill instructed his employees to remedy all of these deficiencies.[78]

Louis Hill's primary concern in devoting considerable time to the railroad company's Glacier Park operations was to return a profit to the Company. He was constantly admonishing his managers that too many employees were being used on a job, or that the Company was not receiving the most from its hired help.[79] An additional concern of Hill's was that the accommodations at Glacier rival if not surpass those at other national parks. Glacier National Park was the Great Northern Railway Company's answer to the Northern Pacific Railway Company's involvement in Yellowstone National Park. Construction of Hill's vacation lodge on St. Mary Lake opposite Sun Point Camp (Going-to-the-Sun Camp) suggested the railroad company executive's commitment to Glacier Park as a northwest vacationland.[80]

Louis Hill's vision of Glacier National Park required more than just attention to detail to reach fulfillment. Acceptance of the railroad magnate's plan necessitated a belief in the continued importance of rail travel in America. When Hill first promoted the Park in 1910, it seemed obvious that the Great Northern Railway Company would serve as the primary vehicle for transport to the reserve. Indeed, during the first few years of Glacier's existence as a federal park, the status of automobiles in Glacier was uncertain.[81] This situation changed after the close of World War I as the auto industry underwent refinements in the mass production

process and as more and more Americans could afford lower priced cars.

The movement for improved roads was one result of the increasing popularity of the private automobile. During the period from 1910 to 1930, local residents of the Flathead Valley constantly urged federal officials to extend roads to and within Glacier National Park and other federal recreation areas.[82] Plans to construct a Transmountain Highway from Belton to St. Mary were a partial response to the acknowledged influence and strength of the motoring public. In a similar manner, the National Park Service expressed some interest in construction of a circle route through the North Fork Valley, over Akamina Pass, to Waterton Lakes Park. This particular auto road would have followed the Park's North Fork Road from Apgar to Kishenehn Creek. From there, it would have turned northeast, through the Akamina Pass and joined with the Canadian road in Waterton Park. While the plan never reached fruition, it was one that engendered considerable comment and controversy for forty years.[83]

Motor traffic in Glacier National Park increased during the 1920s as federal decision-makers recognized the strength of the automobile's appeal and as they began providing better services. The trend towards private car use in the Park was particularly evident on the West Side where visitation figures for vacationers in cars outdistanced those coming by rail.[84] The Glacier Park administration's persistent demands, throughout the 1920s, for improved roads evidenced the growing political influence of the auto industry and emphasized the changing nature of tourism in the national parks.[85]

The demand for road and trail development in Glacier Park during the 1920s indicated that a new type of visitor was using the public reserve. Auto tourists' needs were different from those of rail passenger visitors. As private motorists increased their length of stay in Glacier, they required improved public campgrounds and cabin facilities.[86] While a stronger and more vocal National Park Service attempted to meet these motoring necessities after 1916, there was a noted lack of commitment by the Great Northern Railway Company to address the interests of the automobile traveler.

Louis Hill, the railroad company's Glacier Park guru from 1910 to 1929, promoted his vision of a Glacier vacation. His dream focused on the railroad as the major vehicle for bringing tourists to the Park. While Hill did not ignore the presence of the automobile, he considered using it as only one segment of his transportation network.

In 1913, Louis Hill and the Great Northern Company sponsored a cross-country automobile trip from Minneapolis to Glacier National Park. This motoring adventure, entitled the Glidden Auto Tour, employed both the services and comforts provided by the railroad and the excitement offered by man's newest mechanical invention. Twenty-three drivers in exotic-sounding automobiles (Hupmobile, Locomobile, Premier, Metz), accompanied by a Great Northern "hotel train," journeyed the 1,200 miles across the northern United States in July, 1913. The trip required nine days to complete and entailed slogging through mud and inching over nearly impassable roads. Adversity was momentary, however, as each night the weary adventurers enjoyed the dining and sleeping pleasures of one of the Great Northern's finest passenger trains.[87]

The Glidden Auto Tour served several purposes. It publicized the durability of various automobiles while it illustrated the obvious need for state and federal funds to improve roads. Accounts of the trek, both in national newspapers and in copies of the Great Northern Company's "Blazer" (published on board the train) promoted the newest national park and advertised the railroad's link to the area. This last benefit from the auto tour was most important for Louis Hill. The subservience of the automobile to the railroad belied Hill's attitude towards both car and rail travel. Automobile adventures were to be tampered with, but not relied on, to funnel serious tourists to this distant park.

A number of considerations combined to formulate Louis Hill's attitude regarding automobile traffic in Glacier. Representatives from "seven of the largest tourist agencies in the world" visited Glacier in 1911 and informed Hill that "tourists prefer stages to autos."[88] Hill used this opinion when he declined an offer in 1911 to supply auto transport between East Glacier and St. Mary. The Great Northern executive's friends also

urged him not to "spoil the park with anything modern. In its natural state, with only trails instead of automobile roads, the park is the wonder of the world."[89] But the most important factor in convincing Louis Hill to relegate the automobile to a lower echelon than the railroad was the obvious financial investment of the Great Northern Railway Company in Glacier National Park. Hill's development scheme for Glacier focused on directing the tourist to his facilities once in the Park. This could only be accomplished by controlling the means and access to the Park. While the 1920s were the "Golden Years" for the Great Northern's operations in Glacier National Park, they also were years in which the railroad's ability to control development in the Park declined. Superintendent J. R. Eakin aptly noted the company's dilemma in 1930.

> The Glacier Park Hotel Company built a very elaborate and expensive layout which for many years was not used to one-half capacity. At the time of construction their plans seemed sound but the result proved they were far in advance of demand.[90]

Although local Park Service administrators may have been sympathetic to the railroad company's plight, they recognized the need for a change.[91] When W. P. Kenney replaced Louis Hill as Chairman of the Board of the Great Northern Railway Company in 1930, Glacier officials hoped that the Park's largest concessionaire would alter its policy.[92] The Great Northern leadership, however, exhibited a reluctance to abandon its extensive developments in the Park. Rather, W. P. Kenney and Great Northern President Ralph Budd advocated an inter-park bus system for Glacier and Waterton Lakes Parks.[93] The suggestion was not necessarily in agreement with the Park Service's plan for the Great Northern Company.

As the decade of the twenties closed, the Great Northern Railway Company, through its subsidiary, the Glacier Park Hotel Company, made other efforts towards directing its role in the Park. In 1929, the Glacier Park Hotel Company made overtures to John E. Lewis for purchase of his Lake McDonald Hotel. This was the same property that the Railway Company, under the leadership of Louis Hill, had refused to purchase in 1914. Fifteen years later, an aging John Lewis was anxious once again to dispose

of his property. Initially, the negotiation began with Lewis demanding $500,000 and the Great Northern's representatives offering $250,000. Lewis proved a difficult negotiator as he was firm on the price that he would take for the hotel and land.[94]

The Great Northern's official attitude concerning the Lewis Hotel is evident in the official correspondence. In writing to Howard H. Hays, Ralph Budd declared that Lewis had little chance of getting any of the business on the West Side if the Great Northern decided to put a hotel along McDonald Creek. He categorically stated that Lewis was "really playing with fire." Budd cited the exclusive concession right of the Great Northern in the Park and the opportunity that it had to strangle Lewis should it so desire. Budd suggested that Lewis, with a buyer in hand for his property, should take it and leave the Park. Budd continued that possibly the company would have no further interest in the hotel. He did suggest, however, that "the Government can condemn it under the new law and lease it to us. I think they would prefer to have us purchase it in the proper manner and deed it over to them, and take a lease." Clearly, the idea that the Government remained the complaisant agent of the Great Northern remained strong.[95]

By the spring of 1929, relations between Lewis, the Hotel Company, and the National Park Service became increasingly strained. Then Park Superintendent Eakin informed the Director of the National Park Service that if the Park Service could "show its hand in the matter, why not show Lewis that if Lake property cannot be purchased for, say $300,000, we shall start condemnation proceedings against him." In another communique Eakin advocated that the Government supply half of the money for the purchase of the Lewis property. The Glacier Park Hotel Company, however, had its own ideas for obtaining the property. It advocated simply the building of a competing hotel along Lake McDonald. By early 1930, the animosity between Lewis and the Glacier Park Hotel Company heightened as the parties traded charges.[96]

In the bureaucratic symbiosis between Company and National Park Service, J. R. Eakin began to act as the intermediary between the Lewises and

the Glacier Park Hotel Company. Eakin opined that he believed Lewis would sell for between $275,000 and $290,000.[97] Additionally, the Director of the National Park Service, Horace Albright, offered to write to Lewis to convince him, on the basis of patriotism, to sell the hotel to the Government.[98]

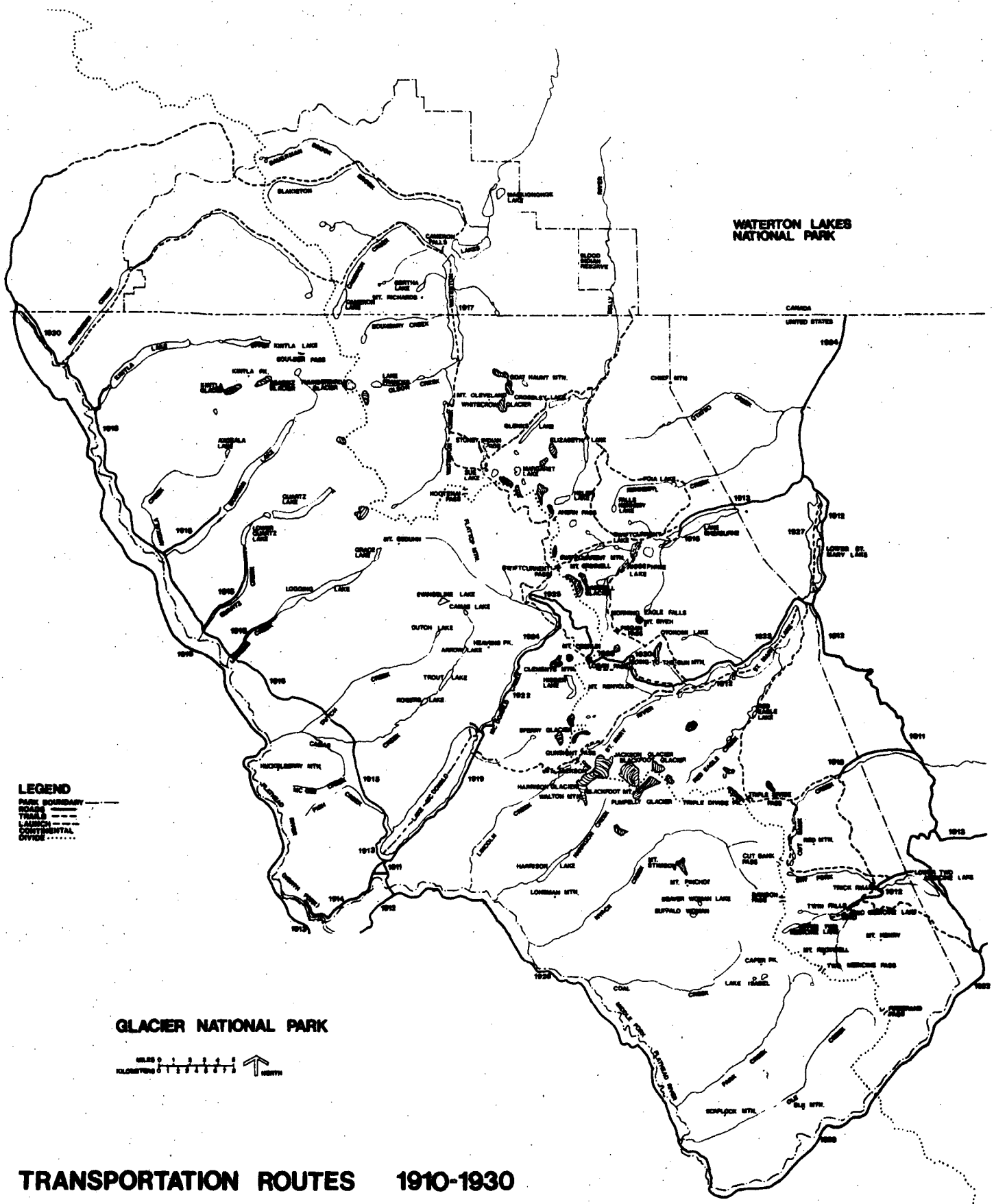
John Lewis and his wife finally agreed to sell their Lake McDonald Hotel for $300,000. The Park Service was elated with the prospects for the Government to lease the facility and to thereby direct the course of concession development on the West Side. The Park specifically requested the Hotel Company to construct tourist cabins at the Lake McDonald site. Not surprisingly, the Company did not intend to lease the hotel in order to invest additional monies in lower cost "housekeeping" cabins. In the decade that followed the purchase of Lewis' hotel, the National Park Service at Glacier and the Park's major concessionaire, the Great Northern Railway Company, would battle over the response to this new, mobile clientele.

In his address to the first National Park Conference, held at Yellowstone National Park in September, 1911, Great Northern Railway President Louis Hill urged cooperation between the railway companies and the Government in development and promotion of the nation's federal parks. Hill admitted his special concern for Glacier National Park, which was "the most recent of the parks to be created," but he pronounced support for the entire public system.[99] He claimed that promotion of the national parks would not only benefit the country's railroads through increased passenger service, but would direct tourism away from Europe and towards the United States. Yet Hill cautioned that, "Before much can be done in this line, however, we must have trails, telephone lines, wagon roads, and camps for taking care of tourists."[100] During Louis Hill's tenure as chief executive of the Great Northern Railway Company, he steadfastly followed this approach to development in Glacier National Park.

By 1915, Hill's vision of Glacier National Park had been realized. A network of trails and roads connected the Great Northern depot at East Glacier with a series of hotels and chalets throughout the East and West Sides of the reserve. A transportation system consisting of launches, buses, and horses plyed the Park's recreational avenues, carrying tourists to the scenic grandeur of the northern Rocky Mountains. This same network provided National Park Service employees at Glacier with the means to surmount the physical obstacles of this rugged Park. By doing so, it not only made Glacier more accessible to visitors, but advertised and enhanced the reserve's recreational qualities to an ambitious American tourist class.

The introduction of mass-produced automobiles after World War I signalled the entrance of a new vacationer to Glacier National Park. While the Park's principal concessionaire, the Great Northern Railway Company, experienced its most lucrative seasons during the decade of the 1920s, increasingly the presence of the automobile encroached on Louis Hill's mountain vacationland. Torn between the often conflicting needs of the motoring public and Hill's railway passenger, the National Park Service attempted to align the concessionaire with the new realities of Glacier Park tourism.

The decade of the 1930s brought economic depression and, with it, anxiety over the future of commercial development in Glacier. Ironically, social and political failures during the 1930s spawned a new era of federal involvement in public projects. Many of these projects were designed to enhance the transportation system of the country and, consequentially, federal reserves. It was this same commitment to public participation in attaining national economic and social goals that foretold hard times for Louis Hill's dream of Glacier National Park.



TRANSPORTATION ROUTES 1910-1930

Notes

1. Midvale was the section point on the Great Northern Railway line on Glacier National Park's eastern boundary. The town name changed to Glacier Park Station in 1912-13, but was known to the Park Service as East Glacier.

2. "Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Glacier National Park" (hereafter cited as "Superintendent's Annual Report") for 1911, p. 11.

3. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1912, pp. 13-14.

4. The only variation is in 1914, when Congress appropriated $100,000 for Glacier's operations. See "Report of the Director of the National Park Service, 1917," Glacier Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (hereafter cited as GPA), p. 194.

5. It is surprising the amount of road- and trail-work that Glacier Park officials accomplished, given budgetary constraints. Most of the roads that were constructed consisted of short (4-6 miles) secondary roads on the West Side at Lake McDonald, Belton and Fish Creek, and on the East Side at Cut Bank Creek, Two Medicine, and St. Mary. It is interesting to note that trail building received heavier emphasis during the period with a number of new trails (Piegan Pass, Rockhill-Nyack, Ptarmigan and Iceberg Lakes) being constructed and numerous older trails being improved (Gunsight, Swiftcurrent, Avalanche Basin). See "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1912, 1913, 1914, 1916.

6. Park Service headquarters in Glacier National Park moved from Fish Creek to Belton (West Glacier) in 1918. The administrative site was purchased by the Service's first director, Stephen Mather, from personal funds. See "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1918, p. 3.

7. John Ise, OUR NATIONAL PARK POLICY: A CRITICAL HISTORY (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961), p. 186.

8. Robert Marshall and Horace Albright, a future director of the National Park Service, were two such individuals. IBID., p. 187.

9. See Curt Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, 1976), p. 87, for a list of superintendents and their terms in Glacier National Park.

10. "Remarks by Mr. Louis W. Hill, President of the Great Northern Railway Company," in PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL PARK CONFERENCE, HELD AT THE YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK, SEPTEMBER 11 AND 12, 1911, U.S. Doc. I (Washington, D.C.: 1912), p. 5.

11. Letter, W. R. Logan to Louis Hill, July 1, 1910, Great Northern Railway Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota (hereafter cited as GNR Coll.), File 4325, Folder 24.

12. This dialogue often occurred through the auspices of J. H. Carroll, the Great Northern's representative in Washington, D.C. For example, see Letters, Clement S. Ucker to Louis Hill, December 20, 1912, and Louis Hill to Clement S. Ucker, January 1, 1913, GNR Coll. File 4325, Folder 10; Letter, J. H. Carroll to Louis Hill, August 29, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 13.

13. Letter, Stephen T. Mather to Louis Hill, November 4, 1915, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 5.

14. Clipping, October 11, 1915, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 5.

15. It is instructive to note that the Glacier National Park administration received only $69,200 in 1912, while estimates for road and trail work totalled $232,150 for fiscal year 1913. See Letters, C. S. Ucker to Secretary of the Interior, June 21, 1912, and Lewis Laylin to Louis Hill, September 25, 1912, GPA, File: "Glacier National Park Roads, General, 1912-1929." See also Telegram, J. H. Carroll to Louis Hill, August 24, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 13; and Letter, J. H. Carroll to Louis Hill, November 23, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 10. Lack of funds in 1911 prevented Glacier's administrative team from accepting a bid to complete the much-needed road from Lake McDonald to the Park administrative headquarters at Fish Creek. In this instance, there was no Great Northern Railway Company to rescue the financially stricken Park staff. This road awaited additional federal approriations and was not completed until 1913.

16. President Taft was one such illustrious official for whom the Great Northern paid the vacation expenses in 1912. See Letter, J. H. Carroll to L. W. Hill, October 13, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 12.

17. Letter, Secretary Lane to Louis Hill, June 19, 1914, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 5.

18. In his letter to Albert Galen, Hill stated that ". . .I could not give Jackson the double cross, but as there seemed to be some delay and doubt about the matter, I would take occasion to do what I could to help your brother." Letter, Louis Hill to Albert J. Galen, April 11, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4326, Folder 1. See also Letter, H. H. Parkhouse to Louis Hill, April 5, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4326, Folder 1. Hill was in a difficult position with this nomination and, while it appears that his ultimate support lay with Galen, as late as August, 1912, he was suggesting Jackson's appointment. See Letter, J. H. Carroll to L. C. Gilman, August 7, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 14.

19. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1911, p. 6; 1913, p. 6.

20. See miscellaneous "Superintendent's Annual Reports."

21. Work on these trails included rehabilitating bridges at all three locations. See "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1915, p. 7.

22. See Structures Survey for a detailing of the Lewis and Kelly Camp developments.

23. See Structures Survey for a discussion of construction on Upper Lake McDonald. See also "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1913, p. 9.

24. History Chronological File, 1906, GPA, Card 1. Other local residents attempted to gain entrance into the boat concession on Lake McDonald. National Park Service officials had recurrent problems with George Snyder in this regard. See Michael J. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concessioner Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961" (M.A. Thesis, University of Montana, 1973), pp. 33-38.

25. Between 1913 and 1920, Geduhn sold tracts to a number of noted Montanans, including Thomas J. Walsh and Burton K. Wheeler. For a listing of these individuals, see the Structures Survey, GNP #82.

26. See Structures Survey, GNP #105.

27. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1912, p. 13.

28. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1911, p. 12.

29. For a further discussion of the Park's problems in this regard, see Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," pp. 32-33.

30. See Chronological History Cards, GPA, 1921, Card 10, and 1922, Card 6. See also "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1922.

31. See Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," pp. 40-49.

32. Letter, William R. Logan to Louis Hill, August 15, 1911, GNR Coll., File 4218, Folder 6.

33. IBID.

34. DAILY INTER LAKE, September 12, 1911.

35. See Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 52, and DAILY INTER LAKE, July 31, 1911. Also "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1911, p. 10. The camps were located at Midvale, Two Medicine, Cut Bank, the Narrows of St. Mary Lake, Gunsight Lake, and Sperry Glacier.

36. See Letter, Louis Hill to C. P. Kenney, April 8, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 10.

37. Belton, a section point on the Great Northern's transcontinental railway, offered a west entrance to Glacier National Park. It was the site of the first chalet-style buildings to be constructed by the Great Northern Company. Letter, Louis A. Hill to A. H. Hogeland, September 10, 1911, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 20.

38. DAILY INTER LAKE, April 15, 1912.

39. The building program in 1912 included the construction of eight chalets, a dining room and a laundry at Many Glacier. See "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1913, p. 9. See also "Annual Report of the Great Northern Railway Company, St. Paul, Minnesota," 1912, p. 31.

40. By 1913, the Great Northern Railway Company had accommodations at Midvale (East Glacier), Belton, Two Medicine, Cut Bank, St. Mary, Going-to-the-Sun, Many Glacier, Gunsight, and Sperry. See "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1913, p. 9.

41. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1914, p. 6.

42. Letter, L. W. Hill to J. A. Shoemaker, August 8, 1914, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 6.

43. Letters, Louis Hill to W. J. Hilligoss, September 10, 1911, and Louis Hill to William Leavens and Company, May 4, 1921, GNR Coll., File 4326, Folders 20 and 18 respectively.

44. Letter, Louis Hill to R. H. Chapman, August 7, 1912, GNR Coll., File 121 22 A.1.9b, "Chairman's File."

45. Letter, Louis Hill to R. H. Chapman, July 17, 1912, GNR Coll., File 121 22 A.1.9b "Chairman's File."

46. Letter, Louis Hill to C. S. Ucker, September 18, 1912, GNR Coll., File 121 22 A.1.9b, "Chairman's File."

47. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1913, p. 7.

48. The Bureau of Reclamation started constructing a dam on Sherburne Lake in 1914. The project was one part of a larger plan to control flood waters and irrigation in Montana's northern rivers. The gates to Sherburne Dam were closed in 1927, filling the reservoir to full capacity. For a discussion of the impact of Sherburne Dam on Glacier National Park, see R. James Oppendahl, "Conflicts Between Resource Development and Preservation at Glacier National Park" (M.A. Thesis, University of Montana, 1976), pp. 50-70. See also "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1914, p. 4.

49. Louis Hill and his railroad cooperated with the National Park Service in other ways as well. In 1917, the Company donated an administrative site at East Glacier to the Park.

50. Telegram, Louis Hill to A. H. Hogeland, April 11, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 18.

51. Historical Chronological File, 1912, Card 4.

52. Telegram, Louis Hill to W. A. Brewster, September 5, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 3.

53. Glacier Park Superintendent S. F. Ralston did not believe that an adequate horse concessionaire could be had for less than $3.00/day.

> The only object that I had in asking that the $3.00 rate be established was to enable the horse concessioner to furnish good and ample service to tourists and at the same time enable the concessioners to make a reasonable rate on his money invested in the business.

Letter, S. F. Ralston to the Secretary of the Interior, May 25, 1915, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as NA, RG 79), Central Files 1909-1939, File: 900-05, Part 1.

54. Newspaper clipping, December 17, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 10.

55. Letter, O. R. Barnett to Louis Hill, September 16, 1913, NA, RG 79, Central Files 1907-1939, File: 900-05, Part 1.

56. Chronological Historical Notes, 1912, Card 4, and 1913, Card 4, and 1914, Card 2.

57. Historical Chronological File, 1927, Card 2.

58. Historical Chronological File, 1926, Card 4.

59. See enclosure in Letter to Louis Hill, May 1, 1910, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 24.

60. Letter, Hoke Smith to Louis Hill, September 26, 1911, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 20.

61. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, p. 60.

62. Letter, Louis Hill to Hoke Smith, September 3, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 13.

63. Glacier Park officials were fortunate to have the interest of Hill's railroad to support an advertising campaign that they obviously could not afford. For a list of individuals whom Hill invited to Glacier, see Letters, W. P. Kenney to Louis Hill, September 4, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 11; Louis Hill to C. R. Gray, August 7, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 14; and Newspaper Article, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 20. See also "Glacier National Park Advertising, 1914," GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 7.

64. Letter, Louis Hill to Thomas Lamont, July 17, 1914, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 6.

65. Hill tried to keep part of his operation together during September. See Letter, Louis Hill to W. P. Kenney, September 12, 1914, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 6.

66. Letter, Louis Hill to J. H. Carroll, January 2, 1917, GNR Coll., Box 384, File 11894.

67. Historian Michael Ober termed the 1920s the Great Northern's "Golden Years," in "Enmity and Alliance," *passim.*

68. Letter, Louis Hill to H. D. Apgar, September 4, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 13.

69. Letter, H. H. Parkhouse to J. A. Shoemaker, December 15, 1914, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 6.

70. Hill was particularly angry at Lewis for this action and recommended that the Great Northern Company cut Lewis' advertisement from its publicity campaign. See Letter, Louis Hill to W. P. Kenney, August 22, 1914, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 6.

71. IBID.

72. Letter, Louis Hill to Allen P. Child, April 21, 1914, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 8.

73. See Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 38. One rumor in 1928 claimed that the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad Company, fresh from a reorganization effort, would build a line from Great Falls, down the Swan River, and up to Columbia Falls and the North Fork of the Flathead River. It also was reported that the Milwaukee Road planned to purchase the Lewis Hotel. Neither event occurred. See Letter, W. P. Kenney to Ralph Budd, March 22, 1928, GNR Coll., File

11894. For Louis Hill's reaction to the purchase of the Lake McDonald Hotel in 1928, see Letter, Louis Hill to Ralph Budd, March 16, 1928, GNR Coll., Box 384, File 11894.

74. Memo from Louis Hill, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 15.

75. Letter, Louis Hill to J. A. Shoemaker, July 23, 1915, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 5.

76. IBID.

77. IBID.

78. Letter, Louis Hill to H. A. Noble, July 21, 1923, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 3.

79. Hill's 1915 inspection trip of Glacier revealed that a team of two men were working at Sun Point Camp hauling water and laundry up the hill. He suggested that "This team with one or two men costs more than a camp manager and the cook, and we should dispense with their services." Letter, Louis Hill to J. A. Shoemaker, July 23, 1915, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 5.

80. The Hill Lodge was removed by CCC workers in 1940.

81. The first regulations governing automobile travel in Glacier National Park were published in March, 1912. See "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1913.

82. One plan of local motoring enthusiasts was to complete various state highways linking Yellowstone and Glacier National Parks.

83. The Park Service conducted a survey and feasibility study of the proposed northern route in the mid-1920s. Undoubtedly, the cost of resurfacing the North Fork Road and the government's large financial commitment to the Going-to-the-Sun Highway prevented a more serious consideration of this northern connector. Local support for the road continued, however, and did not subdue until the late 1950s.

For information on the Park Service's interest in the Akamina Road during the 1920s, see Letter, Charles Kraebel to Horace M. Albright, August 4, 1925; Charles Kraebel to Herbert Knight, October 30, 1926; Herbert Knight to J. R. Eakin, April 7, 1928; J. R. Eakin to Herbert Knight, April 12, 1928. All appear in GPA File: "GNP Roads, General, 1912-1929: D-30."

Local residents of northwestern Montana were especially concerned in 1912 with the Park Service regulations and fees for automobiles in Glacier Park. E. Gwens, President of the Flathead Motor Club, wrote to Louis Hill in 1912 complaining of the charge and urging the Great Northern President to use his influence with the

Park to get the fee removed. See Letter, E. Gwens to Louis Hill, May 1, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 18.

For additional information on local sentiment with regard to road improvements to and within Glacier National Park, see various newspaper articles.

84. Statistics showing the use of private autos in Glacier begin in 1918. Since that year, Glacier Park Superintendent's Annual Reports list the visitation figures by entrance and means. See various "Superintendent's Annual Reports," 1918-1930. The figures indicate the strong influence of local residents on the Park's West Side development.

85. See miscellaneous "Superintendent's Annual Reports," 1923-1929.

86. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 41.

87. GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, July 14, 1963; CUT BANK PIONEER PRESS, July 21, 1955. See also miscellaneous letters and reports, GNR Coll., File 22.a.18 F.

88. Letter, Louis Hill to George Hill, October 24, 1911, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 20.

89. Letter, W. H. Danforth to Louis Hill, September 3, 1912, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 11.

90. Letter, J. R. Eakin to Director, National Park Service, May 2, 1930, NA, RG 79, Central Correspondence Files, 1907-1939, File 900-05, Part 2.

91. Part of the National Park Service's response to a changing Glacier Park visitor was the establishment of interpretive programs. University of Montana Professor Morton J. Elrod offered a free nature-guide service in the Park during the 1920s. Trained biologists gave lectures and conducted tours at many of the public camping areas in Glacier. The program was so successful that, in 1929, the National Park Service appointed its first Chief Park Naturalist for Glacier National Park. See Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, p. 64. For a lengthy discussion of the expansion of the nature-guide services in Glacier, see various "Superintendent's Annual Reports," 1922-1929.

92. Superintendent Eakin reported to Director Albright that Kenney "stated that Mr. Budd and the Board of Directors of the Great Northern thought this an excellent move as they now could work with the Department in perfect accord." Records of the National Park Service, NA, RG 79, Central Correspondence Files, File 900-05, Part 2.

93. The railroad company's attitude is also evident in its reticence to provide the National Park Service with a five-year plan for development. See Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," pp. 96-97.

94. Letter, James T. Mather to W. P. Kenney, March 23, 1929, GNR Coll., Box 384, File 11894.

95. Letter, Ralph Budd to Howard Hays, April 2, 1929, GNR Coll., Box 384, File 11894.

96. Letters, J. R. Eakin to Director, National Park Service, Field Headquarters, April 26, 1929; J. R. Eakin to Director, National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, May 31, 1929; Ralph Budd to J. R. Eakin, June 3, 1929; A. J. Dickinson to W. P. Kenney, January 14, 1930. All of these documents are found in GNR Coll., Box 384, File 11894.

97. Letter, J. R. Eakin to W. P. Kenney, January 2, 1930, GNR Coll., Box 384, File 11894.

98. Letter, Horace Albright to W. P. Kenney, January 9, 1930, GNR Coll., Box 384, File 11894.

99. U.S. Department of the Interior, PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL PARK CONFERENCE, 1912, p. 4.

100. IBID., p. 5.

CHAPTER III

THE WATERTON-GLACIER INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK: 1932-1975: SYMBOL AND/OR REALITY?

> To correct the evils, great and small, which spring from want of sympathy and from positive enmity among strangers, as nations or as individuals, is one of the highest functions of civilization.
>
> Abraham Lincoln, 1858

On June 18, 1932, Rotary International sponsored a formal ceremony at the Glacier Park Hotel in East Glacier, Montana.[1] This program dedicated the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park as "a great monument to the idea of International Peace and Good-will."[2] An enthusiastic crowd, variously estimated between 1,200 and 2,000, witnessed the celebration.[3] Rotarian passengers from two special trains, stopped enroute to the International Convention in Seattle, Washington, swelled the congregation. To accommodate this traveling contingent, the observance's organizers had selected the East Glacier site.[4]

The 1932 dedication thus formalized an admirable concept: the union of two existent, contiguous national parks into a single monument to international peace, friendship, respect, and cooperation. Herein, however, rests the predicament. The Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, as established, exists primarily as a noble idea, as a symbol. In reality, the Park's international quality has eluded actualization. The Peace Park--this international hybrid--remains, almost fifty years after its creation, essentially symbolic. Furthermore, this condition prevails despite the sporadically concerted efforts of the pertinent Alberta and Montana chapters of Rotary International, the International Peace Park Association, and the administrations of the two national parks.

Nevertheless, extrication from this predicament is possible. For,

basic to the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, both as symbol and reality, is *the land* it encompasses. The creation of the Park, in effect, was an attempt to integrate the international peace movement with the recognition that the International Boundary only artificially divides an environmental unit. The umbilical Waterton Lake, defying the Boundary, best exemplifies the unity of this spectacular portion of Rocky Mountain topography. As the land is the integral agent of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, possibly in the land rests a solution for realizing the symbolism of an international park.

The necessity of establishing an International Peace Park from the two adjacent national parks derived from a political demarcation imposed upon natural topography. In a sequel to the Treaty of Ghent (1814), the Convention of 1818 established the forty-ninth parallel as the British-United States boundary, from the Lake of the Woods to the crest of the Rocky Mountains. The two nations fixed no boundary west of the mountains until 1846, when the Oregon Treaty extended the border along the forty-ninth parallel to the Strait of Georgia and, hence, to the Pacific Ocean.

Coordinated British and American boundary-survey teams worked east from the Pacific Ocean, beginning in 1857. By 1862 they had located this portion of the boundary to the Continental Divide. A second, joint British-American survey marked the border between the Lake of the Woods and the Divide, from 1872 to 1874.[5] Thus, by 1875--prior to significant white settlement in the Waterton-Glacier area--the International Boundary appeared physically prominent.[6] The 1932 union of Waterton Lakes National Park and Glacier National Park attempted to supercede that boundary, at least on a symbolic level.

Prior to 1932, however, the international conservation movement and the spectacular nature of this Rocky Mountain region fostered concern for its preservation. The Canadian and American governments, confronted by various attempts to develop the area's natural resources, responded with parallel patterns of protection. In 1895 the Canadian government passed an order-in-council establishing the Kootenay Lakes Forest Park, a domain of fifty-four square miles surrounding the Waterton Lakes. In a

similar move, United States President Grover Cleveland, by Executive Order (1897), created the extensive Lewis and Clark Forest Reserve in northwestern Montana.[7] From this forest reservation Congress created Glacier National Park in 1910.[8] The Kootenay Lakes Forest Park, following significant changes in administrative designation, evolved into the Waterton Lakes Dominion (National) Park in 1911.[9]

The parallels between Glacier and Waterton Lakes National Parks extend beyond their contiguous topography and contemporaneous creation. For example, transcontinental railroads directly affected both areas. The Great Northern Railway's development of access to the Glacier region (1891/1892) positively influenced establishment of the Park; significant tourism occurred in Glacier primarily as a result of Great Northern advertising, commenced in 1911. On the other hand, tourism in Waterton suffered from the location (1897/1898) of the Canadian Pacific Railway's lines through Crowsnest Pass, some thirty-five rugged miles to its north.

Both national parks also have suffered from the "step-sister syndrome." That is, each has developed in the shadow of a more glamorous, nearby national park, which historically preceded it in creation and traditionally has received greater publicity and visitation: Yellowstone National Park (1872) in Glacier's case, and Banff National Park (1887) in the instance of Waterton. This parallel affects both Glacier and Waterton administrations on such a basic level as the procurement of federal appropriations. It also unites the two administrations, if only on a subjective, psychological level; inter-park communication is improved because of the common "step-sister syndrome."

Despite the various parallels between Waterton Lakes and Glacier National Parks, some important distinctions exist. The most pervasive depends upon contrastive definitions of a "national park"--for this philosophical difference dictates two distinct programs of administration. Somewhat simplistically stated, Canadian national-park guidelines historically have permitted greater commercial and recreational development within park boundaries than have American national-park standards. In 1924 an American contingent of National Park Service personnel, led

by Director Stephen T. Mather, toured Waterton Lakes Dominion Park. Glacier National Park's Superintendent Charles J. Kraebel addressed the apparent comparison.

> . . .Our general impression was one of a definite contrast in policy between the Canadian and American National Park Services. The Canadian Parks seem to be administered with the idea of exploitation or utilization for revenue, in somewhat the same way as are the American *National Forests*, as against our own park policy of perpetuating great natural wonder spots solely for the enjoyment and edification of our own and future generations.[10]

Despite Kraebel's prejudice, the estimation is instructive. Waterton's administration keyed the Park's development to increasing visitation and tourist revenue and to providing recreational facilities. Waterton functioned rather as an American Recreation Area than a National Forest, in terms of the activities permitted and promoted. At various times the Park has allowed grazing, timber harvest, oil-well drilling, and the leasing of commercial and residential sites. In the Waterton Townsite area, by 1930, recreational facilities abounded: campsites, with kitchen shelters; the palatial Prince of Wales Hotel, the more modest Chalets, and numerous furnished rental cabins and boarding houses; dance hall; tennis courts; children's playground; bathing houses; swimming pool; rental boats and tour launches; riding horses and pack outfits; baseball diamond; hiking and horseback trails; fish hatchery; golf links.[11]

Such recreational development is permitted by Canada's general National Parks policy--strongly determined by the Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act (1911) and less strongly enforced by the National Parks Act (1930). That policy provides the reservation of "areas of natural beauty. . .for the people of Canada--for their benefit, education, and enjoyment--to be maintained and made use of, so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[12] In Waterton Park's case, however, the early emphasis on promoting recreational facilities for tourists remained prime.

The situation regarding Glacier National Park is less discrepant

than it initially appears. Legislation creating Glacier permitted, within Park boundaries, such activities as the retention of homestead and mining claims, the harvest of selected timber, the building of railroad lines along the Middle and North Forks of the Flathead River, the construction of federal reclamation projects, and the leasing of private-cottage and visitor-accommodation sites. The Secretary of the Interior assumed responsibility for administering the new park "in a state of nature," consistent with its status as a "public park or pleasure ground [reserved] for the benefit and enjoyment of the people."[13]

However, the National Parks Act (1916), under which Glacier administrations have operated for all except their first six years, minimized these utilitarian qualifications. That legislation created a dilemma for the National Park Service in general, and for the Glacier Park management in particular.

> The service thus established shall promote and regulate the use of Federal areas known as national parks . . . *to conserve* the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein, and *to provide for the enjoyment of* the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.[14]

The two mandated functions--preservation and use--obviously are conflicting, hence the necessity of administrative choices.

Yet subsequent National Park Service policy distinguished these two functions from a third, that of recreation. Numerous exceptions to this distinction historically existed in Glacier and other national parks, most notably Yosemite. Still, American national parks theoretically have delegated recreation to municipal, county, and state parks, and to private recreational agencies. On this basic issue of recreation, Glacier and Waterton Lakes National Parks contrast dramatically.

Ultimately the nature of the land included in the adjacent parks proved more unifying than either similarities of creation, railroad influence, and the "step-sister syndrome," or differences of national-park philosophy. The spectacular topography admitted no International Boundary, evidenced particularly by Waterton Lake. The region's "international"

character was recognized, well into the twentieth century, by both its Canadian and American residents. Particularly woodsmen crossed and recrossed the boundary without restriction, hampered primarily by weather and transportation routes. S. H. Middleton relates an incident involving two such legendary men, Harry "Death on the Trail" Reynolds and John George "Kootenai" Brown. One night in the summer of 1913, Brown camped at Reynolds' cabin on Boundary Creek. Reynolds related to Brown that it was clear that the "geology recognized no boundaries, and that, as the Lake [Waterton] lay in its glacial cirque, no man-made boundary could cleave the waters apart."[15] Brown argued that it would be best if man accepted nature's decision by removing the Boundary Line from the Lake.

With the contemporaneous movements to preserve the area's scenic natural features, "internationalism" received an even greater emphasis. Canadian and American observers perceived the similarity of problems inherent in the respective nations' territory--a similarity born of the unity of the land involved: wildlife management, forest-fire control, commercial exploitation, and the lack of access routes. For example, the international aspect became germane to the Congressional debate regarding legislation to create Glacier National Park. Montana Senator Thomas H. Carter noted, on January 25, 1910:

> The Canadian government has in contemplation the addition of a like area to the north of the line, this being with a view to providing a refuge for the wild game which now abounds, but which will not long continue in that open and unprotected region.[16]

To the same issue Pennsylvania Senator Boies Penrose addressed himself, by stating that ". . .*this is an international proposition*, and it is, therefore, peculiarly fitting that the National Government should take charge of it."[17]

The creation of Glacier National Park (1910) provided Canadian officials with a precedent for the establishment of a complementary national park. The designation of Waterton Lakes Dominion Park (1911), however, decreased the size of the reserve from 54 to 13.5 square miles. In effect, this reduction betrayed the "original intention, which was to

have this park adjoin the one on the other side of the border and make one huge game preserve."[18] The enlargement (1914) of Waterton Park to 423 square miles provided a stronger foundation for international administrative cooperation, *despite* the continued exclusion of a key portion of southeastern British Columbia from national-park status.

The land encompassed by Glacier National Park and Waterton Lakes Dominion Park remained an environmental, if not a political, unit. Thus the two fledgling administrations, following 1911, sought each other's advice and assistance in addressing common situations: the control of migrant elk herds; the suppression of forest fires; the protection of such wildlife species as the mountain sheep and the mountain goat; the enhancement of fishing success, by transplanting hatchery stock; the need for adequate access routes; the provision of tourist accommodations.[19]

Particularly the last two considerations influenced respective Canadian and American administrations. Not only were initial accommodation facilities minimal; viable transportation routes to and within the parks also were limited. Access routes *between* the parks' headquarters further hindered park-administration cooperation. In 1915, for example, automobile travel between Waterton Townsite and the foot of Lake McDonald was a challenge. The trip required an indirect wagon-road jaunt from Waterton, via Cardston, to Babb--known as "the Prairie Route"--hence south on the original Blackfeet Highway to East Glacier; from here the traveler freighted his vehicle to West Glacier on the Great Northern Railway's Marias Pass line. This was fully a two-day trek, even with ideal weather and road conditions and the right Great Northern connection.[20]

Horse-trail routes using the upper Waterton Valley and the Belly River drainage offered some possibilities for inter-park travel. Yet the obvious trail would cross the Continental Divide through either the Akamina or the South Kootenay Pass and connect with the wagon road that paralleled the North Fork of the Flathead River. For various reasons, however, this latter route remained undeveloped.

The necessity of transportation links between the new parks

especially impressed Canadian officials, because Waterton was so removed from the Canadian Pacific Railway's mainline. In 1915 Chief Superintendent of Dominion Parks P. C. Barnard-Hervey submitted a report regarding patterns for Waterton's development. Barnard-Hervey noticed that south of the Boundary Line, in Glacier National Park, the Great Northern had made substantial improvements in tourist facilities. The Canadian superintendent urged that the Waterton Lakes Park be similarly developed with an eye to constructing a transmountain highway and ". . .a Pavillion, Race Track, Baseball, Football, Tennis and Golf grounds to attract tourists."[21]

The Canadian emphasis on recreational facilities, tourist revenue, and the automobile--as the keys to Waterton's development--required access routes to Glacier National Park. Yet some governmental hesitancy existed prior to the mid-1920s. In response to Barnard-Hervey's report, Commissioner of Dominion Parks J. B. Harkin advised caution.

> There are two viewpoints to be kept in mind re. linking up with the United States' Glacier Park. If we do link up with that park, doubtless we will get many more tourists than at present, and, of course, the getting of tourists is good business for Canada.
>
> On the other hand, we have to bear in mind that such linking up would have the effect of making Waterton Lakes Park a sort of adjunct to the U.S. park, and, on that account, there might be some criticism from a Canadian viewpoint.[22]

Waterton Park's isolation from the Canadian Pacific mainline, however, predetermined the eventual creation of viable transportation routes between the two parks.

To this date the Akamina/South Kootenay-North Fork route, advocated by Barnard-Hervey's 1915 report, has eluded joint authorization--despite the plan's periodic revival on both sides of the border. Many of the Chief Superintendent's other observations, however, are insightful, even prophetic. For instance, his perception of Waterton Park's ultimate reliance on automobile, rather than railroad, access proved correct. His assessment of the pivotal role played by the Great Northern Railway in the development of *both* parks is even more penetrating, given subsequent

Waterton Park events. He urged that the Canadian government contact James Hill of the Great Northern Railway Company towards the end of locating a road from the American to the Canadian parks.[23]

During the 1920s, the Waterton and Glacier Parks' administrations recognized each other's proximity for potential tourist visitation. Both were hampered, though, by poor automobile access between the parks: the only tourist road available was "the Prairie Route." This course left Waterton and looped east, via Cardston, prior to heading south to connect with the Blackfeet Highway near Babb. This indirect route suffered from adverse weather conditions, although its American portion was relocated and rebuilt between 1924 and 1927.

In 1926 the Great Northern Railway began construction of the Prince of Wales Hotel overlooking Waterton Townsite, in spite of its apparently isolated location.[24] In truth, prior negotiations between the Railway and the Dominion Parks Branch had secured a promise from the Branch "to build a road to the Belly River-International Boundary, once the United States government agreed to a connective route."[24] Thus the Great Northern precipitated the subsequently prime highway link between the two adjacent national parks. Possibly more important than any other single factor, this transportation link has realized the international character of the Waterton Lakes and Glacier National Parks. The parks' combined land reserve is an environmental unit, but it is the Chief Mountain International Highway--by enhancing inter-park accessibility--that has focused attention on this unity.

The Prince of Wales Hotel opened for operation on July 25, 1927. During that season, the Great Northern also christened its aptly named power launch, the "International," for Waterton Lake transport. For the next few years, visitation to Waterton Park rose dramatically.[26] That increase reflected a period of general economic prosperity, the improvement of roads in southern Alberta, and the influx of American tourists to the Hotel--regardless of the necessity of using "the Prairie Route," via Cardston. Waterton visitation figures peaked in 1929 and then declined annually into the mid-1930s.[27] This decrease was the result of

the international depression, which forced closure of the Prince of Wales Hotel from 1933 to 1937, as well as of the curtailment of many Park services.

The international depression that commenced in the late 1920s was one factor basic to the psychological matrix that produced the International Peace Park. The "leveling effect" on society of this economic crisis demonstrated the similarities of all men, regardless of national origin.

An even more significant international factor contributed to the matrix: the rise of European dictatorial militarism. This development precipitated, in the free world, a defense of republicanism and capitalism. If the Great Depression hastened Canadians and Americans to recognize their common economic vulnerability, the growing militaristic specter compelled the two peoples to emphasize their many similarities, rather than to accent their differences. As a result, the concept of international peace attained popular support.

The entire early-1930s milieu--economic, philosophical, historical, environmental, psychological, political, etc.--formed that background from which the creation of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park was a logical development. The land reserved by the two parks formed an environmental unit; the creation of the parks followed a similar pattern; the philosophical purpose for perpetuating the parks essentially was the same; the two parks' administrations evinced cooperation in addressing common problems; the Great Northern Railway's tourist-accommodation program operated in both parks; new, direct road links between the parks seemed imminent; the international depression and ascending European militarism united all free-world peoples; between Canada and the United States extended the world's longest unguarded border, a portion of which the two parks commonly abutted. The scene was set for an overt exhibition of symbolic internationalism.

Enter, stage-right, members of Rotary International, a society of business and professional men. This organization was founded (1905; Chicago, Illinois) for the purpose of promoting service projects on

community, regional, national, and international levels.

At the Prince of Wales Hotel, on July 4, 1931, convened the first good-will meeting of Alberta and Montana Rotarians.[28] The conference's sponsor was the Cardston Rotary Club, and the assembly's prime organizer was Canon S. H. Middleton, of the host club. The meeting's acknowledged purpose was to demonstrate, by example, international friendship and co-operation against a backdrop of spectacular mountain grandeur. A more symbolic location for the organizational session could not have been selected. From the stately Prince of Wales Hotel, the conferees looked south, at Canadian and American mountains, and at the umbilical Waterton Lake, a natural exemplification of internationalism.

To the attendant body of Rotarians, Middleton presented the following resolution for consideration.

> WHEREAS one hundred members of Rotary Clubs, representing the Cities of Cardston, Lethbridge and Calgary of Alberta, Great Falls, Kalispell and Missoula of Montana, and Estevan, Saskatchewan, are assembled together attending an international meeting at the Waterton Lakes National Park;
>
> AND WHEREAS it has been decided that a similar annual meeting be held alternately at Glacier Park, Montana, and Waterton National Park, Alberta;
>
> Therefore, BE IT RESOLVED that the proper authorities be petititoned to commence negotiations to establish the two Parks indicated as a permanent INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK, which shall be definitely set aside for this laudable purpose;
>
> Pledging our loyalty and allegiance to foster all International Relationships.[29]

The resolution passed unanimously. Within days the Rotarians contacted the two responsible governmental representatives: Brigadier-General J. S. Stewart, C.B.G., D.S.O., M.P., from the Lethbridge riding; the Honorable Representative Scott Leavitt, from Montana's Second Congressional District.

At the same meeting of July 4, 1931, the Rotarians founded the International Peace Park Association. The Association was constituted of members of Rotary District #536, encompassing eastern British Columbia,

Alberta, and western Saskatchewan, and District #539, comprising Montana. The charge of the Association was to facilitate creation of the International Peace Park and to further the worldwide peace movement. Canon S. H. Middleton was selected President of the Association, a position he held until 1957.[30] This Association subsequently organized and produced the various dedication and commemoration ceremonies, as well as the sporadically "annual" meetings. The International Peace Park Association has continued its work to the present--but, in 1931, its Montana members concentrated on lobbying Congressman Leavitt.

In that year, Republican Scott Leavitt was serving his sixth consecutive term as Congressman from Montana's Second (Eastern) District. Throughout the nation, however, the Great Depression severely was reducing the chances for incumbent-Republicans' success in the 1932 election. Therefore Leavitt was particularly conscientious in assisting the cause of Rotary International--for the Rotarians' support could be significant in the pending election. As Leavitt also harbored intentions of sitting in the Senate, to associate himself with such an idealistic cause could only benefit his image.[31]

On December 8, 1931, Congressman Leavitt introduced to the House of Representatives H.R. 4752--"A Bill for the Establishment of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park." The bill was referred to the House Committee on Public Lands, which forwarded it to the Department of the Interior for comment. In turn, that department submitted the proposed bill to the State Department, to ascertain the attitude of the Canadian government regarding its intent. On February 12, 1932, the Canadian Department of External Affairs responded to the State Department inquiry, informing the United States government that Canada would support a Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park.[32] With this indication, the State Department, the Department of the Interior, and the National Park Service recommended the proposal.

On February 23, 1932, the House Committee on Public Lands also recommended the bill. Its accompanying REPORT describes the agreement struck between the two governments and, then, addresses possible points

of opposition. The bill, as proposed, would affect neither Canadian nor American national-park administrative procedures; the bill requested no special appropriations from Congress for the administration of Glacier National Park. The REPORT further indicates some possible benefits to be derived from the creation of the International Peace Park: increased tourism and improved road and trail quality.[33]

On March 7, 1932, the bill was debated on the floor of the House of Representatives. Leavitt's advocacy--like that of supporters both governmental and private--developed two themes. The first emphasized the environmental unity of this spectacular mountain region. The second stressed the idealism inherent in creating a symbol of international peace and good will at a time of economic crisis and European militarism.[34] In response to several critical questions,[35] Leavitt retreated to the sanctuary of both themes.

> The main purpose of this Bill, *and the only purpose of this Bill*, grows out of the fact that Glacier National Park in Montana and Waterton Lakes National Park in Canada join to form one great scenic area. They are really one great park, and it is perhaps the supreme place along the border that can be dedicated to commemorate the long existing friendship and spirit of good will between the two nations.[36]

On March 7, 1932, the House passed H.R. 4752, "A Bill for the Establishment of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park," with minimal amendment.

The United States Senate dealt expeditiously with H.R. 4752, upon transmission. After two readings, the bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Public Lands and Surveys. On March 23, 1932, this Committee reported the bill without amendment and recommended its passage by the full Senate. On the floor of the Senate, on April 11, 1932, Montana Senator Thomas J. Walsh set the tone of the bill's treatment.

> This bill is just a nice gesture toward our neighboring country of Canada. They are very eager there to have these two parks created as a kind of international peace park, and the Rotarians of this country are interested in the project, and propose to make a pilgrimage there during the coming summer.[37]

Senator Walsh further assured his fellow legislators that separate park administrations would be maintained.[38]

The Senate did not pass the bill immediately, however, because of opposition from its North Dakota delegation. These Senators favored the proposed Turtle Mountain International Peace Garden, located on the International Boundary between North Dakota and Manitoba. The International Association of Gardeners had conceived the privately financed Peace Garden project in 1929 and had pursued its establishment for three years; the Peace Garden's dedication was scheduled for the summer of 1932.[39]

The Senate, however, seemed more strongly influenced by the Canadian Department of External Affairs' commitment. The bill passed the Senate on April 25, 1932, and President Herbert C. Hoover signed it on May 2, 1932.

Progress of the companion Canadian legislation followed the Senate pattern of expediency, rather than the House pattern of deliberation. Brigadier-General J. S. Stewart, M.P., from the Lethbridge constituency, presumably alerted the Ottawa government of the Rotarians' proposal during the autumn of 1931. Governmental machinations, though, did not commence until the Department of External Affairs received the U.S. State Department's Note 368, on January 27, 1932. When asked for an explanation of, and an opinion regarding, this official inquiry, Commissioner of National Parks J. B. Harkin candidly replied.

> Waterton and the United States' Glacier Parks are already, in actual fact if not in name, an international park because they have a common boundary along the international boundary. The upper Waterton Lake, which is one of the dominating features of the Canadian Park, lies in part in the United States' Glacier Park. Congressman Leavitt's proposal is, therefore, to formally proclaim by name that these areas are an international park, which in reality they largely are already.[40]

While Harkin was quick to emphasize that the two parks must retain respective administrations, he could offer only one reservation to the plan: that Canadian development would not keep pace with that of the Americans.[41] Harkin's position ultimately became the position of the

Department of Interior: the creation is essentially symbolic, and the potential effects of increased tourism and improved roads justify the establishment.

Not until May, 1932, did debate on Bill 97--"An Act Respecting the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park"--occur in the House of Commons.[42] This discussion focused upon the idealistic peace/good-will concept embodied by the proposal, and upon the recognition that the Canadian government would retain complete administrative control of Waterton Park. The level used by the bill's advocates was a letter (February 12, 1932) from Deputy-Secretary of State for External Affairs O. D. Skelton to the U.S. State Department. Brigadier-General Stewart, sponsor of the bill, manipulated the lever.

> [Bill 97 is the] step on our part towards carrying out a contract made between this Government and the Government of a friendly country, the United States of America, for the establishment of an International Peace Park between Canada and the United States.
>
> About six weeks ago a Bill was passed by Congress, and *we are now carrying out our part of the contract* as agreed to by the Department of External Affairs, in a letter written under the date of February 17 [*sic*] of this year, by Dr. Skelton, in which the United States were notified if they would co-operate in creating this International Peace Park so far as Glacier Park is concerned, Canada would reciprocate.[43]

The obvious implication of Stewart's position was that, should Parliament fail to pass the measure, Canada would renege on a diplomatic agreement and, thus, lose international prestige. When advocates complemented this lever with the lofty intent of the legislation--"to celebrate the one hundred years of Peace, Friendship and Good-will which have existed between the two countries"[44]--the bill's opposition faltered. That challenge had originated among M.P.s from southern-Manitoba ridings. Their objection to Bill 97 involved, as was the case in the U.S. Senate, competition between the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park and the International Peace Garden in the Turtle Mountain area of Manitoba-North Dakota.[45]

While vociferous, the opposition ultimately succumbed to the combined

arguments of contract-fulfillment and lofty intent. It fell to Prime Minister Richard Bedford Bennett to summarize the arguments applied the U.S. House of Representatives--environmental unity and symbolism.

> One is a natural park, just as nature has left it, except that roads have been constructed, hotels erected, and various means taken to render its natural beauties more available to those who visit it. That is the Waterton Park; that is the Glacier Park.
>
> Now they are merely to be known as one International Peace Park, for the purpose of indicating that a boundary line passes through the park and divides two great countries and two great peoples who have lived in peace for many years and who, we all hope, will continue ever to live in terms of amity, good-will and peace.
>
> . . .It is merely the question of a name, because the two Parks are contiguous and are known as the Glacier Park on the one side, and the Waterton Park on the other.[46]

On May 24, 1932, Bill 97 was reported, read a third time, and passed.[47] "An Act respecting the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park" was assented to on May 26, 1932. It was proclaimed on June 16, 1932--just two days prior to the dedication ceremony sponsored by Rotary International at the Great Northern Railway's hotel in East Glacier, Montana.[48]

The legislative creation of Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park proceeded with unusual haste, given the necessity of joint governmental processes. Less than one year elapsed between the Rotarian resolution (July 4, 1931) and the formal dedication ceremony (June 18, 1932). This dispatch reflects, at least in part, the Rotarian origin of the International Peace Park movement. Had the concept germinated within a national-park administration, one might expect a more lengthy procedural sequence--simply as a result of normal governmental proclivities. Because the proposal issued from, and was sponsored by, the civic Rotary International, some governmental deliberations were circumvented and others were shortcut.

Although this condition of extra-governmental initiation hastened the creation of Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, it also caused a problem. The respective park's administrations found themselves forced

into the defensive position of accepting the Peace Park scheme, regardless of its symbolic merits, superimposed on their operations. This defensive posture, inadvertently effected by the Rotary, has influenced the subsequent implementation of the International Peace Park concept by both parks' administrations.[49]

A more basic factor, however, precipitated the rapidity with which the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park was created in 1932. The contemporaneous world situation was unsettling, even frightening, to North Americans. The severe economic depression was causing the social, political, and intellectual dislocation--as well as the financial disruption --of established post-World War I patterns. The seemingly unpredictable situation was complemented by the international specter of failing disarmament negotiations and rising militarism.

Thus the reactive ideal of international peace/good will/friendship/ cooperation assumed special significance to North Americans. That concept particularly was conducive to promotion by Rotary International, as it would reflect *and* project the organization's tenets. Yet other Canadians and Americans, given the world milieu and their 5,525-mile common boundary, also concentrated on erecting monuments along this line. The competitive International Peace Garden (Manitoba-North Dakota) is but one example.[50]

The composite milieu was ripe for the creation of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. The threat of civil dislocation elicited a positive response, an affirmation of humanity's aspirations. However, the time also dictated that this reaction be one of *form, rather than substance*--that the response be symbolic of man's hope for the future. Hence the rapid passage of enabling legislation to designate the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park; hence the subsequent existence of the International Peace Park primarily as an abstract entity.

The Rotarians planned two ceremonies to dedicate the new Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, one in Glacier and the second in Waterton. Although the latter commemoration was not held until 1936, its pattern was established by the first ceremony. Three distinct

features of the 1932 dedication emerged: 1) the Rotarians' International Peace Park Association organized and produced the festivities; 2) Canadian and American park-service officials--excluded from the planning phase --resorted to matching attendant dignitaries, in terms of governmental rank; 3) the nature of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park remained essentially symbolic.

The 1932 dedication ceremony was sponsored by the Great Falls Chapter of Rotary International. The International Peace Park Association had selected the East Glacier site and the date of June 18 for two reasons: their plan dictated altering the annual meeting between Waterton and Glacier Parks, and the 1931 assembly had convened in Waterton; the proximity of the Glacier Park Hotel to the Great Northern Railway lines would permit trainloads of Rotarians, enroute to the International Convention in Seattle, Washington, to attend the ceremonies.[51]

The Rotary's Great Falls chapter and the International Peace Park Association--partially coincidental bodies--arranged the dedication ceremonies. Confusion enveloped these preparations, because passage of Canada's enabling legislation was not assured until late May, 1932. Lost in the confusion was adequate communication between the Rotarian organizers and the park-services' officials. Glacier National Park Superintendent E. T. Scoyen subsequently revealed this loss.

