1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Fort Yellowstone

Other Name/Site Number:

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: N/A Not for publication: N/A

City/Town: Mammoth Hot Springs (WY); Norris (WY); Gardiner (MT) Vicinity: N/A

State:	County:	Code:
WY	Park	029
WY	Teton	039
MT	Park	067
ID	Fremont	043

Zip Code: 82190

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:	___	Building(s):	___
Public-Local:	___	District:	X
Public-State:	___	Site:	___
Public-Federal:	X	Structure:	___
	(Yellowstone National Park)	Object:	___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
40	6	buildings
2	0	sites
2	0	structures
0	1	objects
44	7	Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 0

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this _X_ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property _X_ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain):

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	LANDSCAPE	Sub:	park
	RECREATION AND CULTURE	Sub:	outdoor recreation
	DEFENSE	Sub:	military facility
Current:	LANDSCAPE	Sub:	park
	RECREATION AND CULTURE	Sub:	outdoor recreation

7. DESCRIPTION

Architectural Classification: Late 19TH and 20TH Century Revivals/Colonial Revival

Materials:

Foundation: Stone/Sandstone, Concrete
Walls: Stone/Sandstone, Wood/Weatherboard, Concrete, Brick
Roof: Other/Clay Tile, Wood/Wood Shingles, Metal/Metal Shingles
Other:

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

The Setting

Yellowstone National Park, the nation's first national park and the setting in which America's conservation movement matured, is located in the northwest corner of Wyoming and extends into Montana on the north and northwest, and Idaho on the west. Fort Yellowstone, the park's historic and current administrative headquarters, lies in the northwestern part of the park, just east of the famous natural geothermal formations known as the Mammoth Hot Springs terraces. The north entrance to the park at Gardiner, Montana, is approximately five miles north of this area. Most of the Fort Yellowstone buildings are situated at the eastern edge of a level terrace, itself a natural formation. The Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel, tourist cabins, and concession facilities operate on a portion of the terrace northwest of the headquarters. Housing for National Park Service employees lies below the terrace to the southeast in an area known as Lower Mammoth.

The layout of Fort Yellowstone is that of a typical western army post. A group of substantial two-and-a-half story double officers' quarters form an "Officers' Row" opposite an open parade ground to the west. The historic army headquarters and guard house lie at the south end of the post, facing a portion of the original road from Gardiner. Barracks for enlisted men are located in the second row of housing, while cavalry stables and noncommissioned sergeants' quarters are found behind the troop quarters. Storage and service buildings are present in the southern part of the post. The last building erected by the army at Fort Yellowstone, the chapel, sits in a serene spot at the extreme southern end of the administrative area. North of Officers' Row, across the wide esplanade that leads from the northern entrance road into the park headquarters, are the office and residence of the U.S. Engineer, while the jail and office of the U.S. Commissioner lies west of the parade ground.

The location of the parade ground at the western end of the post differs from most forts, which featured centrally located parade grounds surrounded by housing and other military structures. As Horace Albright, former

Yellowstone superintendent and director of the National Park Service, stated in 1960, "It is a typical cavalry post of the post-Indian warfare days. There are others in the west but this is where people can see it and it has always been a source of interest to the public."[1]

The Fort Yellowstone district encompasses the intact historic components of the army post developed during the 1886-1918 period to facilitate the protection and preservation of the area's natural features and wildlife. The district includes a contiguous group of stone, frame, and concrete buildings of one- to three-stories; a parade ground; and six discontiguous resources associated with the military development of the park. Discontiguous components are: a cemetery, a powerhouse, an entrance arch, a snowshoe cabin, and two soldier stations. Within the district are fifty-one resources, including forty-six buildings, two structures, two sites, and one object. Forty-four of the fifty-one resources are contributing resources in the district, while seven resources are noncontributing. The resources of the district display excellent historic integrity of design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. None of the buildings within the district has been moved from its historic location, and the setting is remarkably intact, with only a few changes to the built environment since the period of significance.

Historic Development and Appearance of Fort Yellowstone[2]

In August 1886, members of Company M, 1st United States Cavalry, Fort Custer, Montana Territory, arrived at Yellowstone National Park. The soldiers set up a tent camp headquarters on a terrace created by an extinct thermal formation at the western foot of a small hill (Capitol Hill), just east of the Mammoth Hot Springs terraces. Small detachments were also assigned to patrol locations throughout the reserve. When the troops arrived, development within the park included a motley variety of tourist accommodations, ranging from James C. McCartney's hostelry consisting of several rough log structures at the foot of the terraces to the more luxurious first Mammoth Hot Springs hotel, a huge frame building designed by L.F. Buffington that boasted electric lighting.[3] The most significant of the existing government buildings was a one-and-a-half-story log and frame headquarters building topped by an octagonal turret built under the direction of Superintendent Philetus W. Norris in 1879. The "blockhouse," as it was known, was designed to withstand hostile attack and was built at the top of Capitol Hill to provide sweeping views of both the Mammoth Hot Springs area and the approaches to the park.[4]

As the length of time the army would remain in the park was indefinitely extended, the tent camp was replaced in the fall of 1886 by Camp Sheridan, a self-sufficient cantonment with a barracks, a storehouse, a guardhouse, a cavalry stable, and a quartermaster stable. The army buildings were situated so that they were not visible from the hotel terrace and did not block views of the formations, demonstrating an early concern for preservation of the natural landscape and scenic vistas. All buildings were of temporary frame construction with board and batten siding. The camp grew the following year with the addition of a hospital, double officers' quarters, and a headquarters building. One structure, a magazine, was built of stone. The facilities were completed in time to shelter the soldiers during one of the worst winters ever recorded in the Rocky Mountain region, with frequent blizzards and temperatures reaching fifty degrees below zero.[5]

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[1]Albright was writing in opposition to a rumored plan to demolish the buildings of Fort Yellowstone. Horace Albright to Conrad L. Wirth, 10 February 1960, Yellowstone National Park, Yellowstone National Park Archives, box H-19, folder H-30.

[2]In this discussion, historic buildings still standing are identified by the current building number assigned by the park. Buildings not referenced by building number are no longer extant.

[3]The last of the McCartney buildings was destroyed by a fire in 1912. A portion of the 1883 hotel was incorporated into the new dining hall built in 1936.

[4]The Norris blockhouse was removed in 1909.

[5]Camp Sheridan served various functions after 1909. The army realized that the cantonment had been located too close to the terraces and, beginning in 1915, the buildings were torn down, eventually leaving little trace of their existence.

In addition to Camp Sheridan, the army's presence in the park also resulted in the erection of facilities outside the immediate environs of the Mammoth Hot Springs terraces. A cemetery, located southeast of the cantonment, was established and received its first burial in 1888. To improve the ability of soldiers to protect wildlife and natural features in remote areas, the army created outposts at facilities established throughout the park. By 1918, sixteen soldier stations had been built for monitoring and patrolling the park. Expanding the concept of detached quarters for the adequate protection of the park during the winter, six snowshoe cabins were constructed in 1890.[6] These cabins were part of a system of outlying buildings, usually located about a day's travel apart, utilized for winter patrols in remote areas. The rustic appearance of the cabins was similar to that of frontier dwellings built throughout the West.

As it became apparent that the army role in administering the park would continue indefinitely, a permanent post was established on 11 May 1891. Camp Sheridan, where soldiers had endured five cold, isolated winters, was replaced with Fort Yellowstone. The site chosen for the fort was on the eastern edge of the terrace, northeast of Capitol Hill and a short distance from the tourist facilities, about three-tenths of a mile northeast of Camp Sheridan. Plans for the fort allowed for its eventual expansion as more troops were assigned to the park. Lt. Carroll A. Devol, 25th Infantry, supervised the civilian workers who built the new army facility. By the fall of 1891, twelve buildings were completed at the new site, including an administration building (Building 8), a guard house (Building 9), two double officers' quarters (Buildings 6 and 7), a sixty-man barracks, a commissary storehouse (Building 10), a quartermaster storehouse (Building 11), a granary (Building 12), a bakery (Building 24, moved outside the district in 1934), and a stable (Building 25). Acting Superintendent Capt. George Anderson judged that the new buildings were a "sightly and attractive addition."[7]

The buildings were constructed from quartermaster general standardized plans, typical of western military posts of the era. In design, they were of a generally Spartan appearance with a few Colonial Revival style domestic elements, described by the army as "cottage style." The buildings were of one- to two-and-a-half stories in height, and of frame construction with drop siding and stone foundations, with evenly spaced double-hung sash windows, and prominent porches. The guard house was notable for its sweeping eaves and tiny cupolas that would be repeated in later buildings. The two substantial double officers' quarters marked the first construction of what became popularly known as "Officers' Row" facing the parade ground to the west. Two noncommissioned sergeants' quarters (Buildings 31 and 32) were also completed, the beginning of a distinctive group of four houses labeled "Soapsuds Row" by the troops. These charming frame dwellings were similar in appearance to middle class houses built across the country during the late Victorian era and were notable for their porches with decorative friezes and balustrades, shingled gable ends, hipped roof dormers, and large paired windows.[8]

By 1894, the fort also included a ten-bed hospital, a quarters for hospital personnel (Building 14), and a large hay shed (Building 20). The first stone building within the district was completed in that year. The U.S. Commissioner's Jail and Office and U.S. Marshal's Residence (Building 49), which stood alone west of the parade ground, was a one-and-a-half-story rock-faced sandstone dwelling with gable-on-hip roof with through-the-cornice dormers and a full-width porch. The building was funded with the passage of the Lacey Act in 1894, which created a means to arrest, try, and punish lawbreakers. The ground floor of the house contained the jail, office, and living quarters. Bedrooms were situated on the second floor. The building was of a restrained and dignified design,

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[6]Norwegian skis were known as "snowshoes" during the late nineteenth century.

[7]David G. Battle and Erwin N. Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone Historic Structure Report* (Denver: National Park Service, May 1972), pp. 9; and Mary Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, June 1999, ch. 3, pp. 13. Hereinafter cited as Culpin, followed by number of chapter and page number within chapter.

[8]Aubrey Haines reported that the "soapsuds" designation resulted from the fact the some of the noncommissioned officers' wives were former laundresses. Aubrey Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, (Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1977), pp. 162. Hereinafter cited as Haines, 2.

qualities which would typify the stone housing built at the fort in future years.[9]

Expansion of the fort to accommodate two troops of cavalry was completed in 1897. Two double officers' quarters (Buildings 4 and 5), a second troop barracks (Building 27), a stable, two noncommissioned sergeants' quarters (Buildings 30 and 33), a post exchange, and various service buildings were erected. These buildings were of frame construction similar to those completed by 1894. The large troop barracks (Building 27) was especially notable for its hipped roof with flared eaves that sheltered a wrap-around porch, multiple hipped roof dormers, and alternating brick chimneys and cupolas. The expanded fort, with its predominantly white-painted frame buildings with red metal diamond shingle roofs, boardwalks, and dirt roads "in a wasteland of disintegrating hot spring formation," was described as "somewhat austere" by Yellowstone Park historian Aubrey Haines.[10]

The troops had traditionally utilized the broad area of undeveloped terrace west of the fort as an assembly, drill, and parade ground. The location was convenient for the soldiers, and the military maneuvers and ceremonies conducted there interested tourists, who had a fine view of the field from the concession area. In fact, the parade ground was a focal point of daily life at the fort, where the troops received assignments in the morning and gathered for the lowering of the flag in the evening. The terrace was barren, sandy and dusty, and the gray-white formation reflected sunlight and had a harsh appearance. As horses passed over the ground, the hollow areas underneath caused their hooves to echo and in some spots the ground trembled. At times hot springs broke out on the edge of the parade ground.[11] In February 1902, Lt. Col. Philip Reade described the site:

> [The parade ground] is a crust of lime powdered, garish colored, dusty matter and has several holes in it, revealing deep, unexplored caverns beneath. One of these holes was made by a cavalry horse during mounted maneuvers. Some believe that numerous subterranean caves exist and some predict that area is a mere shell that may cave in any day.[12]

Geologist Arnold Hague was consulted about the safety of the parade ground in 1902 and reported that, although the surface could give way, it had "stood the strain without any accident" and there was no immediate danger. The appearance of the parade ground was greatly transformed as a result of the completion of the new water system and landscape work that began in the summer of 1902. Development of the landscape initially followed plans provided by Boston landscape architect Warren H. Manning. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers also laid out streets and concrete sidewalks in the headquarters area during this period. In his annual report in June 1903, U.S. Engineer Captain Hiram P. Chittenden noted that the long-desired irrigation and grass seeding of the parade ground had been accomplished.[13] One-half-foot of topsoil was spread over the entire parade ground, as was manure from the army stables. The area was seeded with grass and provided with a system of irrigation ditches. The grounds around the officers' quarters and barracks were also planted with grass, establishing the broad expanse of lawn that exists today.[14]

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[9]Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, 162.

[10]U.S. Army, Chief of Engineers, *Report of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army*, Appendix GGG-Yellowstone National Park, "Report of Capt. H.M. Chittenden, Corps of Engineers, Officer in Charge, for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1903," pp. 2889.

[11]Arnold Hague, U.S. Geological Survey, to Charles D. Walcott, Director, Dept. of the Interior, 15 February 1902, Yellowstone National Park Archives, Item 21, Doc. 5126.

[12]Lt. Col. C.H. Heyl, Acting Inspector General, to Secretary of War, 1 February 1902, Yellowstone National Park Archives, Item 21, Doc. 5125.

[13]The quartermaster had no authority to expend money on improvements outside the military reservation, but Chittenden could stretch his responsibilities to include landscaping of the parade ground.

[14]Before any landscaping was undertaken, the residence and barn of Yellowstone photographer F. Jay Haynes were moved from the parade ground. Arnold Hague to Charles D. Walcott, Director, Dept. of Interior, 15 February 1902, Yellowstone National Park Archives, Item 21, Doc. 5126; Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, 165; U.S. Army, Chief of Engineers, 2885-2889; and Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone Historic Structure Report*, pp. 37.

In 1903, attention also turned to the northern entrance of the park at Gardiner, Montana. With the administrative headquarters of Yellowstone well established at Mammoth Hot Springs and the Park Branch Line of the Northern Pacific Railway completed, this entrance had become the most important admission site for visitors. To mark the park entrance, a monumental arch was constructed of local basalt at the northern park boundary. A plaque embedded in the arch repeated the words of the act that created Yellowstone National Park, "For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People." President Theodore Roosevelt laid the cornerstone of the structure in a ceremony held on 24 April 1903. Chittenden noted that the purpose of the arch was "to give a dignified and pleasing entrance to the Park at the point where the great majority of visitors enter it."[15]

Under Chittenden's leadership, another fine stone building was erected in 1903. Completion of the headquarters office of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (Building 39), designed by the St. Paul, Minnesota, architectural firm of Reed and Stem, signified the engineers' important role in the development of the road system and other infrastructure features at Yellowstone. Gray sandstone for the building came from the Montana Sandstone Company of Butte.[16] Chittenden selected a site north of the existing fort buildings and east of the Mammoth Hotel for the new office. The stone walls contrasted with the office's distinctive green roof tiles, and the bellcast eaves lent the design an exotic appearance, earning it the nickname "the Pagoda." Park historian Aubrey Haines judged that the building was "truly a show piece" due to the dignity of its design and the quality of its construction, which included an interior richly finished with oak.[17]

Surveying the post, Chittenden viewed the buildings and landscaping in the vicinity of the Mammoth Hot Springs terraces with pride:

> This is the only point in the Park where an extensive transformation of natural conditions by the work of man has been permitted. Yet it was unavoidable here, and in yielding to this necessity, the effort has been made to provide a substitute that would be in harmony with the natural surroundings, and would itself be a feature of interest.[18]

In 1905, a new post exchange with a gymnasium (Building 35) replaced a previous facility with the same function. The building's design differed from earlier construction at the fort in the Classical Revival influence of its columned portico and entrance elaborated with a large fanlight, as well as its use of brick for a raised foundation. The building's emphasis on architectural detail may have reflected the evolution of the exchange from the privately-operated sutler's stores found at early army posts. The post exchange was one of the most important buildings at the fort for the soldiers who sought entertainment and recreation during the long winters at Yellowstone. Amenities within the exchange included a reading room, a canteen, and a barber shop.[19]

Extension of the railroad to Gardiner resulted in expanded visitation, and it became increasingly difficult to manage the park with only a two-troop garrison. Facilities for a full squadron of cavalry (four troops) were recommended by a variety of officials. In 1904, Captain John Pitcher, who served as post commander and acting superintendent,

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[15]U.S. Army, Chief of Engineers, pp. 2889-2890.

[16]Battle and Thompson stated that "Chittenden apparently ran into a problem in quarrying stone for the building." They cite (National Archives, RG77, Letters Received, No. 46204, Chittenden to Brig. Gen. G.L. Gillespie, February 23, 1903) copies of an "emergency contract" sent to Washington which Chittenden had entered with the Montana company for the stone. By contrast, Haines reported that the sandstone "had been prefinished at a Minnesota quarry and was shipped marked for reassembling into a headquarters building...."

[17]A frame residence with stone trim (Building 40) erected behind the office during the same period is believed to have been the house of the engineer. Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 165; Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone Historic Structure Report*, pp. 260 and 270.

[18]Quoted in Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone Historic Structure Report*, pp. 18.

[19]Rodd Wheaton, National Park Service, Denver, telephone interview by R. Laurie Simmons, 3 May 2000.

expressed the hope that any new construction would take into account that "this post is seen and visited by many distinguished people from all over the world, and for this reason if for none other it should be made a model post in every way." In the same year the inspector general pointed out that the fort probably attracted more foreigners than any other army post except West Point, and he suggested that "a more dignified shelter" for the troops would be appropriate.[20]

By 1908 Congress, the Department of the Interior, and the War Department agreed that the capacity of the fort should be enlarged and that the construction should be of the finest quality. Construction Quartermaster Captain Joseph R. Castner proposed that the new buildings be of stone following the example of the Engineer's Office. Castner provided several reasons for the use of stone: the post commander, General Samuel B.M. Young, favored the material; stone was cheap, easily obtainable, and fireproof; and stone had architectural values. Castner recommended that locally-obtained stone be cut rock-faced whenever possible, and that dressed stone for water tables, sills, and lintels be obtained from the same quarry at Columbus, Montana, which had supplied such elements for the engineer's building. Samples of stone from quarries near Fort Yellowstone were sent to the Quartermaster General for examination. At the end of March, the Secretary of War announced that the new barracks should be "of permanent character, and composed of local stone and concrete."[21]

Scottish stonemasons and a force of other workers began construction on seven large sandstone buildings utilizing stone from a quarry located between the Gardner River and the present Mammoth Campground. Among the buildings that enlarged the post to four-troop capacity were a massive three-story double barracks (Building 36), a bachelor officers' quarters (Building 1), a double captains' quarters (Building 2), a field officer's quarters (Building 3), two cavalry stables (Buildings 34 and 38), and a double stable guard and blacksmith shops (Building 37). To secure against any of the buildings sinking into the terrace, all of the foundations were reinforced. As Aubrey Haines later observed, almost a century of exposure to the elements has given the walls the same gray and tan color as the cliffs of nearby Mount Everts.[22]

The buildings were of standard military plan and vaguely Colonial Revival in style, their outstanding feature being their exceptional masonry. The buildings completed in 1909 followed the dignified themes established by earlier construction and provided the fort with a distinctive, substantial character by which subsequent visitors have identified the park headquarters. The quality and substance of the buildings at Fort Yellowstone represent the army's attempt to put its best foot forward, to live up to a substantial commitment, and to provide a model post for the thousands of visitors who traveled to the park.[23]

The largest building at Fort Yellowstone, the double cavalry barracks (Building 36) accommodated two companies (200 men) of troops. The sandstone building's boxy U-shaped plan was relieved by a central three-story veranda with stone columns on the first story and slender wood columns and balustrades on the upper two stories. The barracks occupied a location in the second tier of buildings between Officers' Row and the cavalry stable to the east. The quarters added along Officers' Row were ample sandstone buildings with hipped roofs (Buildings 1, 2, and 3) that reflected elements of the Colonial Revival-design and boxy appearance that had evolved at the fort. The bachelor officers' quarters (Building 1), today the park visitors' center, was the largest of the three, a two-story T-shaped building with central hipped roof wing intersected by a central pediment with the tympanum ornamented with a half-round window. The building had a broad porch with stone pillars and a solid balustrade. The double captains' quarters and the field officer's quarters (designed for the commanding officer who served as acting

[20]Quoted in Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone Historic Structure Report*, pp. 21.
[21]Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone Historic Structure Report*, pp. 23.
[22]Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 166.
[23]Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone Historic Structure Report*, pp. 21.

superintendent of the park) had red tile hipped roofs with dormers and projecting porches; the field officer's quarters porch had stone columns, while the captains' quarters had porches with wood posts and exposed trusses.

