

BALANCING HISTORY AND NATURE IN THE NATIONAL PARKS:  
THE MANAGEMENT OF THE BAR BC RANCH IN  
GRAND TETON NATIONAL PARK

by  
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A THESIS

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Title: BALANCING HISTORY AND NATURE IN THE NATIONAL PARKS:  
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NATIONAL PARK

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Robert Z. Melnick, FASLA

To understand the issues at play in the way cultural resources are managed in National Parks, this thesis examines the topic in general, and the management of one resource in detail, the Bar BC Ranch at Grand Teton National Park. The ranch's management history is examined in order to explore both the obstacles that have stood in the way of its preservation, and the recent changes in management that have resulted in the stabilization of the ranch. The main factors affecting the management of the Bar BC have been the influence of park superintendents, the persistence of a perception of the park as a natural area, the limited interpretation of the vision of the park's patron, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the failure to recognize the significance of the Bar BC, and the lack of planning and maintenance during the period the ranch was under a lifetime lease.

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For the crew at R Lazy S,  
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACHP	Advisory Council on Historic Preservation
GRTE	Grand Teton National Park
HABS	Historic American Buildings Survey
n.a.	No author
n.d.	No date
NPS	National Park Service
RG	Record Group
SHPO	State Historic Preservation Office

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Managing a national park is a balancing act, requiring compliance with a complex list of laws and policies, while responding to needs specific to each park. It also requires finding a balance between the management of cultural and natural resources. Although Grand Teton National Park is known for its natural resources, especially the Teton Range and abundant wildlife, it also contains cultural resources, including 316 historic structures, 290 of which are managed by the park (see Appendix D for the historic structures inventory for Grand Teton National Park), as well as numerous archeological sites. To understand the issues at play in the way cultural resources are managed in national parks, this study examines how historic structures have been managed in a park whose priority for most of its existence has been the protection of natural resources. This thesis examines the topic in general, by reviewing the laws and policies directing the management of cultural resources in national parks, and by reviewing available literature specifically on the subject of managing cultural resources in “natural” parks. It also examines briefly the history of cultural resource management in Grand Teton National Park and several individual resource management histories, and investigates the management of one resource in detail, the Bar BC Ranch. The ranch’s management history is used to explore both the obstacles to its preservation, and the recent changes in management that have resulted in the stabilization of the ranch, in the hope that its story will provide insight into the issues common to cultural resources management in other national parks.

The National Park Service guideline for cultural resource management, *NPS-28*, begins by alerting custodians of national parks to the fragile nature of the cultural resources in their care: "Finite and nonrenewable, these tangible resources begin to deteriorate almost from the moment of their creation. Once gone, they cannot be recovered."<sup>1</sup>

### Limitations

The National Park Service divides cultural resources—the material evidence of past human activities—into the following categories: archeological resources, cultural landscapes, historic structures, museum objects, and ethnographic resources.<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, the term "cultural resources" generally will refer to historic structures and cultural landscapes. Archeology, museum objects, and ethnographic resources will not be addressed, and therefore, neither will consultation with Indian tribes, which can be a critical part of managing cultural resources in a national park.

Grand Teton National Park administers, in addition to the park, the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Memorial Parkway, which was established in 1972 to commemorate the philanthropic activities of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and his donations of lands to the National Park Service. The parkway connects Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Parks and contains 23,700 acres.<sup>3</sup> The parkway will not be discussed in this thesis.

John Daugherty, the first park historian at Grand Teton, after reading a draft of this study, wrote, "Based on my experience with NPS issues and research in NPS documents over the last fifteen years, I have less trust in the documentary record. As a historian, we have to rely on them, but as a former regional director told me, there are things that go with issues that cannot, mostly for political reasons, be put in writing.

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<sup>1</sup> *NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline* (U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS, 1998), 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-4; *Management Policies 2001* (U. S. Department of the Interior, NPS, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> Grand Teton National Park website, "Fact Sheet" <http://www.nps.gov/grte/educ/factsheet.htm> [25 March 2005].

This certainly applies to the Bar BC, and getting past the documentary layer can be a tough nut to crack.”<sup>4</sup> I have tried, through interviews with those who were involved, to get an accurate account of these events; it is clear, however, that I could continue this research for years and never have the complete story.

### **Methodology**

The impetus for this study began when, in 2004, the park proposed partnering with the National Trust for Historic Preservation to turn White Grass Ranch into the Western Center for Preservation Training and Technology. The plan has prompted protests from environmentalists about its impacts on the surrounding natural environment, particularly the wildlife. An environmental assessment was completed in the summer of 2004, and a Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI) released in the winter of 2004-2005.

I lived in Jackson Hole from 1999 until 2001 and worked as a dude wrangler for four summers at R Lazy S Ranch, on the southwest boundary of the park. I regularly led trail rides to White Grass, the third oldest dude ranch in the valley. White Grass transferred to the park at the death of its last owner in 1985. Little to no maintenance was done from that point on, and it had puzzled me that it was allowed to deteriorate. The news of the training center at White Grass prompted me to investigate the management of cultural resources in Grand Teton National Park. It seemed to indicate that park's management of historic structures was changing.

In August of 2004, I spent a week in the park with Park Historian Pam Holtman, doing preliminary research to decide if a thesis on the subject was feasible. Holtman was extremely helpful and encouraging. I decided I could not focus on White Grass for my thesis, because the project would not be resolved in time. I returned in November to start my research and establish the parameters of the study, again, helped immeasurably by Holtman. I chose the Bar BC Ranch as the focus of my research because its story seemed to have elements that promised to reveal some of the key issues involved in the

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<sup>4</sup> John Daugherty, Superintendent, Fort Scott National Historic Site, to author, 29 April 2005.

management of cultural resources in national parks. From many accounts, I had understood that its management had been difficult. The fact that the buildings had been allowed to deteriorate for years, but now were being stabilized indicated that, like White Grass, the management of the Bar BC had changed. In addition, based on available files, I chose six other resources to study briefly, which represented, to me, the range of individual cultural resource management histories in the park.

In December, I visited the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, but found that only the earliest files had been inventoried, and that the park's files since 1950 (the year the current park was formed) and were not available for research. Those early files were very important, however, for understanding the early visions of the park.

I returned to Grand Teton in January of 2005 to do the bulk of my information gathering. The park was very generous in giving me free reign to make photocopies of park documents, which became my main resources. I also found the newspaper clipping files at the Jackson Hole Historical Society and Museum to be very helpful.

Once home, I studied the background history of Jackson Hole, Grand Teton National Park, and the Bar BC Ranch. I then reviewed the current laws and policies controlling cultural resource management in national parks, and relevant literature on the topic of managing cultural resources in natural settings in the parks. Next, I wrote brief studies of other cultural resource management histories in the park, and then turned to the Bar BC files. I wrote a first draft of the Bar BC history before thoroughly understanding the history of cultural resources in the park as a whole because I wanted to make sure I had sufficient information without returning to Grand Teton, or going to any other repositories. I then turned to attempting a brief administrative history of cultural resource management in the park, which, in the interest of time, could only be a very general overview, using the park's key policy and planning documents.

Once I had reconstructed the Bar BC's history from the documents in park files, I began contacting interview subjects, including the former park historian and cultural resource specialist, former park superintendents, and regional office staff, to hear the

history that is often not reflected in the files. In accordance with a human subjects protocol created by the University of Oregon Office of Research Compliance for this project, each interview subject has had a chance to approve my use of their interview material in this thesis, and my notes and emails from these have been destroyed, leaving the approved materials in the thesis itself as the only record of our conversations. I have been pleased that even those people of whom I have been critical have told me this is a fair account.

Once I had gathered all of this information and written the preceding chapters, I turned to analyzing the information, and tried to synthesize the information I had learned from the literature review, what I knew about the park's cultural resource management history as a whole, the brief case studies I had researched, and the detailed story of the Bar BC.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW: CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN NATURAL AREAS OF THE NATIONAL PARKS

#### Laws, Policies, and Procedures

The National Park Service manages more than 375 units, which have about twenty different designations, including: national parks, monuments, preserves, reserves, lakeshores, seashores, wild and scenic rivers, scenic and historic trails, historic sites, military parks, battlefields, historical parks, cemeteries, heritage areas and corridors, recreation areas, memorials, and parkways.<sup>1</sup> These units represent significant natural and cultural elements of the heritage of the United States. Many units that were included in the national park system because of their significant cultural resources also contain significant natural resources. The reverse is also true: cultural resources can be found in parks established to protect natural resources. Rarely does a park's designation, for instance as a preserve or battlefield, communicate the true diversity of its natural and cultural resources.<sup>2</sup>

The passage of a series of laws, beginning in 1906, mandated that federal agencies preserve and protect both the natural and cultural resources under their control. These laws dictate National Park Service policies, which in turn dictate processes and

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<sup>1</sup> *Management Policies 2001.*

<sup>2</sup> Stephanie Toothman, "Cultural Resource Management in Natural Areas of the National Park System," *The Public Historian* 9, no. 2 (1987): 65.

procedures for managing these resources.<sup>3</sup> The first half of this chapter briefly examines the framework of laws, policies, and procedures that direct the management of cultural resources on national park lands. Emphasis is given to the management of cultural resources in natural areas.

Although much of the public most likely associates the National Park Service and its history with the large natural parks of the West—such as Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Grand Canyon—the management of cultural sites goes back nearly as far as the preservation of natural resources in the history of the National Park Service. It could also be argued that the setting aside of nature features is itself a cultural act.<sup>4</sup> Yosemite National Park represented the first federal withdrawal of lands for the purposes of forming a park, when it was set aside in 1864, and given to the state of California for management (Hot Springs, Arkansas had been set aside by the federal government in 1832 as a natural hot springs reserve, and also eventually came under National Park Service control). Yellowstone National Park became the first national park in 1872, and in 1889, Casa Grande, an archeological site, was made a national monument. The next year, the first of the Civil War battlefield parks were established at Chickamauga and Chattanooga. A movement to protect archeological sites led to the Antiquities Act of 1906, which did essentially two things: protect historic, prehistoric, and scientific resources on federal lands, and give the president the power to create national monuments in order to protect “objects of historic or scientific interest.”<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> NPS-28, 1-4.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Z. Melnick, FASLA to author, 13 May 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Lary M. Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994), 8-9; *Federal Historic Preservation Laws* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS, National Center for Cultural Resources, 2002), 5-6; Barry Mackintosh, *National Parks: Shaping the System*, 3rd Ed., 2001, [http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online\\_books/mackintosh1/sts2.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/mackintosh1/sts2.htm) [19 May 2005].

The National Park Service Organic Act of 1916 established a system for the management of the parks managed under the Department of the Interior. It also established the mission of the National Park Service, which has guided management policies ever since, and which from the beginning gave equal weight to natural and cultural resources:<sup>6</sup>

...to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.<sup>7</sup>

This mission is inclusive of both natural and cultural resources, not even separating the two clearly in its language. It also mandates a dual purpose, which has been difficult in many cases to balance: to conserve and leave unimpaired both natural and cultural resources, and second, to provide access to them for the public.

Those parks, monuments, battlefields, and memorials that had been established by the 1930s were managed individually, and administered by three different departments: War, Interior, and Agriculture. In the 1930s all of the sites from these three departments came under National Park Service control, including a dozen natural areas in ten western states, and almost fifty historic sites in seven eastern states. This fulfilled an early objective of the National Park Service, and concluded what had become a lengthy campaign to include these additional sites, particularly the historic areas, in the park system. The National Park Service, as a result, became much more focused on historic preservation. In the 1930s, the National Park Service developed some of its earliest resource management policies, and Congress passed a new law that further dictated the management of cultural resources in the parks: the 1935 Historic Sites Act directed the National Park Service to survey, inventory, and record historic sites, buildings, and objects, and to preserve and protect nationally significant resources for public use. The act established several programs, including the National Historic

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<sup>6</sup> Dilsaver, 2-3.

<sup>7</sup> *Federal Historic Preservation Laws*, 7.

Landmarks program, and authorized the preservation of historical documentation, such as Historic American Building Survey drawings and photographs, all of which was administered by the National Park Service.<sup>8</sup>

The 1930s had been a period of growth—mainly due to government employment programs during the Great Depression, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps—but it was followed by a period of severely reduced budgets and resources in the parks, when resources were redirected to World War II efforts after 1941. MISSION 66, an ambitious 1956-66 development program, ended the wartime lull and spurred further growth in park infrastructure nationwide. MISSION 66 was intended to respond to the massive influx of post-war tourists by building roads, trails, and park facilities, including lodging and visitor centers.<sup>9</sup> The spate of development rallied environmentalists, leading to an examination and overhaul of park natural resource policy. Several reports, including the 1963 “Report of the Advisory Board on Wildlife Management in the National Parks,” also known as the “Leopold Report,” redirected policy to ecosystem preservation and scientific inquiry. The Leopold Report set a goal of maintaining or restoring the biotic conditions in parks to “the condition that prevailed when the area was first visited by the white man.” Further dictating natural resources management in the parks, the Wilderness Act was passed in 1964, and in 1965, the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act was enacted.<sup>10</sup>

It was in this environmentalist climate that, in 1966, perhaps the most significant law for cultural resource management was passed: the National Historic Preservation Act. It further reaffirmed the federal government’s commitment to preserving historic and cultural resources, and created a series of programs and mandates to provide for the

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<sup>8</sup> Dilsaver, 3, 111-12; Horace M. Albright, *Origins of National Park Service Administration of Historic Sites* (Philadelphia: Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1971), 1-24; *Federal Historic Preservation Laws*, 12-19; Edwin C. Bearss, “The National Park Service and Its History Program: 1864-1986—An Overview” *The Public Historian* 9, no. 2 (1987): 11.

<sup>9</sup> Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale, 1997), 181; Dilsaver, 193-196.