> The Rotary Officials in charge kept their affairs very closely to themselves, and I was not even able to get a copy of the program until a few hours before the event started, and then was surprised to see that I was supposed to make an address. . . . As a result, my remarks were very brief. However, I got many compliments on this point.[52]

One might conclude that Superintendent Scoyen's pique was shared by Waterton Lakes National Park's Superintendent Herbert Knight: he attended the ceremony and delivered a short address, yet does not appear on the pre-printed program.[53] If offense were taken by either park administrator, it would be justified. The general public perceived a symbiotic relationship between the parks' administrations and the International Peace Park Association. In truth, no such relationship existed. Moreover,

had the dedication ceremony resulted in a debacle, the two administrations --and principally that of Scoyen--would have received the consequential criticism.

Given the confusion accompanying the Rotary's preparations, and the Association's control of those arrangements, park-service officials in Canada and the United States resorted to informing each other of their respective dignitaries who might attend the ceremony.[54] By this means of matching ranking officials, diplomatic embarrassment could be avoided. For instance, were Canadian Prime Minister R. B. Bennett to appear in East Glacier to deliver a congratulatory proclamation, only to find that the ranking American official was Congressman Scott Leavitt, the resultant criticism would be damaging to both governments and potentially crippling to future relations regarding the Peace Park between the two parks' administrations.

Such potential embarrassment thus was avoided. The official Canadian group included Lieutenant-Governor W. L. Walsh, Alberta Premier J. E. Brownlee, Brigadier-General Stewart, M.P., from Lethbridge, as well as Superintendent Knight. The American contingent features Assistant Secretary of the Department of the Interior Joseph M. Dixon, Montana Governor John E. Erickson, Representative Scott Leavitt, and Superintendent Scoyen. Numerous Rotary dignitaries--including its two prime organizers: Canon S. H. Middleton of Cardston, Alberta, and Harry B. Mitchell of Great Falls, Montana--crowded the hotel veranda and participated in the ceremony.[55]

The proceedings included participation by the Cardston Glee Singers, the Great Falls Associated Choirs, a group of King Scouts from Alberta, a unit of Eagle Scouts from Montana, the Blackfoot Tribal Dancers, and an escort of Royal Canadian Mounted Police.[56] In addition to the reading of proclamations and dedications, the activities included speeches and the unveiling of a bronze tablet,

> . . .Permanently commemorating the relationship of Peace and Good-will existing between the peoples and Governments of Canada and the United States.[57]

Following the ceremony, the Blackfoot representatives inducted Lady

Charles Mander of Wolverhampton, England--the wife of the ranking Rotary official--into their tribe. Chief Two Guns White Calf bestowed the Blackfoot equivalent of the name "Princess Bright Shining Star Woman" on her.[58]

The official publication of Glacier National Park, GLACIAL DRIFT, subsequently emphasized the practical aspects marked by the dedication festivities. The paper suggested that the Peace Park would "offer a larger choice of travel to visitors."[59] Yet the dedication activities themselves belied this attempt at realism. The new International Peace Park would exist principally as a symbol; it would be as symbolic as were the patriotic songs, group pledges, Blackfoot dancing, commemorative prayers, and congratulatory readings.

Thus the three themes that evolved from the 1932 dedication ceremony established a precedent for the subsequent history of the International Peace Park. The responsible chapters of Rotary International, through their International Peace Park Association, continued to organize and produce various commemorative activities. These ceremonies usually coincided with their annual meetings, held at either a Waterton Park or Glacier Park site.

Second, the parks' administrations generally have been neglected in developing the International Peace Park program. Although communication between the Association and the two administrations has improved,[60] the parks' position in relation to the Association's plans and activities has not changed appreciably since 1931. That position is essentially one of bilateral consultant, yet with the ultimate responsibility for the developments regarding the International Peace Park in their respective domains. However, this commonly held, relegated position has helped to improve communications between the two parks' administrations.

Finally, the basic character of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park has remained symbolic. The entity exists on paper, and it periodically has shown signs of real life, but its abstract quality has not been mitigated significantly. For all practical purposes, the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park is as symbolic today as it

was upon its dedication in 1932.

The Waterton portion of the International Peace Park formally was dedicated at a Rotarian ceremony on July 4, 1936.[61] Although the complementary dedication had been scheduled for 1933, the economic depression and the resultant closure of the Prince of Wales Hotel postponed these Consummation Services for three years.[62] A portion of that formal ceremony indicates not only the relationship between the International Peace Park Association and the two park administrations, but also the essentially symbolic character of the Park.

> *Then shall the Director of the International Peace Park Committee* [Canon S. H. Middleton] *say to the Superintendent* [of Waterton Lakes National Park]:
>
> Mr. Knight, on behalf of the International Committee responsible for the erection and establishing of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, we hand to you this Plaque, our finished work. It is your part, Sir, to accept, in the name of this International Peace Park, the care and preservation in perpetuity of this tribute to the enduring peace and good will long existing between these two nations.
>
> *Then shall the Superintendent, on behalf of the Park, say:*
>
> The trust is ours, and in the name of our respective countries, it shall be kept. . . .[63]

The Rotarians concluded their 1936 festivities with the unveiling and dedication, on July 5, of a cairn in Waterton Townsite. The cairn's plaques commemorated John George "Kootenai" Brown, one of Waterton Park's first "internationalists."[64] Thus was instituted another traditional practice of these Rotarians: the dedication of plaques honoring men instrumental in the International Peace Park movement.

The list of celebrations--in addition to the many annual meetings--sponsored by Rotary International, through the International Peace Park Association, is impressive.

1932--Dedication of International Peace Park; Glacier Park Hotel, East Glacier, Montana

1934--Erection of International Peace Park Arch; Waterton Lake National Park entrance road, Alberta

1936--Dedication and consummation of International Peace Park; Prince of Wales Hotel, Waterton, Alberta

1936--Dedication of "Kootenai" Brown cairn and plaques; Waterton Townsite, Alberta

1946--Presentation of Pres. Herbert Hoover's pen, used in signing International Peace Park enabling legislation, to S. H. Middleton; Glacier Park Hotel, East Glacier, Montana

1947--Laying of cornerstones for two International Peace Park cairns; International Boundary, on the Chief Mountain International Highway

1947--Dedication of two International Peace Park cairns; International Boundary, on the Chief Mountain International Highway

1951--Institution of joint flag-flying program; International Boundary, on the Chief Mountain International Highway; grounds of the Prince of Wales Hotel, Waterton, Alberta; grounds of the Glacier Park Hotel, East Glacier, Montana

1951--Twentieth anniversary of International Peace Park movement and first "hands across the border" ceremony; International Boundary, on the Chief Mountain International Highway

1951--Dedication of International Peace Park cairn and plaques; grounds of the Prince of Wales Hotel, Waterton, Alberta

1952--Dedication of International Peace Park cairn and plaques; grounds of the Glacier Park Hotel, East Glacier, Montana

1954--Dedication of plaque honoring T. J. Davis, former president of Rotary International; grounds of the Glacier Park Hotel, East Glacier, Montana

1955--Dedication of companion Davis plaque; grounds of the Prince of Wales Hotel, Waterton, Alberta

1957--Thanksgiving service marking twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the International Peace Park; International Boundary, on the Chief Mountain International Highway

1958--Dedication of plaque honoring S. H. Middleton, longtime president of the International Peace Park Association; grounds of the Glacier Park Hotel, East Glacier, Montana

1959--Dedication of companion Middleton plaque; grounds of the Prince of Wales Hotel, Waterton, Alberta

1962--Erection of "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park" interpretive sign; adjacent to the Waterton Lakes National Park Information Center; Waterton Townsite, Alberta

1965--Erection of plaque honoring H. R. Hutchings, former president of the International Peace Park Association; near Waterton Lakes National Park Information Center; Waterton Townsite, Alberta

1967--Erection of plaque honoring H. S. Greenway, former president of the International Peace Park Association; near Waterton Lakes National Park Information Center, Waterton Townsite, Alberta[65]

The International Peace Park Association most frequently held these observances in conjunction with its annual late-July/early-August meetings. In recent years the Association's dramatic "hands across the border" ceremonies, enacted at the International Boundary cairns on the Chief Mountain Highway, have supplanted cairn erections and plaque dedications.

Since its inception, in 1931, the Rotary's International Peace Park Association has concentrated its efforts in four areas, for which it eventually created standing committees: cairns, finance, publicity, roads.[66] The group's greatest realistic success was its advocacy of the rapid construction of the Chief Mountain International Highway, opened to through traffic in 1936. Indeed, governmental plans for this vital highway link predated the Rotary's 1931 meeting; indeed, the Great Northern Railway's Canadian operation required this road.[67] Yet the Association's vocal support of the project hastened completion of its Canadian and American components.

A lack of funds apparently has limited the Association's efforts to publicize widely the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. The body has not developed its publicity beyond the pamphlet stage. Rather, it historically has sought to induce other groups with established public-relations organs--particularly the two parks' administrations and the Great Northern Railway--to popularize the International Peace Park concept. A resolution passed at the Association's 1951 meeting demonstrated this tactic by suggesting that the Great Northern Railway Company publicize the Peace Park in its literature.[68]

The resolution elicited a courteous, if noncommital, response from Glacier National Park Superintendent J. W. Emmert. It received a more pointed reply from C. W. Moore, the Great Northern Railway's Executive Assistant for Public Relations.

> . . .While it is true that Great Northern's literature does not, on outside covers, refer to the area as the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, the region is so identified within the booklet. In addition, Great Northern has given considerable newspaper publicity to the international peace aspects of the two parks in the past two or three years.
>
> However, *it will not be practical* to identify the area as the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park in Great Northern's newspaper and magazine advertising. The railway's advertising on this region is tied in with train services to a specific point, which is Glacier National Park in Montana. Our advertising must be informational, of course, and space limitations normally preclude extended descriptive text.[69]

Moore's response candidly reveals the basically symbolic, rather than idealistic, nature of the International Peace Park.

The capitalistic Great Northern Railway perceived that symbolic-realistic dichotomy more clearly than did the parks' administrations. Saddled with managing their respective park operations on a day-to-day basis, these administrations cooperated with the International Peace Park Association whenever possible--for example, in the 1947 construction of two cairns at the International Boundary on the Chief Mountain Highway. Yet park supervisors necessarily assumed a defensive position in relation to the Association. For that organization not only controlled International Peace Park ceremonies, it also was responsible for imposing the idealistic International Peace Park concept on the parks' practical operations. Glacier Superintendent D. S. Libbey succinctly presented the parks' defensive, reactive posture.

> . . .There is a problem which appears to be worthy of mention, vis: The tendency of Service clubs on both sides of the International Boundary attempting to dedicate, re-dedicate, and take honor for accomplishments, both from the point of view of final construction,

> that, in my opinion, should be given to the Dominion administration of Waterton Lakes National Park and to the Federal administration of Glacier National Park.[70]

Throughout the existence of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, the three basic themes have prevailed: 1) the Rotary's Association continued to control International Peace Park activities, especially ceremonies; 2) the parks administrations continued to assume a somewhat defensive attitude in regard to the Association, while strengthening their own lines of communication and cooperation; 3) the International Peace Park's essential character continued to be more symbolic than real.

What, then have been the positive, practical effects--large and small--of the creation of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park? Those results and influences are several. The most obvious is the rapid construction, following 1932, of the Chief Mountain International Highway --a transportation link absolutely vital to inter-park access. Built during the nadir of economic depression, this route remains the prime corridor for travelers between the respective parks. Popular support for building the Akamina Pass-North Fork highway relies on the same argument: access to/within the International Peace Park. Since 1911 advocates of this latter route periodically have lobbied for its construction, as yet without success.[71]

Additional effects of the creation of Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park include the alteration of the parks' signing, particularly at their entrances, and the construction of the various cairns and memorials. That creation also increased the publicity of its component parks, especially in the case of Waterton Lakes National Park. Waterton officials directly trace that reserve's ascendancy--in terms of securing federal appropriations and gaining prestige within the Canadian parks system--to the establishment of the International Peace Park in 1932.[72]

The formation of the binational Park has produced one other salutary consequence: It provided official sanction for the cooperation of the two parks' administrations. As has been noted, Waterton and Glacier personnel coordinated, prior to 1932, many management activities. This

practical cooperation resulted from the reality of supervising two contiguous reserves that comprise a single environmental unit. The establishment of the Peace Park did increase inter-administration communication in reaction to International Peace Park Association initiatives and events. *Moreover*, it provided an imprimatur for the kind of existent cooperation outlined by Glacier Superintendent E. T. Scoyen.

> . . .As you know, Waterton and Glacier National Parks have a common boundary consisting of the International line between the United States and Canada. These two areas have been set aside as the "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park," although their administrative identities are entirely separate. *However, in many ways our contacts with the officials of the Canadian government are practically the same as with our own staff.*[73]

The two parks' supervisors for decades have demonstrated cooperation in regard to matters of practical administration. In 1969 these officials deemed their own efforts wanting in the presentation of the International Peace Park concept. At that time a U.S. National Park Service study offered several recommendations to rectify the perceived problem.

1. Emphasize the International Peace Park title
2. De-emphasize the International Boundary between the two parks
3. Produce common literature
4. Exchange personnel
5. Integrate interpretive media
6. Exchange information
7. Stress the Peace Park concept in the interpretive programs[74]

More significant than the specific recommendations is the approach assumed by the parks' administrations: Because the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park exists primarily as a symbolic entity, address the concept via the interpretive method.

Such is the idea basic to Glacier National Park's Goathaunt Visitor

Center, located at the southern end of Waterton Lake. The vast majority of visitors reach this Center from Waterton Townsite, via the launch "International" (itself a fifty-one-year-old symbol of binationalism), on the umbilical Waterton Lake.

The restrictions placed on the parks' administrations by the respective enabling acts to create Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park forestall many aspects of integrated master-planning. Thus the interpretive mode appears the most feasible method of activating the International Peace Park concept.

The interpretive mode also can convey best the integrated story of Waterton Park, and Glacier Park, and the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. Notwithstanding the presence of an International Boundary, the region involved always has functioned as an environmental unit. The spectacular character of this environment prompted the contemporaneous creation of two contiguous national parks--two reserves similar in development, despite different initial philosophical bases. Pivotal to that development were inter-park transportation links. The advent of automobile travel only enforced the importance of those links.

However, with the inception of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park in 1932, the story's character changes. The initiative derived from local Rotarians; both Canadian and American governments expeditiously provided the enabling legislation. All involved factions responded to a threatening international milieu. The creative legislation unfortunately established a hybrid more symbolic than real. Even more lamentable, that abstract quality subsequently has been perpetuated by the Park's strongest advocate, Rotary International.

Hence the current charge: How might the two parks' administrations breathe realism into an abstraction? The most practical approach relies on the interpretive process. Quite possibly *only* a coordinated interpretive program can realize that which, since 1932, has remained essentially symbolic--the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park.

Notes

1. This ceremony is detailed in "Canon" (S. H. Middleton), THE WATERTON-GLACIER INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK (N.p.: Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park Association, 1949), pp. 12-15.

2. Representative Scott Leavitt (R-Great Falls) to the U.S. House of Representatives, Monday, March 7, 1932, in: U.S. Congress, House, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 72nd Cong., 1st Sess., 1932, 75, pt. 5:5416-5417.

3. The larger figure is cited by Middleton, WATERTON-GLACIER INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK, p. 12; however, Glacier Park Superintendent E. T. Scoyen estimates the smaller number: Letter, Scoyen to National Park Service Director Horace M. Albright, June 20, 1932, "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park--File III," Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana. Hereafter cited as GPA.

4. Letter, Scoyen to Albright, June 20, 1931, GPA; Thomas Mooney, "International Peace Park," GLACIER DRIFT 5 (1932), pp. 32-33; GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, February 9, 1932.

5. Both primary and secondary accounts of the two joint boundary surveys are available. The important primary sources are: Marcus Baker, "Survey of the Northwestern Boundary of the United States, 1857-1861," U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY BULLETIN NO. 174 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900); Herman J. Deutsch, "A Contemporary Report on the Forty-Ninth Boundary Survey," PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUARTERLY (1962); Capt. Samuel Anderson, "The North American Boundary from Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains," ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY JOURNAL 5 (1876). The final report of the Americans' Northwest Boundary Survey (1857-1861) was lost and never printed.

   Significant secondary works include: Otto Klotz, "The History of the Forty-Ninth Parallel Survey West of the Rocky Mountains," THE GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW 3 (1917); George F. G. Stanley, ed., MAPPING THE FRONTIER: CHARLES WILSON'S DIARY OF THE SURVEY OF THE FORTY-NINTH PARALLEL, 1858-1862, WHILE SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH BOUNDARY COMMISSION (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970); John E. Parsons, WEST OF THE FORTY-NINTH PARALLEL: RED RIVER TO THE ROCKIES, 1872-1876 (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1963); D. W. Thomson, MEN AND MERIDIANS: THE HISTORY OF SURVEYING AND MAPPING IN CANADA, 2 vols. (Ottawa, Ontario: Queen's Printer, 1966-67), Vol. 1: PRIOR TO 1867, Vol. 2: 1867-1917.

6. This demarcation was emphasized by the arrival, in 1874, of the North West Mounted Police (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) force and its subsequent termination of the whiskey trade originating in Fort

Benton, Montana Territory. See: Paul F. Sharp, WHOOP-UP COUNTRY: THE CANADIAN-AMERICAN WEST, 1865-1885 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), pp. 78-106; Gerald L. Berry, WHOOP-UP TRAIL: EARLY DAYS IN ALBERTA-MONTANA (Edmonton, Alberta: Applied Arts Products, 1953).

7. On March 3, 1891, the U.S. Congress passed a bill authorizing the President to create forest reserves from the nation's forested lands. Although much of northwestern Montana was designated a forest reserve at that time, little protection of this land existed until President Cleveland's proclamation formally created the Lewis and Clark Forest Reserve in 1897. The only significant portion of Glacier National Park not included in the initial forest reserve was the "Ceded Strip" --that land between the Continental Divide and the present eastern border of the Park. This territory was purchased by the federal government from the Blackfoot tribe in 1896, to permit prospecting and mining claims along this portion of the Eastern Slope.

   The Lewis and Clark and the Flathead Forest Reserves were consolidated in 1903; the "Ceded Strip" became part of the combined reserve. As forest reserves, they were administered by the Department of the Interior until 1905, when the U.S. Forest Service was established under the Department of Agriculture. It soon became evident that the combined reserves were too large for efficient administration. Thus, in 1908, they were reconstituted as the Blackfeet National Forest and the Flathead National Forest. (In 1907 the term "Forest Reserve" had been abandoned, in favor of "National Forest.") The land later to comprise Glacier National Park was included in the Blackfeet National Forest, administered from Kalispell, Montana.

   Charles Shaw, THE FLATHEAD [NATIONAL FOREST] STORY (Missoula, Montana: U.S. Forest Service, 1964), pp. 6-7, 14-16; Donald H. Robinson, THROUGH THE YEARS IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK: AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY, ed. Maynard C. Bowers (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, 1960), pp. 49-50; C. W. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, 1976), pp. 39-40, 44-47; John M. Kauffman, "Glacier National Park, Montana: A History of Its Establishment and the Revision of Its Boundaries," 1954 typescript, p. 1, GPA.

8. For a more complete discussion of the creation of Glacier National Park, see Chapter I.

9. Responsibility for the Kootenay Lakes Forest Park, established in 1895, resided with the Department of the Interior--although, for the first decade, the Department's protection of the area was negligible. As a result of the Dominion Forest Reserves Act (1906), Kootenay Lakes *Forest Park* was reconstituted as the Kootenay Lakes *Forest Reserve* and placed, with other reserves, under the control and management of the Department of Interior's Superintendent of Forestry (Ottawa).

   In 1909 the Governor-General proclaimed the management unit a *forest park* instead of a *forest reserve*; the following year an

order-in-council officially recognized this tourist-retreat intent for the area. The transfer kept the unit under the Department of Interior, but shifted responsibility to its Dominion (i.e., National) Parks Branch, created in 1908. The transfer also precipitated a change in name, from *Kootenay Lakes Forest Reserve* to *Waterton Lakes Forest Park*--an indication that the area hence would be administered under more protective guidelines applicable to Dominion Parks.

The passage of the Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act (1911) significantly influenced the new Waterton Lakes Forest Park. The Act provided for the administration of both Forest Reserves and Dominion Parks and for the creation of Dominion Parks from Forest Reserve lands. The legislation further granted the Dominion Parks Branch independent status within the Department of Interior. As a result of this Act, the Waterton Lakes *Dominion* (National) *Park* was established on June 8, 1911. The area of the new Park was reduced from 54 to 13.5 square miles, but increased 3 years later to its maximum of 423 square miles. For a discussion of boundary changes affecting Waterton Lakes Park, see: Ian A. L. Getty, THE HISTORY OF WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK, 1800-1937 (Ottawa, Ontario: National and Historic Parks Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1971; rev. ed., 1972), especially Chapter 4 and p. 65.

By means of the National Parks Act (1930), Parliament completed the evolution of the formal title to *Waterton Lakes National Park*. This Act placed a greater emphasis on the preservation of national-park environments, while maintaining a concern for recreation; it more closely aligned Canadian national-park philosophy with that defined by the United States' National Parks Act (1916). One obvious effect of this 1930 philosophical shift was that the conflict of use/preservation, with which the American national parks struggled, also became a Canadian problem.

Robert C. Scace, AN INITIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK, WITH ADDITIONAL REFERENCES TO WATERTON-GLACIER: THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK (Calgary, Alberta: National and Historic Parks Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1972); W. F. Lothian, A HISTORY OF CANADA'S NATIONAL PARKS, Vol. I (Ottawa, Ontario: Parks Canada, 1976); Getty, WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK; G. L. Gladstone, "A History of Waterton Lakes National Park, Waterton Park, Alberta, 1800-1961--With Updated Appendices to 1968," typescript obtained from Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta; William Pearce, "The Establishment of National Parks in the Rockies," ALBERTA HISTORICAL REVIEW 10 (1962).

10. Memorandum, C. J. Kraebel to National Park Service Director Stephen T. Mather, August 16, 1924, "Superintendent's Correspondence, 1924" File, GPA; also cited in Getty, WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK, p. 110.

This assessment is echoed by D. S. Libbey, in a memorandum to National Park Service Acting Region III Director J. S. Maier, dated August 24, 1939 ("Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park--File III," GPA:

> The standards of the national parks of the Department of Mines and Resources of the Dominion of Canada do not, in all points, coincide with those of the national parks of the Department of the Interior of the United States of America. For example, grazing is permitted in the Canadian parks; predatory animals are killed in the Canadian parks, etc. Specifically, the Canadians kill bears because bears kill the cattle which are permitted to graze in the Canadian parks.

11. Getty, WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK, p. 42; see also, Gladstone, "History of Waterton Park," pp. 15-24.

12. Gladstone, "History of Waterton Park," p. 32; see also, Lothian, CANADA'S NATIONAL PARKS, Vol. I, and Getty, WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK, Chapter 4.

13. U.S. Congress, Senate, SENATE DOCUMENTS: S.B. 2777, 61st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1910 (U.S. Stat. 36, 354). For a more complete discussion of this topic, see the Introduction and Chapter I.

14. Italics mine. U.S. Stat. 39, 535.

15. "Chief Mountain" (S. H. Middleton), KOOTENAI BROWN: ADVENTURER, PIONEER, PLAINSMAN, PARK WARDEN, AND WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK (Lethbridge, Alberta: Herald Job Printing, 1954), pp. 55-56.
    Reynolds had worked various forest jobs from the Flathead Valley to Lethbridge since the 1890s. He contracted as a Glacier National Park ranger in 1912 and was assigned to the Belly River Station. He was responsible for an area generally bounded by the International Boundary on the north, the Continental Divide on the west, Kennedy Creek on the south, and the Park line on the east. As Reynolds died in the Pincher Creek, Alberta, hospital on February 13, 1913, Middleton apparently is mistaken regarding the year of the incident.
    For biographies of Brown, see Middleton, KOOTENAI BROWN; William Rodney, KOOTENAI BROWN: HIS LIFE AND TIMES, 1839-1916 (Sidney, British Columbia: Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1969).

16. U.S. Congress, Senate, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 61st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1910, 45, pt. 1:971.

17. Italics mine. IBID., pt. 1:972.

18. Rodney (KOOTENAI BROWN: LIFE AND TIMES, p. 198) attributes this quotation to Chief Superintendent of Dominion Parks Howard Douglas, circa 1912.

19. Getty, WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK, Chapter 4; Gladstone, "History of Waterton Park," pp. 10, 15-23.

20. For a further discussion of these transportation routes, see Chapter II.

21. Memorandum, Barnard-Hervey to Commissioner of Dominion Parks J. B. Harkin, March 19, 1915, attached to a letter from James M. Cathcard, Manager of Glacier Park Hotel Company, to Great Northern Railway President Louis W. Hill, June 6, 1915, in: "File 4325--General Correspondence," Great Northern Railway Collection, Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul, Minnesota. Hereafter cited as GNR Coll.

22. Memorandum, Harkin to Barnard-Hervey, April 15, 1915, also attached to letter from Cathcart to Louis W. Hill, June 6, 1915, GNR Coll., File 4326.

23. IBID.

The proposed road to which Barnard-Hervey referred would run from Waterton Townsite south, along the west shore of Waterton Lake, to the Goathaunt encampment, hence south--on the northern section of the current Highline Trail--through the Waterton Valley and southeast into the Mineral Creek drainage to Granite Park Chalets, hence northeast through Swiftcurrent Pass to the Many Glacier Hotel, the construction of which was practically completed at the time he submitted his report. See the map accompanying this chapter.

The reference to James Hill was in error. Hill had been born in Canada and, therefore, might be considered sympathetic to Waterton development. Yet, by 1915, his control of the Great Northern Railway corporate structure had passed to his son, Louis W. Hill; the elder Hill performed primarily advisory functions.

24. The Great Northern Railway owned, constructed, and managed the Prince of Wales Hotel through a subsidiary incorporated in St. Paul, Minnesota--the Canadian Rockies Hotel Company. Although this company retained American management personnel at the Hotel, it agreed to employ Canadians in all other positions. See "Canadian Rockies Hotel Company: Articles of Incorporation," GPA.

25. Getty, WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK, p. 160. For a further discussion of the machinations of this joint project, see Chapter IV.

26. Gladstone, "History of Waterton Park," p. 22, cites the following figures: 1927--14,134; 1928--26,002; 1929--48,592. See also Getty, WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK, p. 171.

27. For these visitation figures, see: Gladstone, "History of Waterton Park," pp. 22-23; Getty, WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK, p. 171.

28. This germinal meeting is described best in Middleton, WATERTON-GLACIER INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK, pp. 5ff.

29. IBID., pp. 5-6.

30. List of Association Presidents/Directors, 1931-1964, "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park--File II," GPA.

31. Leavitt won the 1932 Republican primary for Second District Congressman, but lost the general election to Democrat Roy E. Ayers, by approximately 10,000 votes. See Ellis L. Waldron, MONTANA POLITICS SINCE 1864: AN ATLAS OF ELECTIONS (Missoula: University of Montana Press, 1958), pp. 239, 242-43, 253-55.

32. Quoted in Middleton, WATERTON-GLACIER INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK, pp. 9-10.

33. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Public Lands, REPORT 593, TO ACCOMPANY H.R. 4752: WATERTON-GLACIER INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK, 72nd Cong., 1st Sess., 1932.

34. U.S. Congress, House, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 72nd Cong., 1st Sess., 1932, 75, pt. 5, pp. 5416-5417.

35. These questions pertained to the possible deflection of American tourists to Canadian facilities, to the possibility of increased appropriations for the Glacier National Park administration, and, more importantly, to the possibility that the bill was a thinly veiled mechanism to promote construction of the American portions of interconnecting highways. In debate, Leavitt successfully blunted these points of criticism.

36. Italics mine. House, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 1932, p. 5417.

37. U.S. Congress, Senate, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 72nd Cong., 1st Sess., 1932.

    Sen. Walsh is not without personal interest in this bill, as his family long had owned a summer cabin on private land at the head of Lake McDonald, within Glacier National Park.

38. IBID.

39. IBID.

40. Memorandum, J. B. Harkin to Deputy Minister of the Department of Interior H. H. Rowatt, February 4, 1932, Box 162038, W.2, #1, Public Archives Record Center (PARC), National and Historic Parks Branch, Ottawa, Ontario--material obtained through the Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta. Portions of this memorandum are quoted in Getty, WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK, pp. 190-91.

41. IBID.

42. Canada, COMMONS DEBATES, May 23-24, 1932, pp. 3300-09, 3340-44--material obtained from the University of Alberta Library and Archives, Edmonton, Alberta.

43. Italics mine. Middleton, WATERTON-GLACIER INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK, p. 11.

44. IBID.

45. Canada, COMMONS DEBATES, pp. 3306-09, 3340-43.

46. Middleton, WATERTON-GLACIER INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK, p. 12.

47. Canada, "An Act Respecting the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park," 22-23 GEORGE V, Chap. 55, STATUTES OF CANADA, 1932, p. 367--material obtained from Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta.

48. Note appended, IBID.

49. The Honorable W. R. Motherwell, M.P., from Mellville, Saskatchewan, and a supporter of the International Peace Garden, observed (May 24, 1932), in the Commons debate regarding Bill 97: "It is a comparatively easy matter for a body of Rotarians to shout for a park on the boundary line between the two countries when it does not necessitate their paying out any money. They appeal to the respective governments to go to it, that they are behind it, and [they] forget the effect it may have." Canada, COMMONS DEBATE, p. 3340.

50. In his memorandum of February 4, 1932, to Deputy Minister of the Department of Interior H. H. Rowatt, Commissioner of National Parks J. B. Harkin cites several such existing monuments: a Peace Arch/Gate at Blaine-Douglas (British Columbia-Washington), the International Peace Bridge over the Niagara River (Ontario-New York), the soon-to-be-established International Peace Garden in the Turtle Mountains (Manitoba-North Dakota), and the planned International Park Reserve, comprised of the Quetico Provincial Park and the Superior National Forest (Ontario-Minnesota). Numerous, less well-known memorials appear along the extent of the Boundary, practically wherever a Canadian town and an American town are in proximity.

51. GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, February 9, 1932.

52. Memorandum, Scoyen to Director H. M. Albright, June 20, 1932, "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park--File I," GPA.

53. See Rotary International, "Program for the Official Opening and Dedication of Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, June 18, 1932," GPA.

54. See the bulk of correspondence in "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park--File I," GPA.

55. Rotary, "Program for Dedication, 1932," GPA; Middleton, WATERTON-GLACIER INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK, p. 14; Mooney, "International Peace Park," p. 32.

56. Mooney, "International Peace Park," pp. 32-33; Rotary, "Program for Dedication, 1932," GPA.

The appearance of the Mounted Police prompted an entertaining comment from Superintendent Scoyen:

> The Lt. Governor of Alberta [W. L. Walsh] had four Royal Mounted Police as a body guard, which certainly added color, if nothing else. I wonder if you appreciate the competition the Park Service uniform has up in these parts. We look fine until one of these Mounties comes along with a scarlet coat, bright blue pants with yellow stripes an inch wide down the side, not to mention the stiff-brimmed Stetson, gold buttons, silver spurs, etc., and then the show is all Canadian. However, I would just as soon not wear such an outfit, so this is not to be taken as a recommendation.

Letter, Scoyen to Albright, June 20, 1932, GPA.

57. Middleton, WATERTON-GLACIER INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK, p. 14.

58. Mooney, "International Peace Park," p. 32.

59. IBID., p. 33.

60. See "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park--File II" and "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park--File III," GPA.

61. See Rotary International, "Programme: Consummation and Dedication of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, July 4, 1936," GPA.

62. However, a meeting of the Rotary's International Peace Park Association--evidently the Executive Committee, plus some other members--was held at the Glacier Park Hotel in East Glacier, Montana, in 1935.

63. Rotary, "Programme: Consummation and Dedication, 1936," GPA.

64. Middleton, KOOTENAI BROWN, p. 60; "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park--File II," GPA.

65. Information compiled from various sources, including: the several "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park" Files, GPA; various issues of the GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE; personal observation, July 6-7, 1978.

It is quite possible that this listing can be expanded, based on further intensive research.

The listing reveals a few interesting, if somewhat superficial, trends in the Association's activities: the lack of ceremonies from 1936 to 1946 is directly attributable to the international economic depression of the 1930s, followed immediately by World War II; the flurry of activity in 1951 and 1952 coincides with the United Nations' "police action" in Korea; the steady flow of commemorations from 1954 to 1959 possibly reflects the "Cold War" atmosphere of the period--as one will note that the 1954-1959 ceremonies concentrate on honoring Rotary officials, rather than emphasizing the international peace movement.

66. See the Association's CONSTITUTION (1958), obtained through the Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta.

67. For a discussion of these topics, see pp. 117-19.

68. "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park--File I," GPA.

69. Italics mine. Letter, Moore to S. H. Middleton, August 23, 1951, "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park--File I," GPA.

Superintendent J. W. Emmert's reply can be found in: Letter, Emmert to S. H. Middleton, August 22, 1951, "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park--File I," GPA.

Moore's statement accurately characterizes the Great Northern Railway's lack of interest in, and publicity of, the International Peace Park concept: i.e., its practical economic operations in Waterton and Glacier Parks did not require the emphasis of a symbolic International Peace Park. Scrutiny of the Great Northern Railway Collection, housed in the Minnesota Historical Society Archives, reveals little enthusiasm for--indeed, only passing references to--the Peace Park concept. After all, the Railway effectively had made its operations international in character *prior to* the Rotarians' 1931 meeting, with the securing of a promise to build an international-highway link (1926), the opening of the Prince of Wales Hotel (1927), and the launching of the "International" on Waterton Lake (1927). As the bulk of the Railway's facilities existed in the United States, its excessive publicity of an International Park could only detract from its operations and possibly drain potential customers north to Banff and Jasper National Parks, where the Railway controlled neither accommodations nor rail transport.

The relationship between the Rotary's International Peace Park Association and the Railway's subsidiary Glacier Park (Hotel) Company remained cordial and mutually beneficial: the Association annually required convention facilities, and that was profitable hotel business. In addition, witness the erection of memorial cairns, plaques, and binational flags on the grounds of the Prince of Wales and Glacier Hotels.

Howard H. Hays--President of the Glacier Park Transport Company (1927-1955), and a Rotarian himself--was the Association's greatest ally among Glacier Park concessionaires. S. H. Middleton, President of the Association from 1931 to 1957, notes: "Howard H. Hays of the Glacier Park Transport Company has been a prime mover of the [International Peace Park] project, and has attended every meeting and rendered valued assistance ever since the dedication of 1932." Middleton, WATERTON-GLACIER INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK, p. 22.

70. Letter, Libbey to National Park Service Acting Region III Director J. S. Maier, August 24, 1939, "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park--File III," GPA.

71. For a more detailed discussion of the Akamina Highway-North Fork of the Flathead route, see Chapters IV and V.

72. Getty, WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK, p. 199. Getty notes that the combination of Superintendent Herbert Knight's forceful administration (1930-1939) and the designation of the International Peace Park (1932) provided real gains for Waterton Lakes National Park, especially in comparison to Banff and Jasper National Parks.

73. Italics mine. Letter, Scoyen to National Park Service Director Arno Cammerer, September 21, 1937, "Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park--File II," GPA. In this letter, Scoyen is responding negatively to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior's Order No. 1189, concerning "employees of the Department conducting business with officials of any foreign government without first consulting the diplomatic officer of the United States in that country."

74. See E. Menning, "Proposals and Comments for an Integration of Interpretive-Informational Services: Waterton-Glacier National Peace Park," GPA.

CHAPTER IV

TRANSPORTATION DEVELOPMENTS AND HARD TIMES, 1930-1946

Economic depression seized the nation in 1929. Boomer prosperity in the 1920s yielded to cynical and pessimistic interpretations of the course of the American economy during the early 1930s. At the same time, the increased use of the automobile as a cheaper mode of transportation portended radical changes in the administration of Glacier National Park as tourists from throughout the nation motored to northwestern Montana to partake of the splendors of the area. Consequently, the anomaly between economic depression and an increased use of the automobile paralleled changes by which Glacier National Park and the entire National Park Service related to concessionaires and to the constituents--the American public--they were pledged to serve.

Three major themes dominate the period between 1930 and 1946. Differences between the National Park Service, the local administration of Glacier National Park, and the Great Northern Railway Company, the principal concessionaire of the Park, underscored the changing relationship of government and private enterprise in the administration of the public domain. A resolution of problems between the two federal offices was needed to handle more effectively the tension between government and the Great Northern Company. Second, disagreement continued between proponents of preservation in Glacier National Park and advocates of greater access to the interior of the Park. National Park Service personnel clung to a "wilderness park" ideal while pragmatically they provided for the auto tourist, who would eventually change the nature of Park use. Expansion of roads and major highways within the Park and some overt resistance to such road expansion characterize another feature of conflict within the administration of Glacier National Park during the 1930s and 1940s.

Finally, there emerged the basic factor that surpassed all other

considerations: the increased development and use of the automobile as a means of long distance transportation. From 1892 to the 1930s, the railroad provided the principal means of access to Glacier National Park. Once there, visitors traveled mainly by foot, on horseback or in passenger boats to various points of interest. Automobile transportation during the first two decades of Glacier's operations was restricted primarily to buses and smaller touring cars. Mass production of automobiles after World War I placed demands on the National Park Service to provide facilities for motoring tourists at Glacier and thus spurred the conflict of diverging interests between the Great Northern Railway and the administration of the Park.

The 1930s and 1940s in the administration of Glacier National Park saw the diminution of the cozy symbiosis between the officials of the Great Northern Railway Company and the National Park Service. This change evolved in part because of differences in philosophy in the management of the national domain. Fundamentally, Park officials officials placed a greater emphasis than the railroad on service to the auto-touring public. The 1932 six-year projection for expenditures at Glacier shows a greater and greater emphasis on the roads in and around the Park area. For example, between 1932 and 1938, a total of $7,318,500 was allocated for the building and improvement of new and existing roads in the Park.[1] Furthermore, the road-building project rated high in the Park's priorities, indicating the importance placed upon such construction by the local administration at Glacier.

National Park Service budgetary constraints, however, added a sobering note to the road-building program. In late 1932, as the depressed economy continued to strangle national efforts at recovery, Park Service officials harangued the administrators at Glacier to reduce their dollar requests. In one such missive, a high official in the National Park Service asked that final figures be lowered. He concluded by stating that "you will readily understand the desirability of giving serious consideration to your priorities so that they will reflect your greatest needs."[2]

Changes in administration in Washington, D.C., brought a great rush of programs focused on the relief and recovery of the national economy. These programs offered an answer to Glacier National Park's transportation

needs. Among the programs sponsored by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the Public Works Administration, which hoped to perform public-works tasks sponsored by governmental funding. Within the nexus of the National Park Service could be found innumerable projects financed in this way. By early 1934, E. T. Scoyen, Superintendent at Glacier, informed the Director of the National Park Service of the sort of projects that currently were being performed under the auspices of the Public Works Administration. For example, with regard to road construction a total of $1,504,000 was budgeted for the completion of improvements and extension on the Babb-Many Glacier route, the Kennedy Creek Cut-Off, the Transmountain Highway (Going-to-the-Sun Highway), the Two Medicine Lake area, and the Blackfeet Highway. In terms of minor roads and trails, Scoyen listed a total of $82,100 expended through public service programs.[3]

Two parallel developments showed the growing responsiveness of the Park administrative to the increased use of the automobile. Public campground development and improved road facilities became foremost considerations. During the spring of 1930, the Glacier administration spent several hundred dollars on improving Avalanche Creek Campground and received more than $9,000 for developing a water system and improving roads and trails in the Roes Creek Campground. Registration figures for the Park's public recreational sites show that 3,507 cars with 11,110 people visited the areas in 1930--a marked increase of 10.8 percent over the 1929 seasonal account.[4]

Road construction during the 1930 season received increased attention from the Bureau of Public Roads. A number of projects were completed while others continued into the fall of 1930. For example, in 1930, the last 4.6 miles of the Babb-Many Glacier Road began its final phase in June. Right-of-way clearance of the Transmountain Highway also continued into the late fall and the Swiftcurrent Bridge, a contentious point, was completed in early June. Superintendent Eakin noted that the Theodore Roosevelt Highway, while not directly a Park road, loomed of great importance to Glacier Park. This major route provided a principal east-west passage

on the south boundary of the Park. Since 1921, the Roosevelt Highway had been under construction and finally was completed on July 20, 1930.[5]

To facilitate travel along the 188 miles of roads in Glacier Park, road oiling projects also became a part of maintaining the federal transportation system. According to Eakin, "our dustless roads have caused much favorable comment." Moreover, the Blackfeet Highway and spur roads constituted an additional 97 miles of roads that directly affected travel within the Park.[6]

Foot and horse transportation still provided a major means of enjoying the scenery at Glacier Park. As a result, the maintenance of foot and horse trails prodded a continued improvement of these facilities. In the fall of 1929, for example, snow storms forced crews to cease working on the trail along the Ptarmigan Wall. Such work continued into 1930 when masonry walls were to be provided for the safety of tourists along the trail. During the summer of 1930 a trail along the south shore of St. Mary Lake finally was completed. For three years this trail had become a principal project of Eagle Scouts from all over the nation who worked on about three miles of the ten-mile trail. The remaining seven miles became the responsibility of the Park administration and was completed by September, 1930. This completion of the Inside Circle Trail allowed tourists to complete their journey on horseback rather than stop at St. Mary, reorganize at Going-to-the-Sun Chalet, and secure guides and horses anew. Additional trail construction continued throughout the working period of 1930 as Gunsight Pass Trail became an object of reconstruction. On July 15, the trail running from Flat-top Divide to Waterton Lake was completed. On August 15, 1930, the trail to Sperry Glacier, a distance of slightly more than two miles, reached completion and allowed horseback parties to come within easy walking distance of the glacier.[7]

In the final recommendation for 1930, Superintendent Eakin noted that there was a basic need for housekeeping cabins and lodges at public automobile campgrounds. Motor tourists, during the 1930 season, could find only camping space, firewood, comfort stations, and limited shower and

laundry facilities. He concluded that "the lack of overnight cabins will very adversely affect our automobile travel. . . . It is hoped a modern cabin layout will be available for next season."[8]

In the following year (1931), Glacier National Park received a new superintendent, E. T. Scoyen, an aggressive advocate of increased government control of Park affairs. Scoyen reported a marked loss of travel for the 1931 season in Glacier Park as the effects of the Depression continued to discourage potential tourists from traveling to the public reserve. He noted that a decrease of 13.6 percent of all tourists showed in the final figures. Of this figure, a 12.5 percent drop in auto travel in the Park was outdistance by a 28 percent decline in rail travel to Glacier. Superintendent Scoyen declared that such a development was "rather discouraging to park operators. . . ."[9]

Scoyen noted, however, that some encouraging signs appeared among the bleak trends of 1931. He had particular praise for the aggressive highway policy of the State of Montana which would result "in a large increase in tourist travel through this State. . ." and predicted a direct reflection in travel figures within the Park itself. He concluded that nothing "can be considered more important to the future of the park than the aggressive highway policy of this state."[10]

Campground attendance demonstrated a marked increase of 25.7 percent despite an overall decline in tourist travel within the Park. Two Medicine Campground proved a favorite because of its proximity to a small lake and its facilities. Scoyen also reported that the new campground at Many Glacier, scheduled for completion in 1932, would become one of the most popular in the Park because of its modern conveniences.[11]

Road and trail maintenance and construction continued the same patterns of 1931, with more and more emphasis placed on road upkeep as a means of encouraging tourist use of automobiles. Road oiling, completion of the Ptarmigan Wall Trail and Tunnel, improvement of horse and walking trails, and the final phase of construction for completion of what would become the Going-to-the-Sun Highway began.[12]

Seasonal tourist figures for the 1932 season in Glacier National Park

continued to show an ever growing decrease in public use of the Park. Severe curtailment of some construction as a result of government economy and a general reduction of business created a dismal picture. Though maintenance funds remained at relative parity, some services needed curtailment. Statistically, a total of 53,202 people visited Glacier, a decrease of 16.2 percent over 1931. Again, rail travel took the heaviest toll, posting only 3,268 rail visitors to the Park or a decline of 45.9 percent over 1931. Trail and road construction continued at a somewhat diminished level although the Ptarmigan Wall Parapet reached completion in summer, 1932. Responding to the increasing automobile use of the Park, campgrounds received more and more attention with facilities being improved and additions being made. A new sewer system at Many Glacier was completed in June, 1932, thus making the area more appealing to tourists.[13]

Increased tourist traffic during the 1933 season reversed the upsetting vacationing statistics of the past two depression-oriented years. Almost 77,000 visitors passed through Glacier's gates, a rise of 44 percent over the figures for 1932. Even railway travel, a constant loser in the race for tourist attentions, showed a small increase of two percent over the previous summer season.[14] In great part, the increase in visitors to the area resulted from completion and opening of the Transmountain Going-to-the-Sun Highway. On July 15, 1933, Superintendent Scoyen conducted the ceremonial opening of this engineering marvel, a long-term project that finally reached fruition.[15]

For twenty-two years, since the formation of Glacier National Park in 1910, Park officials had envisioned a major east-west highway. In 1917, the first report of the Director of the National Park Service noted the importance of a connection between the East and West Sides of the Park. Work on the connecting road started in 1919 when John E. Lewis, owner of the Lewis Hotel on Lake McDonald, began cutting three and one-half miles of right-of-way and grading two miles of road. Lewis believed that such action would increase his business at the hotel.[16]

After a series of surveys which attempted to determine the best site for the east-west highway, the National Park Service opted for the route along

the East Side. This route, originally laid out by Lewis, was shorter, required less rock removal, and consequently would be cheaper. On September 12, 1921, bids were opened for the first formal contracts for what would become the Going-to-the-Sun Highway, and that year the roadway was cleared for approxiamtely fourteen miles. In 1923 and 1924, work continued steadily on the new road. Bids were opened each year, and different contractors undertook the task of constructing different sections of highway. In 1923, the National Park Service and the Bureau of Public Roads reached an agreement whereby the Bureau became responsible for the engineering supervision of the construction work. Engineers conferred in Spokane, Washington, codified a procedural approach between the National Park Service and the Bureau, and decided to concentrate funding on the West Side, intending to reach Logan Summit and to preserve the landscape of the area.[17]

By 1925, after additional engineering surveys, the West side of the project opened for bids. A firm from Tacoma, Washington, Williams and Douglas, received the nod to undertake the 12.4 miles of the Garden Wall section of the Highway. Their bid of $869,145 was the lowest offer made for the job, and by June 22, 1925, construction crews arrived. These crews hauled equipment and materials by truck and pack horse. In 1926, the arduous labor continued, including the construction of a tunnel. By 1927, a major achievement marked the work on the Going-to-the-Sun Highway: construction of the West Side portion was completed as far as Logan Pass on the Continental Divide. In one more year over one-half of the east-west highway was complete.[18]

By 1931, clearing of right-of-way between Logan Pass and Sun Point was all that remained of the project and the National Park Service let contracts for the grading of the final link in the highway. This torturous stretch of road required the boring of tunnels as well as the grading of roads and the clearing of right-of-way. A year later, the Director of the National Park Service, Horace M. Albright, headed a party that inspected the entire Going-to-the-Sun Highway. The party began at Lake McDonald, drove to Logan Pass, bussed along the East Side, and lunched at the Going-to-the-Sun Chalets enroute to the Glacier Park Hotel.

As the project neared completion, the Bureau of Public Roads also entered with a work force. As of September, 1932, the cost of the project had already exceeded two million dollars for the section of Belton to St. Mary. From Belton to Going-to-the-Sun the cost factor alone was over $1.6 million.[19]

Success crowned the opening of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway on July 15, 1933. Dignitaries from all over the United States and Canada appeared for the ceremonies. Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana represented President Roosevelt. Governor and Mrs. F. H. Cooney of Montana attended with a crowd of over 4,000 people, including 1,500 CCC workers and about 200 Indians representing the Kootenai, Blackfeet, and Flathead tribes. Luncheons, Indian ceremonials, and speeches marked the celebration, and a plaque memorializing Stephen T. Mather was installed at the top of Logan Pass.[20]

Scoyen received congratulatory telegrams at the dedication of the major connection between St. Mary and Belton. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, three days before the formal ceremony, informed Scoyen of his profound regret at being unable to attend. As he reminisced about horseback trips through Glacier, Ickes declared that he knew well "what a glorious region you are opening for public enjoyment." The Secretary noted that a section of the road still required surfacing and pledged that, as director of Public Works, it would give him ". . .great pleasure, if possible, to authorize the completion of this project, because I would like to feel that I had a hand in building Montana's greatest scenic highway."[21] He continued:

> It is a magnificent job perfectly accomplished. Workmen who risked their lives daily on the faces of the steep cliffs that had to be conquered to make this modern trail deserve special honor for their share in the great undertaking.[22]

In his annual report for 1933, Scoyen wrote that without doubt, "Glacier National Park is becoming one of the most popular vacation resorts in the United States. . . . With the Going-to-the-Sun Highway, as scenic as any in the world, connecting the west and east side of the Park, it is very probable that visitors will continue to increase in numbers."[23]

Within a year following the opening of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway, an increase in travel showed in statistics submitted by Scoyen to the National Park Service. High percentages--well over 80 percent--marked all sorts of travel into the Park, and rail visitors, the major depressed area within the transportation complex, showed a 100 percent rise. Increased use of campgrounds and auto visitors, however, proved mute testimony to the slow rejection by the public of the more expensive hotels and rail services provided by the Great Northern Railway.[24]

Road and trail construction and maintenance continued and remains a constant concern throughout the period. In 1934, the Park Service improved the Going-to-the-Sun Highway, oiled trails, and upgraded the Blackfeet Highway. Generally, approaches to the Park and roads and trails in the Park were kept in top condition for visitors. Additionally, campgrounds received road improvements, water systems were repaired, and sewage disposal systems were augmented.

A major ingredient in the maintenance program of trails and campgrounds at Glacier National Park in 1933 appeared in the form of workers from the Civilian Conservation Corps. Depression-era politics forced incumbent President Herbert Hoover from office in 1932. His replacement, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, entered the nation's highest office determined to lift the country from financial insolvency. One of Roosevelt's plethora of new programs was the CCC, established by Congress in March, 1933.

Eight CCC camps were established in Glacier National Park during late May and early June, 1933.[25] Between 1933 and 1942, 194 workers from these camps seasonally assisted fire crews and campground maintenance employees in the Park. The young workers also helped construct new telephone lines and participated in roadside cleanup and building repair. While not directly tied to the transportation system in Glacier, the CCC workers performed many of the functions normally assigned to regular Park personnel. Consequently, Glacier employees were able to devote greater time to the development of roads and trails in the reserve. Use of the Civilian Conservation Corps workers for campground maintenance evidenced Scoyen's increasing emphasis on automobile use in Glacier National Park. It was

an emphasis that continued throughout the decade as the National Park Service completed roads to and within this national park.

Construction started on the Chief Mountain Kennedy Creek Cut-Off in 1934 and consisted essentially of clearing a right-of-way and preparing the park for construction. Work continued seasonally on the project, which was completed in 1940. Highway 2 south of the Park also received improvements during the latter half of the 1930s decade with a new railroad underpass being erected at Belton through a joint effort of the Bureau of Public Roads, the Great Northern Railway Company, and the Montana Highway Commission.[26] Glacier Superintendent Scoyen reported the completion of the rustic style underpass in 1937.

As auto travel to Glacier National Park continued in the period between 1935 and 1941, Superintendent Scoyen reported problems in administering this new phenomenon. He declared that maintenance personnel encountered difficulties in maintaining park roads and trails because of demands placed on these facilities by visitors. Continual use of CCC workers in trail and campground maintenance helped alleviate the problem, but Scoyen claimed that Park employees were trying constantly to keep ahead of the demands.[28]

The 1937 tourist season presented Glacier's administration with a distorted picture in terms of Park use. While total visitors decreased from 210,072 to 194,522, Superintendent Scoyen enthusiastically reported that a marked increase in first-time auto entry had occurred. He noted that the decrease in overall numbers came in subsequent entry of auto visitors and in rail travel. In part, the decrease in visitation resulted from heavy rains in the early part of the season and to misinformation bandied about on both coasts by tourist agencies.[29]

As the nation creeped out of the economic doldrums, a bustle of transportation-related activity occurred in Glacier National Park. Active use of most facilities manifested itself for the fiscal year 1940. Boat trips continued on Swiftcurrent and Josephine Lakes, although the same activities were discontinued on St. Mary Lake. In recognition of the permanent importance of the automobile to Glacier Park, the National

Park Service placed naturalists in the auto camps to serve as information specialists for the tourists there.[30]

Work continued on the Going-to-the-Sun Highway with an East Side surfacing project of 18.585 miles. Of greater import was the near completion of the Chief Mountain/Kennedy Creek Cut-Off that linked Glacier Park with Waterton Lakes International Peace Park in Canada. During the 1939-1940 fiscal year, most of the Glacier Park section of this major connection with the Canadian counterpart reached completion.[31]

Additional minor road work continued, some of it sponsored by Public Roads Administration monies, but the bulk of this work fell under the auspices of the National Park Engineering Division. Work on U.S. 2 and Going-to-the-Sun Highway progressed, and the resurfacing on U.S. 2 made it comparable to most other roads in Montana. Trail maintenance activities also continued to accommodate the growing number of tourists who utilized the Park.[32]

While road construction in the 1941 travel season reflected the high increase in auto tourists in the Park, war loomed ahead for the United States. Limitations imposed by war--rationing of fuel and food and other necessities--severely limited the use by the public of Glacier National Park. Road building activities came to a halt though maintenance crews worked diligently to keep the roads in decent condition during the duration of the war. Concessions literally closed down, and only minimal services were available to tourists, as personnel shortages also interfered with the full operation of the Glacier National Park.[33]

Economic depression and a concomitant decline in tourist visitation to Glacier Park characterized the early 1930s. By 1935, a national recovery had begun and vacationing travelers returned to the northern national park. When tourists did arrive at Glacier in the later years of the decade, they did so in automobiles. A steady decline in railway traffic, carried by the Great Northern Railway Company, began in the 1930s and did not recover with the national economy.

National Park Service officials recognized this changing pattern of travel to Glacier National Park. Their increased emphasis on road and

trail construction within the Park during the years of depression emphasized the acceptance of this "new tourist." Beginning in 1930, Glacier Park administrative leaders attempted to convince the Great Northern Railway Company of the need to provide low cost services to the auto visitor in the Park.[34] The Park Service's purchase of the John Lewis Lake McDonald Hotel in 1930 was but one effort towards aligning the government at Glacier with one major concessionaire (see Chapter 2). Superintendent Eakin and his successor, E. T. Scoyen, tried other ploys to force that single concessionaire to offer more auto services at its facilities in Glacier Park.

Glacier Superintendent Eakin, National Park Service Director Horace Albright, and Eakin's successor, E. T. Scoyen, continued pressuring the Glacier Park Hotel Company for construction of more moderately priced facilities to accommodate the auto traveler. Albright argued that the Hotel Company should begin building auto camps, principally around Apgar on the West Side. Following the sale of the Lewis property in 1930, Great Northern Vice-President W. P. Kenney was informed that the Park Service Director was concerned about the growing number of auto camps outside of the Park boundaries.

> He feels that the Hotel Company should get under way with its auto camps before so many camps are opened up outside the Park area. At Lake McDonald he favors a camp at or near Apgar at the foot of the lake, stating all successful camps are located on lakes and large streams. On the East side he favors Roes Creek and Many Glacier.[35]

Kenney learned that throughout the "entire trip through the Park the conversation usually delt (*sic*) with auto and housekeeping cabins and locations."[36]

Great Northern executive W. P. Kenney was less than enthusiastic about the Park Service director's plans for extensive auto camps. Specifically, Kenney failed to see how the Park Service could expect the Great Northern Company to invest in "popular priced" lodgings, housekeeping cabins and delicatessens.[37] As Kenney noted barely two years later (1932), the Depression had affected the Company to such an extent that it was

questionable whether Glacier Park was "wiped out as a scenic resort."[38] Kenney's qualms regarding Glacier may have been exaggerated, but the Great Northern's investment in rail transportation *to* the Park and its commitment to large accommodations *in* the Park were not trifling. After considering whether to switch the hotels from the American Rate Plan to the less expensive European Plan, Glacier Park Hotel Company manager A. J. Binder decided to stay with the former schedule. His rail-passenger guest at the East Glacier Hotel favored it.

> The train traveler, I might say, 8 out of 10, favored the American plan. The demand of the auto tourist is such that it is next to impossible to furnish satisfactory accommodations in the hotels. . . . Invariably the auto tourist complained as to the rate.[39]

The Great Northern Railway Company, in the throes of economic depression and harrassed by the National Park Service to convert from rail to auto services, seriously considered abandoning its accommodations and facilities in Glacier National Park.[40]

The railway company did not abandon its Glacier holdings during the 1930s, and the National Park Service did not relent in its efforts to provide lower cost services to the auto tourist. Federal expenditures on Montana roads during the thirties encouraged Park officials to develop and maintain the Park's road and trail network. The GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE reported in 1930 that federal highway construction was "nearly double that of either 1928 or 1927."[41] Six hundred and fifteen miles of road had been completed in 1929. This same newspaper reported six years later than an additional 1,156 miles of road reached completion in the three years between 1933 and 1936.[42] Much of this highway construction was accomplished under the auspices of Depression-era federal works projects. With such a national commitment to public roads, it is little wonder that most Montanans viewed this expansion with noted public spirit.

Many local supporters of Glacier National Park hoped the National Park Service would strengthen its commitment to automobile tourism. By attacking the Great Northern Company accommodations as luxuries for the

privileged, they sought to convince Glacier's administration that increased visitation depended upon auto camps and public campgrounds. W. C. Whipps, a writer for the KALISPELL TIMES, urged 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" which he may occupy with his family or party, safe from the bears and other wild animals. There should also be constructed at each camp a building for a restaurant or cafeteria where meals may be obtained at a reasonable price.[43]

Glacier Park administrators responded to the demands of local residents by continuing their efforts to improve campground facilities in the reserve. Two Medicine Campground on the East Side opened during the 1931 season and Many Glacier Auto Campground reached completion a year later. In addition, throughout the 1930s, Sprague and Avalanche Creek facilities underwent renovation and enlargement. Laundry and shower conveniences were available at both sites.[44] Completion of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway in 1933 and increased automobile traffic in the Park after 1935 severely taxed the public camping facilities of the Park. With the help of CCC workers, the Park Service successfully operated and improved the five major campgrounds in Glacier (Sprague, Avalanche, Roes Creeks, Many Glacier and Two Medicine).

Public campgrounds in Glacier National Park were certainly an aid to the vacationing motorist. Nevertheless, some automobile travelers did not want to experience even this degree of wilderness but opted for the more familiar comforts of a housekeeping cabin. The Park's largest concessionaire, the Glacier Park Hotel Company, was reluctant to offer this service as it detracted from its rail passenger-oriented program. Throughout the 1930s the National Park Service repeatedly tried to convince the Hotel Company to construct more moderately priced cabins in the Park. Park officials reminded the Company that its concession contract required it to establish those facilities that the Park Service deemed necessary.