Army construction at the fort was completed by 1913. In 1911, a new guard house (Building 13) and stone hospital[24] were added within the military reservation, and a new powerhouse (Building 56) was erected at the base of a hill about a half-mile south of the headquarters area. The guard house (Building 13) differed from other buildings at the fort in its concrete walls, projecting entrance surmounted by shaped parapet, and arcaded porch. The powerhouse (Building 56) also represented a departure; it, too, had concrete walls representing permanence and practicality, and its design reflected Mediterranean-style influences. The powerhouse was also notable for its large semicircular arched windows and red tile roof.

A hospital annex with gray slate roof (Building 16) and a chapel (Building 17) became the finishing touches in the district. The chapel, completed by January 1913, was the last building erected during the military period in Yellowstone and reflected the fort's status as the center of a community as well as an army post. Previously, religious services had been conducted in the troop mess hall, the post exchange, or private residences, as was consistent with army policy. John W. Meldrum, U.S. Commissioner at Yellowstone, voiced his belief that it was “a burning shame” there was no church where Sunday services and events such as burials could take place. Beginning in 1905, Meldrum enlisted the support of the park acting superintendent, Wyoming senator Francis E. Warren, and others in a campaign to acquire funding for the chapel. As military appropriations did not include such construction, it was a departure from standard procedure and required a special appropriation from Congress. The pleasing design of the building, reminiscent of ubiquitous small frame churches in New England, incorporated lightly dressed native sandstone. The simple interior with plastered walls and exposed trusses resulted in a harmonious composition, considered by many to be the most beautiful of the army buildings at Fort Yellowstone. The chapel was operated on a nondenominational basis, a policy continued after the National Park Service took control of the building.[25]

Few significant changes occurred within the Fort Yellowstone district boundaries after the army entrusted Yellowstone to the Department of the Interior in 1918. Notably, the stone hospital and an 1891 troop barracks were demolished in the early 1960s. The post bakery was relocated. Several minor sheds and other outbuildings were removed. During the 1930s, a 1907 frame cavalry stable (Building 28) was dramatically shortened and altered to make way for a new utility building. Three service buildings (Buildings 23, 46, and 79) were built within the district during the 1930s. Natural vegetation now covers the parade ground, although much of the landscaping around the buildings dates to the 1902-03 design.[26]

The buildings of Fort Yellowstone maintain high historic integrity, are in generally good to excellent condition, and continue to function as the administrative heart of the park. Officers' Row stands as it did at the end of the military period, and almost all of the stone buildings are still standing, as are many of the frame buildings that represent the original construction of the fort. Together with outlying facilities erected by the army for the efficient management of the park, including the powerhouse (Building 56), cemetery (Resource 981), Roosevelt Arch (Structure 9983), Buffalo Lake snowshoe cabin (Building 234), and Norris and Bechler River soldier stations and Bechler River barn (Buildings 111, 231, 232, respectively), these buildings represent the most tangible aspect of the enduring legacy of the army at Yellowstone National Park.

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[24]The hospital was demolished in 1965.

[25]Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 178; John W. Meldrum to Francis E. Warren, 27 November 1905, Yellowstone National Park, Cultural Resource Files; F.E. Warren to John W. Meldrum, 16 December 1905; John W. Meldrum to Francis E. Warren, 24 March 1908; J.B. Aleshire to F.E. Warren, 1 May 1908; Capt. A.F. Prescott to Commanding Officer, 8 January 1913, all copies from the National Archives, Record Group 393, Box 16, in the files of Yellowstone National Park.

[26]Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone Historic Structure Report*, pp. 74.

Contributing Resources

The following section describes the buildings and sites within the Fort Yellowstone district.[27] The buildings are categorized in the discussion by the following types: Administrative and General Support Facilities; Residences and Troop Quarters; and Storage and Service Facilities. Discontiguous resources are described as a separate category. Multiple resources based on the same plan are grouped together, with one representative example described in detail. Contributing resources are described first, followed by noncontributing resources. In the discussion below, the name of the building reflects the army's name for the building; the number cited is the historic building number assigned by the park; the QMG number is the Quartermaster General standardized plan number, if known; and the date is the date of construction. All buildings were designed by architects of the Office of the Chief Quartermaster, unless otherwise attributed.

Administrative and General Support Facilities

Army Post Headquarters/Administrative Building (Building 8), 1891. The post headquarters is a rectangular, one-story, frame building with a stone foundation; two exterior wings with concrete foundations were added to the rear wall. The headquarters is situated in the front row of buildings facing the parade ground. The walls are finished with drop siding. The side gable roof has red metal shingles in a diamond pattern, while the two rear wings have wood shingle roofs. Two interior brick chimneys are located on the roof of the main block. All of the windows have wooden sashes and painted wood trim.

The front (west) of the building has a full-length open porch with a hipped roof supported by six square posts. The wood porch floor is constructed almost at grade. The main entrance is centered and contains a wood door with six beveled lights and three vertical panels. Two tall three-over-two-light double-hung windows flank the entrance. There is a central, hipped roof dormer with a twelve-light, hopper window. The gable ends of the main block are clad with wood shingles and each has one ten-light hopper window. There is an enclosed shed roof porch projecting from the south wall of the north rear wing. At least one, and perhaps both, of the projecting wings dates to the army period.

U.S. Engineer's Office (Building 39), 1903, Reed and Stem. The U.S. Engineer's Office, designed by the St. Paul architectural firm of Reed and Stem, is a distinctive, two-story, rock-faced ashlar, gray sandstone building.[28] The building is notable for its pyramidal hipped roof clad with green clay tiles, massive stone chimneys, and bellcast eaves. This roof configuration resulted in the building being nicknamed "the Pagoda." The building is almost square in plan and has battered walls that taper in thickness from two feet at the top of the water table to one foot at the roof plate. A distinctive feature of the stonework is the use of dressed stone for quoins, window and door surrounds, and the water table.

The symmetrical facade (southeast) has a projecting central porch with a hipped roof that mimics the main roof and is supported by two battered, dressed stone columns. The porch frieze is inscribed "United States Engineer Office." A set of concrete steps provides access to the porch from three sides. The central entrance has paneled double doors and a narrow single-light transom. Flanking the porch on the first and second stories are windows

[27]The descriptions below are revised and edited versions of descriptions on National Park Service Historic Structure Survey forms prepared by Historical Research Associates, Inc., Missoula, Montana, in completion of a historic building survey at Yellowstone National Park in 1999.

[28]Haines states that the stone was "prefinished at a Minnesota quarry and was shipped marked for reassembling...." (*Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 242), while other sources indicate that the building was constructed of Montana stone. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone Historic Structure Report*, pp. 259-260.

with single-light transoms. A twenty-four-light fixed window is centered above the porch (the window, added in 1918, replaced an emblem of the U.S. Engineers on the wall). On the northwest (rear) is a large central entrance with double doors topped with a single-light transom. A small, hipped roof dormer is located in the center of the roof and a wood access ramp has been added to the rear entrance.

The building has significant interior details, including rich oak doors, door and window surrounds, moldings, baseboards, and a turned baluster staircase. The central hallway retains the original globe/wrought-iron light fixtures.

U.S. Commissioner's Jail and Office and U.S. Marshal's Residence (Building 49), 1894, Fisk J. Shaffer, builder. The Commissioner's office was the first stone building erected at Fort Yellowstone and included an office, jail, and residential space on the first floor and bedrooms upstairs. The one-and-a-half-story, rock-faced ashlar sandstone building stands by itself near the Hot Springs terraces. The building has a rectangular plan and a stone foundation. The gable-on-hip roof is covered with wood shingles and features two interior stone chimneys. The majority of the windows are one-over-one-light double-hung sash.

The front (northeast) features a full-width open porch with a hipped roof supported by six square posts that is accessed via a set of wood stairs. The entrance, which has a paneled and glazed door, is centered inside the porch and flanked by two windows. There are two front shed roof wall dormers, each with a single window. The southeast wall has an off-center entrance flanked by windows and two shed roof dormers. The rear (southwest) has an off-center entrance, three small windows that correspond to the location of the jail cells, and two through-the-cornice shed roof dormers. The northwest wall has two windows on the first story and two shed roof dormers.

Chapel (Building 17), QMG No. 229-A, 1913. The Gothic-style chapel, the last component of the army post erected at Fort Yellowstone, is a one-story building with a steeply pitched front gable roof clad with gray slate shingles and with a stone cross at the gable apex. The building is located at the extreme southern end of the Fort Yellowstone complex. The rectangular building has walls of roughly coursed native sandstone with a buttressed front wall and a series of stone buttresses on the long side walls. The more rustic stonework stands in contrast to the more finished masonry of the earlier buildings of the post. The building's front gable (southwest) has a small pointed arch window with tooled stone surround and diamond-pattern window. There is a central projecting gable roofed stone vestibule with pointed arch entrance and double hinged wood doors fronted by concrete steps with metal railings. Narrow triple windows with shared stone lintels are located between buttresses on the long sides of the building. The windows have wood casings and diamond-pattern leaded glass. There are narrow three-light horizontal basement windows on the side walls and segmental arched windows on the rear wall. There is an intersecting projecting gable with a narrow vertical window on the gable face, a large window with tooled stone surround on the west, and a louvered belltower on the east.

The chapel vestibule has exposed stone walls and a pointed arch entrance with double paneled doors opening into a wide "auditorium" that leads to the sanctuary. The auditorium has plastered walls and wood wainscot, a wood floor, and a wide central aisle flanked by oak pews. Exposed truss arched wood trusses and brackets surmount the auditorium. The slightly elevated sanctuary has oak choir benches along the side walls, a central lectern, and a wood balustrade with pointed arch cutouts enclosing the area of the decoratively paneled altar. Unusual lighting elements consist of bare light globes in porcelain sockets mounted on the sanctuary side of the trussed arches. In 1939, New Yorker Miss Jessie Van Brunt fabricated and donated two stained glass windows for the chapel's vestibule. On the south is an oval window featuring the Lower Falls of the Yellowstone. On the north is an oval window featuring Old Faithful. Above and below the ovals are rondels, each with quatrefoil windows depicting animals, birds, and flowers of the park. The frame belltower was erected on the

east of the building in 1928.[29]

Parade Ground, (site, shown as #9990), 1891, 1903. The parade ground is a relatively flat, open, irregularly-shaped area of about nineteen acres, located west of the principal built-up area of the original army post. Officer's Row lies to the east, the concession area to the north, the U.S. Commissioner's residence to the west, and residences and Capitol Hill to the south. The parade ground is covered with sagebrush and native grasses, and has several small clusters of trees. Several sinkholes are located within the boundaries of the parade ground. The ground is bounded by streets and a paved road (in its historic location) cuts through the eastern section of the site on a north/south route. Parking areas for visitors have been created on the north, east, and west sides of the parade ground. The portion of the parade ground south of the Mammoth-Tower Road was included in the 1891 military reservation. The Army Corps of Engineers formally landscaped the expanded parade ground (bounded by avenues A, C, G and immediately west of Avenue E) in 1903. The area was seeded with Kentucky bluegrass and provided with a system of irrigation ditches.

Post Exchange and Gymnasium (Building 35), QMG No. 157-A, 1905. The post exchange is a one-story Classical Revival-style frame building with a T-shaped plan and a rear wing that houses a gymnasium. The raised foundation is brick, the upper walls are frame with lap siding, and the hipped roof has wood shingles. Windows throughout the building are double-hung sash and fixed-light. The front (west) has a central portico with pedimented roof supported by four sets of classical columns atop square bases. The pediment of the portico is finished with wood shingles and has a central roundel (now covered with boards). The elaborate central entrance has a paneled and glazed door with sidelights, a large fanlight, and a decorative surround with keystone. The front wall has three six-light basement windows and two four-over-two-light double-hung windows (both north of the portico). Identical windows to the south have been removed. The north wall has a hipped roof porch. Interior features include a gymnasium with hardwood floors and wainscot in the rear wing. The basement retains its original pressed-tin ceiling and plaster walls. The building’s original slate roof was replaced with shingles in 1913; the slate was reportedly used in the construction of the chapel.

Guard House (Building 9), 1891. The guard house is a one-and-a-half-story frame building constructed on a stone foundation. The building of a typical army design for a small post, is located at the south end of the front row of buildings facing the parade ground. The gable-on-hip roof is covered with red metal shingles in a diamond pattern and the exterior walls are clad with drop siding with corner board trim. The eaves flare to include an open porch on the front (west) that wraps around both sides of the building. The porch roof is supported by fourteen square posts that rest directly on a wood floor that lies almost at grade. A widely-spaced lattice installed (after the military era) between the porch columns provides some privacy for the residents. There is an off-center entrance on the north half of the front wall with a paneled and glazed door. The south half of the wall has another entrance with a paneled and glazed door. The building has primarily two-over-two-light windows. A hipped roof dormer is centered above the porch and contains two ten-light hopper windows. Shed roof dormers are on the north and south. There is a small, off-center octagonal cupola on the roof ridge with a polygonal roof and louvered walls. The rear (east) has two enclosed shed roof porches with grouped six-light windows. Modifications to the building include the addition of dormers on the north and south, the addition of rear entrance projections, alterations to the fenestration, and the elimination of one chimney.

New Guard House (Building 13), QMG No. 30-L, 1911. The new guard house is a tall one-story rectangular building with concrete walls and a hipped roof clad with red clay tiles. The roof has narrow boxed eaves and a massive concrete chimney. There is a full-width porch inset under the eaves on the front (north) that has a

[29] File No. 620-010, Parts 1 and 2, Record Group 79, Box 619-620-30, copies from the National Archives in the files of Yellowstone National Park.

slightly projecting entrance bay with a shaped parapet and concrete steps flanked by low concrete sidewalls. The central entrance bay, flanking openings, and entrances at the east and west ends of the porch are segmental arched. There is an off-center entrance with a paneled and glazed door topped by a three-light transom facing the porch and four windows. The northern portion of the building has tall segmental arch windows, while the southern section has shorter, flat arch windows with bars embedded in the concrete and placed higher on the wall. The east wall has a flush-panel pedestrian door surmounted by a segmental arched window facing a set of concrete stairs and paneled and glazed double doors topped by a narrow divided-light transom facing concrete stairs. The jail retains its original steel cells.

Residences and Troop Quarters

Bachelor Officers' Quarters (Building 1), QMG No. 152-Q, 1909. The bachelor officers' quarters provided six apartments and an officers' mess as well as housing for temporary visitors. The symmetrical building is in the front row of buildings facing the parade ground to the west. The two-story rock-faced native ashlar sandstone building has irregular coursing and a dressed-stone water table. The building is T-shaped with a main north/south-oriented front wing and an intersecting east/west-oriented rear wing. The hipped roof is covered with red clay tile and has four interior stone chimneys. The front of the building (west) has a central pediment ornamented with a large half-round window. Small hipped roof dormers are located on either side of the pediment; the cheeks of these dormers are covered with painted wood shingles. For the most part, window openings throughout the building contain evenly-spaced six-over-six-light double-hung windows with wood sashes and dressed stone lintels and sills.

A broad hipped roof porch shelters the main entrances to the building. The porch roof is supported by stone columns. Three sets of steps lead to openings in the stone balustrade. The middle entrance leads to a set of double doors, each with one light. The two flanking entrances contain a single paneled and glazed door. There are two windows between each entrance. In addition, there are two windows flanking the porch at the first floor level. The second story of the front has eleven windows that are evenly spaced across the wall.

In 1919, the interior of the building was remodeled at the direction of Superintendent Horace Albright to include an information office and gathering place for tourists; the facilities were expanded in the 1930s. In 1941, public restrooms with exterior steps were installed under the front porch.

Field Officer's Quarters (Building 3), QMG No. 145-G, 1909. This residence housed the post commander and acting superintendent of the park. Major Henry Allen, who occupied that position at the time the building was being planned, requested a larger residence similar to the commanding officer’s quarters to accommodate the many visitors he hosted, but a field officer's set of architectural plans was approved with addition of a bedroom and bath in the attic.

The field officer's quarters is a two-and-a-half-story, rock-faced ashlar native sandstone building with irregular coursing and a dressed-stone water table. The house has a T-shaped plan consisting of a main wing and a rear wing. The building is located in the front row of buildings facing the parade ground. The hipped roof is covered with red clay tile and has three interior stone chimneys. The roof has a central front hipped roof dormer with three double-hung windows and cheeks clad with painted wood shingles; there are also hipped dormers on the north, south, and east. Windows throughout the building are primarily six-over-six-light double-hung with wooden sashes. The windows have dressed stone lintels and sills. The front (west) of the dwelling has a central entrance and a centered projecting hipped roof porch. The porch roof is supported by four stone columns and a solid stone balustrade.

Double Officers' Quarters (Buildings 4 through 7), (6 and 7) 1891 and (4 and 5) 1897. Four double officers' quarters were erected in the first row of buildings facing the parade ground between 1891 and 1897. The design of the residences appears to have been based on a standard plan utilized at army posts throughout the west. The almost identical two-and-one-half-story frame buildings are rectangular in plan and constructed on stone foundations. The walls are covered with drop siding and have corner board trim. The gable-on-hip roofs are covered with red metal shingles in a diamond pattern and have center front hipped roof dormers with paired multi-light windows.

The symmetrical facade (west) of each house has a full-width hipped roof porch with central gabled entrance bay. At other posts, this section of the porch was generally left open. The porch roof is supported by square posts with decorative brackets. The porch has a stick balustrade and wood steps. The front of each duplex has six two-over-two-light double-hung windows at the first floor and six similar windows on the second story. The side elevations have nearly identical fenestration, including low shed roof eyebrow dormers, evenly-spaced double-hung windows, and tall brick chimneys. The rear has a full-width partially enclosed hipped roof porch supported by square wood posts with decorative brackets and lattice at each end. The buildings retain their original coal fireplace mantles.

Troop Barracks (Building 27), 1897. The oldest barracks in Yellowstone is a one-and-a-half-story frame building constructed on a stone foundation. The main I-shaped wing of the building has a hipped roof and is intersected on the rear by a gable roof T-shaped wing. The roof is clad with red metal shingles applied in a diamond pattern. The building has interior brick chimneys and two louvered cupolas. The walls are clad with drop siding with corner board trim. The foundation is stone. The majority of the windows in the building are four-over-four-light double-hung with wooden sashes.