<sup>10</sup> Dilsaver, 165-66, 197-98, 239, 269.

protection of these resources. These were to be administered by the National Park Service along with the preservation programs the agency was already administering. The act created the National Register of Historic Places, provided for grants to states and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, created State Historic Preservation Offices, and established the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Section 106 of the act required all federal agencies to assess the effects of their undertakings on historic resources, consult with appropriate parties, consider alternatives to minimize impacts, and come to an agreement on a course of action. Although federal laws and policies specific to the National Park Service had required similar measures prior to 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act added new responsibilities and procedures.<sup>11</sup>

The increasing complexity of managing parks led to a letter in 1964 from Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, which established different management policies for natural, historic, and recreational areas. Although Udall's policies were brief, they provided broad, general goals for each type of area. Udall's policy was formalized in 1968 when the National Park Service published three separate management guidelines for each of the three categories. The historic area guideline, "Administrative Policies for Historic Areas," specifies treatment for historic structures located in the park system which are "incidental to the establishment of an area for another purpose, e.g. nature preservation or commemoration of a significant event with which a building may not be directly associated." The guideline recommends that such structures should be retained and used; and either preserved, restored, or reconstructed, as is feasible, depending on which is appropriate to their condition and significance. "Administrative Policies for Natural Areas" provides for cultural resources in natural areas as well:

Where significant cultural resources are present in a natural area and are worthy of preservation for their historical value, they shall be protected and presented for public understanding, appreciation, and enjoyment to the extent compatible

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 269; *Federal Historic Preservation Laws* 2002, 34-98; Bearss "The National Park Service and Its History Program," 18; *Technical Assistance Manual: Compliance with § 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act* (Denver: NPS Intermountain Region, 2003), 4.

with the primary purpose of the area. In such cases, the management and use of the cultural resources will be patterned after the management and use of similar resources in historical areas.<sup>12</sup>

The use of the three guidelines was short-lived; environmental groups worried that natural resources might be neglected in historical parks, and that cultural resources might be neglected in natural parks. In 1970, Congress passed the General Authorities Act, which specified that all units of the National Park Service were part of one system, and should be uniformly managed according to the Organic Act and other applicable laws, which effectively ended the policy of splitting parks into three management categories. The separate guidelines were merged into one policy document, in which cultural resources was Section 28, which is why it was later called *NPS-28*. The Redwood National Park Expansion Act of 1978 reaffirmed the uniform management of National Park Service units.<sup>13</sup>

The landmark environmental protection law, 1969 National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), had far-reaching implications for all federal agencies, including the National Park Service, and changed planning processes substantially. The act required any federal agency to avoid or minimize degrading the environment through any of their actions. Included in the act were provisions protecting cultural resources. Agencies were required to "utilize a systematic, interdisciplinary approach which will ensure the integrated use of the natural and social sciences ... in planning and in decision-making which may have an impact on man's environment."<sup>14</sup> NEPA put in place a system of environmental impact assessments, which were required for all federal development projects. Further, it called for public involvement in planning processes, allowing environmental activists, as well as historic preservationists, to take part in decision-making.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Dilsaver, 356-357.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 269-273, 356-357, 373-376; Sellars, 245-246; Hugh C. Miller, FAIA, to author, 12 May 2005.

<sup>14</sup> *NPS-28*, Appendix B.

<sup>15</sup> Dilsaver, 271.

In the early 1970s, a memorandum from the director of the National Park Service to all managers stated that the director would approve all demolition of buildings over fifty years old. This was delegated to the office of the Chief Historical Architect. When there was concern that significant buildings might be removed before they reached the fifty-year mark, the memorandum was amended, requiring that regional directors review buildings over twenty-five years old before they were removed. This demolition review authority gave regional cultural resources staff significant leverage to protect buildings of unrecognized historic significance from demolition.<sup>16</sup>

The 1979 Archeological Resources Protection Act added additional protections for archeological resources, requiring federal permits for archeological digs, providing penalties for unlawful excavation, outlining provisions for curation of archeological resources, allowing confidentiality for archeological site locations, and encouraging interdisciplinary cooperation to improve protection of resources. Additionally, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 gave Native Americans rights of ownership to all Native American human remains or sacred objects on federal lands or in federal ownership.<sup>17</sup>

In 1980, Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act was added as an amendment, and required that federal agencies take measures to inventory, evaluate, and nominate to the National Register eligible cultural resources that they own or control. It further required agencies to use cultural resources, as much as feasible, and added specific protection for National Historic Landmarks. Executive Order 11593, of 1971, had required the same responsibilities, but this amendment incorporated them into the National Historic Preservation Act, to give it more force.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Miller, 12 May 2005.

<sup>17</sup> NPS-28, Appendix B.

<sup>18</sup> Toothman "Cultural Resource Management in Natural Areas," 67; *Technical Assistance Manual*, 3-4; Stephanie Toothman, Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, Pacific West Region, NPS, to author, 30 March 2005; "Executive Order 11593--Protection and enhancement of the cultural environment," [http://www.archives.gov/federal\\_register/codification/executive\\_order/11593.html](http://www.archives.gov/federal_register/codification/executive_order/11593.html) [19 May 2005].

There are standards in place for the evaluation of cultural resources to determine which are protected by these laws. Cultural resources are evaluated according to their significance and their integrity. A property must be significant in some way, in order to be considered eligible to the National Register of Historic Places, and therefore be protected by the National Historic Preservation Act. A property must be significant for its association with “events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history,” “the lives of persons significant in our past,” be significant for its architecture or design, or have yielded or be likely to yield significant archeological resources. A property can be significant at a local, state, or national level. Second, the property must retain its integrity, meaning it is able to convey its significance. A property should possess several, and usually most of these aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Additionally, with some exceptions, properties are usually not considered eligible to the National Register until they are fifty years old.<sup>19</sup>

The laws outlined above have directed the current guiding policies for cultural resource management in the National Park Service. They are: *NPS Management Policies 2001, NPS-28* (now known as Director’s Order 28), the *Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*—as well as compliance procedures for the National Environmental Policy Act and Section 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act. The following paragraphs will summarize cultural resource management procedures in the National Park Service.

Cultural resource management involves three types of activities: research, planning, and stewardship. The research portion fulfills the National Park Service’s responsibilities under Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act, and involves identifying, evaluating, documenting, and registering cultural resources for the National Register. When properties are eligible to the National Register, they are then

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<sup>19</sup> *NPS-28, Chapter 1; “How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” National Register Bulletin (Department of the Interior, NPS, 1997).*

meant to be listed on database inventories for cultural resources, which include the Cultural Landscapes Inventory, Cultural Sites Inventory, the List of Classified Structures (a computerized inventory of significant pre-historic, historic, architectural, or engineering structures), National Catalog of Museum Objects, or the National Register of Historic Places. Reports are then prepared to analyze information collected in the inventories. These reports include: Archeological Overview and Assessments, Archeological Identification/ Evaluation Studies, Ethnographic Overview and Assessments, Cultural Affiliation Studies, Historic Resource Studies (HRS), Cultural Resources Base Maps, Park Administrative Histories, Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Projects, and Scope of Collection Statements.<sup>20</sup>

The second stage of cultural resource management is planning. *NPS-28* explains planning this way:

The goal of cultural resource planning in the national park system is to identify and preserve park cultural resources and provide for their appreciation by the public. It strives to integrate cultural resource concerns into broader NPS planning processes, to avoid or minimize harm to cultural resources, to identify the most appropriate uses for cultural resources, and to determine the ultimate treatment (preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, reconstruction/reproduction) or deliberate neglect or destruction for cultural resources.

Planning activities must involve consultation with State Historic Preservation Offices, and sometimes the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Native Americans (Tribal Historic Preservation Offices or THPOs), and other interest groups. The types of planning documents a park may produce include: Statements for Management, General Management Plans (which replaced Park Master Plans), Development Concept Plans, Interpretive Prospectuses, and Design and Treatment Plans, as well as Environmental Impact Statements and Environmental Assessments. The main planning document for cultural resources has been the Resources Management Plan. This is a plan for the management of all resources within a park, and is frequently reviewed and updated. The Resources Management Plan is part of a larger planning process, drawing

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<sup>20</sup> *NPS-28*, Chapter 2.

from a park's Statement for Management, and General Management Plan. It addresses resource management needs and problems, and prioritizes them; it proposes responses to problems, including funding and staffing requirements; it phases these proposed actions in a multi-year plan; and it provides for periodic reviews of the plan and its implementation. Resources Management Plans include a cultural resources component, which should function as a forum for an interdisciplinary approach to the park's resource management issues, particularly the issue of integrating natural and cultural resource management actions.<sup>21</sup> This plan type is currently in suspension as a requirement, because a new type of plan, called a Resource Stewardship Plan, has been proposed in Director's Order 21.<sup>22</sup>

The third type of activity, stewardship, includes maintaining, protecting, and preserving resources; making resources accessible and interpreting them to the public; managing other park facilities in order to protect cultural resources; planning for emergencies; budgeting for cultural resources; and hiring cultural resource management personnel and providing training in cultural resource management for employees. *NPS-28* lists these basic standards for stewardship:

- Pending planning decisions, cultural resources are preserved and protected in their existing forms.
- Every treatment project is supported by an approved proposal, plan, or report appropriate to the proposed action.
- The appropriate level of Section 106 compliance is accomplished before executing a treatment project.
- Sufficient lands and interests in lands are acquired to ensure protection of cultural resources associated with a park's purpose.

*NPS-28* has more specific recommendations for addressing cultural resource stewardship as it relates to issues such as access for disabled people, maintenance management, energy conservation, safety, law enforcement, archeological protection, pest and fire management.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter 3.

<sup>22</sup> Toothman, 30 March 2005.

<sup>23</sup> *NPS-28*, Chapter 4.

Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act requires that federal agencies assess the potential effects of their undertakings on all cultural resources.<sup>24</sup> It does not require resources be preserved; however, the costs and benefits of affecting resources must be considered. The Section 106 process, as regulated by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's Protection of Historic Properties (36 CFR Part 800), includes consultation with State Historic Preservation Offices, Native American groups, and the public. The Section 106 process involves identifying whether there are cultural resources to be affected, assessing what the effects will be (no effect, no adverse effect, or adverse effect), and consulting with the State Historic Preservation Office and sometimes the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. A Servicewide Programmatic Agreement in 1995 streamlined the Section 106 process somewhat for the National Park Service by recognizing that National Park Service units usually have access to qualified cultural resource specialists. The Programmatic Agreement excludes certain types of actions, such as actions which have no effect on resources, from State Historic Preservation Office or Advisory Council on Historic Preservation review, although these actions must still be documented by the National Park Service as meeting National Park Service policies and standards. The Programmatic Agreement also sets up processes for involving State Historic Preservation Offices and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation in planning processes, such as General Management Plans and Development Concept Plans, and specifies procedures for improving communication and cooperation between parks and State Historic Preservation Offices. The Programmatic Agreement assigned responsibility to the

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<sup>24</sup> "The head of any Federal agency having direct or indirect jurisdiction over a proposed Federal or federally assisted undertaking in any State and the head of any Federal department or independent agency having authority to license any undertaking shall, prior to the approval of the expenditure of any Federal funds on the undertaking or prior to the issuance of any license, as the case may be, take into account the effect of the undertaking on any district, site, building, structure, or object that is included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register. The head of any such Federal agency shall afford the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation established under Title II of this Act a reasonable opportunity to comment with regard to such undertaking." *Federal Historic Preservation Laws* 2002, 59.

superintendents of parks for ensuring that the park is in compliance with Section 106. Prior to 1995, all park Section 106 actions were reviewed at the regional level and approved by the regional director.<sup>25</sup>

Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act specifies the responsibilities of federal agencies to preserve historic properties in their ownership or control. Federal agencies, according to Section 110, must use historic properties instead of buying, building, or leasing others, when it is feasible and does not compromise their preservation. They are also required to establish preservation programs to identify, evaluate, protect, and nominate to the National Register properties in their ownership or control that are significant at the local, state, or national level. Section 110 also emphasizes cooperation with State Historic Preservation Offices.<sup>26</sup>

Responsibility for Section 106 and 110 compliance in a park lies with the superintendent, although the actual processes are generally accomplished by a cultural resource specialist on staff, if the park has one, or by a designated Section 106 coordinator. *NPS-28* emphasizes, "The most important management measures directly affecting cultural resources are controlled by park superintendents." Regional Directors ensure that superintendents are meeting these responsibilities.<sup>27</sup>

The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) requires similar assessments of effects to cultural resources, which are accomplished through reports known as Environmental Impact Statements (EIS) and Environmental Assessments (EA). These are signed by the Regional Director, not a park's superintendent. When NEPA and Section 106 and 110 compliance both apply to a project, NEPA procedures can be used

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<sup>25</sup> *NPS-28*, Chapter 5; Stephanie Toothman, Chief of the Division of Cultural Resources, Pacific West Region, NPS, to author, 9 May 2005.

<sup>26</sup> *NPS-28*, Chapter 5.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter 4, 5.

to satisfy both requirements, although it must be clearly identified when Section 106 requirements are met, making sure that NEPA does not replace Section 106, but instead incorporates it.<sup>28</sup>

National Park Service natural resource management policies generally address appropriate and inappropriate human impacts to natural resources. The policies include guidelines for intervening in natural processes, such as prescribed burning, restoring non-historic human-altered landscapes to natural conditions, and maintaining cultural landscapes. There is little in the general policies for natural resource management that conflicts with cultural resource management guidelines. Generally, references to reversing or minimizing human impacts are qualified with an exception for cultural resources, and the policies encourage cultural resource specialists' involvement in natural resource planning efforts.<sup>29</sup>

These laws, policies, and procedures govern the ways National Park Service managers deal with cultural resources in natural areas. In general, they recommend orderly, thorough decision-making processes. In an ideal world, these would be carried out exactly, and cultural resources would receive adequate and equal consideration in all park decisions. Park management is complex, however, with many conflicting priorities, making the job of balancing culture and nature in a park a difficult one.

### **Conflicts and Solutions: A Review of Relevant Literature**

This section considers current thinking on the subject of managing National Park Service cultural resources in natural settings. There are similar conflicts that occur in cultural settings where natural resources are also present, for instance when migratory birds nest or bats roost on historic structures.<sup>30</sup> Various professionals in the

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<sup>28</sup> *Management Policies 2001*, 201; Toothman, 30 March 2005.

<sup>29</sup> Gary F. Somers, "Cultural Resource Management in National Park Service Wilderness Areas: Conflict or Cooperation?" *The George Wright Forum* 20, no. 3 (2003): 83-90; *Management Policies 2001*, 28-45.

<sup>30</sup> This will not be addressed specifically in this chapter because these types of scenarios are outside of the scope of this thesis. For further reading, please see: Danette Woo and Debra Hughson, "Zzyzx Mineral Springs—Cultural Treasure and Endangered Species Aquarium," *Protecting Our Diverse Heritage*:

field have attempted to address this situation, by analyzing the sources of problems and suggesting ways to solve them. A summary of their work is an instructive introduction to the subject. A review of what has been written specifically about the difficulties of protecting cultural resources in natural areas in the national parks reveals that no one has found a simple solution to the problem. There is some consensus between those who have thought through these situations, but each author seems to have found at least one way of approaching these conflicts that the others have not.