The Glacier Park Hotel Company finally bowed to this federal pressure

in 1931 when its officers announced the construction of the Swiftcurrent Auto Camp. The facility, located one mile from the Many Glacier Hotel, consisted of eight cabins located in a circle. The Hotel Company considered the Auto Camp an experiment in serving the automobile public. It was one that began on a rocky road as the economic depression years of 1931 and 1932 reduced tourism in the Park. Believing that Glacier's concessionaires were in dire financial trouble, the Park Service relented in its attempts to urge the Hotel Company to cater to this new vacationer.[45]

Completion of Glacier National Park's first master plan for development in 1933 and the dedication of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway the same summer indicated the resurgence of new Park Service efforts to serve the motoring public.[46] After repeated urging from Glacier officials, the Hotel Company agreed to expand the Swiftcurrent Auto Camp by eighteen miles in 1933. Ironically, all but twelve of the cabins were destroyed in the devastating Heaven's Peak-Many Glacier Fire of 1936.[47] Superintendent Scoyen's pleas for more auto tourist-directed facilities continued despite the legacy of the 1936 fire. Scoyen especially wanted the Glacier Park Hotel Company improvements to coincide with the Park's master plan for development, which included cabin facilities on both sides of Glacier National Park. When F. J. Gavin replaced W. P. Kenney as President of the Great Northern Railway Company in 1939, it appeared that the Hotel Company would finally acquiesce to the Park Service's demands.[48] In that year, President Gavin announced that the Company would build two new auto camps, one at Roes Creek and one at Apgar. Although the substantial number of private landholdings at Apgar prevented the Hotel Company from constructing a camp on that site, the Roes Creek development (Rising Sun Campground) reached completion in 1940. As one historian of Glacier contends, this facility, termed the East Glacier Auto Cabins, ". . .was the first multiple-use unit in Glacier to cater exclusively to motor vacationers."[49]

By 1940, the Glacier Park Hotel Company and its parent company, the Great Northern Railway, reluctantly agreed to offer lower priced facilities to the motoring visitor to Glacier. The railroad company's commitment to further

development in the Park, however, was not nearly as strong as it had been during Louis Hill's tenure on the Board of Directors during the 1920s. This change was due in large measure to the increasing strength and direction of the National Park Service. The onset of World War II in December, 1941, finally offered the Great Northern Company a reprieve from further Park Service demands. A massive involvement of labor and capital into the war effort forced the closure of the Great Northern's Glacier facilities between the seasons of 1943 and 1945.

War and a previous decade of economic depression affected the operations of other concessionaires in Glacier National Park. One of those businesses most seriously influenced by ten years of hardship was the Noffsinger Park Horse Saddle Company. Economic strangulation beginning in 1929 made itself felt upon the Park Saddle Horse Company, and its president, George W. Noffsinger, attempted to manufacture various devices to attract visitors to the area. One such idea that Noffsinger began in 1937 was to use the Cut Bank Chalets as a dude ranch operation since motor travel to them had fallen off drastically and these facilities came almost exclusively under use by horse parties. Hotel Company officials hoped that if the experiment succeeded, Noffsinger could be convinced to run the chalets himself. Results of the experiment failed to reach the spectacular. In 1938, the dude ranch operation did not appear.[50]

In 1939, the Noffsingers pushed for the organization of a group called Trail Riders of the Mountains and formed a chapter at Glacier. Advisory Council members included past and present high officials of the National Park Service and of the Great Northern Railroad. In a letter to Arno Cammerer, National Park Service Director, Mrs. Noffsinger stated that she and her husband ". . .would really like to see the Trail Riders of the Mountains 'under the auspices of the National Park Service'. . .and would be glad to relinquish any personal activity to further the development of the Trail Riders as an organization."[51]

In a communique to Trail Riders members, Mrs. Noffsinger praised the two rides in 1938 and informed members of resolutions passed by the Glacier

Chapter. Principal among these was a request that no "boulevard trails" be built heading toward Waterton Lakes, that trail systems be expanded and maintained, and that other such chapters be organized in other national parks. Official opinion generally supported the Trail Riders' position.[52]

War exacerbated the problems at Glacier National Park brought on by the Depression of the 1930s. Radical reductions in visitors to the Park caused a cessation of Park operations. In 1943, George Noffsinger, horse contractor, applied for termination of his contract. His saddle horse parties had become nothing more than get-togethers for loyal local residents, his financial affairs were entangled, and Noffsinger needed out of the commitment. Action was deferred until 1945, and in the intervening period Noffsinger disposed of most of his equipment and horses.[53]

Another mode of transportation concession underwent the highs and lows of economic dislocation and subsequent wartime restrains. The Glacier Park Transportation Company provided bus service from railway stops for Glacier visitors. Improved roads allowed visitors to see the Park from buses. In 1936, Glacier Park Transport Company President Howard Hays spent $120,000 for eighteen new buses for travel over the Going-to-the-Sun Highway.[54]

As with the horse operation, the transport company also encountered difficulties when wartime exigencies forced a curtailment of activities. Well developed roads and trails could no longer be used by the company because of fuel rationing. Though only a temporary break occurred, the Office of Defense Transportation ordered all transportation concessions in the national parks to cease their activities. In 1943, bus services terminated in Glacier Park for the remainder of the war.[55]

The approaching world conflict in 1940 portended more than just the temporary closing of accommodations and transportation concessions. Involvement of the United States in its second world war and a consequential reduction in tourism at Glacier National Park offered the National Park Service an opportunity to reconsider its goals and values for the public reserve. Glacier's first superintendents, Louis Hill and subsequent Great Northern Railway executives, and directors of the National Park Service

advertised the wilderness aspects of the Montana park. For these policy-makers and -developers, Glacier Park was essentially a "horse and trail" park, one in which visitors could experience some of the nation's remnants of pristine high country wilderness. Thirty years of road, trail and hotel construction, however, challenged this image of the Park. Increased accommodation to the automobile during the 1930s suggested an eventual conflict between different types of vacationers to Glacier.

Superintendent Charles Kraebel addressed the problem of servicing disparate users of the Park as early as 1924. In a letter to a Minnesota publishing firm director, Kraebel outlined his view of Park development.

> The National Park Service realizes that the chief charm of our park is this very state of wildness and is unequivocally committed to the preservation of that atmosphere. When the Transmountain Road, that known as the Logan Pass road, was planned through Glacier Park, even this road came in for its share of criticism from extreme conservationists, but as you can readily appreciate, some concession must be made to the hosts of people of advancing years or possessed of physical infirmities, who are unable to take advantage of the foot trails and saddle horse trails, to reach otherwise inaccessible places.[56]

Kraebel emphasized that, after completion of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway, he anticipated that "no further road construction [would] be carried on in Glacier Park."[57] Notwithstanding this apparently clear and decisive policy to proscribe road building in Glacier, the changing character of tourists to the Park during the 1930s and the availability of the public works programs and employees pressured the National Park Service to continue its road construction program.

In 1928, the San Francisco branch planning office of the National Park Service prepared a set of colored "wilderness area maps" for Glacier Park. These maps displayed areas potentially accessible to automobiles and delineated those areas that would remain in a wilderness state. Glacier Superintendent J. Ross Eakin considered the maps, originally developed at Yosemite National Park, a "splendid" tool for the local planners at Glacier, and he asked the regional planners to suggest a guideline for

establishing areas that would be accessible to auto traffic.[58] Four years later, Eakin's replacement as supervisor in Glacier, E. T. Scoyen, expressed surprise at the apparent support for a clear, if limited, plan for road construction in the Park. At a meeting of the Montana Division of the Roosevelt Highway Association in 1932, Scoyen delivered an address on "The National Parks, Tourist Traffic, and Highways."

> After outlining the eventual highway development of the park including the Transmountain, Kennedy Creek Cut-off, Akamina Pass-North Fork, and perhaps one or two spur roads into some west side lakes, I called attention to the fact that the greatest charm of Glacier would always be in the restful silence of its more inaccessible areas and I hoped that the park would never be destroyed by an unreasonable highway development. The spontaneous burst of applause which greeted this statement indicated very clearly that even this body of enthusiastic highway boosters were thoroughly in accord with this idea, which to tell the truth, was somewhat of a surprise to me.[59]

As construction of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway and the Kennedy Creek-Chief Mountain Cut-Off proceeded, it was obvious to National Park Service officials that conflicts over road construction loomed in the future.

Stronger and stronger statements of limiting road construction in Glacier appeared from Park Service officials. Regional Landscape Architect Ernest A. Davidson, in a strongly worded memorandum to his superiors, categorically stated that "Glacier is a wilderness park." He added that, "It should be the aim and ambition of everyone interested in the preservation of Glacier (or any wilderness park) to prevent construction of any road, trail, or manway which is not an absolute necessity."[60] National Park Service Director Arno Cammerer assumed a slightly different posture when he urged completion of the Kennedy Creek Cut-Off road.

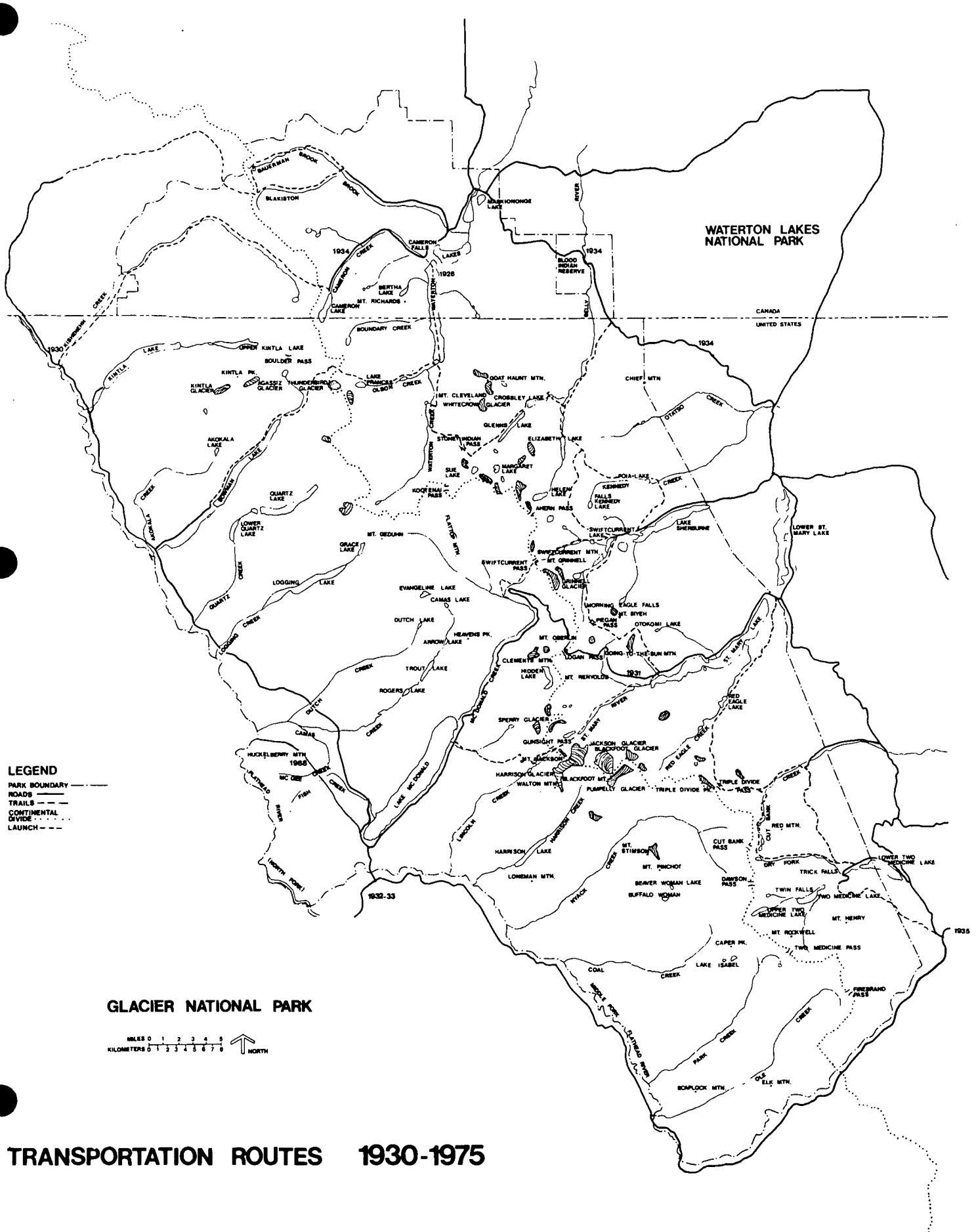
> In our park development road plans we have to balance carefully the views of those who would prefer no roads within the park boundaries at all and the wishes of the vast majority who insist that they are entitled to the opportunity of seeing some of the hidden beauties of the parks by having at least some small part of them readily accessible by motor car.[61]

Increased tourist demands for improved public campgrounds and auto facilities in the late 1930s and 1940s often tipped the delicate balance that Cammerer described in favor of the motoring public.

America's entrance into the Second World War in 1941 forced a drastic curtailment of activity in Glacier National Park during the subsequent 1942 tourist season. By 1943, the country's commitment to the war effort was total, causing a cessation of virtually all tourist-related business in Glacier.[62] During the next two seasons, the situation in the Montana park remained the same--practically no tourist traffic and no concession operations. The absence of significant development in the Park during the war years offered both the National Park Service and the Great Northern Railway Company (Glacier Park Hotel Company) a chance to reassess their respective roles in the federal reserve.[63] The products of that reassessment indicated that the post-War years in Glacier would follow the path blazed during the Depression--a path that catered to auto tourism and one that would utlimately exclude the Great Northern Railway Company from the Park.

Major changes occurred in Glacier National Park during the decades encompassing the Great Depression and the years of World War II. Going from a congenial relationship between the Great Northern Railway and the National Park Service in the 1920s, the advent of the mass-produced automobile in the 1920s presaged the end of the cozy relations between government and private enterprise. By the mid-1930s a congenial adversary relationship existed. National Park Service personnel, responsive to the demands for increased facilities to accommodate the automobile-traveling tourist, pressured the various subsidiaries of the Great Northern to make provisions for these changes. At the same time the Park Service, through the Public Roads Administration, rapidly increased the number of automobile roads available to the traveling public and thus spelled the end of the glittering formal era of the plush hotels at Glacier Park. The Depression ultimately aided Glacier in changing its character, for the federal provision of employment through the CCC and other such agencies gave necessary labor to the development of the Park.

While auto facilities slowly increased at Glacier, it became apparent that the Park administration continued to retain the idea that Glacier was essentially a wilderness park. In many ways this major philosophical consideration was observed more in the breach than in the practice, for the expansion of roads did, in fact, alter the ways in which the Park was utilized.



TRANSPORTATION ROUTES 1930-1975

Notes

1. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Program of Advanced Planning of Federal Construction, June 15, 1932, Glacier Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (hereafter cited as GPA), File: "Correspondence Re. Master Plans, May, 1932 - December, 1953," D-18.

2. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, A. E. Demaray, Senior Assistant Director, to Superintendent, Glacier National Park, December 27, 1932, GPA, File: "Correspondence Re. Master Plan, May, 1932 - December, 1953," D-18.

3. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, E. T. Scoyen, Superintendent, Glacier National Park, to Director, National Park Service, February 12, 1934, GPA, File: "Correspondence Re. Master Plan, May, 1932 - December, 1953," D-18.

4. See "Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Glacier National Park" (hereafter cited as "Superintendent's Annual Report") for 1930, pp. 1-2, for travel figures for 1930. Roes Creek Campground is now called Rising Sun Campground.

5. IBID., pp. 2-3.

6. IBID., p. 4.

7. IBID., pp. 5-6.

8. IBID., p. 13.

9. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1931, p. 1.

10. IBID., p. 1.

11. IBID., p. 2.

12. IBID., *passim.*

13. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1932, *passim.*

14. For a list of comparative visitor figures for 1932 and 1933, see "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1933, p. 3.

15. IBID., p. 4.

16. "Going to the Sun Highway in Glacier National Park: History and Progress," Typescript in Glacier National Park Files, East Glacier, Montana, hereafter cited as "History and Progress."

17. IBID., p. 2.

18. IBID., p. 3.

19. IBID., p. 6.

20. "Going to the Sun Highway Dedication, July 15, 1933" and "Report of the Unveiling of the Stephen T. Mather Memorial in Glacier National Park," GPA, File: "Going to the Sun Highway Dedication, 1933."

21. Letter, Harold L. Ickes to E. T. Scoyen, July 12, 1933, as cited in "Going to the Sun Highway Dedication," GPA, File: "Going to the Sun Highway Dedication, 1933."

22. IBID.

23. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1932, p. 4.

24. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1934, *passim*.

25. Camps were situated at McDonald Creek, Apgar, Fish Creek, Many Glacier, Sherburne Lake, Two Medicine Lake, Anaconda Creek, and Park Headquarters. For a description of the work done by each contingent, see Report, Charles E. Randall to Director of the National Park Service, August 11, 1933, in "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1933.

26. These three partners met in 1935 to discuss the construction of this underpass. Funds for the project were provided by the federal government under work relief programs, while minor road construction and maintenance fell within the purview of Glacier Park personnel. See "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1935, pp. 9-10.

27. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1937, p. 2.

28. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1936, pp. 11-13.

29. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1938, p. 1.

30. Naturalists were located at Many Glacier Hotel and auto camp, Going to the Sun Chalets, Two Medicine Chalets and auto camp, and Logan Pass. Naturalists also accompanied the boat launches on Swiftcurrent and Josephine, McDonald, and St. Mary Lakes. See "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1940, p. 4.

31. IBID., p. 6.

32. IBID., *passim*.

33. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1942, 1943, 1944, *passim*.

34. A detailed study of the administration's attempts to bring the Great Northern in line with this changing policy is available in Michael J. Ober's Master's Thesis, "Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concessioner Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961" (University of Montana, 1973). See especially Chapters III and IV.

35. Letter, A. J. Binder to W. P. Kenney, September 18, 1930, Great Northern Railway Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota (hereafter cited as GNR Coll.), Box 384, File 11894.

36. IBID.

37. For example, see Letter, W. P. Kenney to A. J. Binder, March 21, 1930, GNR Coll., Box 384, File 11894.

38. Letter, W. P. Kenney to H. H. Brown, November 15, 1932, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 1.

39. Then, as now, the American Plan offered a more elaborate service and meal fare. Letter, A. J. Binder to W. P. Kenney, October 31, 1932, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 1.

40. For example, see Letter, W. P. Kenney to F. G. Dorety, September 10, 1934, GNR Coll., Box 384, File 11894. The Glacier Park Hotel Company closed the St. Mary and Cut Bank Chalets in 1932.

41. GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, February 25, 1930.

42. GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, July 9, 1936.

43. C. W. Whipps, "The Great Northern Wild Animal Preserve," THE KALISPELL TIMES, October 6, 1932.

44. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1932, p. 11.

45. For a good discussion of the National Park Service's attempts to direct the course of development in Glacier, see Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," Chapters III and IV.

46. The master plan was somewhat visionary with its emphasis on an extensive road system in Glacier National Park.

47. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," *passim*.

48. IBID., p. 119.

49. IBID., p. 124. For a detailed discussion of the failure of the Apgar complex, see IBID., pp. 129-32.

50. IBID., pp. 117-19.

51. Letter, Mrs. Edwina Noffsinger to Arno Cammerer, February 24, 1939, Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Archives, Record Group 79 (hereafter cited as NA, RG 79), CC File 1907-1939.

52. Letters, Edwina Noffsinger to Trail Riders of the Mountains, February 1, 1939, and Arno Cammerer to Edwina Noffsinger, June 29, 1939, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, NA, RG 79, CC File 1907-1939.

53. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," pp. 138-39; (Kalispell) DAILY INTER LAKE, November 10, 1945.

54. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 110; GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, May 6, 1936.

55. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," pp. 138-40.

56. Letter, Charles J. Kraebel to Horace M. Klein, August 27, 1924, GNR Coll., File 4325, Folder 3.

57. IBID.

58. See Letters, J. Ross Eakin to F. A. Kittredge, December 17, 1927; F. A. Kittredge to J. Ross Eakin, January 9, 1928, GPA, File: "GNP Roads, General, 1912-1929."

59. Letter, E. T. Scoyen to Director of the National Park Service, February 8, 1932, Records of the National Park Service, NA, RG 79, File 630, Part 1.

60. Memorandum, Ernest A. Davidson to W. G. Carnes, December 18, 1935, Records of the National Park Service, NA, RG 79, Central Correspondence Files, 1907-1939, File 640, Part 1.

61. Letter, Arno B. Cammerer to P. D. McMillan, January 8, 1935, Records of the National Park Service, NA, RG 79, Central Correspondence Files, 1907-1939, File 630, Part 2.

62. Only the East Glacier Auto Camp remained open during the 1943 season.

63. Lack of activity in the Park during the War allowed the Glacier Park Hotel Company the opportunity to remove the chalets at non-productive St. Mary Lake in 1944. Plans also were formulated to raze the Cut Bank and Going-to-the-Sun Chalets.

CHAPTER V

THE CONTINUING PARADOX:

GLACIER PARK, INCREASED USE, AND PRESERVATION OF RESOURCES, 1946-1977

Termination of war in Europe and subsequent cessation of hostilities in the Pacific in late summer 1945 presaged an end to the economic stringencies of the previous four years. As a consequence, increasing numbers of visitors entered the national parks, intent upon enjoying a part of the national patrimony that rationing and war-time demands had denied them. For the National Park Service, the end of regulation allowed officials to administer the national parks for the vacationing public, instead of using the parks as centers for military groups seeking rest and recreation or training camps for winter survival. In the case of Glacier National Park, an additional factor presented itself: the almost total reliance of the visitor on the automobile for transportation. For the next three decades, the automobile would supplant the train and other forms of transportation in Glacier National Park.

Parelleling the increase in automobile traffic, other major trends emerged in the development and operation of Glacier National Park. Principal among these was the gradual withdrawal of the Great Northern Railway Company from its Park operations, and the substitution of that firm's concession operations by individuals not tied to the traditional relationship between the National Park Service and the Great Northern. Another dominant feature of Park development in the post-war period was the struggle between the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the National Park Service over the creation of hydroelectric facilities in the Park. Following a trend set during the 1930s, the Engineer Corps threatened to construct dams in the Flathead River Valley and to flood thousands of acres of the national preserve. The struggle involved inter-agency disputes as well as support and opposition for the idea from the private sector.

The legacy of continuation and acceleration of the automobile trend in park visitation, which dated from the 1930s, provided Park personnel with an adequate road system within Glacier National Park. They encountered difficulties, however, in the demands for greater improvements in auto camp facilities and greater interpretive requirements, which would allow auto visitors to utilize Park facilities without dependence upon the major concessionaires. As public pressure on Glacier administrators and the National Park Service increased during the 1950s, there continued the paradox between preservation of the natural grandeur of Glacier and fulfillment of motorists' demands for improved facilities, roads, and public camping areas.

In this vein, national parks, according to one Glacier authority, have always been controversial in terms of their function and definition. Environmental concerns, increasingly vocalized during the 1960s and 1970s, conflicted directly with tourist demands for greater road accessibility to the Park.[1]

> The national park idea is one of the more idealistic concepts in American history; the National Park Service has been charged with fulfilling that ideal in Glacier National Park. Determining how visitors can see, enjoy, and experience the mountain environment of Glacier while not destroying it is clearly a National Park Service responsibility. With idealistic Park Service leadership and a less demanding public attitude, the impact of man upon the natural beauty of Glacier Park may be actively reduced for the benefit of future generations. . . .[2]

The paradox of use versus preservation manifested itself in the Park. Into the hands of the National and local Park Service administrators was thrust the major and contradictory goals of use and preservation.

Clearly, the demands for park facilities continued to increase. In part, the greater mobility of the American people destroyed traditional relationships between the private and public sectors within Glacier National Park, while at the same time pressing rigorously on administrators to make more areas available for convenient enjoyment. To a degree, the National Park Service's active promotion of the Park as a tourist paradise

created this public demand: a condition bound inextricably in the internecine bureaucratic struggle for larger, more abundant budgets. Moreover, increased use of Glacier Park stemmed from a sincere belief that the Park constituted a major part of the national birthright and should be enjoyed by all citizens. Administrators of the Park became the principal spokesmen for Park promotion. "We could also select almost any park superintendent as an example of a park guardian," writes historian Curt Buchholtz. He continues:

> Superintendents were directed by law to protect the natural features of Glacier. At the same time they were expected to cater to the visitors who entered the park and to insure that visitors' "use" and "enjoyment" was possible. . . . Park officials were also promoters.[3]

Park personnel served as buffers between the public and the private sector and thus became bureaucratic diplomats walking precarious lines between their different constituencies. "With almost any official," concludes Buchholtz, "we could select, then, the roles of bureaucrat, developer, promoter, statesman, as well as preservationist were used in his actions toward Glacier Park."[4]

The multi-faceted role of the Park administrator was evident as visitation rose dramatically following the cessation of hostilities in Europe and the Pacific. Glacier National Park officials were pressed on all sides to provide the facilities necessary for the new forms of visitation. As a result the road system, maintained only minimally during World War II, received increased attention. Monies were allocated for maintenance and repair of existing roads and trails as the demand for improvement continued to work on the Park officials.[5] Immediately after the war it became apparent that visitors were in such a hurry to see the Park that they complained incessantly if conditions failed to satisfy them. Everything drew visitor ire: no fish, bears, mosquitoes, late lectures. Furthermore, a decrease in Park personnel hampered management and added to the public feeling of discontent.[6]

Cars continued to flood into the Park, cars bearing campers and not hotel residents. Campground facilities proved so inadequate throughout

1947, for example, that campers overflowed outside the camping areas and damaged surrounding vegetation. These were campers in a rush. Glacier Park officials recommended that an information center be established at Going-to-the-Sun Point in order to encourage visitors to slow down their hasty visit from one entrance to the Park to the other and thus enjoy the scenery.[7]

As the decade of the 1940s waned, there emerged explicit heavy emphasis on automobile travel through Glacier National Park with subsequent losses to the major concessionaire--the Glacier Park Hotel Company. Decreasing numbers of visitors came to the Park by rail. In 1949, Northwest Airlines initiated flights to Flathead County Airport in Kalispell, providing a new form of transportation to the Glacier area, and an additional challenge to the Great Northern Railway Company subsidiary.[8]

Highway maintenance constituted a major factor in the program to make visitation to Glacier a pleasure. Throughout the period from 1946 to 1977, road reconstruction, road clean-up, and road improvement loomed large in the Park's annual budgets. Superintendent's Reports for the period indicate the constant struggle to maintain the usable roads aimed at making the motor visitor to Glacier happy he came there.[9] Approaches to Glacier also received attention. In one nationally publicized campaign, members of the Bad Rock Grange, located on the outskirts of Columbia Falls, Montana, collected four truckloads of trash between Glacier and Kalispell in a four-mile stretch of road. Publicity gained from this endeavor brought additional road maintenance monies to Glacier National Park in 1950 and allowed more dollars to be spent on roads to and within the Park.[10] To give further credence to the idea that the automobile had become the mainstay of visitors to Glacier, in 1950 resurfacing of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway began with the proviso that visitors should experience no more than 15-minute road construction delays.[11]

Changes in visitor use of Glacier required that Park workers--both National Park Service and those employed by concessionaires--aim their major activities toward the auto visitor. In 1946, Park personnel initiated an employee training program, which included sessions with ranger/

naturalists. Additionally, in July, saddle company, transport company, and hotel employees all participated in naturalist lectures to make them more knowledgeable when approached by visitors. In 1947, it was projected to open Going-to-the-Sun Highway a few days early to accommodate training sessions before the roadway opened to the public.[12]

Park facilities within the first year of opening after World War II bulged with visitors. There existed such a demand for rooms at the hotels that five-day limits were imposed in order to accommodate the waiting visitor. Consequently, tourists were forced to go elsewhere to complete their vacations. Augmented revenue for the hotels and the transport company marked the year. Yet, ominously, there lurked an increasing demand by the public for cabin camps rather than the more posh, formal hotel accommodations.[13]

By 1950, an economic survey undertaken by the University of Montana on the value of Glacier to the Montana economy estimated that the average automobile party coming to the Park constituted 3.1 persons, 40 percent of whom came from the North Central states. Most of these vacationers stated that they came to Montana principally to see Glacier National Park and some of the visitors were "repeaters."[14]

By the early 1950s, two major realities faced the administrators of Glacier National Park. In a Master Plan Outline, Park Superintendent John W. Emmert declared that:

> We can best serve the interests of the nation by continuing to preserve the fragile wilderness character of Glacier. Existing highways, properly maintained and improved, should adequately serve the casual visitor while the thousand miles of trail open the super wilderness to all who have need for it and the inner urge to leave the travelled roads.[15]

Emmert further noted that major changes had occurred in the use of the Park. Tourists demanded cabin-type accommodations instead of hotels and pack and saddle horse concessions had declined. By the early 1950s, a new phenomenon, the travel trailer, appeared in Glacier, offering a custom, movable accommodation. Paucity of overnight facilities presented a weighty problem for Glacier, for this required the construction of cabins

and/or motels and more campgrounds with hook-ups for trailers.[16]

The following year, Park officials added to the Master Plan Outline through a detailing of the projected interpretive services needed to serve the increasing number of visitors. Generally, it was noted, rail travel involved only one percent of all visitors, while 98 percent of these vacationers came by car. Consequently, there existed a sustained and growing need for the development of more roadside exhibits, lectures, and slide shows. Superintendent Emmert opined that "due to lack of overnight accommodations, it is estimated that about half the total number of park visitors limit their activities to an auto tour of the park." This type of tour usually involved short hikes, a picnic, some fishing, and maybe a short boat tour.[17]

Additionally, a constant reference persisted in the development plan for centralized visitor information. Until 1953 senior naturalists handled information at each visitation center. The Master Plan outline recommended the building of a museum that would contain park offices, library, and work shops in addition to the traditional museum.[18] From 1953 until 1977, various Park superintendents emphasized the need for increased and improved interpretive activities. Visitor appeal was the hallmark of Park development.[19]

While Park officials made pronouncements and maneuvered for funding to promote road construction, interagency conflict sharply focused on the proposal by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to build a dam at Glacier View on the North Fork of the Flathead River. In 1943, the Corps announced its intention to build the proposed dam that threatened to flood approximately 20,000 acres of Glacier National Park and some North Fork meadowlands. Such a proposal ignored the potential damage that threatened Glacier.[20]

Corps of Engineers' moves in the North Fork did not arise without precedent. As early as 1912, pressures for exclusion of some of the North Fork land from Glacier National Park for private use kept Superintendent William Logan and his successors busily warding off the developers' clamor. At the same time, sentiment aimed at retaining as much land as

possible within the boundaries of Glacier served as an effective counterpoint to demands for increased development in the area.

> . . .The period from 1910 to 1931, therefore, marked the end of liberal right-of-way grants and the beginning of a park policy ultimately aimed at acquiring all private land within the boundaries of Glacier National Park.[21]

With the onset of World War II, the United States faced a critical shortage of electrical energy. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers became the principal spokesman for the development of energy for defense purposes. Public hearings were held in Kalispell in June, 1943, to present plans for increasing the amount of water available for electrical energy production by three million acre feet. One potential site threatened to flood Kalispell, Montana, and vigorous opposition emerged to the proposal to raise the level of Flathead Lake. Opponents to the idea stated that North Fork sites could be of greater use to the Corps than the elevation of Flathead Lake.[22]

Park officials at first responded cautiously. They attempted to look at the proposal for Glacier View with a certain amount of balance, seeking to weigh the advantages and disadvantages for Glacier National Park, should a dam be built on the North Fork of the Flathead River. War-time exigencies contributed to the National Park Service's ambivalence on the matter.[23] Termination of hostilities in 1945, however, allowed Park Service officials to assume a stronger posture regarding the incursions of the Corps of Engineers in National Park lands. By 1947, it became abundantly clear that contradictory acts of Congress made resistance to the Corps difficult if not impossible. Internal conflict within the Interior Department--namely the Bureau of Reclamation and the Park Service--further complicated the problem.[24]

During the late 1940s, Park Service Director Newton Drury began a concerted campaign to elicit public support for his agency's opposition to the Glacier View Dam proposal. Open public debate on the issue, coming on the heels of considerable inter- and intra-agency discussion and disputation, opened in Kalispell in May, 1948. At that meeting, and at

a later one held in Spokane, Washington, opponents to the Glacier View project voiced various arguments. Juridical as well as more philosophical postures emerged from the hearings. Behind the scenes, Director Drury maneuvered for advantage in an attempt to get Secretary of the Interior Julius Krug to approach the War Department directly.[25]

Finally, in April, 1949, Secretary of the Interior Krug reached an agreement with the Chief of Engineers to eliminate Glacier View Dam from the proposed list of Corps projects submitted to Congress. Such an agreement "came as a welcome vistory for the National Park Service as it girded itself for a confrontation with the Bureau of Reclamation over plans to construct a dam in Dinosour National Monument."[26] The agreement to drop the North Fork project, however, was only tentative. In Montana, proponents of Glacier View Dam obtained the support of Congressman Mike Mansfield and continued their campaign for the hydroelectric facility. Mansfield rationalized his support of the project, stating that the Glacier View area was separated from the Park by the Continental Divide and had very poor roads leading to it.[27]

During the early 1950s, support for Glacier View Dam inside and out of Montana continued to mount. Proponents of the dam thought that if the Engineers would not act, then the Bureau of Reclamation should take over the project. National Park Service responses to the new attempts to build the dam proved subtle. Indirect approaches including tours by influential individuals comprised a package designed to cultivate opposition to the Glacier View project. Additionally, tourist surveys demonstrated the value of Glacier Park to the Montana economy. The marked increase in tourism revenue in 1951 illustrated the importance of Glacier National Park to Montana. Throughout the early 1950s, the opponents of the dam argued that the people in the area of Glacier National Park could not have dam construction and increased tourist trade at the same time.[28]

To the National Park Service, however, the subtle tactics of the lobbyists proved wearisome and defensive. In 1951, Director Drury's successor, Arthur E. Demaray, took the offensive by reviving the 1920s plan to build a road encircling Glacier National Park. The planned

highway would leave Apgar and connect with the Forest Service's North Fork Valley Road, west of the Park. The roadway would extend up the Valley, bridge the North Fork of the Flathead River near the international boundary and cross Akamina Pass, linking Waterton Lakes townsite in Canada with its southwestern neighbors. This aggressive attitude on the part of the National Park Service clearly reflected a continuing concern for a dam on the northern branch of the Flathead River. Park Service officials viewed the prospective road as their best defense against the Glacier View Dam proposal and argued that such a road would allow greater access to the western reaches of the Park.

A plan for the "Circle Eight Road" was but one factor contributing to the federal government's decision to abandon the Glacier View Dam project. While budgetary and enviromental considerations prevented completion of a road over Akamina Pass, the National Park Service was able to construct a new road through Camas Creek. Work on the Camas Creek Cut-Off began in 1961 with designation of a centerline and clearing of a right-of-way. Surfacing of the road was finished seven seasons later in 1968.[29]

While Park Service officials fought off attempts by the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation to convert parts of the Park into a factor in a northwestern hydroelectric system, they faced new threats from the Great Northern Railway Company to remove itself from the concession business at Glacier National Park. World War II successfully curtailed the Great Northern Company's Glacier Park Hotel Company operation in the Park. With victory in Europe assured in May, 1945, and with the impending defeat of Japan, the Park Service and concessionaires faced a multiplicity of responsibilities. The presence of the automobile and a more informal style of the visitor forced the hotels to liberalize their dress codes and rigid attitudes at the different hostelries in Glacier.[30] The flood of visitors that arrived in Glacier after 1945 placed inordinate stress on extant facilities. Hotels and auto camps faced voluminous reservations and were forced to place limits on how long visitors could stay in each facility.[31]

By 1949, National Park Service Director Newton Drury testified before

a House Committee on Public Lands that concessionaires at the National Parks needed to spend several million dollars for expansion and modernization in order to meet the demands of visitors to the National Parks. To the consternation of concessionaires, especially the Great Northern Company, Drury's statement placed the National Park Service and their tourist contractors at opposite poles. Profit-loss statements clearly showed that most concession operations were marginal activities.[32] For the Great Northern, the decade of the 1940s saw a loss of over $1.4 million.

> Whether the Great Northern Railway, regardless of its financial reserves, could continue to support the unprofitable existence of its subsidiary company in Glacier would be decided before two more disappointing seasons had passed.[33]

Within the next ten years, the Great Northern maneuvered out of the Park concession business, and extricated itself from a losing proposition. Intransigently, the Great Northern avoided excessive federal regulation that pressed on all sides for major improvement throughout most of the 1950s. Continual decreases in rail travel in part accounted for the nonchalance of Great Northern Company executives towards Glacier National Park.[34]

By 1950, Great Northern Railroad officials began to look skeptically at the company operations in Glacier. Modernization and improvement of railroad facilities received higher priorities than did the "moribund" concessions in Montana. As a consequence, company president F. J. Gavin informed the National Park Service of the company's intention not to extend its contract beyond the 1951 expiration date.[35] National Park Service officials found themselves in a quandry. Where could they find a replacement for the Great Northern Company and its subsidiary, the Glacier Park Hotel Company? Consequently, they attempted to achieve some sort of *rapprochment* with the Company and, throughout the season of 1951, Park Service officials devoted themselves to the idea of retaining the Company as the principal concessionaire in Glacier National Park.[36]

Great Northern Railway officials, faced with declining rail travel

to the Park, proposed the initiation of yearly concession contracts. Temporizing by the National Park Service failed to budge the Company from its position. Subsequently, in September, 1951, a new franchise agreement was reached between the Park Service and the Glacier Park Hotel Company, extending the concessionaire's contract only to December, 1952. Historian Michael Ober concludes that:

> Because of the short-term nature of the new contract, the Service did not have any consummate, long-range control over the Company and, therefore, could only suggest that they prepare for the addition of more visitor facilities.[37]

Throughout the first half of the 1950s, discord between the Park Service and the Great Northern continued to characterize relations between previously harmonious partners in the operation of Glacier National Park. One-year contract extensions seemed unfeasible to Park Service officials as well as to railroad executives. National Park Service Director Conrad Wirth appealed to Great Northern President John Budd for a different policy by emphasizing the previous close relations between both entities in providing services at Glacier National Park. The effort proved fruitless, for the Company agreed to only another one-year extension (1953-1954).

Company officials began consolidating concession operations in Glacier in 1955, in an attempt to present a saleable package to prospective buyers. In that year, the Great Northern purchased the entire stock of the Glacier Park Transport Company from Howard Hays and assumed responsibility for public transportation in the Park. Included in the sale were fifty buses, passenger cars, and trucks, plus taxis that operated from Waterton Lakes. The sale of Hays' firm ended a colorful history for a man who entered the transport business in Glacier National Park in the 1920s. His career closed on an optimistic note as Hays proclaimed that bus service in the Park would continue to improve under the management of the railway company.

> My greatest satisfaction, grows out of the fact that the Great Northern through its subsidiary will assume

> responsibility for providing the future bus service in Glacier and Waterton Lakes National Park.[38]

With consolidation of holdings a principal part of its program, the Great Northern Railway Company began to renovate its facilities in Glacier National Park. Included in the project was the retention of the Knutson Hotel Corporation, headed by Donald Knutson, to provide for the management of the hotel operations.[39] Knutson and his associates implemented a series of gimmicks to make lodging at the hotels an attraction. Playhouse programs featuring Broadway actors, jazz festivals, and square dance schools, among other entertainment events, highlighted the additional recreational advantages of staying at Company-owned facilities. In 1957, Knutson announced that not only was seven million dollars spent on refurbishing the various facilities, but programs were more varied and more appealing to all levels of visitors.[40] Such commercialism received a somewhat jaundiced look from National Park Service officials, who suggested to Knutson that he spend more money on lower cost accommodations and less on billboards and Broadway talent.[41]

In 1960, the Great Northern Company announced its intentions to end concession operations in Glacier National Park. The Glacier Park Hotel Company began its last season as a subsidiary of the Great Northern Railroad. Park Service Director Conrad Wirth solicited bids from applicants to take over the Company's operations in the Park, and, in early 1960, a Tucson, Arizona, attorney, Don Hummel, successfully purchased the Great Northern holdings in Glacier. Hummel had previous experience operating concessions in Lassen Volcanic National Park (California) and in Mount McKinley National Park (Alaska). One local newspaper correspondent considered him an able administrator, but wondered if he would have the financial resources to maintain the elaborate hotels in Glacier National Park.

> We doubt that Don Hummel, an Arizona businessman and attorney, can nor will, spend sums like $500,000 a year to remodel and repair park hotels and motels. We understand Glacier Park Co. expenditures in the past three years for such purposes approximated $2 million.[42]

Despite the uncertainty of the future, the Great Northern Railway ended its fifty-year service to the Park in November, 1960. From that date, the major concessionaire at Glacier National Park has been Humnel's Glacier Park Inc.[43]

Withdrawal of the Great Northern Railway Company from the Park opened the doors to increased concessionaire competition. At the same time, the exit by the Great Northern Company paralleled the development of "Mission 66," an energetic program by the National Park Service aimed at the improvement of National Park Service facilities. The "Mission 66" program hoped to anticipate increased visitor usage of the national parks and to prepare for increasing numbers of American tourists. Beginning in 1955, the National Park Service began an intensive search of its resources and the needs of the National Park System to determine where improvements needed to be made. According to Lon Garrison, head of the Mission 66 Steering Committee:

> The purpose of MISSION 66 is to make an intensive study of the problems of protection, public use, interpretation, development, staffing, legislation, financing, and all other phases of park operation; and to produce a comprehensive and integrated program of use and protection that will harmonize with the Service's obligations under the Act of 1916.[44]

Early in the conception of Mission 66, the paradox between use and preservation made itself manifest and continued to go without resolution. Garrison wrote that

> First, the values in each area--the reasons why the area is in the national park system--must be defined. Second the protection and preservation of these values is paramount in all planning. Third, public appreciation of these values is the right of visitors, and should include guide development. Accepting these three general statements, the problem then is to plan park development, operation, staffing, planning, and protection, using modern techniques and methods to handle seventy-five to eighty million visitors in 1966.[45]

As in all such programs, initial lack of adequate Congressional funding

retarded project completion. Eventually Congress appropriated monies for the massive remodeling of the National Park System in time for its fiftieth anniversary in 1966.

In 1955, Superintendent John W. Emmert addressed himself to the question of Mission 66 and how it would apply to Glacier National Park. In tune with the need to prepare for ever-increasing numbers of visitors, Emmert proposed that the Going-to-the-Sun Highway be a one-way road at certain hours of the day, first going one direction and then another in an attempt to accommodate the heavy use of that major link in the Park's transportation system. Emmert also suggested the completion of the Circle 8 Loop that connected Glacier and Waterton Lakes, thus opening new areas for visitor use and relieving some of the congestion in the southern part of the Park. Superintendent Emmert also speculated with the idea of a self-guided trail system as a means by which visitors could get maximum benefit from the Park without involving inordinate numbers of personnel.[46]

Mission 66 dominated the National Park Service program at Glacier for ten years. The twin pillars of the National Parks--preservation and public use--remained the guideposts for the program. Director Wirth wrote:

> The Mission 66 program is not only concerned with the large-scale development of new and improved visitor facilities, the reconstruction of roads and trails, and the laying out of campgrounds, it equally emphasizes the preservation of the great wilderness areas in the National Parks and Monuments--America's priceless heritage.[47]

In 1961, National Park Service Director Wirth recommended that the Service be more bold in its hopes for Mission 66. Increased national population plus greater national mobility forced Park officials to expend ever greater time, energy, and money on visitor facilities in the National Parks. Wirth argued that:

> The National Park Service is charged with a single, but twofold purpose: To provide for public enjoyment of the parks in a manner that leaves them unimpaired for future generations. Preservation is combined with use, not alienated from it. The purpose of Mission 66, in its inception and yet today, has been to contain and

> channel the innundation of people before sheer volume destroyed the basic values of the system. The wilderness character of the System has not been sacrificed to Mission 66, but saved by it.[48]

Mission 66, however, did not escape criticism. One critic complained that improved Park facilities attracted people to Glacier for the wrong reasons. Parks became cheapened and reduced to "ordinary playgrounds." Another critic complained that the "culprits responsible for the 'abuse of America's outdoors,' were the 'pampered, flattered, normal Americans' who drive afield in their second mortaged car to 'damn well get what's going to them.'"[49]

Mission 66 culminated for Glacier National Park with the opening of two major visitor centers during the summer, 1966, season: Logan Pass and St. Mary, which were dedicated on August 29 and 28 respectively. Montana Senator Lee Metcalf delivered major addresses at each dedication. Metcalf praised Park administrators' efforts in constructing both facilities and lauded the National Park Service for fulfilling its mandate to conserve, protect, and interpret this natural area.[50] Both visitor centers culminated the plans of the Master Plan Outline of the ealy 1950s. In establishing these centers, the National Park Service gave continued credence to its dedication to offer services to the public that demanded more and better facilities at Glacier National Park and other units of the National Park System.

Concomitant with the major activities of Mission 66 came the continual problem of keeping roads maintained. In 1960-61, for example, Glacier Park officials scheduled reconstruction of the Apgar portion of, what became, the Camas Creek Cut-Off. Additionally, the Chief Mountain Road and Routes 4 and 14 received attention. Superintendents' Reports for most of the decade of the 1960s show active road reconstruction activity, indicative of the firm commitment made by the National Park Service to the auto tourist.[51]

During the 1970s, a new mode of transportation gained national popularity. The bicycle became an inexpensive and healthy means by which

individuals, especially younger people, could travel throughout the nation. Glacier Park administrators, cognizant of this new trend, initiated a bicycle impact study which showed that in a 90-day period, a potential of 30,000 bikers could use the Park. "This exposure," stated the Superintendent's Report, "means that we can ultimately predict accidents involving motor vehicles and bicycles, especially on the Going-to-the-Sun Highway between Apgar and Sun Point."[52]

Promotion also characterized the administration of Glacier Park in the 1970s. In 1975, for example, a four-page tabloid entitled GLACIER TIMES was published that listed concession facilities, interpretive programs, and articles "helpful to the visitor." This indicated an increase in the interpretive staff and the relentless demands for more interpretive programs. Moreover, Glacier National Park became active in environmental education programs, with students and teachers utilizing facilities at Glacier for summer programs.[53]

Historic preservation projects joined the publication of GLACIER TIMES and environmental education programs in Glacier during the 1970s. Prior to the nation's Bicentennial celebration in July, 1976, St. Mary's Ranger Station was restored and manner with a ranger and his wife dressed in garb from 1919. Three characters--"the prospector," Major William Logan, and Mrs. Ida Mae Snyder--"charmed visitors throughout the summer." The Prospector attended campfires, cooked cornbread, and once a week accompanied a horse trip to Cracker Lake Mine, in a nostalgic return to the days of the mining boom in the Swiftcurrent area.[54]

By 1977, Glacier National Park officials were reasonably established in a routine of serving visitors, expanding public facilities and preserving a fragile environmental resource. Formulation of a new Master Plan in the spring of 1977 offered direction for administrators in the coming years. The Plan emphasized preserving "the serene wild-land character of the park, while still providing an outstanding experience for both general vacationers and wilderness enthusiasts."[55] To accomplish the often paradoxical mission of serving disparate groups of Park visitors, Glacier planners divided the national park into activity zones.

The essential element used to distinguish these zones was the degree of development (transportation and accommodations) necessary to realize the planning goal.

The categories of "use-areas" in Glacier National Park ranged from General Outdoor Recreation Area to Primitive Area. The first type of area would allow substantial development of roads, trails and facilities. Activity of this nature would be confined to the established network of accommodations in the Park: Many Glacier, Lake McDonald, Rising Sun, Two Medicine, Goathaunt.[56] Outstanding Natural Environment Areas were concentrated along the Continental Divide, while Primitive Areas constituted most of the Park's jurisdiction. The 1977 Master Plan also detailed an "interpretive corridor" for historic and cultural resources which would extend along the Going-to-the-Sun Highway from West Glacier to St. Mary.[57]

In preparing the 1977 Master Plan for Glacier National Park, Park Service planners identified three kinds of visitors to Glacier. The first, and probably largest category of vacationer, was the auto tourist who travelled the well known routes and stopped at attractions such as Logan Pass Visitor's Center, Many Glacier, and Lake McDonald. This group also participated in short hikes. The second group, more robust in nature, would leave the major routes for "wilderness threshold areas." The third category included those hearty souls who desired a "wilderness experience" and who planned to spend two or more days in the Park's backcountry. Glacier Park planners sought to address the needs of all three types of Park visitors.

> The concept of use and development for Glacier seeks to provide opportunities for recreation for each of these groups in a manner appropriate to the resource and to the basic philosophy of maintaining a pleasant wilderness atmosphere. Particular care must be taken, however, to minimize intrusions into the park's sensitive areas, such as prime grizzly bear habitat.[58]

The duality of preservation and use, identified during the earliest years of Glacier National Park's history, continued in the 1977 Master Plan and, today, remains a sensitive area for Park planners and administrators.

The story of transportation in Glacier National Park portrays the value of the Park's historic resources. The physical environment of the Park in large part determined its development. The historic effort to manage that environment involved the construction of a road/trail network and the placement of tourist accommodations.

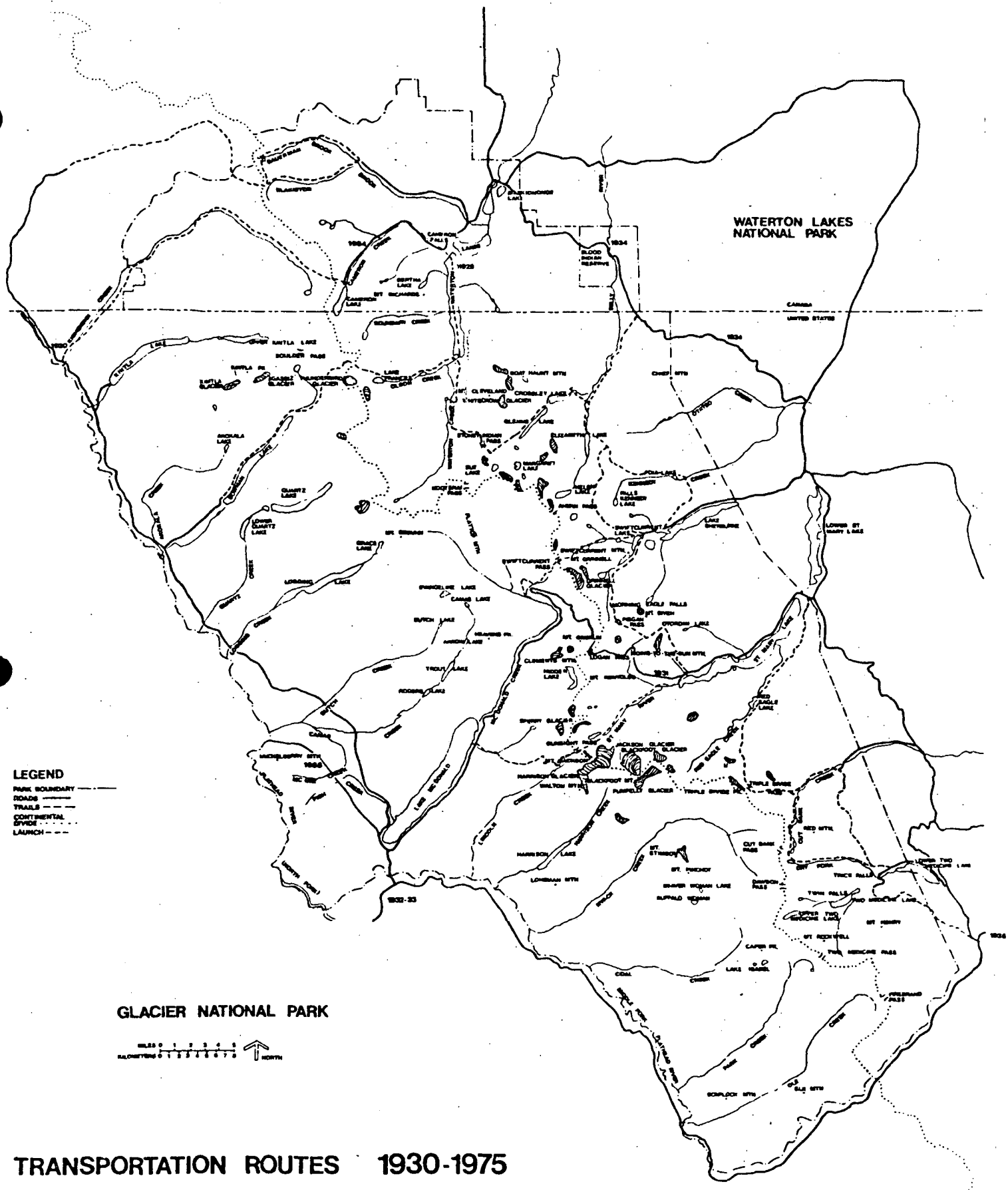
Bridging the formidable physical impasses in Glacier National Park necessitated extensive commitments of financial and human resources. During the Park's first years of official use, budgetary constraints within the Parks Bureau of the Department of the Interior prohibited Glacier officials from meeting the national reserve's transportation needs. The Great Northern Railway Company, under the aegis of Louis Hill, entered the monetary vacuum and directed the establishment of hotels and chalets that were linked by a network of roads and trails. Hill's efforts were appreciated by Glacier Park's leaders, although they recognized the quality of a mixed blessing. Hill's emphasis on the East Side of the Park and his personal involvement in concessionaire and Park matters presented the National Park Service with formidable administrative problems.

Increased use of private automobiles during the 1930s and the post-World War II period forced the National Park Service to address the requirements of a new type of Glacier Park visitor. While Park officials completed major road, trail and public campground construction during the decade of economic depression, the Great Northern Railway Company exhibited its lack of enthusiasm for the new motoring tourist. Financial and philosophical commitments to Louis Hill's dream of a Glacier Park vacationland prevented the railway company's acceptance of the new trend in American tourism. The legacy of Louis Hill eventually forced the Great Northern Railway Company to sell its Glacier National Park holdings.

The history of transportation in the Park also presents the major philosophical dichotomy in Glacier's development: "wise use" versus "preservation." Arguments in support of both viewpoints often centered on the expansion of roads and trails in the national reserve. The issue reflects the National Park Service's contradictory mandate *to conserve* the wildness of Glacier Park, while providing for the *enjoyment* of the

American public. Pressures from various groups, especially the motoring public during the 1930s and 1940s, often required Park Service administrators alternately to emphasize one or another aspect of the Park.

The Master Plan for Glacier National Park (1977) illustrates that Park planners continue to balance the needs of various visitors to this northern reserve. The National Park Service's goal is to protect the fragile environment of Glacier Park, while offering the greatest benefit of the Park to the greatest number of people. It is a mission that requires sensitivity to a variety of natural and cultural resources and one that dictates the best planning for transportation and visitor facilities.



TRANSPORTATION ROUTES 1930-1975

Notes

1. Curt W. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, 1976), p. 78.

2. IBID., p. 83.

3. IBID., p. 82.

4. IBID.

5. "Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Glacier National Park" (hereafter cited as "Superintendent's Annual Report), 1947, *passim.*

6. IBID., *passim.*

7. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1948, p. 7.

8. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1949, p. 5.

9. IBID., *passim.*

10. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1950, p. 6.

11. IBID.

12. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1947, p. 7.

13. IBID., p. 2.

14. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, p. 72. In a 1957 promotional article in the GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, one supporter of the Park agreed that "What's Good for Glacier Is Good for All Montana." He stated that tourists bought gas and contributed a seven cent per gallon gas tax to the State. The Park also attracted potential residents to this under-populated area. GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, August 7, 1957.

15. Master Plan Development Outline, March 1952, Glacier National Park Library, Glacier National Park, West Glacier, Montana (hereafter cited as GPA), p. 1.

16. IBID.

17. Master Plan Development Outline, Interpretation, March 1953, GPA, p. 10.

18. IBID., pp. 11-13.

19. "Superintendent's Annual Reports," 1946-1977, *passim*.

20. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, p. 71; unless otherwise cited, the bulk of the material in this section derives from R. James Oppedahl, "Conflicts between Resource Development and Preservation at Glacier National Park" (M.A. Thesis, University of Montana, 1976) (hereafter cited as Oppedahl, "Resource and Preservation").

21. Oppedahl, "Resource and Preservation," p. 75.

22. IBID., pp. 79-82.

23. IBID., pp. 82-85.

24. IBID., pp. 91-113.

25. IBID., *passim*. Opponents of Glacier View Dam argued that the "reclamation clause" of the Glacier National Park "organic act" did not anticipate a violation of the preservation principles for the Park. They also postured that proper soil conservation and forestry techniques would be a more appropriate method for handling flood waters than the construction of a dam. See Oppedahl, "Resource and Development," pp. 98-101.

26. IBID., p. 115. Dinosaur National Monument is in Utah.

27. IBID., pp. 119-20.

28. IBID., pp. 123-24. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, p. 72.

29. Oppedahl, "Resource and Preservation," pp. 124-27; Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, pp. 71-72. The original plan for the Akamina Pass road entailed using the Park's inside North Fork Valley Road.

30. Michael J. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concessioner Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961" (M.A. Thesis, University of Montana, 1973), pp. 132-45.

31. IBID., p. 148.

32. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1949.

33. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," pp. 154-56.

34. IBID., pp. 157-58.

35. IBID., p. 162.

36. IBID., p. 163.

37. IBID., pp. 164-65.

38. GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, November 1, 1955. For a discussion of this sale, see also Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 172.

39. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," pp. 173-74.

40. The "new look" to the Company's Glacier National Park operations included renaming the Glacier Park Hotel the Glacier Park Lodge. In 1957, a gala jazz festival was planned for the "lodge" with five bands scheduled who promised to "blow the lid off Montana." Master of Events Ed Harrington claimed that "There'll be everything from Dixieland to Blackfeet" played on the hotel's front lawn. GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, July 19, 1957; HUNGRY HORSE NEWS, May 31, 1957.
    The renovation program for the Hotel Company's facilities included refurbishing and improving the Lake McDonald Hotel, Many Glacier Hotel, Glacier Park Lodge, Rising Sun Campground, and Swiftcurrent Campground. GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, April 19, 1957.

41. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance," p. 179.

42. HUNGRY HORSE NEWS, December 16, 1960.

43. GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, March 4, 1960.

44. Lon Garrison, "MISSION 66," NATIONAL PARKS MAGAZINE 29 (1955), p. 107.

45. IBID., p. 107.

46. GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, November 6, 1955.

47. "Annual Report of the Director, National Park Service, to the Secretary of the Interior," June 30, 1960, p. 7, Glacier National Park Library.

48. IBID., 1961, p. 360.

49. Cited in Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, p. 75.

50. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1967; HUNGRY HORSE NEWS, August 26, 1966, and September 2, 1966.

51. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1961, n.p. See also all "Superintendent's Annual Reports," 1961-1977.

52. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1973, pp. 6-7.

53. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1976, pp. 3, 5.

54. IBID., p. 4.

55. Final Master Plan, Glacier National Park Library, May, 1977, p. 1.

56. IBID., p. 16.

57. A public transit system for this corridor was anticipated in the 1977 Master Plan. Such a development would be consistent with the Park's first experience with mechanized transport and would, in part, reverse the historic trend towards private auto use. IBID., p. 20.

58. IBID., p. 14.

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ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

Glacier National Park Archives, Glacier National Park, West Glacier, Montana.

The Glacier National Park Archives contains approximately six file drawers of historical materials. The files have recently been arranged topically and contain information on many areas of the Park's history. Also available at the Glacier National Park Library is a collection of Annual Superintendent Reports, various Master Plan Outlines, and other special reports.

Great Northern Railway Company Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The Great Northern Railway Company Collection at the Minnesota Historical Society contains thousands of pages of railway company documents. Many of these materials have not yet been processed. Of particular value to this study are the President's Files and the Subject Files on Glacier National Park. It should be noted that use of the Great Northern Files dated after 1933 is restricted.

Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

The federal material on National Parks is extensive. Any valid treatment of the development of a park must include an examination of these records. The most valuable source of information is contained in the Central Correspondence Files, 1907-1939, which are arranged topically and by file number under the name of each national park.

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APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGY OF SELECTED EVENTS RELATIVE TO GLACIER NATIONAL PARK TRANSPORTATION, 1800-1975

1853: A. W. Tinkham's exploration party, detailed from Isaac I. Stevens' survey for a "Northern Transcontinental Railroad Route," enters the valley of the Middle Fork of the Flathead, in search of Marias Pass. Tinkham, however, follows established Indian trails over Cut Bank Pass and exits the Glacier area via that valley.