The main wing of the building is oriented north/south and has an open hipped roof porch on the west with a stone pier foundation. The porch wraps around the north and south ends of the main wing and is supported by square posts. The porch has a tongue-and-groove wood floor and is accessed by two sets of wooden steps. Entrances located at each end of the west wall have double paneled wood doors. The recessed wall between the two entrances has twelve evenly spaced windows. Paired windows are on the outer side of the entrances. There are four hipped-roof dormers on the main wing facing west.

Double Cavalry Barracks (Building 36), QMG No. 227, 1909. The cavalry barracks, the largest building at Fort Yellowstone, is a massive three-story rock-faced ashlar native sandstone building with a dressed-stone water table. The central wing is flanked by hipped roof wings that project toward the east, creating a U-shaped plan. The majority of the windows are two-over-two-light double-hung with wood sashes, and all window openings have dressed stone lintels and sills. The front (west) of the building has a broad central, slightly projecting, three-story porch. The first floor porch is supported by seven square sandstone columns. The second and third stories have slender paired posts and stick balustrades. Each story has entrances at either end of the porch. The wall between the entries contains six double-hung windows. The hipped roof bays at each end of the porch have nearly identical fenestration, including three evenly spaced windows on the second and third stories and a central hipped roof dormer. South of the porch, the first story has a central entrance with a paneled and glazed door with a transom flanked by windows. The bay north of the porch has five windows. The north and south walls have identical fenestration, including five pairs of windows on the first story and five window openings in the second and third stories. The rear (east) has a three-story projecting porch that wraps around the walls of the projecting hipped roof wings.

U.S. Engineer's Residence (Building 40), 1903, Reed and Stem, attributed. The St. Paul architectural firm of Reed and Stem likely designed this two-story frame house with an irregular floor plan and a stone foundation.

The building has a central bay with pyramidal hipped roof with flared eaves that is reminiscent of the U.S. Engineer's Office designed by the same firm and located nearby to the southeast. There is an intersecting two-story hipped roof wing on the rear and one-and-a-half-story gable roof projections flanking the center bay. The roof is covered with wood shingles and has two interior brick chimneys. The first story walls are clad with drop siding with corner board trim, and the second story walls are finished with square shingles, with some courses of decorative shingles. The lower walls were originally faced with stone, which was removed before 1924. The gable faces and the upper wall of the center bay are ornamented with a half-timbered motif. Most windows are two-over-two-light double-hung sash.

The facade (southeast) has an off-center open hipped roof porch supported by five paired wood posts. The porch originally had a low stone balustrade and grouped columns. One entrance is centered beneath the porch and another is located toward the western edge of the front wall. There is a window between the two entrances and another at the east end of the front wall, while the upper story has two widely separated windows. The gable faces of the sides have rectangular fixed-light windows; the northwest gable window has a lattice light. The northwest side has a shed roof bay with a ribbon of paired double-hung windows (the center windows are taller than the flanking windows). The northeast gable has an off-center entrance and the rear (northwest) has an off-center entrance sheltered by a shed roof hood. There is a shed roof addition on the rear to the northeast.

Noncommissioned Sergeant's Quarters (Buildings 30 through 33), 1891 (31 and 32) and 1897 (30 and 33). Four non-commissioned sergeant's quarters were erected by the army in a row at the eastern edge of the post, an area that came to be known locally as "Soapsuds Row." The houses were built following the same plan and are one-and-a-half-story frame buildings with stone foundations. The walls are covered with drop siding with corner board trim. The gable ends are finished with wood shingles; the shingled areas flare outward above the walls of the lower story and above central paired windows on the gable faces. The roofs have red metal shingles applied in a diamond pattern and have one interior brick chimney.

The front (east) walls have full-width open porches that are accessed at the north end by wood steps. The porches are inset under the eaves and have four square posts, decorative friezes, and stick balustrades. Facing the porch are paneled doors. A single small window is on the wall north of the door; the wall south of the door contains a large paired, double-hung sash window. Each building has a central hipped roof dormer on the front with two two-over-two-light double-hung windows. Notable are the three oversized paired double-hung windows illuminating the parlor and dining rooms on the front and south. A variety of small additions have been constructed on the rear of the buildings. Building 30 has a projecting frame addition on the north (of unknown date) that has a concrete foundation, a mansard-style roof, and two double-hung windows on the east wall.

Double Captains' Quarters (Building 2), QMG No. 142-G, 1909. The captains' quarters originally provided housing for the army medical officer and the army engineer. It is a two-and-a-half story rock-faced ashlar native sandstone duplex residence with irregular coursing and a dressed-stone water table. The house is in the front row of buildings that face the parade ground and has a hipped roof covered with red clay tiles and one interior stone chimney. The roof has hipped roof dormers sided with painted wood shingles. Dormers are centered above the main entrances and have three windows. For the most part, the building has six-over-six-light double-hung windows. The north and south walls have entrances to the two units in the building. The entrances are protected by gable roof porches with open king post trusses in the ends. The porch roofs are supported by wood posts, three at the outside corners and one at the two inside corners adjacent to the main wall of the building. The porches are enclosed on two sides with decorative cross-braced balustrades. The west sides of both porches are open and accessed via concrete steps. Both units also have hipped roof rear porches with post supports and stick balustrades.

Hospital Sergeant's Quarters (Building 14), 1894. The hospital sergeant's quarters is a one-and-a-half-story frame dwelling with a stone foundation. The building has a roof of intersecting gables covered with red metal shingles laid in a diamond pattern. The roof has one interior brick chimney and a gable roof dormer on the front (west). The exterior walls are finished with drop siding with wide corner board trim and a board water table. The front (west) elevation has a full-width open porch with a shed roof. The porch is supported by four square posts with diagonal brackets and has a low stick balustrade along the front. Wood steps access both the north and south ends of the porch. There is an off-center door at the north end of the porch and a small window near the door. Two two-over-two-light double-hung windows are south of the entrance. The gable face has a central two-over-two-light double-hung window. The dormer also has a two-over-two-light double-hung sash window. The gable ends are vented. The rear (east) has an off-center enclosed shed roof porch with a small gabled hood above the entrance and a paneled wood door with a wood-frame screen door. The rear porch was enclosed after the military era.

Hospital Annex (Building 16), 1909. The hospital annex was built as a residence for medical personnel and is located adjacent to the site of the original hospital. The one-story frame building has a front gable roof. The building has a rectangular plan with a projection on the north. The roof is covered with wood shingles and the walls are clad with drop siding with corner board trim. The front (south) has a full-width hipped porch with a balustrade and is accessed by wood steps. There is a central entrance flanked by six-over-one-light double-hung windows. The west wall has five evenly-spaced six-over-one-light double-hung windows. The east wall has an enclosed shed roof projection with an enclosed entrance porch toward the north end of the building. The rear (north) elevation has an entrance at the west edge of the wall sheltered by a shed roof porch, which has been enclosed on the west and north sides with lattice. Toward the east are two six-over-one-light double-hung sash windows. The building's fenestration is somewhat altered; there is an added projection on the east, and the date of construction of the south porch is unknown.

Storage and Service Facilities

Cavalry Stable (Building 25), 1891, addition 1902. The cavalry stable, originally designed to house eighty-four horses is the oldest stable in Yellowstone. It is a long, one-story frame building with a rectangular plan constructed on a stone foundation. The gable roof building has drop siding and metal roof shingles applied in a diamond pattern. Roof features include an interior brick chimney and eight evenly spaced hipped roof dormers with louvered vents on the east and west roof slopes. The gable ends have wood shingles and ten-light horizontal windows. There are small fixed-light windows along the east wall near the eaves and a series of hinged double wood garage doors on the west wall. Located in the south end of the building is the carpenter shop (not original), which has triple double-hung windows on the south and west and a paneled overhead garage door on the south. The north wall has hinged double wood garage doors. The building received a fifty-foot addition to the north end in 1902. There have been some changes to the fenestration, notably the garage doors and the creation of the carpenter shop at the southwest corner. A small addition was built on the east at an unknown date.

Cavalry Stable (Buildings 34 and 38), QMG No. 139-M, 1909. The cavalry stable originally included a first floor stable for ninety-four horses and a hay loft with grain storage bins. The one-and-a-half-story rectangular building has walls constructed of local rock-faced sandstone. There is a central gabled monitor roof and lower shed roof wings on either side, all covered with clay tile. A series of window and vent combinations extend along both the east and west sides of the monitor. The monitor walls are clad with wood shingles between the openings and are composed of stone on the gable ends. There are large vehicle entrances with paneled overhead doors on the north and south walls and pedestrian doors at approximately the middle of the east and

west sides. There is also a loft opening (enclosed with windows) and hoist on the south gable end. Windows include large two-over-two-light double-hung sash and smaller sliding and fixed-light windows. Windows in masonry walls have dressed stone lintels and sills, while steel lintels were used over the large entrances. A more recent concrete loading dock is sheltered by a flat roof canopy on the rear (east). There is also a concrete block paint shed addition on the east.

Building 38 was based on the same design as Building 34 but was oriented with the long axis running east-west. Building 38 has a large loft opening with double paneled and glazed doors on the west gable face.

Double Stable Guard and Blacksmith Shops (Building 37), QMG No. 39-R, 1909. This building is located near the two cavalry stables and is a one-story rectangular, rock-faced native ashlar sandstone building constructed on a concrete foundation. The gabled roof is covered with red clay tiles. The building has six-over-six-light double-hung windows and dressed stone lintels and sills. The plain facade (west) has two entrances with paneled and glazed doors and wide stone lintels. The identical north and south walls have three windows on the west end and a large central vehicle entrance and window on the east end. The vehicle entrance on the north wall has been filled in and has a paneled wood pedestrian door. The rear (east) wall has four evenly-spaced windows. The interior includes a blacksmith shop in the east half of the building. Many of the finishings in the blacksmith shop appear to be original, with the forges, hoods, vents, and tools remaining.

Quartermaster Storehouse, Commissary, and Granary (Buildings 10 through 12), 1891. Three storage buildings were erected at the southern end of the post in an east-west alignment in 1891. The buildings were enlarged in 1909-10 and remodeled for residential use in 1926. The buildings are very similar in appearance. They are one-and-a-half-story frame structures constructed on stone foundations. Red metal shingles laid in a diamond pattern cover the side gable roofs, which have pent roof enclosures. The storehouse and storeroom buildings have a series of four hipped roof dormers on the east and west. The granary has a series of three dormers on those sides. The walls are clad with drop siding. Wood shingles cover the gable ends. Windows of the commissary storehouse and storeroom are primarily wood frame, two-over-two-light double-hung sash. Windows of the granary are primarily four-over-four-light double-hung sash. There are partially enclosed porches accessed by wood steps on each end of the front (west) wall of each building. Built-up wood posts support the porch roofs. The rear (east) walls also have two enclosed porches with pediments above the entrances. Alterations after the military period included removal of loading docks on the east, replacement of dormer louvers with windows, addition of entrance porches, and changes in first floor fenestration.

Coal Shed (Building 19), QMG No. 67-B, 1903. The coal shed, now used as an electrical shop and for general and vehicular storage, is a one-story shed roof frame building with a long rectangular plan, stone foundation, two-over-two-light double-hung and fixed-light windows, a series of paneled overhead garage doors, and drop siding. A loading platform has been removed from the east side and large wagon-sized openings have been converted with overhead garage doors. A vehicle entrance on the north wall has been covered up.

Hay Shed (Building 20), 1893. The hay shed, now used as a storage shed, is a one-story windowless frame building with a rectangular plan and a stone foundation. The length of the building was extended by the 1910 construction of a seventy-nine-foot addition to the west end. The original building (east section) has a hip roof and drop siding, while the addition has a gable roof and lap siding. There are board-and-batten and sliding garage doors. Alterations include the removal of four louvered cupolas, sliding doors, and loading platforms.

Troop Workshop (Building 29), 1901. This one-story frame roughly T-shaped building is clad with narrow lap siding and has a roof of intersecting gables covered with wood shingles. The building has six-over-six-light double-hung windows and a stone foundation. The west wall of the main wing includes a two-panel door

flanked by six-over-six-light double-hung windows and four symmetrically spaced six-over-six-light windows. The east wall of the main wing has three six-over-six-light windows above a shed roof projection with three windows. After 1916, a substantial wing, matching the original in design and materials, was added to the south.

Fuel Shed (Building 30A), Construction Date Unknown, Appears on 1909 map. This is a one-story, rectangular wood-frame building with a gabled roof and drop siding.

Quartermaster Shop and Plumber Shop (Building 22); 1898, 1901. This one-story elongated building known as the "Quartermaster Shops" includes two gabled components of equal width, height, and roof pitch on the north half, and a third section, narrower than the other components, yet of equal roof pitch, on the south half. Drop and board and batten siding covers the exterior walls and wood shingles cover the roof. Windows are four-, six-, eight-, and nine-light in a wide variety of sash types. The building received some alterations in fenestration during the historic period, including two horizontal windows and addition of a garage door on the north.

U.S. Commissioner's Barn (Building 334), 1912. The barn is a one-story rectangular frame building with a side gable roof, drop siding, four-light windows, a paneled pedestrian door, and sliding tongue-and-groove door. The interior is divided into three rooms: a tack room, a carriage bay, and two horse stalls.

Discontiguous Resources in District

Powerhouse (Building 56), QMG No. 2-903, 1911. The powerhouse, located at the base of a hill about one-half mile south of Fort Yellowstone and toward the Gardner River, is a two-story rectangular concrete building with a hipped roof clad with red clay tiles and widely overhanging eaves with exposed rafters. A small hipped roof dormer is on the north roof slope. The southwest wall features a large semicircular arched entrance with large divided-light transom above double wood doors that face a wood stoop and stairs. Flanking the entrance are four-over-four-light double-hung windows. The walls of the long sides of the building are divided by piers that extend from the raised projecting concrete foundation to the eaves. Between the piers on the southeast wall are four large semicircular arched windows with divided-light transoms and tripartite multi-light windows with shared sills and paneled spandrels. The eastern bay of the southeast wall has a small double-hung sash window set in a large blind arch; the rear (northeast) has two similar windows. There is one large semicircular arched window, a pedestrian door set in a large blind arch, and a series of three half round windows above a narrow one-story projection containing the penstock along the northwest wall.

The metal penstock lies directly behind the powerhouse, but the water intake is blocked and a section has been removed. East of the powerhouse is a road and an open field. The field was previously used as the discharge area for water from the powerhouse and still contains the discharge pipes within a wood and concrete structure located just east of the road.

Fort Yellowstone Cemetery (Site 981), 1888. The cemetery, located about 0.8 mile south of Fort Yellowstone and southeast of the Mammoth Hot Springs terraces, received its first burial in 1888. The cemetery is a rectangular site enclosed with an iron pipe and concrete post fence erected by the army in 1915. There is a central gate on the west side of the cemetery. Thirty-seven graves lie within the cemetery. The grave markers are mostly stone; there are also a few weathered wood markers. One grave is fenced with pipe and does not have a headstone. The landscape includes sagebrush, grasses, and small clusters of trees. When the army left Yellowstone in 1918, about fifty-four graves were in the cemetery, most of them civilian employees of the army and relatives of the military and civilian personnel. In 1917, nineteen remains (soldiers and civilian employees)

were moved to the Custer National Cemetery in Montana.

Norris Soldier Station (Building 111), 1908, Robert Reamer.[30] The Norris Soldier Station, which served as quarters for detachments of military personnel, is located on a terrace above the Gibbon River, about 17.5 miles south of Fort Yellowstone. The Rustic-style one-story roughly T-shaped log building has a roof of intersecting gables clad with wood shingles, overhanging eaves, and exposed rafter ends. There are three brick chimneys and one stone chimney. The logs have square notches with three surface cuts at the ends except for those on the porch, which are flush cut. The log ends extend beyond the plane of the building in a tapered fashion, creating a battered appearance. Some logs are unpeeled and the daubing is cement. There are two multi-light shed roof dormers on the front and one on the rear. The doors are constructed of vertical boards with hand wrought metal straps. Windows include twenty-one-light fixed, twelve-over-twelve-light double-hung sash and fourteen-light fixed. There is also a small recessed porch on the rear.

The symmetrical front (south) has a central recessed porch with two burled tree trunk posts supporting the roof. The porch has a concrete floor and steps. There is a central entrance flanked by tripartite twenty-one-light fixed windows facing the porch. Projecting bays flanking the porch have similar tripartite windows. On the east, the east gable end has a tripartite window toward the north end of the wall. The east wall of the north projecting gable has a tripartite window, a twelve-over-twelve light double-hung sash window, and a small twelve-light fixed window.

The rear (north) of the building has an entrance with a fourteen-light side light on the east side adjacent to the north projecting gable. There is a shed roof dormer above this entrance. An inset open porch sheltering an entrance with a plank door with hand-forged iron strap hinges is at the northwest corner of the north gable end. The west wall of the north wing has an entrance to the porch at the northwest corner, a twelve-over-twelve-light double-hung window, and a tripartite window. Double-hung windows are centered on the north wall of the west gable and on the west gable end.

The interior walls of the soldier station are clad with beadboard and the floors are fir. The original stone fireplace remains. In 1976, the soldier station was disassembled and “rebuilt from the ground up, log-by-log,” utilizing the original logs. Reconstruction was guided by a 1969 historic structures report, historic photographs, and army records. In 1990, the Norris Soldier Station was turned into the National Ranger Museum.

Bechler River Soldier Station (Buildings 231 and 232), QMG No. 40-B, 1910, Soldiers of Fifth Cavalry, builders.[31] The Bechler River Soldier Station consists of two historic buildings located in the park's southwest corner, in Wyoming, near the Wyoming-Idaho state line and the park's southern boundary. Buildings are a soldier station (Building 231) and barn (Building 232) built in 1910 to enhance the protection for the southwestern part of the park. A noncontributing third building, a temporary trailer, also sits within the nominated boundary.

The soldier station is a one-story rectangular frame building with a hipped roof clad with wood shingles. The roof has deeply overhanging eaves and three brick chimneys. The walls are clad with drop siding and the

[30] In 1901, Capt. John Pitcher prepared a rough drawing of the desired T-shaped plan for a station house. After the existing station burned in 1908, architect Robert Reamer volunteered to draw up a sketch of the building, but there are a few discrepancies between a written description of Reamer's design and the building as constructed. A Lt. Coxe completed drawings for the building and Mr. Rowlands of the Quartermaster Department completed the specifications.

[31] During a 1999 rehabilitation, several signatures were found inside the walls including “Grover George Lucas, Sept. 29th, 1910, E Troop 5th Cavalry;” “H.H. Burgess, Troop J(?), 5th Cavalry, Fort Yellowstone, Wyo;” and “James Oneil, in charge of.”

foundation consists of fieldstones set with concrete. The building has two-over-two-light double-hung windows. The front (northeast) has a hipped roof dormer and an off-center inset porch with square posts and a stick balustrade. To the west of the porch is an entrance with a paneled-and-glazed door placed perpendicular to the porch. A second door toward the east end of the porch has been filled in. Three two-over-two-light double-hung windows face the porch, and a fourth is located in the northeast wall. The southeast wall has a central bay window with hipped roof and double-hung windows, and a paneled and glazed door facing wood steps. The rear (southwest) has a small enclosed porch at the west end with a covered stairway leading to a root cellar that projects to the south. Paired and single two-over-two-light double-hung windows are on the rear wall. The northwest wall has an entrance to the enclosed porch facing a wood stoop and single, paired, and triple windows.

The horse barn is a one-and-a-half-story rectangular timber frame building with a gable roof with wood shingle roofing and overhanging eaves with exposed rafters. The barn has walls of clapboard siding atop a foundation of fieldstones set with concrete. There are large central horizontal-board sliding doors centered on the north and south walls. The east and west walls have one one-over-one-light double-hung sash and two fixed-light windows. Hayloft doors are located on the gable ends, and on the north wall the ridge beam extends out from the wall approximately two-and-a-half feet.