These types of conflicts between natural and cultural resources often have their source in the designation of the park service unit—for instance, whether it is a recreation area, parkway, battlefield, cemetery, seashore, or preserve. Park service units were once grouped as “natural,” “recreational,” or “cultural,” and even though this official designation was dropped in 1970, the informal use of these groupings persisted through the 1980s, and even persists in some minds today. Sometimes a park’s mission as a natural area comes from the enabling legislation and resulting park mandate. This is frequently the case if the legislation dates from before the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act. Without specific enabling legislation mandating their protection, cultural resources have often been given low priority in the competition for human resources and funding. When a park was designated as a natural or recreational area, whether it was mandated by a park’s enabling legislation, or even if it is only a generally accepted perception, it can create a basic obstacle to cultural resource

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*Proceedings of the 2003 George Wright Society/ National Park Service Joint Conference*  
<http://www.georgewright.org> [January 2005], 84-87; Kent Mountford, Charles D. Rafkind, and John Donohue, “The Chesapeake Bay: Nature in the Cultural Environment and Cultural History in the Natural Environment,” *The George Wright Forum* 16, no. 1 (1999): 24-27; John Donahue, “George Washington Birthplace National Monument: A Chesapeake Bay Park; Or, Why Study Nature in the Cultural Environment?” *The George Wright Forum* 16, no. 1 (1999): 27-29; Daniel R. Tardona, Roger Clark, Paul W. Sykes, and Jill Howard-Wilson, “The Challenge of Managing and Interpreting Avifauna on Cultural Sites within the Timucuan Preserve,” *Protecting Our Diverse Heritage: Proceedings of the 2003 George Wright Society/ National Park Service Joint Conference* <http://www.georgewright.org> [January 2005], 75-79.

management.<sup>31</sup> At Grand Teton, the vision of the park as a natural area, although not based on the enabling legislation, has been a key obstacle to the preservation of cultural resources.

The ever-present pressure to manage parks within tight budgets has been a perennial problem for cultural resource management in natural areas in some regions, particularly the Pacific Northwest. In the past, funding from the National Park Service Cultural Resources Preservation Program for nationally significant resources was given priority over funding projects for resources that were not of national significance. In the 1980s, this situation was improved when the National Park Service created a new formula for allocating funds to inventory cultural resources. Funding was allocated to each region, allowing regions to set their own priorities, and assign funds within their region, making it possible to ensure that each park be inventoried for cultural resources.<sup>32</sup>

The problem remains, however, of getting the most out of limited budgets for cultural resources. Dealing with tight budgets requires creative partnering to stretch available funds. Cultural resource managers must take advantage of opportunities to involve community volunteers, interns, and college students, especially those from related fields such as architecture, landscape architecture, history, and historic preservation. Research, as well as stabilization or rehabilitation of resources, can be accomplished, with supervision by professionals, using these types of partnerships. In the face of budget restrictions, these methods may often be the only way to get the work done.<sup>33</sup> The Cooperative Ecosystems Studies Units Network (CESU), which provides research and technical assistance to resource and environmental managers in federal

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<sup>31</sup> Toothman "Cultural Resource Management in Natural Areas," 65-68; Stephanie Toothman, Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, Pacific West Region, NPS, to author, 13 March 2005; Sellars 1997, 245-246.

<sup>32</sup> Toothman "Cultural Resource Management in Natural Areas," 65-68; Toothman 13 March 2005.

<sup>33</sup> Toothman "Cultural Resource Management in Natural Areas," 70, 73.

agencies, using cooperative units based at universities, is an important resource for these types of partnerships.<sup>34</sup> Grand Teton has had particular success in the recent past using volunteers to stabilize historic structures.

Because the cultural resources found in natural areas are often significant at a state or local level, not nationally, it is common for these resources to be undervalued, even though Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act requires protection of resources at all levels of significance. Even resources relating to the development of parks, such as administrative buildings, were often disregarded, usually because their significance was hard to see for those familiar with them, especially because there might have been frustrations with their costly maintenance. The other types of cultural resources often disregarded in natural areas are the properties whose significance relates to local or state contexts that extend beyond park boundaries. Evaluation of these resources requires knowledge of local history, and cooperation with the State Historic Preservation Office, which can have more complete knowledge of local and state history; without these, significant resources have frequently been overlooked.<sup>35</sup> To raise awareness of the value of cultural resources, using the concepts of historic significance outlined in the National Register criteria helps to communicate a property's role in local, state, or national history, and its value as a resource, including its potential for interpretation to the public.<sup>36</sup> This issue has been an obstacle in Grand Teton, as most of the historic structures in the park are significant at the local or state level.

Cultural and natural resource management are mandated by environmental and historic preservation laws and legislation dating to 1906. Though there is sometimes a perception among cultural and natural resource managers that there is a conflict between the laws and policies that dictate natural and cultural resource management, one resource manager, Gary F. Somers, has argued that there is actually no basis in law

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<sup>34</sup> Cooperative Ecosystems Studies Units Network (CESU) <http://www.cesu.org/cesu> [27 April 2005].

<sup>35</sup> Toothman "Cultural Resource Management in Natural Areas," 68-69.

<sup>36</sup> Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, "ACHP Policy Statement on Balancing Cultural and Natural Values on Federal Lands," <http://www.achp.gov/achpcultnatpolicy.html> [5 February 2005].

or policy for this perception. Looking in depth at the Wilderness Act, National Park Service policies, and the National Historic Preservation Act, he has found that all the policies and laws allow for the requirements of the others, and that managers should be able to comply with all of them without sacrificing natural or cultural values. The Wilderness Act of 1964, for instance, makes specific mention of the Antiquities Act of 1906, and the Historic Sites Act of 1935, and states that the Wilderness Act in no way will lower the standards set by these previous laws.<sup>37</sup> The specific use of natural resource laws to justify neglect of cultural resources has not played an obvious role in the management of cultural resources in Grand Teton. However, it is possible that the perceptions by the park's managers of their responsibilities to protect natural resources could stem from an incomplete understanding of these laws.

Often the conflicts between natural and cultural resources are a matter of perception on the part of players on both sides, and are not in fact true conflicts. Park managers must make a distinction between real and perceived conflicts. Although there might appear to be a conflict in a situation, without giving adequate analysis to the full range of alternatives, it is impossible to understand the true impacts to natural resources that result from the preservation of cultural resources. Many conflicts are not conflicts at all, and that needs to be determined before situations escalate out of scale with reality.<sup>38</sup> One way to explore alternatives and analyze whether the conflicts are real is to view Section 106, NEPA and other mandated planning processes as decision-making processes, not methods for *approving* decisions. There should be a commitment by managers to use these processes to examine alternatives, rather than resolving all decisions in favor of one course of action, without a comprehensive discussion of alternatives. This attitude toward the process promotes true consultation and makes resolving cultural and natural issues more likely.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Somers "Cultural Resource Management," 83-90; Dilsaver, 281.

<sup>38</sup> "ACHP Policy Statement."

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

The essential variable in the failure or success of cultural resource management practices is the human factor. Those who have written on the topic suggest that almost all of the conflicts that occur in parks where the two types of resources are present have their source in the humans who manage them. The basic difference between the two groups of people is that one is a human-centered view, and the other values a lack of human impacts.<sup>40</sup> Another way of looking at the source of the conflict is that each group has a different attitude toward the process of ecological succession. Because cultural resources are maintained by preventing natural succession and protecting evidence of human impacts, and natural landscapes are maintained by protecting natural succession and preventing human impacts, this is one source for conflicts between cultural and natural resource managers. In practice, this means that in natural resource management, employees are trained to minimize or eliminate human impacts on natural resources, despite the fact that this goal often requires human intervention into natural processes, as happens, for example, in the protection of endangered species or in the removal of exotic species. Cultural resource managers are trained to protect cultural resources from natural processes, such as decay, or plant and animal invasion.<sup>41</sup> There is a growing acceptance of the seamless connection of man and nature, and recognition among wilderness advocates that almost all of North America has been impacted at some point by humans, even very remote or pristine-looking areas—that the concept of “wilderness” is largely a social and historical construct.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Terri Thomas, Ric Borjes, and Anna Fenton-Hathaway, “It’s All in the Family: Recommendations for Cultural and Natural Resources Reconciliation,” *Protecting Our Diverse Heritage: Proceedings of the 2003 George Wright Society/ National Park Service Joint Conference* <http://www.georgewright.org> [6 February 2005], 80-83.

<sup>41</sup> Denis Davis, “Conserving Our Collective Heritage—The Paradox of Integrated, Yet Distinctly Different Management of Cultural and Natural Resources,” *Protecting Our Diverse Heritage: Proceedings of the 2003 George Wright Society/ National Park Service Joint Conference*, <http://www.georgewright.org> [6 February 2005], 71-74.

<sup>42</sup> Stephanie Toothman, Chief, Division of Cultural Resources; Pacific West Region, NPS, to author, 18 April 2005; Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (New Haven: Yale, 2001).

Professionals in both fields, cultural and natural resource management, often have high levels of training, leading to a high degree of specialization. This means that some of them are not always open to other points of view, and do not easily compromise when the management of resources requires compliance with laws outside of their specialization. Professionals in wilderness or natural resource management have standards and beliefs that are rooted in the Wilderness Act and other relevant literature. These place emphasis on protecting wild areas from development, although the Wilderness Act, for example, acknowledges human presence in these areas. There is sometimes a tendency to place emphasis only on certain passages, and not on others—for instance sections of environmental laws that specifically allow for the preservation of cultural resource in natural areas—and this is a tendency found in professionals in both fields. Cultural resource managers may thoroughly understand their own laws and policies, but infrequently understand natural resource policies and laws. A combination of the tendency to selectively interpret laws and policies, and the limited scope of individuals' standards and beliefs, can be a source of conflicts. John Daugherty, the park historian and cultural resources specialist at Grand Teton for eleven years, and currently superintendent at Fort Scott National Historic Site, describes this as the "Balkanization of the workplace." Staff with high levels of specialization, while offering expertise on their subject matter, can display single-mindedness, or "tunnel vision," making the task of managing multiple resources difficult.<sup>43</sup>

An understanding among all of park management of basic cultural and natural resource laws and policies is an essential base for any joint project. All the stakeholders must understand and respect the other discipline's guidelines.<sup>44</sup> There is a need for training both for cultural resource managers in natural resource management, and for natural resource managers in cultural resource management. No matter what efforts are

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<sup>43</sup> Somers "Cultural Resource Management," 84-85; Dilsaver, 278; John Daugherty, Superintendent, Fort Scott National Historic Site, to author, 29 April 2005.

<sup>44</sup> Thomas, Borjes, and Fenton-Hathaway, "It's All in the Family," 80-83.

made to have the two groups cooperate in planning efforts, conflicts will continue if neither side truly understands or appreciates the opposing position. Human nature causes people to mistrust and fear what they do not understand.<sup>45</sup>

If park staff do not have cultural resource management knowledge, they need to receive training from cultural resource management courses at National Park Service training centers, or from regional staff. Due to turnover rates, training has to be ongoing and flexible, and take advantage of opportunities such as training courses offered by other divisions to spread cultural resource awareness.<sup>46</sup> Differing training and backgrounds also result in differences of understanding, which can be as basic as language: does “restore” mean the same thing to an ecologist as it does to a historical architect? One of the first steps in training should be to define and interpret any language that is in doubt.<sup>47</sup> Once this training is accomplished, involvement by each side in the planning efforts of the other could run more smoothly. This level of cooperation, when cultural resource specialists have a part in natural resource planning and vice versa, is one key to mitigation of conflicts.<sup>48</sup>

It can be helpful for each group to acknowledge not just their differences, but also their common ground. Both disciplines aim to preserve and protect the national heritage for future generations. There are also overlaps, such as natural areas that have cultural significance, where both disciplines’ goals align.<sup>49</sup> Generally, the two values themselves—nature and culture—are acknowledged not to be in conflict, but are in fact interrelated.<sup>50</sup> One way of seeing the two types of resources is as “heritage resources,” both part of our collective heritage, and both equally worthy of protection. “Together they forge the connection between people and places. Together they reflect how the

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<sup>45</sup> Somers, “Cultural Resource Management,” 89.

<sup>46</sup> Toothman, “Cultural Resource Management in Natural Areas,” 71-72.

<sup>47</sup> Somers, “Cultural Resource Management,” 89.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Thomas, Borjes, and Fenton-Hathaway, “It’s All in the Family,” 80-83.

<sup>50</sup> “ACHP Policy Statement.”

land and its people and culture are intertwined in an intimate union.”<sup>51</sup> There is value in preserving and interpreting both in an integrated way to the public; the most accurate history is not natural history or cultural history, each exclusive of the other, but is the history of how nature and culture are integrated. One manager quotes John Muir, who wrote, “When we try to pick out anything by itself, we find it hitched to everything else in the Universe.” The differentiation between cultural landscapes and nature is entirely a human construct, when in fact culture is integral with nature.<sup>52</sup>

Integrated planning and effective communication can improve cooperation between staff members in opposing fields. Planning efforts should include all interested parties, including the public, government agencies, and park staff, and should facilitate good communication among these groups so that opposing interests, needs, and goals are understood by everyone. Plans should result in distinct and clearly defined objectives for each type of resource, and clearly defined boundaries for where these should be applied. Geographic boundaries for different management objectives help everyone from planners to maintenance workers understand the management plans for different resources.<sup>53</sup>

In these integrated planning processes, where discussions can become heated, one technique for avoiding personal conflicts is to use science and research to temper the passion both disciplines often have for their resources. This can be done by emphasizing professional integrity, and relying on objective criteria, such as laws, policies, research, and science to support positions and strengthen credibility, and documenting these sources.<sup>54</sup>

In these types of tense situations, planners and other decision-makers have a tendency to want to mediate conflicts between resource specialists by separating them. Some managers believe that it is in the best interest of the resources, however, to keep

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<sup>51</sup> Davis, “Conserving Our Collective Heritage,” 71-74.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Thomas, Borjes, and Fenton-Hathaway, “It’s All in the Family,” 80-83.

both groups engaged in each planning step. The best way to facilitate cooperation and understanding between the two groups is to allow them to work to balance natural and cultural values.<sup>55</sup>

Conflicts sometimes come from outside of park boundaries and beyond the working relationship of staff members in natural and cultural resource management, in the process of public involvement and consultation. Incorporating the values of competing constituencies often sets up scenarios wherein the two values become in conflict themselves. To avoid this, it is more effective to integrate all consultation with environmentalists and preservationists; dividing them makes cooperation and compromise more difficult to achieve. Although some planning initiatives might be exclusively focused on one area of management, both natural and cultural issues should be taken into consideration. Another method of integrating the two values in planning is to integrate all related mandated processes, such as Section 106, Section 110, NEPA, and other laws, to reach a broad range of interested parties. Conflicts happen when the process is staged, rather than integrated. For instance, a park planning document might reach the stage of Section 106 review after all interested environmental parties have been consulted and an approved plan has been reached. If changes must be made after that point to comply with Section 106, there is often a perception of broken promises.<sup>56</sup>

It might help cultural and natural resource managers to realize that projects are processes, and that solutions cannot always be found immediately. Compromises and adaptations are part of the process, and decisions might lead to outcomes that require further study. However, the authors cited here suggest that if a vision for resource protection is maintained throughout the process, as much as the process changes over time, that vision will become action.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> "ACHP Policy Statement."