1860/1861: The Joint Northwest Boundary Survey, under the respective direction of American Lt. John G. Parke and Britisher Lt. Col. John S. Hawkins, explores the northern Glacier area in marking the International Boundary.

1865: Montana Territory's First Legislative Assembly authorizes the incorporation of the "Fort Benton-Kootenai Wagon Road Company," to construct a toll road from Fort Benton to the Flathead Valley, via Marias Pass. This venture never materialized.

1874: Lts. Charles A. Woodruff and John Van Orsdale, under the aegis of the U.S. Army, retrace the route of the 1853 Tinkham Party while in search of the elusive Marias Pass.

1876: The British-American joint-survey parties marking the International Boundary between the Lake of the Woods and the Continental Divide reach Glacier's northern region and assess its transportation potential. The British party is led by Commissioner Capt. Donald R. Cameron; the American Commissioner is Archibald Campbell.

1884: Raphael Pumpelly's Northern Transcontinental Railroad Survey, for the Northern Pacific's Henry Villard, surveys the Cut Bank Pass route through the southern Glacier area and pronounces it too difficult to use for a Northern Pacific mainline.

1888/1889: Mrs. Nat Collins and her crew of copper miners work a crude pack-string trail from Swiftcurrent Lake, over Swiftcurrent Pass, and into the Mineral Creek drainage--as well as cutting a trail down the Upper McDonald Creek Valley to the head of McDonald Lake.

1889/1890: In mid-winter, Great Northern engineers approach Marias Pass from both sides of the Divide: John F. Stevens from the east and C. F. B. Haskell from the west. Both parties attain the summit and pronounce the route feasible for the Great Northern mainline.

1890: A U.S. Army exploratory party, under the direction of Lt. George P. Ahern and including G. E. Culver, attempts to locate a trans-Continental Divide pass in Glacier's northern region. The contingent enters the mountains via the Belly River drainage, crosses at Ahern Pass, and exits via the Camas Creek drainage.

A wagon road, passable in season, is constructed from Cardston to the foot of Waterton Lake, thus providing access to the area from the Canadian Pacific Railroad's lines.

The Great Northern Railway commences construction of its line from Shelby to Kalispell, via Marias Pass--building a tote road and clearing right-of-way along the route.

1891: The Great Northern Railway completes its track between Midvale (East Glacier) and Belton (West Glacier), thus changing radically the available means of transportation to the Glacier area and initiating settlement of, and tourism to, the West Side.

1892: The steamboat "Oakes" makes a disastrous trip up the North Fork of the Flathead River, in an attempt to return a cargo of coal from the Coal Banks, immediately west of Glacier, to the Great Northern line at Columbia Falls.

Milo B. Apgar and Charles Howe initiate homestead settlement at the foot of Lake McDonald and immediately begin to build cabin accommodations for seasonal tourists.

1893: The Great Northern Railway completes its mainline to the Pacific Coast, thus situating the Glacier area on a transcontinental line, with national access.

1895: A coordinated transportation/accommodations system develops in the Lower McDonald Valley--including a rowboat crossing of the Middle Fork, a rough wagon road from the north bank of the Middle Fork to the foot of Lake McDonald, a buckboard line on this route, and a 40-foot steamboat on the Lake.

Local accommodations include Ed Dow's hotel in Belton, cabin rentals and a cafe at the foot of Lake McDonald, and George Snyder's hotel and Frank Geduhn's cabins at the head of the Lake.

Lyman Sperry, prompted by a Great Northern agent and working from Snyder's Hotel at the head of Lake McDonald, locates a passable trail from that point, up McDonald Creek, and into Avalanche Lake.

1896: Denny Comeau and Ernest Christensen begin operating tourist horse parties on Forest-Reserve trails in the Upper McDonald Valley, using Snyder's Hotel as a base.

By this time a horse trail is established around Lake McDonald, using the Camas Creek drainage and transversing Howe Ridge twice. This route provides tourists with horses at the head of Lake McDonald.

1897: The first bridge across the Middle Fork of the Flathead River is built by Jack Wise, thus allowing Dow's stage to run from the Great Northern's Belton depot and Dow's hotel to the foot of Lake McDonald.

Prospectors establish a trail, of no particular distinction, from Browning to the foot of Lake Sherburne, but then extend it to Altyn, near Swiftcurrent Lake.

1898: The Browning-to-Sherburne trail is developed, by use, into a seasonal wagon road--the purpose of which is to freight copper--and oil-prospecting equipment into the Swiftcurrent Valley.

1901: Charles Nielson establishes a wagon route from Altyn, up the Canyon Creek drainage, to Cracker Lake, in the process of freighting a concentrator to that lakeside site.

The Butte Oil Company, based on prior findings in the Kintla Valley, constructs a rough wagon road from the foot of Lake McDonald, up the North Fork Valley, to the foot of Lower Kintla Lake. The location of this "Flathead River Road" forms the basic route of Glacier's present North Fork Route #7. From this point, the issue of a "Northern Loop Road"--via the Kishenehn Creek drainage and Akamina Pass to Waterton Townsite--is alive.

1902: The Boulder Oil Company constructs a rudimentary wagon road from a point on the Browning-to-Sherburne road to the upper reaches of the Boulder Creek drainage, by which to transport oil-drilling equipment to its claim sites.

1903: Lyman Sperry completes two seasons of trail construction from Snyder's Hotel, at the head of Lake McDonald, to Gunsight Pass, with a spur to Sperry Glacier.

1905: The trail from Snyder's Hotel to Gunsight Pass is extended into the St. Mary Valley by the Flathead Forest Reserve's ranger, Frank Leibig, primarily to facilitate his supervision of East Side prospecting activities.

1906: Frank Kelly, proprietor of a developing cabin camp at the head of Lake McDonald, initiates the operation of the second motor launch, and the first gasoline-engine boat, on the Lake; the launch is named the "Emaline," for Kelly's wife.

John Lewis and his wife purchase the hotel, cabins, improvements, and property of George Snyder at the head of Lake McDonald. Lewis immediately commences construction of a new, larger hotel on the site.

1908: Ed Dow initiates thrice-daily stagecoach service between his hotel in Belton and the foot of Lake McDonald, on a road often practically impassable.

1909: Increasing numbers of homesteaders file claims in the North Fork Valley, based on the Forest Homestead Act (1906), incidentally improving the condition of the "Flathead River Road," by use.

1910: Several months following the creation of Glacier National Park, Major William R. Logan arrives in Belton to assume the position of "Superintendent of Road and Trail Construction," but spends much of his time fighting the Fires of 1910.

The U.S. Department of the Interior sends Chief Clerk C. S. Ucker to inspect the new Park, and Ucker--under the hesitant guidance of Josiah Rogers--takes a pack string over Swiftcurrent Pass. Upon his return to Washington, D.C., Ucker calls for the immediate rebuilding of the Swiftcurrent Pass Trail.

Congress makes its first Glacier Park appropriation, "For improvement of Glacier National Park, Montana, the construction of trails and roads, $15,000."

1911: The Park Service concentrates on rebuilding and macadamizing the access road between Belton and Apgar, and starts an extension of this road around the foot of the Lake to Fish Creek.

The Great Northern Railway completes construction of the Belton Chalet, immediately adjacent to their depot. Park Service personnel will spend several winters in these facilities.

The Railway commences road work to the north of the Midvale/Glacier Park Station, improving access to the Two Medicine, Cut Bank, and St. Mary Valleys. This road is the predecessor of

U.S. #89, but for several years following 1911 remains in primitive condition.

The Great Northern begins construction of support buildings at Glacier Park Station, Two Medicine, Cut Bank Creek, the foot of St. Mary Lake, at the same Lake's Lower Narrows, and at Many Glacier. The largest construction occurs at Glacier Park Station (East Glacier), where the basic hotel is completed the next year.

W. J. Hilligoss, backed by the Great Northern, establishes a line of tourist tent camps at the following sites: Glacier Park Station, Cut Bank, St. Mary, Gunsight, and Sperry. Hilligoss runs a number of horse parties through these camps, over trails that his men have improved.

James T. Maher receives a Park permit to run a 20-passenger launch on St. Mary Lake.

Denny Comeau and Frank Kelly receive the concession to operate three passenger launches on Lake McDonald, carrying 25, 25, and 125 passengers respectively. Charlie Howe also receives a permit to run a small gasoline launch on the Lake.

The first automobile enters Glacier Park from the west: Frank Whalen negotiates the rugged wagon road from the Flathead Valley, through Badrock Canyon, to Lake Five, then takes to the Great Northern right-of-way for the remainder of the trip to Belton. In 1912 local residents would clear a roadway from Lake Five to Belton.

1912: The Park Service completes the Belton-to-Apgar road and lets the contract for finishing the extension to Fish Creek.

The Great Northern, under contract with the Department of the Interior, continues to build what is becoming known as the "Blackfoot Highway," from Glacier Park Station north to the foot of St. Mary Lake and, via Babb, to Many Glacier. The Railway also continues work on the Two Medicine Lake Road.

Because of the deferment of appropriations, much trail work is postponed, although the original Sperry Trail is widened and reconditioned.

West Side visitor accommodations include additional Great Northern facilities at the Belton Chalets, new Dow cabins at the foot of Lake McDonald, and additional Apgar Brothers' cabins at the same site, as well as Bill Adair's hostel on the "Flathead River Road" just below Logging Creek, in the North Fork Valley.

The Great Northern continues the construction of its chalet complexes, simultaneously running tent camps for visitors, at the following sites: Glacier Park Station, Two Medicine, Cut Bank Creek, at the foot of St. Mary Lake and at the Upper Narrows, at Gunsight Lake, and at Many Glacier. The massive hotel at East Glacier is almost habitable by the end of the year.

The first transportation company in the Park is started by the Brewster Brothers, under the direction of W. A. Brewster, and consists of three stage coaches, drawn by four horses each. The coaches make a two-day trip from Glacier Park Station to Many Glacier, with an overnight stay at the St. Mary Chalets.

Late in this season, Rowe Emery, financed by the White Auto Company, begins the operation of three tour busses. The line competes with Brewster's stagecoaches on the East Glacier-St. Mary route, and on the roads to the Two Medicine and Cut Bank camps. Emery is sufficiently successful to force Brewster from the business by 1913.

The Great Northern receives a permit to operate two passenger-launches on St. Mary Lake, the "Red Eagle" and the "Glacier," each capable of carrying 25 persons.

1913: The Divide Creek section of the "Blackfoot Highway" is completed, providing better access from Glacier Park Station to St. Mary Lake, although the continuation of the road to Many Glacier is often in poor repair and sometimes impassable.

Somewhat better access to the "Blackfoot Highway" develops when that section of present U.S. #89 between Browning and Kiowa Junction is graded and gravelled.

The Park Service moves into its new headquarters complex at Fish Creek with the completion of that road and the finishing of the McDonald Creek Bridge. Park construction also proceeds on a number of roads: the Belton-to-Apgar access, the North Fork Road to Big Prairie, and the Cut Bank Road, including bridge construction. Other East Side sections are contracted to the Great Northern Railway.

The U.S. Reclamation Service works on the approach road from Babb to Sherburne Lake.

John Lewis starts in earnest to replace the original Snyder Hotel with the present log structure, completing the work on the main building during 1914.

The Great Northern Railway continues to expand its accommodations facilities, erecting permanent structures: the Glacier Park Hotel and Chalets (East Glacier), the Cut Bank Chalets, the larger Two Medicine Chalet, the St. Mary Chalets, a dining room and 8

chalet buildings at Sun Point, the Gunsight Camp, and the Sperry Chalets. In March, a snowslide demolishes the McDermott Chalet at Many Glacier, so construction begins anew in a different location.

The Park Service embarks on some challenging trail constructions --reworking the east side of the Swiftcurrent Pass into a series of switchbacks to be known as "Galen's Ladder," and pushing 9 miles of trail toward Piegan Pass, as well as almost 2 miles toward Iceberg Lake.

An 11-mile section of the Mt. Henry Trail, between Glacier Park Station and Two Medicine, is contracted to the Great Northern.

Rowe Emery, operating White busses, successfully runs from the Glacier Park Station to the various Great Northern chalets, despite often impassable roads. As the Glacier Park Transport Company, Emery would operate in Glacier until 1927.

On August 7, the first auto drives over the new road between Babb and Many Glacier, carrying Great Northern President Louis W. Hill and his party.

On August 13, a $1.00 entrance fee is charged Levi Bird's auto on the Many Glacier road--possibly being the first auto fee collected in the Park.

Local citizens from Columbia Falls, in conjunction with Forest Service personnel, begin construction of the "outside" North Fork Road, from Columbia Falls north to the Canadian border, west of the North Fork of the Flathead River. By autumn they clear right-of-way on approximately 7 miles, to the vicinity of Bailey Lake. This "outside" access would be available seasonally by 1915.

1914: The road from the Park boundary to Many Glacier is completed by the U.S. Reclamation Service, and 5 miles of the St. Mary-to-Babb section of the "Blackfoot Highway" is reworked under private contract. Park Service personnel also reduce the grade on portions of the Divide Creek Hill.

On the West Side, additional work is done on the major access to the foot of Lake McDonald, including the macadamizing of seasonally boggy sections.

The "Middle Fork Road," from Apgar Flats to well beyond the Flathead Ranger Station, is improved from the status of a trail to that of a wagon road, including the construction of several necessary bridges.

Trails in the Iceberg Lake vicinity are completed, and 9 miles

of the Cut Bank Pass Trail, between Two Medicine and Cut Bank Chalets, is improved. In addition, a saddle-horse trail is extended from the Sun Point Chalets to the head of St. Mary Lake, along the lakeshore.

John E. Lewis completes his 65-room Lewis (Lake McDonald) Hotel during the summer and immediately fills it with guests. This was a monumental construction project, as the only access to the site at the head of Lake McDonald is by water, when the Lake is ice-free.

The Great Northern continues its accommodations construction, adding employee dormitories and support buildings at several locations. It also has crews working on the large Many Glacier Hotel and beginning construction of the Granite Park Chalets.

Captain Billy Swanson floats his 60-foot "City of Polson" from Flathead Lake, up the Flathead River and McDonald Creek, into Lake McDonald. There he adds 15 feet to it and renames it the "Ethel," running it with Frank Kelly's fleet on the Lake.

Continued interest in the North Fork Valley, and its homesteading and mineral possibilities, is demonstrated by additional work on the "outside" road, west of the river--and by the Park's construction of a wagon road from a point where Bowman Creek intersects the "Flathead River Road" to the foot of Bowman Lake.

At the end of this season, there are about 75 miles of road in the Park, although only some of it is available to motorized vehicles. Approximately 35 miles of complementary access road exist immediately outside the Park.

1915: The major road project is the completion of that section of the "Blackfoot Highway" between the St. Mary Chalets and Babb, although some reworking of the Babb-Many Glacier Road also occurs.

On the West Side, the relocation and construction of the North Fork "Inside" Road begins, working from Apgar to McGee Meadows. This right-of-way replaces the original Butte Oil Company's location of the "Flathead River Road."

East Side trail work includes the completion of the Cut Bank Pass Trail, between Two Medicine and Cut Bank Chalets, and 7 miles of construction from Cut Bank Creek toward Triple Divide Mountain.

Trail work in the North Fork encompasses the 7-mile Logging Lake Trail, 7 miles of trail from the North Fork up Quartz Creek, and almost 4 miles of new trail along Bowman Lake.

The Great Northern opens two major facilities, with the completion of the Granite Park Chalets and the Many Glacier Hotel. The

Railway's accommodations network is essentially in place by this season, with the exception of the Prince of Wales Hotel in Waterton.

This season the various, small saddle-horse outfits combined as the Park Saddle Horse Company, under the direction of Kalispell attorney W. N. Noffsinger. The Company would provide saddle-horse and pack service to visitors through the 1942 season. At one time the Company--running the -X6 brand--would own more than 1,000 head of stock and would accommodate over 10,000 riders a season.

The Great Northern Railway incorporates the Glacier Park Hotel Company, as a wholly owned subsidiary, to handle its Glacier Park holdings and operations. The Hotel Company is capitalized at $1,500,000.

1916: T. Warren Allen, Bureau of Public Roads engineer, surveys various possibilities for a trans-Divide highway, thereby becoming the first engineer to report on the feasibility of what would become the Going-to-the-Sun Highway. Quite possibly Allen's appearance is the result of repeated recommendations from several Glacier superintendents.

The major road work focuses on widening and gravelling the Babb-to-Many Glacier access.

A burst of trail construction ensues: the 4-mile Snyder Lake Trail, the 4-mile Baring Basin Trail, the 7-mile route from the Lake McDonald Hotel to Lincoln Lake, and almost 8 miles of path from Triple Divide Pass to Red Eagle Lake. Portions of other trails constructed include: 2 miles of the Grinnell Glacier Trail, 7 miles of the trail from Lake McDonald to Granite Park, and almost 2 miles of the reconstructed Sperry Glacier Trail.

On January 1, the Department of the Interior offers its first 20-year contract to the Great Northern's Glacier Park Hotel Company, establishing the basis for the operation of its hotels and chalets in the Park. This contract is signed on March 28, 1917.

1917: During this season and the 1918 season, preliminary surveys of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway route are made. The path chosen is much the same as the present highway, to Logan Creek. Under this contract, Congress appropriates the first monies for construction of the highway--$100,000--to apply to that stretch from the foot of Lake McDonald to the head of the Lake, including a spur road across McDonald Creek to the upper Ranger Station. This road is passable by 1919 and virtually completed by 1922.

Again, emphasis is placed on trail construction: several trails radiate from the Great Northern's Granite Park Chalets--including several miles of the Garden Wall Trail to Logan Pass, two walking trails to Mt. Gould and Rosenwalt Reef, and the completion of the trail to the head of Lake McDonald, along McDonald Creek.

The Baring Basin Trail is completed, a distance of almost 4 miles; a section of the West Lakes Trail is constructed between Lower Quartz Lake and Logging Lake; a connection between Paola and Ole Creeks is completed.

A trail is constructed up Logan Creek, from McDonald Creek to Logan Pass--this route being the most contemporaneously popular selection for the Logan Pass (Going-to-the-Sun) highway.

The Glacier Park Transport Company--incorporated in 1914, under the direction of Rowe Emery, and featuring 8 10-passenger "trucks," 5 7-passenger touring cars, and one 1 1/2-ton truck--signs its first 10-year contract with the Department of the Interior. The Transport Company becomes solely responsible for passenger travel and the hauling of Great Northern supplies on the East Side.

The Great Northern Railway Company receives, from the federal government, through the Department of the Interior, the amount of $2,195.91, in reimbursement for work completed on roads and trails in Glacier National Park.

1918: World War One curtails visitor travel to Glacier Park, as well as Congressional appropriations for Park improvements. Yet some additional survey work is completed on the Going-to-the-Sun Highway route, under a pre-war contract.

As a result of the American involvement in World War One, and the ensuing reduction of visitation, Park concessionaires suffer severe seasonal losses.

1919: John E. Lewis, owner and proprietor of the Glacier (Lake McDonald) Hotel at the head of the Lake expends $3,200 in cutting 3 1/2 miles of right-of-way from Apgar, along the Lake's east shore--work which includes the grading of 2 miles of roadway and the construction of 3 bridges. This activity initiates the construction phase of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway.

In the midst of post-World War One confusion, the House passes a Joint Resolution (#9), recommending the relocation and permanent construction of the "Blackfoot Highway."

1920: Under the first Congressional appropriation, work continues on the basic 11-mile stretch of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway, from Apgar to the head of Lake McDonald.

The return of increased tourism benefits Park concessionaires: Captain Billie Swanson builds a 40-foot launch on Two Medicine Lake and puts it into operation for the Glacier Park Hotel Company.

The Hotel Company, as of this year, operates launches on Two Medicine and St. Mary Lakes, and rents rowboats on those lakes, in addition to Swiftcurrent Lake. Frank Kelly is responsible for boat transportation on Lake McDonald; on Waterton Lake, both H. H. Hanson and Rexford-and-Jacobson carry passengers in small motor launches, and have provided this service since the preceding season.

During this summer, the Park Saddle Horse Company provides 550 head of stock for transportation from various Glacier Park points; the prime purposes are day rides and several-day camping tours, using mountain tent-camp locations for overnight accommodations.

1921: The first section of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway is cleared and worked to the head of Lake McDonald, including a spur to the upper Ranger Station. This roadway would be gravelled and graded to specification by August of 1922, but--as of late summer, 1921 --visitors gained land access to John Lewis' Glacier (Lake McDonald) Hotel.

Post-World-War-One restraints on Congressional appropriations weaken and additional trail-work is subsidized: the Indian Pass Trail is completed, thus opening a circular route for saddle-horse parties into the northern portion of the Park; the trail between Baring Basin and Piegan Pass, over Siyeh Pass, is completed for horseback travel.

The first Nature Guide Service begins in the Park, under the direction of M. P. Somes, a naturalist familiar with Park trails and environment. Somes works from several chalets and hotels, charging a modest fee for his guided tours.

T. E. Herlighy promotes a hotel complex at the foot of Lake McDonald, but his plan folds and Douglas Gold buys his options, finishing the "Gold Bungalow" hostel at the site to serve visitors.

The Lake McDonald boat service is assumed by R. C. Abell, from Frank Kelly. Captain Billie Swanson operates the 3-launch flotilla for Abell, transporting passengers and freight.

H. H. Hanson, for two years the operator of a small launch on Waterton Lake, opens a small tent camp and store at the American (Goathaunt) end of the Lake. He obtains a permit to expand his operations at this location.

1922: The first 11-mile section of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway is opened to public travel, from Apgar to the head of Lake McDonald. Congress appropriates the funds for the clearing of the next 7 miles, up McDonald Creek--a project stretching into 1924.

Mountain-top trails dominate the construction activity: trails are completed to the tops of Mt. Altyn, Goat Mountain, and Mt. Brown.

The first free nature-guide service is inaugurated, under the direction of Morton J. Elrod and the University of Montana. Like M. P. Somes, Elrod and his associates locate in Great Northern hotels and chalets, but their free service drives Somes' operation from the available market.

Skyland Camp, situated at the foot of Bowman Lake, opens for business--as both a summer boys' camp and a seasonal tourist facility. The Culver Military Academy (Lexington, Kentucky) operates this facility, as well as tent camps on Upper and Lower Kintla Lakes, and a log dining lodge at the latter location. This is the most aggressive attempt to bring tourist accommodations to the North Fork Valley between 1910 and the late 1940s.

1923: Congress appropriates a substantial road-building subsidy--$100,000--to the Going-to-the-Sun project. This funding permits the commencement of road clearing from the eastern terminus, the foot of St. Mary Lake, to the Upper Narrows (Sun Point).

1924: Congress appropriates an *additional* $100,000 to a trans-Divide highway over Logan Pass--the monies used for the extension of the East Side access for 2 miles, for the completion of 4 miles of West Side access along McDonald Creek, and for the resurveying of right-of-way on the east side of Logan Creek, via the Garden Wall.

During the winter of 1924-1925, the National Park Service and the Bureau of Public Roads agree that the latter will direct the continued construction of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway.

Congress authorizes the complete reconstruction of the "Blackfoot Highway," from Glacier Park Station (East Glacier) to the Canadian border, and work begins on this project.

Two important trail constructions are in progress: Sperry Chalets to Sperry Glacier, and Brown's Pass to the head of Upper Kintla Lake, over Boulder Pass.

The Gold Brothers operation, at the foot of Lake McDonald, expands its operations with 6 additional auto-cabins off the lakeshore.

George W. Noffsinger, son of W. F. Noffsinger, assumes control of the Park Saddle Horse Company. Until the obvious visitor preference for auto access, this tourist-accommodator would serve thousands of Glacier visitors annually and, thus, prove a seasonal saddle-horse operation marginally profitable.

Morton J. Elrod's naturalist-guides increase their activity from the lobbies of Great Northern hotels and chalets; the first issue of "Elrod's Guide to Glacier" is available for purchase in the Park.

1925: The Bureau of Public Roads--now controlling the construction of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway--focuses construction efforts on the West Side approach, in an attempt to reach Logan Pass. At this point, the roadway exists to Avalanche Creek on the west, and to one mile above the head of St. Mary Lake on the east.

Construction is begun on the relocation of the Two Medicine Lake Road, a right-of-way necessitated by the effects of the Lower Two Medicine Lake Dam. Rerouted travel would be possible by the 1926 season.

The first portion of Glacier Park trail is built by Eagle Scouts, several miles along the southern shore of St. Mary Lake. This program, supported materially by the National Park Service, would continue, although sporadically, through the 1934 season. The Scouts complete the following trail lines: 10 miles along the south shore of St. Mary Lake, 2 miles from Sun Point to the head of St. Mary Lake, 4 miles along the northwest shore of Bowman Lake.

The Park Saddle Horse Company, with the assistance of the Great Northern, initiates its "North Circle Trip"--a 5-day jaunt relying on semi-permanent tent camps at Fifty Mountain, Goathaunt, and Cosley Lake. This excursion would prove one of the Company's most popular for the next 20 years. In 1925 the Park Saddle Horse Company runs more than 800 head of stock in Glacier.

The Glacier Park Transport Company purchases the boat concession on Lake McDonald from R. C. Abell, including its four launches.

Captain Billie Swanson, now in possession of the East Side boat concession (with the exception of the "St. Mary," on St. Mary Lake), is in the process of building several boats at Many Glacier.

1926: The Douglas Construction firm, of Tacoma, Washington, pursues its second season of concerted construction on the Going-to-the-Sun's west approach to Logan Pass, pushing toward The Loop.

The Bureau of Public Lands, evidently based upon its redirection of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway project, assumes supervision of the Two Medicine Road reconstruction and begins planning for the relocation/rebuilding of the Babb-Many Glacier access, as well as for the redesign of the lower section of the Going-to-the-Sun roadway from Belton townsite to Avalanche Creek.

Congress appropriates sufficient monies for the complete relocation/rebuilding of the "Blackfoot Highway," from Glacier Park Station (East Glacier) to the Canadian line, with the prospect of connections, via Cardston, Alberta, to Waterton Townsite--where the Great Northern is in the process of constructing the Prince of Wales Hotel.

Work continues on U.S. Highway #2--the Theodore Roosevelt Highway--from Belton to Glacier Park Station (East Glacier), under annual Congressional appropriations of $100,000. This trans-Divide route follows closely the Great Northern right-of-way through John F. Stevens Canyon and will provide the first trans-continental breach of the Rockies for autos in Northern Montana. At this time the roadway is cleared from Belton to Essex and the Walton Bridge.

The Park Saddle Horse Company establishes a tent camp at Red Eagle Lake, thereby opening the "Inside Circle" route--from Glacier Park Station to Many Glacier, via Two Medicine, Cut Bank Chalets, Red Eagle, and Sun Point.

The Great Northern, through a subsidiary company, begins construction of the Prince of Wales Hotel overlooking Waterton Townsite.

1927: The Bureau of Public Lands now controls practically all road construction in the Park and focuses its attention on: the surfacing of the Babb-Many Glacier Road, the finishing of the Two Medicine access road, and the various portions of the west approach to Logan Pass.

The Douglas Construction firm, and its subcontractors, employ more than 300 men this summer, locating them in 6 different camps. Additional men and blasting powder are required for the Garden Wall portion and for the West Side Tunnel on the Going-to-the-Sun Highway.

Trail works includes the completion of almost 3 miles around Swiftcurrent Lake, a feeder trail to Grinnell Glacier, and the horse-trail to the new Apgar Lookout.

Extensive clearing and enlarging is begun at Avalanche Campground, to accommodate ever-increasing numbers of auto tourists who wish to tent.

The Park and the Hotel Company agree to plans for the development of tourist-camp facilities at Avalanche and Roes Creeks, to begin operation with the opening of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway. Each complex will include small cabins, a store and delicatessen, a community house, and a garage/filling station.

The Prince of Wales Hotel, in Waterton Townsite, opens for business in July.

Rowe Emery sells the Glacier Park Transportation Company to Howard Hayes, with Fred Nobel the new manager. Hayes reconstitutes the operation as the "Glacier Park Transport Company" and signs a 20-year contract with the Park Service for carrier services in Glacier.

The naturalist service expands its activities to include exhibits and the showing of movies, but continues to center its activities in three locations: the Lewis (Lake McDonald) Hotel, the Many Glacier Hotel, and the Sun Point Chalets.

1928: Douglas Construction resumes operation in May and reaches Logan Pass in October, although the road is not opened to public travel until the following season.

Contracts are let for the rebuilding of the final portion of the Babb-Many Glacier Road, under the supervision of the Bureau of Public Roads. This reconstruction will be completed in 1930.

Trail work for this season includes: a new trail from the head of Lake McDonald, along the north side of McDonald Creek, to Granite Park; an access trail from Nyack Ranger Station to Loneman Lookout; a portion of the northern Highline Trail, from Granite Park to Flattop Mountain; a rerouted trail to Sperry Glacier.

The launch "International" begins service on Waterton Lake. Captain Billie Swanson built this craft in Kalispell, dismantled it, and reassembled it at the foot of Waterton Lake. The "International" is 73 feet in length, with a 16-foot beam, twin screws and two engines, and is capable of transporting 250 passengers.

1929: The western portion of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway, from Belton to Logan Pass, is opened to public travel for the first time. An immediate increase in visitation occurs, via the West Entrance, as local residents and national travellers drive to

Logan Summit. Travel figures for the year indicate the surge: 23,097 vehicles via the West Entrance; 5,643 vehicles entering the Park through the St. Mary Entrance.

Naturalist George C. Ruhle suggests the term "Going-to-the-Sun Highway" for the route, and the appellation officially is adopted, replacing the undistinguished name "Trans-mountain Highway" used to this time.

East Side road construction includes the completion of the new Two Medicine Road and the finishing of the last portion of the rerouted "Blackfoot Highway" between Glacier Park Station (East Glacier) and the Canadian line. Two new bridges on the Two Medicine Road are opened near the end of the season.

The northern section of the Highline Trail, from Granite Park to Flattop Mountain, is completed for horse travel, and several crews embark on the extension of this route to Goathaunt. In addition a new horse-trail to Grinnell Glacier is finished; this trail will become one of the most used and most popular saddle-horse trips in the Park. Work on the new Ptarmigan Wall Trail, to the Belly River drainage, commences--including the construction of the Ptarmigan Tunnel.

In preparation for the opening of the entire Going-to-the-Sun Highway, Park personnel embark on a two-year roadside cleanup along Lake McDonald. In a coordinated project, Avalanche Campground is enlarged, roads cut through it, and a water system and two comfort stations installed.

The Half-Moon Fire jumps the Middle Fork of the Flathead River and enters the Park. Although this fire skips the Park Headquarters complex and Apgar Village, it consumes much of the red-cedar forests in Apgar Flats and along the lower Lake McDonald shoreline. The devastation alters significantly habitation and transportation patterns in the area, as well as its scenic value.

1930: The Roosevelt Highway--U.S. #2--opens officially in July, following 9 years of seasonal construction. This route offers the first auto-traffic crossing of the Continental Divide in the Glacier area. The initiation of this transcontinental access to the Glacier area increases visitation significantly.

Trail work is active: a stone stairway supplements the iron ladder on the Sperry Glacier Trail, although the ladder is left in place for several years; the Ptarmigan Tunnel is finished near the end of the season; the Gunsight Pass Trail is reconstructed; the Flattop Mountain-Goathaunt Trail is completed, giving a northern exit to the Park trail system; an Eagle Scout crew builds

4 miles of the Red Eagle-Sun Point Trail, thereby completing a more direct "Inside Circle" Trail.

Additionally a stone shelter-cabin is built at Piegan Pass for the overnight comfort of hikers and riders.

Self-guiding natural trails are located throughout the Park: around Swiftcurrent Lake; from Lewis' (Lake McDonald) Hotel to Fish Lake; from the same hotel to John's Lake; from Avalanche Campground to Avalanche Lake.

The Lake Sherburne and Two Medicine checking stations are built, and the initial construction on the Roes Creek Campground commences with the placement of a water line.

The Great Northern exercises an option on Lewis' Hotel and 285 of adjacent land. Through a subsidiary, the Dakota Development Company, the Railway purchases Lewis' holdings, with the intention of conveying them to the Park Service; hence Superintendent J. Ross Eakin and Glacier Park Hotel Company Manager C. J. Azmann attend the negotiations.

1931: Right-of-way clearing between Logan Pass and Sun Point is completed, and contracts are let by the Bureau of Public Roads for the grading of this section. Construction of the central (Siyeh Bend) portion of this roadway proves especially difficult, although the building of the East Side Tunnell also offers particular problems. The lower section of the Going-to-the Sun Highway's eastern approach is reworked and gravelled for a distance of almost 5 miles above St. Mary Entrance.

The North Fork Road is extended to the Kishenehn Ranger Station and across the Canadian line, thus necessitating a Customs Station at the boundary site.

Ptarmigan Tunnel and Ptarmigan Trail are finished to horse-trail specifications, thereby opening more directly the Belly River drainage and producing a shorter, more scenic link in the "North Circle" route--replacing the Red Gap Pass Trail. The vital Ptarmigan Tunnel, as completed, is 185 feet in length.

Stone shelter buildings are constructed for travelers at Gunsight and Indian Passes. A double, stone comfort station is erected on Logan Pass and two comfort stations are raised at the Roes Creek Campground.

1932: The Great Depression continues to decrease Park visitation: approximately 53,000 entrants this season, down from a high of almost 74,000 in 1930, and the lowest visitation total prior to 1943, with the travel curtailment forced by World War Two.

Construction continues, with some Congressional decreases in appropriations, on the various sections of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway--with particular emphasis placed on East Side projects.

Trail construction completes the Triple Divide Trail, as well as the relocated Gunsight Pass Trail. Finishing touches are placed on the Ptarmigan Wall Trail, producing possible the most spectacularly engineered alpine trail in the Park.

The Glacier Park Hotel Company, a wholly owned Great Northern subsidiary, signs its second 20-year contract with the Department of the Interior to provide accommodations within Glacier Park.

The Great Northern Railway, through a holding company, officially purchases the Lewis Hotel at the head of Lake McDonald, and begins machinations to transfer the property to the Park Service.

1933: Through traffic over the entire length of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway begins in July, shortly before a massive dedication ceremony occurs on Logan Pass. In fact, the ceremony marked three occasions: the opening of the scenic, trans-Divide route; the commemoration of National Park Service Director's contrution to Glacier activities; the first anniversary of the creation of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park.

As auto traffic increased in Glacier, the Going-to-the-Sun Highway route would become the prime corridor of use within Park boundaries.

Relocation and rebuilding marked trail work: the Sperry Trail from the Lake McDonald Hotel to Crystal Ford; the trail from the head of Two Medicine Lake to Twin Falls; the Trick Falls Trail.

The Roes Creek Campground is opened to public use, just in time to accommodate Going-to-the-Sun Highway travelers.

1934: President F. D. Roosevelt and his party visit Glacier National Park, drawing considerable attention to the recently completed Going-to-the-Sun Highway. This visit marks the first appearance in Glacier of an acting President. Roosevelt makes a "fire-side chat," via radio, from Two Medicine Chalet, accruing no small publicity to the Great Northern's accommodations in the Park.

Civilian Conservation Corps projects commence in Glacier, primarily focusing on four types of work: the cleanup of "unsightly" roadside areas; the expansion of campgrounds; the

construction of fire trails; the simple maintenance of roadways.

At its height, the CCC program in Glacier featured nine camps, under the direction of the U.S. Army--three camps of which were permanent and the remainder seasonal.

1935: Work on the Chief Mountain Highway, providing a cutoff between Babb and Waterton Townsite, begins in earnest. When completed in 1936, this route will offer more rapid access to the Great Northern's Prince of Wales Hotel in the Townsite--eliminating the existent route via Cardston.

After a full season's work, the trail between Lake McDonald and the Sperry Chalet complex is reconstructed.

1936: The Chief Mountain International Highway--known locally as the "Kennedy Creek Cutoff"--is opened to traffic in June, although bridge construction and road surfacing is not completed.

The Heaven's Peak Fire spreads rapidly down the Many Glacier valley, consuming 7,500 acres, a number of Park Service buildings, and a complex of Great Northern cabins. Yet the Many Glacier Hotel is spared and visitation to the area quickly resumes.

1937: The name "Chief Mountain International Highway" officially is adopted by both the Canadian and the U.S. governments. The road itself is completely paved during this season, although some low portions of the roadway require almost continual repair.

The formation of the nationally active "Trail Riders of the Mountains" organization is accomplished at a meeting in Glacier. Glacier Park concessionaires provide the direction for this group of private companies serving visitors in various national parks; in fact, Glacier Park members form Chapter #1 of this promotional organization, dedicated to working with the Park Service.

1938: A concrete bridge is completed over the Middle Fork of the Flathead River at Belton (West Glacier), and opened to traffic in July. This bridge receives national recognition as "the most beautiful bridge of its class built in the United States in 1938," and a plaque is attached to that effect.

The West Glacier (Belton) Mercantile complex, formerly located across the tracks from the Great Northern depot, moves to its present site at the approach to the new Middle Fork bridge.

Western Air Express inaugurates daily airplane service from Great Falls to its own field located outside Glacier Park

Station (East Glacier). The service carries 295 persons in 1938, but only 68 in 1939; the experiment would be abandoned in 1940.

CCC workers begin a massive tree-planting project in the Many Glacier Campground area, in an attempt to rectify some of the damage done by the Heaven's Peak Fire of 1936.

Captain Billie Swanson, operator of the Swanson Boat Company, sells his interest in the business to Burch and Anderson, of Kalispell. The new owners immediately reconstitute their concern as the "Glacier Park Boat Company."

1939: The new U.S. Customs and Immigration Station at the International Boundary on the Chief Mountain Highway is dedicated in July, under the auspices of Kiwanis International.

CCC crews continue the replanting of trees in the Many Glacier Campground area, placing more than 15,000 seedlings. Other CCC contingents lay water and sewer lines at a site near the foot of Lake McDonald, in preparation for the construction of the Apgar Campground.

The West Glacier (Belton) Mercantile discontinues the operation of its store/soda fountain in Apgar and moves the building into the present complex, to function as a gift shop.

1940: The Glacier Park Hotel Company, in an attempt to accommodate increased numbers of auto travelers, builds a lunchroom addition to the camp store at the Swiftcurrent (Many Glacier) Campground, and at the Roes Creek Campground constructs a cabin camp, camp store, and lunch room.

CCC crews plant an additional 33,000 trees and shrubs in the vicinity of the Many Glacier Ranger Station and Campground.

1941: The new West Entrance checking station is opened to traffic in July. From its first day of operation, this station will handle the largest number of visitors entering Glacier.

The Glacier Park Hotel Company opens to travelers of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway its new East Glacier (Rising Sun) Auto Camp, along the shore of St. Mary Lake.

1942: Park visitation, which exceeded 179,000 in 1941, drops to less than 64,000 this year, as a result of the entrance of the United States in World War Two.

Although Park concessionaires struggle through the season with reduced staff, all close their operations early. The Park Saddle Horse Company never does open its tent camp at Goathaunt,

because of reduced visitation. That Company would not resume business following World War Two; the Park's other concessionaires would suspend business until the 1946 season.

1943: Because of reduced Park Service staff, only maintenance operations are pursued in Glacier, although the Park is kept open for those visitors who wish to enter.

All concessionaire activity in the Park is suspended, with the minor exception of the Hotel Company's East Glacier (Rising Sun) Auto Camp, which is operated primarily for the convenience of travelling servicemen. Visitors could enjoy no hotel, transportation, launch, saddle-horse, or naturalist services during the 1943, 1944, and 1945 seasons.

The Glacier Park Hotel Company reincorporates, in Minnesota, as the Glacier Park Company--possibly an indication of its increasingly diversified operations. This Great Northern subsidiary remains an entity distinct from the Glacier Park Transport Company, as well as from the Glacier Park Boat Company, and the now defunct Park Saddle Horse Company.

1945: The Glacier Park Boat Company, under the ownership of Arthur Burch and Melanie Anderson, signs a 10-year contract with the Department of the Interior to provide boat service on several Glacier lakes. In 1946 Anderson would consign her ownership rights to Burch.

1946: Hotel, transportation, launch, saddle-horse, and naturalist services are resumed for the first time since the 1942 season. As the Park Saddle Horse Company disbanded during World War Two, Bernice Lewis assumes the horse concession, but fails to open the "North Circle" tent camps at Red Eagle and Goathaunt.

H. Frank Evans, of Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, initiates the first of his Wilderness Trail trips through Glacier, under a Park Service concession contract. These hiking trips through Glacier's back country last from 7 to 15 days and are supplied by pack string. Evans would operate on an annual contract through the 1953 season.

The Lundgren Brothers and David Thompson assume operation of the Belton (West Glacier) Mercantile Company, with buildings at the present site.

Because of the deterioration of their structures and because of other economic considerations, the Glacier Park Company does not reopen their Sun Point Chalets, the Cut Bank Chalet, or the chalet complex at the foot of St. Mary Lake.

1947: The location at the Upper Narrows of St. Mary Lake, occupied by the Glacier Park Company's Going-to-the-Sun Chalet complex, formally has its name changed to (Going-to-the-) Sun Point.

The Glacier Park Transport Company, whose 20-year contract expired in 1946, extends its operation on an annual concession-contract with the Department of the Interior through 1950, while the details of a long-term contract are negotiated.

1948: Overnight, naturalist-conducted hikes to Sperry Chalet and Sperry Glacier are initiated by the Park. In addition, a circular, self-guiding orientation-trail is designed in the Logan Pass area. On the East Side, Park information services are transferred from East Glacier (Rising Sun) to Sun Point, where a temporary information center is established.

The Great Northern's Going-to-the-Sun Chalet complex, at the Upper Narrows of St. Mary Lake, is razed by a contractor, with the final restoration completed the following summer. This complex did not reopen following World War Two, and the Park condemned the buildings prior to letting the demolition contract.

A number of independent saddle-horse contractors, including Bernice Lewis, provide stock service from various points within the Park. The individual-operator system resembles that prevalent in Glacier prior to 1915, when W. N. Noffsinger organized the Park Saddle Horse Company.

1949: Bids are opened and approved for the reconstruction and surfacing of that portion of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway between Logan Creek and Logan Pass. The maintenance of this vital stretch of highway will become a virtually continuous project.

The first roadside exhibits are erected by the Park Service, in an attempt to inform travelers and to slow their trip through the Park. Initial exhibits appear to interpret: the Walton Goat Lick; Jackson Glacier; Sunrift Gorge; Trick Falls; Triple Divide Mountain; the Garden Wall; the blister-rust epidemic.

1950: Public-information programs expand with the development of an entire, new set of road directional signs, in brown and routed yellow, on finished wood.

1951: Preliminary studies are made regarding the location of a high-standard road through the North Fork Valley, which would connect with the western terminus of the Waterton Lakes National Park road system at Cameron Lake--thus forming a "Circle 8" highway system for the International Peace Park.

The Glacier Park Company's long-term contract expires and is renewed on an annual basis only for the 1952 season, while negotiations ensue between the Department of the Interior and the Company.

The Glacier Park Transport Company signs a new 20-year contract with the Department of the Interior to provide carrier services within the Park. This contract will expire in 1970.

The Great Northern's passenger launch "St. Mary"--used to carry passengers from the St. Mary Chalets to the Sun Point Chalets, and rendered expendable by the completion of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway--is sold and removed to Flathead Lake.

E. George Wellman, owner and operator of the Bear Creek Ranch in the John Stevens Canyon, assumes control of the saddle-horse concession in Glacier and functions from points throughout the Park for a number of years.

1952: The Goathaunt tent-camp site, as the American end of Waterton Lake, is burned and thereby restored to its natural state. This complex, earlier operated by the Park Saddle Horse Company, had not served visitors since the 1941 season.

An aluminum trail shelter is packed in and erected near the foot of Gunsight Lake by Park Service personnel, for the use of hikers in the area. This is the first attempt to provide hiker shelter since the demise of the Park Saddle Horse Company's tent camps during World War Two.

1953: The first Naturalist program in the new outdoor ampitheater at the foot of Lake McDonald, near Apgar Campground, is held. This occasion also marks the first outdoor, illustrated lecture in Park history.

The first loop of the new Apgar Campground is opened for visitor use, with other loops opening as they are completed, during the next several years.

1953: Arthur M. Burch, son of the Glacier Park Boat Company's Arthur Burch, and Raymond L. Simpson purchase the launch "DeSmet"--brought to Lake McDonald from Flathead Lake in 1930--and receive a 5-year concessionaire contract to operate the launch and auxiliary boats on Lake McDonald.

1954: The National Park Service purchases the Granite Park Chalet complex and the Sperry Chalet complex from the Great Northern Railway, for one dollar ($1.00) each. Ross Luding, of Martin City, receives the contract to operate these facilities.

A traveler-economic study, similar to the one conducted during the 1951 season, indicates the importance of Glacier Park to the tourist business of the entire State of Montana. The study's more ominous conclusion is that visitation to Glacier is increasing at a pace too rapid for Park facilities and management.

1955: The Great Northern Railway, in a move of consolidation, purchases the Glacier Park Transport Company from Howard Hayes and, thereby, assumes control of transportation within the Park--as well as control of accommodations facilities through its subsidiary Glacier Park Company. At this time the Railway is openly attempting to extricate itself from Glacier Park activities.

1956: The Great Northern begins a vast program of facility renovation, particularly applying to its hotel/chalet accommodations. The Railway subcontracts the management of its Glacier hotel operations to the Knutson Hotel Corporation, which embarks on some modern-entertainment endeavors. The Railway assumes this direction preparatory to an attempted package sale of its Glacier holdings.

The National Park Service's "Mission 66" 10-year program of visitor management and facility improvement commences, although its impact is not realized in Glacier until the 1958 season.

1960: The Great Northern Railway sells its entire Glacier Park holdings and operations to Don Hummel, an Arizona attorney with prior experience in national-park concession operations.

1961: Park officials schedule the contracting of the Camas Creek Cutoff Road (Glacier Route #8), from Apgar to the Camas Bridge over the North Fork of the Flathead River, in the Glacier View Canyon. This road construction would serve at least two purposes: the blockage of U.S. Army Corps of Engineers plans for a dam in the Glacier View Canyon; the initiation of the northern portion of a "Circle 8" transportation system.

1966: "Mission 66" culminates in Glacier Park with the dedication of two visitor centers to increase the Service's educational contact with travelers: St. Mary Visitor Center; Logan Pass Visitor Center.

Other facets of the "Mission 66" program improved campground facilities, sanitation operations, and particular interpretive services offered by the Park personnel to ever-increasing numbers of entrants.

1968: The Camas Creek Cutoff Road is opened to public use, thus becoming the first major project of new-road construction in Glacier Park in more than 30 years.

APPENDIX B

TRAVEL FIGURES FOR GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, 1910-1978

Year	*Entrants*	*Rail Arrivals*
1910	2,000[1]	
1911	4,000[1]	
1912	6,257	
1913	12,138	
1914	12,168	
1915	13,465	
1916	12,839	
1917	15,050	
1918	9,086[2]	
1919	18,956	
1920	22,449	
1921	19,736	
1922	23,935	
1923	33,988	
1924	33,372	
1925	40,063	
1926	36,901	
1927	41,745	8,856[3]
1928	53,454	9,401

Year	*Entrants*	*Rail Arrivals*
1929	70,742	10,182
1930	73,783	8,432
1931	59,846[4]	6,056
1932	53,202[4]	2,988
1933	76,615	3,852
1934	116,965	6,743
1935	143,240	7,698
1936	210,072	9,100
1937	194,522	8,655
1938	153,528[5]	8,305
1939	170,073	7,644
1940	177,307	7,950
1941	179,082	9,246
1942	63,080[6]	3,740
1943	23,496	4
1944	36,192	0
1945	67,179	0
1946	201,145	7,496
1947	324,396	9,679
1948	281,562	6,479
1949	478,839	6,758
1950	485,950	9,072
1951	500,125	6,479

Year	*Entrants*	*Rail Arrivals*
1952	630,949	5,738
1953	633,480	12,094
1954	608,230	7,737
1955	674,004	7,795
1956	718,938	9,325
1957	759,161	8,087
1958	706,841	5,245
1959	722,338	6,341
1960	724,538	8,254
1961	739,982	4,808[3]
1962	966,100[7]	
1963	811,214	
1964	642,100[8]	
1965	847,104	
1966	907,839	
1967	884,049	
1968	964,493	
1969	1,051,165	
1970	1,241,603	
1971	1,303,073	
1972	1,392,145	
1973	1,398,958	
1974	1,406,643	

Year	*Entrants*	*Rail Arrivals*
1975	1,571,393	
1976	1,662,678	
1977	1,656,212	
1978	1,601,131	

NOTES

1. This figure is estimated from pertinent correspondence in the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana, and in the Great Northern Railway Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

2. The single-year reduction is the result of the national commitment to World War I.

3. Rail travel figures are available for the 1927-1961 period only.

4. The net decrease is directly related to the economic displacement of the Great Depression.

5. With this figure commences a change in the Glacier National Park method of recording visitation, from "estimated persons per vehicle" to "actual count" only.

6. This is the first year of the four-season travel-curtailment caused by World War II.

7. The dramatic increase in this year is attributable to travel to and from the World's Fair in Seattle, Washington.

8. This proportional decrease was influenced by heavy flooding, during June, on both slopes of the Park.

APPENDIX C

SECRETARIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, 1893-1978

Hoke Smith	1893-1896
David R. Francis	1896-1897
Cornelius N. Bliss	1897-1899
Ethan A. Hitchcock	1899-1907
James R. Garfield	1907-1909
Richard A. Ballinger	1909-1911
Walter L. Fisher	1911-1913
Franklin K. Lane	1913-1920
John B. Payne	1920-1921
Albert B. Fall	1921-1923
Hubert Work	1923-1928
Roy O. West	1928-1929
Ray L. Wilbur	1929-1933
Harold L. Ickes	1933-1946
Julius A. Krug	1946-1949
Oscar L. Chapman	1949-1953
Douglas McKay	1953-1956
Fred A. Seaton	1956-1961
Stewart L. Udall	1961-1969
Walter J. Hickel	1969-1971
Rogers C. B. Morton	1971-1975

Thomas S. Kleppe	1975-1977
Cecil D. Andrus	1977-

APPENDIX D

DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, 1917-1978

Stephen T. Mather	1917-1929
Horace M. Albright	1929-1933
Arno B. Cammerer	1933-1940
Newton B. Drury	1940-1951
Arthur E. Demaray	1951
Conral L. Wirth	1951-1964
George B. Hartzog	1964-1973
Ronald H. Walker	1973-1975
Gary E. Everhart	1975-1977
William J. Whalen	1977-

APPENDIX E

SUPERINTENDENTS OF GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, 1910-1978

William R. Logan	1910-1912
Henry W. Hutchings	1912
Robert W. Chapman	1912
James L. Galen	1912-1914
Samuel F. Ralston	1914-1917
George E. Goodwin	1917
Walter W. Payne	1917-1920
George E. Goodwin	1920
Henry W. Hutchings	1920-1921
J. Ross Eakin	1921-1924
Henry W. Hutchings	1924
Charles J. Kraebel	1924-1927
Raymond R. Vincent	1927
J. Ross Eakin	1927-1931
Elvind T. Scoyen	1931-1939
Donald S. Libby	1939-1944
John W. Emmert	1944-1958
Stanley C. Joseph	1958
Edward A. Hummel	1958-1962
Harthon L. Bill	1962-1964
Keith P. Neilson	1964-1969

William J. Briggle	1969-1974
Phillip R. Iversen	1974-

APPENDIX F

PRESIDENTS OF THE GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY, 1890-1970

James J. Hill	1890-1907
Louis W. Hill	1907-1912*
Carl R. Gray	1912-1914
Louis W. Hill	1914-1919
Ralph Budd	1919-1931
William P. Kenney	1932-1939
Frank J. Gavin	1939-1951
John M. Budd	1951-1970

*Louis W. Hill held the position of Chairman of the Great Northern Railway's Board of Directors, 1912-1914, 1919-1931.

APPENDIX G

LIST OF GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY COMPANY FACILITIES

IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, 1914*

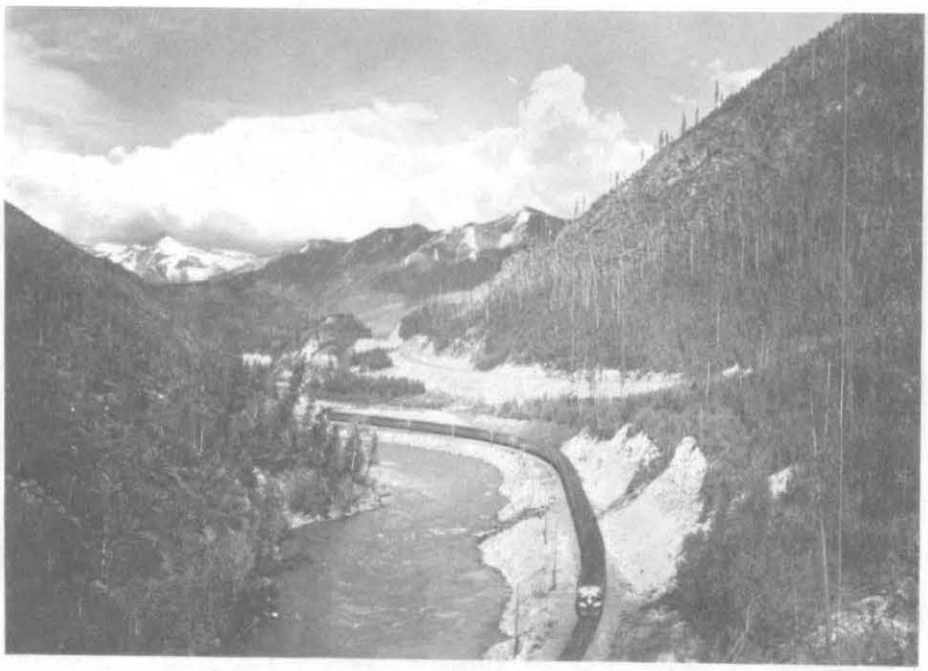
Location	*Present*		*Proposed*
GLACIER PARK STATION	1 Hotel	206' x 98'	
	1 Chalet	58'6" x 42'	
	4 Dormitories	34'2" x 102'8"	
	1 Warehouse	50' x 100'	
	1 Laundry	38' x 82'6") 72' x 36') 22' x 16')	
	1 Depot	96' x 24'	
	1 Water tank	16' x 24'	
	1 Depot toilet	12' x 20'	
	1 Power plant	22' x 16'	
	1 Gateway arch	36'6" x 33'	
	1 Storehouse	20' x 40'	
	1 Temporary depot	12' x 34'	
	1 Shop & warehouse	24' x 48'	
	1 Set wagon scales		
	1 Helps' Toilet	12' x 22'	
	1 Ice house	30' x 66'5"	
	1 Fire hall	18' x 20'	
	1 Kitchen	48' x 100'	
	2 Cottages (each)	24' x 42'	
	1 Cottage	27' x 36'	
	1 Stable	32' x 60'	
	1 Hotel Annex	243' x 75'	
	1 Garage	60' x 150'	
	1 Oil House	10' x 10'	
	1 Septic tank	42' x 102'	
	1 Oil House	10' x 10'	
	1 Coat & wood shed for cottages	6' x 10'	
	1 Feed shed	14' x 32'	
	2 Shacks each	14' x 20') 10' x 12'	

*Great Northern Railway Company Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, File #4325, Folder 6.

Location	*Present*		*Proposed*	
TWO MEDICINE CAMP	1 Dormitory	28' x 84'		
	1 Dining room & kitchen	18' x 78'		
	2 Cabins	18' x 18'		
	1 Cabin	28' x 28'		
	1 Dining room	42' x 85'8"		
	1 Laundry & toilet	20' x 49'		
	1 Generator House	14' x 18'		
	1 Septic tank	11' x 28'		
MILE POST 9	1 Telephone booth	3' x 4'		
NO. CUTBANK RIVER	1 Telephone booth	3' x 4'		
FOX CREEK DIVIDE	1 Telephone booth	3' x 4'		
			NOT TO BE BUILT UNTIL 1915:	
CUTBANK CAMP	1 Dining room & kitchen	18' x 78'	1 Dining room & kitchen	42' x 85'8"
	2 Cabins	18' x 18'	1 Dormitory	28' x 96'
	1 Cabin	28' x 28'	1 Laundry & toilet	20' x 49'
ST. MARY'S CAMP	1 Dining room & kitchen	42' x 85'8"		
	1 Recreation bldg.	28' x 96'		
	1 Cook house	18' x 60'		
	1 Dormitory	28' x 84'		
	1 Laundry & toilet	16' x 40'		
	3 Cabins	18' x 18'		
	1 Cabin	28' x 28'		
	1 Ice House	18' x 18'		
	1 Boat House	16' x 70')		
	End leanto	11' x 16'		
	1 Barn	14' x 18'		
	1 Toilet	12' x 22'		
	1 Ice House	16' x 24'		
	1 Generator House	14' x 18'		

PHOTO ESSAY

PLATE 1



The Great Northern Railway Company's "Empire Builder," westbound along the Middle Fork of the Flathead River, approximately four miles east of West Glacier; 1954. Since 1891 the Great Northern's tracks have skirted the southern boundary of Glacier National Park.

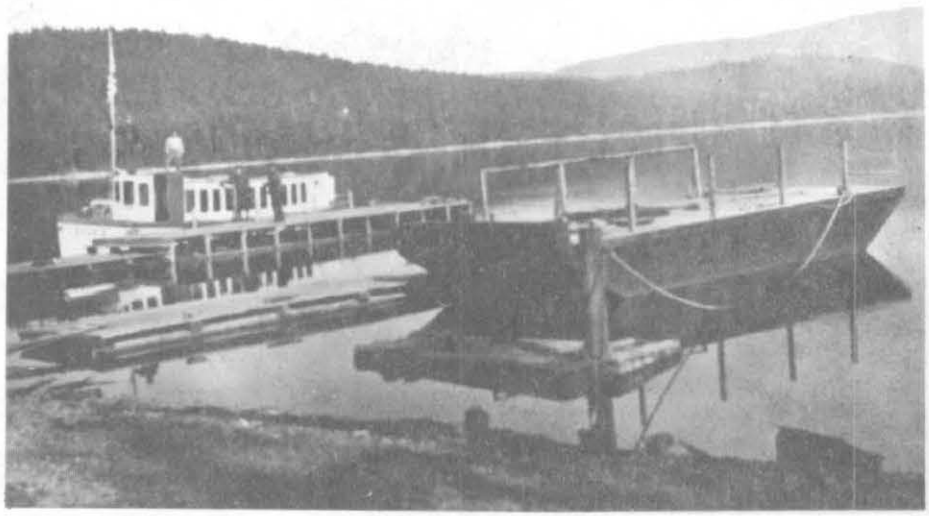
Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #6635).

PLATE 2

The original George Snyder hotel complex at the head of Lake McDonald; 1907. Snyder erected the central hotel building in 1895 and operated it successfully for more than a decade--despite the fact that the location obtained no road access until 1922. In 1913/1914, John E. Lewis built the Glacier Hotel on this site. This postcard-photo was publicized by the Great Northern Railway, although it did not own the hotel location until 1932.

Photo courtesy of Mrs. Helen Kelly and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #7636).

PLATE 3



Frank Kelly's launch, the "Cassie D," and a freight barge moored at the original docking facilities at the foot of Lake McDonald; 1909. Because of the lack of a road, launch and barge access was vital to reach private cabins, the Kelly Camp, the Geduhn cabins, and the Snyder Hotel at the head of the Lake.

Photo courtesy of E. J. Cruger and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #6272).