Roosevelt Arch/North Entrance Arch, shown as #9983, 1903.[32] This monumental entrance gate welcomes visitors arriving at the north entrance to the park, about five miles north of the park headquarters. The arch is constructed of native lightly dressed basalt that retains its natural weather worn condition. The rocks at the base and in the arches are roughly quarried. The arched opening measures twenty-five feet in width and is thirty feet high. A concrete plaque above the arch is inscribed, "For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People." Towers on either side of the arch are fifty-two feet tall, and each has a small arched portal at the base. Small concrete plaques are located above the portals in each tower: one plaque is inscribed, "Yellowstone National Park," and the other, "Created by Act of Congress March 1, 1872." Two wing walls extend from the sides of the arch, each ending in a battered stone tower with a pyramidal top. The walls are approximately thirty feet in length and twelve feet in height; the end towers are fourteen feet high. Extending northward from the end of the west wing wall tower is a cobblestone retaining wall that is approximately 570 feet long and has a basalt stone tower at the north end. A stone wall extending from the northeast corner of the arch was removed by the National Park Service in the 1930s. The concrete plaques were recast in the 1980s.

Buffalo Lake Snowshoe Cabin (Building 234), 1912. The Buffalo Lake snowshoe cabin, the only documented cabin remaining from the army era, was one in a system of remote snowshoe cabins erected by the army in its mission to manage and protect the park.[33] The cabin is located in the southwest corner of the park, within the state of Idaho, on the shore of Buffalo Lake one mile east of the west boundary. The one-story, one-room cabin is a rectangular log building atop a mortar and cobble foundation. The logs are saddle-notched. The cabin has a gable roof with overhanging eaves and wood shingle roofing. The log walls have mortar daubing. The purlins on the front of the cabin extend from the gable end to form a covered overhang. There are six-light casement windows on the north and south and a door on the east. Alterations to the building include five

[32]The designer of the arch has not conclusively been determined. Yellowstone historian Aubrey Haines attributed the arch to Robert Reamer creating a drawing based on Hiram Chittenden's notes (*Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 229), while contemporary Montana newspaper articles stated that St. Paul stone contractor and builder N.J. Ness designed the arch. Recent archival research by Yellowstone National Park Historical Architect Lon Johnson found photographs of three different architectural renderings of the arch, which suggest the design may have been a competition.

[33]The National Park Service continued to maintain the army's backcountry snowshoe cabin system after it took over administration of the park. Through the 1930s, the park had a program to replace two army cabins a year. Of the twenty historic cabins, this is the only cabin documented as pre-dating the NPS.

purlins cut out of the cabin in 1941 when the sod roof was replaced with wood shingles.

Noncontributing Resources

Utility Building (Building 23), 1937. The utility building is a large concrete building with a rectangular plan constructed on a poured-concrete foundation. It has a gable roof, factory-style aluminum-frame windows, and large overhead garage doors. The utility building was erected after the period of significance.

Cavalry Stable (Building 28), 1907. The cavalry stable was dramatically shortened and altered in 1935 to make room for the utility building (Building 23). It is a one-story frame building with central gabled monitor roof and an almost-square footprint, lap siding, and stone foundation. The stable does not retain integrity of design.

Garage (Building 46), c. 1930s. This is a two-car, one-story frame building with a shed roof, lap siding, and a rectangular footprint. The garage was erected after the period of significance.

Apartment House (Building 70); 1936; National Park Service, architect; Frank B. Anderson, Denver, builder. This masonry bearing (concrete) English Tudor-style apartment building is composed of two hipped roof wings connected by an intersecting-gabled wing, creating an I-shaped footprint. The two-story building is constructed on a raised cut-stone foundation that forms a daylight basement. Gray asbestos shingles cover the roof, which features vent dormers, an interior chimney straddling the gable ridge of the central component, and smaller chimneys in the gable slopes of the central component. The apartment house was erected after the period of significance.

Garage (Building 79), 1939. The garage is a one-story rectangular frame building with lap siding, a gable roof, and fifteen bays with overhead doors on the east. The garage was erected after the period of significance.

Flagpole (Object 57), 1902, relocated 1938. The flagpole is a three-segment cast-iron pole bolted to a concrete footing. This is a section of the army's flagstaff, which was shortened and moved from the parade ground to this site at the southwest end of the entrance road in 1938. The flagstaff does not retain integrity of design or location.

ATCO Trailer (Building No. YC10), c. 1970. The ATCO trailer is a rectangular trailer covered with vertical metal siding. The trailer rests on a temporary foundation without skirting. A metal shed roof was added to the flat roof at an unknown date.

List of Contributing and Noncontributing Resources

Resource Number	Resource Name	Construction Date	Contributing Status	Resource Type
1	Bachelor Officers' Quarters	1909	C	Building
2	Double Captains' Quarters	1909	C	Building
3	Field Officer's Quarters	1909	C	Building
4	Double Officers' Quarters	1897	C	Building
5	Double Officers' Quarters	1897	C	Building

Resource Number	Resource Name	Construction Date	Contributing Status	Resource Type
6	Double Officers' Quarters	1891	C	Building
7	Double Officers' Quarters	1891	C	Building
8	Army Post Headquarters/Administration Building	1891	C	Building
9	Guard House	1891	C	Building
10	Quartermaster Storehouse	1891	C	Building
11	Commissary	1891	C	Building
12	Granary	1891	C	Building
13	New Guard House	1911	C	Building
14	Hospital Sergeant's Quarters	1894	C	Building
16	Hospital Annex	1909	C	Building
17	Chapel	1913	C	Building
19	Coal Shed	1903	C	Building
20	Hay Shed	1893	C	Building
22	Quartermaster Shop and Plumber Shop	1898,1901	C	Building
23	Utility Building	1937	NC	Building
25	Cavalry Stable	1891	C	Building
27	Troop Barracks (60 men)	1897	C	Building
28	Cavalry Stable (84 horse)	1907	NC	Building
29	Troop Workshop	1901	C	Building
30	Noncommissioned Sergeant's Quarters	1897	C	Building
30A	Fuel Shed	Pre-1909	C	Building
31	Noncommissioned Sergeant's Quarters	1891	C	Building
32	Noncommissioned Sergeant's Quarters	1891	C	Building
33	Noncommissioned Sergeant's Quarters	1897	C	Building
34	Cavalry Stable (94 horse)	1909	C	Building
35	Post Exchange and Gymnasium	1905	C	Building
36	Double Cavalry Barracks (200 men)	1909	C	Building
37	Double Stable Guard and Blacksmith Shops	1909	C	Building
38	Cavalry Stable (94 horse)	1909	C	Building
39	U.S. Engineer's Office	1903	C	Building
40	U.S. Engineer's Residence	1902	C	Building
46	Garage	c. 1930s	NC	Building
49	U.S. Commissioner's Jail and Office	1894	C	Building
56	Fort Yellowstone Powerhouse	1911	C	Structure
57	Flagpole	1938	NC	Object
70	Apartment Building	1936	NC	Building
79	Garage	1939	NC	Building
111	Norris Soldier Station	1908	C	Building
231	Bechler River Soldier Station	1910	C	Building
232	Bechler River Horse Barn	1910	C	Building
234	Buffalo Lake Snowshoe Cabin	1912	C	Building

Resource Number	Resource Name	Construction Date	Contributing Status	Resource Type
YC10	Temporary Trailer	c.1970	NC	Building
334	U.S. Commissioner's Barn	1912	C	Building
981	Fort Yellowstone Cemetery	1888	C	Site
9990	Parade Ground	1891/1903	C	Site
9983	Roosevelt Arch/North Entrance Arch	1903	C	Structure

NOTES: The "Contributing Status" column denotes whether a resource is contributing ("C") or noncontributing ("NC") to the National Historic Landmark District. The last two resources do not have resource numbers but are referenced on the accompanying maps using the numbers shown above, which were assigned by the preparers of the nomination.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: _ Locally: __

Applicable National Register Criteria: A X B_ C_ D __

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A_ B_ C_ D_ E_ F_ G __

NHL Criteria: 1

NHL Theme(s): VII. Transforming the Environment
3. Protecting and Preserving the Environment

Areas of Significance: Conservation
Military
Politics and Government

Period(s) of Significance: 1888-1918

Significant Dates: 1891, 1897, 1909, 1916

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: U.S. Army Office of Chief Quartermaster, Department of Dakota
Reed and Stem
Robert Reamer

Historic Contexts: XXXII: Conservation of Natural Resources
B. Formation of the Conservation Movement
2. Origin of the National Parks Movement
C. The Conservation Movement Matures
6. Origin and Development of the National Park Service

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Fort Yellowstone is significant under Criterion 1 for its association with the military administration of Yellowstone National Park and for the impact the principles and policies developed during the military administration of Yellowstone had on the emerging conservation and national park movements in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The period of significance for the district extends from 1888 to 1918, from the date of the earliest extant resource associated with the military period to the permanent departure of U.S. Army troops.[34]

Fort Yellowstone is significant under Criterion 1 as the headquarters of the U.S. Army during its administration of Yellowstone National Park from 1886 through 1918. Yellowstone was established in 1872 as the nation's first national park. Army cavalry troops were dispatched to the park in 1886 after fourteen years of underfunded and understaffed civilian administration had failed to protect its natural features and wildlife. The military established a headquarters tent camp at Mammoth Hot Springs, which evolved into Camp Sheridan (1886-91) and Fort Yellowstone (1891-1918). While troops were used in other national parks, the army's thirty-two years in Yellowstone marked the military's longest and most extensive presence. In no other park was an official army fort (Fort Yellowstone) established. In other parks, troops were housed in temporary tent camps, principally during summer months. In Yellowstone, a typical military fort of permanent, substantial, finely crafted stone and frame buildings at Mammoth Hot Springs was developed, as well as a network of soldier stations and snowshoe cabins throughout the park. Soldiers patrolled Yellowstone National Park year-round, leaving "the track of the cavalry horseshoe in the most remote parts of the preserve…."[35] The unique role played by the United States Army in Yellowstone brought order to the chaotic conditions existing in the park by successfully protecting wildlife, geysers, timber, and other natural features.

Fort Yellowstone is also significant under Criterion 1 for the principles and policies toward conservation and national park stewardship developed by the army during its administration of Yellowstone National Park. In the process of carrying out day-to-day administrative tasks in the park, the military commanders promulgated rules and regulations that constituted a philosophy of conservation, defining the nature, characteristics, and management of national parks. During the army regime in the park, wildlife was defended and even saved from extinction, and geothermal and other natural features were protected from vandalism and destruction. Military commanders spoke out against proposals that would have fundamentally affected the nature of the resource that they had been assigned to protect, including plans for a railroad right-of-way through the park and an elevator at the lower falls of the Yellowstone River. The military protectors of Yellowstone National Park initiated the earliest efforts to harmonize necessary construction for visitor access and administration with the natural park landscape. In the course of the military administration, personnel, characteristics, and tradecraft were developed that later became the elements of a civilian ranger corps. As the nation's first and, for many years, largest national park, the precedents, policies, and procedures developed at Yellowstone had an enormous and enduring impact on subsequent national parks and on the worldview of the National Park Service following its creation in 1916. In 1932, Louis C. Cramton observed that "the history of the first quarter century of Yellowstone National Park is in fact the history of the development of our present national park policies."[36]

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[34]A larger area at Mammoth Hot Springs, including both concession and administrative facilities, has been separately nominated as a National Register historic district.

[35]Remington quoted in Richard Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1985), pp. 268.

[36]Louis C. Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park and Its Relation to National Park Policies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), pp. 1.

Origins of the American Conservation Movement and the Creation of Yellowstone National Park

No institution is more symbolic of the conservation movement in the United States than the national parks.

--Alfred Runte[37]

The commercialization of Niagara Falls, America's first highly celebrated scenic wonder, provided an early impetus for the birth of a national conservation movement. Historian Alfred Runte and others have described the budding interest in scenic preservation as part of "the search for a distinct national identity" rather than a widespread concern for wilderness. Awareness of conservation issues began, as Runte noted, with a small group of citizens who believed that the country's "natural wonders should not be handed out to a few profiteers, but held in trust for all people for all time." The opening of the West offered a new opportunity for proving that the United States had its own timeless legacy of landmarks of equal or greater stature to those of Europe, and it provided a new landscape in which national conservation policies could be developed and tested.[38]

Many distinguished Americans, including celebrated writers, poets, artists, and photographers, were early advocates of conserving nature. Influential intellectuals such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Cullen Bryant, and Henry David Thoreau wrote of the importance of preserving wild and undeveloped areas for solitude and reflection. New York City's Central Park, the brainchild of William Cullen Bryant, assisted by landscape architects William Jackson Downing and Frederick Law Olmstead, was completed in 1858 and became a model for other cities. American landscape painters displayed nationalistic pride in their work and helped shape the country's attitudes toward nature. Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran represented a group of painters drawn to the scenery of the Rocky Mountain region. Artist and explorer George Catlin became one of the first advocates of a government-protected "nation's park" in the Rocky Mountains after becoming concerned about the impact of development on wildlife, wilderness, and Native American culture in 1832. In the same year, Congress reserved Hot Springs, Arkansas, preserving its medicinal qualities from commercialization, although not saving the site for its scenic or wilderness values.[39]

In contrast to the concept of eastern parks as designed refuges for relaxation and escape from the stress of city life, western parks emerged first to protect existing monumental scenery. Congress pushed the conservation movement forward in the early 1860s after the nation read descriptions and viewed sketches and photographs illustrating the scenic beauty of the Yosemite Valley. Americans also became alarmed at reports of the destruction of California's big trees and demanded their preservation. In 1864, Abraham Lincoln signed a precedent-setting act granting small tracts of land to the state of California for the protection of the falls and canyons of Yosemite and the Mariposa Grove of Redwoods, and for "public use, resort and recreation."[40]

From the time mountain man and explorer John Colter entered the natural wonderland that would one day become Yellowstone National Park in the winter of 1807-08, other trappers, prospectors, and travelers had heard about and visited the area, describing its geysers, hot springs, and other curiosities, and spurring public interest. A number of exploratory parties had visited the region by 1869, when three Montanans, David E. Folsom, C.W. Cook, and William Peterson, discovered the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River, Yellowstone Lake, and the Lower and Middle Geyser Basins. Folsom was employed in the office of the Montana Surveyor General, Henry D. Washburn,

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[37]Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, 3rd ed. (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), pp. xxi.

[38]Ibid., xxii and 1.

[39]Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd ed. (New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 111; Runte, *National Parks*, pp. 4 and 12; Duane Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971), pp. 7-11; Robert Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), pp. 42.

[40]Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, pp. 28; Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our Parks*, pp. 14-17.

to whom he described the Yellowstone region, urged further exploration of its wonders, and suggested the land should be set aside as a park. Folsom also assisted in the preparation of an improved map of the area that would aid future investigations.[41]

In late summer 1870, Washburn led an expedition of "gentlemen-adventurers" that included such notables as Helena resident and future superintendent of Yellowstone Park, Nathaniel P. Langford; lawyer and journalist Cornelius Hedges; and prospector, banker, and adventurer Samuel Hauser. Langford represented the interests of Jay Cooke & Company and its promotion of the Northern Pacific Railway, which planned to build a line through Montana Territory, and he has been called the "spark plug" that activated the group. The Washburn party climbed and named mountains, measured waterfalls, discovered geysers and hot springs, including Old Faithful, and conducted a reconnaissance of other features while accompanied by a small army escort under the command of Lt. Gustavus C. Doane. Members of the expedition became enthralled with the area's beauty and its unusual landscape, later publishing a variety of widely-read accounts of their trip, including an official report prepared by Lieutenant Doane.[42]

Some early historians of Yellowstone, including Hiram Chittenden, credited the Washburn Expedition with originating the concept of establishing a national park, specifically referring to an often-repeated campfire discussion in which Cornelius Hedges made such a suggestion. Later scholarship discounted this view in favor of a more complex explanation. As early as 1865, Jesuit priest Francis X. Kuppens had described Yellowstone's marvels to a group that included Hedges and Acting Montana Territorial Governor Thomas F. Meagher. Kuppens reported that Meagher suggested that the area be further explored and preserved as a park by the government. The creation of the California parks by Congress the previous year undoubtedly inspired Meagher's proposal. David Folsom, also probably influenced by the 1864 Congressional Act, had discussed a plan to preserve the area as a park with General Washburn before his departure. Yellowstone historian Aubrey Haines judged that Hedges submitted the park proposal at the campfire as a reiteration of Meagher's idea, and the other members of the expedition recognized it as such.[43]

The concept of a national park received early and strong support from Jay Cooke & Company as agents for the Northern Pacific Railway. The creation of a park would provide a destination for railroad passengers as well as other business opportunities. Langford represented the company's interest in the expedition; he kept meticulous notes about the region, which were later used to compile a manuscript for a series of lectures to be given to publicize Yellowstone on behalf of the railroad. Jay Cooke and the Northern Pacific became key behind-the-scenes players in the effort to establish a park.[44]

Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden, head of the U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Territories, attended Langford's first lecture on his adventures exploring the Yellowstone region in January 1871 in Washington, D.C., and decided to seek funding to lead the first official scientific expedition to thoroughly study Yellowstone and its natural phenomena. Haines attributed more than scientific curiosity to the timing of the expedition, noting that the projected route of Hayden's party coincided with that of a contemplated branch of the Northern Pacific Railway. Hayden's party, the first to document many natural features, such as the terraces of Mammoth Hot Springs, included landscape artist Thomas Moran, who participated at the behest of the Northern Pacific, and photographer William

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[41]Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, vol. 1 (Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming: Yellowstone Library and Museum Association, 1977), pp. 108-109. Hereinafter cited as Haines 1.

[42]Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 1, pp. 105.

[43]Hiram M. Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964; orig. pub. 1895), pp. 80; Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 25; Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 1, pp. 138, 89-90, 163-164 and vol. 2, pp. 435.

[44]Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 1, pp. 137 and 140.

Henry Jackson, whose photographs provided breathtaking evidence of the area's significance. The corps of scientists explored, measured, examined, and documented the topography, wildlife, geologic features, weather and other environmental aspects of the region. At the same time, an expedition of engineer-explorers led by Capt. J.W. Barlow studied the area and prepared the first accurate map of Yellowstone. These expeditions provided the first indisputable proof of the long-rumored wonders of Yellowstone.[45]

Almost simultaneously with the completion of the official expeditions, entrepreneurs schemed to exploit the attractions of the area and homesteaders planned to take up claims, adding urgency to fears that the unique and irreplaceable wilderness would be despoiled. Upon his return to Washington, Hayden received a letter from a representative of Jay Cooke & Company containing a suggestion formulated by Judge William D. Kelley, an associate of the railroad interests: "Let Congress pass a bill reserving the Great Geyser Basin as a public park forever--just as it has reserved that far inferior wonder the Yosemite Valley and big trees." The correspondence also questioned whether such an idea might be included in the surveyor's official report. Representatives of the Northern Pacific Railway also persuaded members of the 1870 expedition, including Langford, Hedges, and Hauser, to join an effort to convince Congress to create an irrevocable public park to preserve the "beautiful decorations." Hayden catalogued Yellowstone's national park qualities for legislators and warned that if Yellowstone were not set aside, speculators and developers would destroy it. At the same time, copies of an article on "The Wonders of Yellowstone" penned by Langford were distributed, together with Lt. Doane's official report, to all senators and representatives.[46]

Measures to create the first national park were introduced in both houses of Congress on 18 December 1871 and swiftly gained approval. On 1 March 1872 President Ulysses S. Grant signed the act, clearly modeled after the Yosemite grant legislation, which provided that a two million acre tract be "reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale" for use as a "public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people...." The Secretary of the Interior was empowered to make rules and regulations for the park that would provide for the "preservation from injury or spoliation, of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonders...and their retention in their natural condition."[47]

Historian Roderick Nash described this act as "the world's first instance of large-scale wilderness preservation in the public interest." At the request of Congress, Hayden had suggested appropriate boundaries for the park, which were expansive in order to include as yet unidentified wonders. As Alfred Runte observed, Yellowstone was the first park to represent the ideal national park in its size, and few future parks would be as large or as inclusive. Yellowstone was to serve as a model park in which national conservation policies and park administrative procedures were developed and tested. No major national parks were established until 1890 when Sequoia, Yosemite, and General Grant were created in the image of Yellowstone.[48]

Civilian Administration of the Park, 1872-1886

After establishing Yellowstone National Park in 1872, Congress did not provide appropriations to administer, staff, or develop the enclave. As historian Richard Bartlett analyzed, “the creation of Yellowstone National Park was an experiment in government” for which there was no prior experience to guide the early

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[45]Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 1, pp. 153, 142, 151.