<sup>57</sup> Thomas, Borjes, and Fenton-Hathaway, "It's All in the Family," 80-83.

The experienced National Park Service resource managers cited here have found that conflicts in the management of both natural and cultural resources in parks are often a matter of differing perspectives and perception. Although park mandates and budget restrictions can limit the best-intentioned resource managers, the majority of the conflicts come from the people and the personalities that manage resources and the ways they work together.

Several of these conflicts are apparent in the history of the management of the Bar BC. Of the issues raised by these authors, the biggest obstacle to the preservation of the Bar BC's historic structures has been the fact that the park was thought of by its leadership for many years as a natural area, something that has only changed within the past five years. Another obstacle has been the failure of past park leadership to recognize the significance of the resources in the park—particularly those with local or state-level significance—which indicates the larger problem of an insufficient understanding among the park's leadership of cultural resource management, something that has also changed in the past five years. For the Bar BC, the idea of planning for potential conflicts before damage is done, especially through demolition by neglect, is a particularly relevant one, as most of the deterioration of the ranch structures occurred before a firm management decision had been made for them and before any alternatives to removal had been considered. There have been other issues specific to Grand Teton and to the Bar BC that have contributed to the story of its management, while some issues raised by these authors have been less central to the Bar BC's story.<sup>58</sup> While no cultural resource in the National Park Service is likely to be exactly typical, displaying all of the issues common service-wide in cultural resource management, the Bar BC's story illustrates many of these conflicts and solutions and reveals other issues specific to Grand Teton National Park—issues that are perhaps common to other parks throughout the system.

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<sup>58</sup> This is a summary of the analysis found in Chapter VIII and of the history of the Bar BC's management found in Chapter VII. Specific sources for this information can be found there.

## CHAPTER III

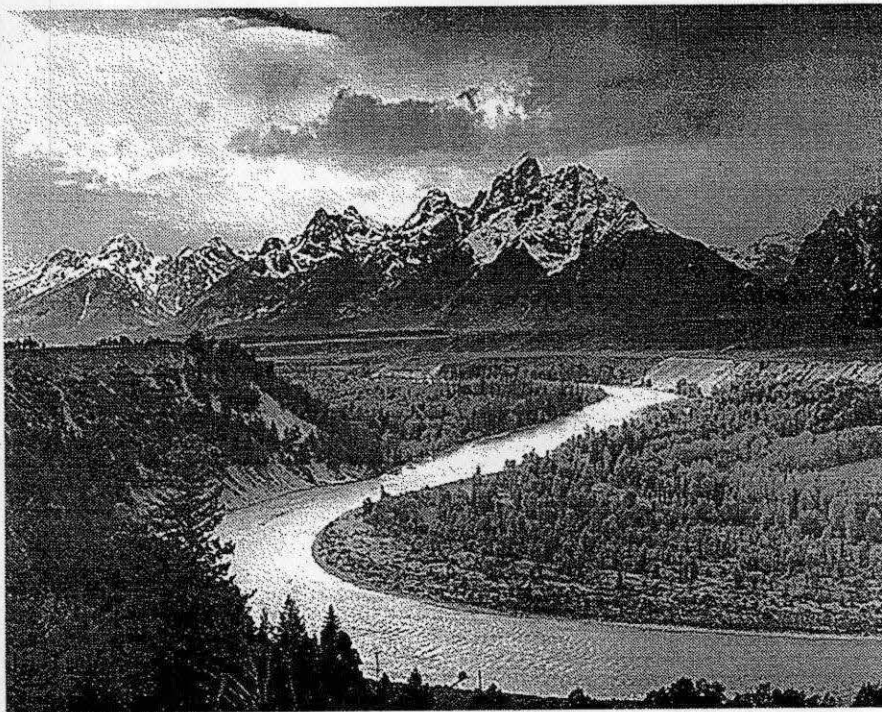
### BACKGROUND HISTORY

To understand cultural resource management in Grand Teton National Park today, it is essential to understand the historic context both of the cultural resources in the park, and of the park itself. Jackson Hole is best known as a place of spectacular natural beauty. Less widely known is its human history, including its use by prehistoric people, and the recent history of its settlement by Euro-Americans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The cultural resources in Grand Teton National Park are remnants of these periods of human occupation. The surviving historic structures in the park mainly reflect the valley's settlement period, after 1884, and include homesteads, cattle ranches, and dude ranches. The historic structures also reflect the story of the origins of the park, which became a park only after the land had been settled, a circumstance that has meant that the park has many historic resources, which were preserved because they are within park boundaries but no longer serve their original uses.

#### Jackson Hole

Jackson Hole is a flat valley surrounded by mountain ranges in northwest Wyoming. The "Hole," a term coined by early mountain men to describe such valleys, is eight to ten miles wide and forty miles long. The Teton Range, for which the valley is most well known, forms the western boundary of Jackson Hole (figure 3.1). The highest peak in the range is the Grand Teton, which is 13,770 feet high, and rises abruptly about 7,000 feet above the valley floor. The Tetons were formed five to ten million years ago along a series of faults that caused the Tetons to rise, while the block that is now the valley floor dropped. Glaciers filled Jackson Hole twice, 140,000 to

160,000 years ago and 40,000 to 70,000 years ago, leaving their marks in the canyons and mountain lakes of the Tetons, and depositing in the valley cobbles that make the soil very porous. The Snake River flows the length of Jackson Hole, from north to south, cutting the valley in half. The river is dammed by a 1916 concrete dam at Jackson Lake, one of seven lakes at the base of the Tetons formed by glacial moraine. From November to April, the valley floor is covered in snow. Spring and fall are brief seasons, and the summer frost-free growing season is only sixty days long.<sup>1</sup>



**Figure 3.1. The Teton Range and Snake River from the northeast.** (Ansel Adams. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 79, Still Pictures Records, LICON, Special Media Archives Services Division, College Park, MD)

Jackson Hole is home to a variety of wildlife. There are sixty-one mammal species, including moose, elk, mule deer, bison, pronghorn, grizzly bears, black bears, wolves, and mountain lions. The larger birds of the valley include red-tailed hawks,

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<sup>1</sup> John Daugherty, Stephanie Crockett, William H. Goetzmann, and Reynold G. Jackson, *A Place Called Jackson Hole: A Historic Resource Study of Grand Teton National Park* (Moose, WY: Grand Teton National Park, 1999), 14; "Nature and Science, Grand Teton National Park," GTNP website <http://www.nps.gov/grte/pphtml/nature.html> [17 January 2005].

trumpeter swans, osprey, bald eagles, golden eagles, and sage grouse. There are nine native fish species, including only one native trout: the Snake River cutthroat trout. Few reptiles live in Jackson Hole; there are three non-poisonous snakes species, and one type of lizard. The vegetation in the valley includes sagebrush flats, a plant community that thrives in porous soil; riparian corridors and wetlands, which are dominated by narrow-leaf cottonwoods and willows; conifer forests; and high alpine areas.<sup>2</sup> The valley's natural beauty and bountiful wildlife have made it famous, and are the main lure for the 2.5 million visitors that Grand Teton National Park receives annually.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest humans in Jackson Hole arrived approximately 11,000 years ago. They were hunter-gatherers who most likely spent time there only seasonally. Archeologists have theorized that these early visitors used the valley floor during the early spring (late May through June), moving to higher elevations over the summer as plants ripened. Prehistoric people in the valley relied on wild animal herds as well as plants for sustenance, and followed the migrations of mule deer, elk, big horn sheep, and bison. These people most likely had base camps along the shores of Jackson Lake, and then moved to camps above 8,000 feet in the Teton Range canyons, moving into Idaho in time for winter.<sup>4</sup> Several Native American tribes claimed land surrounding Jackson Hole, including Crows, Blackfeet, Gros Ventres, and Shoshoni, but none seem to have stayed in the valley for extended periods.<sup>5</sup>

It is not known for certain who the earliest white man was to visit Jackson Hole. There is strong evidence, although not conclusive, that John Colter, a mountain man who had been a part of the Lewis and Clark expedition, traveled there in the winter of 1807-1808. Fur trappers trapped in the valley in 1810-1811, and during the peak years

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<sup>2</sup> Daugherty et al., 14; "Nature and Science, Grand Teton National Park."

<sup>3</sup> "Facts, Grand Teton National Park," GRTE website <http://www.nps.gov/grte/pphtml/facts.html> [25 January 2005].

<sup>4</sup> Daugherty et al., 21-41.

<sup>5</sup> Robert W. Righter, *Crucible for Conservation: The Struggle for Grand Teton National Park* (Moose, WY: Grand Teton Natural History Association, 1982), 3.

of the fur trade, from the 1820s to 1830s, trappers passed frequently through Jackson Hole on their way to beaver trapping grounds and to rendezvous, making the valley a fur trade crossroads in the northern Rocky Mountain region. The valley's name, originally "Jackson's Hole," probably referred to David E. "Davey" Jackson, a fur trapper in partnership with Jedediah Smith and William Sublette. By the 1820s, the three principle peaks of the Teton Range were known as "Les Trois Tetons," the "Three Paps," or the "Three Tetons," and were perhaps named by Iroquois or French Canadian trappers. When the fur trade diminished, the Jackson Hole area was largely ignored in favor of migrations to Oregon, the Mormon settlement of Salt Lake City, and the California Gold Rush.<sup>6</sup> Between 1840 and 1870, the valley was apparently not visited frequently by white men, and the Shoshoni, Gros Ventres, and Blackfeet still hunted there in summer.<sup>7</sup>

Several government-sponsored survey expeditions entered Jackson Hole in the 1860s and 1870s. Some of the most notable were led by Ferdinand V. Hayden, and included photographer William Henry Jackson, who took the first photographs of the Tetons. The Hayden surveys named many of the peaks and lakes in Jackson Hole.<sup>8</sup>

Jackson Hole's remote location, high altitude, and short growing season made it less desirable for settlement than other areas of the West, and settlement of Jackson Hole only began in 1884, when John Holland, John Carnes, and Millie Sorelle became the first homesteaders in the valley. By 1888, the population of Jackson Hole had grown to twenty-three. The next year, several Mormons moved to Jackson Hole from Utah, and for the next ten years, most settlers came from Utah and Idaho, and most were Mormon. The Wyoming Territory had been established in 1868, and in 1890, Wyoming entered the Union, becoming the 44<sup>th</sup> state. By that year, the population of the valley had more than doubled to sixty people. Early homesteaders chose the best

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<sup>6</sup> Daugherty et al., 42-63.

<sup>7</sup> Righter, *Crucible*, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Daugherty et al., 66-81.

land in the valley, along the rivers and creeks. They irrigated and cultivated fields, farming and raising hay to feed their cattle and horses through the winter. They subsisted on what they could raise from the land, and relied on the public domain to graze cattle. Any cash they raised came from guiding easterners, known as “dudes,” and from trapping. By 1900, there were settlements at the towns of Jackson, Moose, Moran, Wilson, and Kelly. The most active period of homesteading in Jackson Hole was after 1900, peaking between 1908 and 1919. Some of these later claims were by people claiming land for real estate speculation, or intending to start dude ranches and tourist facilities. Among these were the owners of the first three dude ranches in the valley: the JY Ranch, the Bar BC Ranch, and the White Grass Ranch. (The term “dude ranch” developed to describe ranches that took in paying guests.) Within what is today’s Grand Teton National Park, almost 400 homestead entries were filed, covering thousands of acres by 1927, when all public lands were withdrawn from settlement, effectively ending the homesteading period in Jackson Hole.<sup>9</sup>

Cattle ranching was part of the valley’s economy from the earliest years of settlement. Having to feed hay through the long winters and the restricted size of homesteaders’ claims limited the size of cattle herds in the early years; few were over one hundred head. By the 1920s and 1930s, large cattle companies dominated Jackson Hole and would continue to, running larger herds on larger tracts of land than had been done before. Cattle ranching in Jackson Hole thrived in the inflated World War I beef market, but the post-war drop in price significantly impacted the local cattle ranching economy. A petition circulated by a group of farmers and ranchers in 1925 reflected their search for a new economic base for the valley, “We have tried ranching, stock-raising, and from our experience have become of the firm belief that this region will find its highest use as a playground.” The ninety-seven property owners agreed to sell their land in order for it to become a recreation area or preserve. The petition became known as the Jackson Hole Plan, and it became the basis for the formation of Grand Teton National Park. Beef prices improved by the late 1920s, only to drop again after

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 14, 88-121; Righter, *Crucible*, 6.

the stock market crash in 1929. Cattle ranching remained the main economy of the valley through World War II, after which, tourism took its place. Land values increased, tempting ranchers to sell their land for development, and the number of cattle ranchers in the valley has significantly declined. Many ranches were purchased in the 1930s to become part of Grand Teton National Park when it was established in 1950, but only a few historic structures related to cattle ranching remain in the park. Cattle-grazing is still permitted on some lands within the Park.<sup>10</sup>

Dude ranches, or guest ranches, have been a part of the valley's Euro-American history almost as long as cattle ranching, and are represented in greater numbers in the historic structures in Grand Teton National Park. The first dude ranch in Jackson Hole was the JY Ranch, which started taking dudes in 1908. Struthers Burt, a partner with Louis Joy in the JY, split off and formed the second dude ranch, the Bar BC, with Irving Corse in 1912. Harold Hammond, a wrangler at the Bar BC, formed a partnership with a Bar BC dude, George Tucker Bispham, and started White Grass Ranch intending it to be a cattle ranch, but ending up taking in dudes for the first time in the summer of 1919, making it the third dude ranch in the valley. Dude ranches played a significant role in the valley economy, bringing Easterners and their cash to the valley, and employing significant numbers of people both as summer employees and in the building trades whenever ranches were being built or were expanded. Dude ranches also supported other ranches and farms by purchasing their hay, produce, and meat and dairy products. Within today's Grand Teton National Park, there were many dude ranches, including the Elbo, Danny Ranch, Triangle X, Snake River Fox Ranch, STS, Double Diamond, Flying V/ Ramshorn, Half Moon, and R Lazy S. Only the Triangle X, under a lease from the National Park Service, is still operated as a dude ranch on park lands.<sup>11</sup> Dude

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<sup>10</sup> Daugherty et al., 8-9, 144-163; Michael Johnson, Cultural Resources Specialist, GRTE, "Management Plan for Buildings Listed on the National Register of Historic Places," (Moose, WY: Grand Teton National Park, 2000), 1-83.