PLATE 4

The Great Northern Railway Company's depot at Belton, and the Belton Chalets; circa 1925. This West Glacier chalet complex was the first completed by the Great Northern Railway, in 1912; the Railway planned the establishment to become the western entrance to Glacier National Park, but the operation never successfully performed that function.

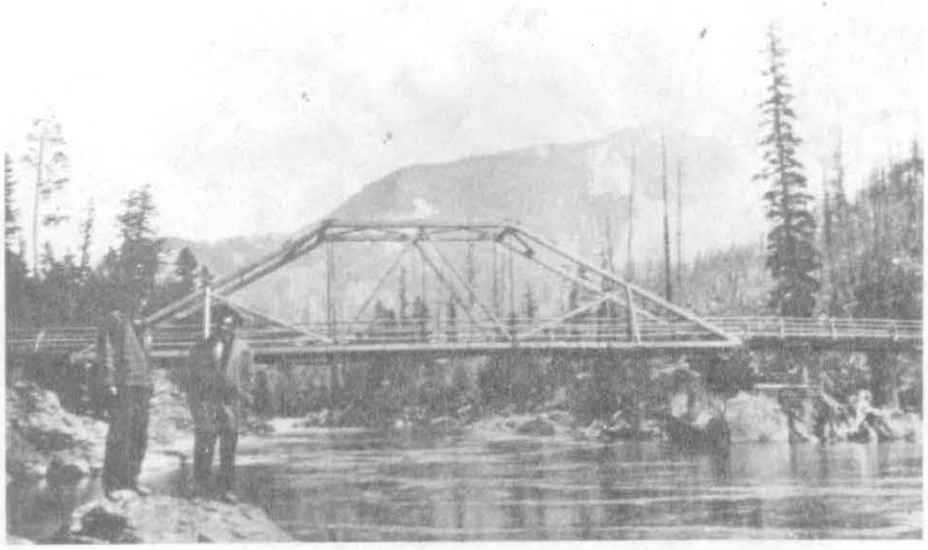
Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA unnumbered).

PLATE 5

The lower chalet in the Belton Chalets complex, looking west along the Roosevelt Highway (US #2) and the Great Northern Railway tracks; circa 1928. Although the Belton Chalets possessed both road and railroad access, visitors preferred the accommodations at either ends of scenic Lake McDonald, only a few miles distant.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #8131).

PLATE 6



The first bridge constructed (1897) across the Middle Fork of the Flathead River between West Glacier and Apgar; 1913. This bridge permitted stage lines to operate between West Glacier and the foot of Lake McDonald; it served until 1920, when it was replaced by the concrete-arch bridge in approximately the same location.

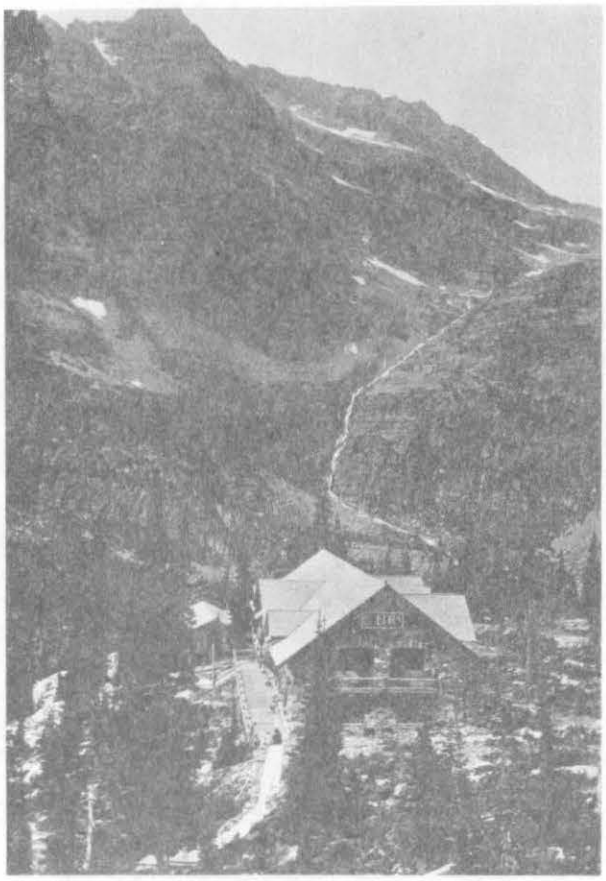
Photo courtesy of O. A. Nelson and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #6624).

PLATE 7

Workmen creating a trail tread near Switchback #21 on the Heavens Peak Lookout Trail; 1941. The vast majority of trails in Glacier National Park were built and have been maintained by means of such hand labor.

Photo courtesy of H. J. Woodward and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #578).

PLATE 8



The Sperry Chalets, located seven miles from the Glacier Hotel and seventeen miles from the Going-to-the-Sun Chalets, in the Sprague Creek drainage; circa 1925. This chalet complex was built by the Great Northern Railway in 1912/1913 and named for Professor Lyman B. Sperry, an 1895 traveler to the Sperry Glacier area, and the builder of the first trail into the basin from the head of Lake McDonald (1902).

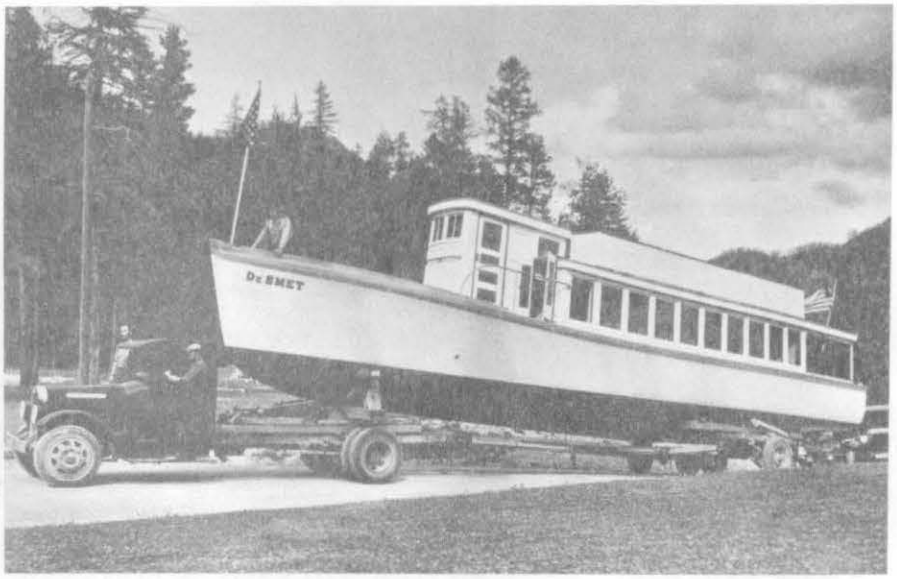
Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #8060).

PLATE 9

John E. Lewis' Glacier Hotel, situated at the head of Lake McDonald; circa 1920. The hotel was constructed by Lewis in 1913/1914 and it operated without road access until 1922; Lewis sold the hotel to the Great Northern Railway in 1932.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #8017).

PLATE 10



The launch "DeSmet," enroute to Lake McDonald, at the top of the Middle Fork Hill in the Glacier National Park Headquarters compound; 1930. The launch was built in the Flathead Valley for the Glacier Park Transport Company, which held the launch concession on Lake McDonald at the time. The "DeSmet" joined three other gasoline launches in the Lake McDonald fleet.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #38-30).

PLATE 11

Great Northern Railway Chairman Louis W. Hill, accompanied by his sons and three Blackfoot tribesmen, including Chief Two Guns White Calf (second from left); circa 1920. Hill was personally responsible for the provision of significant access routes and accommodations facilities within Glacier National Park between 1907 and 1929.

Photo courtesy of Miss Lory Morrow and the Montana State Historical Society, Helena, Montana.

PLATE 12

A Great Northern Railway passenger train disgorging tourists at the Glacier Park Station depot, while Glacier Park Transport Company Busses await; 1930. The Railway used this East Glacier station as the "Gateway to Glacier National Park," hence the welcoming arch. Please see also Plate 13.

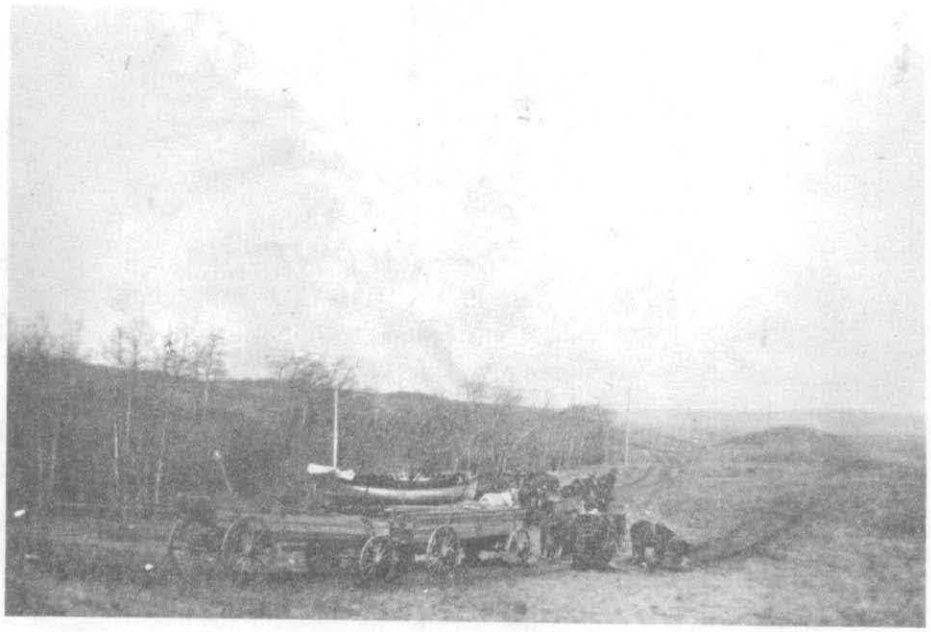
Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #92-30).

PLATE 13

The Great Northern Railway Company's Glacier Park Hotel, situated immediately north of the East Glacier depot; circa 1930. This hotel complex, built in 1912/1913, functioned as the "Gateway to Glacier Park," and specifically to the Railway's concessionaire operations on the Park's East Side.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #1002X).

PLATE 14



Wagon-freighting the first launch for St. Mary Lake from Browning to the foot of the Lake, a distance of approximately forty-five miles; 1912. Not only was the Great Northern Railway freighter transporting the launch, but a considerable load of construction materials for the building of the St. Mary and Going-to-the-Sun Chalets complexes.

Photo courtesy of O. A. Nelson and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #6842).

PLATE 15

The "good old days" of auto and bus travel on the Blackfeet Highway and its spurs; 1914-1915.
--Photos #1, #2, #4, #5: Busses encumbered by mud on the Milk River Slide portion of the Blackfeet Highway.
--Photo #3: A bus fording Two Medicine Creek, prior to the construction of necessary bridges.
--Photo #6: An auto overtaking and passing a bus on the Babb-Many Glacier road.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier Park Transport Company.

PLATE 16

Tourists at the St. Mary Chalet complex loading into Glacier Park Transport Company busses for the morning's trip to Many Glacier; circa 1928. The Glacier Park Hotel Company thus shuttled some of its guests through the string of East Side hotels and camps, stretching from Glacier Park Station north to Waterton townsite. Please see also Plate 17.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #3112).

PLATE 17

The St. Mary Chalets complex and the launch "St. Mary," docked at the foot of the Lake; circa 1920. Another option for the hotel-guest was a trip on the "St. Mary" to the Going-to-the-Sun Chalets near the head of the Lake.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA unnumbered).

PLATE 18

The launch "St. Mary" plying below the Going-to-the-Sun Chalets complex, situated at the Lake's Upper Narrows; circa 1929. This chalet group, constructed in 1912/1913 and razed in 1948/1949, was inaccessible except by boat until 1925.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #3129).

PLATE 19

Glacier Park Transportation Company busses approaching Many Glacier along Sherburne Lake; 1916. A portion of the Babb-Many Glacier Road, into Sherburne Lake, was constructed by the U.S. Reclamation Service. Louis W. Hill, Chairman of the Great Northern Railway, took the first auto over the newly completed road to Many Glacier in 1913.

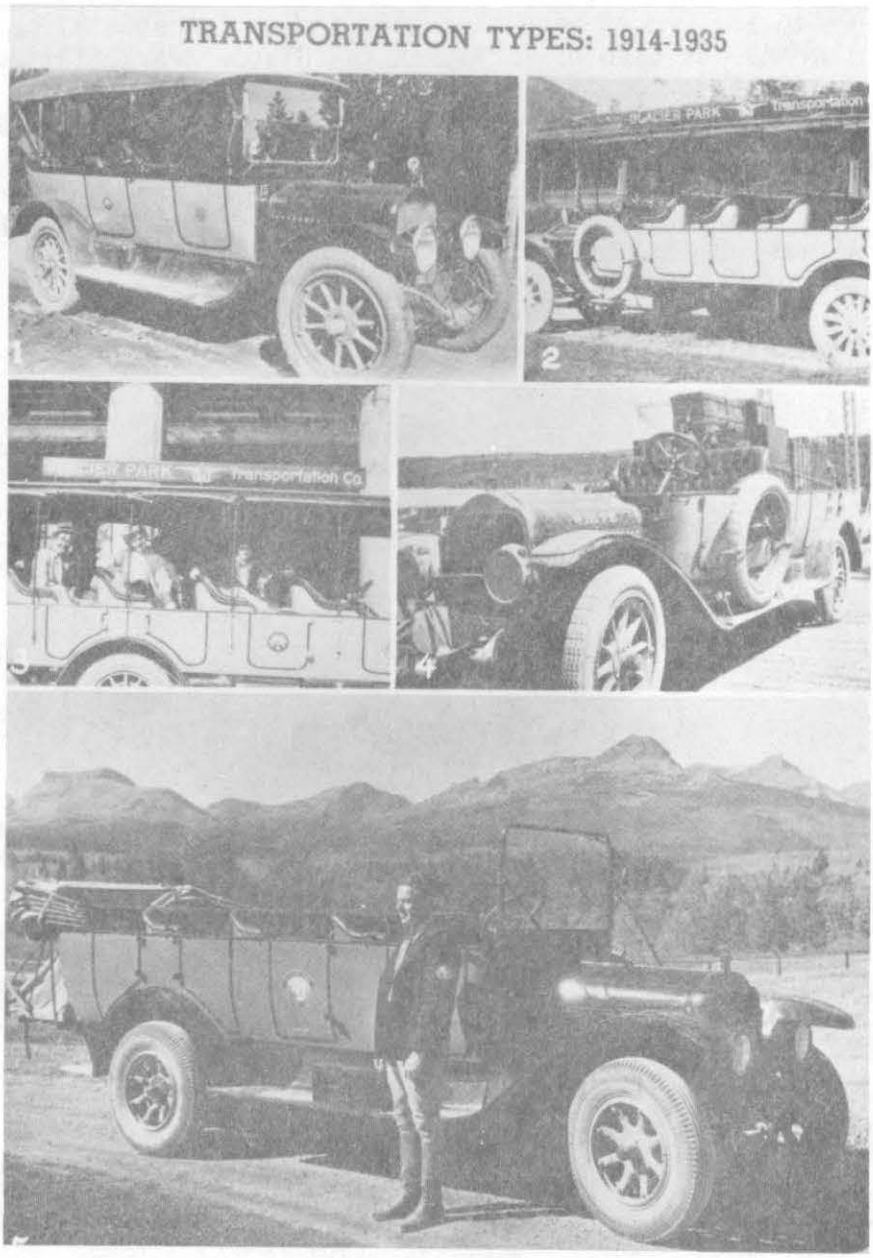
Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #7729).

PLATE 20

The Many Glacier Hotel and Chalets, on Swiftcurrent (foreground) and Josephine Lakes; circa 1931. The hotel and chalet complexes were constructed in 1914/1915/1916 and quickly became the crown jewel of the Great Northern Railway's East Side transportation-accommodations network.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #4033).

PLATE 21



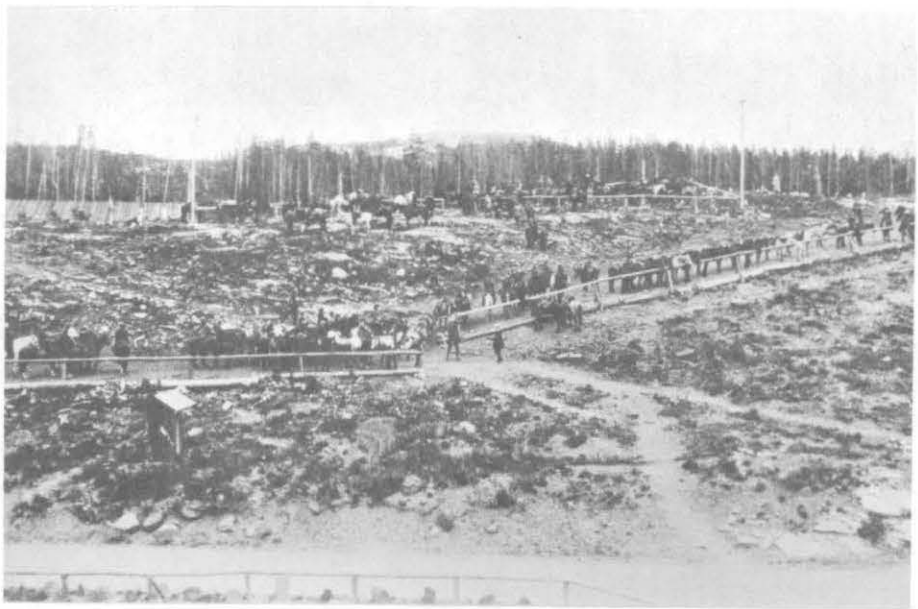
Various models of touring cars and busses used in Glacier National Park visitor-transportation; 1914-1935. Following the use of horse-drawn stages, these bus models constituted the prime means of hotel-guest transport.

--Photo #1: A White Motor Company deluxe touring car, circa 1914; one of the three busses brought into Glacier National Park by Rowe Emery in 1912 for East Side transport.

--Photo #2: A sixteen-passenger Glacier Transportation Company bus used between the Belton depot and Lewis' Glacier Hotel, 1920s.
--Photo #3: An eleven-passenger Glacier Transportation Company bus used primarily on the Glacier Park Station-Many Glacier route, 1915.
--Photo #4: An eleven-passenger model modified to transport baggage and freight between hotels on the East Side, circa 1920.
--Photo #5: A standard model of the Glacier Park Transport Company fleet used between 1924 and 1935, with uniformed driver.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier Park Transport Company.

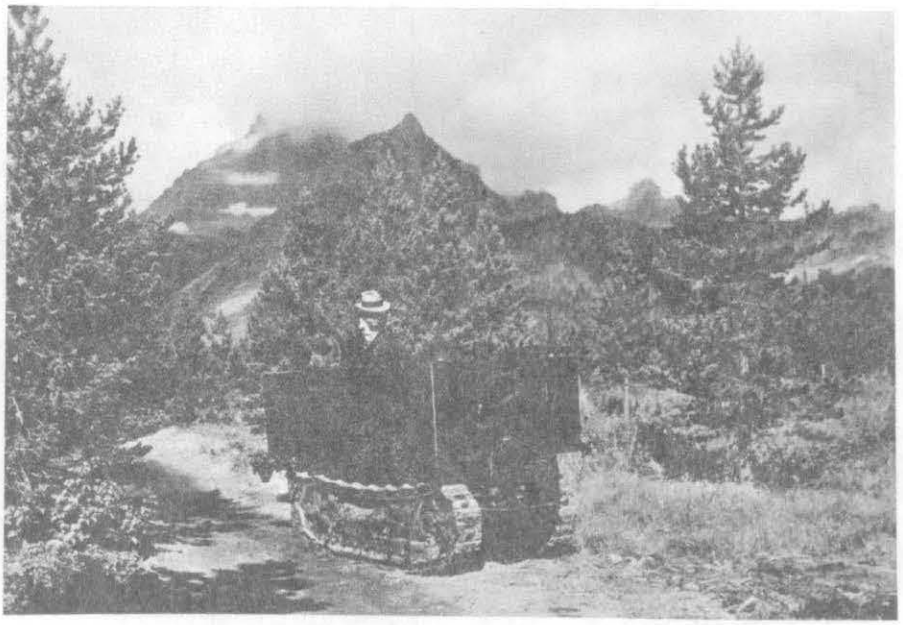
PLATE 22



Horse strings and guides preparing various saddle-horse parties at the hitch rack immediately opposite the Many Glacier Hotel; circa 1925. Operating as the Park Saddle Horse Company, under the -X6 brand, W. N. Noffsinger developed an extensive network of trail rides throughout Glacier National Park between 1915 and 1942.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #4031).

PLATE 23



A trail oiler operated by Glacier National Park personnel on heavily traveled Park trails; 1932. As a result of the extensive saddle-horse use of Park trails during the 1920s, the Park instituted a trail-oiling program to minimize dust clouds for riders.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #60-32).

PLATE 24

A Park Saddle Horse Company party mounted at the Crossley Lake Tent Camp; circa 1930. The party was engaged in the "North Circle" trip, during which it spent one night at this camp, erected by the Company (1925-1941) for accommodations purposes.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #5059).

PLATE 25

A Park Saddle Horse Company party at the Goathaunt Chalets and Tent Camp complex, on the southern shore of Waterton Lake; 1932. This camp was another on the "North Circle" route, the third being located at Fifty Mountain.

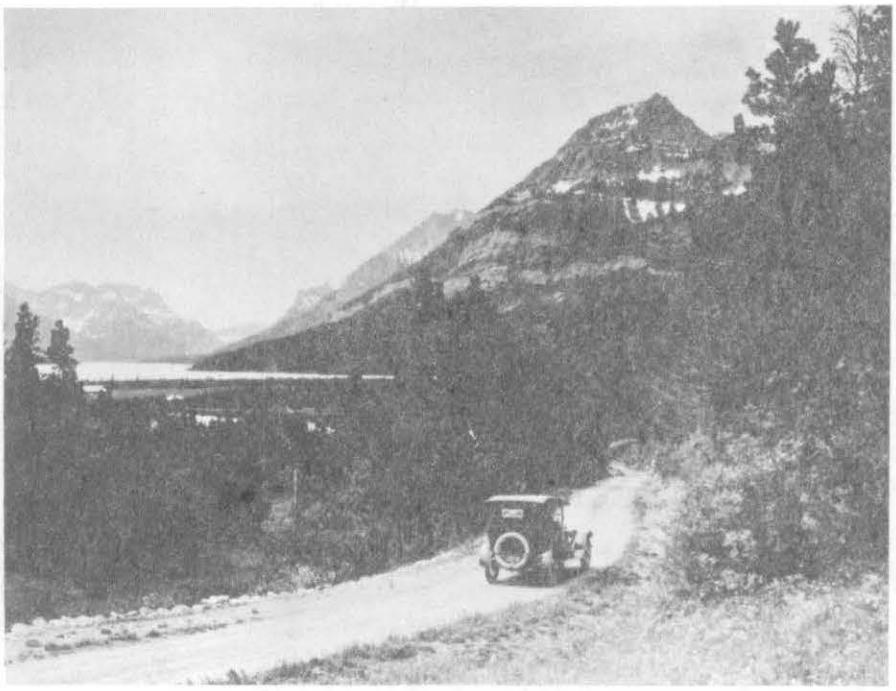
Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #19-32).

PLATE 26

The Great Northern Railway's Engine No. 2030, westbound, but holding, at the Glacier Park Station; 1925. Although the Great Northern developed an extensive transportation-accommodations system in Glacier National Park, and benefitted from passenger travel to the Park, by far the greatest proportion of the line's Montana revenue derived from freight transport.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #283-25).

PLATE 27



Touring car on the entrance road to Waterton Townsite, in Waterton Lakes National Park; circa 1924. Prior to the opening of the Chief Mountain International Highway, in 1936, American access to Waterton Lake depended on the circuitous "Prairie Route," via Babb and Cardston.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #53).

PLATE 28

Waterton Lake, the Prince of Wales Hotel, and Waterton Townsite, in Waterton Lakes National Park; circa 1930. The Hotel, built (1926/1927) and operated by a Great Northern Railway Company subsidiary, was the northern-most component of the Railway's East Side transportation-accommodations network.

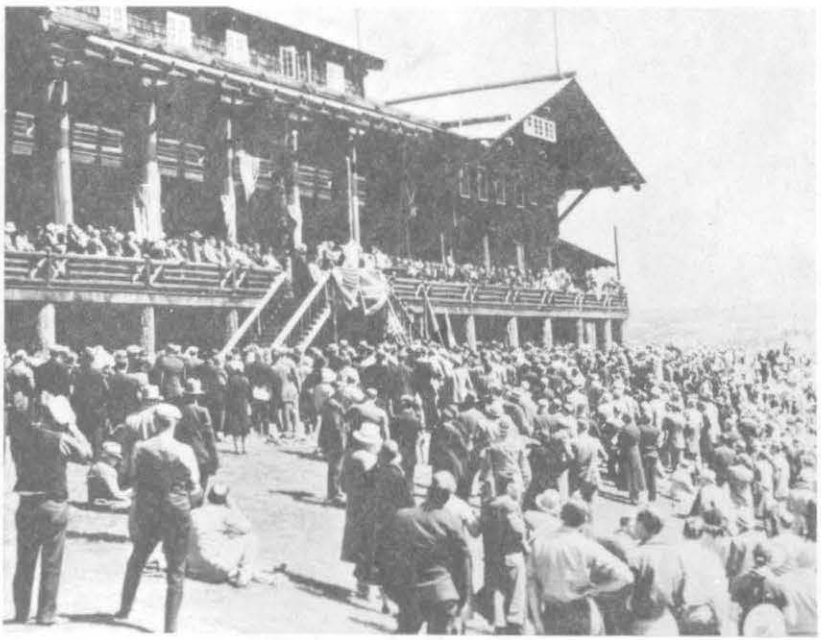
Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #6607).

PLATE 29

The Glacier Park Hotel Company's launch "International," plying the southern end of Waterton Lake, near the Goat-haunt Chalets complex; circa 1931. The "International" was launched in 1928, has a capacity of 250 passengers, and has remained in service to the present.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #6611).

PLATE 30



Rotary International's ceremony, at the Glacier Park Hotel in East Glacier, dedicating the new Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park; June 18, 1932. This commemoration marked the union of two adjacent national parks and the institution of the first international park.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #59-32).

PLATE 31

A commemoration service held at one of two peace cairns located on the Chief Mountain International Highway, at the International Boundary; July 16, 1951. This ceremony was sponsored by Rotary International, as was the case with many Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park projects.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana; included in the PARK SUPERINTENDENT'S MONTHLY NARRATIVE REPORT for July, 1951.

PLATE 32

Roadside-cleanup project on a section of the Going-to-the-Sun Road along Lake McDonald; circa 1934. This work is illustrative not only of the type of work performed in Glacier National Park by the Civilian Conservation Corps (1934-1941), but also of the importance placed on this major transportation route by the Glacier National Park administrations.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #379).

PLATE 33

Tour bus headed west on the Akamina Highway, between Waterton Townsite and Cameron Lake, in Waterton Lakes National Park; 1927. This road approaches Akamina Pass in the Continental Divide, and is the logical route for a "Northern Loop" link with Glacier National Park.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #6564).

PLATE 34

The North Fork Road, several miles south of its crossing of Logging Creek, on Glacier National Park's West Side; circa 1930. This route, originally constructed in 1901, extends from the foot of Lake McDonald to Kintla Lake; it was extensively reconstructed during the 1920s.

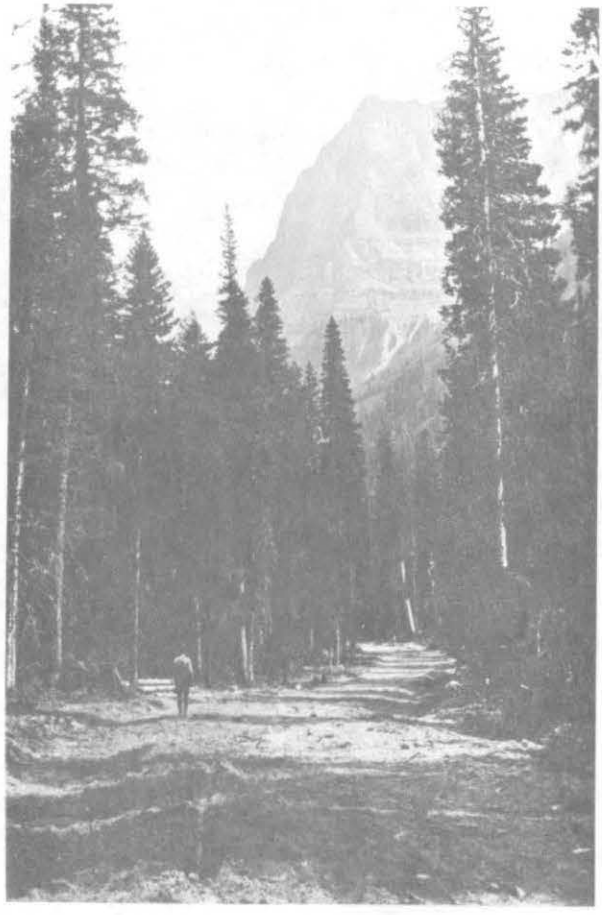
Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #7702).

PLATE 35

An automobile heading east on the Roosevelt Highway (US #2), at this point within Glacier National Park; circa 1932. This road links East Glacier with West Glacier, along the southern boundary of Glacier National Park. The route opened in 1930 and provided the first trans-mountain automobile traffic in the Glacier area.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #9029).

PLATE 36



A portion of the Going-to-the-Sun Road right-of-way, cut through the cedar forest along Lake McDonald, near Lewis' Glacier Hotel; circa 1921. This portion of the trans-mountain highway was the first constructed, and it provided the initial raod access to the Hotel.

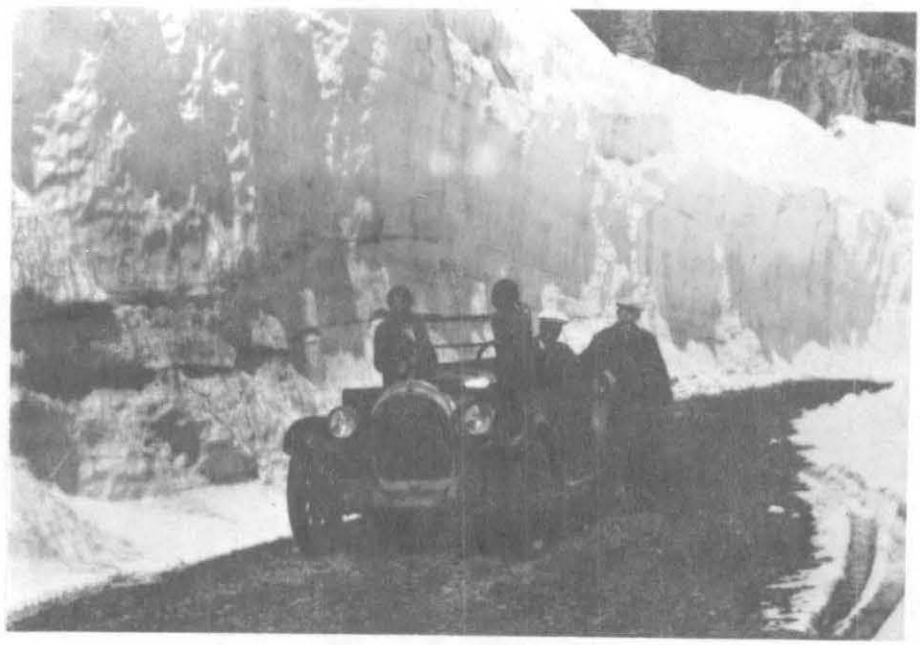
Photo courtesy of Mrs. Cora Hutchings and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #9464).

PLATE 37

Automobile in the Horseshoe Curve, immediately west of Logan Pass on the Going-to-the-Sun Road; circa 1930. Although construction made the West Side approach to the Pass accessible in 1929, the entire route did not open until the 1933 season.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #8146).

PLATE 38



Automobile tourists below the "Big Drift" on the Going-to-the-Sun Road's West Side; circa 1930. Prior to the opening of the route for through traffic, in 1933, automobile travel on the Road's western approach to Logan Pass increased dramatically.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #8274).

PLATE 39

Construction work on the Going-to-the-Sun Road's eastern approach to Logan Pass; circa 1931. Despite seemingly insurmountable obstacles, engineers and construction crews carved this portion of roadway with rapidity.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #4519).

PLATE 40

Ceremony at Logan Pass, marking the opening of the Going-to-the-Sun Road; July 15, 1933. This gala celebration included the placement of a plaque honoring the memory of Stephen T. Mather, first Director of the National Park Service and a longtime benefactor of Glacier National Park.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #8137).

PLATE 41

Three different models of Glacier Park Transport Company tour busses astride Logan Pass; circa 1936. Once opened to through traffic, in 1933, the Going-to-the-Sun Road trip proved the most popular within the Park.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #8168).

PLATE 42

The construction of a rock retaining wall along the Going-to-the-Sun Road; 1936. Although this western approach to Logan Pass had been open since 1929, workers continued to use the abbreviated construction season to complete and maintain the Road.

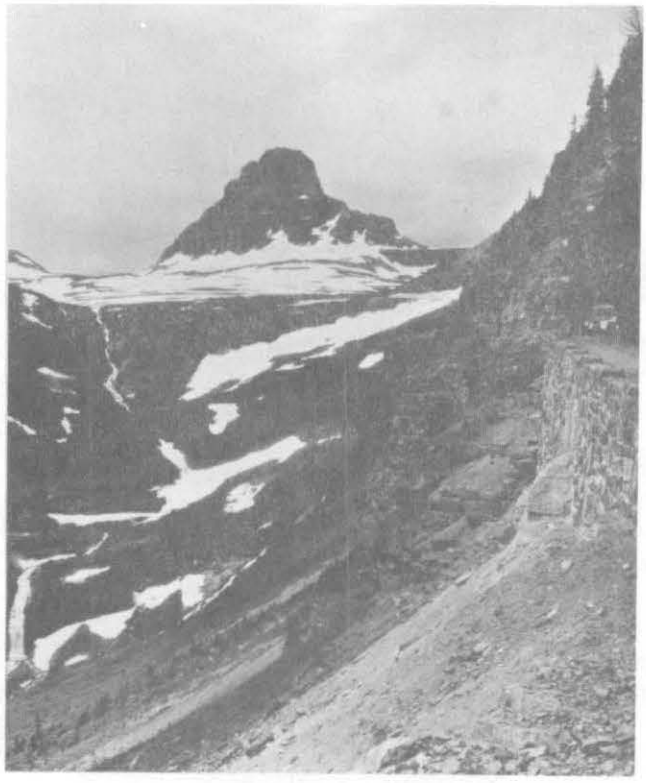
Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #2635).

PLATE 43

Snow removal on the Going-to-the-Sun Road, about three miles west of Logan Pass; June 10, 1932. Once constructed, the Road required annually this type of plowing and snow-drift blasting to permit early access to the summit.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #3698).

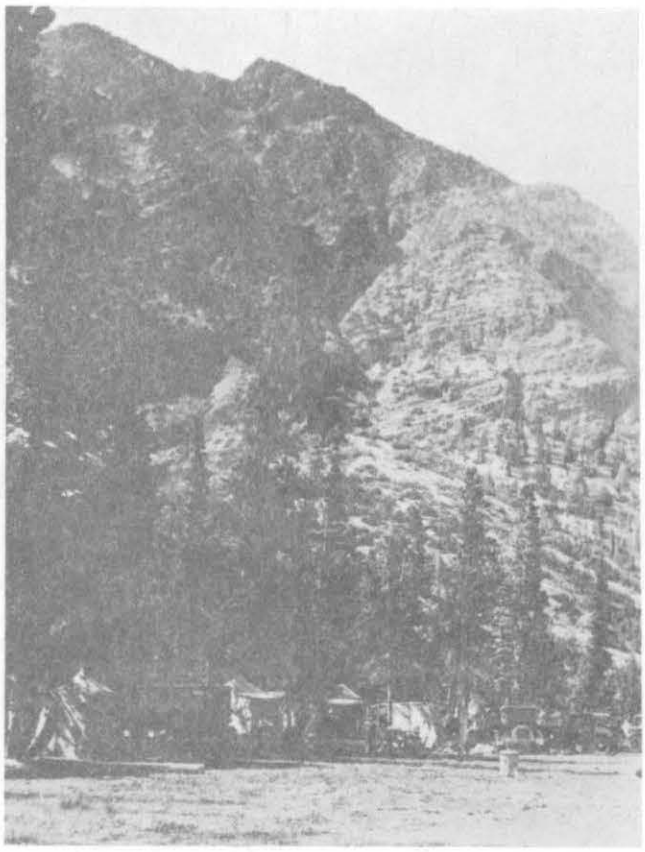
PLATE 44



Mount Clements and the East Side Tunnel on the Going-to-the-Sun Road; circa 1935. This most spectacular of transmountain routes altered significantly the character of the Glacier National Park traveler and the services he required.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #3193).

PLATE 45



Glacier National Park campground at Two Medicine Lake; 1930. The combination of the advent of the private automobile and the construction of the Going-to-the-Sun Road increased dramatically the number of Park visitors who required camping facilities.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #89-30).

PLATE 46

Duplex auto cottages, constructed at Rising Sun, along St. Mary Lake, on the Going-to-the-Sun Road; 1941. Glacier National Park visitor-needs changed, to campgrounds and auto camps, with the advent of the automobile and the opening of the Road to through traffic in 1933.

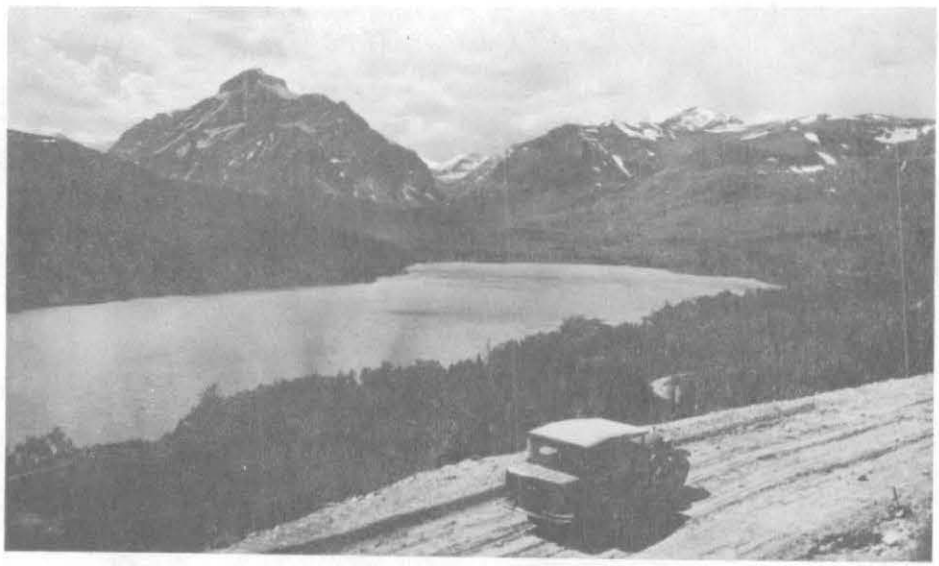
Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #751).

PLATE 47

Automobile and road gates at the Glacier National Park boundary on the Chief Mountain International Highway, linking Glacier and Waterton Lakes National Parks; 1941. The use of road gates was one means employed by Glacier Park administrations to control increased traffic to and within the Park.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #1015).

PLATE 48



The Two Medicine Valley and Lower Lake from its access road off the Blackfeet Highway; circa 1936. The Two Medicine Road was reconstructed during the 1920s to alleviate problems caused by the development of the Lower Two Medicine Lake Dam project.

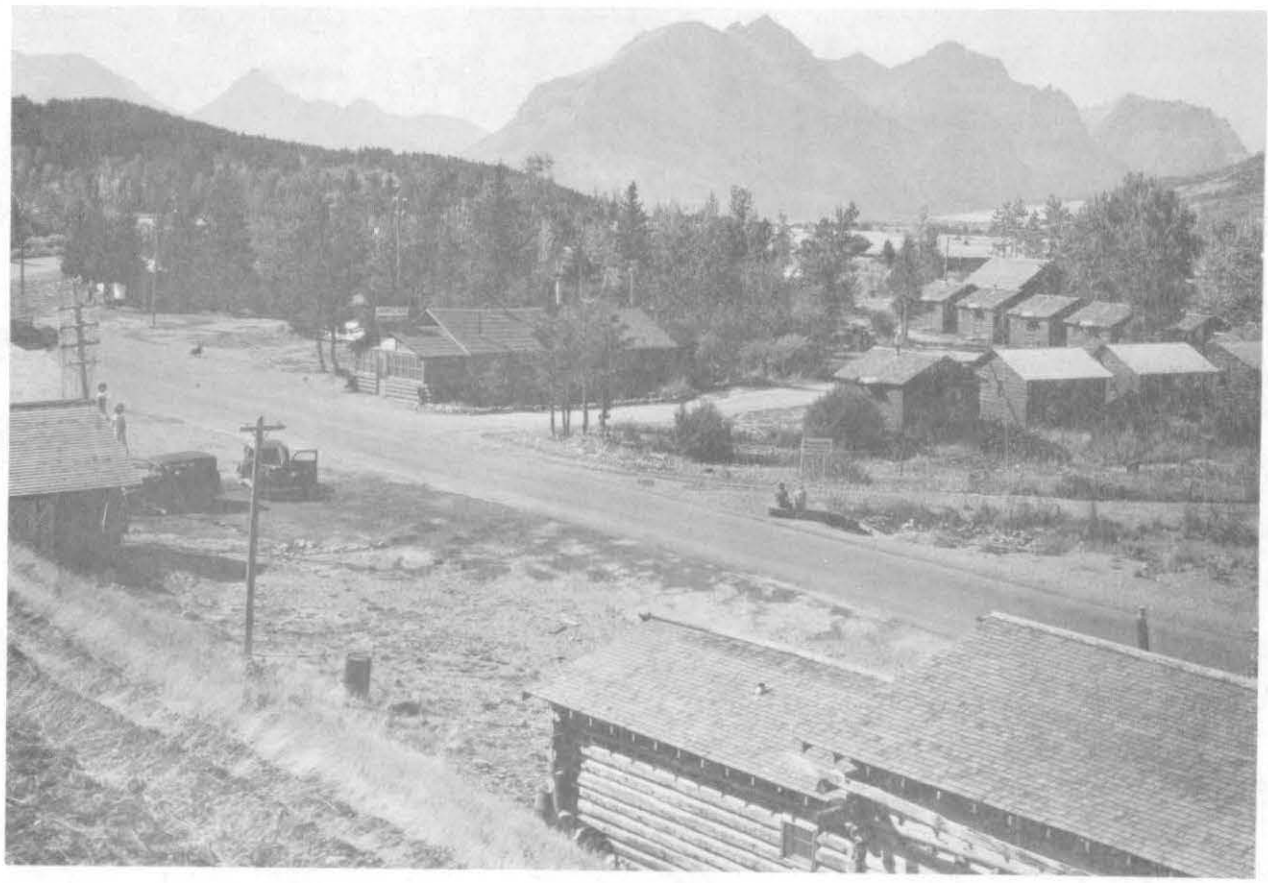
Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #1051).

PLATE 49

Automobiles, concessionaire busses, and visitors at Logan Pass on the Going-to-the-Sun Road; 1940. The combination of the advent of the automobile and the opening of this Road so increased traffic in Glacier National Park, during the late 1930s, that new management policies were adopted by Park administrations.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #11-40).

PLATE 50



Black's visitor-accommodation complex at St. Mary, immediately outside the boundary of Glacier National Park; circa 1941. Black's operation is typical of the demand placed on visitor facilities in the Glacier area by increased auto traffic.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA unnumbered).

PLATE 51

Pickup-camper and trailer-house camping in the Apgar Campground at the foot of Lake McDonald; 1960. Following World War II, Glacier National Park experienced a significant rise in the number of visitors who relied on self-contained camping units, thus altering their needs.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #7092).

PLATE 52

The Swiftcurrent Motels and Cabin Camp, in the Many Glacier Valley; 1956. The post-World War II period also increased the visitor demand for these types of accommodations and Glacier National Park administrations endeavored to provide them.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #6948).

PLATE 53

Many Glacier Hotel complex amid the melting snow drifts; late May, 1972. Glacier National Park concessionaires always have been burdened by severe weather conditions, restricted access to their operations, and an extremely short operating season.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA unnumbered).

PLATE 54

Automobile parking circle adjacent to Two Medicine Lake; 1960. This project is typical of the "Mission 66" work completed in Glacier National Park, in that it provided better access to the Park's scenery while better controlling increased visitor numbers.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #7012).

PLATE 55

Family group hiking along the Hidden Lake Overlook Trail, from Logan Pass; 1963. This type of self-guided trail development is also indicative of "Mission 66" work in Glacier National Park: access to the Park's scenery is increased and control of the larger numbers of visitors is increased.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #8584).

PLATE 56

A caravan of Canadian and American national-park personnel, pausing along the lower reaches of the Camas Creek Road; 1969. The purpose of this inspection trip was to survey the proposed "Northern Loop" route, to link Glacier National Park with Waterton Lakes National Park on the west side of the Continental Divide.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA #9357).

PLATE 57

A typical hiker in Glacier National Park's alpine country, enjoying its spectacular scenery; circa 1940. For all the advancement in the Park's transportation-accommodations system since 1895, Glacier remains an area in which the hiker still can experience such grandeur.

Photo courtesy of the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (Hileman #3222D).

PLATE 58

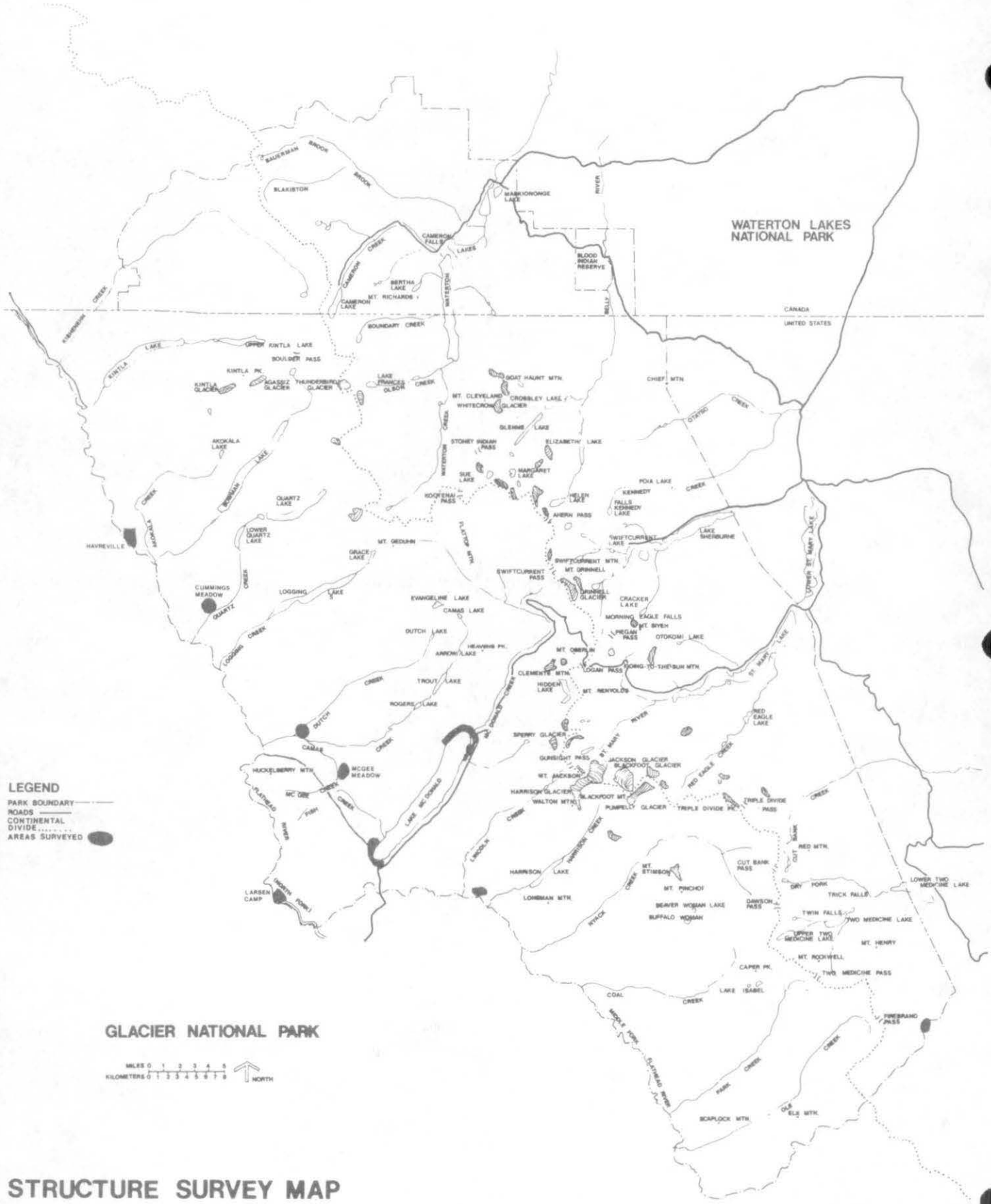
The Two Medicine Camp Store, located on Two Medicine Lake; circa 1964. This building was one of the original Great Northern Railway Company chalets, built at this location in 1912. Its conversion to a supply store for campers is indicative of the evolution of the Glacier National Park visitor.

Photo courtesy of the Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (GNPA unnumbered).

PART II:

HISTORIC STRUCTURES SURVEY

(The following recommendations in this section for nomination to the National Register are only recommendations. They are, of course, not binding on either the owners of the structures or the National Park Service.)



STRUCTURE SURVEY MAP

INTRODUCTION

The structures survey segment of the Glacier National Park Historic Resources Study summarizes architectural and historical information on 145 privately-owned sites within the Park. The structures survey was concentrated in the Lake McDonald region of Glacier Park. In October, 1978, Historical-Architect James McDonald surveyed all private landholdings in this area. He also examined a number of sites in the North Fork Valley and selected areas on the Park's East Side.

Approximately 210 structures were located, described, mapped and photographed. Following the recording process, Historical Research Associates assigned a staff member to research ownership data on the extant structures at the Flathead County Courthouse in Kalispell, Montana. Research in primary and secondary sources and interviews with local informants also were conducted in an effort to document the historical importance of the sites.

The historical data, and architectural evaluation of Mr. McDonald, was employed in a determination of the eligibility of these sites for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. The criteria for determining historic and architectural significance of sites is listed in 36 CFR Part 60.

> The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects of State and local importance that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and
>
> (a) That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
>
> (b) That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

(c) That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

(d) That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

The Historical-Architect and the HRA historians used this criteria to assess the Glacier National Park sites and to recommend five resources for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

LOWER LAKE McDONALD AREA: History of Private Development, 1889-1975

The history of private development around the lower end of Lake McDonald is tied directly to the question of administrative jurisdiction. The area's settlement, the nature and the commercial pursuits of its settlers, and the subsequent, restricted development all depend on governmental legislation applicable to the sector. For instance, the area experienced formal, if passive, federal jurisdiction with the creation of Montana Territory (1864); later it was included (1889) in the State of Montana. More important, the area fell (1897) within the Lewis and Clark Forest Reserve and then (1908) within the Blackfeet National Forest, administered from Kalispell by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. From Blackfeet Forest land, Glacier National Park was created (1910).[1]

Some white trappers, explorers, and adventurers visited the Lake McDonald area during the nineteenth century. However, concerted white settlement of the lower end of the Lake was a result of the construction of the Great Northern Railway's tracks west of the Midvale (East Glacier) station. The building of a tote road along this right-of-way commenced in 1890, and the completed tracks reached the Belton (West Glacier) station in 1891.[2] The first settlers at the foot of the Lake--Milo B. Apgar and Charles Howe--entered the sector (1897) pushing a two-wheeled cart along this right-of-way.[3]

The completion of the Great Northern's tracks to Kalispell (1892) and to the West Coast (1893) stimulated tourists to venture into the Lake McDonald Valley during the 1892 and 1893 seasons. Both Apgar and Howe constructed (1892ff.) cabins to accommodate these travelers. Frank Geduhn, who had built (1893) a vertical-log cabin near the Apgar and Howe locations, later removed to the head of the Lake to provide similar cabin facilities. Thus, from the inception of white settlement, tourist accommodation has prevailed at either end of the Lake.[4]

One other settlement pattern pertinent to this sector at the foot

of Lake McDonald quickly applied: the development of extended-family claims. In 1895 Apgar's brother, Harvey Dimon Apgar, located at the Lake's outlet. The latter Apgar subsequently constructed (1896ff.) a large dining room/kitchen building and several tourist cabins along the lake shore; after him the small community ultimately was named.[5]

Prior to the construction of the first bridge (1897), travelers and residents from Belton used rowboats to cross the Middle Fork of the Flathead River, and then walked or rode horses, wagons, or buckboards to the foot of Lake McDonald. They followed a rough road--crudely hacked (1893) from the western-redcedar forest by local residents, and improved (1895) by those residents to assist the wagon-freighting of George Snyder's forty-foot steamboat from the Belton depot to its Lake launching site.[6]

As a result of the improved access after 1897, however, settlement along the foot of Lake McDonald increased. Between 1897 and 1910, a number of important land claims and titles were filed, including: George L. Ramsey (1901, 1908), Charles M. Russell (1906), Edwin A. Snyder (1907), Dr. Roderick Houston (1908), and H. D. Apgar's additional tract (1908).[7] With the discovery (1898) of significant oil seepages in the upper reaches of the North Fork Valley, the area also became the terminus of the first North Fork Road (1901), which stretched to Lower Kintla Lake.[8]

The settlement character of the lower Lake McDonald area, during the period of 1892 to 1910, was dictated by primitive and seasonal access, as well as by economic necessity. Since farming the cedar-forested land was impossible, settlers relied upon hunting, trapping, and tourist-accommodation activities for their livelihood--occasionally taking quick-cash jobs outside the sector. The exception to this pattern was the development of summer residences, by persons who earned their living beyond the immediate area--such as the artist Charlie Russell, the Flathead Valley physician Roderick Houston, and the Great Northern Railway Vice-President Marcus J. Gruber.

A government-jurisdiction change seriously affected that area at the foot of Lake McDonald in 1910. With the creation of Glacier National Park, additional private-land claims within the reserve were disallowed.

Title-holders and pending-claimants became "inholders" who, by a clause in the enabling legislation, were allowed to retain their land. More significant, the designation of this national park increased both seasonal visitation to, and permanent settlement within, the sector. For example, the first Glacier Park superintendents maintained their summer headquarters (1911-1913) in H. D. Apgar's cabins at the foot of the Lake. Between 1910 and 1929, other Park administrators and employees joined the Apgar community as permanent residents. They established residence either by renting existent cabins, or by leasing cabin sites from the Park and building their own log house, or by purchasing such sites from private landholders. The Greenwalt and Sibley families, both of whom arrived in 1912, are illustrative of this pattern.

As the volume of summer visitation increased--much of it the result of the Great Northern Railway's national publicity campaigns--Apgar accommodations kept pace, particularly in the form of small, cedar-log cabins for rent. Many families returned annually to these cabins, captured by the sector's scenic beauty. Since Glacier Park's enabling legislation permitted limited logging and the land south of the Middle Fork of the Flathead remained in the Flathead National Forest, loggers' families also moved into the community.[9]

During the 1910-1929 period, visitor-accommodation facilities were stimulated by the development of the western portion of the Going-to-the-Sun Road (1919-1929). The Gold Brothers' Bungalow (1922) and the Greenwalt's service station (1924), both at the foot of Lake McDonald, are typical examples of this type of seasonal facility.[10] Yet another trend in community evolution occurred during this period: the subdivision of original, 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.[11]

Forest fires had threatened that area situated at the foot of Lake McDonald several times since the extensive fire of 1910. For instance, in 1925, tongues of fire reached the Middle Fork; in 1926, much of the Howe Ridge side of the Lake burned, including the Marcus J. Gruber cabin, one mile above Fish Creek.[12] Yet, the Half-Moon Fire of 1929 dramatically altered the sector in question. This forest fire had raged for two weeks prior to jumping the Middle Fork and burning extensive portions of the Apgar Flats area. The holocaust burned to the shore of Lake McDonald, taking most of the private, cedar-log dwellings. Several places were saved, though, as a result of heroic firefighting: the George Weightman buildings, a portion of the Apgar cabin complex, the Greenwalt service station, Dr. Houston's house, the Grubers' second log home, the Apgar Schoolhouse, Gus Aubert's home, and Charlie Russell's Studio and Bull's Head Lodge.[13]

Into the ashes moved the National Park Service, armed with a special appropriation to purchase private land along the lake shore. Although the Park administration had wished to obtain these inholdings earlier, the money just was not available. Through their 1930 purchases, however, the Park secured much of the lake shore--but could not eliminate private holdings off the shoreline. In fact, a number of sellers who wished to remain in Apgar used the sale money to buy *larger* lots back from the Lake, in such quickly subdivided parcels as that owned by William Sibley.[14]

The character of the Apgar community changed as a result of the Fire of 1929. Many early settlers--most notably Charles Howe and the Gold Brothers--left the area rather than rebuild in the ashes and snags. With the devastation of the cedar forest, new visitor-accommodation facilities --for instance, the Blair cabin complex (1930ff.)--relied on frame, rather than cedar-log, construction. The demand for these accommodations grew, particularly with the opening of the Roosevelt Highway (1930) and the Going-to-the-Sun Road (1933). Despite the Great Depression, and the fact that the Park Service rerouted the lower portion of this Road to bypass the Apgar community, the summer trade there increased.[15]

For the last forty-five years, the settlement pattern around the

foot of Lake McDonald has remained relatively stable. If anything, winter residence has increased--although not approaching its 1930s zenith--because of improved winter access. Since 1930 the Park Service, possibly restricted by financial considerations, has not launched a concerted campaign to condemn massive blocks of inholders.

Rather, a variation of the extended-family settlement pattern has applied: summer homes are passed, from generation to generation, within families. Nevertheless, Park administrators have obtained title to a number of small parcels as they became available. Despite significant changes in the national milieu, the character of settlement in the Lower Lake McDonald area retains several of those qualities established immediately following the creation of Glacier National Park (1910).