[46]William E. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co.: 1966), pp. 401-409; Chris J. Magoc, *Yellowstone: The Creation and Selling of an American Landscape*, 1870-1903 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), pp. 15-19; Runte, *National Parks*, pp. 44 and 46; Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, pp. 169.

[47]Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park*, pp. 24, 76-77; and U.S., Statutes at Large, vol. 17, chap. 24, 32-33.

[48]Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, pp. 108 and 112; Runte, *National Parks*, pp. 55-56.

superintendents or overall philosophy regulating decisions. In addition, all the early administrators "had to work within the parameters of Department of Interior politics in a period of loose public morality." Recognizing this dilemma, individuals seeking to take advantage of the absence of protective forces used the park and its natural wonders for personal gain. In spite of the area's isolation and lack of facilities, the activities of poachers and vandals created a significant problem immediately faced by early administrators. Although the civilian superintendents attempted to establish policies and develop regulations which would protect the park's resources while furthering public access and appreciation, they were thwarted by lack of adequate funds and legislative authority, as well as the precarious nature of their appointments and limited control over their subordinates.[49]

Nathaniel P. Langford, Yellowstone's first superintendent (1872-1877), served without pay and did not reside in the park. He spent little time in Yellowstone, being forced to rely for a salary on his work as a bank examiner. Langford, who had been a leader of the 1870 Washburn Expedition to Yellowstone, recognized the difficult challenges he faced with no staff, equipment, or facilities. The park's early significance to the Department of the Interior was reflected in the fact that Yellowstone was not even mentioned in the Secretary's *Annual Report* for 1872. Langford recommended that all commercial hunting, fishing, and trapping be prohibited within the boundaries of the park and that a legal framework be adopted to provide severe penalties for lawbreakers. Twenty-two years elapsed before this suggestion became a law during the military administration of the park. Lacking a paid force to help develop access and protect natural features, Langford recommended that leases be given to responsible individuals to build roads and hotels, in the expectation that such responsible parties would help deter vandalism as well as bring needed revenue. Following up on Langford's idea of attracting concessioners who would develop tourist facilities, Secretary of the Interior B.R. Cowan requested an appropriation to build wagon roads in Yellowstone. Six years passed before Congress could be convinced to provide any funding for the administration and development of the park.[50]

A number of accounts detailed the wretched state of affairs in the park during its first years. In 1873, David E. Folsom, whom Langford had appointed assistant superintendent, reported that visitors had "broken off and carried away many of the most beautiful formations." In the mid-1870s, Captain William Ludlow viewed tourists armed with axes and shovels looking for geologic specimens to collect. Ludlow suggested that the park be turned over to the army for protection, a position supported by the Secretary of War. In 1875, General W.E. Strong decried the "indiscriminate slaughter" by professional hunters of more than four thousand elk in the Mammoth Springs basin. In the same year, Philetus Norris wrote to the Secretary of the Interior describing the wanton destruction of elk, buffalo, moose, and other large animals by commercial hide harvesters. Norris believed that:

> within a decade the buffalo, the bison, and, in fact, most of these larger animals will be either extinct or extremely rare elsewhere in the United States; and if our people are ever to preserve living specimens of our most beautiful, interesting, and valuable animals...here...is the place and now is the time to do it.[51]

Norris was given the opportunity to take a stand on behalf of wildlife conservation and solve other problems at the park when he received the appointment as second superintendent in 1877. Haines described Norris as "a fortunate blend of the pioneer and the scientist--just the right man to open a wilderness." Norris was a vigorous administrator, practical, scholarly, and energetic, and he developed many of the park programs and policies that were continued in later years; his achievements at Yellowstone have been evaluated as "monumental." In his

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[49]Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, pp. 15.

[50]Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 34.

[51]Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 1, pp. 6; Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 34, 40-41.

first report to the Department of the Interior, Norris, the first superintendent to stay in the park for an extended period, noted that he was receiving no salary and that there was no park policy to guide his actions. In addition, he reported that fires and poaching had destroyed much of the timber and many of the animals since creation of the park. Norris expressed concerns over his ability to protect the area from transgressors and suggested that a small military force might be stationed in the park during summer months. No funding for such a force was forthcoming. However, in 1878, Congress provided the first appropriation for Yellowstone National Park: $10,000 for protection, preservation, and improvements.[52]

Between 1879 and 1882, a total of $58,425 was allocated for Yellowstone, money that Norris used in a wide variety of projects in his efforts to safeguard the park's resources. Norris built the first administrative headquarters, a hewn timber blockhouse on Capitol Hill at Mammoth Hot Springs. He appointed an assistant superintendent to guard against vandalism of natural features, printed notices affixed to trees warning against fires and destruction of geothermal curiosities, and created interpretive wooden guideboards at principal natural features. The superintendent reconnoitered possible routes for the road system, believing that controlling visitor access would reduce fires and vandalism. Norris established collection policies for prehistoric specimens and began the scientific observation of the park's natural features. During the Norris administration, the monitoring and protection of wildlife began under the auspices of a park gamekeeper, Henry Yount, and the superintendent had a small cabin erected for the gamekeeper at the mouth of Soda Butte Creek. Yount, who has been called the "father" of the ranger service, recognized that the need for wildlife protection in the park far exceeded the capabilities of one man, and before he resigned at the end of 1881, he recommended that a small police force be appointed to assist the superintendent in enforcing rules and protecting natural features, particularly during the spring and summer months.[53]

The Norris administration marked the high point of the early civilian management of Yellowstone. Patrick Conger, the next superintendent (1882-1884), presided over a difficult period of rapid change. During Conger's tenure the issue of concessions grew more pressing as a rail connection approached, the first big hotel syndicate became involved in the park, tourists inundated the incomplete facilities, and vandalism of features and the destruction of wildlife continued. Although Conger has been described as weak and inefficient, he did oppose a lucrative lease to three individuals of 4,400 acres of parklands approved by Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller. Congress, led by Senator George C. Vest of Missouri, subsequently voided the lease. While Conger was superintendent, several visitors to Yellowstone suggested that army cavalry or mounted police should be assigned to the park to protect wildlife and natural formations and to fight forest fires. General Philip Sheridan voiced concern over the destruction of features, the proliferation of forest fires, and the wanton animal slaughter. *The Nation*, discussing Sheridan's observations, suggested that it would benefit the park to be placed under the administration of the War Department.[54]

In 1882, Senator Vest initiated a movement in Congress to pass legislation for the protection of Yellowstone and its wildlife and geologic curiosities. Although an approved legal framework for dealing with lawbreakers was still several years away, Vest persuaded Secretary Teller to tighten regulations concerning the protection of wildlife in the park. The killing, wounding, or capturing of any game animals was prohibited. Park residents and visitors were included in this hunting ban. Fishing, henceforth, was only to be permitted using hook and line. Vest succeeding in keeping issues concerning the protection of Yellowstone before Congress and the

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[52]Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 449 and 480; and Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 1, pp. 12 and 17.

[53]Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 449 and 480; Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 1, pp. 7, 11, 12, 13; and Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 48 and 50.

[54]Chittenden, *Yellowstone National Park*, pp. 131-132; Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 2, pp. 4; Bartlett, pp. 236.

public and in gaining greater security for the animals in the park.[55]

The Sundry Civil Appropriation Act of 1883 contained a number of important provisions relevant to Yellowstone. The law provided funds for a resident park superintendent and a force of ten assistants charged with protecting "the game, timber, and objects of interest." To quell fears of one company obtaining a monopoly, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to lease areas in the park of no more than ten acres for no more than ten years for commercial purposes, provided they were no closer than a quarter of mile to any geyser or Yellowstone Falls. All existing leases were declared invalid. A key provision resulted from suggestions from a variety of sources over many years: the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to request army troops to patrol the area "to prevent trespassers or intruders from entering the park for the purpose of destroying the game or objects of curiosity therein, or for any other purpose prohibited by law, and to remove such persons from the park if found therein." Duane Hampton asserted that this important provision "was to save not only the Yellowstone National Park but the whole future national park system of the United States."[56]

The measure also placed the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in charge of road and bridge improvements in Yellowstone. In 1883, the first military involvement in Yellowstone began with the arrival of Lt. Dan C. Kingman of the Corps of Engineers. Lieutenant Kingman focused on improving access in terms of the systematic development of roads and bridges. He planned a 223-mile network of roads through the park that "would enable tourists to visit the principal points of interest in the Park without retracing their steps; and to take a long or short trip, according to the time and the means at their disposal." When a proposal to grant a railroad right-of-way through the park was considered in Congress in 1883, both Kingman and Superintendent Conger opposed the measure. Kingman believed that, with construction of a rail line, the park would stop belonging to the citizens and would "interest only those that it helps to enrich."[57]

The first force of assistant superintendents as authorized by the 1883 legislation was selected by Secretary Teller based on the men's political connections. Superintendent Conger felt that the legislation creating the positions was ill-considered because the act required the assistants to provide their own equipment, horses, and housing; he believed that the government should equip the men, provide uniforms, and establish a system of five strategically-located cabins throughout the park. The assistant superintendents came from varied backgrounds and were without necessary supervision; most had little or no experience that would qualify them to work in a national park. An attempt to disperse assistants in order to protect remote parts of the park resulted in the conversion of a stage station near Soda Butte for their use in the fall of 1883. Others assistants were lodged at Mammoth Hot Springs and in a cabin at upper Firehole Basin. Despite this effort, the lack of a legal framework for punishing violators and the hiring of unqualified assistants failed to stem the onslaught of vandals and poachers which plagued the park.[58]

The tenure of Superintendent Robert E. Carpenter (1884-1885) was undistinguished. Carpenter appeared to have close ties with the hotel company and was accused of favoring railroad interests in the park and hampering

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[55]Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 56-57.

[56]A lease was awarded shortly after passage of the bill to the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company by Secretary Teller, leasing a total of ten acres divided into seven parcels located at major points of interest in the Park. The lease gave that company an effective monopoly over concessions. U.S., Statutes at Large, vol. 22, 626; Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 59-60.

[57]Kenneth H. Baldwin, *Enchanted Enclosure: The Army Engineers and Yellowstone National Park, A Documentary History* (Washington: Office of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, 1976), pp. 85, quoting 1887 report by Capt. Clinton B. Sears which incorporated Kingman notes; Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 65-66.

[58]Paul Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997), pp. 140; Bartlett, pp. 237.

the protection of game. Senator Vest believed that Carpenter's continued administration of Yellowstone would result in its eventual destruction. He recommended David Wear's appointment, hoping that an able and honest superintendent would correct the damage inflicted in previous years. Superintendent Wear (1885-1886) moved to replace incompetent assistants with men familiar with outdoor work and mountain living. Despite a vigorous attempt to end the chaotic situation in Yellowstone, Wear's efforts were hampered by limited powers and lack of support from Washington. In addition, the hotel company thwarted the superintendent's efforts to change the status quo and local citizens frowned upon his struggle to stop abuse of the park's resources. Wear was assisted by the Territory of Wyoming, which had attempted to aid the park by passing a law in 1884 that protected Yellowstone's wildlife and natural wonders, regulated campfires, and created penalties for violations. The act provided for two justices of the peace to preside over legal hearings. Two constables, as well as the assistant superintendents, were empowered to enforce provisions of the law. Superintendent Wear initiated the first prosecutions for depredations in the park utilizing the Wyoming law. In his 1885 *Annual Report*, Wear acknowledged that the Wyoming law, despite its dubious constitutionality, was his only means of protecting the park. He recommended that Congress enact protective legislation, create a court to hear misdemeanors, and bind over felonies for trial.[59]

A Special House Committee had been commissioned to investigate the state of affairs in Yellowstone in March 1885. During the summer, four members of the committee spent five days examining the park. The congressmen subsequently produced a report in which they enunciated an important policy statement: "The park should so far as possible be spared the vandalism of improvement. Its great and only charms are in the display of wonderful forces of nature, the ever varying beauty of the rugged landscape, and the sublimity of the scenery. Art cannot embellish them." The majority of the committee asserted that nature did not require much protection from man and judged that the superintendent and his assistants were of no "special value" in protection of game, although a small police force would be necessary to prevent forest fires and illegal lumbering. A minority report advocated improvement of roads and stated that it was important to protect wildlife and natural features as well as the forests. In the same year, the Secretary of the Interior sent his own agent to examine conditions, resulting in a report advocating national laws enforced by a federal tribunal to save Yellowstone. The authority of Wyoming law in the national park was questioned, and Wyoming repealed the law the following year.[60]

Although some later observers have asserted that Superintendent Wear might have eliminated many of the problems at Yellowstone if given enough time, Congress, divided over the issue of how best to protect and govern the park, deleted funding for Yellowstone's superintendent and his assistants in 1886. Superintendent Wear reported that as soon as Congress removed the funding for Yellowstone, lawlessness increased and forest fires burned out of control. Various contemporary accounts noted the destruction of wildlife and the inadequacy of the small civilian force as reasons for the Congressional action, while others suggested that administrative incompetence was the flaw. Park administrators and other observers had long urged that an adequate force be stationed in Yellowstone to protect wildlife and natural features. On 6 August 1886, acting under the provisions of the Sundry Civil Appropriation Act of 1883, Secretary of the Interior Lucius Q.C. Lamar requested that Secretary of War William C. Endicott provide U.S. Army troops to protect Yellowstone National Park as soon as possible. The army had exhibited interest in the park for many years through exploratory missions and visits of various officials. Some historians have suggested that the army welcomed the opportunity of a new assignment as the era of Indian wars came to a close. Secretary Endicott responded affirmatively and the army's thirty-two year role in Yellowstone began, its first and longest involvement in any

[59]Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 2, pp. 7, 10, 11; Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 452; Bartlett, 245-47.

[60]Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 71-72.

national park.[61]

Development of National Park Policies and Conservation Principles During the Army Administration, 1886-1918

The first U.S. Army unit assigned to Yellowstone National Park, Company M of the 1st U.S. Cavalry from Fort Custer, Montana Territory, arrived on 17 August 1886. Secretary Lamar ordered Superintendent Wear to turn over all property and records to the soldiers. Capt. Moses Harris, the first of a succession of officers who were to serve as acting superintendent at Yellowstone, established a tent camp at the foot of the terraces at Mammoth Hot Springs (See Table 1 for a complete list of these commanding officers). The cavalry commanders at Yellowstone led from one to four troops of cavalry. Over time, the post developed support staff consisting of clerical and headquarters staff, hospital corpsmen, signal corpsmen, and Army Corps of Engineers personnel. This substantial increase in the number of people working in the park had an important impact on the effectiveness of its management.[62]

The principal impediment to the proper administration of the park was the continued absence of any federal laws specifying illegal conduct and associated penalties. The only enforcement tool available to the soldiers was expulsion. Captain Harris recommended that rules and regulations be adopted to prohibit harmful activities such as poaching and vandalism occurring in the park. Legislation addressing the issue was delayed for many years after conflict arose between development interests who wanted to extend railroads inside the boundaries of the park and conservation interests who opposed such schemes. Finally, in 1894, Congress enacted the Lacey Act, which protected wildlife in Yellowstone, created a mechanism for punishing crimes committed in the park, and established a resident U.S. Commissioner for hearing cases. For the first time since the park's creation, its administrators had an effective means of controlling illegal activity within its boundaries.[63]

Yellowstone was the largest and most prominent of the national parks during its administration by the army. The commanding officers of the troops took their mission seriously, and Richard Bartlett observed that "the quality of the army commanders at Fort Yellowstone appears to have been consistently good." Haines noted that "duty at Fort Yellowstone was always a welcome relief from hard soldiering on the hot and sultry plains, or in the equally hot and dusty Southwest. For many officers and enlisted men, service in Yellowstone provided the "idyllic moment" of a military career."[64]

Activities, policies, and procedures initiated by the army at Yellowstone served as precedents for other national parks and for subsequent actions by the National Park Service after its creation in 1916. In administering Yellowstone National Park, the army found it necessary to address a wide variety of problems and develop policies covering a multitude of administrative issues. In so doing, the military acting superintendents continued and furthered the evolution of park policies and conservation measures initiated by the civilian administrators, and also developed new management procedures. Among the issues addressed were backcountry patrol; access improvement; wildlife protection and management; protection of natural features; law enforcement; development of a ranger force; headquarters area development; visitors service and facility development, educational activities, and interpretation; scientific observation; and promotional activities. These are discussed individually below.

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[61]Bartlett, pp. 245, 249, 257; Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 3.
[62]Bartlett, pp. 263-64.
[63]Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 4-5; and U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 28, pp. 73.
[64]Bartlett, pp. 259; Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 162.

Table 1
MILITARY ACTING SUPERINTENDENTS
OF YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK, 1886-1916

Military Officer	Start of Service	End of Service
Capt. Moses Harris	20 August 1886	31 May 1889
Capt. Frazier A. Boutelle	1 June 1889	15 February 1891
Capt. George A. Anderson	15 February 1891	23 June 1897
Col. Samuel B.M. Young	23 June 1897	15 November 1897
Capt. James B. Erwin	15 November 1897	15 March 1899
Capt. Wilbur E. Wilder	15 March 1899	23 June 1899
Capt. Oscar J. Brown	23 June 1899	24 July 1900
Capt. George W. Goode	24 July 1900	8 May 1901
Capt. John Pitcher	8 May 1901	1 June 1907
Gen. Samuel B.M. Young*	1 June 1907	28 November 1908
Maj. Harry C. Benson	28 November 1908	30 September 1910
Col. Lloyd M. Brett	30 September 1910	15 October 1916

SOURCE: Haines, 2:477. *Young served as both acting superintendent (1897) and superintendent (1907-1908).

Backcountry Patrol:

Upon the arrival of the cavalry troops in August 1886, Captain Harris made a quick survey of the immense park and, realizing that the territory could not be protected from a central location, assigned detachments to various outlying sites. Smaller units were stationed at locations formerly used by the force of assistant civilian superintendents: Norris Geyser Basin, Lower and Upper Geyser Basins, Riverside on the Madison River, the Grand Canyon, and Soda Butte on the road to Cooke City. These “soldier stations” were established to provide shelter for the dispersed units of the cavalry and to control visitor access to the park. The soldiers registered parties entering the park, sealed triggers of firearms with red tape and wax, and required that dogs were leashed. Squads of troopers patrolled the area around the soldier stations, monitoring such matters as the number of fish caught, the regulation of campfires, and visitor behavior toward natural features.[65]

Several additional soldier stations were constructed in succeeding years: Lake Outlet (1887), Snake River (1892 and 1902), Thumb Bay (1897), Tower Falls (1901 and 1907), Crevice (1901 and 1912), Gardiner (1903), Sylvan Pass (1904), Cooke City (1904), Gallatin (1908), and Bechler (1911). Initially, these facilities were not manned in winter; in 1886, all detachments except Soda Butte were brought into Camp Sheridan by the beginning of November. By the 1890s, however, the soldier stations at Norris, Riverside, Snake River, and

[65]Bartlett, pp. 258, 265.