<sup>11</sup> Daugherty et al., 220-253; Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000, 1-83.

ranches, because they were so numerous, represent a significant part of the valley's history, though it is one that today is less prominent because many of the dude ranches closed when they became part of the park.

The first conservation efforts in the valley occurred before the National Park Service was formed, and concerned the elk population. Of the big game animals in the valley, elk are the most numerous. Originally ranging across most of the North American continent, elk were displaced by Plains Indians and white settlement, and some found refuge in Jackson Hole and the Yellowstone area. Their winter migration pattern was through Jackson Hole to the Green River valley to the south, but settlement in Jackson Hole disrupted this pattern, and the elk began wintering in Jackson Hole. The harsh winters took their toll and hundreds to thousands starved each winter. Local rancher Stephen Leek photographed the dead and dying elk, and publicized their plight. His work succeeded, and by 1911 Wyoming and the U.S. Congress had committed to an elk feeding program in the winters. In 1912, 1,760 acres were purchased for the National Elk Refuge, which today encompasses 23,000 acres.<sup>12</sup> These efforts by Leek and other locals on behalf of the elk demonstrate that natural resource conservation has been a priority in the culture of Jackson Hole since the earliest years of settlement.

### **Grand Teton National Park**

Colonel S. B. M. Young, acting superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, recommended in 1897 that the park's authority be extended into Jackson Hole, in order to better protect the elk herds, which were being poached outside of his jurisdiction. The next year, Charles D. Walcott, head of the U.S. Geological Survey, suggested forming a park in Jackson Hole, for many of the same reasons. The idea was revisited when Stephen T. Mather, the first director of the National Park Service, and Horace Albright, his assistant and a future director, visited Jackson Hole in 1916, the year the National Park Service was created. The next year, they reported that the project was one of the seven "urgent needs facing the Park Service." A bill was introduced in

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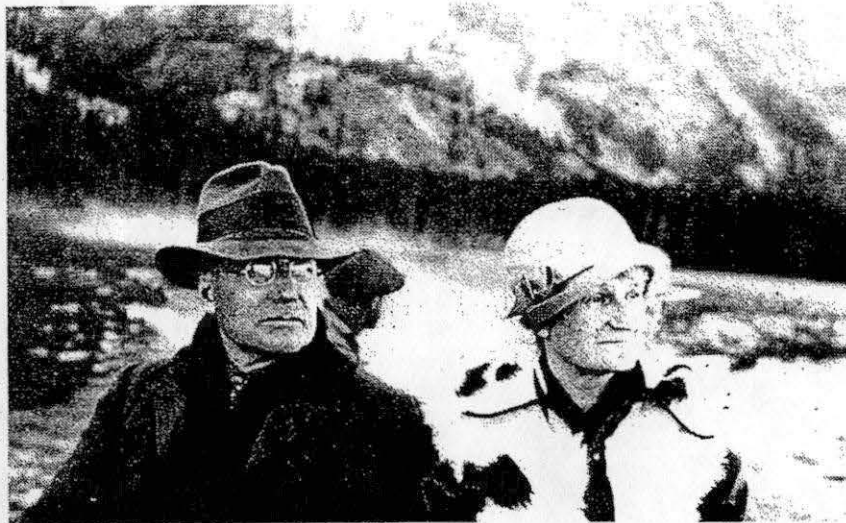
<sup>12</sup> Righter, *Crucible*, 7-9.

Congress in 1918 by Wyoming Congressman Frank Mondell to extend Yellowstone National Park's boundaries to include Jackson Hole and the Teton to the south. It passed the House, but narrowly missed passing in the Senate when Idaho sheep farming interests killed the bill. The idea was controversial from the beginning, and was opposed by the U. S. Forest Service, dude ranchers, cattle ranchers, and Jackson businessmen. Among the opponents were Struthers Burt and Horace Carncross, owners of the Bar BC Ranch. Albright began corresponding with Burt, recognizing an articulate opponent who also shared with the Park Service the goal of protecting the valley. In 1920, Albright visited the Bar BC to meet with Burt in person. A more critical meeting occurred three years later between Albright and six local leaders, including Burt, in the Maud Noble cabin, in Moose, where park headquarters are now located. During this meeting, the group reached an agreement, and the Jackson Hole Plan was devised. This initial discussion led to a petition that was signed in 1925 by ninety-seven property owners, who agreed to sell their land in order for it to become a recreation area or preserve.

Unlike Yellowstone and many other parks, Grand Teton had been settled prior to becoming a park; therefore much of the land was privately owned. The original vision was to preserve the "Old West" character of the valley, and create "a museum on the hoof." It did not include Albright's vision of the valley as a national park, as locals wanted hunting, grazing, and dude ranching to continue on the land. The first Grand Teton National Park was formed in 1929 and encompassed only the Teton Range and a small portion of the Jackson Hole valley at the base of the mountains (see Appendix A for the 1929 enabling legislation). It represented a compromise of the Park Service's original vision. This park was mainly composed of land that was already Federally owned (see figure 3.3).<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Daugherty et al., 8-9, 144-163, 301-327; Righter, *Crucible*, 1-42; *Celebrate the Grand Legacy! Grand Teton National Park 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Brochure* (Moose, WY: Grand Teton National Park, 2000), 1-8.



**Figure 3.2. Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. on Jenny Lake.** (Collection of the Jackson Hole Historical Society and Museum)

Albright's goal of including the valley in the national park as well as the mountains had not been abandoned with the formation of the 1929 park. A search was initiated to locate a wealthy benefactor to provide funds to purchase the valley land. In 1924, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. visited Yellowstone National Park with his family (figure 3.2). Albright organized a trip for the family to Jackson Hole to view the Tetons, making no mention of his plans for the area. On a second trip in 1926, Albright accompanied the Rockefellers to Jackson Hole. The Rockefellers were upset to see commercial development had grown along the shores of Jenny Lake, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. requested that Albright prepare a list of private property in Jackson Hole that should be purchased to protect the views of the Tetons. Feeling he had found the benefactor he had been seeking, Albright told the Rockefellers about the Jackson Hole Plan. The strategy for forming a new Grand Teton National Park emerged out of this trip: Rockefeller would buy up all the private land north of Jackson and Spring Gulch and donate it to the National Park Service. Rockefeller formed the Snake River Land Company to purchase land anonymously, in order to avoid driving up land prices and alerting opponents. In concert with Rockefeller's plans, the Federal government withdrew from public entry—or settlement—all of the remaining public land in Jackson

Hole. Between 1928 and 1943, the Snake River Land Company purchased approximately 35,000 acres of land at a cost of \$1.4 million. The Snake River Land Company later became Jackson Hole Preserve, Inc.<sup>14</sup>

The plan did not go as smoothly as hoped, due to strong opposition locally and in the rest of Wyoming, especially once it was exposed that Rockefeller was the man behind the land purchases in the valley. There was resentment that wealthy easterners were buying up the valley, and concern that the tax base of Teton County, which already had little privately-owned land, would be reduced. There was also inevitable bitterness over the fairness of the prices paid for land. Struthers Burt remained an eloquent proponent of the plan, publishing articles in national publications in support of Rockefeller and the National Park Service. The opposition led to an investigation and hearings before a Senate Subcommittee in 1933. By the conclusion of the hearings, the allegations against the National Park Service and the Snake River Land Company were dismissed as having had no foundation.<sup>15</sup>

After the hearings had resolved any issues of propriety, the issue of compensating the county's loss of its tax base became the central hurdle. In 1934 and 1935, two bills to enlarge the park to include the Rockefeller lands failed in Congress. Local opposition became so heated that a second hearing was held by a Senate Subcommittee in 1938. The result of this hearing was the determination that the Wyoming delegation would not support, and Congress would not pass, a bill to extend the park. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. apparently lost patience with the situation, and wrote a letter to Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes in 1942, suggesting that if the project was delayed much further, he would consider selling the land on the free market, giving up the plan entirely.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Daugherty et al., 301-327; Righter, *Crucible*, 43-65; *Celebrate the Grand Legacy*, 1-8.

<sup>15</sup> Daugherty et al., 310; Righter, *Crucible*, 65-84.

<sup>16</sup> Daugherty et al., 315-316.

Rockefeller's letter put a new plan in motion. Under the Antiquities Act of 1906, the President had the authority to set aside "historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest" to be National Monuments. The process would bypass Congress.<sup>17</sup>

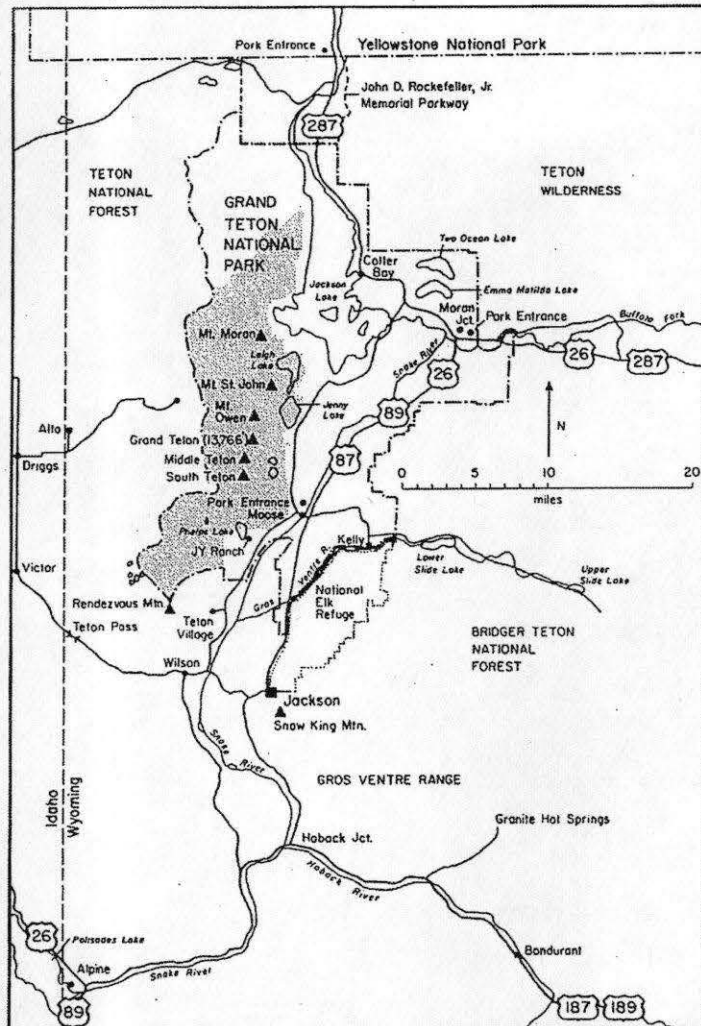


Figure 3.3. Map of Grand Teton National Park, showing 1929 park (shaded) and extension. (Righter, *Crucible for Conservation*)

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 315-316. For an examination of the use of the Antiquities Act to create national parks, see: Robert W. Righter, "National Monuments to National Parks: The Use of the Antiquities Act of 1906" *Western Historical Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (August 1989): 281-301.

In 1943, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed a proclamation (see Appendix B) establishing Jackson Hole National Monument. The monument adjoined the existing park and comprised 221,000 acres, including National Forest lands, state and federal lands, and private land, 35,000 acres of which belonged to John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The move caused renewed protests among the opponents to the park, which continued through much of the 1940s. However, as tourism boomed after World War II, opponents of the plan began to see that the park idea could be the key to the future economy of Jackson Hole, and resistance abated.<sup>18</sup>

Rockefeller and Albright's vision was finally made real in 1950, when Harry S. Truman signed a bill to create a "new" Grand Teton National Park, which encompassed both the first Grand Teton National Park and Jackson Hole National Monument (see Appendix C). The bill represented a compromise, as it allowed grazing to continue in the park, provided the county reimbursement for lost tax revenues, and it allowed for elk hunting on park lands.<sup>19</sup> The passage of the bill coincided with an amendment to the Antiquities Act of 1906, stipulating that no further lands in Wyoming could be established as national monuments without congressional authorization, a response to the controversy over the 1943 proclamation, and a challenge to the Antiquities Act.<sup>20</sup>

Grand Teton National Park has been administered under several regions. It was originally within Region Two (1937-1962), which was renamed the Midwest Region in 1962. It then was transferred to the newly created Rocky Mountain Region in 1974, which was expanded and renamed the Intermountain Region in 1995.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 315-318; "Facts, Grand Teton National Park."

<sup>19</sup> Daugherty et al., 318.

<sup>20</sup> Dilsaver, 166.

<sup>21</sup> Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials  
[http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online\\_books/tolson/histlist7g.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/tolson/histlist7g.htm) [19 November 2004].

Today, Grand Teton National Park includes 309,995 acres.<sup>22</sup> Among the properties that had been purchased from their owners that became national park lands in 1950 was the Bar BC Ranch.