RECOMMENDATIONS: LOWER LAKE McDONALD AREA

The following structures are eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. All other structures in this area lack sufficient historical or architectural significance to qualify them for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

Sherwood House (GNP #2):

The Sherwood House was built by Eddie Cruger and is a fine example of early log construction in Glacier National Park. Important features of the structure are the masonry work in the foundation and porches and the fireplace, which was constructed by artist Ace Powell. The interior furnishings were crafted specifically for the House by Eddie Cruger. The Sherwood House is significant architecturally and of local importance to Glacier National Park. It is eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

Bull's Head Lodge (GNP #8) and *Charles Russell Studio* (GNP #9):

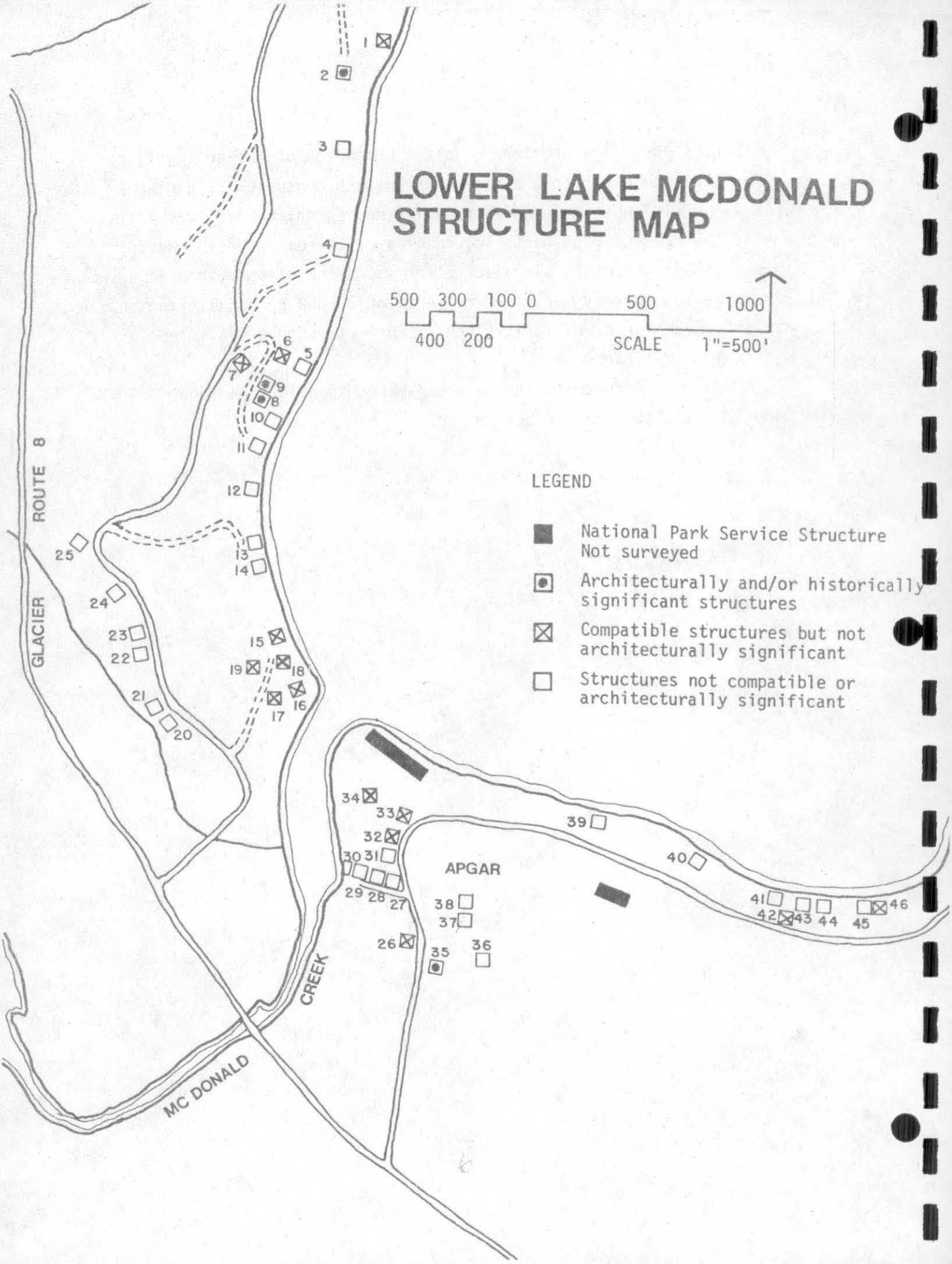
Bull's Head Lodge (constructed ca. 1916) and the studio building have architectural and historical significance. Nationally-known western artist Charles Russell spent most summers in the Lake McDonald area from 1907 to 1924. Russell used this summer retreat to sketch and prepare his paintings, which he finished during the winter at his Great Falls, Montana, studio. The cabin associated with Bull's Head Lodge (GNP #9) was used by Russell as a summer studio. Its date of construction is circa 1906.

Bull's Head Lodge and studio also are of architectural importance to Glacier National Park. They were built by Eddie Cruger and exhibit fine examples of early log construction. The windows and log notching are of particular note, while the Lodge fireplace displays sketches of

Charles Russell's work.

Charles Russell's prominence in the community of national artists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is undisputable. Parelleling the work of Frederick Remington, Russell has left one of the few accurate pictorial records of the early West. Russell's summer vacation spot is significant for its association with a famous personage and thereby meets the criteria of 36 CFR 60 for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. The site should be listed for its national significance.

Compatible structures in the Lower Lake McDonald area should be reused if possible. See structure map.


LOWER LAKE MCDONALD
STRUCTURE MAP
500 300 100 0 500 1000
400 200 SCALE 1"=500'
LEGEND
National Park Service Structure
Not surveyed
Architecturally and/or historically
significant structures
Compatible structures but not
architecturally significant
Structures not compatible or
architecturally significant
ROUTE 8
GLACIER
APGAR
CREEK
MC DONALD

Site: GNP #1
Present Owner: James Sherwood, Jr.
Date of Construction: ca. 1920

Description: A three level cedar log (not peeled) residence with a wood shake gable roof. The logs have a double v-notch for a corner and are chinked with a cement mortar. Some of the chinking has cracked and fallen out. The frames around the doors and windows are unpeeled cedar logs cut square on three sides. The doors are unpeeled cedar slabs nailed to a frame. There are log railings for the steps and deck that runs around the southeast end of the building. The building sits on a log foundation. Fair condition.

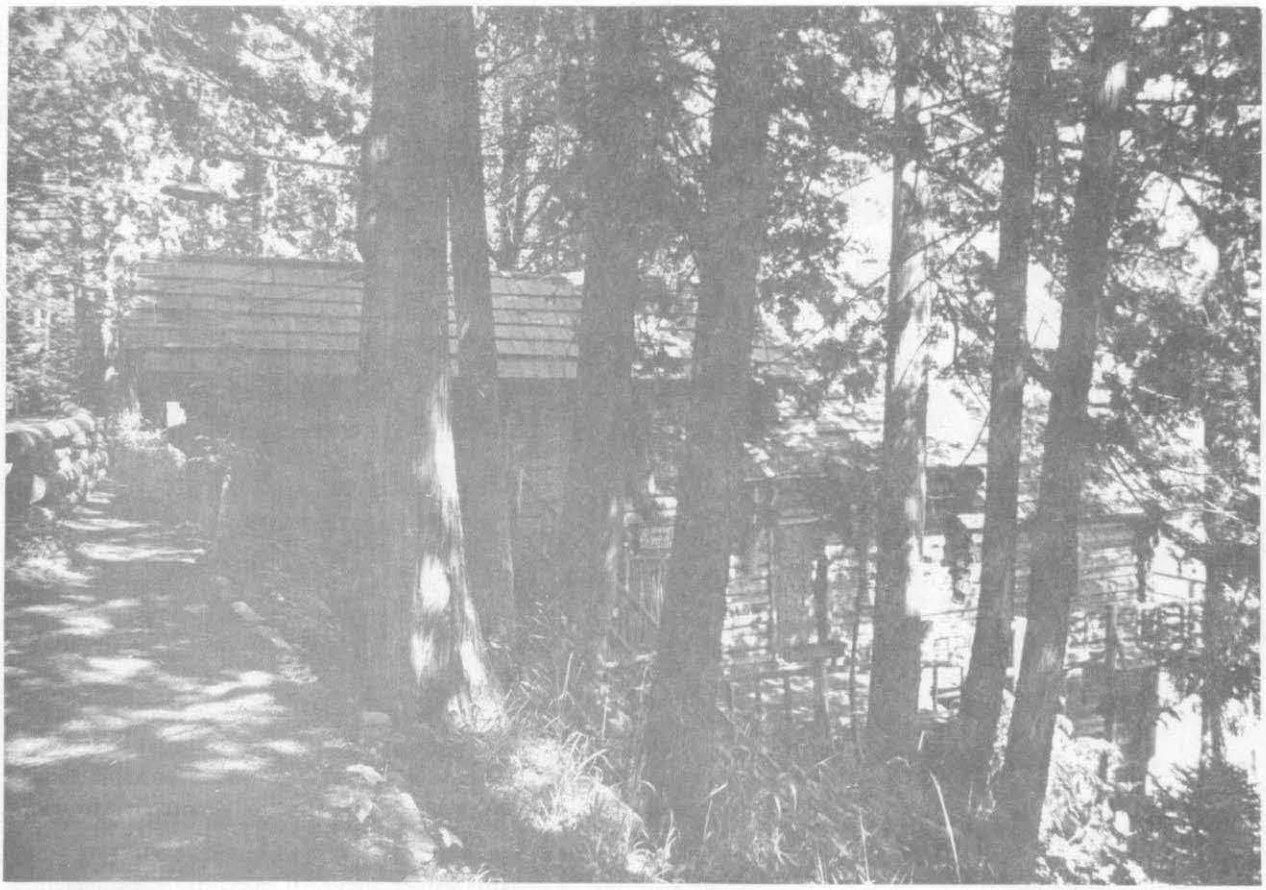
Historical: James W. Sherwood of Great Falls (James, Sr.) arrived in Apgar following World War One (1918ff.) He was typical of the summer visitor who made his living outside the sector. Olaf Seltzer, the western artist, was there during the season of 1924, commissioned to do a painting of the lodge. E. J. "Eddie" Cruger reports: "During 1920 and 1921 I built the Sherwood Place." This property, on Lake McDonald, formerly was owned by "Dode" Miller, the first Mrs. Ralph Thayer. It was sold after World War One.[16]

Ownership:

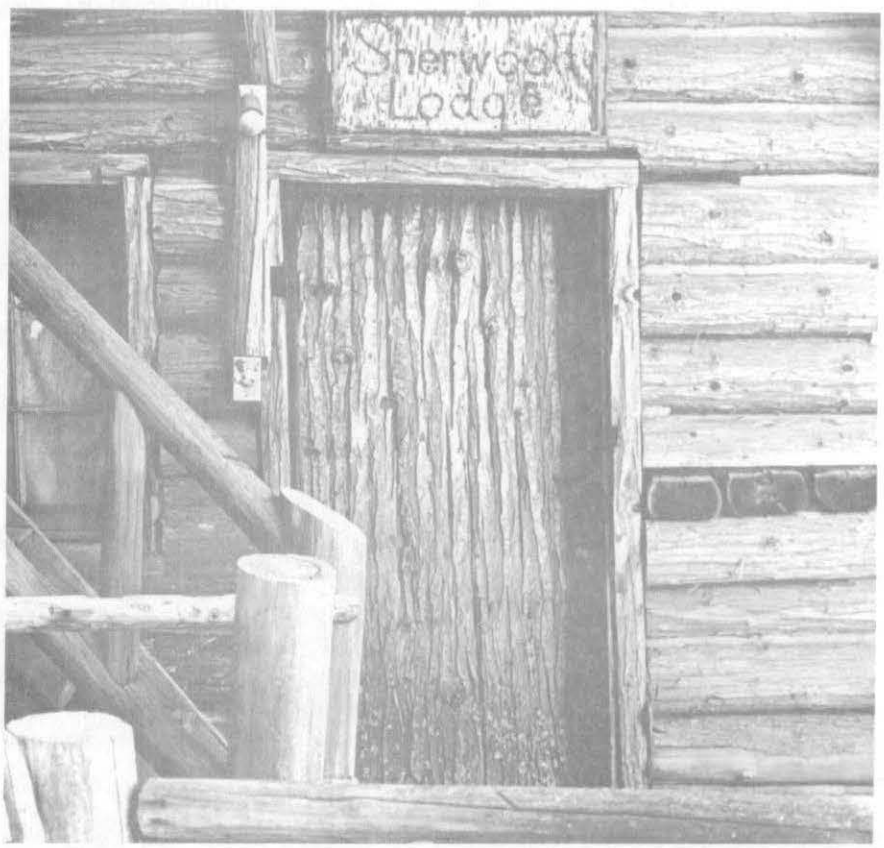
Harvey D. Apgar, et ux	7-21-14
James W. Sherwood	2-4-20
James W. Sherwood, Jr.	5-17-43
James W. Sherwood, Jr.	7-8-43

Site: GNP #2
Present Owner: James Sherwood, Jr.
Date of Construction: ca. 1920

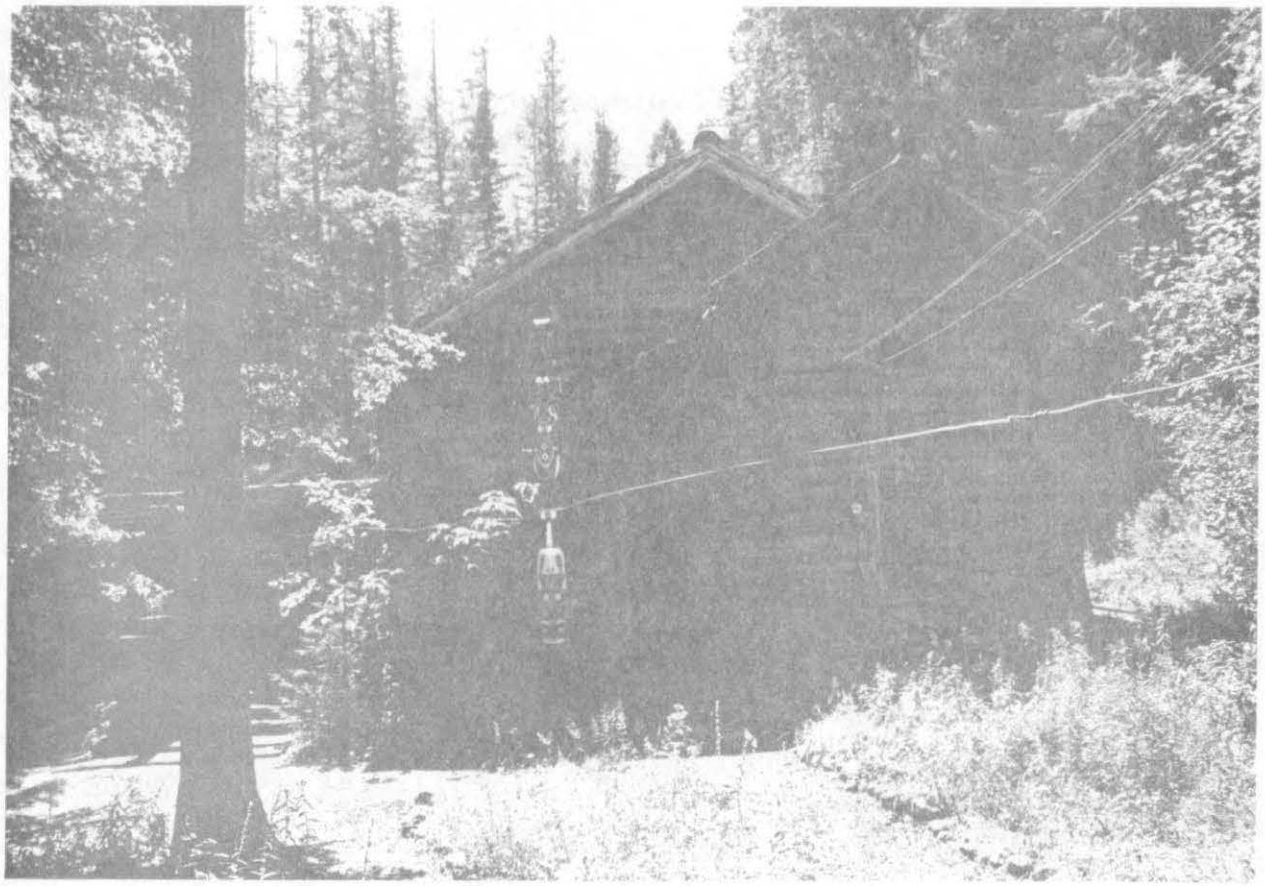
Description: A two-story cedar log (not peeled) residence with a wood shingle gable roof on the north and semi-hip/hexagonal roof on the south. The roof facia and ridge caps are made of logs. There is a double v-notch connecting the logs at the corners. The logs are chinked with a cement mortar. The windows are wood casement types with small panes. The trim around the windows and doors is of unpeeled cedar logs cut



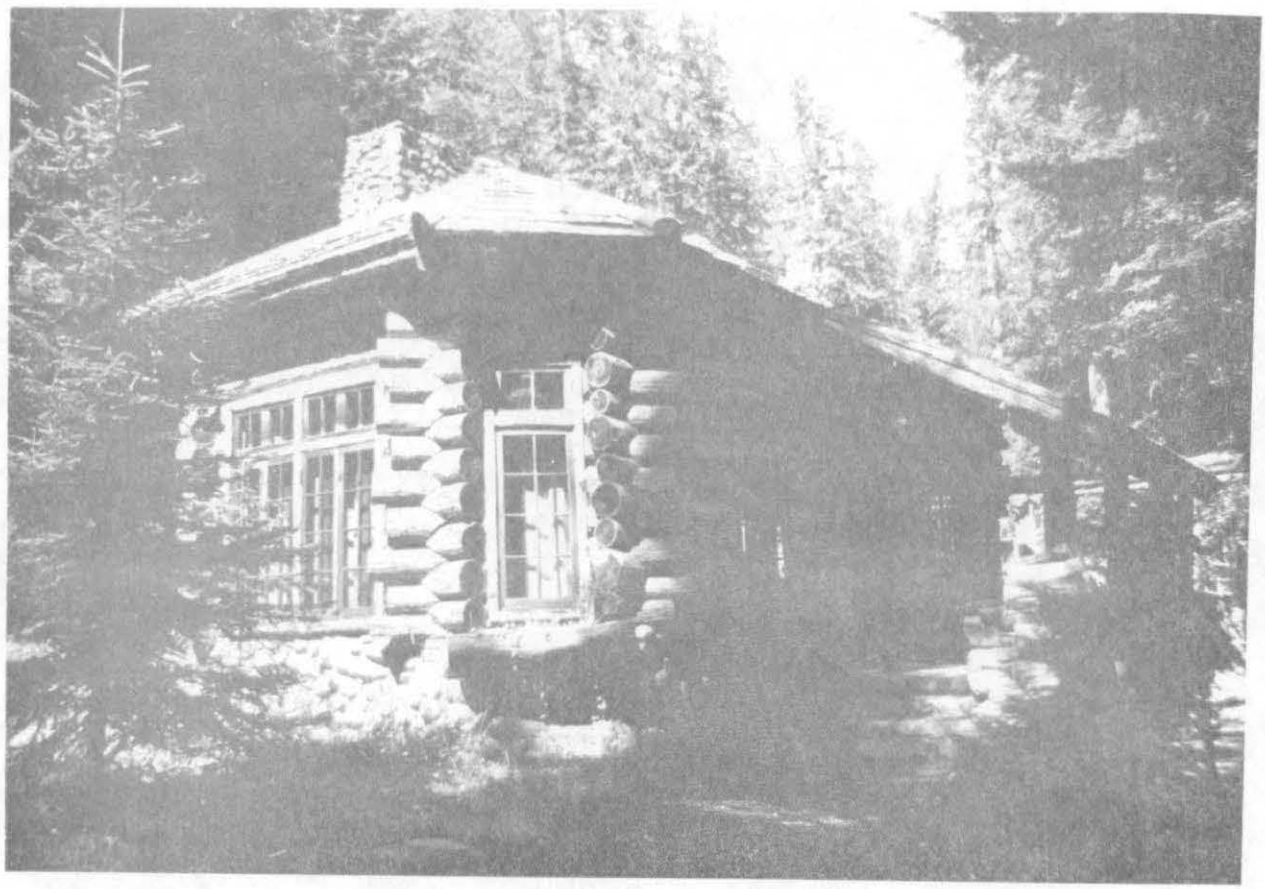
Looking north at Sherwood Lodge Structure GNP #1



Looking north at entrance doorway detail GNP #1



Looking south at Sherwood House GNP #2



Looking north at Sherwood House GNP #2

square on three sides. The doors are built of boards sandwiched together. The roof extends out on the east side to cover a stone porch. There is a stone foundation that extends up to the bottom of the window sills. A stone chimney rises out of the west side. All materials were found locally. The interior is also constructed of local materials from the log steps and ballustrade of branches, to the stone fireplace built by Ace Powell, Sr. from stones, 20"-24" in diameter, that were dredged from the bottom of Lake McDonald.[17] Even the furniture was hand-crafted from cedar branches and logs. Good condition. A very fine example of log construction.

Historical: Same as #1 above.

Ownership: Same as #1 above.

Site: GNP #3
Present Owner: James L. Athern
Date of Construction: 1960's

Description: A two-story board and batten wood frame residence with a deck and stone fireplace. The structure has a flat gravel roof. A board and batten storage shed sits in back. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Harvey D. Apgar, et ux	7-21-14
James W. Sherwood	2-4-20
James W. Sherwood, Jr.	5-17-43
James W. Sherwood, Jr.	7-8-43
James L. Athern	5-16-67

Site: GNP #4
Present Owner: Clayton and Harriet Fox
Date of Construction: 1960's

Description: A one-story board and batten wood frame residence with a gable roof and wood deck. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Harvey D. Apgar, et ux	7-21-14
James W. Sherwood	2-4-20
Mabel A. Sherwood	9-9-41
Mabel A. Sherwood	5-17-43
Mabel A. Sherwood	7-8-43

Ownership (cont.):

David W. Henderson Patricia L. Henderson	12-14-53
C. Clayton Fox Harriet V. Fox	6-6-61

Site: GNP #5
Present Owner: W. J. Moberly (life estate)
Date of Construction: 1962

Description: A two-story board and batten wood frame residence with a gable roof and wood deck. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Harvey Apgar, et ux	7-21-14
Ida M. Jewell	5-27-15
C. M. Russell	9-17-20
Edgar I. Holland George R. Miller	4-30-42
Leonard A. Storm Olga N. Storm	7-3-45
Olga N. Storm Leonard A. Storm	8-29-45
Everett M. Lundgren Margaret Lundgren	6-1-60
W. J. Moberly Isabel C. Moberly	6-22-60

Site: GNP #6
Present Owner: W. J. Moberly (life estate)
Date of Construction: Unknown - remodeled 1960's

Description: A one-story log (tamarack) guest cabin with wood shingle gable roof. The south wing used to have a shed roof. The gable ends and foundation (log with concrete piers) skirting has board and batten siding. The logs' ends are notched into a vertical log at the corners and are chinked with a high portland cement mixture. The windows have been altered considerably and the doors changed. The log rail on the porch is original but the steps and porch deck have been changed. Good condition.

Historical: Guest cabin for Charles M. Russell.[18]

Ownership: Same as #5 above.

Site: GNP #7
Present Owner: W. J. Moberly (life estate)
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story storage shed with board and batten siding on a wood frame structure. The gable roof is covered with sheet asphalt roofing. The structure is in poor condition, leaning and being held up by log braces.

Historical: Horse barn for Charles M. Russell.[19]

Ownership: Same as #5 above.

Site: GNP #8
Present Owner: Conrad Lundgren
Date of Construction: ca. 1916

Description: A one-story cedar log residence with a balcony in the roof space inside. The addition to the west is a mixture of logs and frame with clapboard siding. The corners have a double v-notch. It has a gable roof with wood shingles. A skylight has been added to the center of the roof. The small paned windows and doorways are surrounded by boards with the bark still attached. There is a brick chimney on the south side that is covered with a mortar mixture. The front porch has been replaced but it still retains some of its railing made from branches. The structure sits on a stone and log pier foundation. The interior is hand-hewn logs with wood floors. The fireplace is the most significant feature because of the sixteen sketches that surround the hearth. They were sketched by Charles M. Russell and his friend, Philip R. Goodwin. Fair to good condition.

Historical: Charles M. Russell was a regular summer inhabitant of the Lower Lake McDonald sector from 1907 until about 1924 (he died in Great Falls in 1926.) Russell's procedure was to use the Apgar place as a summer rest spot, where he sketched out painting ideas for the next winter, enjoyed himself, and entertained guests. The sketches he worked on here, during the summer, he finished in the Great Falls studio during the subsequent winter. The original cabin on the place (now the guest cabin, or perhaps another out-building) was built in 1916 or 1917 by E. J. Cruger and Martin Sibley; the skylight

R. W. Norton Foundation

RUSSELL'S CABIN AT LAKE McDONALD

Sketch of Bull's Head Lodge from The Charles M. Russell Book by Harold McCraken, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, N.Y., 1957. GNP #8

Historical (cont.): was put in by D. L. Greenwalt. All three are permanent Apgar residents. A few of the "famous" guests who visited Russell at this location: Irving S. Cobb (more than once), Mary Roberts Rinehart, Powder River Jack, Kitty Lee.[20]

Ownership:

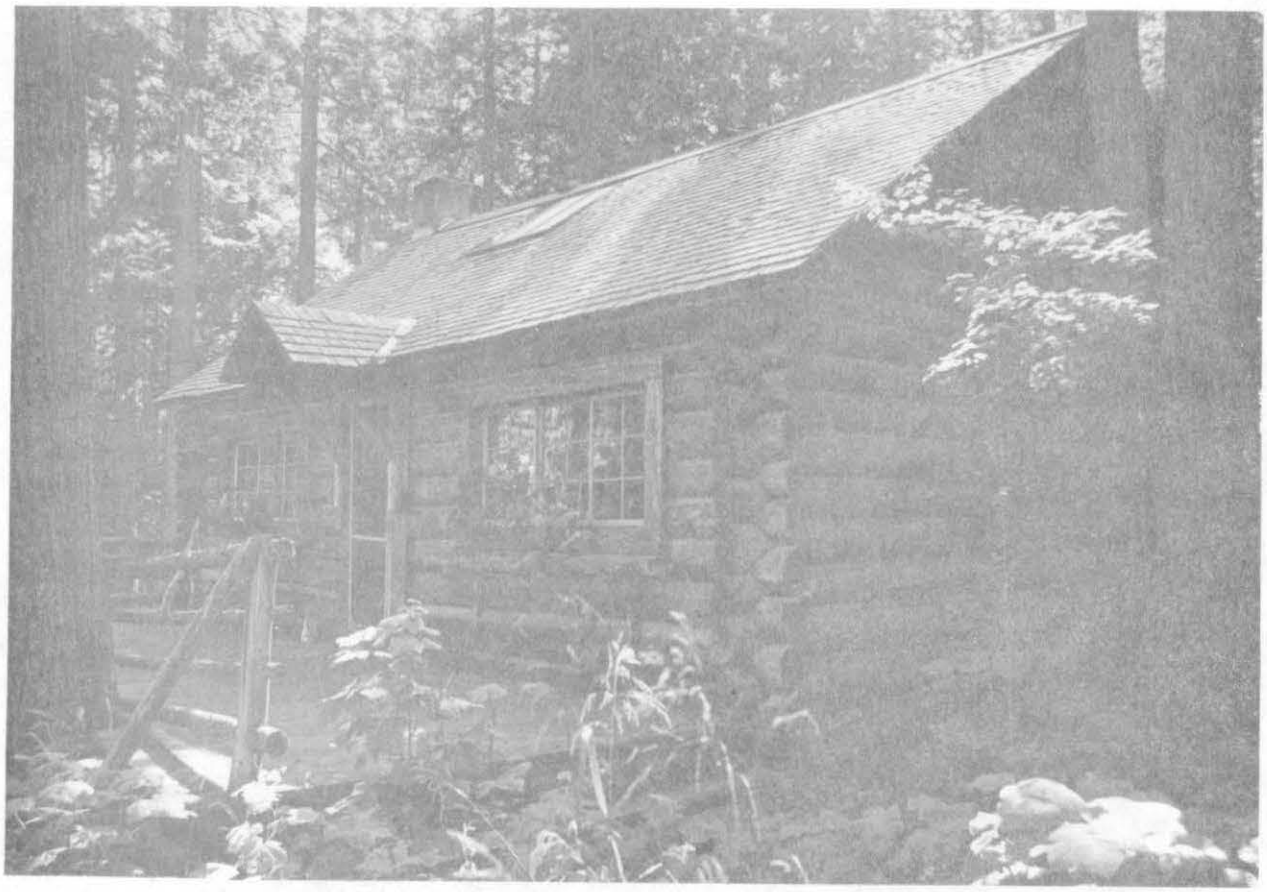
Harvey D. Apgar, et ux	4-21-14
Mae Vaught	8-13-17
Nancy C. Russell	1-15-19
Edgar I. Holland	4-30-42
George R. Miller	
Leonard A. Storm	4-3-45
Olga N. Storm	
Olga N. Storm	8-29-45
Leonard A. Storm	
Leonard A. Storm	8-12-52
Olga N. Storm	
Olga N. Storm	1-23-68
Conrad F. Lundgren	4-25-78
Jean M. Lundgren	

Site: GNP #9
Present Owner: Conrad Lundgren
Date of Construction: ca. 1906

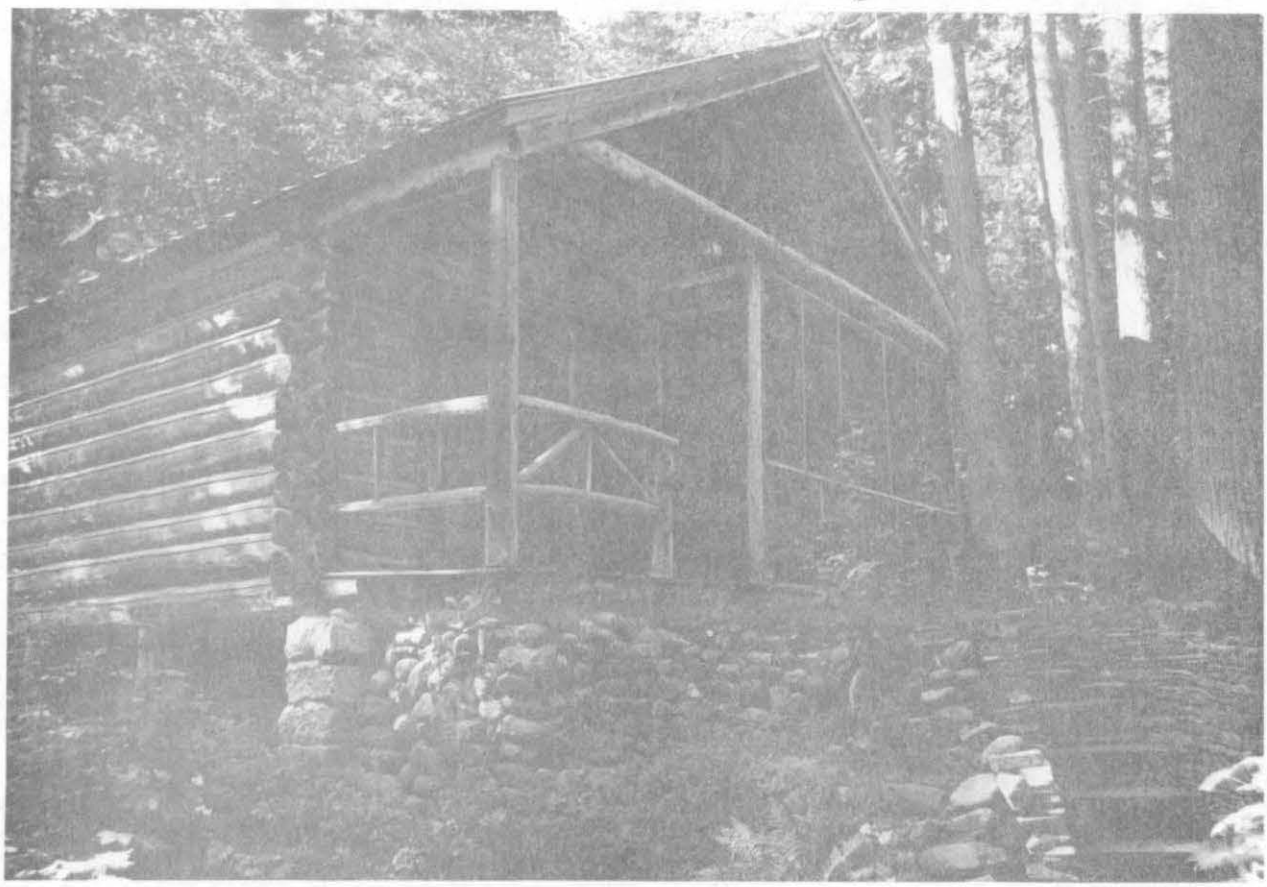
Description: A one-story log guest house with a metal roof. The corners have a v-notch connection. The gable end of the roof extends out over a partially screened porch. The windows and door are surrounded by a rough cut board trim. The structure sits on log and stone pier foundation. Stone steps lead up to the entrance. The chimney on the back is made of stone and mud, and surrounded by logs. The interior is log and a huge hearth sits to the back. Fair to good condition.

Historical: Same as #8 above. Charles M. Russell used the structure as his studio.

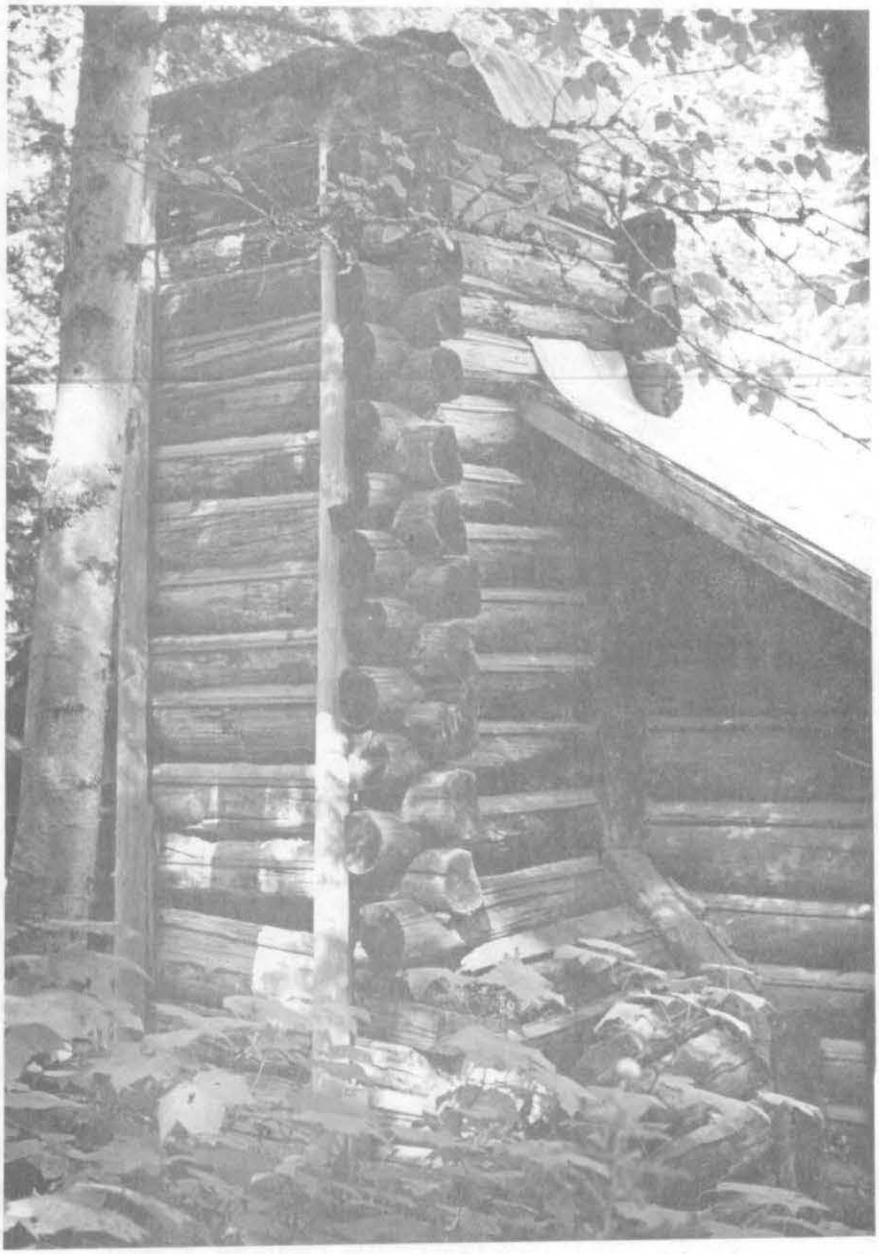
Ownership: Same as #8 above.



Looking south at Charles M. Russell's Bull's Head Lodge GNP #8



Looking north at Charles M. Russell's studio GNP #9



Looking east at chimney details on Charles M. Russell's studio GNP #9

Site: GNP #10
Present Owner: Conrad Lungren
Date of Construction: 1950's

Description: A two-story board and batten wood frame residence with a gable roof and wood deck. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #8 above.

Site: GNP #11
Present Owner: Mary M. Rice
Date of Construction: 1970's

Description: A two-story cedar-faced wood frame residence with a gable roof and wood deck. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Harvey D. Apgar, et ux	4-21-14
Mae Vaught	8-13-17
Nancy C. Russell	1-15-19
Edgar I. Holland	4-30-42
George R. Miller	
Leonard A. Storm	4-3-45
Olga N. Storm	
Olga N. Storm	8-29-45
Leonard A. Storm	
Leonard A. Storm	8-12-52
Olga N. Storm	
Clarence E. Lee	4-11-55
Ethel K. Lee	
Mary M. Rice	8-16-65

No Photo

Site: GNP #12
Present Owner: Mildred Alderson
Date of Construction:

Description: A one-story board and batten wood frame residence with shed roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Harvey D. Apgar, et ux	4-21-14
Alice Grange Lapeyre	10-18-22
Flathead County	2-27-42
Dr. A. A. Dodge	5-26-44
Dr. A. A. Dodge	4-3-45
Selma R. Dodge	4-17-59
L. R. Alderson	8-8-60
Mildred Alderson	
Mildred Alderson	12-18-67
Lee R. Alderson	8-27-73

Site: GNP #13
Present Owner: Pattee Everson
Date of Construction: 1960's

Description: A one-story wood frame structure with a gable roof and wood deck. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Harvey D. Apgar, et ux	4-21-14
Albert A. Dodge	4-21-22
Selma R. Dodge	4-17-59
Selma R. Dodge	6-1-65
Pattee Everson	1-11-71
Flavis R. Everson	

Site: GNP #14
Present Owner: Harry C. Johnson
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with clapboard siding and gable roof. The structure is undergoing considerable alterations. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Harvey D. Apgar, et ux	4-21-14
James Swaney	10-16-22
Mary E. Fisher	10-5-27
A. A. Dodge	3-9-38
Selma R. Dodge	4-17-59
Selma R. Dodge	6-1-65
Harry C Johnson	1-14-70
Elizabeth P. Johnson	
Harry C. Johnson	6-5-73

Site: GNP #15
Present Owner: Marcus J. Gruber
Date of Construction: ca. 1906 (I believe it is later)

Description: A two-story wood frame residence with a one-story wing to the north. The gable roof has asphalt shingles. A one-story wing to the south with a shed roof has been added later. The first story has clapboard siding, and the top story, wood shingles. The windows and doors have been altered considerably and a new porch has been added. Good condition. A one-story wood frame boathouse with clapboard siding and an asphalt single gable roof sits to the east of the structure. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Harvey D. Apgar, et ux Ensenice Caroline Gruber	4-21-14 5-26-16
Marcus J. Gruber Arnold J. Gruber Norma Gruber Ryan Myra Gruber Carruthers	4-1-37
J. M. Gruber Ensenice C. Gruber	3-16-39
Marcus J. Gruber Mrs. Norma G. Ryan Mrs. Myra G. Carruthers	5-2-39
Wilbert G. Anderson Marcus J. Gruber Janet Logan Gruber	8-9-67

Site: GNP #16
Present Owner: Stewart Hoglund
Date of Construction: 1904 (questionable)

Description: A one-story log residence with a hip asphalt shingle roof. Two log additions have been added to the north with gable roofs. The windows and doors have been changed considerably. The interior has been completely remodeled. Good condition.

Historical: Possibly Charles M. Russell's house at one time. W. T. (Bill) Greely had the house plus the additional structures from 1920 to 1964.[21]

Ownership:

Harvey D. Apgar, et ux	4-21-14
Irene Billefleur	12-14-14
Eva A. Greely	10-22-25
William S. Hoglund	5-15-64
Alida M. Sliper	12-30-64
William S. Hoglund	12-30-64
Hazel L. Hoglund	
Stewart L. Hoglund	12-29-57
Hazel L. Hoglund	

Site: GNP #17
Present Owner: Stewart Hogland
Date of Construction: 1920's

Description: A one-story wood frame guest house with shiplap siding. The gable roof extends out over a porch on the east side. The second building is the guest house, one-story, wood frame, shiplap siding, and a gable roof. Both in good condition.

Historical: Built for the W. T. (Bill) Greely family. The second building was the caretaker's house.

Ownership: Same as #16 above.

Site: GNP #18
Present Owner: Stewart Hogland
Date of Construction: 1920's

Description: A one-story wood frame pumphouse with shiplap siding and a gable roof. A later wood frame and plastic greenhouse sits next to the pumphouse. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #16 above.

Site: GNP #19
Present Owner: Stewart Hogland
Date of Construction: 1920's

Description: A one-story wood frame guest house, with shiplap siding and a gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: Built for the W. T. (Bill) Greely family. It was used as the maid's quarters.

Ownership: Same as #16 above.

Site: GNP #20
Present Owner: Gilson and Betty Riecke
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with basement. It has asbestos siding and a gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Paul Gunell	5-16-45
G. J. Carver	8-16-51
Beulah E. Carver	
Betty Rieke	1-11-71
Gilson Rieke	
Betty Arlene Rieke	8-31-71
Gilson Rieke	
Gilson Rieke	12-28-73

Site: GNP #21
Present Owner: Theodore D. and Evelyn Langel
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with plywood siding and a gable roof. It has a partial basement. Good Condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: None documented.

Site: GNP #22
Present Owner: Donald N. and Georgia Jackson
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with clapboard siding and a gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: None documented.

Site: GNP #23
Present Owner: Frithiof A. Gustafson
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with asbestos siding and a gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Frithiof A. Gustafson	11-14-46
Hattie Gustafson	4-2-71

Site: GNP #24
Present Owner: William and Eileen Schaffer
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with clapboard siding and a gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: None documented.

Site: GNP #25
Present Owner: James C. and Margaret Grist
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A two-story wood frame residence with a basement. The foundation is of stone. The siding is metal and the partial hip and gable roof is metal. A detached garage is wood frame with metal siding and gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Bob vincent	8-24-46
Ellen Vincent	
James Dwight Grist	5-2-49
Margaret L. Grist	
Margaret L. Grist	11-1-61
James C. Grist	
Margaret Ann Grist	

Site: GNP #26
Present Owner: Antoinette Jungster
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A two-story wood frame gift shop and residence. It has board and batten siding and a gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Richard Powell	2-24-41
Jess W. Whitney	7-25-49
Helen G. Whitney	
Hans Jungster	4-3-59
Antoinette S. Jungster	
Antoinette S. Jungster	12-11-67

Site: GNP #27
Present Owner: Jerome Larson
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame grocery store and restaurant. The main structure has a flat roof. Fair to good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Edward Brewster	2-16-55
Dorothy Brewster	
Edward Brewster	8-10-59
Eddies Grocery	12-28-72
and Cafe, Inc.	

Site: GNP #28
Present Owner: Jerome Larson
Date of Construction: 1970's

Description: A two-story wood frame residence with plywood siding and a steep gable roof. A wood deck runs across the front at the second floor level. A wood frame garage with plywood siding, a gable roof and metal door sits out front. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #27 above.

Site: GNP #29
Present Owner: Mrs. Orene Harris
Date of Construction: 1951

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with shiplap siding and a gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Gunnar Franson	10-29-51
Belle Hanson	
Orene Harris	10-29-51

Site: GNP #30
Present Owner: Conrad and Olga Schuler
Date of Construction: 1950's

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with shiplap siding and a gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: None documented.

Site: GNP #31
Present Owner: Conrad F. and Jean M. Lundgren
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame twelve unit motel. It is sided with wood and brick. It has a gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Edward Cruger	9-16-22
Pearl Cruger	
Jessie A. Apgar	5-24-23
Harvey Dimon Apgar	4-18-39
Ray Herbert Haworth	
Harvey Dimon Apgar	10-9-40
William R. Mackin	9-30-41
David C. Thompson	2-19-58
Conrad F. Lundgren	
Everett M. Lundgren	
Dan H. Lundgren	

Site: GNP #32
Present Owner: Conrad F. and Jean M. Lundgren
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A two-story wood frame lodge office and residence. It has clapboard siding and the roof is a series of gables and gabled dormers. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #31 above.

Site: GNP #33
Present Owner: Conrad F. and Jean M. Lundgren
Date of Construction: 1970's

Description: A one-story wood frame gift shop with cedar siding and a gable cedar shake roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #31 above.

Site: GNP #34
Present Owner: Conrad F. and Jean M. Lundgren
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: Approximately fifty units of the Apgar Lodge. They are one-story structures of detached as well as multi-unit rooms. The older structures are log and the new units are wood frame with clapboard siding. All of the structures have gable roofs. They are all painted brown, which helps them tie together somewhat. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

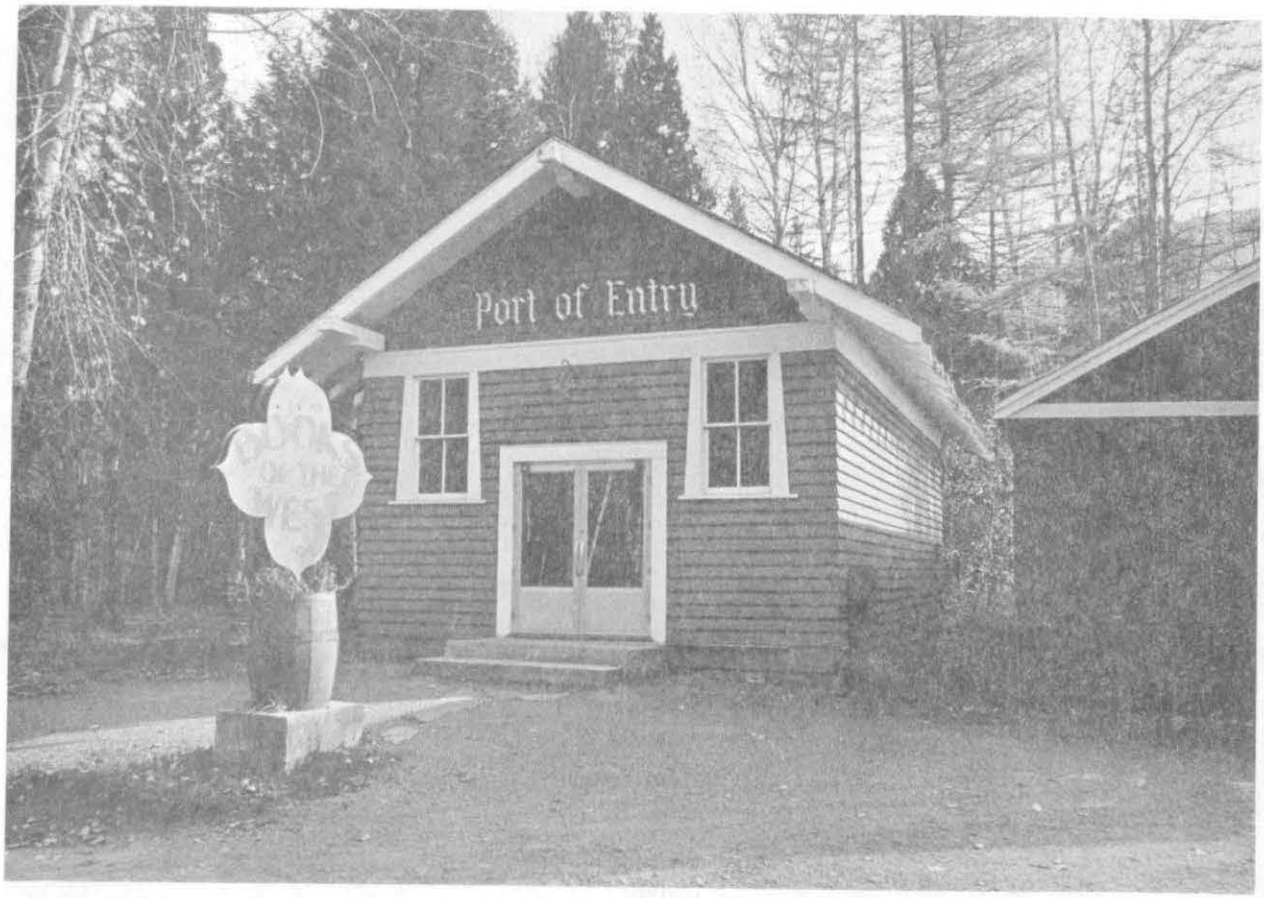
Ownership: Same as #31 above.

Site: GNP #35
Present Owner: William J. and Nonie Krall
Date of Construction: 1914

Description: A one-story wood frame bookstore with clapboard siding, and a wood shingle gable roof. Wood shingles are used in the gable ends. The windows are 2 over 2 wood double hungs. The entrance door has been changed and is now glass with a metal frame. The structure sits on a concrete foundation. It could have possibly been moved at one time. There is no documentation though. The interior has been remodeled. Fair to good condition.

Historical: Land for the original schoolhouse (not guaranteed to be the same one) was donated by H. D. Apgar around 1911. This building was probably last used as a school in 1957, during which Autumn the Apgar school consolidated with the West Glacier school and all the kids began going to the West Glacier facility.[22]

Ownership:	Harvey D. Apgar	1-16-12
	School District #6	4-26-15
	Simon Apgar	9-30-59
	Helen Conerdell	
	Jeannette Markin	



Looking east at original Apgar schoolhouse GNP #35

Ownership (cont.):

Charles N. Green	9-30-59
Bernice Washburn Green	
Bernice Washburn Green	10-13-59

Site: GNP #36
Present Owner: Warren and Mary Jean Harrington
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame garage with clapboard siding and gable roof. Poor condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Maryjean Greenwalt	10-10-42
Warren Harrington	4-6-76
Mary Jean Harrington	

Site: GNP #37
Present Owner: Leslie Harrington
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with board and batten siding and a gable roof. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Leona L. Harrington	10-28-47
Charles Harrington	
Leona L. Harrington	12-24-47
Geri Ann Dahlke	4-24-64
Leona L. Harrington	4-24-64
Thomas L. Harrington	
Warren V. Harrington	
Warren V. Harrington	4-19-77
Thomas L. Harrington	
Thomas L. Harrington	5-31-78
Marcia Harrington	
Leslie Harrington	

Site: GNP #38
Present Owner: R. Joyce O'Neil
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log residence with a gable roof. The logs butt together at the corners with the alternate logs having extended crowns. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:		
	Richard W. Rowland	5-12-55
	Joyce Rowland	
	D. L. Greenwalt	6-15-59
	Bernice Greenwalt	
	Bernice Greenwalt	11-22-71
	Bernice Greenwalt	11-22-71
	R. Joyce O'Neil	
	R. Joyce O'Neil	6-2-75

Site: GNP #39
Present Owner: Louis C. Salansky
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story milled log residence with a concrete foundation and basement. This structure has a gable roof. There is a small garage to the south of similar materials. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:		
	Charles Howes, et. al.	10-26-20
	Greer V. Erickson	1-22-21
	Mamus Howes	4-5-24
	Edna E. Wall	4-26-24
	Lewis Salansky	3-18-44
	Leola T. Salansky	11-16-78
	Jerome L. Salansky	
	Thomas M. Salansky	
	Donna L. Herman	

Site: GNP #40
Present Owner: Mark and Dorothy Schoknecht
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with steep gable roof. The structure has board and batten siding and glass across front. A two-car garage to the south is wood frame and has shiplap wood siding and a gable. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Charles Howes, et ux	10-26-20
Henry Schoknecht	8-22-21
Julia Schoknecht	8-22-21
Betty Janni	3-4-57
Julia Schoknecht	3-4-57
Mark Schoknecht	
Dorothy Schoknecht	
Dorothy J. Schoknecht	4-6-66
Mark Schoknecht	

Site: GNP #41
Present Owner: R. V. and J. J. Bottomly
Date of Construction: 1960

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with plywood siding and a hip roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Charles Howes, et ux	10-26-20
Muriel M. Bottomly	3-28-22
Richard V. Bottomly	9-26-72
James J. Bottomly	

Site: GNP #42
Present Owner: R. V. and J. J. Bottomly
Date of Construction: ca. 1917

Description: A one-story log cabin with asphalt shingle gable roof. The windows and trim are original. The door has been changed. Good condition.

Historical: Built up on Fish Creek around 1917. It was moved to this site after the Apgar fire of 1928.[23]

Ownership: Same as #41 above.

Site: GNP #43
Present Owner: Kent Newman
Date of Construction: 1964

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with plywood siding, glass across front, and sloping roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Charles Howes, et ux	10-26-20
Emma Smith	2-4-21
Emma Smith	7-28-21
David R. Londis	5-12-23
Emma Smith	9-20-24
Charles A. Smith	6-26-43
Kenneth R. Wells	7-24-63
Corma Sue Wells	

Site: GNP #44
Present Owner: Robert Grisley
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with plywood siding and gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Charles Howes, et ux	10-26-20
Henry M. Overend	7-13-21
Henry M. Overend	10-28-51
Minnie E. Overend	5-2-52
Merele L. Bunday	5-17-52
Mary E. Bunday	
Mary E. Bunday	4-17-70
USA	9-27-75
Robert Guskey	7-24-75
Florence Guskey	

Site: GNP #45
Present Owner: Bernice Wilcox
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with clapboard siding and a gable roof. There is an enclosed porch across the front. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Charles Howes, et ux	10-26-20
Hannah Mars	8-22-24
Bernice Ellen Wilcox	6-21-51

Site: GNP #46
Present Owner: Doug Anderson
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log residence with logs overlapping each other at the corners. The spaces between are filled with similar logs and butted into the side logs. The railing for the porch is of similar construction and the gable roof-end extends out over the porch. The wood double-hung windows and wood door are original to the building. The whole structure sits on log piers. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Charles Howes, et ux	10-26-20
Peter A. Aubert	4-9-24
LeRoy H. Anderson	10-18-48
Jessie V. Anderson	
Winfield S. Wilder	3-29-71
Blanche Wilder	
Douglas Anderson	12-26-74

Notes

1. Charles Shaw, THE FLATHEAD [NATIONAL FOREST] STORY (Missoula, Montana: U.S. Forest Service, 1964), pp. 6-7, 14-16; Donald H. Robinson, THROUGH THE YEARS IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK: AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISORY, ed. Maynard C. Bowers (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, 1960), pp. 49-50.

2. Curtis W. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, 1976), Chapter III.

3. Leona Harrington, ed., THE HISTORY OF APGAR, MONTANA (West Glacier, Montana: Apgar School, ca. 1957), p. 4.

4. IBID., *passim*.

5. IBID., p. 4.

6. IBID., *passim*.

7. Information gathered in the Plat Office, Flathead County Courthouse, Kalispell, Montana (January, 1979); U.S. National Archives, Record Group 79, National Park Service, Central Correspondence Files, 1907-1939, File: "Glacier National Park: Lands, General, 1911-1912."

8. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, Chapter III.

9. Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR, *passim*.

10. Michael J. Ober, "Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concessioner Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961" (Master's Thesis, University of Montana, 1973), Chapter I.

11. Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR, pp. 47-51.

12. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, Chapter III: Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR, *passim*; National Park Service, "Annual Report of the Superintendent of Glacier National Park" (hereafter cited as "Superintendent's Annual Report"), 1911, 1925, 1926, Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (hereafter cited as GPA).

13. Glacier National Park, "The Half-Moon Fire," GPA; Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR, *passim*.

14. "Superintendent's Annual Report," 1930, GPA; Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR, pp. 47-54.

15. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, Chapter IV.

16. Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR.

17. Interview with James Sherwood, III, August 29, 1978.

18. Interview with W. J. Moberly, August 29, 1978.

19. IBID.

20. Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR.

21. IBID.

22. IBID.

23. Interview with Mrs. J. J. Bottomly, August 30, 1978.

UPPER LAKE McDONALD AREA: History of Private Development, 1889-1975

The history of private development around the upper end of Lake McDonald is linked directly to the question of administrative jurisdiction. The area's settlement, the nature and the commercial pursuits of its settlers, and the subsequent, restricted development all depend on governmental legislation applicable to the sector. For example, the area experienced formal, if passive, federal jurisdiction with the creation of Montana Territory (1864); later it was included (1889) in the State of Montana.