Soda Butte were manned year-round. The soldier stations became National Park Service ranger stations after the departure of the military.[66]

Poachers of wild game did not suspend operations during the winter months but built shelters and cached supplies in prepared locations. To deal with this threat to wildlife, the army sent out winter patrols on skis. The first extended winter patrols were undertaken in early 1888 under the direction of scout Edward Wilson. Captain Harris remarked that "the hardships of an expedition of this character can only be realized by those who are acquainted with the winter aspect of the mountain solitudes into which these brave and hardy men ventured." To facilitate such patrols, a system of backcountry cabins was constructed. Six remote cabins were funded and erected in the fall of 1890 at the request of Acting Superintendent Frazier Boutelle. They were known as "snowshoe" cabins after the long Norwegian ski then in use. A system of reporting was developed for patrols under the tenure of Col. S.B.M. Young in 1897. Daily records detailing events, miles patrolled, area patrolled, personnel involved, method of patrol, and wildlife observed were required, with monthly summaries forwarded to park headquarters. Artist Frederick Remington reported on the winter patrols in 1895 and noted that the soldiers "are instructed not to follow the regular trails, but to go to the most unfrequented places, so that they may at any time happen upon a malicious person…." Haines observed that "a greatly expanded system of cabins remains the basis of present winter patrols in the Park."[67]

Access Improvement:

The efforts of early civilian superintendents to improve roads within the park had been hampered by lack of funds, equipment, and personnel. The Sundry Civil Bill of 1883 placed the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in charge of road and bridge improvements at Yellowstone. In that year the first U.S. Army representative arrived in Yellowstone, Lt. Dan C. Kingman of the Corps of Engineers. Lieutenant Kingman's focus was on improving access to the park in terms of roads and bridges. He developed a plan for a 223-mile road system that "would enable tourists to visit the principal points of interest without retracing their steps; and to take a long or short trip, according to the time and the means at their disposal." Captain Harris endorsed Kingman's proposal in a report to the Secretary of the Interior in 1886.[68]

In designing roads to objects of interest in Yellowstone National Park, the Army Corps of Engineers selected alignments that did not interfere with natural features and used the smallest area possible. Captain Hiram Chittenden served two tours as the U.S. Engineer at Yellowstone, in 1891-93 and 1899-1906. He supervised improvements to approximately four hundred miles of roads and constructed new bridges throughout the park, including a concrete arch bridge over the Yellowstone River above Upper Falls and the road up Mt. Washburn. Side roads that improved visitor access were also completed. In Chittenden's view, road development in the park should be limited to those routes absolutely necessary and most of the park should be accessible only by foot or horseback. At the same time, he opined that the roads should be "perfect examples of their class." Chittenden believed that the guiding rule in construction was to maintain the national parks "as nearly as possible in their natural condition, unchanged by the hand of man." These views were later adopted by Stephen Mather as a policy for the newly created National Park Service.[69]

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[66]Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 3, 6, and 183.

[67]Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 23-26; Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 4, pp. 5; and Bartlett, pp. 268.

[68]U.S., *Statutes at Large*, vol. 22, 626; Baldwin, pp. 85, quoting 1887 report by Capt. Clinton B. Sears which incorporated Kingman's notes.

[69]Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 173; Chittenden, *Yellowstone National Park*, pp. vii; and Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Park*, pp. 152.

Wildlife Protection and Management:

As historian Duane Hampton observed, one of the most important legacies of the military era in Yellowstone was the development of the park as a game refuge at a time when it would have been easier for the soldiers just to protect the famous geothermal features. However, the army policy makers "looked beyond the obvious" and extended their preservation efforts to wildlife, including the American bison, a species then on the verge of extinction. Before the arrival of the military, no concerted, organized, and adequately equipped effort had been made to protect the wild game in the park. During his tenure, Captain Harris implemented most of the protective measures and techniques used by his successors. Upon arrival of the troops in 1886, Captain Harris began patrols of the park boundaries to deter poachers. When apprehended, hunters were expelled, but there was no other method for punishing violators of park rules. The buffalo herd continued to dwindle, and some suggested that outside animals should be brought in to replenish the depleted creatures. However, the army was not ready to tamper with the natural breeding habits of the existing herd. Harris stated that "it is not the policy of the government to endeavor to make this Park attractive, by making a collection of domesticated animals, but rather to preserve the reservation in its natural condition and to protect the existing game animals so that they may breed in security." Harris also lessened the potential impact of local hunting when he forbade hotelkeepers from importing game killed outside the park to feed visitors.[70]

Captain Frazier A. Boutelle, the second acting superintendent, expanded wildlife conservation measures when he prohibited the introduction of domestic animals (dogs and cats) to the park. Boutelle also stocked trout in the park's streams and rivers, making the park more attractive to fishermen. Colonel S.B.M. Young, who served as acting superintendent in 1897, advocated construction of a fish hatchery in the park to stock streams and lakes in the park. A hatchery was erected by the Department of Commerce in 1913 near the outlet of Lake Yellowstone. The facility had a capacity of thirty million eggs, and Yellowstone was the premier location in the world for black-spotted trout egg collection.[71]

To bolster the sagging bison population at Yellowstone in the 1890s, the only remaining wild herd in the country, Captain George S. Anderson recommended that replacement animals be purchased from outside the park. This suggestion was not immediately accepted, but when the number in the herd dropped to twenty-two in 1902, Major John Pitcher revived the plan. Bison were secured from two sources outside the park, funded by an appropriation secured by Representative John F. Lacey for the project. A buffalo ranch was established in 1907 in the Lamar Valley under the direction of a buffalo keeper. By 1916, the number of wild and domestic bison in the park had risen to 345. The increase allowed the park to ship some buffalo to other wildlife refuges and zoos. Other species of wild animals also found sanctuary in the park and increased their numbers. Mounting park visitation led Colonel S.B.M. Young to close the area between Mammoth and Gardiner to camping in the summer of 1897. He feared that overuse would damage the winter grazing of antelope and mountain sheep in the area.[72]

When Congressional appropriations failed to cover necessary protective activities, Captain Anderson funded some anti-poaching patrols out of his own pocket. One such detachment in the winter of 1894 netted the

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[70]Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 91, 94, 165; Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 3, pp. 6.

[71]Predators in the park were viewed less favorably. Boutelle sought permission from the Secretary of the Interior to have his troops join in the extermination of predators, which he believed to be increasing in numbers. Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 3, pp. 7, ch. 4, pp. 7, ch. 5, pp. 12, ch. 3, pp. 9; Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 100.

[72]Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 165-167; Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 4, pp. 4.

notorious poacher Edgar Howell, who was apprehended at gunpoint by a scout. Howell had methodically killed at least eleven bison northeast of Yellowstone Lake for their heads and hides. The incident was documented by the photographs of Frank J. Haynes and in an article by Emerson Hough in *Forest and Stream*, a weekly newspaper devoted to conservation issues. Captain Anderson lamented to the reporter that "there is no punishment that can be inflicted on this low-down fellow." The story of Howell's butchery produced widespread public outrage and spurred passage of the landmark National Park Protective Act (Lacey Act) in May 1894.[73]

In response to the pleas of Yellowstone's civilian superintendents for enforcement capability, Senator Vest and a small group of Yellowstone supporters had initiated a twelve-year campaign in 1882 to gain passage of a bill providing the legal tools to punish violators of park rules. The Howell incident garnered public attention necessary for the successful introduction of the National Park Protective Act. Sponsored by Representative John F. Lacey of Iowa, the measure was to "protect the birds and animals in Yellowstone National Park, and to punish crimes in said park…." The act prohibited hunting, killing, wounding, or capturing "any bird or wild animal" within the confines of the park, except when necessary to prevent them from killing or injuring humans. Fishing in the park was only permitted by hook and line "in such seasons and in such times and manner as may be directed by the Secretary of the Interior." The guns, traps, and means of transportation of persons convicted of harming wildlife under the act were subject to seizure and forfeiture to the federal government. The Secretary of the Interior was empowered to make rules and regulations for the protection of wildlife. The act has been credited with establishing "the framework for future wildlife protection policy in all national parks."[74]

Protection of Natural Features:

One of the principal instructions for administrators contained in Yellowstone's Organic Act was the preservation "from injury or spoliation, of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonders within said park, and their retention in their natural condition." The troops engaged in a variety of duties that protected park resources, initially using the power to expel wrongdoers from the park as the only tool in their arsenal. Visitors were removed for such common activities as throwing stones into thermal features, killing wildlife, soaping geysers, collecting geological specimens from the thermal cones, and writing graffiti on rock formations. Park boundary patrols were also vigilant at keeping out cattle and sheep, and grazing was prohibited within the park as a means of protecting watersheds and plants.

The military commanders opposed improvements that might fundamentally affect the natural condition of the park's resources. In 1889, Captain Frazier Boutelle, although initially endorsing a proposal to construct an elevator at the lower falls of Yellowstone River, reversed himself after becoming convinced that the project would destroy the view of the great falls. Boutelle condemned the scheme as commercializing the purposes of the park, a stand that influenced future park policy. Boutelle also opposed the granting of a railroad right of way in the park, an issue of major controversy during his administration. In addition to providing added protection for wildlife, the Lacey Act reinforced the Organic Act's references to natural features and empowered the Secretary of the Interior to promulgate rules and regulations "necessary and proper for the management and care of the park and for the protection of the property therein, especially for the preservation from injury or spoliation of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonderful objects within said

[73]Emerson Hough, quoted in Paul Schullery, ed., *Old Yellowstone Days* (Boulder, CO: Associated University Press, 1979), pp. 136.

[74]This statute is not to be confused with a later Lacey Act (1900) that banned the interstate transportation of birds and mammals illegally killed in their state of origin. U.S., Statutes at Large, vol. 28, 73; and Magoc, *Yellowstone: The Creation and Selling of an American Landscape*, pp. 160.

park."[75]

Protection of the park's natural features from forest fires also demanded substantial effort of the cavalrymen. One of the first tasks that troops engaged in after arriving at Yellowstone in 1886 was fighting forest fires. The threat of forest fires concerned Captain Boutelle, who sought an appropriation to clear downed timber within one hundred feet of all roads and trails. Boutelle believed that a system of regularly controlled campsites at fixed locations would also help prevent fires. He sought additional funding for water wagons, buckets, and fire axes. During the summer of 1889, Boutelle and his men fought sixty-one fires in the park. Patrols within the park were instructed to be alert for signs of forest fires, as well as to monitor campgrounds for safe fire practices. Fire suppression continued to be a major task throughout the military era.[76]

Law Enforcement:

Like the civilian superintendents of Yellowstone, Captain Moses Harris promulgated a set of rules to govern the park, further developing park policies and laying the foundation for modern park regulations. The 1886 rules prohibited cutting of green timber or disturbing mineral deposits or natural curiosities; prohibited hunting, trapping, or discharging firearms in the park; prohibited the sale of fish and fishing, except with hook and line; required freight wagons to have wheels at least four inches in width; discouraged unnecessary campfires; prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquor (except by hotel proprietors to their guests); forbade loose stock near the points of interest in the park; prohibited throwing any obstruction in a spring or geyser; and required that stock found wandering in the park be corralled and held until assurances were made that they would not be turned loose in the park again. In addition, trespassers and violators of the rules and regulations would be expelled from the park.[77]

In adopting these rules, Harris observed that "great care has been taken to keep strictly within the limits sanctioned by law and to avoid all appearance of a harsh and arbitrary exercise of authority." Some lawbreakers handled by Captain Harris may have disagreed with this assessment, for the acting superintendent made liberal use of the expulsion power. Often, troops also confiscated the equipment of lawbreakers. Hampton characterized some of the actions as "extralegal" but noted that these were the only tools available until Congress enacted laws and punishments for dealing with lawbreakers.[78]

The Lacey Act of 1894 placed Yellowstone National Park exclusively under the jurisdiction of the United States and provided for the protection of wildlife, timber, and natural features of the park. The Secretary of the Interior was given power to issue rules and regulations for the park, violation of which was a misdemeanor punishable by up to one thousand dollars, two years in prison, or both. A resident U.S. Commissioner was authorized by the Act to hear misdemeanor cases and to bind defendants over in the case of felonies. Judge Robert Meldrum was appointed as the first U.S. Commissioner; he served until 1935. A combined jail and office for the commissioner and residence for the U.S. Marshal was constructed at the west end of the parade ground in 1894.[79]

Development of a Ranger Force:

William C. Everhart wrote in *The National Park Service* that the members of the cavalry at Yellowstone were

[75]Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 98 and 100-01.
[76]Ibid., pp. 83 and 226; Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 3, pp. 9.
[77]Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 4.
[78]Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 27; Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 83-84, 94.
[79]U.S., Statutes at Large, vol. 28, 73.

the forerunners of the ranger force that replaced them and that "even today there are clear reminders of army ways in the tradecraft of the rangers." Shortly after the arrival of cavalry troops in August 1886, their commander promulgated an order detailing how the soldiers should interact with the public. In enforcing their orders, the soldiers were instructed to "conduct themselves in a courteous and polite, but firm and decided manner." After passage of the Lacey Act, the army possessed new authority to deal with troublemakers. At the same time, soldiers on duty in the park were reminded that most visitors were law-abiding citizens who should not be arrested for trivial violations. When dealing with the public, troops were advised that "as a rule it will be quite sufficient to courteously call their attention to the Rules and Regulations of which they may be ignorant." From 1908, enlisted men were given booklets containing the park's rules and regulations and were tested on the contents. The attitude of courtesy toward visitors and the tasks of policing the park were adopted by the National Park Service after its creation.[80]

Another procedure implemented during the military era that influenced modern personnel management was the augmentation of the force of park protectors in summer months. This first occurred in 1888, when Acting Superintendent Captain Moses Harris requested additional troops to deal with the increased numbers of tourists arriving during the summer. A larger force was also necessary to control fire danger and grazing encroachment during that part of the year. Seasonal employment continues to be an important component of National Park Service hiring practices.[81]

In October 1907, Acting Superintendent General S.B.M. Young suggested to the Secretary of the Interior that civilian personnel might be better suited for the role currently filled by the military in Yellowstone. He recommended that such "civilian guards" be experienced woodsmen, skiers, trailers, and packers with an interest in the park and its purposes. The potential guard should possess a cool temperament, be fearless and independent in character, and be well-informed about the park's history, curiosities, and points of interest. Having some competency in zoology and ornithology was also a desirable qualification. Some civilian scouts who were already assisting the soldiers in their duties had outdoor skills, wilderness expertise, and knowledge of nature. Their way of life "rubbed off" on some of the soldiers who would later service as park rangers. The debate over the nature of what type of force should protect Yellowstone continued over several years. In 1908, Secretary of the Interior James Garfield preserved the status quo when he visited the park and stated that he felt the use of army troops to patrol the park was highly satisfactory, a position that his successor Richard Ballinger reaffirmed in 1910.[82]

In the spring of 1914, the concept of creating a group of specially qualified personnel to protect the park advanced when the War Department created a 250-man cavalry unit known as the Yellowstone Park Detachment. Soldiers from nine units were assembled into the unit in July 1914, which was stationed at the park until 1916. Secretary of War Lindley M. Garrison wrote to Interior Secretary Franklin K. Lane that this unit would consist of:

> a detachment of selected cavalrymen, preferably those having experience in the Yellowstone Park and having a natural taste and aptitude for the character of duties which they are to perform there; so that, should circumstances arise necessitating a substitution of civilian rangers for cavalrymen in guarding the park, your Department could take over such of these experienced men as it might need, they being discharged from the Army for that purpose should their service be needed.[83]

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[80]William C. Everhart, *The National Park Service* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1983), pp. 18; Horace M. Albright, as told to Robert Cahn, *The Birth of the National Park Service: The Founding Years, 1913-33* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1985), pp. 138; Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 4-5; Bartlett, pp. 263.

[81]Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 92.

[82]Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 5, pp. 2, 5.

[83]Ibid., ch. 5, pp. 16-17.

By 1914, the War Department had come to see its role of protecting Yellowstone with troops as "a burden" due to the cost and argued that the Department of the Interior was now able to assume the task. The use of soldiers for policing the park interfered with military training, and also resulted in the assignment to Yellowstone of some men who often had no fondness for the wilderness. The army's belief that soldiers should not be used for park duties other than protection, resulted in the hiring of four new park rangers to man entrance stations after the admission of private automobiles in 1915. By that date, Stephen Mather and army officials believed that park revenues would be sufficient to fund a ranger force and to maintain buildings and equipment. The movement for a national bureau to deal with the parks was close to gaining approval. Secretary of War Garrison offered to turn over to the Department of the Interior "the complete plant which has been established, barracks, quarters, telephone lines and all free, of cost, with the idea that the Army may be relieved entirely from all police work in the parks." With the creation of the National Park Service in 1916, some of the soldiers who had served at Yellowstone became its first rangers. This provided continuity by ensuring that people with national park experience would have a role in the park during the early days of the new administration.[84]

In 1933, Horace Albright acknowledged the influence of the military on Park Service personnel, observing that the agency's employees

> have been compared to the military forces because of our dedication and esprit de corps. In a sense this is true. We do act as guardians of our country's land. Our National Park Service uniform which we wear with pride does command the respect of our fellow citizens. We have the spirit of fighters, not as a destructive force, but as a power for good. With this spirit each of us is an integral part of the preservation of the magnificent heritage we have been given, so that centuries from now people of our world, or perhaps of other worlds, may see and understand what is unique to our earth, never changing, eternal.[85]

Headquarters Area Development:

Although civilian superintendents had established a limited base of operations, the army developed the Mammoth Hot Springs area as a permanent headquarters for administrative activities, staff quarters, and service functions. From the beginning, the army superintendents took into account the impact of construction on the natural landscape. In selecting a site and constructing Camp Sheridan, Captain Moses Harris sensitively avoided building intrusions into the existing viewscape. In addition, Harris believed that the seriousness of the army's role at Yellowstone should be reflected in its facilities. He wrote to the Department of the Interior that "the buildings are not visible from any portion of the 'hotel terrace' nor do they obstruct either the view or the approaches to the Hot Springs formation." Harris described the existing administrative office for the acting superintendent at Camp Sheridan as "mean and squalid." He requested funds to replace the former blacksmith shop with a proper administration building. The Quartermaster General provided five hundred dollars for this purpose and an office building was added in 1887, thereby establishing the precedent of constructing dignified and attractive administrative buildings in the national parks.[86]

By the time Captain Frazier Boutelle became acting superintendent in 1889, it was obvious that the army's stay in Yellowstone would be open-ended. Boutelle accordingly recommended that a permanent military post be constructed to better accommodate the troops. The proposal was accepted and the Secretary of the Interior agreed to provide a tract of land to the army at Mammoth Hot Springs, which was designated as Fort Yellowstone on 27 February 1891. The military reservation was a formally delineated area within the park that

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[84]Ibid., ch. 5, pp. 16-17; Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 286-287.
[85]Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, pp. 311.
[86]Bartlett, pp. 258; Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 93.

initially encompassed approximately 22.5 acres; it was expanded over time to include additional land. The headquarters area grew over the course of the army's tenure in the park, increasing to a two-troop post in the late 1890s and a four-troop facility in 1909. The latter expansion added a number of stone buildings to the administration area but did not include a new administration building to replace the one-story frame 1891 structure. In 1913, Lt. Colonel Lloyd M. Brett argued for a new building, and architect Robert Reamer of the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company developed a design that Clement Ucker, Chief Clerk of the Department of the Interior, found to be "most artistic and appropriate." Ucker urged funding and construction of the building. Nothing came of this proposal, however, and the original administration building continued to be used until the army left Yellowstone.[87]

Visitor Service and Facilities Development:

In addition to the construction and improvement of roads to and through the park, other facilities were gradually developed to enhance the visitor experience. Some of these amenities were built by private leaseholders under a formal system of agreement started in the early 1880s. The Department of the Interior administered the granting of leases but the army had some impact on the program. When he arrived at the park in 1886, Captain Harris found what he believed were irresponsible persons acting as guides and providing transportation for tourists. He suggested that guides be required to obtain permission to conduct business and register in his office. He further advocated that all tariff charges for transportation be uniform. Hampton asserted that "it was from this suggestion that the policy of 'controlled monopoly' was adopted first by the Department of the Interior, and later by the National Park Service." The army also insisted that the behavior of concessionaire employees be held to the same rules applicable to other visitors in the park.[88]

Military commanders were responsible for the first dedicated campgrounds and marking of the major entrance to the park. A system of designated campgrounds was established by Captain Frazier Boutelle during his tenure. Boutelle believed that such campgrounds would aid in preventing fires in the park. This policy was subsequently adopted in other national parks. In 1892, the Secretary of the Interior ordered Captain George S. Anderson to develop proper campsites along roads connected to the major routes within the park. Appropriate, suitably marked toilet facilities were also to be provided. In 1899, Captain Wilber E. Wilder proposed construction of an entrance gate for the park at Gardiner, Montana. His successor, Captain Oscar J. Brown, also endorsed this idea. The North Entrance Arch (Roosevelt Arch) was constructed in 1903. The monumental entry, the first erected at any national park, conveyed to visitors the importance and special nature of Yellowstone Park, proclaiming on its face that the park existed "for the benefit and enjoyment of the people."[89]

In addition to a system of roads, a variety of other structures were erected during the military period to enhance visitor access and enjoyment after the turn of the century. Stairways, drinking water facilities, viewing platforms, and stagecoach unloading platforms were constructed. Captain John Pitcher demonstrated a concern for the accommodation of visitors with physical impediments at Yellowstone. Pitcher noted that many interesting areas of the park had previously been inaccessible to visitors "unable to manage rock climbing or who did not feel secure unless they were walking or standing on a well-built structure." Providing safe visitor access to park features became a primary concern of the National Park Service.[90]

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[87]Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 108; and Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 5, pp. 6.