### **The Bar BC Ranch**

The Bar BC Ranch was established in 1912 as a dude ranch by Struthers and Katherine Newlin Burt and Horace Carncross. Burt had been a partner with Louis Joy in the JY Ranch, the first dude ranch in the valley, started in 1908. The Burts and Carncross intended the Bar BC from the beginning to be a dude ranch, and hoped to expand into a cattle ranch later. In 1912, they established residences on two adjacent tracts of land through the Homestead Act of 1862, and improved the land with dude cabins, fences, a well, and 46 acres of cultivated grain fields. They also filed desert land entries the next year, bringing the ranch lands to more than 600 acres. They purchased an additional ranch in 1916, not contiguous to the Bar BC, to raise hay and cattle. In the first summer, they scrambled to build the first cabins in time for the guests that arrived that summer. The buildings were therefore hastily built, often without foundations. The chimneys were built by a man who had never built chimneys before. By 1917, they had built 26 buildings and could host 25 dudes, and by 1922 they had expanded to 45 buildings. The Bar BC, with its cattle ranch and a boys camp also owned by the partners, had become a big business. At its peak, it could accommodate fifty dudes. The Bar BC was incorporated in 1922 and new partners Irving Corse and Joe LePage joined Burt and Carncross. For four years, the Bar BC even owned part of the White Grass Ranch.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> "Facts, Grand Teton National Park."

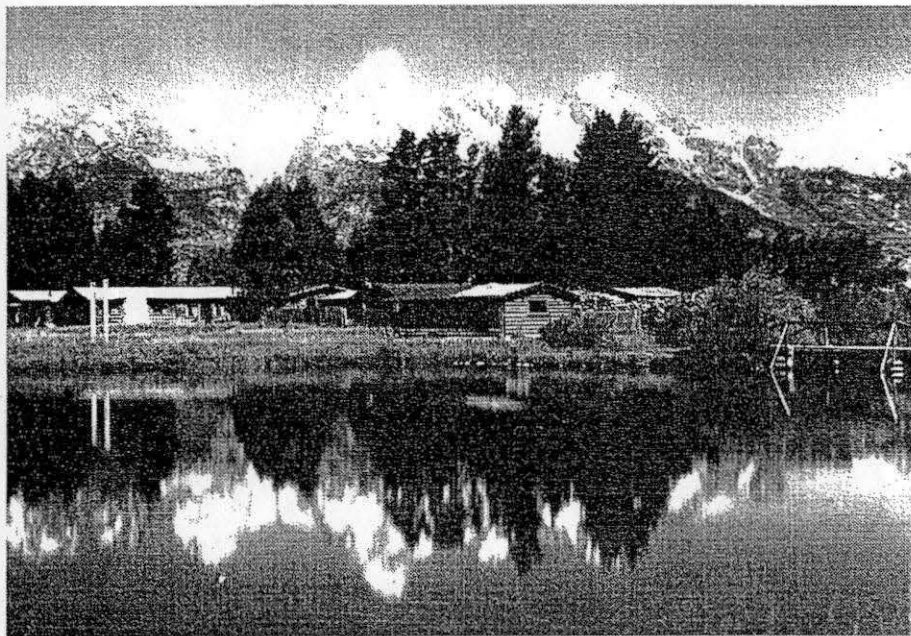
<sup>23</sup> Daugherty et al., 233-234; Roy Eugene Graham, AIA and Associates, "Bar B-C Dude Ranch Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming: Historic Structures Report," (Denver: NPS, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, Division of Cultural Resource Management, 1994), 12-28; Michael Johnson, "A Short History of the Bar-B-C Dude Ranch," n.d., Bar BC file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.



**Figure 3.4. Struthers Burt.** (Collection of the Jackson Hole Historical Society and Museum)

Struthers Burt (figure 3.4) was a Princeton alumnus and Philadelphian, and both Struthers and Katharine Newlin Burt were nationally-recognized writers. His non-fiction book, *Diary of a Dude Wrangler*, was an inspiration for many dude ranches across the West and was important in publicizing dude ranch vacations. Katharine Newlin Burt was a descendant of early Hudson River, New York families. Several of her western novels were made into silent films, for which she often helped design the sets. It is likely the Bar BC served as a model for these, and parts of one movie were even filmed at the Bar BC. It is possible Burt's work and the Bar BC contributed to the Hollywood image of the west in American culture. Carncross was also a Philadelphian, and a neurologist. With their social connections, the Burts and Carncross hosted notable writers, artists, politicians, and movie stars at the Bar BC, as well as affluent, well-educated Easterners. Notable guests included Mrs. Grover Cleveland, Francis and Sidney Biddle, architect David Adler, Alfred A. Knopf, Countess Eleanor (Cissy) Medill Patterson Gisycka, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, Owen Wister, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and his wife Abby. Guests generally stayed from a few weeks

to an entire summer. The Bar BC became one of the best-known dude ranches in the West by the 1920s. Several Bar BC guests went on to start ranches themselves, including the White Grass, Sun Star, and Four Lazy F, or settle in the valley, as did Maud Noble.<sup>24</sup>



**Figure 3.5. View of the Bar BC Ranch in its active years.** (Collection of the Jackson Hole Historical Society and Museum)

The 1920s, under the ownership of the celebrated Burts, were the heyday of the Bar BC, with the most prosperous guests, and while dude ranching in the West was still a novelty (figure 3.5). Burt became less involved in ranch operations as he and Katharine Burt experienced success as writers. In 1928, both Horace Carncross and Joe LePage died. Burt had also become involved by that point in advocating for the formation of Grand Teton National Park. The Burts bought another ranch, the Three Rivers, which they occupied from 1930 through the 1980s. Burt and Corse sold the Bar BC Ranch in 1929 to the Snake River Land Company (after some personal conflict: Struthers Burt felt the price offered was an insult to the investment the partners had made in the ranch, and Katharine Burt opposed the sale) with a provision that they or

<sup>24</sup> Daugherty et al., 233-234; Graham, 12-28; Johnson, "A Short History of the Bar-B-C."

their heirs could continue to run the ranch as long as they lived. The Burts had a falling out with Irving Corse, and in 1937, Corse bought out the Burts' interest in the Bar BC. The ranch continued as before for much of the 1930s, but under Corse's management, the physical condition of the ranch declined; Corse admired the picturesque quality of a rundown ranch and allowed the buildings to deteriorate. Additionally, several fires destroyed buildings on the ranch. Other changes included a cabin that was moved to the site, another cabin built on a sub-leased part of the ranch, and a new airstrip and hangar.

World War II forced the Corses to suspend operation of the ranch, but Irving Corse became too ill to run it again during his lifetime, and died in 1953. Struthers Burt died the next year. Corse's much younger second wife, steel heiress Margareta Sharpless Corse, leased the ranch to another family for nine years, then managed it herself, in a minimal way, renting cabins and campsites until 1985. She lived until 1988, at which point the ranch transferred to the park, at the end of her life estate.<sup>25</sup>

The history of the management of the Bar BC by the park will be covered in subsequent chapters.

Jackson Hole and Grand Teton National Park's history created the collection of cultural resources that now exists in Grand Teton National Park. This history influenced the management of these resources as well. The circumstances of the valley's settlement and the park's origins have meant that today's park, although it was preserved for its natural resources, has many cultural resources within its boundaries, including historic structures and cultural landscapes that in most cases no longer serve their original purposes. While the transition from private land to federal land has meant that these cultural resources are in some cases abandoned, it also has meant that they have been protected, like the natural resources, from the impacts of development. A

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<sup>25</sup> Daugherty et al., 235-236; Graham, 12-28; Robert W. Righter, "Preserving the Past: The Case of Grand Teton National Park," *Annals of Wyoming* 71, no. 3 (1999): 9-13.

significant amount of Jackson Hole's history is represented in the cultural resources within Grand Teton National Park, making their stewardship important, not just as a Federally-mandated process of the National Park Service, but for the sake of preserving the local history of Jackson Hole.

## CHAPTER IV

### CULTURAL RESOURCES IN GRAND TETON NATIONAL PARK

This chapter provides an overview of the management of cultural resources over Grand Teton National Park's history by examining key policy and planning documents, from the first Grand Teton National Park (1929), including the years under the Snake River Land Company (later Jackson Hole Preserve, Inc.), the Jackson Hole National Monument, and in the current Grand Teton National Park (1950). This account uses what documents are available to try to trace the general direction of cultural resource management in Grand Teton National Park since its inception. Even from this general account, patterns are apparent. (For a complete list of the historic structures in Grand Teton National Park, please see Appendix D.)<sup>1</sup>

Though Grand Teton is known for its natural resources, and they have been a major focus of park management since its inception, the management of cultural resources has been a part of the story of the park since its earliest years. The way they have been managed has changed over the years, however. Originally, cultural resources, particularly those associated with the "Old West" image of the valley, were part of the vision of Horace Albright and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. That vision appears to have been forgotten, and for some years, the park was managed as a natural area, with little concern for the cultural resources in the park. Over the past several years, the

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<sup>1</sup> This is not an attempt to document the cultural resource management portion of the administrative history of Grand Teton National Park, and in no way is it comprehensive or complete. There are some significant gaps in this history, as the National Archives and Records Administration in College Park, Maryland has only inventoried Grand Teton files before 1950, and the author was not able to visit the National Archives and Records Administration in Denver, where park files up to 1960 have been inventoried. Files at the park seem to be missing some significant documents from the 1950s and 1960s, perhaps because copies were sent to the National Archives.

pendulum has swung back, and park management has focused on managing the park in accordance with service-wide policy, which emphasizes protection of both cultural and natural resources, rather than according to a natural-resource-focused philosophy.

### Enabling Legislation

To inform their management policies, superintendents and other park managers rely on laws, policies, and other regulations that apply service-wide to park management, as well as on a park's enabling legislation. In some cases, enabling legislation contains explicit guidance that supersedes service-wide policy.<sup>2</sup> Grand Teton National Park has had three pieces of enabling legislation. The original 1929 Grand Teton National Park included only the Teton Range and a small portion of the valley at its base, and had its own enabling legislation, approved in February of 1929. The Jackson Hole National Monument was formed by Presidential Proclamation in 1943, and this document became its enabling legislation. When the park and monument were combined in 1950, a third document, an act passed by Congress, superseded the enabling legislation for the two previous entities.<sup>3</sup>

The 1929 law, establishing the first Grand Teton National Park (see Appendix A), sets aside the land "as a public park or pleasure ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of the United States." The law has several provisions, including a limitation on new roads, new hotels, and new permanent camps being constructed in the park, a provision for cattle grazing in the park, a provision protecting pre-existing property rights, such as homesteads on surrounding lands and right-of-ways through park lands, and a provision providing for appropriation of Yellowstone National Park funds for the administration, protection, and maintenance of Grand Teton

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<sup>2</sup> *Management Policies 2001*, 6.

<sup>3</sup> U.S. Congress, *An Act: To establish Grand Teton National Park in the State of Wyoming, and for other purposes*, 70<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., S5543 (3 December 1928, approved 26 February 1929); U.S. Congress, *An act to establish a new Grand Teton National Park in the State of Wyoming, and for other purposes*, (64 Stat. 849) (1950); U. S. President, Proclamation, "Establishing the Jackson Hole National Monument – Wyoming," (15 March 1943).

National Park.<sup>4</sup> This law did not prescribe any other specific policies for resource management. In general, the limitations on roads and development set a tone of natural resource conservation, with the exception of the provision for cattle grazing, but the legislation did not specifically address any existing built development on park lands, most likely because the land included in the park had mostly been Federal land already.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast, the 1943 Presidential Proclamation to create Jackson Hole National Monument (see Appendix B), uses the historic resources in the valley as justification for the formation of the monument. This was probably due to the fact that the President's power to designate National Monuments comes from the Antiquities Act, which limits this jurisdiction to "historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States."<sup>6</sup> The Jackson Hole National Monument proclamation begins "WHEREAS the area in the State of Wyoming known as the Jackson Hole country, including that portion thereof which is located in the Teton National Forest, contains historic landmarks and other objects of historic and scientific interest that are situated upon lands owned or controlled by the United States."<sup>7</sup> At the time, only a few of the properties now considered historic would have been considered as that, but for the years before the Monument became part of the park, its official purpose was to preserve not just natural resources (those of scientific interest) but also historic, or cultural resources. Further, the existence of cultural resources in the valley was used to defend the monument's existence in a court of law. In *State of Wyoming v. Franke*, the state of Wyoming challenged the U.S. Government to prove that there were objects of particular scientific or historic interest within the National Monument. Using

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<sup>4</sup> U.S. Congress, *An Act: To establish Grand Teton National Park*, 1929.

<sup>5</sup> Daugherty et al., 301-327; *Celebrate the Grand Legacy!* 1-8.

<sup>6</sup> *Antiquities Act of 1906* (34 Stat. 225, 16 U.S.C. 431-433), 16 U.S.C. 431.

<sup>7</sup> U. S. President, "Establishing the Jackson Hole National Monument – Wyoming," 1943.

expert witnesses, lawyers for the United States established the historic value of the area by establishing a connection between Jackson Hole and the fur trade, and the valley's role as a crossroads of the fur trade in the Rocky Mountain West, and biologist Olaus Murie and geologist Fritiof M. Fryxell established the valley's scientific value.<sup>8</sup>

The park's 1950 enabling legislation (see Appendix C), which combined the first Grand Teton National Park with the Jackson Hole National Monument, created a new park, which would be administered according to the provisions of this new, 1950 law. The act of 1950 repealed the 1929 act and the 1943 Presidential Proclamation. The purpose of the park, according to this new act, was "for public benefit and enjoyment," and the park was to be "administered in accordance with the general statutes governing national parks." Other provisions of the act, which in some cases contradict and supersede National Park Service policy, included: allowances for stock grazing right-of-ways; leases for residences and stock grazing; a system for compensating the county the loss of property tax revenue from what were formerly privately-owned parcels of land; provisions for elk reduction, including allowing hunting on park lands; and a provision for the continued operation of the Jackson Lake Dam and reservoir. The act also amended the Antiquities Act to limit the establishment of National Monuments in Wyoming to those approved by Congress.<sup>9</sup> Because the 1950 Act repealed both previous pieces of legislation, the park has operated under its guidance for most of its existence, including much of the period being examined in this thesis. The act set some guidelines for management that are difficult to reconcile with National Park Service policies, especially the provisions for grazing, hunting, and the operation by the Bureau of Reclamation of the Jackson Lake Dam. The act, however, does not set a policy concerning the existence of previous human development in the park, including historic structures, nor does it set a policy for the management of the

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<sup>8</sup> Righter, *Crucible*, 120.