More important, however, the area fell (1897) within the Lewis and Clark Forest Reserve and then (1908) within the Blackfeet National Forest, administered from Kalispell by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. From Blackfeet Forest land, Glacier National Park was created (1910). Interestingly, the Forest Reserve, the National Forest, *and* the National Park successively stationed rangers at the head of Lake McDonald.[1]

Some white trappers, explorers, and adventurers visited the head of Lake McDonald during the nineteenth century--particularly as it functioned as the gateway to the Continental Divide through the Upper McDonald Valley. However, concerted white settlement of the land surrounding the head of the Lake depended upon access to the entire McDonald Valley via the Great Northern tracks, which reached Belton (West Glacier) in 1891.[2]

Frank C. Geduhn is the prime example of this settlement pattern. In 1893 he built a vertical-log cabin near Charles Howe and Milo B. Apgar at the foot of the Lake. In 1894--when the squatter "Dutch John" Elsner moved to the present site of John's Lake--Geduhn removed to the head of Lake McDonald, where he filed on a homestead in 1904. He soon was joined on the lake shore by Denis Comeau, George E. Snyder, and Frank Kelly.[3] The initial settlement of the upper end of Lake McDonald comprised the homestead claims of these four individuals: Kelly on the

north shore, in Section 15; Geduhn on both sides of the McDonald Creek inlet, in Section 11; Comeau and Snyder with shoreline tracts in Section 14, with Comeau closer to the inlet.[4]

However, the private development of the sector at the head of Lake McDonald relied heavily on the development of the Apgar settlement at the foot of the Lake, because of the difficulty of access. In 1895 Snyder initiated the passage of the steamboat "F. I. Whitney" on the Lake, and other gasoline launches followed. The initial horse trail from Apgar reached the head of the Lake via the Camas Creek drainage. No road served the Upper Lake McDonald area until 1922.[5]

Between 1889 and 1910, the settlement pattern around the head of Lake McDonald followed that of the Apgar sector in its tendency to provide visitor-accommodation facilities for McDonald Valley tourists. "Geduhn Camp" began operation with two rental cabins during the 1893 season; George Snyder built his "hotel," with comfortable quarters for twelve persons, during the same year. Kelly, who owned several gasoline launches, initiated his cabin-camp business in 1899. Because the head of the Lake was the terminus for trail trips, Comeau, Josiah Rogers, Bert Bryant, and Ernest Christensen operated pack strings from Snyder's hotel. The rapid increase in summer visitation caused George E. and Olive Lewis to purchase Snyder's facility in 1906--and they immediately added two cabins to the lakeside unit.[6]

A government-jurisdiction change significantly affected that area at the head of Lake McDonald in 1910. With the creation of Glacier National Park, additional private-land claims within the reserve were disallowed. Title-holders and pending-claimants became "inholders" who, by a clause in the enabling legislation, were allowed to retain their land. More important, the designation of this national park proved to increase seasonal visitation to the sector. As a result, John Lewis built (1913-1914), on the site of Snyder's small facility, the "Glacier Hotel," capable of handling 125 guests each night. Faced with this new visitation demand, Kelly continued to construct one new rental cabin each year, and Geduhn increased his seasonal-cabin facilities--although he

sold (1911) his creekside property to B. E. LaDow, who developed his own small hotel and cabin complex near the inlet. Although essentially seasonal, the visitor traffic provided sufficient income to the Geduhns, the Snyders, the LaDows, and the Kellys to permit them to remain permanent residents.[7]

During the 1910-1932 period, a definite pattern of settlement developed around the head of Lake McDonald. Portions of the original four homesteads were subdivided further by their immediate owners into lakefront lots. Frank Geduhn had sold sections of his homestead since 1907, and he continued the practice well into the 1930s; John Lewis laid out the long-and-narrow "Glacier Villa Sites" in 1916; Frank Kelly transferred a large portion of lake front to the Horace Chadbournes in 1930, who immediately platted the purchased tracts as "Hollybourne."[8] The area's scenic beauty had been enhanced by road access to the head of the Lake in 1922, although the government did not provide a road to Kelly Camp/ Hollybourne until 1932.[9]

As a result of this flurry of subdivision, several notable families seasonally inhabited the Upper Lake McDonald sector: that of Kalispell attorney W. C. Whipps (1906), of U.S. Senator Thomas J. Walsh (1908), and of U.S. Senator Burton K. Wheeler (1915). The most homogeneous grouping remained, however, the Kelly Camp, in the sense of retaining the initial Apgar-Howe-Geduhn concept of a seasonal cabin camp functioning as an isolated retreat. Interestingly Lewis' Glacier Hotel operation integrated well with the summer population, dispensing staples and mail to local residents from one of its outbuildings.[10]

The Half-Moon Fire of 1929 had a significant, if decidedly indirect, effect on the private settlement of the Upper Lake McDonald sector. John and Olive Lewis for several years had dickered with the Great Northern Railway and other parties concerning the purchase of the Glacier Hotel. Yet they were so adversely impressed by the fire that swept Apgar that they hastened to transfer (1930-1932) their property to the Railway and, ultimately, to the National Park Service.[11] The opening of the Going-to-the-Sun Road, first to Logan Pass (1929) and then to St. Mary Junction

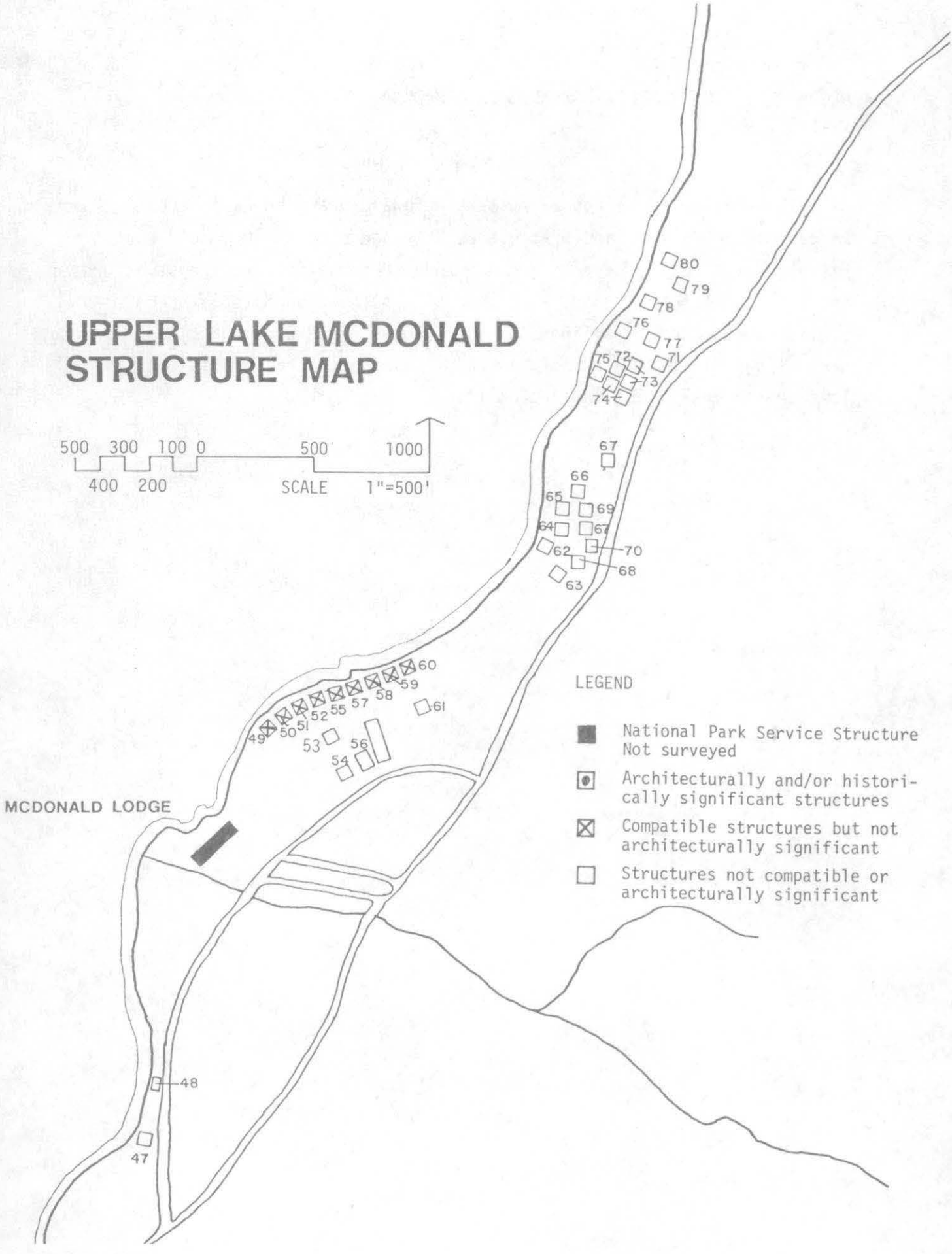
(1933), greatly increased visitor cabin-rentals. However, the injection of the Park Service as the owner/controller of the pivotal piece of property in the area--the Glacier Hotel/Lake McDonald Lodge tract--quieted further development among many of the inholders.

Thus, since 1932, the same extended-family settlement-pattern variation which has functioned in the Apgar sector has operated in the Upper Lake McDonald area: with few exceptions, private holdings have been passed from generation to generation within families. Just as consistently, the National Park Service has effected agreements for outright purchase, condemnations, or life estates--the ultimate result being government/public ownership. The "Inwood Cabins" tract might best illustrate this situation.

RECOMMENDATIONS: UPPER LAKE McDONALD-McDONALD LODGE AREA

The private dwellings along Lake McDonald near the Lake McDonald Lodge (GNP #49-52, 55 and 57-60) should be added to the McDonald Lodge Historic District. They are architecturally compatible to the structures in that district, using the same type of construction materials and similar achitectural styling. The structures could become an integral part of the Historic District, thereby insuring that a void is not left in the area along Lake McDonald.

UPPER LAKE MCDONALD STRUCTURE MAP



Site: GNP #47
Present Owner: Cornelia C. Graham
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A two-story wood frame residence with clapboard siding and a gable roof. There is an enclosed porch running across the front. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Peter Johnson	1-22-23
Flathead County	8-22-32
Edward W. Neitzling	8-26-38
James Lee	
Otis H. Alderson	9-6-38
Jane Buttrey	10-13-44
Cornelia T. Clack	5-21-47
Merritt N. Warden	6-7-55
Cornelia T. Clack	6-7-55
Worth M. Clack	
John Raymond Clack	
Cornelia Clack Graham	
John Raymond Clack	3-26-64
Worth M. Clack	
Cornelia C. Graham	

Site: GNP #48
Present Owner: Mary Agnes Roberts
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame building with plywood siding and a gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Glacier Park Land Co.	5-7-17
S. Florence Miller	9-4-17
Mabel C. Miller	
Flathead County	10-29-41
Edward W. Neitzling	9-15-42
James Lee	

Ownership (cont.)	James Lee	9-6-46
	Cena Lee	
	James Lee	2-14-49
	Cena Lee	
	Edna S. Graham	3-31-49
	I. W. Church	3-6-50
	Edna S. Graham	3-6-50
	Mary Agnes Roberts	

Site: GNP #49
Present Owner: Max Kuhr
Date of Construction: ca. 1940

Description: A one-story cedar log residence with a wood shingle gable roof. There are enclosed porches in the front and back and a stone chimney on the west side. The whole building sits on a log pier foundation. Good condition with the exception of the foundation logs, which are rotting. A wood frame storage building with a gable roof sits to the south.

Historical: The building was built from logs used in a larger structure that used to sit on the site.[12]

Ownership:	Sadie M. Broadwater	7-13-37
	Kathlyn E. Broadwater	12-23-53
	Georgina Anderson	10-4-67
	Kathlyn E. Broadwater	10-4-67
	Max Edward	
	Paul Jurgen	
	John Broadwater Kuhr	
	Max Edward Kuhr	10-26-76
	Paul Jurgen Kuhr	
	John Broadwater Kuhr	
	Max E. Kuhr	10-27-76
	P. J. Kuhr	
	John Broadwater Kuhr	

Site: GNP #50
Present Owner: Mary Grace Galvin
Date of Construction: ca. 1940

Description: A one-story cedar log residence with a wood shake gable roof. The front and back porches are enclosed and there is a rubble stone chimney on the west side. The whole building sits on a log pier foundation. Good condition with the exception of the foundation logs, which are rotting. A two-story wood frame storage building sits to the south.

Historical: The building was built from logs used in a larger structure that used to sit on the site.[13]

Ownership:

Clarence J. and Grace Severson	8-7-46
Union Bank & Travel Co. as Trustee for Mary Grace Severson (now Galvin)	7-22-59
Grace H. Severson	9-15-66
James F. and Mary G. Severson Galvin	9-2-70

Site: GNP #51
Present Owner: Mary Grace Galvin
Date of Construction: ca. 1929

Description: A one-story cedar and pine log structure with an asphalt shingle, gable roof. The front and back porches are enclosed. The cabin sits on a log foundation, which is rotting. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #50 above.

Site: GNP #52
Present Owner: James W. and Marjorie Johnson
Date of Construction: ca. 1929

Description: A two-story log (tamarack) residence with asphalt shingle, gable roof. A dormer, porch, and deck have been added to the north side. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

William E. Talbot	9-10-18
R. E. McDonnell	11-9-25
Mrs. Rae Husser	4-20-31

Site: GNP #53
Present Owner: James W. and Marjorie Johnson
Date of Construction: Unknown (late)

Description: A two-story wood frame residence with steep gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #52 above.

Site: GNP #54
Present Owner: James W. and Marjorie Johnson
Date of Construction: Unknown (late)

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #52 above.

Site: GNP #55
Present Owner: Don Hummel
Date of Construction: ca. 1930

Description: A one-story log (tamarack) residence with a wood shingle, gable roof. A wood frame entrance porch has been added to the south side. The cabin sits on a log foundation. Good condition with the exception of the foundation logs, which are rotting.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

R. E. McDonnell	9-13-19
Mildred Weber	2-18-35
R. E. McDonnell	2-18-35
Georgia H. McDonnell	
Mary I. LaDow	7-5-40
F. O. Stuart	8-13-45
John H. Frick	11-25-49
F. O. Stuart	11-25-49
Laura M. Stuart	
Laura M. Stuart	7-31-61
Robert J. Stuart	6-10-66
John H. Frick	
Evelyn L. LeIver	

Site: GNP #56
Present Owner: Don Hummel
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A log and wood frame motel complex with a flat roof. There are two separate two-story structures in the complex. One structure contains 24 sleeping units.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #55 above.

Site: GNP #57
Present Owner: Donald H. Ford
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story cedar log residence with an asphalt shingle gable roof. There is a porch running across the full width of the cabin on the north side. The porch on the south side has been enclosed. The foundation has been replaced with concrete. Good condition.

Historical: Built by Ed Kruger.[14]

Ownership:

William Scott	9-25-16
R. E. McDonald	9-29-23
Louise J. Fay	4-11-23
Leonard H. Morrow	10-31-45
Genevah Morrow	
Lorretto C. German	11-18-53
Frank O. Stuart	6-12-54
Laura M. Stuart	
Laura M. Stuart	7-31-61
Robert J. Stuart	6-10-66
John H. Frick	
Evelyn L. LeIver	

Site: GNP #58
Present Owner: Jacqueline C. Brewer
Date of Construction: 1918-1919

Description: A one-story cedar log residence with an asphalt shingle, gable roof. A porch runs across the front of the building and there is a stone chimney on the west side. The interior logs have been hand-hewn and wood chinking has been added between the logs to give the walls a smooth surface. A balcony loft space is located over half of the interior space. Good condition.

Historical: Built by Ed Kruger.[15]

Ownership:

William E. Talbot	11-11-16
Sidney J. Creaser	4-12-19
Bertha D. Creaser	11-27-31

Site: GNP #59
Present Owner: Marvin Kildahl
Date of Construction: 1949

Description: A one-story log duplex residence, painted brown. It has an asphalt shingle, gable roof and concrete foundation. Good condition.

Historical: Built by Harry R. Newman and Harold H. Dolliver.[16]

Ownership:

Ward H. Neff	1-18-17
Harold H. Dolliver	4-22-49
Harry R. Newman	5-5-50
Ella O. Newman	
Jeanne H. Ridahl	6-5-57
Harold H. Dolliver	7-5-57
Hazel E. Dolliver	
Hazel E. Dolliver	5-11-64
Jacqueline C. Brewer	6-15-72

Site: GNP #60
Present Owner: Eric and Nina Myhre
Date of Construction: 1923

Description: A two-story wood frame residence with clapboard siding. The hip roof has wood shingles. A new porch has been added to the north side. The windows have been altered. Fair to good condition.

Historical: Ace Powell Sr. built the fireplace out of stone.[17]

Ownership:

William W. Johnson	12-16-16
F. P. Thorne	4-15-19
Irma L. Griggs	9-12-27
Mrs. Elizabeth Moore	1-6-36
Pete L. Weyh	4-4-53
Mildred Weyh	
Herman Weyh	
Mildred Weyh	6-4-69
Herman Weyh	

Site: GNP #61
Present Owner: Eric and Nina Myhre
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with clapboard siding and a gable roof. A board and batten room with shed roof has been added to the north end. Fair to good condition. There is a wood frame, clapboard sided storage shed with gable roof to the east of this structure. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #60 above.

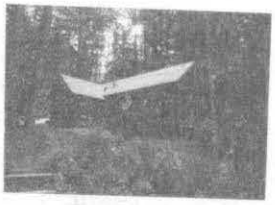
Site: GNP #62
Present Owner: James and Ethel Bose
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story milled log residence with gable roof. The building sits on concrete piers. There is a stone chimney on the south side. Good condition.

Historical: None documented

Ownership:

Lydia L. Comeau	8-17-10
Margaret Kennedy	8-19-10
Mrs. Rita Ashley	9-24-52
James H. Bose	
Marguerite R. Bose	5-3-61
Minnie R. Pendergast	
Margaret R. Small	
Rita Ashley	6-19-61
James H. Bose	
Marguerite Bose	9-25-61
James H. Bose	9-25-61
James H. Bose	3-12-65
Lena O. Brown	4-15-65
James H. Bose	4-15-65
Ethel Joyce Bose	
Lena O. Brown	8-26-66



Site: GNP #63
Present Owner: James and Ethel Bose
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story cedar log motel unit (cabin #1) with a metal gable roof. The building sits on cedar log foundation piers. The porch on the west side is screened in and there is a wood frame, clapboard sided addition on the north side. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Ida L. Myers	1-25-10
Harry C. Keith	12-19-11
Harry Cook Keith et.al.	4-21-33
Harry C. Keith Trustee	8-16-33
Harry C. Keith	1-14-36
Harry W. Rhone	5-16-36
Iva J. Rhone	
Harry W. Rhone	10-27-37
James H. Bose	11-14-60
E. Joyce Bose	
Lena O. Brown	11-4-60
Marguerite R. Bose	11-4-60
James H. Bose	
Lena O. Brown	6-22-61

Site: GNP #64
Present Owner: James and Ethel Bose
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story milled log motel unit (cabin #2) with wood shingle gable roof. The building sits on concrete piers. Fair to good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #63 above.

Site: GNP #65
Present Owner: James and Ethel Bose
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story milled log motel unit (cabin #7) with a wood shingle gable roof. The building sits on cedar log piers. A large screened porch with a hip roof is attached to the northwest corner. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #63 above.

Site: GNP #66
Present Owner: James and Ethel Bose
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story milled log motel unit (cabin #3) with a wood shingle gable roof. The building sits on log piers. Fair condition. A frame, board and batten shed sits to the south of the building. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #63 above.

Site: GNP #67
Present Owner: James and Ethel Bose
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story milled log motel unit (cabin #4) with a wood shingle gable roof. The gable roof extends across a porch on the west side of the structure. There is a stone chimney on the south side. The building sits on concrete piers. Fair to good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Wilfred A. Bose	7-16-26
Marguerite Bose	4-8-29
Wilfred A. Bose	4-13-53
Lena O. Brown	7-28-58

Ownership (cont.):	Wilfred A. Bose	7-28-58
	Margaret R. Bose	
	James H. Bose	
	Marguerite R. Bose	2-17-59
	Lena O. Brown	11-4-60
	Marguerite R. Bose	11-4-60
	James H. Bose	

Site: GNP #68
Present Owner: James and Ethel Bose
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story milled log motel unit (cabin #6) with asphalt shingle gable roof. The walls anchor into a vertical column at the corners. The building sits on log piers. Fair condition. There is a board and batten shed to the west of the structure. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #67 above.

Site: GNP #69
Present Owner: James and Ethel Bose
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story milled log motel unit (cabin #5) with asphalt shingle gable roof. The porch on the west side has been enclosed. The building sits on cedar log piers. Fair to poor condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #67 above.

Site: GNP #70
Present Owner: James and Ethel Bose
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story milled log gift shop and and two motel units. The gable roof has wood shakes. The foundation is concrete block.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #67 above.

Site: GNP #71
Present Owner: Ruth Greve
Date of Construction: 1920's

Description: A one-story log residence with an interior balcony level. The gable roof has asphalt shingles and it extends out over a screened-in porch on the west end. The interior has been altered considerably. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

C. M. Blair	3-3-27
Belton Merc. Co.	3-18-36
Fred Greve	9-10-38
Ruth Greve	

Site: GNP #72
Present Owner: Ruth Greve
Date of Construction: 1934

Description: A one-story log residence with a wood shingle gable roof. The logs have a very fine dovetail notch. The building sits on log piers. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented

Ownership: Same as #71 above.

Site: GNP #73
Present Owner: Ruth Greve
Date of Construction: 1934

Description: A one-story log residence with a wood shingle gable roof. The logs have a saddle corner notch. The whole building sits on log piers. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented

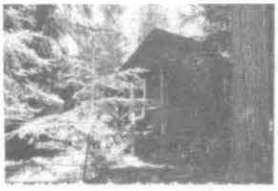
Ownership: Same as #71 above.

Site: GNP #74
Present Owner: Ruth Greve
Date of Construction: 1936

Description: Two, one-story log residences with wood shingle gable roofs. The buildings sit on log piers. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #71 above.



Site: GNP #75
Present Owner: Ruth Greve
Date of Construction: 1936

Description: Two, one-story milled log residences with wood shingle gable roofs. The buildings sit on log piers. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #71 above.

Site: GNP #76
Present Owner: Ruth Greve
Date of Construction: 1937

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with wood clapboard siding. It has a wood shingle gable roof and sits on log piers. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #71 above.

Site: GNP #77
Present Owner: Ruth Greve
Date of Construction: 1938

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with wood clapboard siding. It has a wood shingle gable roof and sits on log piers. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #71 above.

Site: GNP #78
Present Owner: Beatrice M. Macomber
Date of Construction: 1960's

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with a concrete daylight basement. The siding is wood clapboard and it has a wood shingle gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: None documented.

Site: GNP #79
Present Owner: Alexander and Jean Speyer
Date of Construction: Original part 1983

Description: A one-story single log residence made up of two buildings connected by a wood frame hallway and a concrete slab patio. The interiors, as well as the doors and windows, have been completely modernized. Good condition. To the north are the original log smokehouse and outhouse. Fair to poor condition.

Historical: The south portion of the structure is the original homestead cabin of Denny Comeau, father to Beatrice Macomber. This structure was built in 1893. The original family house is gone.[18] One of the first four homesteads at the head of the Lake, but, of the four, the one least developed during the early years in visitor-accomodation facilities. Comeau was a horseman and ran strings of riding horses and pack strings out of the Snyder/Lewis hotel, next door. He packed, for instance, the Lyman Sperry party in 1898, and several of the Eaton parties. Eddie Cruger is Mrs. Denny Comeau's son.[19]

Ownership: None documented.

Site: GNP #80
Present Owner: Alexander and Jean Speyer
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A two-story milled log residence with a wood shingle gable roof. There are screened porches on the east and south sides. The building sits on a concrete foundation. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: None documented.

Site: GNP #81
Present Owner: Eugene E. and Luella Fox
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log residence with a metal gable roof. There is a board and batten addition on the south side and a plywood addition on the east side. The building sits on concrete piers. Fair condition. A wood frame and plywood garage sits to the north of the structure. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

RECOMMENDATIONS: UPPER LAKE McDONALD AREA-McDONALD CREEK AREA

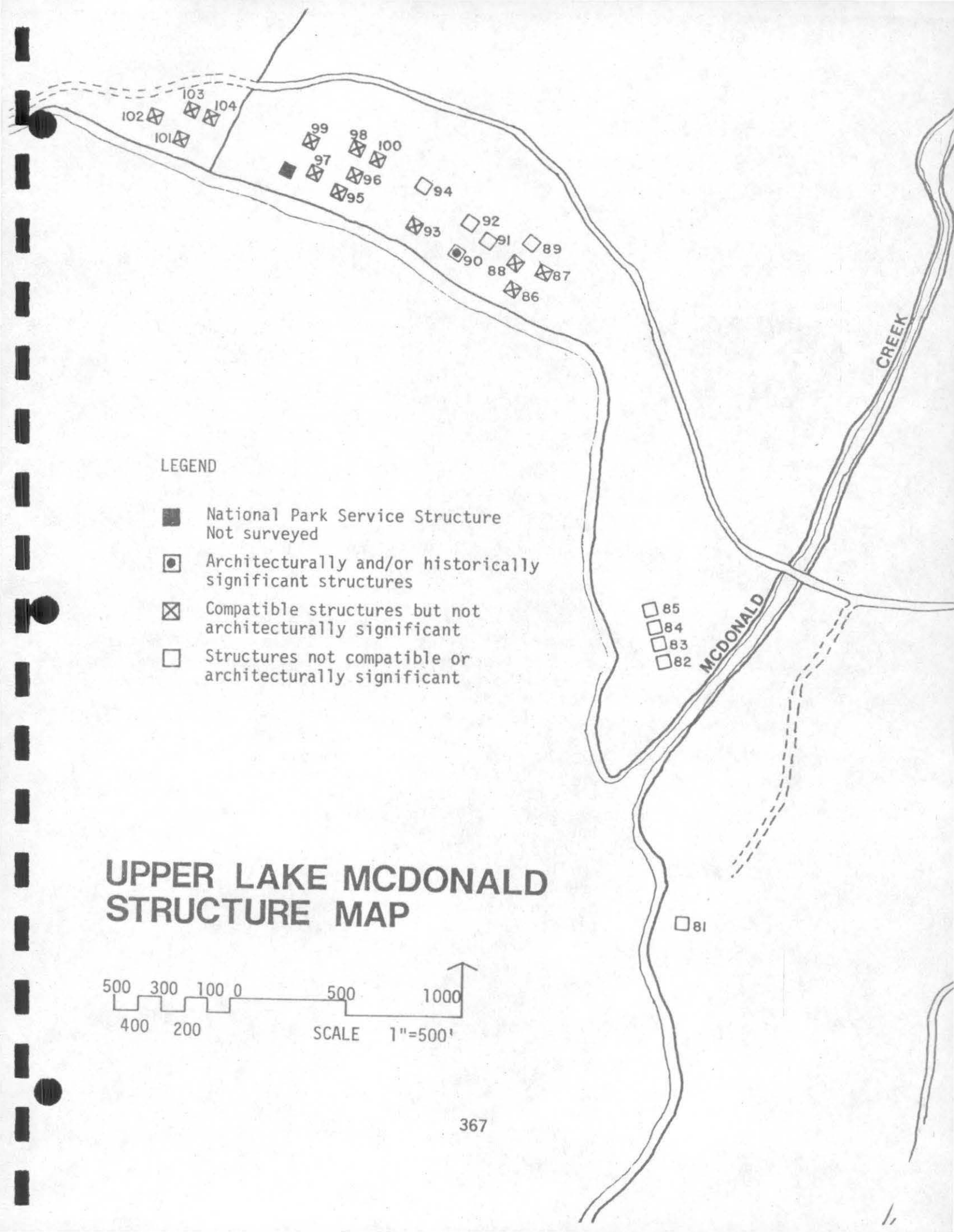
The following structure is eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. All other structures in this area lack sufficient historical or architectural significance to qualify them for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

Senator Thomas J. Walsh Summer Home (GNP #90):

Montana Senator Thomas J. Walsh (1913-1933) vacationed in the Upper Lake McDonald area beginning in 1899. He spent his early summers at the "Geduhn Camp." In 1908, Walsh purchased this homesite from Frank Geduhn and constructed his home in 1910.

The site has historical significance for two reasons. It is an example of the twentieth-century subdivision activity associated with early homesteaders to the Lake McDonald area. As such, it illustrates the increasing recreational value of an area that eventually became part of Glacier National Park. The site also is important for its association with Senator Thomas J. Walsh, a noted Montana politician.

The site is eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places for its value as a state historic resource. Compatible structures in the Upper Lake McDonald area should be re-used if possible. See structure map.



UPPER LAKE MCDONALD STRUCTURE MAP

Ownership: John J. Robinson
O. M. Jankins
Alice L. Beck
Eugene E. Fox
Luella G. Fox

Site: GNP #82
Present Owner: Virginia LaDow
Date of Construction: 1948

Description: A one-story log residence (painted brown) with an asphalt shingle gable roof. The porches are enclosed. Good condition.

Historical: Frank Geduhn first settled at the foot of the Lake, where he built a vertical-log cabin alongside the Howe claim. He removed to the head of the Lake in 1894 when the squatter "Dutch John" Elsner moved off this piece of land and over near John's Lake/Meadow. Of the four original homesteaders at the head of the Lake, Geduhn seems to have been the first one there, although he didn't file on his piece until 1904. By the early 1900's he was running a few rental cabins; at the same time he was working as the Forest Service ranger for the general area. Geduhn also was the first of the four original homesteaders to begin selling his place piecemeal, commencing in 1908. Between 1913 and 1920 he sold tracts to: Conlon, W. C. Whipps, Charles Sanford, Thomas J. Walsh, Burton K. Wheeler (via an intermediate sale), Colonel Nolan, Lutes, Carruthers, and George Sherburne. He also sold a large piece on both sides of McDonald Creek to LaDow, who then ran his own hotel and cabin complex. Genevieve Walsh Gudger reports (ca. 1950): "All the original cabins are still standing, though the larger ones, nearer the creek, were added later." One fine example of the pattern of original homesteads being divided into private family summer retreats, which then are passed down within the family.[20]

Ownership:	Mary I. LaDow	8-28-53
	Jessie A., Byron E. & Virginia LaDow	1-7-69
	Virginia LaDow	2-22-74
	Virginia LaDow	4-2-74
	Mary Beth LaDow	4-14-75

Ownership (cont.):	Janet LaDow	4-14-75
	David E. LaDow	4-14-75
	Virginia LaDow	8-14-75

Site: GNP #83
Present Owner: Jessie and Bonnie Jean LaDow
Date of Construction: 1967

Description: A one-story wood frame residence. Good condition. A plywood garage sits to the north. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #82 above.

Ownership:	B. E. LaDow	11-26-29
	Mary LaDow et. al.	8-19-38
	Mary I. LaDow	4-28-61
	Byron E. LaDow	
	Virginia LaDow	
	Jessie A. LaDow	1-7-69
	Byron E. LaDow	
	Virginia LaDow	
	Ruth H. Baldridge	3-25-69
	Jessie A. LaDow	3-25-69
	Byron E. LaDow	
	Virginia LaDow	
	Jessie A. LaDow	2-22-74
	Virginia LaDow	4-2-74
	Jessie A. LaDow	8-14-75

Site: GNP #84
Present Owner: Jessie and Bonnie Jean LaDow
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log residence with an asphalt shingle gable roof. One log porch and a wood frame porch, both with hip roofs, have been added and enclosed on the front. A wood frame structure with clapboard siding has been added to the back. There is a stone chimney on the north side. New windows have been added. Fair condition.

Historical: Built by Frank Geduhn. One of nine structures.[21] See also #82 above.

Ownership: Same as #82 above.

Site: GNP #85
Present Owner: Ruth L. McCollister
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log residence with metal gable roof. The roof has been extended on the back across a breezeway and a wood frame garage. Fair condition.

Historical: Built by Frank Geduhn. One of nine structures.[22] See also #82 above.

Ownership: Ruth L. McCollister 8-28-53

Site: GNP #86
Present Owner: John T. and Regina A. Hoag
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A two-story log residence with asphalt shingle gable roof. The gable ends are covered with wood shingles. There is a stone chimney on the east side. The building sits on a concrete foundation. Fair to good condition. Two log outbuildings with wood shingle gable roofs sit to the north of the main building. Fair condition.

Historical: Same as #82 above.

Ownership:

B. E. LaDow	11-26-29
Mary LaDow	8-19-38
Jessie A. LaDow	4-26-46
John Tigchon Hoag	8-21-50
Regina Aronow Hoag	

Site: GNP #87
Present Owner: John T. and Regina A. Hoag
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log residence with a metal gable roof. A milled log addition has been added to the north side. The building sits on a stone and concrete foundation. Fair condition.

Historical: Same as #82 above.

Ownership: Same as #86 above.

Site: GNP #88
Present Owner: John T. and Regina A. Hoag
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log residence with a wood shingle gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #82 above.

Ownership: Same as #86 above.

Site: GNP #89
Present Owner: John T. and Regina A. Hoag
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log residence with a metal gable roof. Fair condition.

Historical: Same as #82 above.

Ownership: Same as #86 above.

Site: GNP #90
Present Owner: Elinor Gudger Parks
Date of Construction: 1910

Description: A two-story cedar log residence with an asphalt shingle gable roof. The porch on the south side runs across the width of the building and the ceiling is approximately 1½ stories high. A dormer window is centered above the porch. The interior is hand-hewn with cedar chinking fitted between the logs to give the wall a smooth surface. The central section of the building rises up two stories with a balcony on the south side and rooms off of it to the east or west. Good condition.

Historical: Located just east of the original W. C. Whipps place, and about 450 feet east of the Wheeler place. The site was purchased from Geduhn in 1908, although Walsh had been to the head of the Lake annually since 1899, staying at the "Geduhn Camp" in a rental cabin. The house was built in 1910 by E. J. Cruger.[23] See also #82 above.

Ownership: T. J. Walsh 10-6-08
Genevieve Walsh Gudger 1-21-19
Elinor Carlyle Gudger 10-17-44
Gloria Gudger

Site: GNP #91
Present Owner: Elinor Gudger Parks
Date of Construction: 1947

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with wood shingle siding. It has two units, an asphalt shingle gable roof, and sits on a concrete foundation. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #82 above.

Ownership: Same as #90 above.

Site: GNP #92
Present Owner: Elinor Gudger Parks
Date of Construction: 1947

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with wood shingle siding. It has an asphalt shingle gable roof and sits on a concrete foundation. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #82 above.

Ownership: Same as #90 above.

Site: GNP #93
Present Owner: John T. and Regina A. Hoag
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A two-story log residence with a metal gable roof. The building sits on a log foundation. A screened porch runs across the south side of the building. Fair condition. Two log outbuildings with metal and wood shingle gable roofs sit directly north of the building. Poor condition.

Historical: Same as #82 above.

Ownership:

Annie E. Whipps	5-28-08
William C. Whipps	3-29-27
William O. Whipps	12-2-33
Caroline L. Kleist	
Anna Aronow	9-17-35
Regina Aronow Hoag	6-1-67

Site: GNP #94
Present Owner: John T. and Regina A. Hoag
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log residence with a metal gable roof. The building sits on a log foundation. Fair condition.

Historical: Same as #82 above.

Ownership: Same as #93 above.

Site: GNP #95
Present Owner: David A. Clack, Trustee
Date of Construction: 1940's

Description: A one-story log residence (Cedar Lodge) with a wood shake gable roof. The building has a central living section with perpendicular wings on each side for the kitchen and bedrooms. Good condition. There are two log outbuildings with wood shake gable roofs just to the north of this structure. Fair condition.

Historical: Built by George Colby of Kalispell.[24] See also #82 above.

Ownership:

Charles H. Sandford	5-28-08
William B. Sandford	10-16-09
James Narbert	4-6-10
Hattie S. Nolan	4-14-10
John H. Shober	9-19-30
H. Earl Clack	4-25-33
Margaret Turner Clack, Trustee	12-29-38

Site: GNP #96
Present Owner: David A. Clack, Trustee
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A single-story wood frame caretaker's cabin with clapboard siding. It has a wood shake gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #82 above.

Ownership: Same as #95 above.

Site: GNP #97
Present Owner: David A. Clack, Trustee
Date of Construction: 1950's

Description: A one-story log residence (Spruce Lodge) with a wood shingle gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #82 above.

Ownership: Same as #95 above.

Site: GNP #98
Present Owner: David A. Clack, Trustee
Date of Construction: 1950's

Description: A one-story log residence (Hilltop Lodge) with wood shake semi-hipped roof. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #82 above.

Ownership: Same as #95 above.

Site: GNP #99
Present Owner: David A. Clack, Trustee
Date of Construction: 1925 (Divided 1940)

Description: A one-story log residence (Tamarack House) with a wood shake two-level hip roof. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #95 above.

Site: GNP #100
Present Owner: David A. Clack, Trustee
Date of Construction: 1940

Description: A one-story log residence (Totem House) with a wood shake gable roof. Good condition.

Historical: The back section was part of Tamarack House above and moved to the site when the main part was constructed in 1940.[25]

Ownership: Same as #95 above.

Site: GNP #101
Present Owner: Edward Wheeler
Date of Construction: 1942

Description: A two-story log residence (stained brown) with a wood shake gable roof. The entrance portico rises up into the second level. The building sits on a concrete foundation and there is a stone fireplace on the east side. Good condition. A wood frame boathouse sits to the west of this structure. Good condition.

Historical: The original Wheeler house sat on this site but was demolished in 1942. It was built by Gus Aubart.

Ownership: None documented.

Site: GNP #102
Present Owner: John Wheeler
Date of Construction: 1928

Description: A one-story log residence (stained brown) with wood shake gable roof. The building has been totally remodeled including new windows and glass sliding doors and entrances. The interior is completely modernized. Good condition.

Historical: It was the original Wheeler cabin, built by Gus Aubart with logs floated up from the 1926 fire at Apgar. The stone fireplace was built by Ace Powell, Sr.[26]

Ownership: None documented.

Site: GNP #103
Present Owner: Mr. and Mrs. Scott (Wheeler)
Date of Construction: 1940

Description: A one-story log residence with a wood shake gable roof. A new deck has been added to the west and south sides. There is a stone chimney on the south. The north part was added later with a garage under. The interior is hewn logs and has a magnificent stone fireplace. It sits on a stone foundation. Good condition.

Historical: The house was built by Gus Aubert and the fireplace by Ace Powell, Sr.[27]

Ownership: None documented.

Site: GNP #104
Present Owner: Ed Wheeler
Date of Construction: ca. 1947

Description: A one-story log L-shaped residence (stained brown) with a wood shake gable roof. There is a stone chimney on the south side and a large wood deck. The building sits on a stone and concrete foundation. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: None documented.

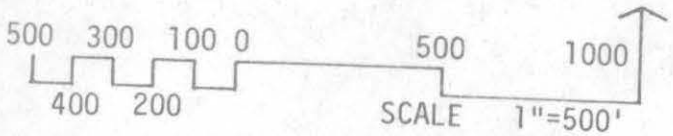
RECOMMENDATIONS: UPPER LAKE McDONALD-KELLY CAMP

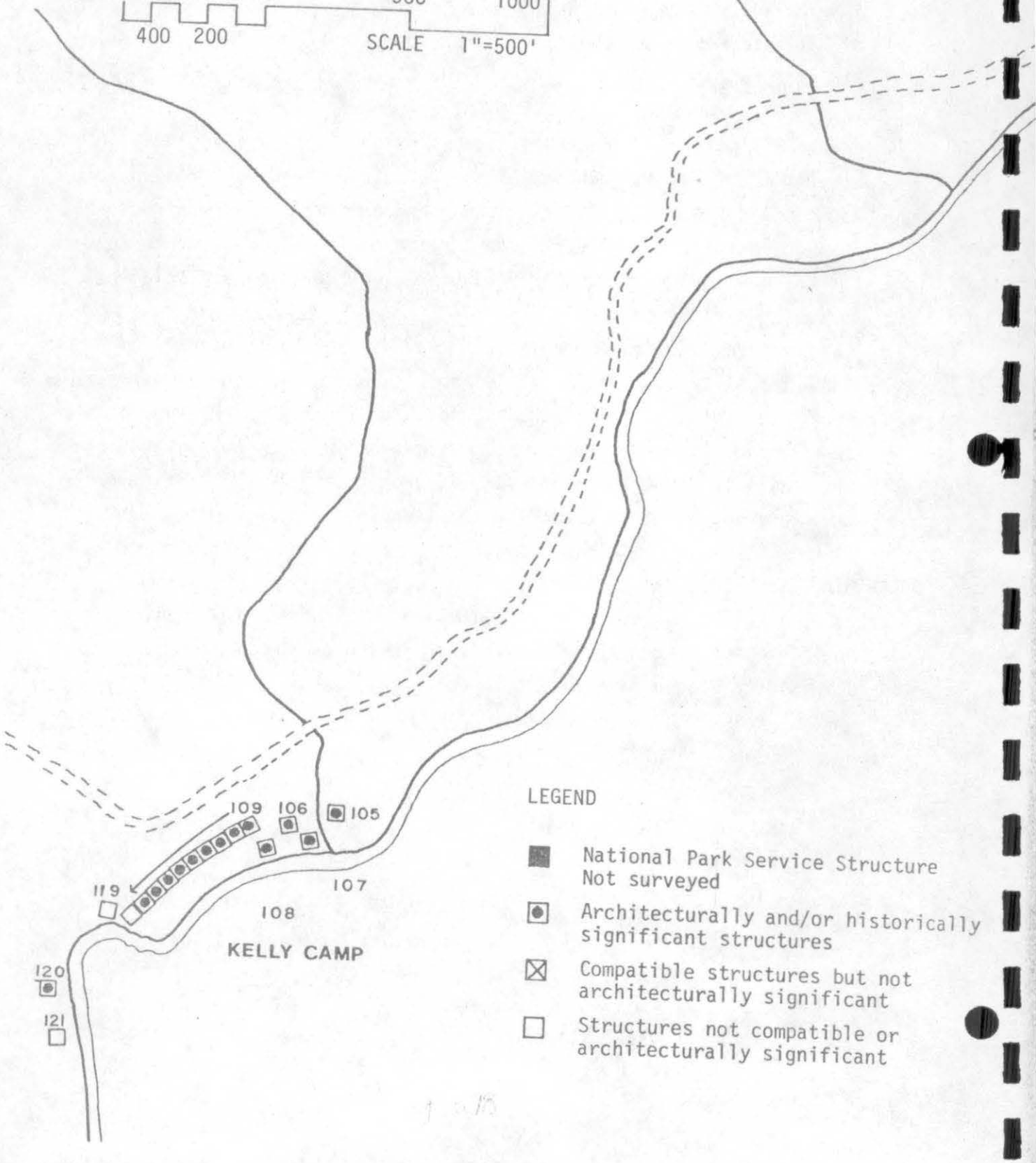
The Kelly Camp Area is eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places as a historic district (structures GNP #105-121). The site has local significance to the history of Glacier National Park. Frank Kelly, who owned several gasoline-powered launches on Lake McDonald, initiated a cabin rental business on the Lake in 1899. Through the first two decades of the twentieth century, he added to the complex and, by 1920, Kelly owned approximately twenty structures. In 1930, Frank Kelly sold a large portion of the site to Horace Chadbourne, who then platted the "Hollybourne" subdivision and sold lots to seasonal vacationers.

Frank Kelly's "camp complex" is the best surviving example of a rental facility built by an early homesteader turned tourist entrepreneur. The site of the camp has larger significance in relation to the launch concession on Lake McDonald which was owned by Kelly. Most of the cabins in the area are of similar architectural style and were built during the first decade of the twentieth century. They were built with similar materials and have similar details and are, therefore, architecturally compatible.

The Kelly Camp complex has both historical and architectural significance sufficient to warrant its inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places as a site of local significance.

UPPER LAKE MCDONALD STRUCTURE MAP





LEGEND

- ■ National Park Service Structure Not surveyed
- ⊡ Architecturally and/or historically significant structures
- ⊠ Compatible structures but not architecturally significant
- □ Structures not compatible or architecturally significant

Site: GNP #105
Present Owner: Joan Berry
Date of Construction: ca. 1890

Description: A small one-story cedar log cabin. The roof and part of the walls have fallen in. Poor condition.

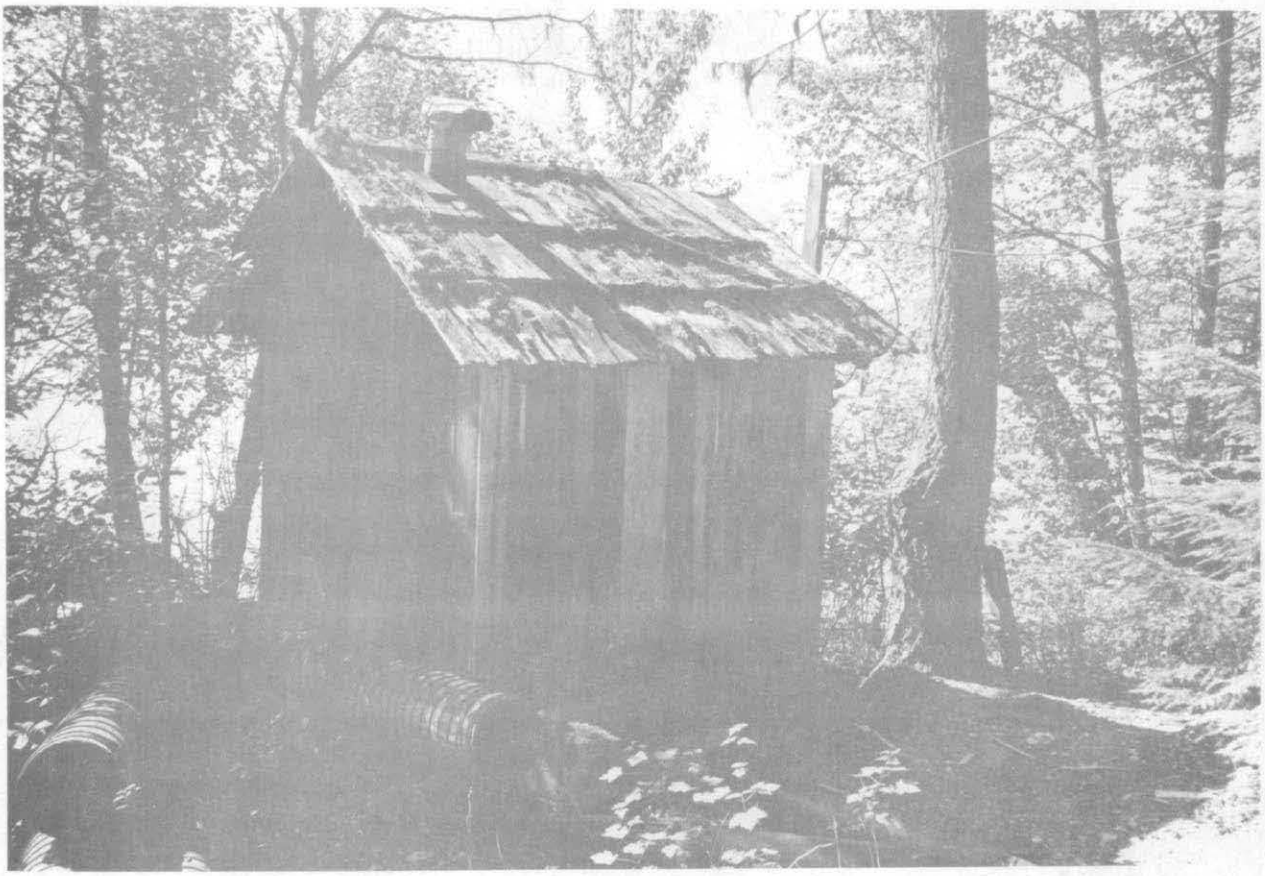
Historical: This structure was the original cabin on the site.[28] Kelly was one of the original four homesteaders at the head of Lake McDonald. He was a boat enthusiast, running as many as four gasoline launches at one time; the "Emmaline" was the most popular of his boats. The launches were necessary, as there was no road access to the Camp until 1932. Frank Kelly opened his "camp," with one rental cabin about 1899; by 1920 he had about eight cabins. Frank and his wife worked on the construction of these cabins together, during the winters. The Kellys sold a sizable portion of land to the Horace Chadbournes in 1930. Chadbourne immediately platted the piece as "Hollybourne" and sold lots. The Kelly Camp is the best extant example of the kind of "cabin camp" complex run by all of the early homesteaders at the head of the Lake: Geduhn, Comeau, Snyder, Kelly.[29]

Ownership:		
	Frank Kelly	10-27-09
	Jean Gladys Kellenbeck	10-10-62
	Joan Marie Berry	
	Helen Kelly	5-27-65
	Jean Gladys Kellenbeck	5-27-65
	Joan Marie Berry	
	Joan K. Berry	8-11-65

Site: GNP #106
Present Owner: Jean G. Burk (Kellenbeck)
Date of Construction: ca. 1910

Description: A one-story log cabin (#00) with a balcony inside. The logs have a v-notch at the corners. There is a wood shake gable roof that extends out on the south side to cover the porch that runs the full length of the building. There are wood double-hung windows. Rough boards are used for trim around the doors and windows. The building sits on a log pier foundation. Good condition. There is a root cellar to the north which has fallen in. Poor condition. A frame shed to the north is in poor condition also.

Looking north at Kelly Camp Cabin #00 GNP #106



Looking south at Kelly Camp generator house GNP #107
Note wood pipe that was replaced.

Historical: Same as #105 above.

Ownership:

Frank Kelly	10-27-09
Jean G. Kellenbeck	8-11-65
Alvin J. Ufkes	5-16-66
Verne A. and Jean G. Kellenbeck	5-16-66
Jean G. Kellenbeck	2-3-69

Site: GNP #107
Present Owner: All Kelly Camp Owners
Date of Construction: 1928 (Wooden pipe flume replaced in 1972)

Description: A one-story wood frame generator house with board siding and a wood shake gable roof. A metal pipe flume runs through the house and generator to produce electricity for all the Kelly Camp cabins. Poor to fair condition.

Historical: Same as #105 above.

Ownership: Owned by all Kelly Camp property owners.

Site: GNP #108
Present Owner: Joan Berry
Date of Construction: ca. 1900

Description: A one-story log structure converted into restrooms. The logs have a v-notch at the corners. It has a wood shake gable roof. The building is separated down the center forming the two separate rooms. Fair condition.

Historical: This building was the second Kelly cabin built on the site.[30] See #105 for additional information.

Ownership:

Frank Kelly	10-27-09
Jean Gladys Kellenbeck	1-3-63
Joan Marie Berry	
Helen Kelly	5-27-65
Jean Gladys Kellenbeck	5-27-65
Joan Marie Berry	
Joan K. Berry	8-11-65

Looking east at ca. 1900 Kelly Camp cabin GNP #108

Looking north at Kelly Camp cabin (Big Cabin) GNP #109

Site: GNP #109
Present Owner: Joan Berry
Date of Construction: 1908

Description: A one-story log (tamarack) cabin (Big Cabin) with interior balcony and an asphalt shingle gable roof. The one-story part to the east was added later. The logs are v-notched at the corners. A porch runs across the south side and is covered by an extension of the roof. The windows are wood double-hung. Rough boards are used as trim around the doors and windows. The building sits on log piers. The interior has hand-hewn log walls and narrow wood paneling. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #105 above.

Ownership: Same as #108 above.

Site: GNP #110
Present Owner: Joan Berry
Date of Construction: 1908

Description: A one-story log cabin (#1) with interior balcony. It has a metal gable roof which extends out over a deck on the south side. The logs have a v-notch at the corners. The structure sits on log piers. There is an enclosed porch on the north side. The structure has wood double-hung windows. Rough boards are used for trim around the doors and windows. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #105 above.

Ownership: Same as #108 above.

Site: GNP #111
Present Owner: Jean G. Burk (Kellenbeck)
Date of Construction: 1908

Descsription: A one-story log cabin (#2). It has a metal gable roof which extends out over a deck on the south side. The logs have a v-notch at the corners. The structure sits on log piers. There is an enclosed porch on the north side. The structure has wood double-hung windows. Rough boards are used for trim around the doors and windows. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #105 above.

Ownership: Same as #106 above.

Site: GNP #112
Present Owner: Jean G. Burk (Kellenbeck)
Date of Construction: 1908

Description: A one-story log cabin (#3). It has a metal gable roof which extends out over a deck on the south side. The logs have a v-notch at the corners. The structure sits on log piers. There is an enclosed porch on the north side. The structure has wood double-hung windows. Rough boards are used for trim around the doors and windows. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #105 above.

Ownership: Same as #106 above.

Site: GNP #113
Present Owner: Alfred and Bernice Rose
Date of Construction: 1908

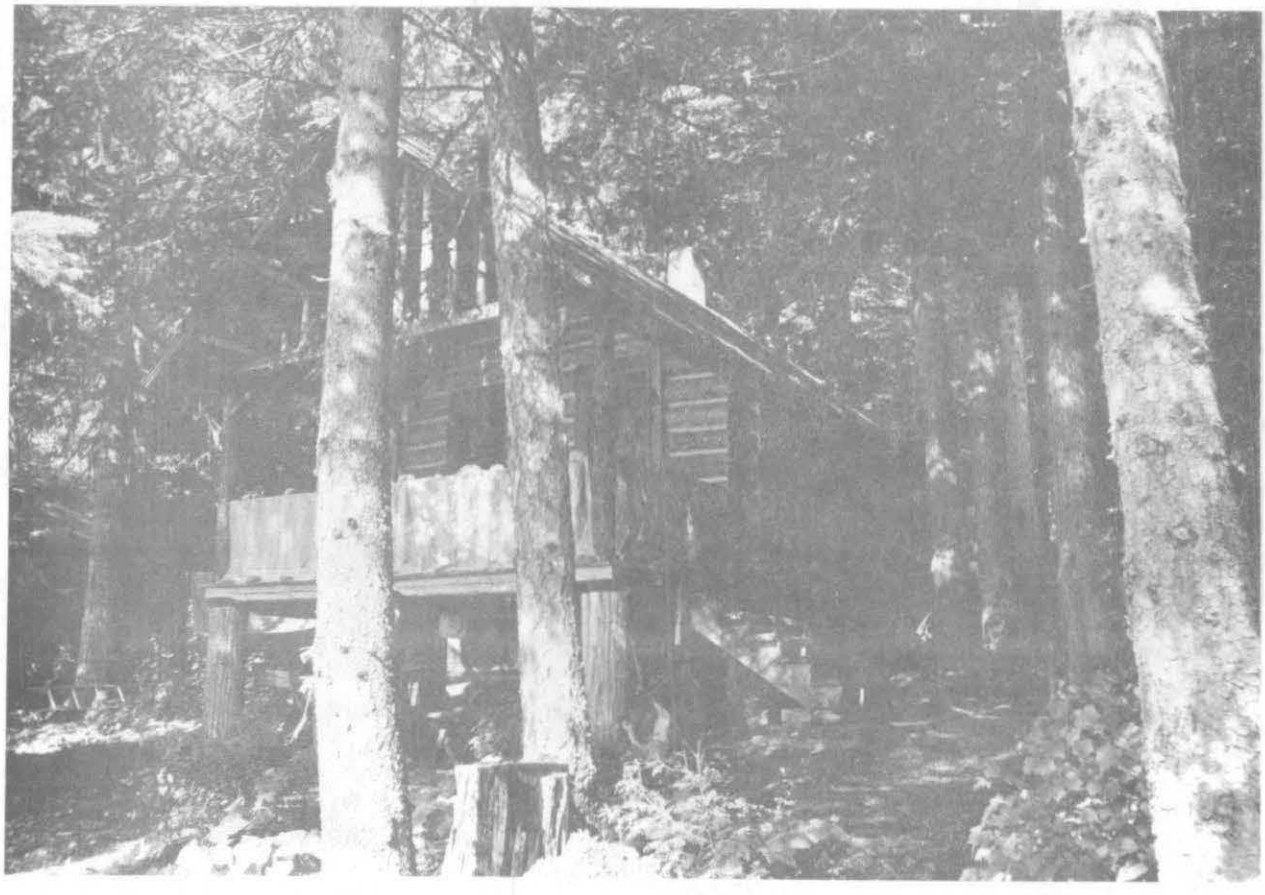
Description: A one-story log cabin (#4). It has a metal gable roof which extends out over a deck on the south side. The logs have a v-notch at the corners. The structure sits on log piers. There is a bathroom added to the north side. The structure has wood double-hung windows. Rough boards are used for trim around the doors and windows. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #105 above.

Ownership:

Frank Kelly	10-27-09
Joan K. Berry	11-2-66
Alfred and Bernice Rose	12-2-69

Looking north at Kelly Camp Cabin #3 GNP #112



Looking north at Kelly Camp Cabin #6 GNP #115

Site: GNP #114
Present Owner: Merrill and Amy Nelson
Date of Construction: 1908

Description: A one-story two-room log cabin (#5) with a wood single gable roof. The roof gable extends out over a deck on the south side. The logs have a v-notch at the corners. The windows are double-hung. Rough boards are used as trim around the doors and windows. A porch has been added to the north side. The interior has hand-hewn log walls with wood chinking. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #105 above.

Ownership:

Frank Kelly	10-27-09
Merrill and Amy Nelson	11-1-65

Site: GNP #115
Present Owner: Sam and Alys C. Medlicott
Date of Construction: 1908

Description: A one-story two-room log cabin (#6) with a wood shingle gable roof. The roof gable extends out over a deck on the south side. The logs have a v-notch at the corners. The windows are double-hung. Rough boards are used as trim around the doors and winows. A bathroom has been added to the north side. The interior has hand-hewn log walls with wood chinking. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #105 above.

Ownership:

Frank Kelly	10-27-09
Sam and Alys C. Medlicott	11-1-65

Site: GNP #116
Present Owner: Marguerite L. Miller
Date of Construction: 1908

Description: A one-story log cabin (#7). It has a metal gable roof which extends out over a deck on the south side. The logs have a v-notch at the corners. The structure sits on log piers. There is an enclosed porch on the north side. The structure has wood double-hung windows. Rough boards are used for trim around the doors and windows. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #105 above.

Ownership:

Frank Kelly	10-27-09
Robert A. Beck	12-7-64
Wanda J. Beck	
Marguerite L. Miller	6-8-73
Douglas E. Miller	
Michael R. Gravely	
Bonnie G. Gravely	

Site: GNP #117
Present Owner: Marguerite L. Miller
Date of Construction: 1908

Description: A one-story log cabin (#8). It has a metal gable roof which extends out over a deck on the south side. The logs have a v-notch at the corners. The structure sits on log piers. There is an enclosed porch on the north side. The structure has wood double-hung windows. Rough boards are used for trim around the doors and windows. Good condition.

Historical: Same as #105 above.

Ownership: Same as #116 above.

Site: GNP #118
Present Owner: Hallie Mae Davis
Date of Construction: 1962

Description: A two-story wood frame residence with plywood siding. It has an asphalt shingle gable roof and sits on a log pier foundation. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Frank Kelly	10-27-09
Wendell R. Hammond	9-7-62
Hallie R. Hammond	
Hallie Mae Davis	5-19-75

Looking east at backs of Kelly Camp cabins

Site: GNP #119
Present Owner: Hallie Mae Davis
Date of Construction: 1962

Description: A two-story wood frame residence with plywood siding. It has an asphalt shingle gable roof and sits on a log pier foundation. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #118 above.

Site: GNP #120
Present Owner: John W. and Virginia Hatalson
Date of Construction: ca. 1930

Description: A two-story log residence with wood shingle gable roof. A large deck has been added to the east. The building has wood double-hung windows. Rough boards are used for trim around the windows and doors. The building sits on a log pier foundation. Good condition. There are two wood frame storage sheds to the west of the structure. Fair condition.

Historical: Same as #105 above.

Ownership:

Frank Kelly	10-27-09
John W. Hatalson	8-6-65
Virginia R. Hatalson	
Dorothy H. Upjohn	
Joanne Upjohn Holcomb	8-24-78
Dorothy Hatalson Codling	
Susanne Hatalson Ambler	
Barbara Hatalson McDonald	
John W. Hatalson	8-24-78
Virginia R. Hatalson	

Site: GNP #121
Present Owner: Edward J. and Mary J. Theefs
Date of Construction: 1964

Description: A two-story wood frame residence with clapboard siding. The wood shingle gable roof extends out over the decks from each floor on the east side. The structure sits on a log pier foundation. Good condition. A wood frame garage sits to the west of the structure. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Frank Kelly	10-27-09
Edward J. Theefs	8-14-63
Mary Jane Theefs	
Helen Kelly	5-28-65
Edward J. Theefs	5-28-65
Mary Jane Theefs	

Notes

1. Charles Shaw, THE FLATHEAD [NATIONAL FOREST] STORY (Missoula, Montana: U.S. Forest Service, 1964), pp. 6-7, 14-16; Donald H. Robinson, THROUGH THE YEARS IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK: AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY, ed. Maynard C. Bowers (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, 1960), pp. 49-50.

2. Curtis W. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, 1976), Chapter III.

3. Leona Harrington, ed., THE HISTORY OF APGAR, MONTANA (West Glacier, Montana: Apgar School, ca. 1957), p. 38; U.S. National Archives, Record Group 75, National Park Service, Central Correspondence Files, 1907-1939, "Glacier National Park: Lands, General, 1911-1912"; information gathered at the Plat Office, Flathead County Courthouse, Kalispell, Montana (January, 1979).

4. All of these Section references apply to: T33N, R18W, Mont. P.M.

5. See the general discussion of the "Lower Lake McDonald Area: History of Private Development, 1889-1975," in this report; Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, Chapter III; "History Files," Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (hereafter cited as GPA), various years.

6. Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR, *passim*.

7. IBID., *passim*; National Archives, "Glacier National Park: Lands, General, 1911-1912"; information gathered at the Plat Office, Flathead County Courthouse.

8. Information gathered at the Plat Office, Flathead County Courthouse.

9. Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR, pp. 47-54.

10. IBID., *passim*.

11. Various correspondence files, Great Northern Railway Collection, "President's Office, Subject Files," Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota; National Park Service, "Annual Report of the Superintendent of Glacier National Park," 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, GPA.

12. Interview with Jacqueline Brewer, September 3, 1978.

13. IBID.

14. IBID.

15. IBID.

16. IBID.

17. Interview with Nina Myhre, September 3, 1978.

18. Interview with Beatrice M. Macomber, September 3, 1978.

19. Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR.

20. IBID.

21. Interview with Jessie Ladow, September 2, 1978.

22. IBID.

23. Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR.

24. Interview with Celia Smith (Clack), August 31, 1978.

25. IBID.

26. Interview with John Wheeler, September 2, 1978.

27. IBID.

28. Interview with Sam Medlicott, September 2, 1978.

29. Harrington, HISTORY OF APGAR.

30. Interview with Sam Medlicott, September 2, 1978.

NORTH FORK OF THE FLATHEAD AREA: History of Private Development, 1889-1975

The history of private development within the valley of the North Fork of the Flathead River, from its crossing of the Canadian Boundary to its confluence with the Middle Fork, is tied directly to the question of administrative jurisdiction. The area's settlement, the nature and the commercial pursuits of its settlers, and the subsequent, restricted development all depend on governmental legislation applicable to the sector.

For instance, the pertinent area received some formal, if passive, federal jurisdiction with the creation (1864) of Montana Territory. Subsequently it was included (1889) in the State of Montana. More important, the area fell (1897) within the Lewis and Clark Forest Reserve and then (1908) within the Blackfeet National Forest, administered from Kalispell by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. From Blackfeet Forest land, Glacier National Park was created (1910).