[88]Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 87.

[89]Ibid., pp. 100; Culpin "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 3, pp. 14, ch. 4, pp. 8.

[90]Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 4, pp. 20.

Education and Interpretation:

Building on the efforts of the early civilian superintendents, army personnel expanded educational activities at the park. During the late 1880s, soldiers gave "cone" talks to visitors in the Upper Geyser Basin, although Horace Albright later remarked that "their accuracy may have left something to be desired." As early as 1908, the Acting Superintendent requested books on natural history to better inform his troops on the Yellowstone environment. By 1910, visitors began to demonstrate greater interest in learning more about the natural history of the park. Effective interpretation of the park's wildlife, plants, and geological features required personnel with knowledge of botany, geology, biology, zoology, and history. Historian Merrill Beal argued that "perhaps the greatest weakness of the army regime was in the educational inadequacy of its personnel," although military commanders demonstrated an awareness of the importance of interpretive facilities. In 1913, when the possibility of a new administration building for the park was under discussion during the tenure of the last military officer at Yellowstone, Lt. Colonel Lloyd M. Brett urged that such a facility include "all that is interesting in historical data and specimens of natural curiosities, etc." Brett also suggested that small branch administrative buildings be established at other sites throughout the park containing similar displays and staffed by persons capable of providing information to visitors. These ideas were later expanded by National Park Service administrators to create museums, visitor centers, visitor contact stations, libraries, and archives staffed with educated and experienced personnel.[91]

Scientific Observation:

Yellowstone's unique natural features and its wildlife were studied and documented by the early military commanders, furthering scientific understanding of the area and laying the basis for one of the functions of the future National Park Service. The soldiers sometimes monitored the frequency of geyser eruptions and used the information to alert visitors of upcoming activity. The emergence of new geysers was also noted. During the winter of 1888, troops on backcountry patrols began taking observations on the number and location of buffalo, elk, deer, and mountain sheep and documenting geyser activity. In 1897, backcountry patrols were required to keep more detailed, daily records on the number, type, and location of wildlife observed. Monthly summaries were forwarded to the park headquarters. Aggregated reports provided administrators with the status of wildlife throughout the park. From 1886 to 1892, Acting Assistant Surgeon G.L. Cline kept a record of meteorological observations for the park and, in 1904, the U.S. Weather Bureau established a station at Mammoth Hot Springs. During 1913, the U.S. Geological Survey installed four stream gauging stations to monitor stream flow on the principal rivers of the park. The monitoring devices were located near soldier stations to enable the military staff to take daily readings.[92]

Promotional Activities:

Although publicizing the park was a traditional administrative function, a number of the Acting Superintendents became unabashed advocates of Yellowstone National Park. For example, while Captain Frazier Boutelle was in Washington in 1890 on official business, he encouraged the secretaries of War and Interior and other policymakers to visit the park. Writing to his son, Boutelle reported that "I am delivering lectures to everybody whose buttonhole I can get hold of." Captain Harris became an associate member of the Boone and Crockett

[91]Hampton, *How the U.S. Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 170-171; Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, pp. 119; Merrill D. Beal, *The Story of Man in Yellowstone* (Caldwell, Id.: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1949), pp. 262; and Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 5, pp. 11-12.

[92]Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 3, pp. 8; ch. 4, pp. 5, ch. 5, pp. 12; Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 169.

Club, a sportsmen's group that promoted Yellowstone as a wildlife refuge, and "remained an ardent Yellowstone supporter."[93]

Military personnel assigned to Yellowstone became skilled in dealing with prominent visitors from around the world. The park reportedly received more foreign guests than any other army facility, with the possible exception of West Point. Troop duties included escorting and entertaining distinguished visitors to the park. In 1901, Captain John Pitcher recommended that the army build a house for the commanding officer that was suitable for entertaining the many distinguished persons who came to Yellowstone. According to Horace Albright, a special camp for congressmen, generals, cabinet officers, and wealthy industrialists was maintained by the army on the Lamar River. The V.I.P.s wilderness experience was made more palatable "in the luxury of a camp policed by soldiers who cut the wood, built the fires, did the cooking, and cleaned up afterward." President Theodore Roosevelt, who visited the park for several weeks in April 1903 and spoke at the cornerstone laying for the Roosevelt Arch, was perhaps the most celebrated of the prominent guests at the park during the military era.[94]

Summary:

The U.S. Army's management of Yellowstone National Park has been favorably evaluated for its role in developing national park policy and conservation principles. Writing in 1902, John Muir observed that "in pleasing contrast to the noisy, ever-changing management, or mismanagement, of blundering, plundering, money-making, vote-sellers who received their places from boss politicians as purchased goods, the soldiers do their duty so quietly that the traveler is scarcely aware of their presence." Aubrey Haines concluded that "the result of these early years of administration by the army was to halt the destructive trend that would have ended in the dismemberment or revocation of Yellowstone National Park. By introducing order, the basis was laid for eventual improvement of park affairs." Duane Hampton flatly stated that the U.S. Cavalry "saved the national parks."

> Without the protective presence of the United States Cavalry, much of what exists today as a part of the National Park system could well have become, like other nonprotected areas, scarred, disfigured, and destroyed. Park visitors . . . owe these forgotten men a debt of gratitude.[95]

The military's day-to-day administration of Yellowstone National Park incrementally developed procedures and policies for the management of the park system. Louis C. Cramton concluded in 1932 that "the history of the first quarter century of Yellowstone National Park is in fact the history of the development of our present national park policies."[96]

Creation of the National Park Service and the End of Military Involvement, 1911-1918

The impetus for creation of a civilian agency to replace the military presence in the national parks accelerated during the twentieth century. In September 1911, the first National Park Conference was held in Yellowstone to discuss the question of park administration, concessions, and transportation. The concept of a central bureau to administer all national parks was debated, as was the transfer from military to civilian rule. Senator Reed

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[93]Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, pp. 115 and 259.

[94]Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 4, pp. 10; Bartlett, pp. 274-75, citing a 1970 interview with Albright.

[95]Muir quoted in Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 1; Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, pp. 29; Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 163.

[96]Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park*, pp. 1.

Smoot of Utah and Representative John E. Raker of California introduced bills to create a Parks Bureau each year between 1911 and 1915 without success, despite the support of President William Howard Taft and the Secretary of the Interior.[97]

In 1913, Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane appointed Professor Adolph C. Miller as an assistant whose principal focus would be the national parks. Miller, who brought young Horace M. Albright with him as an assistant, unsuccessfully attempted to build support in Congress for creation of a bureau to administer the nation's parks. Late in 1913, Miller selected Mark Daniels, a San Francisco landscape architect, as general superintendent and landscape engineer for the parks. According to Albright, "the park structures Daniels designed were attractive, and he also designed the olive green uniform for park rangers."[98]

In 1914-15, as Miller's time and attention turned to the creation of the Federal Reserve Board, Secretary Lane searched for a successor to continue working on the national parks. He chose Stephen T. Mather as Assistant for National Park Affairs in January 1915. Mather retained Horace M. Albright as his assistant. With Mather leading the effort, Washington paid more attention to park concerns and activities, and the move to create a bureau for national parks gained momentum. Robert Sterling Yard, former editor of *The Century* magazine, was employed by Mather "to originate a stream of publicity designed to acquaint the American people with the unsurpassed mountain scenery and natural beauty of the national parks." A system of communication and record keeping for parks was created by Mather in May 1915. He also arranged an informational junket to the California parks for leaders from around the country during the summer of 1915. The trip, which Mather personally funded, generated much publicity for the concept of a bureau to administer the national parks.[99]

Mather's tireless campaigning for a national park agency bore fruit in 1916. The American Civic Association, the Sierra Club, and major publications championed the park service idea. Legislation creating the National Park Service was approved by Congress and signed by President Wilson on 25 August 1916. The key provision of the act, suggested by Frederick Law Olmstead, provided that the fundamental purpose of the National Park Service would be "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein…by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[100]

In Yellowstone National Park, the question of replacing the troops with a civilian force had been raised as early as 1907. In October 1911, Acting Superintendent Lt. Colonel L.M. Brett called upon the Secretary of the Interior to provide direction on the issue of continuing military administration. In 1913, a War Department inspector concluded that the military role "was not a proper duty for the Army. The Army should be withdrawn from this park and all national parks." Brett believed that the attitude of the army affected the men on duty in the park. Troops were removed from the three California national parks of Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant in 1913. The beginning of the First World War in 1914 drew the army's attention to Europe and preparations for possible U.S. involvement. Army Chief of Staff Major General Hugh L. Scott told Stephen Mather in 1915 that, given the international situation, he could think of better uses for his troops than protecting Yellowstone.[101]

Arrangements were made for the transition from a military to a civilian ranger force for Yellowstone during

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[97]Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, pp. 34-35.

[98]Ibid., pp. 4-9.

[99]Donald C. Swain, *Wilderness Defender: Horace M. Albright and Conservation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 42; Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 5, pp. 19.

[100]Swain, *Wilderness Defender*, pp. 57.

[101]Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 5, pp. 9-11; Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, pp. 22-23 and 45.

1916 by the secretaries of the Interior and War. The turnover was to take place on 1 October, with a selected number of soldiers due to be discharged from the army on 29 September and ready to become park rangers on 1 October. A number of "mountain scouts" were also selected as rangers. All property constructed and maintained by the army at Yellowstone was to be turned over to the Department of the Interior.[102] On the appointed date, army troops left Yellowstone for service on the Mexican border and the turnover of control was concluded. Chester Lindsley, a civilian clerk with the park since 1894, was appointed Acting Superintendent, taking over the best building as a headquarters for the Park Service.[103]

Shortly thereafter, Congress reversed itself and denied the National Park Service funds for protective purposes. Representative John J. Fitzgerald of New York argued that using the cavalry was a more economical way of protecting the park. In addition, local interests around the Yellowstone area had strongly lobbied for retention of the troops, fearing loss of the cavalry payroll spent in such towns as Gardiner and at park concessions. Consequently, on 30 June 1917, army troops returned to Yellowstone, but the Park Service retained title to the property and equipment that the army had turned over in 1916. Over the next year, cost comparisons were made, and Congress was persuaded to replace the troops with a civilian force. Troops left the park for the final time on 31 October 1918.[104]

The composition of a ranger force had been carefully considered by Mather and Albright. The rangers would be employed by the National Park Service directly rather than by individual parks. Hiring would be based on Civil Service examinations testing for educational qualifications and individual qualities of tact and temperament. Advancement would be based on character and efficiency on the job. Knowledge gained by experience and training would permit rangers to be transferred to other parks during their careers. When the ranger force was reconstituted in 1918, it included many of those that had been selected to be part of the ranger program in 1916.[105]

During 1918, Horace Albright formulated policy objectives for the National Park Service based on discussions with Mather and others. Many of the items reflected policies developed by the army during its administration of Yellowstone National Park. As a first principle, Albright echoed the views expressed by the predecessor by declaring that "every activity of the Service is subordinate to the duties imposed upon it to faithfully preserve the parks for posterity in essentially their natural state." Roads, trails, buildings, and other park improvements were to be harmonized within the existing landscape. Timber cutting was prohibited except in very limited circumstances. Neither cattle nor sheep grazing was permitted within Yellowstone National Park. Educational use of the national parks was encouraged and museums were advocated. A variety of camping and lodging choices (from free campsites to more luxurious accommodations) for visitors was seen as appropriate.[106]

Yellowstone National Park was not predestined to succeed. Congress might have deemed the park a failure after more than a decade of chaotic administration and opened it up to private landholdings, with intensive summer resort-amusement park development serviced by branch railroad lines and electric railways to major points of interest. Instead, the cavalry arrived to bring order from chaos, protect wildlife and natural features, and develop the park in a manner sensitive to the existing landscape. The experience gained during the U.S. Army's administration of Yellowstone National Park provided the National Park Service with policies, precedents, and procedures for dealing with a greatly expanded system of national parks in the twentieth

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[102]Provisions were made for the Corps of Engineers to continue to use some buildings.

[103]Horace Albright states that Colonel Brett also stayed on for a time to aid in the transition. Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 5, pp. 22, ch. 6, pp. 1; Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, pp. 46.

[104]Beal, *The Story of Man in Yellowstone*, pp. 266.

[105]Culpin, "History of the Administration of Yellowstone National Park," ch. 5, pp. 19-20.

[106]Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, pp. 68-69.

century.

Comparative Resources

The creation of Yellowstone National Park drew from earlier efforts to preserve natural tracts of land and, in turn, provided an example for national parks that followed. In 1832, the Hot Springs Reservation was created by Congress in the Ouachita Mountains of Arkansas. The four-square-mile area containing therapeutic mineral springs was "reserved for the future disposal of the United States." Duane Hampton argued that this did not mean "that Congress recognized the scenic or aesthetic values of nature. The springs had potential commercial value, and at least one bathhouse had been constructed in the area. Congress simply had responded to the cries of territorial constituents who wanted the area maintained for free public use." Historian Alfred Runte concurred, noting that the area was set aside for the springs' "medicinal value, not with the intent of protecting scenery." The area was not recognized as a national park until 4 March 1921.[107]

Another precursor to the creation of Yellowstone came in 1864, when Congress ceded the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Tree Grove to the State of California "for public use, resort, and recreation" and in order to protect the trees from "devastation and injury." The lands were not under federal jurisdiction following the cession and no federal appropriations for their administration or maintenance were made. Because of these factors, Hampton asserted that the act did not create a "national park" and, after passage of the act, "Congress seems to have dismissed the areas from its collective mind." Yosemite originally encompassed about forty-four square miles, a fraction of the size of Yellowstone. The legislation was significant, however, in that it provided a precedent for the creation of Yellowstone eight years later by reserving a tract of land for nonutilitarian purposes. Runte stated that the intent of the reserve "was strictly scenic." The experiment in state control of the area was characterized by mismanagement, inappropriate development, overgrazing, and destructive timbering. The lands eventually became part of Yosemite National Park in 1906.[108]

Mackinac Island National Park:

The first national park established after Yellowstone was Mackinac Island National Park on Mackinac Island, Michigan, which was created in 1875 around an existing army installation, Fort Mackinac. The national park was reserved for the "health, comfort, pleasure, and benefit and enjoyment of the people." Natural curiosities, timber, game, and fish were to be protected. Administration of the park was placed under the Secretary of War who appointed the superintendent, typically the commander of the fort. The principal duty of the superintendent was the issuance of leases for the construction of summer homes. Runte observed that the small reservation "hardly qualified as a scenic wonderland." In terms of protection by the military, the army was already present in Fort Mackinac, adjacent to the park, and the enabling act provided that any part of the park could be used as a parade ground in peacetime or completely occupied in wartime. When Fort Mackinac was decommissioned in 1895, the park was ceded to the State of Michigan and became part of the state park system.[109]

Sequoia, Yosemite, and General Grant National Parks:

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[107]Runte describes Hot Springs as "clearly a resort and little more." Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 11; Runte, *National Parks*, pp. 26; Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks*, pp. 42; "Hot Springs National Park," National Park Service website, April 2000.

[108]In contrast to the points made by Hampton, Runte argues that "in fact, therefore, if not in name, Yosemite was the first national park." Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 17-19; Runte, *National Parks*, pp. 29.

[109]Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 221; Runte, *National Parks*, pp. 55 and 277-78.

Eighteen years elapsed between the creation of Yellowstone National Park and the addition of the next major group of national parks. Sequoia, Yosemite, and General Grant National Parks were created in September and October 1890. The language of the acts establishing the three parks mirrored that of the 1872 Yellowstone National Park Organic Act. All three new parks were placed under the management of the Secretary of the Interior, who was directed to make regulations "for the preservation from injury of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonders … and their retention in their natural condition." Congress failed to provide any laws or mechanism for enforcement of such rules or regulations, with expulsion from the park the only tool available for use against lawbreakers. All three parks received army troops for protection during summer months from 1891 through 1913. During the period of army administration, the three parks never received legislation comparable to Yellowstone's 1894 Lacey Act.

In 1890, intense criticism of California's stewardship of the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Tree Grove led to creation of Yosemite National Park, a federal forest reserve of more than 1,500 square miles that surrounded the tracts ceded to California in 1864. The 1864 state grant did not become part of Yosemite National Park until 1906. Sequoia was created as "a public park" and embraced 250 square miles. General Grant, named for the giant redwood tree of that name, covered only four square miles.[110]

Historians Lary M. Dilsaver and William C. Tweed, writing of Sequoia and General Grant but offering comments also applicable to Yosemite, noted that "in all his initial actions regarding Sequoia and General Grant national parks, Secretary [of the Interior John W.] Noble followed rather closely the precedents set in the nation's only previous national park—Yellowstone." Noble requested that the Secretary of War send cavalry troops to protect the three northern California parks. Two troops of cavalry were initially assigned to the three parks, with one stationed at Yosemite and the other at Sequoia and General Grant. The troops typically remained in the parks during the summer months, "relying on the heavy winter snows to protect the Parks during the winter." The troops were quartered in tent camps at various locations in and around the parks; no permanent facilities were erected. The early duties of the cavalrymen included road building, scouting the area of the parks, resource protection (particularly from sheep and cattle grazing), and fire suppression. Small squads of troopers were detached to explore and protect distant portions of the parks.[111]

The military presence in the three parks continued through the summer of 1913. Military officers assigned to the parks had recommended a completely civilian administration ever since the appointment of the first civilian rangers in the 1899-1901 period. Dilsaver and Tweed observed that "by the spring of 1914, with the Mexican Revolution in full swing and the condition of the two parks fully regularized, it made sense to make the change." The troops did not return to the California parks that summer.[112]

National Military Parks:

Interest in preserving and interpreting battlefields of the American Revolution and Civil War began in the 1870s and 1880s. Historian Ronald Lee argues that the first Civil War battlefields "were not selected at random but constituted, almost from the beginning, a national battlefield park system." Congress intended these military parks to preserve significant battlefields for historical and professional study and to serve as memorials to the armies on both sides of the war. Any conservation or scenic values the sites might have possessed were incidental and were not a part of the rationale for their creation. The battlefields designated as early national

[110]Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 130-45.