<sup>9</sup> U.S. Congress, *An act to establish a new Grand Teton National Park*, 1950.

natural resources in the park, other than in relation to the provisions of the act, such as elk reduction. The act sets the policy to manage the park according to “the general statutes governing national parks.” In this way, the Act defines any policy for Grand Teton National Park that is not specifically guided by the provisions in the Act, as aligning with the policies of the National Park Service. The legislation does not specify whether the park has been set aside for either its historic or natural resources, an important fact, because this can set priorities that create obstacles for the preservation of cultural resources.<sup>10</sup>

John Daugherty, the park historian and cultural resources specialist at Grand Teton from 1980-1991 (see table 4.1 for cultural resources personnel and superintendents’ dates of employment), and author of *A Place Called Jackson Hole: A Historic Resource Study of Grand Teton National Park*, has looked at the legislative record for further guidance on the purpose of the park. His opinion follows:

Grand Teton National Park exists primarily because of the mountain range. In 1917, Horace Albright wrote a draft document proposing the first policies for the National Park Service, which was supported by Director Stephen Mather. Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane signed it as a letter. The “Lane Letter” of 1918 became a keystone document for the Service. In the letter, a provision states, “the addition of the Teton Mountains to the Yellowstone National Park, for instance, will supply Yellowstone’s greatest need, which is an uplift of glacier-bearing peaks.”

Protection and conservation of wildlife and habitat in the valley (Struthers Burt characterized it as, “a natural history museum on the hoof”), a playground or recreation area, and preserving the Old West character of the valley were all cited as values or motives for a park or reserve. However, without the mountain range, I doubt there would be a national park as it exists today. I do think there might have been an expanded refuge or reserve to protect the elk herd and elk habitat.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Toothman, “Cultural Resource Management in Natural Areas,” 65-68.

<sup>11</sup> Daugherty, 29 April 2005.

**Table 4.1. Grand Teton National Park, superintendents and cultural resources personnel: dates of employment.**

**Grand Teton National Park Superintendents<sup>12</sup>**

Samuel T. Woodring, Superintendent, 1929-1934  
 Guy D. Edwards, Superintendent, 1934-1936  
 Thomas E. Whitcraft, Superintendent, 1936-1940  
 Charles J. Smith, Superintendent, 1940-1943  
 Paul R. Franke, Superintendent, 1943-1946  
 Allyn F. Hanks, Acting Superintendent, 1946-1946  
 John S. McLaughlin, Superintendent, 1946-1950  
 Edward D. Freeland, Superintendent, 1950-1953  
 Francis R. Oberhansley, Superintendent, 1953-1959  
 Harthon L. Bill, Superintendent, 1960-1962  
 Fred C. Fagergren, Superintendent, 1962-1966  
 Jack K. Anderson, Superintendent, 1966-1967  
 Howard H. Chapman, Superintendent, 1967-1971  
 Gary E. Everhardt, Superintendent, 1972-1975  
 Robert I. Kerr, Superintendent, 1975-1979  
 Jack E. Stark, Superintendent, 1979-1991<sup>13</sup>  
 Quincy Boyd Evison, Superintendent, 1991-1991  
 Jack Neckels, Superintendent 1991-2001  
 Melody Webb, Assistant Superintendent, 1992-1996  
 Steve Iobst, Acting Superintendent, 2001-2002  
 Stephen Martin, Superintendent, 2002-2003  
 Ralph Tingey, Acting Superintendent, 2003-2004  
 Mary Gibson Scott, Superintendent, 2004-present

**Cultural Resource Personnel<sup>14</sup>**

John Daugherty, Park Historian, 1980-86, Supervisory Park Ranger, 1986-89,  
 Supervisory Park Ranger/ Cultural Resources Specialist, 1989-1991<sup>15</sup>  
 Michael Johnson, Cultural Resources Specialist, 1994-2000  
 Pam Holtman, Park Historian, 2001-present

<sup>12</sup> Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials [http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online\\_books/tolson/histlist7g.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/tolson/histlist7g.htm) [19 November 2004]; Jack Stark, interview with author, 25 March 2005; Jack Neckels, interview with author, 6 March 2005; Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE, correspondence with author, 2005.

<sup>13</sup> Superintendent Stark retired 8/31/1990, and returned as a reemployed annuitant on 9/5/1990. He resigned from his position as a reemployed annuitant on 6/15/1991.

<sup>14</sup> Not including archeologists and curators.

<sup>15</sup> Daugherty performed cultural resource duties while he held all three positions.

### Cultural Resources in Grand Teton National Park

The initial impetus for John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s involvement in the park scheme was his disgust at the inappropriate developments along Jenny Lake. This desire to reverse development in scenic natural areas led to the Snake River Land Company's policy of removing many of the buildings from the properties they bought, allowing the land to return to a "natural state." Buildings were moved, torn down, burned, or sold. The company removed the entire town of Moran, a collection of 107 structures, most of which were built to house the laborers who built the Jackson Lake Dam.<sup>16</sup> There was some resentment about the Snake River Land Company's policy of removing structures and improvements from the land they had purchased. In 1936, a geographer recorded, "a large part of the settlement has been removed from this territory, removed so completely that only when viewed from the air or from the summit of one of the buttes can the faint traces of occupancy be discerned."<sup>17</sup>

The removal of all human development has been cited by park superintendents as the guiding vision, or original intention of the park's patron, John D. Rockefeller, Jr.<sup>18</sup> In reality, this is somewhat of an over-simplification of Rockefeller's intentions. Through the years John D. Rockefeller, Jr. was buying up land in Jackson Hole, he was simultaneously orchestrating the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia. Rockefeller not only believed in the conservation of natural resources: he was also a historic preservationist.<sup>19</sup> Rockefeller's vision for the valley did include the removal of developments he felt were inappropriate to the natural setting (such as commercial

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<sup>16</sup> Some cabins were reused at Colter Bay in GRTE. Righter, *Crucible*, 56-57, 97-98; Daugherty et al., 310.

<sup>17</sup> Daugherty et al., 310.

<sup>18</sup> Stark, 25 March 2005; Neckels, 6 March 2005.

<sup>19</sup> Anders Greenspan, *Creating Colonial Williamsburg* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2002).

operations along Jenny Lake); however, he did not envision entirely obliterating the history of man in the valley, and instead saw the continuation of dude and cattle ranching as appropriate to his vision of the park.<sup>20</sup>

The early local proponents of the "Jackson Hole Plan," a group without whose support the park might not have been formed and which included Struthers Burt, envisioned the valley as a "museum on the hoof," being administered as a "recreational area," not a national park, in which hunting, grazing, and dude ranching would continue. The idea was to retain the western character of the area, by restricting new buildings to log construction, leaving the roads unpaved, and preserving the frontier character of the town of Jackson.<sup>21</sup> Rockefeller shared this vision, as did Horace Albright, and since the early 1920s they had been advocates of continuing the existence of dude ranches in the park, to retain the "Old West" flavor of the valley. Part of this vision included cattle grazing. This became the official policy of the National Park Service when Director Newton Drury composed a memorandum in 1945, which was approved by Secretary of the Interior Ickes, specifying the park's policy towards cattle and dude ranching in Jackson Hole National Monument:

One of the purposes of the Jackson Hole Plan since the beginning has been the perpetuation of those aspects of the region that represent the 'Old West.' Administration and interpretation of the Monument will take this into account. Not only the earlier and nationally significant phases of its history, such as the fur-trade and pioneer-exploration periods, but also the more recent and local phases will be revealed to the public. Pioneer structures like Menor's Ferry and Cunningham Cabin will be restored, protected, and displayed. The 'dude ranches' represent a colorful native institution and provide an informal and unique method of caring for visitors. They should be continued and fitted into the over-all program of accommodations. Cattle ranching is also an essential part of the Jackson Hole setting and of the tradition of Western America. The authorized seasonal drifting of stock, and the presence within or adjacent to the area of holdings upon which cattle ranches are operated, are essential to the distinctive atmosphere of 'The Hole.'<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Righter, *Crucible*, 128-131.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 33-34.

<sup>22</sup> Russell A. Apple, "An Interpretive Prospectus for Post-Fur Trade History, Grand Teton National Park," December 1960, "Interpretive Planning" file, Moose library, GRTE, 7 [Quoting from *Compendium of*

In the 1940s, when the Rockefeller lands, while still in their possession, were administered as a National Monument, John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s son Laurance Rockefeller became increasingly involved in the Jackson Hole project, and in 1945, his father transferred all responsibility for the project to him. Laurance shared his father's interest both in land conservation and in historic preservation.<sup>23</sup> In 1942, he had requested that some time be spent to study the historic buildings in his family's ownership in Jackson Hole, to determine which should be preserved. A. E. Kendrew, the head architect at the Colonial Williamsburg restoration, was sent to Jackson Hole for two months that year to examine historic buildings, as well as to comment on the plans for the development of Grand Teton National Park.<sup>24</sup>

Kendrew's report on historic structures recognized that the earliest years of settlement in Jackson Hole were relatively recent, "and well within the memory of many living persons, yet in relation to the exploratory and pioneer period of the northwest, as time goes on it can be assumed with certainty that they will be closely identified with the earliest historical events of this country's development." Kendrew identified a number of buildings he felt were worthy of preservation, based on their age and architectural interest, recorded them through measured drawings and photographs, and took initial steps to stabilize them. The structures he identified were: the Cunningham Homestead, the Manges Cabin, the Menor's Ferry complex, including the Maud Noble cabin, and the Chapel of the Transfiguration.<sup>25</sup> Under Laurance Rockefeller's leadership, Jackson Hole Preserve, Inc., the successor company to Snake

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*Important Papers Covering Negotiations in the Establishment and Administration of the Jackson Hole National Monument, Wyoming* (National Park Service Branch of Lands, 1945), Vol. 1, 21]; Newton Drury, Director, NPS, "Memorandum for the Secretary," 17 March 1945, Jackson Hole Preserve file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>23</sup> Righter, *Crucible*, 130-131.

<sup>24</sup> Kenneth Chorley to Newton B. Drury, Director, NPS, 25 May 1942, RG 79, Box 1054, National Archives, College Park, MD.

<sup>25</sup> The report also recommended preservation of the "Dillworth Place," though it was not owned by Jackson Hole Preserve, Inc. A.E. Kendrew, "Report on Owned Structures of a Historic Character: Suggestions for Future Tourist Accommodations," RG 79, Box 1054, National Archives, College Park, MD.

River Land Company, preserved and restored these buildings—the Menor's Ferry complex was one of the particularly successful projects.<sup>26</sup> In another report from his visit, Kendrew mentioned the goal of continuing dude ranch operations in the park, and identified several ranches, including the Bar BC, as ideally suited for this purpose—in the Bar BC's case, because of its inconspicuous location, sheltered from the view of the road.<sup>27</sup>

Several years earlier, in 1939, Sanford Hill, the resident landscape architect at Grand Teton, produced a plan for the National Park Service for the land in the proposed park extension. His plan combined the need to control automobile traffic with the goal of preserving the "Old West" atmosphere in the valley, and he proposed dividing the future park into three zones of travel: automobile, stage coach, and foot and horse traffic. The plan called for portions of the park's roads to be closed to automobiles. Visitors would leave their cars at specific locations and travel by stage coach, eating lunch or staying overnight at one of the dude ranches in the park. Foot and horse trails would preserve the "wilderness" atmosphere of the mountains. The goal of the plan was to provide a "living example of the Old West. No shrine more appropriate could be created in memory of the early pioneers and western history ... We reconstruct forts, preserve cemeteries, and erect memorials so why not preserve a small portion of the Western frontier." Further, Hill suggested that the park could provide a model for the town of Jackson, which was "rapidly going modern." Hill's plan concludes: "[Jackson Hole] is really one of the few places where the western character has not altogether disappeared and it would almost be unreasonable not to preserve insofar as is humanly possible a small portion of that part which the early pioneers played in the conquest of the West."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Righter, *Crucible*, 130-131.

<sup>27</sup> A. E. Kendrew, "General Report on Properties OWNED and not Covered by Special Reports, Jackson Hole, Wyoming," August 1942, "Kendrew Studies" file, Moose library, GRTE.

<sup>28</sup> Sanford Hill, Resident Landscape Architect, GRTE, "A Plan for Grand Teton National Park," concurred 28 February 1939, RG 79, Box 1053, National Archives, College Park, MD.

A plan for the park and future expansion produced two years later by Grand Teton Superintendent Charles J. Smith, with comments by Sanford Hill, suggests a more conservative approach. Smith's plan called for all future National Park Service developments to be undertaken on the east side of the Snake River, well away from the mountains and lakes, leaving the western side of the river as a scenic zone, largely undeveloped. Smith's plan mainly addresses road building and circulation, but also addresses locations for tourist facilities, including a visitor center, museum, and camps, and recommends that the dude ranching industry be "fostered," to continue to provide lodging for visitors.<sup>29</sup>

An interpretive plan for the park and monument produced five years later, in 1946, emphasizes the natural resources of the park, particularly the geological resources, as well as the historical resources in the park. The plan outlines six historic themes found in the park: prehistoric man's occupation of the valley, the fur-trapping era, government exploration and surveys, western pioneering and settlement, big game hunting, and the "Old West."<sup>30</sup>

A more complete interpretive prospectus for post-fur-trade history was completed in 1960 (amended 1963) by Historian Russell A. Apple. The "Apple Report," as it was known, divided the post fur-trade history of the park into ten themes: pioneering, political, ranching and farming, water utilization, transportation, communications, elk herd, outlawry, vacationers, and land acquisition, and chose existing structures in the park to represent each theme, to be preserved and interpreted to the public. Apple recommended use of some of the same buildings identified by A. E. Kendrew, with some additions.

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<sup>29</sup> Charles J. Smith, Superintendent, GRTE, "A Preliminary Plan for Grand Teton National Park and the Jackson Hole Country," 28 July 1941, RG 79, Box 1054, National Archives, College Park, MD.

<sup>30</sup> Paul R. Franke, Superintendent, GRTE, "Interpretive Plan and Development Outline for Grand Teton National Park and Jackson Hole National Monument," 22 March 1946, RG 79, Box 1054, National Archives, College Park, MD.