Prior to white penetration of the North Fork Valley, Salish, Kootenai, Stoney, and various Blackfoot Confederacy bands of Indians used it as a natural approach to the Akamina or South Kootenai Passes. Some white trappers, explorers, surveyors, and adventurers also visited the area during the nineteenth century--most notably the Northwest Boundary Survey team (1860).[2] However, concerted white settlement of the Valley was a belated result of the construction (1891-1892) of the Great Northern Railway tracks west of Midvale (East Glacier), through Belton (West Glacier) and Columbia Falls, to Kalispell. During the 1890s, substantial coal deposits were located immediately west of the North Fork River, and oil seepages were discovered in the upper Valley. Yet these finds were unexploitable without access to the Railway's lines.

Thus the initial access to the North Fork Valley was a wagon-trail crudely hacked (1901) from the forests between Apgar and the foot of

Lower Kintla Lake.[3] This wagon-trail was constructed by the Butte Oil Company to transport drilling equipment to its Kintla Lake site, but it quickly proved an access route for adventurous homesteaders. Between 1901 and 1910, scores of homestead claims were filed on land throughout the Valley--especially after passage of the Forest Homestead Act (June 11, 1906).

These early claims tended to lie east of the North Fork, because of the road access and the location of large meadows on this side of the river. Indicative of this type of settlement are the Gephart homestead (1906) on McGee Meadow, the Cummings claim (1908) on Quartz Creek, and the Schoenberger (1906) and Johnnie Walsh (1906) places on Big Prairie. In contrast to the areas at either ends of Lake McDonald, visitor-accommodation activities were minimal in the North Fork Valley between 1901 and 1910--Bill Adair's small "hotel" in Sullivan's Meadow being the single exception. Rather, this was a sector of subsistence homsteading, in which the residents combined farming, hunting, and trapping with occasional quick-income jobs outside the Valley. The extended-family settlement pattern also pertained to this area, but to a lesser degree than in the Lower Lake McDonald sector; a number of single men homesteaded the North Fork prior to 1910.[4]

Between 1901 and 1910, the Valley of the North Fork of the Flathead River seemed on the verge of economic development. Speculation abounded regarding the extraction of oil, coal, and timber, and the area seemed well-suited for fishing and hunting parties. The original (1901) North Fork Road was extended beyond the Kintla Lake turn-off, into Canada. Indeed, in 1909, both the Milwaukee Road and the Great Northern surveyed right-of-ways paralleling the river, in anticipation of such profitable commercial ventures. One clause in Glacier Park's enabling legislation permits the construction of such a rail line within the Park's boundaries. However, prior to the 1970s development of the Cabin Creek coal site, immediately north of the International Boundary in British Columbia, economic development of the North Fork has been restrained.[5]

A government-jurisdiction change seriously affected the North Fork

Valley in 1910. With the creation of Glacier National Park, additional private-land claims within the reserve--i.e., on the east side of the river--were disallowed. Still, North Forkers had fought the inclusion of the eastern Valley in the Park and, as late as 1915, petitioned the Department of the Interior for a realignment of the Park's western boundary to the east, along the foot of the Livingston Range.[6] Nevertheless, in 1910, title-holders and pending-claimants became "inholders" who--by a clause in the enabling legislation precipitated by North Forkers' protests--were permitted to retain their land. The immediate effect of the creation of Glacier National Park on the North Fork Valley was that subsequent homesteading, particularly during the 1910-1920 period, was restricted to the west side of the Valley, on what was then Blackfeet National Forest land.

The height of settlement in the North Fork Valley occurred during this 1910-1920 period. Estimates place the population as high as 350 persons on more than 100 properties between Howe Ridge and the Canadian Boundary. This influx prompted the citizens of Columbia Falls--in conjunction with North Fork residents and the Forest Service--to construct (1913-1916) a road on the west side of the river, from Columbia Falls into Canada. The additional road access permitted the extraction of the Valley's west-side natural resources, particularly timber and coal. Yet the prime activity of the Valley remained subsistence homesteading, with some seasonal work in the Glacier Park visitor-enclaves or in the Flathead Valley.[7]

Only during the 1920s did the North Fork begin to develop visitor-accommodation facilities of note. This delay is attributable primarily to the lack of adequate roads. Larson's Fishing Camp, on the lower North Fork, the Culver Military Academy's cabin complex on Bowman Lake, and Brill's Guest Ranch, on the upper river, are indicative of such commercial enterprises. This activity was continued with H. Frank Evans' Wilderness Trail Trips (1946-1953) and Jack McFarland's dude ranch (1950-1970), both of which headquartered in the North Fork.[8] Because of the Valley's relative inaccessibility, however, it never has been a site of

heavy visitor travel, in contrast to the two Lake McDonald sectors.

Since 1930 the permanent population of the North Fork has declined. Homesteaders' children almost invariably left the Valley, although some of them returned during the Great Depression to weather the difficult economic times.[9] After World War II, however, the character of the Valley changed somewhat, to one of summer-cabin residency. Most of the summer-cabin inhabitancy has occurred on the west side of the river, as the Park Service has followed a policy of purchasing former homesteads on the east side, when funds permit. Such is the case with the Charles Green properties on the lower North Fork, with the Con Robinson piece on Big Prairie, and with the "Havreville" cabin subdivision, a portion of the original Johnnie Walsh homestead, north of Polebridge.

Several post-World War II developments carry the potential of significantly altering the character of the North Fork's settlement patterns. Although now apparently quieted, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' recurring plan to construct a dam on the North Fork would change the Valley dramatically.[10] Glacier National Park constructed (1964-1966) the Camas Creek Road (Glacier Route #8) to forestall such an inundation. Yet this road could provide a Park Service connection to the long-advocated "Northern Loop" highway, linking Columbia Falls/West Glacier with Waterton Lakes National Park, via the North Fork Valley and Akamina Pass. The construction of such a highway would increase immediately visitation to the Valley.[11]

The announced development (1973) of a coal-stripping operation immediately north of the Canadian Boundary, on Cabin Creek, introduces a third factor capable of changing the character of the Valley. Such a development could encourage similar operations downriver; it definitely would increase access to the Valley from the north. In addition, the designation (1977) of the North Fork of the Flathead River under the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act portends not only an increase in visitation, but also a change in the *type* of person seasonally entering the Valley. Finally, the recent (1976ff.) Rocky Mountain Pine Beetle infestation in the North Fork promises to alter the character of the Valley.

Whereas much of the dead timber will be removed from the land west of the river, the Park Service plans no such removal program. The opportunity for a devastating forest fire is obvious.

Unlike either of the Lake McDonald sectors and the East Side sector, the North Fork Valley represents a distinct settlement pattern of subsistence homesteading. The potential for the development of other activities--such as mining, visitor-accommodation, lumbering, etc.--long has existed. Yet those activities remain largely unrealized. The homestead settlement pattern still dominates Valley development--refined in a summer-cottage variation.

RECOMMENDATIONS: NORTH FORK-HAVREVILLE AREA

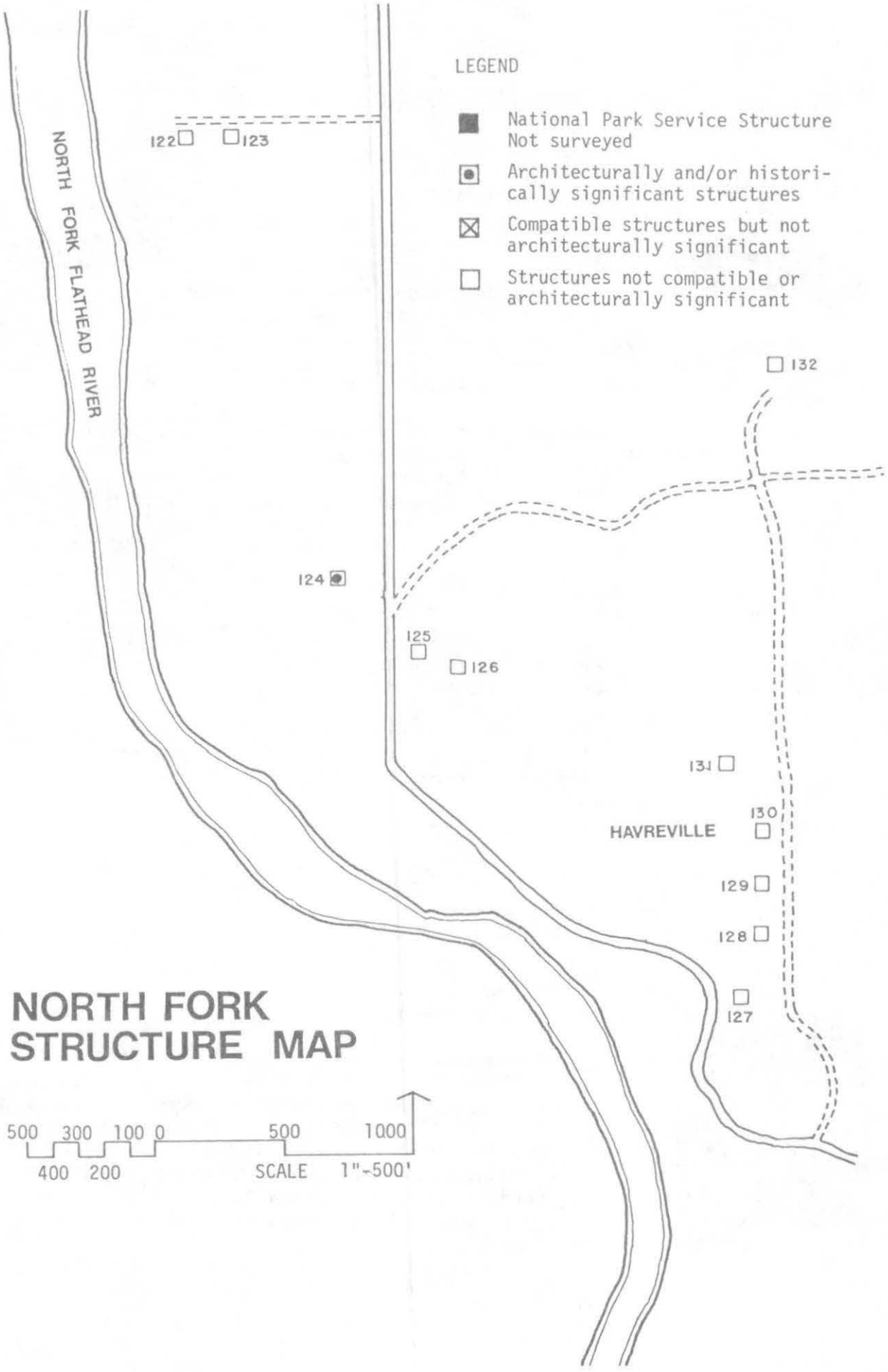
The following structure is eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. All other structures in this area lack sufficient historical or architectural significance to qualify them for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

Schoenburger Homestead (GNP #124):

The Charles Schoenburger homestead has both architectural and historical value. Schoenburger located the homesite in 1908 and constructed this cabin in 1916. The building site and the presence of Schoenburger in the North Fork Valley is a fine example of the style of subsistence farming that was common to the area between 1901 and 1910.

The site also is of architectural significance. The uniform log placement, dovetail corner notching, window details and structural integrity make the Schoenburger homestead a good architectural example of early homesteads in the North Fork Valley.

The site qualifies for listing on the National Register of Historic Places for its local architectural and historic values.



NORTH FORK STRUCTURE MAP

Site: GNP #122
Present Owner: Mary D. McFarland
Date of Construction: 1970's

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with plywood siding. It has an asphalt shingle gable roof and a concrete foundation. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Chris Schoenberger	9-21-16
Claude W. Jordan	6-18-58
Carolyn Jordan	
L. James Heckathorn	1-30-64
L. James Heckathorn	1-30-64
Mary D. McFarland	8-22-68

Site: GNP #123
Present Owner: Mary D. McFarland
Date of Construction: 1970's

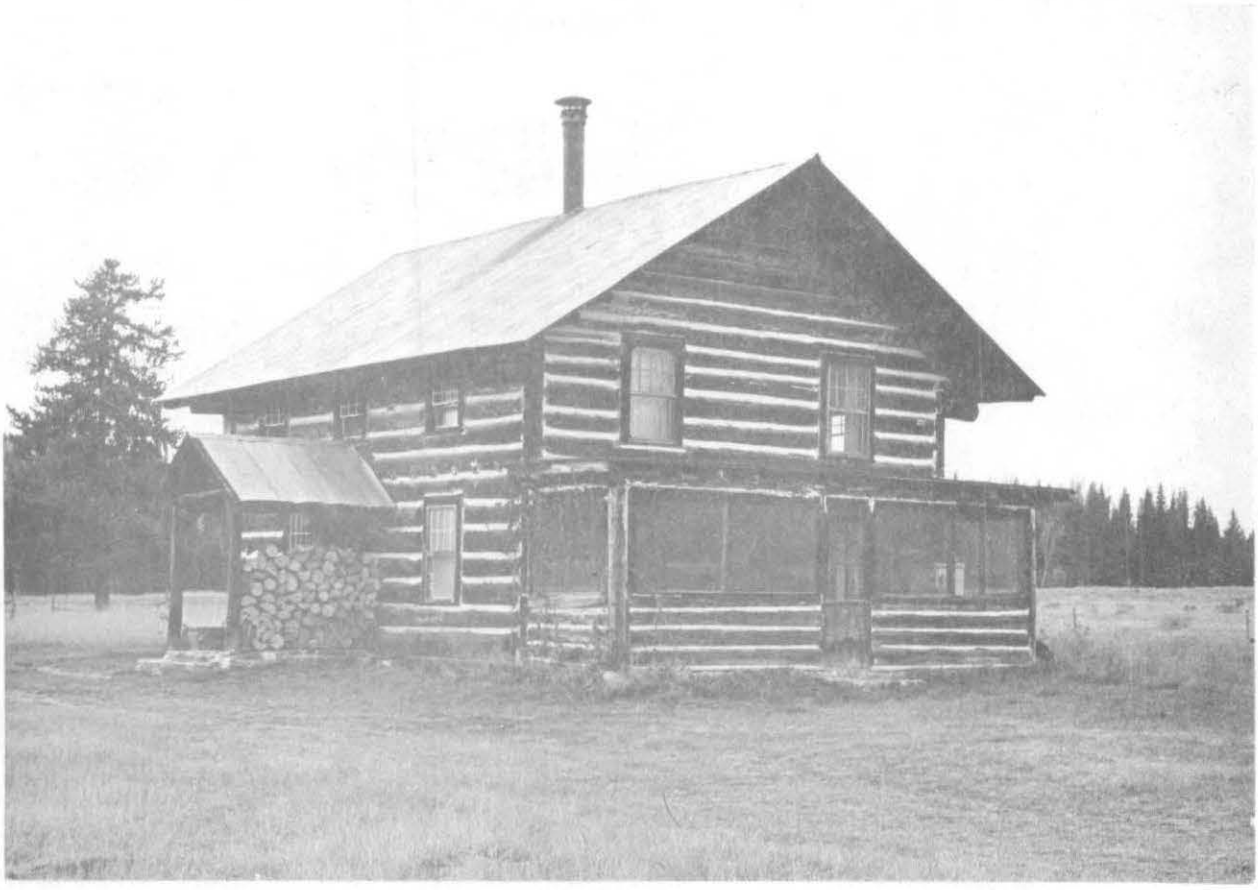
Description: A one-story wood frame residence with plywood siding. It has an asphalt shingle gable roof and a concrete foundation. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

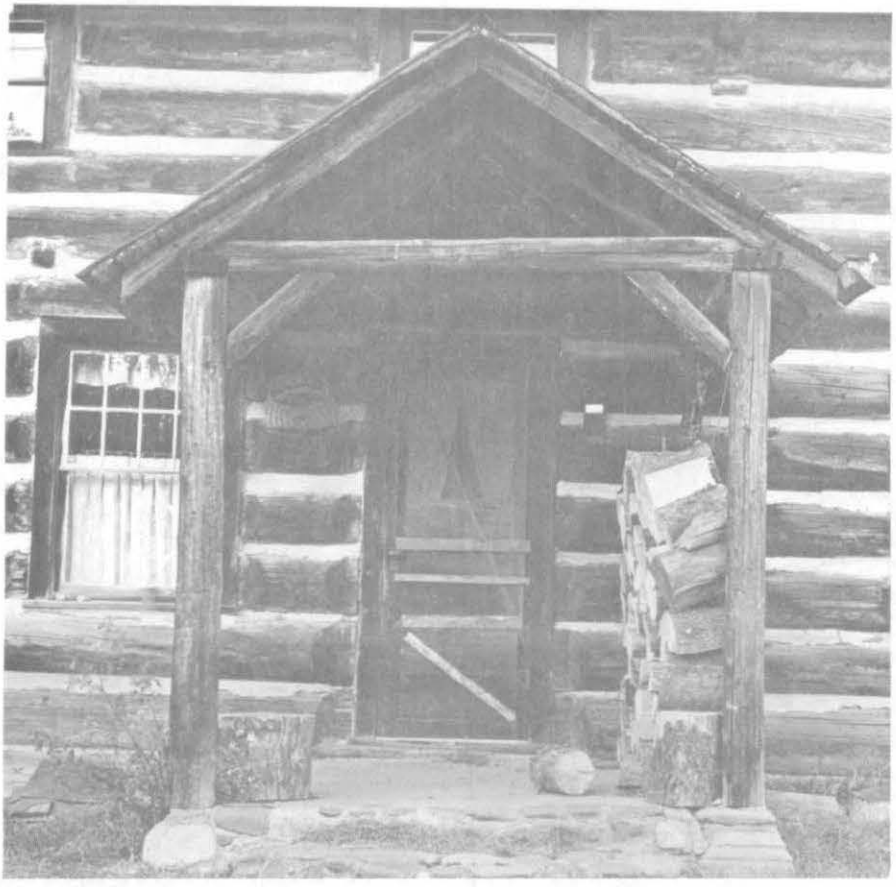
Ownership: Same as #122 above.

Site: GNP #124
Present Owner: William T. Cusick
Date of Construction: 1916

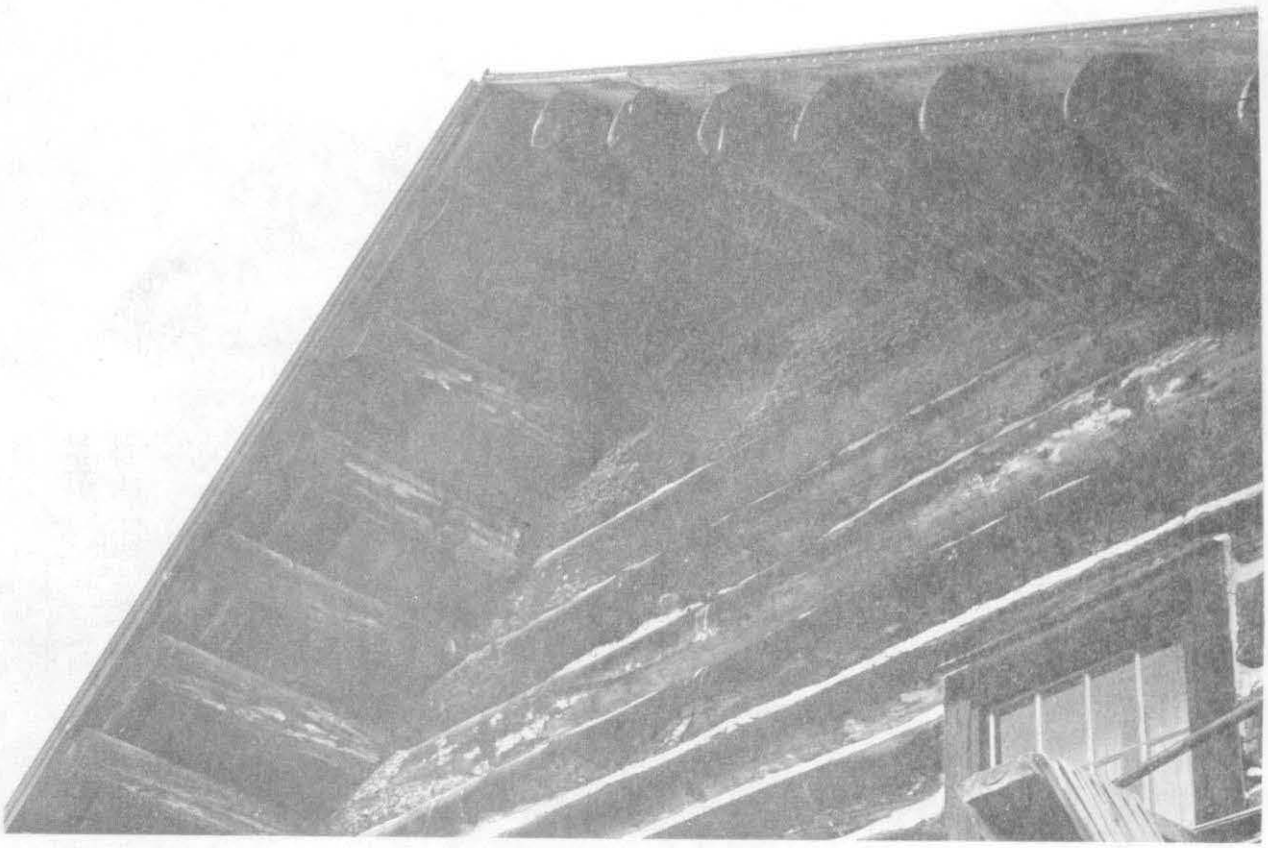
Description: A two-story log residence with a metal gable roof. The logs have a dove-tail notch on the corners. A partial log and screen porch runs across the east side of the structure. The windows are wood double-hung. Rough boards are used as the trim. The building sits on a stone foundation. Fair to good condition. A log barn with a wood and asphalt gable roof sits to the southwest of the structure. Poor condition.



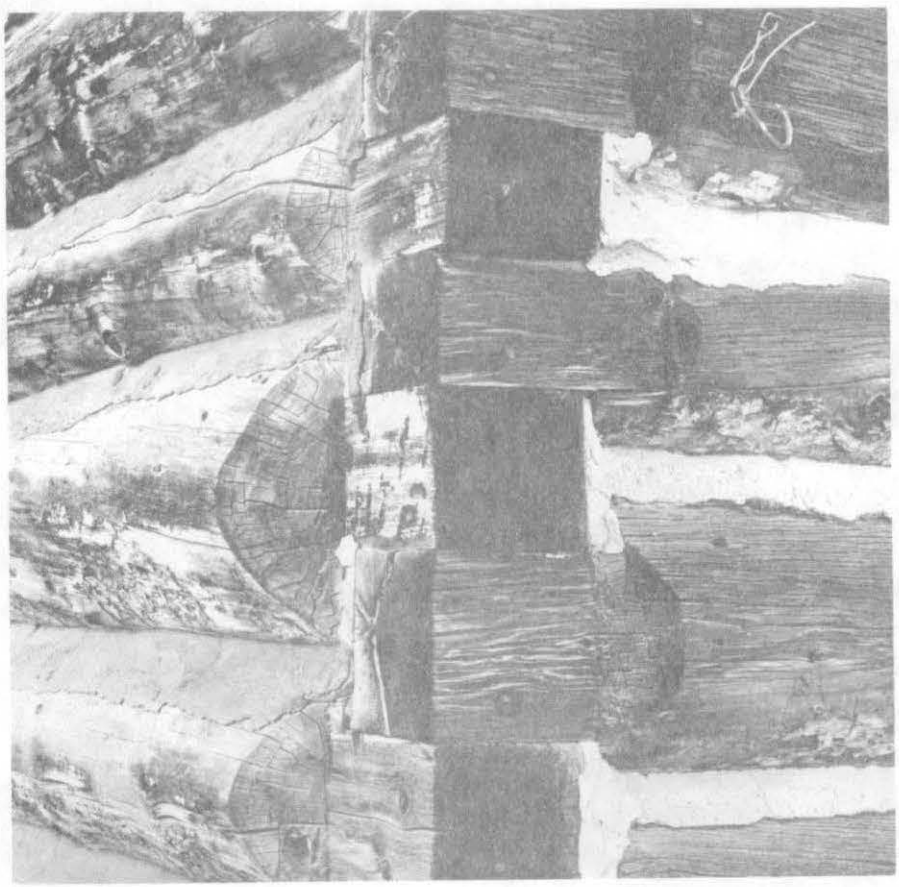
Looking west at Schoenberger homestead GNP #124



Looking north at entrance to Schoenberger homestead GNP #124



Gable end detail - Schoenberger homestead GNP #124



Notching detail - Schoenberger homestead GNP #124

Historical: The Schoenberger homestead. Charles Schoenberger's place was filed on in 1908 and the two-story house was built in 1916, by him. This building is probably the best extant example of the type of subsistence homesteading done in the North Fork Valley between 1901 and 1910. Charles Schoenberger himself is a perfect example of the "extended family" pattern of settlement common to some extent in the North Fork.[12]

Ownership:		
	Chris F. W. Schoenberger	9-21-16
	Claude and Carolyn Jordan	6-14-62
	Jean Gerald	8-15-66
	Jean Gerald	8-15-66
	William Cusick	
	William F. Cusick	8-15-66

Site: GNP #125
Present Owner: G. R. Robinson
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log structure with an asphalt sheet gable roof. A wood frame addition has been put on the east side. The logs have a flat-notch connection at the corners. Fair condition. There is a wood frame board and batten water tower with a metal water tank at the top to the south. Also there are two wood frame plywood and batten sheds with asphalt sheet gable roofs to the south. All in fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:		
	Jeremiah J. McCarthy	8-19-13
	Margaret McCarthy	9-1-15
	Isabelle Kane	8-25-39
	Ann Robinson	
	Dan McCarthy	
	Conwell F. Robinson	7-7-64
	Gerald R. Robinson	
	Dan and Mary McCarthy	7-20-66
	C. F. and Gerald R. Robinson	9-1-66

Site: GNP #126
Present Owner: G. R. Robinson
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story hewn-log residence with an asphalt sheet gable roof. The roof extends out over the enclosed porch on the north side. Good condition. There is a wood frame plywood and batten shed with asphalt sheet gable roof to the north. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #125 above.

Site: GNP #127
Present Owner: Richard P. and Bernice Walsh
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A two-story log residence with a dove-tail notch at the corners. It has a metal gable roof with sloping dormers on each side running just about the full length of the roof. The gable ends are wood frame with clapboard siding. There is a board and batten shed and new deck attached to the east side. Fair condition. A log shed sits to the south of the structure. Good condition.

Historical: The house was moved from the original building site to this location. This subdivision (1948) is located in a corner of the original John J. Walsh homestead. Walsh came to the North Fork in 1905 and filed on his homestead in 1906, three days after the Forest Homestead Act passed. The Kintla Post Office operated out of his homestead, run by his wife, from 1918 to 1925, serving an estimated 250 people. In 1947 or 1948, Walsh sold the better part of this homestead to the Park, retaining the newly-platted "Havreville" subdivision. The Walshes then moved to Apgar, where they built a home.[13]

Ownership:

John J. Walsh homestead	1906
John J. & Harriet Walsh	9-25-47
James D. & Margaret Grist	8-10-51
Margaret L., James C., & Margaret Ann Grist	11-1-61
Richard P. & Bernice Walsh	3-4-77

Site: GNP #128
Present Owner: Fayette and Elizabeth Maffit
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with log slab siding. It has an asphalt sheet gable roof with plywood in the gable ends. Fair condition. A garage and outhouse of similar materials sit to the west. Fair condition.

Historical: See Havreville history in #127 above.

Ownership: John J. and Harriet Walsh 9-25-47
Fayette & Elizabeth Maffit 7-22-48

Site: GNP #129
Present Owner: Marvin Mangels
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log residence with metal gable roof. The gable ends are wood frame with shingles. Fair to good condition. A wood frame building with boards sits to the west. Fair condition.

Historical: See Havreville history in #127 above.

Ownership: John J. & Harriet Walsh 9-25-47
Marvin A. & Edna V. Mangels 9-26-47

Site: GNP #130
Present Owner: Paul T. Snyder
Date of Construction: Unknown

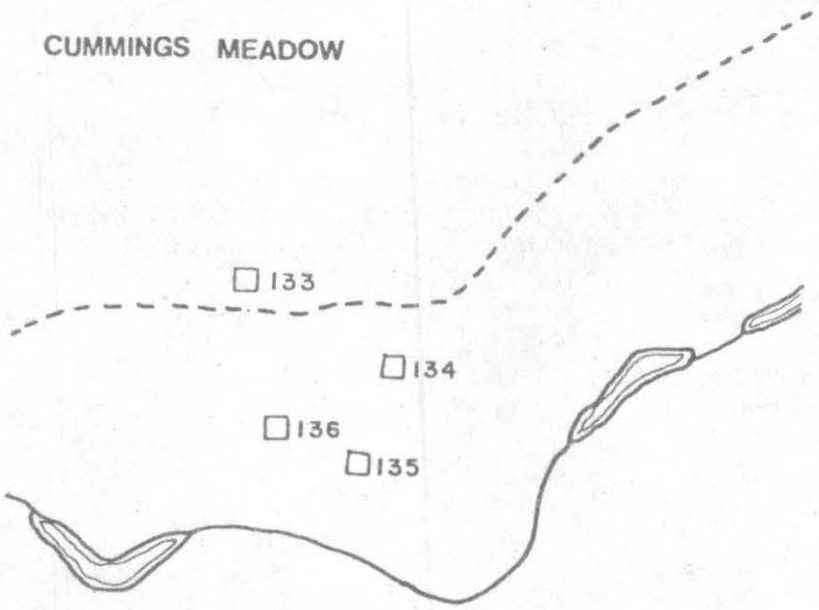
Description: A one-story milled log residence with asphalt sheet gable roof. The gable ends are wood frame with plywood.

Historical: See Havreville history in #127 above.

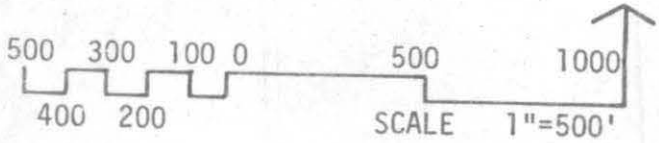
Ownership: John J. & Harriet Walsh 9-25-47
Elizabeth Hulse 4-20-55
Paul T. Snyder 10-29-56

RECOMMENDATIONS: WEST SIDE-CUMMINGS MEADOW/CAMAS CREEK

We recommend that no sites in this area be considered for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

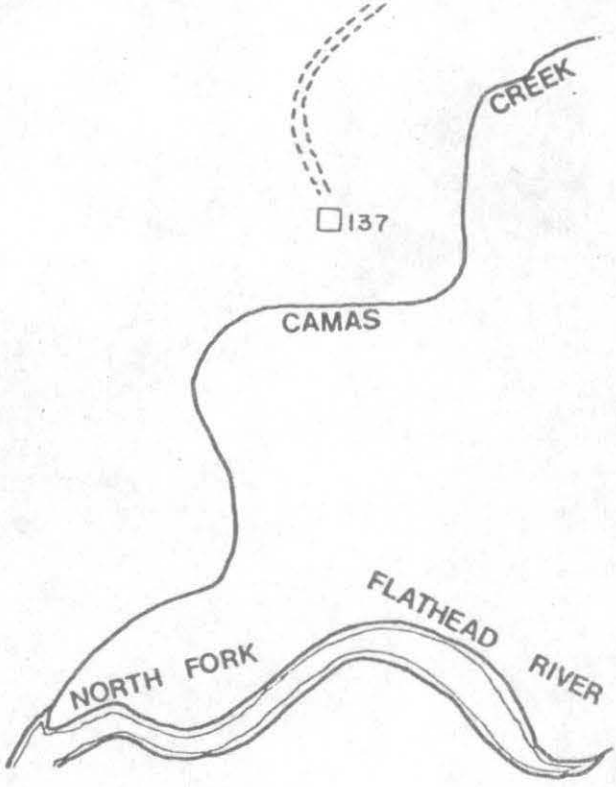


WEST SIDE STRUCTURE MAPS



LEGEND

- National Park Service Structures Not surveyed
- Architecturally and/or historically significant structures
- Compatible structures but not architecturally significant
- Structures not compatible or architecturally significant



Site: GNP #131
Present Owner: Anthony Pennovich
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story milled log residence with asphalt sheet gable roof. There is a local stone chimney on the north side. Good condition.

Historical: See Havreville history in #127 above.

Ownership:

John J. & Harriet Walsh	9-25-47
Anthony Pennovich	No date or particulars given

Site: GNP #132
Present Owner: A. E. Burich (Sheeley)
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A two-story wood A-frame structure with board siding. There are wood shingles on the steep roof. Fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: None documented.

Site: GNP #133
Present Owner: Warren Haylman
Date of Construction: ca. 1905

Description: A one-story log cabin with wood shake gable roof. Shingles were used in the gable ends. The doors and windows are missing and part of the roof has fallen in. Poor condition. A root cellar to the east has caved in.

Historical: The original homestead claim was filed in 1908. This piece could be said to be typical of the type of subsistence homesteading which characterized the North Fork Valley, 1901-1910.[14]

Ownership:

William H. Cummings	6-16-14
H. Louise Cummings	3-17-23
Jeanette Haylman	4-20-27
W. Harry & Warren Haylman Harriette J.H. Rowles	
Warren Haylman & Harriette Rowles	6-4-59
Warren Haylman	7-6-76

Site: GNP #134
Present Owner: Warren Haylman
Date of Construction: ca. 1905

Description: A one-story log barn that has completely fallen in. Poor condition.

Historical: Same as #133 above.

Ownership: Same as #133 above.

Site: GNP #135
Present Owner: Warren Haylman
Date of Construction: ca. 1905

Description: A one-story log cabin that has completely fallen in. Poor condition.

Historical: Same as #133 above.

Ownership: Same as #133 above.

Site: GNP #136
Present Owner: Warren Haylman
Date of Construction: ca. 1905

Description: A one-story log cabin that has completely fallen in. Poor condition.

Historical: Same as #133 above.

Ownership: Same as #133 above.

Site: GNP #137
Present Owner: Estella Mateka
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log structure with a larger stacked 2 x 4 structure built up on two sides. It has an asphalt sheet shed and gable roof. Poor condition.

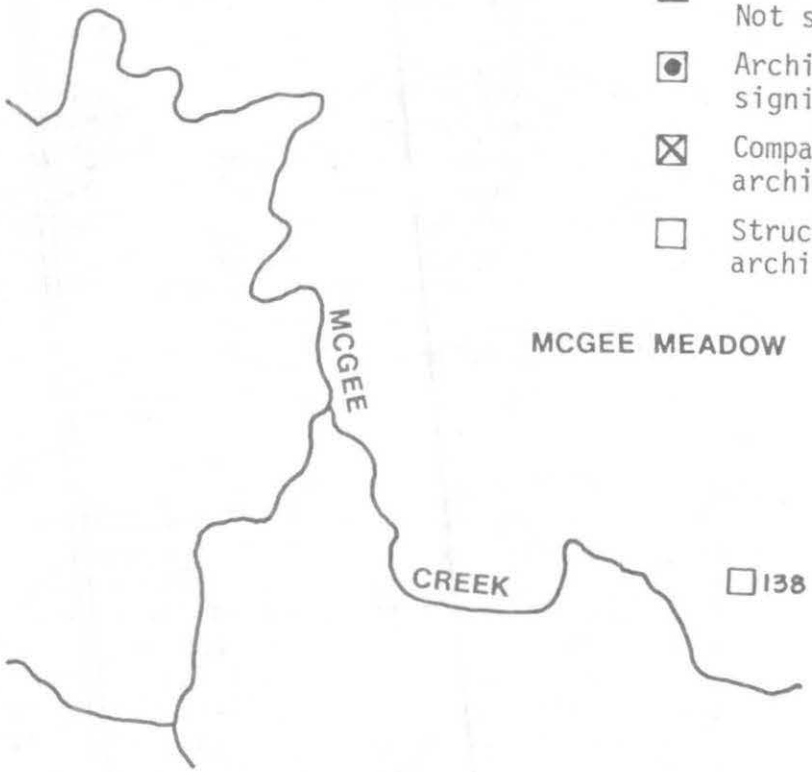
Historical: None documented.

RECOMMENDATIONS: WEST SIDE-McGEE MEADOW/GLACIER SUMMER SITES

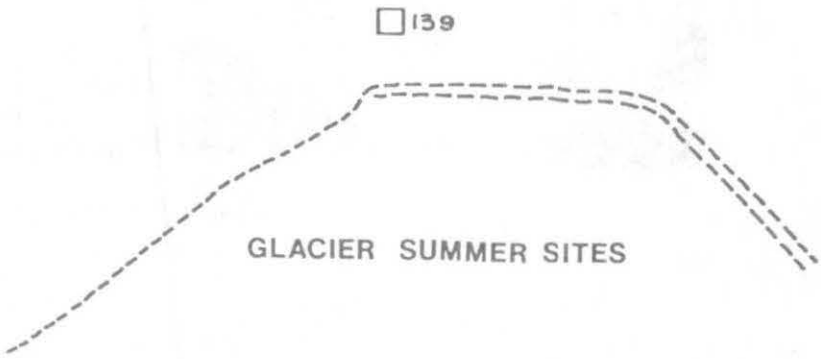
We recommend that no sites in this area be considered for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

LEGEND

- ■ National Park Service Structure Not surveyed
- ⊡ Architecturally and/or historically significant structures
- ⊠ Compatible structures but not architecturally significant
- □ Structures not compatible or architecturally significant



WEST SIDE STRUCTURE MAPS



Ownership:

Adolph Mateka	11-22-16
Mary Mateka	4-19-21
Joseph Mateka	3-14-28
James C. Loveall	7-22-35
Joseph Mateka	1-30-52
Elwyn L. Mateka	9-18-62
Joseph & Estella Mateka	9-18-62
Estella Mateka	9-18-62
Estella L. Mateka	6-22-64

Site: GNP #138
Present Owner: Joe T. and Martha F. Opalka
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A two-story milled log structure with a metal gable roof. The gable ends are wood frame with boards. An enclosed porch is attached to the east and also the the south. Good condition. A shed and outhouse of similar materials sit to the south. Good condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Nannie L. Stephens	12-6-35
Joe T. & Martha F. Opalka	9-12-51
Joe T. & Martha Opalka	3-14-58
Joe T. & Martha Opalka & Martha Ray Lodenburg	2-25-69

Site: GNP #139
Present Owner: Unknown (Glacier summer sites)
Date of Construction: Unknown

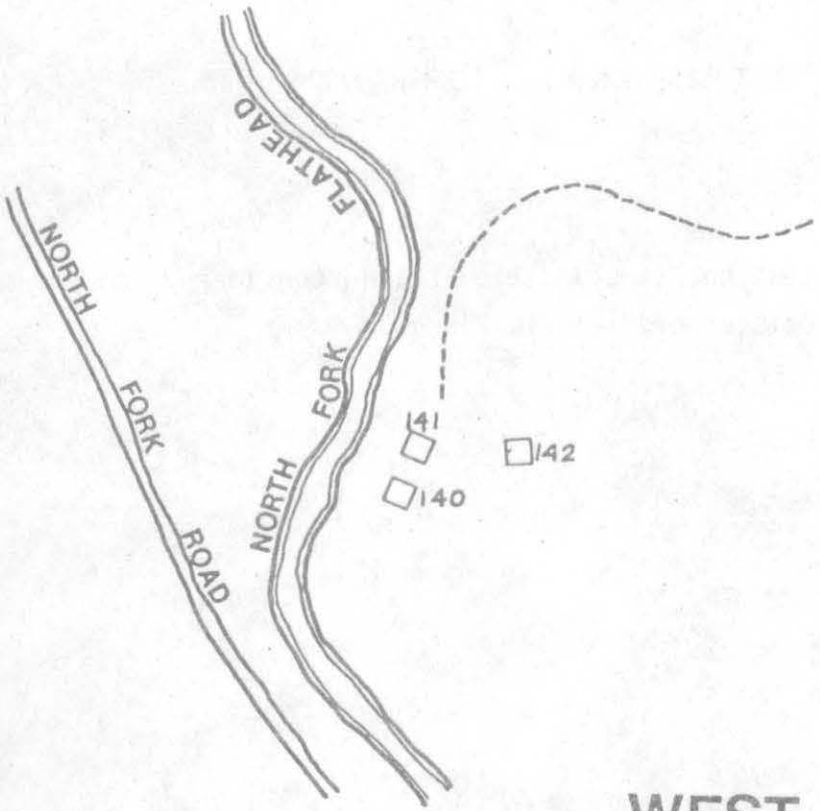
Description: A two-story wood frame residence with board and batten siding. It has a metal gable roof and a concrete pier foundation. An outhouse sits to the west. Both are in fair condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: None documented.

RECOMMENDATIONS: WEST SIDE-AMERICAN TIMBER/MURPHY

We recommend that no sites in this area be considered for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

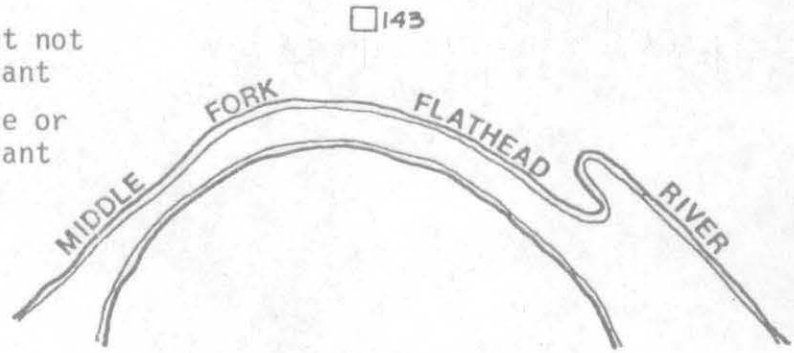


WEST SIDE STRUCTURE MAPS

500 300 100 0 500 1000
400 200 SCALE 1"-500'

LEGEND

- National Park Service Structure Not surveyed
- Architecturally and/or historically significant structures
- Compatible structures but not architecturally significant
- Structures not compatible or architecturally significant



Site: GNP #140
Present Owner: American Timber
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log (Tamarack) cabin with a partial wood shingle gable roof. The logs have a v-notch at the corners. The doors and windows are gone and part of the roof has fallen in. Poor condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership:

Mary A. Robinson	8-2-05
John E. Robinson	12-6-06
Johnson & Larson	5-20-24
Flathead County	2-27-42
Flathead County	5-15-48
U.S.A.	2-15-49

Site: GNP #141
Present Owner: American Timber
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story log (Tamarack) cabin with a partial wood shingle gable roof. The logs have a v-notch at the corners. The doors and windows are missing and part of the roof has fallen in. Fair to poor condition. There is a collapsed root cellar to the north of this structure. Poor condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #140 above.

Site: GNP #142
Present Owner: American Timber
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A collapsed one-story log cabin. Poor condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: Same as #140 above.

No photo

Site: GNP #143
Present Owner: James E. Murphy
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: This site was not surveyed because of access problems. However, photographs had been made by rangers in the area and they were reviewed. The structure is a one-story log residence with a wood shingle gable roof. The gable ends are wood frame with wood shingles. The structure has wood double-hung windows with rough board trim. Fair to poor condition. There are two sheds and an outhouse of similar materials adjacent to the structure. Poor condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: None documented.

Notes

1. Charles Shaw, THE FLATHEAD [NATIONAL FOREST] STORY (Missoula, Montana: U.S. Forest Service, 1964), pp. 6-7, 14-16; Donald H. Robinson, THROUGH THE YEARS IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK: AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY, ed. Maynard C. Bowers (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, 1960), pp. 49-50.

2. Curtis W. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, 1976), Chapters I and II; James W. Sheire, GLACIER NATIONAL PARK HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY (Washington, D.C.: Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, 1970), Part II, Section 1.

3. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, Chapter III: "History Files," Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (hereafter cited as GPA), various years.

4. "History Files," GPA; information gathered in the Plat Room, Flathead County Courthouse, Kalispell, Montana (January, 1979).

5. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER, *passim*; R. James Oppedahl, "Conflicts Between Resource Development and Preservation at Glacier National Park" (Master's Thesis, University of Montana, 1976).

6. John M. Kauffmann, "Glacier National Park, Montana: A History of Its Establishment and the Revision of Its Boundaries," an in-service publication of the Department of the Interior, 1954, U.S. National Archives, Record Group 79, National Park Service, Central Correspondence Files, 1907-1939, "Glacier National Park: Lands, General, 1911-1912."

7. Various oral-interview transcripts, GPA.

8. "History Files," GPA, various years.

9. Various oral-interview transcripts, GPA.

10. See Oppedahl, "Conflicts Between Resource Development and Preservation."

11. For detailed information regarding the "Northern Loop" route, the Cabin Creek coal development, the Wild and Scenic Rivers designation, and the Pine Beetle infestation, please see various issues of the (Columbia Falls, Montana) HUNGRY HORSE NEWS, 1948ff.

12. Leona Harrington, ed., THE HISTORY OF APGAR, MONTANA (West Glacier, Montana: Apgar School, ca. 1957).

13. IBID.

14. IBID.

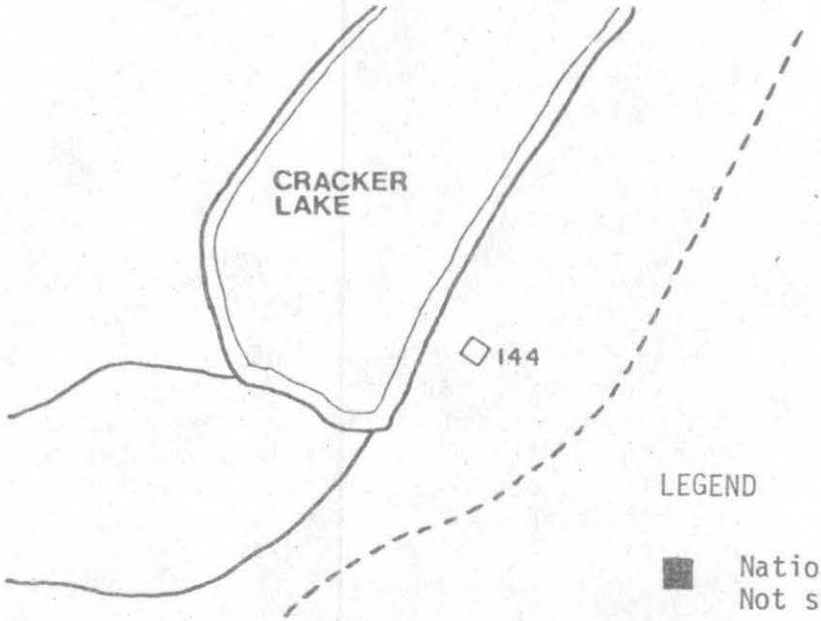
primarily, of the transportation-accommodations system developed (1911-1960) by the Great Northern Railway. The Railway built major hotels at East Glacier, Many Glacier, and Waterton Townsite; it established chalet complexes on Two Medicine Lake, Cut Bank Creek, Swiftcurrent Lake, Gunsight Lake, and two such groupings on St. Mary Lake. These sites were connected by a network of roads, trails, and lake launches designed--and often built and maintained--by the Railway.[6]

For almost fifty years, the Great Northern's development of the East Side dictated its settlement patterns, which were almost wholly seasonal. However, because of the minimal private land in the East Side sector, a pattern of satellite communities developed immediately *outside* the Park boundary, on Blackfeet Indian Reservation land.[7] Such towns as East Glacier, St. Mary, and Babb illustrate this evolution. Although the Railway handled the bulk of East Side visitation, residents of these towns served supporting roles in the larger visitor-accommodation picture--particularly following the popularization of the automobile in Glacier, in the 1920s.[8] Other residents of these communities regularly have been employed by the National Park Service at East Side installations.

Since the East Side sector contains so few private holdings, its settlement patterns have remained relatively stable for more than fifty years. Unlike any of the other three sectors, it never has developed permanent residence-enclaves, with the possible exception of the Park Service complex at the foot of St. Mary Lake. Rather, the East Side is a mecca for summer visitation, which greatly increased with the opening of the Going-to-the-Sun Road (1933) and the Chief Mountain International Highway (1936). In many ways, the East Side sector is that one which most closely resembles its condition at the time Glacier National Park was created (1910).

RECOMMENDATIONS: EAST SIDE AREA

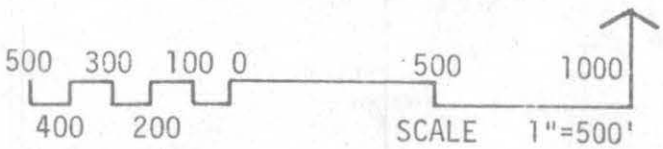
We recommend that no sites in this area be considered for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

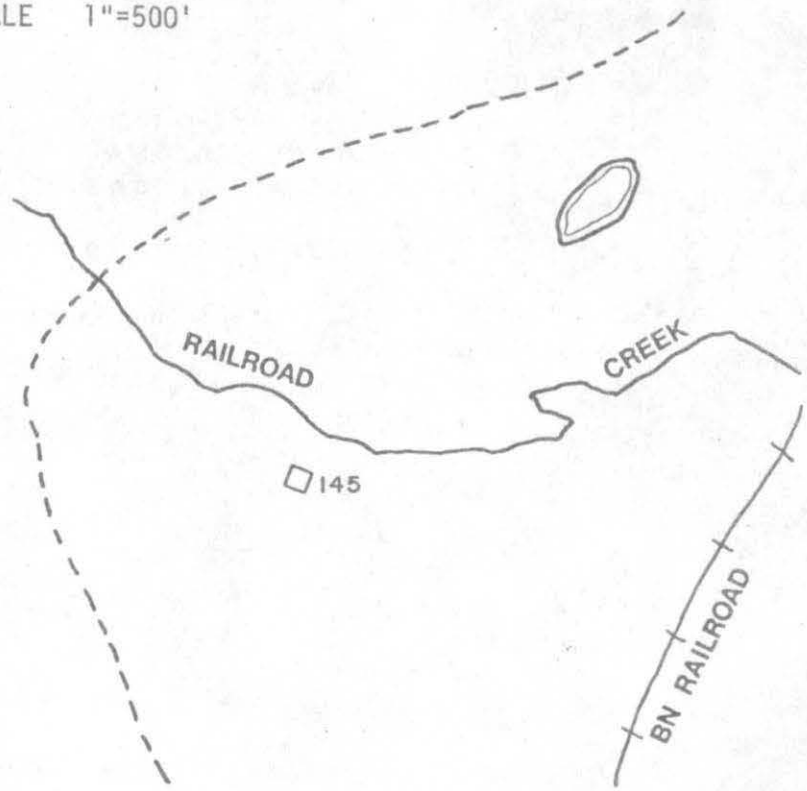


LEGEND

- ■ National Park Service Structure Not surveyed
- ◉ Architecturally and/or historically significant structures
- ⊠ Compatible structures but not architecturally significant
- □ Structures not compatible or architecturally significant

EAST SIDE STRUCTURE MAPS





Site: GNP #144
Present Owner: Moy and Fitzgerald
Date of Construction: 1901

Description: This site was not surveyed because of access problems. However, slides have been made of the area by rangers and they were reviewed. There appears to be just a pile of machinery and remnants of some frame structure around this machinery. Poor condition.

Historical: This property is the only one left on the East Side that shows any evidence of the short-lived mining boom on that slope. Evidently the machinery remaining is part of the concentrator, carted in there from Browning in 1901.[9]

Ownership: None documented.

Site: GNP #145
Present Owner: Mary I. Ashline
Date of Construction: Unknown

Description: A one-story wood frame residence with boards for siding. It has an asphalt sheet shed roof. Fair to poor condition. There is a wood frame outhouse and shed to the north. There is a log barn to the south. All are in poor condition.

Historical: None documented.

Ownership: None documented.

Notes

1. Charles Shaw, THE FLATHEAD [NATIONAL FOREST] STORY (Missoula, Montana: U.S. Forest Service, 1964), pp. 6-7, 14-16; Donald H. Robinson, THROUGH THE YEARS IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK: AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY, ed. Maynard C. Bowers (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, 1960), pp. 49-50; John M. Kauffmann, "Glacier National Park, Montana: A History of Its Establishment and the Revision of Its Boundaries," an in-service publication of the Department of the Interior, 1954.

2. This railroad construction did generate (1890-1891) a short-lived, but hell-roaring camp town--McCarthysville--just east of Marias Pass.

3. Curtis W. Buchholtz, MAN IN GLACIER (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, 1976), Chapter III.

4. IBID., Chapter III; "History Files," Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana (hereafter cited as GPA), various years.

5. One notable exception to this general control of the East Side sector by the National ParkService, following 1910, is the work of the U.S. Reclamation Service. A clause in Glacier Park's enabling legislation permitted the construction, by the Reclamation Service, of water-storage reservoirs within Park boundaries. Reclamation administrators had initiated such facilities, prior to 1910, at Lake Sherburne and Lower Two Medicine Lake. They developed these projects between 1910 and 1925. The Service's headquarters was located near Babb, on the St. Mary River; Reclamation was responsible for the construction of the first adequate road between Babb and Many Glacier (1913).

6. "History Files," GPA, various years.

7. The development of supporting communities immediately outside the Park's boundary in this sector has been limited not only by seasonal visitation, but also by the fact that this is Blackfeet Reservation land and, as such, is subject to restrictions on private-land sales.

8. Hugh Black's operation at St. Mary Townsite is a prime example of this type of development.

9. Leona Harrington, ed., THE HISTORY OF APGAR, MONTANA (West Glacier, Montana: Apgar School, ca. 1957).

APPENDIX A

LIST OF PROPERTIES WITH NO STRUCTURES

Adams, Richard W. & Betty J.
Route 4, Box 28
Bozeman, MT 59715

Anchor, Corina M.
12919 Doty Avenue
Hawthorne, CA 92050

Arend, Michael
202 965 Payne Avenue
Saint Paul, MN 55101

Arnold, Floyd L.
6063 Redbrook Road
San Diego, CA 92117

Ashley, Mrs. Robert
4720 22nd Street
Sacramento, CA 95822

Ashton, Robert B.
1148 Fern Oaks Drive
Santa Paula, CA 93060

Baker, Keith
Rynesford, MT 59469

Beckman, Donald C. & Marjori
Nashua, MT 59248

Bell, John C. & Rhonda K.
Box 1088
Green River, WY 82935

Bennett, Dr. W. F.
504 1st Avenue West
Columbia Falls, MT 59912

Black, Frank O., Mrs.
211 3rd Avenue
Havre, MT 59501

Blockus, Odin H.
Big Sandy, MT 59520

Borland, William R. & Ellen
237 East 11th
Anchorage, AK 99501

Brown, Laura L. & Stephen D.
2145 W. Kentucky Pl.
Tucson, AZ 85714

Burgess, Inez M.
102 Chickasaw Pl.
Jacksonville, AR 72076

Butterworth, Alfred Charles
1715 Highland Drive
Kelowna, British Columbia

Butterworth, Marjorie Sinclair
75 Langley Street
Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada

Caudle, Janise
c/o Charles Green
Coram, MT 59913

Chase, William H. & Evelyn I.
69 Purchase Street
Newburyport, MA 09150

Craig, George D. & Cheryl N.
Box 778
Edinboro, PA 16412

Dewitt, Helen Garden
16521 Ashworth Avenue N.
Seattle, WA 98113

Flathead County
Kalispell, MT 59901

Frick, John H.
Dutton, MT 59433

Gary, Loretta
Box 126
Missoula, MT 59801

Gerald, Jean
10216 242nd Place South
Edmonds, WA 98020

Gibson, Hi E. & Ruby
7314 Laurel
Fontana, CA 92335

Green, Frances Edgell
Box 84
Coram, MT 59913

Gregg, Ellen M.
5120 Hatcher Circle #1
Anchorage, AK 99504

Guinard, P. D. & Ruth
305 4th Avenue West
Kalispell, MT 59901

Gullickson, B. C. & Doris
Big Sandy, MT 59520

Hart, George K.
Billings, MT 59101

Hatfield, Charles E. & Emma
1139 Cleveland
Missoula, MT 59801

Hoffman, Lynn
General Delivery
Joliet, MT 59401

Holum, Mary B.
Box 427
Dutton, MT 59433

Janz, Robert H. & Patricia
427 Wigwam Tr.
Billings, Mt. 59101

Keune, Rodger E. & Glenda L.
319 South 3rd Avenue
Hamilton, MT 59840

Kienas, Albert E.
620 California Avenue
Libby, MT 59926

Knobel, Fred W.
10124 Belfair St.
Bellflower, CA 90706

Kramer, Frank E.
Route 1, Box 30A
Sawyer, MI 49125

Kramer, Willard & Mildred
265 Union Avenue
Memphis, TN 38103

Liebert, Ann S.
17644 Carpintero, Apt. 9
Bellflower, CA 90706

Lund, Robert C.
41 Sharon Road
Bloomfield, CT 06002

Lunden, E. D. & Olive
Chinook, MT. 59523

McCormich, John F. & Marion
2029 E. Conner Strave
Tucson, AZ 85719

McCormick, Manley
45 Second Avenue East
Kalispell, MT 59901

McCrea, James J. & Ruth
16370 Gordon Way
San Leandro, CA 94578

McFarland, John R.
Box 670
Sandpoint, ID 83864

McGarvey, Dale L. & Elsie T.
745 S. Main
Kalispell, MT 59901

McWhirter, Robert D. & Barbara
14277 120th Pl NE
Kirkland, WA 98033

Mercer, Coval J.
10932 La Terraza
Fountain Valley, CA 92708

Miller, Miss Lee
17644 Carpintero, Apt. 9
Bellflower, CA 90706

Minnium, Ivy P. & Mary E.
Wolsey, SD 57384

Mutaugh, Matt & Bessie
1072 San Marcos Road
Santa Barbara, CA 93111

Neumann, Ralph R.
620½ S. Main
Rocky Ford, CO 81067

Odonnell, James J.
11495 Village Brook Drive
Cincinnati, OH 45242

Olson, Robert D. Sr.
711 Kodiak Street
Anchorage, AK 99504

Parris, Katherine R.
Box 1293
Odessa, WA 99159

Peters, Alice Fournier
141 Hastings Ave.
Missoula, MT 59801

Poeschel, Dennis
Box 2928
Great Falls, MT 59401

Rementh, Anton H.
4638 Ledge Avenue
North Hollywood, CA 91602

Rinck, Frances & Arno W.
Box 456
Columbia Falls, MT 59912

Roberts, Mrs. Laverne A.
17501 S. Roseton
Artesia, CA 90701

Robertson, Mark D.
1527 Meadowlake Drive
Great Falls, MT 59401

Robertson, Randy R.
1527 Meadowlake Drive
Great Falls, MT 59401

Ostrom, Janet L. (Rodeghiero)
Box 37
Roundup, MT 59072

Schuler, George R.
Dutton, MT 59433

Sheeley, A. E. Burich
20736 Ingomare Street
Canoga Park, CA 91306

Street, Robert S. & Gwendolyn
Rt. 1, Box 88
Victor, MT 59875

Svoboda, Jean K.
Box 1477
Santa Barbara, CA 93102

Thomas, Marvin V. & Kathryn
5734 Tall Oaks Drive
Melford, OH 45150

Tronstad, Alf & Mary
Shorline Route
Polson, MT 59860

Tschache, Junior W.
O-J Trailer Sales
Bozeman, MT 59715

Widdess, Ronald W.
909 South Franklin
Monahans, TX 79756

Williams, Mary A.
Chinook, MT 59526

Wilson, Roxx
Foys Lake
Polebridge, MT 59928

Woods, Robert H. & Esther
Box 724
Inverness, MT 59530

Wright, Edward Clark
24892 Via Santa Cruz
Mission Viejo, CA 92675

As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, and parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The department also has major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

Publication services provided by the graphics and editorial staffs of the Denver Service Center. NPS 1591

GPO: 1980--677-150/26