[111]Lary M. Dilsaver and William C. Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks* (Three Rivers, Ca.: Sequoia Natural History Association, 1990), pp. 74 and 85; and Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, pp. 146-149.

[112]Dilsaver and Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees*, pp. 101.

military parks were Chickamauga and Chattanooga (1890); Shiloh (1894); Gettysburg (1895); and Vicksburg (1899). Each park was placed in charge of a commission subject to the supervision of the Secretary of War. The act creating Gettysburg National Park, for example, included regulations for the park and penalties for defacing or mutilating property in the park. Army involvement in the administration of the parks was natural given the historical associations of the resources.[113]

Interpretation at the military parks included the placement of numerous monuments on the battlefields as well as markers indicating the lines of battle. In 1896, Congress passed an act providing that all of the national military parks were "national fields for military maneuvers for the Regular Army of the United States and the National Guard of the States." Encampments, maneuvers, and training exercises were conducted in the parks. In 1912, Congress determined that vacancies on the various commissions would no longer be filled and that the duties presently being conducted by the separate battlefield commissions would be directly transferred to the Secretary of War.

Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., concluded that "the military establishment of the 1920s was not well equipped to staff the battlefield areas. It appears that the only full-time historian working on the problems of interpreting these parks was [Lt. Colonel Howard L.] Landers himself." By the early 1930s, National Park Service administrators were lobbying to take over the military parks, arguing that the army did not have sufficient personnel at the sites to adequately interpret them. Verne E. Chatelain, park historian for the National Park Service, commented that "practically nothing is done which corresponds to our educational work, and it is in that field that we are best able to justify a transfer to the National Park Service." National military parks were transferred to the National Park Service during the major federal reorganization in 1933.[114]

Other National Historic Landmarks associated with the formation of the National Park Service include the Stephen Mather House in Darien, Connecticut, and the John Muir House in Martinez, California. Arguably, however, Fort Yellowstone reflects the actual design and policy precedents more clearly than the residences of these important individuals.

Summary

The Organic Act creating Yellowstone and the administrative practices and policies developed at the park became models for such later national parks as Mackinac, Sequoia, Yosemite, and General Grant. The early national parks that followed Yellowstone also continued the practice of using military troops for protection of natural resources. However, the role of the military was considerably more limited in those parks compared to the one it played in Yellowstone.

- The army constructed a typical late nineteenth century military fort (Fort Yellowstone) within the boundaries of Yellowstone National Park, including administration, residential, service and support, and storage buildings, and outlying soldier stations and patrol cabins. No permanent facilities were erected in other parks. At other locations, the military used temporary tent facilities to house troops.

- Yellowstone was the first national park to receive troops to protect natural resources. In no other

[113]Ronald F. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea* (Washington: National Park Service, 1973).

[114]Lt. Colonel Landers of the historical section of the Army War College had prepared an extensive survey and evaluated the significance of battlefields throughout the country as a report to Congress in the 1920s. Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949*, vol. 1 (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1981), pp. 472-473, 529.

park was the overall tenure of troops as long as that of Yellowstone (thirty-two years). Troops were stationed in the California parks from 1891 to 1913 (twenty-one years) and at Mackinac from 1875 to 1895 (twenty years).

- In Yellowstone the cavalry was present year-round to prevent the destruction of resources. Army troops were only present in other parks during the summer months, relying on heavy winter snows to protect the reserves in winter.

- The extent and variety of topography, natural features, and wildlife was considerably greater in the case of Yellowstone, presenting a considerably greater challenge for the troopers assigned to protect the natural resources. The three California national parks were considerably smaller in geographical extent than Yellowstone's two million acres.

- The role played by the military in Yellowstone was more varied, and included scientific observations of resources, wildlife and natural feature protection, interpretation, and concession management.

- While the military was involved in the administration of the national military parks, the impetus for creating those parks was not conservation of natural resources, but, rather, the preservation and memorialization of historic battlefields.

In describing the contribution of the army to the park on its 125th anniversary, Yellowstone's staff wrote of the troops: "The almost routine heroism of their duties, and the great good that came from their work, has placed the American conservation movement in the permanent debt of these largely forgotten men."[115]

[115]Lee Whittlesey, *A Yellowstone Album* (Boulder, Colo.: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1997), pp. 147.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
__ Previously Listed in the National Register.
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
_X_ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: # WY-21 and WY-101
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

__ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
_X_ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
__ University
__ Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The Fort Yellowstone NHL consists of a main group of resources at Mammoth Hot Springs and six discontiguous pieces, two in the vicinity of Mammoth and four elsewhere in the park. The NHL includes components in three states. A general location map for the NHL is included as well as sketch maps for each component. Geographical information for the NHL as a whole followed by geographical information for each component appears below. Areas were computed from the National Park Service geographic information system of Yellowstone National Park. All UTM references were computed from the National Park Service geographic information system of Yellowstone National Park or were taken from recent survey forms.

Fort Yellowstone NHL Overview

Acreage of Property: 47.6 acres

UTM References: **Zone Easting Northing**

See individual components below.

Verbal Boundary Description:

The Fort Yellowstone NHL consists of six discontiguous components in three states. Five pieces are located within Wyoming. The Fort Yellowstone headquarters area at Mammoth Hot Springs consists of a complex of forty-one historic resources. The remaining seven resources are discontiguous from the headquarters area. Two components are located in the vicinity of Mammoth Hot Springs: the Fort Yellowstone powerhouse, located about a half mile south of Building Number 1 in the Headquarters Area, and the Fort Yellowstone Cemetery, which lies about 0.8 miles south-southwest of Building Number 1. Norris Soldier Station is located approximately 17.5 miles south of the Headquarters Area. All of the preceding resources are located in Park County, Wyoming. Bechler River Soldier Station, the remaining Wyoming component, is comprised of two buildings and is situated in the southwestern corner of the park in Teton County, approximately 60.3 miles southwest of the Headquarters Area.

The Montana component consists of the Roosevelt Arch immediately south of the town of Gardiner in Park County, Montana. The arch is approximately 5 miles north of the Headquarters Area. The Idaho piece is the Buffalo Lake Snowshoe Cabin in Fremont County, which is located 49 miles southwest of the Headquarters Area and 12.5 miles north of the Bechler River Soldier Station.

Boundary Justification:

The nominated area includes all resources extant during the army period of occupation relevant to the administration of Yellowstone National Park that still retain historic integrity.

Fort Yellowstone Headquarters Area

Acreage of Property: 45.0

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	12	523587	4980531
B	12	523957	4980428
C	12	523957	4979889
D	12	523795	4979889
E	12	523167	4980031

Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundary is shown on the included sketch map and is described as follows: Beginning at the intersection of the Mammoth-Tower Road and Avenue C (Avenue C being the north-south road immediately west of Buildings 1 through 9); thence northwesterly along the centerline of the Mammoth-Tower Rd. for approximately 370' to its intersection with Avenue A; thence west-southwesterly along Avenue A and Avenue A extended for approximately 1,025' (passing north of Buildings 2051, 2058, 2031, and 2030) to its intersection with the Mammoth-Norris Rd.; thence north along the centerline of the road approximate 190’ to the centerline of the culvert carrying Clematis Creek beneath the road; thence southwesterly along the centerline of Clematis Creek to a point lying approximately 20’ southeast of the southeast corner of Building 334; thence westerly to a point lying approximately 20’ southwest of the southwest corner of Building 334; thence north-northeasterly for approximately 165' to a point approximately 20' north of Building 49; thence easterly for approximately 175' to the access road leading to Building 49 from Avenue E; thence northeasterly along the centerline of said access road to its intersection with Avenue E; thence northeasterly along the centerlines of Avenue E and Avenue G (passing north of the Parade Ground) to Avenue G's intersection with the Mammoth-Tower Road; thence north for approximately 400' (passing between Building 2025 on the west and Buildings 39 and 40 on the east) to its intersection with the access road running northeast-southwest between Buildings 2025 and 2027; thence northeast along the centerline of the access road to its intersection with the access road lying immediately east of Buildings 39 and 40; thence southeast along said access road to its intersection with the westbound lane of the North Entrance Rd.; thence northeasterly along the centerline of the North Entrance Rd. to its intersection with an unnamed access road lying immediately east of Buildings 1 through 8; thence southeasterly along the centerline of said access road to a point opposite the northeast corner of Building 1; thence east-northeasterly for approximately 420' (passing approximately 20' from the north wall of Building 36) to an intersection with the access road running north-south between Buildings 37 and 38; thence south for approximately 35' on said access road to a point 20' north of the north wall of Building 38; thence east for approximately 220' (passing north of Building 38) to a point midway between Building 38 and 398; thence south for approximately 130' (passing midway between Buildings 38 and 398) to a point midway between Buildings 38 and 526; thence west for approximately 50' (passing midway between Buildings 38 and 526; thence south for approximately 170' (passing west of Buildings 526 and 400) to an intersection with an access road running south of Buildings 396 and 397; thence curving southeasterly and southwesterly along the centerline of said access road (passing east of Buildings 33, 32, 31, 30, 46, and 29 and west of Building 24) to a point near the southeast corner of Building 23; thence south for approximately 260' (passing midway between Building 25 on the west and Buildings 48 and 75 on the east) to an intersection with the access road immediately south of Buildings 25 and 48; thence easterly along the centerline of said access road to its intersection with the access road lying east of Building 70; thence southerly along the centerline of said access road to a point 20’ north of the north wall of Building 22, thence south to a point 20’ south of the south wall of Building 22; thence westerly to its intersection with the access road lying east of building 20; thence southerly along the centerline of said access road and curving southeasterly, southwesterly, and westerly along the centerline of the access road to its intersection with the Mammoth-Tower Rd.; and thence northwesterly along the centerline of the Mammoth-Tower Rd. to the point of beginning.

Boundary Justification:

The boundary includes all those contiguous resources at Mammoth Hot Springs associated with the U.S. Army's administration of Yellowstone National Park that were built during the period of significance.

Fort Yellowstone Powerhouse

Acreage of Property: 0.2 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
	12	524061	4979692

Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundary consists of the perimeter of the building and the discharge outlet plus twenty feet on the northwest and southwest sides, ten feet on the southeast side, and thirty feet on the northeast side.

Boundary Justification:

The nominated property includes the entire extent of the building, including the discharge structure lying under the road to the northeast, and excludes other resources.

Fort Yellowstone Cemetery

Acreage of Property: 0.6 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
	12	523647	4979078

Verbal Boundary Description:

The Fort Yellowstone Cemetery at Mammoth Hot Springs, Park County, Wyoming, lies approximately 0.8 miles south-southwest of Building 1 in the Headquarters Area. The boundary consists of the perimeter fence of the cemetery plus twenty feet on each side.

Boundary Justification:

The nominated property includes the entire extent of the resource and excludes other resources.

Norris Soldier Station

Acreage of Property: 0.2 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing

12	524066	4953654

Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundary consists of the perimeter of the building plus twenty feet on all sides.

Boundary Justification:

The nominated property includes the entire extent of the building and excludes other resources.

Bechler River Soldier Station

Acreage of Property: 0.8 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
	12	496331	4888500

Verbal Boundary Description:

The Bechler River Soldier Station includes three buildings in the southwestern corner of Yellowstone National Park, Teton County, Wyoming, approximately 60.3 miles southwest of the Headquarters Area. The irregular boundary is drawn 30’ from the northeast side of Building 231; 20’ from the northwest side of Building 231; and 20’ from the west, south, and east sides of Building 232, with these lines drawn to their extensions to connect the buildings.

Boundary Justification:

The nominated property includes the two buildings possessing historic integrity and excludes other resources. Temporary trailers may be wholly or partially included within this boundary but were not included in the count of contributing and noncontributing resources.

North Entrance Arch

Acreage of Property: 0.7 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	12	522793	4986310
B	12	522951	4986269

Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundary consists of the perimeter of the arch and retaining wall plus twenty feet on each side. The resource is located in Montana.

Boundary Justification:

The nominated property includes the entire extent of the structure and excludes other resources.

Buffalo Lake Snowshoe Cabin

Acreage of Property: 0.1 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
	12	493860	4908120

Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundary consists of the perimeter of the building plus twenty feet on all sides. The resource is located in Idaho.

Boundary Justification:

The nominated property includes the entire extent of the building and excludes other resources.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

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Telephone: (303) 477-7597

Date: September 29, 2000

DESIGNATED A NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK
July 31, 2003

Photographic Index

Name of property:	Fort Yellowstone
Location of Property:	Yellowstone National Park (state and county are indicated below)
Location of Negatives:	Yellowstone National Park Museum Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming 82190
Photographer:	HRA indicates Historical Research Associates and NPS National Park Service

Photograph Number	Camera Direction	Description of View and Location	Date of Photograph and Photographer
(Historic) 1	North-Northeast	view of Fort Yellowstone from Capitol Hill, ca. 1895. Guard House (HS-9), Army Post Headquarters (HS-8), and two sets of Double Officers' Quarters (HS-7 and 6) at left, ca. 1895	Photographer unknown
2	North-Northeast	view of Fort Yellowstone from Capitol Hill, 1914. Parade Ground in Center, Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel (left), U.S. Engineer's Office (HS-39, left of center background), and completed Officers' Row (right), 1914	Photographer unknown
3	North-Northwest	view of Fort Yellowstone from hill behind Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel. Rear of U.S. Engineer's Residence (HS-40) and U.S. Engineer's Office (HS-39) in foreground; eastern portion of Parade Ground, Officers' Row facing Parade Ground; Double Cavalry Barracks (HS-36), Post Exchange (HS-35), and Troop Barracks (HS-27) behind Officers' Row, August 19, 1931.	Photographer Joseph Joffee
4	Southeast	view showing Officers' Row with Double Cavalry Barracks behind, ca. 1912	Photographer unknown
5	Northeast	view showing Field Officer's Quarters (HS-3)	September 1917, Photographer unknown
6	West	view showing U.S. Commissioner's Jail and Office (HS-49) and U.S. Commissioner's Barn (HS-334), September 1917	Photographer unknown
7	Southwest	view showing Noncommissioned Sergeants' Quarters (HS-32, left and HS-33, right), September 1917	Photographer unknown
8	Northeast	view showing Troop Barracks (HS-27), September 1917	Photographer unknown
9	East	view showing Roosevelt Arch/North Entrance Arch (HS-9983). President Warren G. Harding entering park, July 1923	Photographer Harry W. Frantz
10	Northwest	view showing Norris Soldier Station (HS-111), 1917	Photographer unknown

Photograph Number	Camera Direction	Description of View and Location	Date of Photograph and Photographer
11	Northwest	view showing Bechler River Soldier Station (HS-231), July 1929	Photographer George F. Baggley
12	Northeast	view of Fort Yellowstone setting from Mammoth Hot Springs terraces, with Parade Ground in center, U.S. Commissioner's jail and office (HS-49) and garage at left, and Officers' Row in the far treeline, March 2000	Photographer Lon Johnson, NPS
13	Northeast	view from Capitol Hill showing eastern part of Parade Ground, Officers' Row, and other buildings to east, March 2000	Photographer Lon Johnson, NPS
14	Northeast	view from Capitol Hill showing Officers' Row (front), with barracks and stables beyond, March 2000	Photographer Lon Johnson, NPS
15	East-Northeast	view of Double Officer's Quarters (HS-4, HS-5, HS-6, HS-7, left to right), March 2000	Photographer Lon Johnson, NPS
16	North-Northeast	view of barracks row. Double Cavalry Barracks (HS-36, left), Post Exchange and Gymnasium (HS-35, middle), and Troop Barracks (HS-27, right), March 2000	Photographer Lon Johnson, NPS
17	South-Southeast	view of stables row. Cavalry Stable (HS-38, Cavalry Stable (HS-34), Utility Building (HS-23), and Cavalry Stable (HS-25) (left to right), March 2000	Photographer Lon Johnson, NPS
18	North-Northwest	view showing U.S. Engineer's Office (HS-39) with U.S. Engineer's residence (HS-40) beyond, March 2000	Photographer Lon Johnson, NPS
19	Northwest	view showing Army Post Headquarters (HS-8, left), Quartermaster Storehouse (HS-10, middle), Commissary (HS-11, right)	
20	Northwest	view of Noncommissioned Sergeants' Quarters (HS-30 through HS-33, left to right), March 2000	Photographer Lon Johnson, NPS
21	Southeast	view showing Administration Building (HS-8), 1997	Photographer J. Caywood, HRA
22	Northeast	view showing Double Officers' Quarters (HS-5), 1997	Photographer J. Caywood, HRA
23	Northwest	view showing Double Officers' Quarters, rear (HS-5), 1997	Photographer J. Caywood, HRA
24	North	view showing Double Captains' Quarters, side (HS-2), 1997	Photographer J. Caywood, HRA
25	Northeast	view showing Double Cavalry Barracks (HS-36), 1998	Photographer J. Caywood, HRA
26	East-Northeast	view showing Post Exchange and Gymnasium (HS-25), 1998	Photographer J. Caywood, HRA

Photograph Number	Camera Direction	Description of View and Location	Date of Photograph and Photographer
27	South	view showing Troop Barracks, north elevation (HS-27), 1998	Photographer J. Caywood, HRA
28	South	view showing New Guard House (HS-13), 1997	Photographer J. Caywood, HRA
29	Northeast	view showing Post Chapel (HS-17), 1997	Photographer J.Caywood, HRA
30	Northeast	view showing Hay Shed (HS-20), 1997	Photographer J.Caywood, HRA
31	Northwest	view showing Noncommissioned Sergeant's Quarters (HS-33), 1997	Photographer J.Caywood, HRA
32	Southeast	view showing Powerhouse (HS-56), 1997	Photographer J. Caywood, HRA
33	Southwest	view showing Fort Yellowstone Cemetery (HS-981), June 2001	Photographer Lon Johnson, NPS
34	Southeast	view showing Roosevelt Arch/North Entrance Arch (HS-9983), August 2000	Photographer Lon Johnson, NPS
35	Southeast	view showing Roosevelt Arch/North Entrance Arch (HS-9983), July 1999	Photographer Roger Whitacre
36	North	view showing Norris Soldier Station (HS-111), 1997	Photographer J. Caywood, HRA
37	West-Southwest	view showing Norris Soldier Station (HS-111), 1997	Photographer J. Caywood, HRA
38	Northwest	view showing Bechler River Soldier Station (HS-231), September 1999	Photographer Lon Johnson, NPS
39	Southwest	view showing Bechler River Soldier Station Horse Barn (HS-232), September 1999	Photographer Lon Johnson, NPS
40	Northwest	view showing Buffalo Lake Snowshoe Cabin (HS-234), September 2000	Photographer Lon Johnson, NPS