These early attempts to evaluate the cultural resources in the park are a bit uneven by today's standards, and omit buildings that did not fit the "Old West" image that was valued (much as late nineteenth century buildings in Williamsburg, Virginia were removed in order to return the town to its colonial appearance). Some of the "tawdry" developments that were removed would today be considered to be of interest, particularly by vernacular architecture scholars.<sup>31</sup>

The Apple Report is most interesting for its account of the history of the park thus far as it related to cultural resources. Apple described the removal of buildings in the valley by the Snake River Land Company and the National Park Service, and he agreed that it was appropriate to remove "hot dog stands, gas stations, cafes, cheap tourist courts, dancehalls, multi-unit brothels... and junk heaps," and also much of the ranch development. But he pointed out that the 1945 "Drury policy" of preserving ranches as part of an "Old West" vision for the park, had either been forgotten, lost, or ignored by 1950. He thought there had been a failure to recognize the significance of many structures, as "familiarity with the commonplace had led to contempt," and noted that some historic buildings were lost during this period. He theorized that the structures that had survived had done so for several reasons: they had been recognized early as historic (Menor's Ferry and the Cunningham Cabin); they had been converted for visitor use (Jenny Lake Lodge) or converted for park use (Brinkerhoff Lodge); had been acquired but were still occupied by the former owners, as was the case at the Bar BC; or had not yet been acquired. Apple admitted not all of the structures still in existence should be preserved, and the intent of his report was to choose those on which to focus preservation efforts. However, he wrote, "The decisions made as a result of this prospectus do not necessarily condemn to destruction the structures not selected. ... Perhaps a re-evaluation of Jackson Hole history in the future will add some of them to the list of those to be preserved."<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Greenspan. Thanks to Stephanie Toothman for this point.

<sup>32</sup> Apple, 1-14.

In the scope of this thesis, it is not possible to thoroughly explore the story that lies behind these management documents. It is likely that the personnel at the park and the decisions they made affected the cultural resources much differently than the planning documents suggest. The notes found in the file with the Apple Report, although not signed, shed some light on how the report was received. One reads, "The park's history, however important, is secondary to the natural history aspect of the park. Any diversion of personnel or assignment of construction funds which would lessen the effectiveness of the interpretation of the natural history cannot be justified."<sup>33</sup> A separate page of notes, signed only "M.K.T." (or possibly "M.K.J.") reads:

What plagues me is the nagging suspicion that we are tending toward "gilding the lily." Are we trying to make something from a little of nothing? Do we really want or need to go so far with historical interpretation which is for the most part of little import? Fur Trade history is fascinating and well worth much attention. Pioneering, ranching, and homesteading is no different, really, here than all over the western plains and Rockies. More recent than in many instances, but pretty much "run-of-the-mill" stuff.<sup>34</sup>

A Master Plan created in the late 1950s, in response to MISSION 66, for the years 1960-1967, begins with this mission statement for the park:

To provide an opportunity to obtain the mental and physical benefits derivable from great outdoor experiences in a land of lofty mountain scenery, of striking geological features, of abundant plant and animal life in uncommon variety, and of dramatic early Western history.

The plan largely deals with the many other areas of operations in the park, though there are small portions of the plan related to cultural resources: the plan calls for research to guide the preservation of the natural and historic "scene," and development of historic interpretation to focus primarily on the fur trade, and selectively interpret pioneer history. The plan also calls for restoration of a homestead, such as one of the Moulton ranches on Mormon Row, and specifically mentions dude ranches, "The maintenance of

<sup>33</sup> "Historic Interpretation," n.a., n.d., "Interpretive Planning" file, Moose library, GRTE.

<sup>34</sup> M.J.T., "Notes on historic structures and interpretation," n.d., "Interpretive Planning" file, Moose library, GRTE.

certain dude ranches is in harmony with the western atmosphere of this Park and these are to be continued.” The dude ranches that were then operational are listed, but the Bar BC was not listed as one of them.<sup>35</sup>

The 1975 Statement for Management (approved by the Regional Director in 1977) divides the park into four zones: Natural, Historic, Development, and Special Use. The majority of the park was considered natural, with 270,314 acres. Special uses, such as the Jackson Lake reservoir, privately-owned inholdings, and grazing permit areas, represented 38,313 acres. The Development Zone consisted of 1,700 acres, and included park residential and administrative areas, and visitor centers and services, such as Jackson Lake Lodge. The Historic Zone comprised 239 acres. At that point only three areas were on the National Register (Leek’s Lodge, Menor’s Ferry, and the Cunningham Cabin), but several other sites were being considered for nomination (AMK Ranch, Brinkerhoff Lodge, Old Administrative Area/ Beaver Creek, Manges Cabin, Ramshorn Ranch, and the Three Rivers Ranch). The first survey for a List of Classified Structures was being completed at the time to determine if any other structures were potentially eligible, and was expected to be completed in 1979. The management statement specifically cites and quotes in full the Drury policy of 1945, concerning dude and cattle ranching, and questions, particularly regarding cattle ranching, if park management should continue to abide by the policy. The Menor’s Ferry area is cited as the park’s major historical site, and protecting the site’s integrity is given priority. The statement addresses the difficulties of managing the large inventory of structures coming under park control during those years, as land came under park control. 321 buildings had been acquired by 1979 through purchase, ninety-seven of which had been disposed of after Section 106 compliance, 200 were in use by parties other than the park, and twenty-four were being used by the park.<sup>36</sup> The park had not received an increase in operating funds to care for these buildings, and the statement

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<sup>35</sup> “Master Plan for Grand Teton National Park: MISSION 66 Edition,” Vol. I, “Master Plan 1960-67” binder, Moose library, GRTE.

<sup>36</sup> It is not clear when the purchases began, whether the number represents NPS purchases after 1950, or whether it includes Rockefeller purchases.

says maintenance had been a strain on park resources, especially since many were in poor shape when acquired. The statement also points out an interesting problem that made retaining structures controversial:

Many Park neighbors think that the main purpose of the land acquisition is to acquire and remove structures to restore a natural scene. When former private dwellings are instead used for employee residences, they suspect the Service of ulterior motives and are reproachful. A judicious disposition or use of acquired structures can improve satisfactory public relations.<sup>37</sup>

The 1976 Master Plan for the park, the last such document of its kind (there has not been a Master Plan or General Management Plan written since 1976. Work on a new General Management Plan is expected to begin in 2007), was developed concurrently with Yellowstone National Park's Master Plan. The plan begins by stating the park's purpose:

Grand Teton was established as a unit of the National Park System to protect the scenic and geological values of the Teton Range and Jackson Hole, and to perpetuate the park's indigenous plant and animal life. The park will interpret these natural and scenic values, in association with the historical significance of the region, in a manner that preserves these resources for the benefit and pleasure of present and future generations.

The plan designates Grand Teton's management category, which "by the provisions of its establishment act, is a natural area." As has been established earlier in this chapter, the conclusion that the enabling legislation established the park as a natural area is debatable, yet this is the premise of the last major Master Plan for the park. As a whole, the plan aims to protect the park's natural resources from further degradation by limiting impacts associated with park visitors. Relative to cultural resources, the plan mentions the interpretive value of historic resources—the "integral part of the scene in Jackson Hole" which European man has played. It only calls for interpretation of the historic sites Menor's Ferry, Cunningham Cabin, and the Maud Noble Cabin. The plan calls for confining dude ranch operations to the east side of the Snake River, where the

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<sup>37</sup> "Statement for Management: Grand Teton National Park," prepared 31 October 1975, approved 23 March 1977, Planning Library, GRTE.

Triangle X Ranch, which is still operational, is located. The three oldest dude ranches in the valley, the JY, Bar BC, and White Grass are located on the west side of the river. It also calls for relocating intrusive residential and operational facilities, continuing the acquisition of private property within the park in order to restore the sites to natural or historic conditions, even suggesting that park developments at Moose, where the headquarters and main residential area is located, should cease to expand and possibly be reversed to control impacts on the Snake River floodplain, and on the Menor's Ferry historic district.<sup>38</sup>

In 1984, a document titled "Historic American Building Survey for Grand Teton National Park" was completed by University of Wyoming history professor Robert W. Righter.<sup>39</sup> The study was contracted by the Rocky Mountain Regional Office, and includes historic context information, descriptions of structures in the park, evaluations of National Register eligibility of these structures, and recommendations for treatment for them. Kate Stephenson, who was the Rocky Mountain Region cultural resources lead at the time, initiated and directed the study to help resolve cultural resource issues in the park and provide some context for planning decisions.<sup>40</sup> It is not technically a HABS Survey, which has specific requirements not met by this study. Righter is a historian and historic preservationist, and his recommendations were to preserve and interpret many of the buildings. Memorandums and notes in the file suggest the reception his report received.

Why in the world would Grand Teton *National* Park choose to spend money on creation of an historic district [Mormon Row] on buildings of local significance and of "undetermined [National Register] status"?<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> "Master Plan: Grand Teton National Park" (Denver: NPS, Denver Service Center, 1976); "Final Environmental Statement: Master Plan, Grand Teton National Park" (Moose, WY: Grand Teton National Park, n.d.).

<sup>39</sup> Author two years before of *Crucible for Conservation: The Struggle for Grand Teton National Park*.

<sup>40</sup> Rodd Wheaton to author, 7 May 2005.

<sup>41</sup> North District Naturalist to Park Historian, "Review of HABS study," 28 November 1984, HABS Study file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

I can't help but wonder how the paper would have read if it had been written under Forest Service funding. Certainly, the content is skewed towards acceptance of the NPS "preservationist" attitude and away from the "land of many uses" concept of the FS.<sup>42</sup>

"Thank goodness for Rockefeller's early efforts to restore the natural scene. If he were to try that now, we would end up preserving the very structures and other activities the park was created to prevent—development of an exceedingly scenic and ecologically and geologically rich area."<sup>43</sup>

The 1985 Statement for Management reflects the focus of park policy during the 1980s, approximately mid-way through Superintendent Jack Stark's tenure. The statement makes no mention of cultural resources in the section that outlines the park's purpose and significance, stating that the purpose of the park is "to protect the area's spectacular scenic values, as characterized by the geologic features of the Teton Range and Jackson Hole, and the native plant and animal life." 412 structures had been inventoried for the List of Classified Structures by this point, and the statement emphasizes the park's responsibilities under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. It also refers to the 1945 Director's memorandum, establishing the policy of preserving the "Old West" aspect of the valley. Assessing alternatives for the Bar BC Ranch is listed as one of ten "Cultural Resource Management Problems," which included the inventory and evaluation of inholdings, preservation of the structures that were in the management category "should be preserved," and the preservation of Leek's Lodge.<sup>44</sup>

Despite the fact that cultural resources were not a management priority during these years, it was during these years the first comprehensive efforts were made to inventory and evaluate cultural resources in the park. Park Historian John Daugherty, who had been hired as the first park historian in 1980, developed a format for and wrote

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<sup>42</sup> R. Simon to John Daugherty, Park Historian, GRTE, n.d., HABS Study file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>43</sup> Bill Barmore, Research Biologist, notes, n.d., HABS Study file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>44</sup> "Statement for Management: Grand Teton National Park," November 1985, Planning Library, GRTE.

the first Cultural Resources Management Plan for the park in 1981, which was also the first Cultural Resources Management Plan in the Rocky Mountain Region, and which was used as a prototype for other plans in the region. It included historical themes or contexts, collection statements, and problem statements, alternatives, and recommendations. It was meant to define the scope of cultural resources in the park. The plan was commended by the Rocky Mountain Region Acting Regional Director, James B. Thompson.<sup>45</sup>

Starting in 1984, Daugherty worked on a Historic Resource Study for the park, for which he had updated and added more than 200 buildings to the 1979 List of Classified Structures inventory, and wrote historic context narratives for the park and its resources. A Historic Resource Study is the primary document used to identify and manage historic resources in a park, providing an overview of the history of a park and its resources, and identifies and evaluates the resources within historic contexts. This type of study is meant to provide a narrative that serves as a reference for managers, planners, interpreters, cultural resource specialists, and the interested public. It should (but often does not) include preparation of National Register nominations for all qualifying resources, and facilitates completion of Cultural Landscapes Inventories, and the List of Classified Structures. Historic Resource Studies also identify needs for further studies or reports, and may make recommendations for resource management and interpretation. The Grand Teton Historic Resource Study was the basis for a National Register multiple property submission in 1988, which was completed by Steven and Carol Mehls of Western Historical Studies, Inc., a contractor from Lafayette, Colorado. The fourteen properties nominated were listed on the National Register in 1990. The Bar BC was one of these. The consultants also completed a Historic Transportation Survey in 1989 (revised in 1995). The Historic Resource Study did not evaluate properties, because the multiple property submission, which followed

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<sup>45</sup> A copy of the plan was not available. John Daugherty, Superintendent, Fort Scott National Historic Site, to author, 28 April 2005; James B. Thompson, Acting Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, to D. John Daugherty, Park Historian, GRTE, through Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, 5 April 1982, courtesy of John Daugherty, Superintendent, Fort Scott National Historic Site.

closely on its heels, would accomplish that, a decision Daugherty recalls was supported by the Rocky Mountain Regional Office. The Historic Resource Study remained in draft form until the park made a second effort to survey and evaluate historic resources in the mid-1990s, which prompted a search for funding and, finally, the study was published in 1999 as *A Place Called Jackson Hole: A Historic Resource Study of Grand Teton National Park*.<sup>46</sup>

Daugherty's efforts to inventory and evaluate historic structures in the park also informed the Cultural Resources Component of the Park's Resource Management Plan, produced in 1988. Daugherty used the plan to prioritize and program work on historic structures. The Resource Management Plan called for a policy of continued or adaptive use for most historic structures, although their preservation was not assured, and removal or natural deterioration as "moldering ruins" for many buildings, some of which have since been preserved. Slated for removal were the McCollister complex, Jenny Lake CCC Camp, several residence buildings in the Old Administrative Area/Beaver Creek, White Grass Ranch, Hunter Hereford Ranch, Lucas-Fabian historic district, Aspen Ridge Ranch, the Bar BC, and all of Mormon Row but the Andy Chambers Homestead, Pfeiffer Homestead, and T. A. Moulton Homestead, which were designated as "moldering ruins."<sup>47</sup>

The term "moldering ruins" (also spelled occasionally in the British form, "mouldering"), occurs frequently in other park documents and in many discussions of cultural resources in park the 1980s and 1990s. The term was used as early as the 1960s, by historian William E. "Bill" Brown at Big Bend National Park, as a way of dealing with the numerous disintegrating adobe structures there. The term described the decision to preserve historic sites with minimum intervention, preventing or slowing

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<sup>46</sup> Daugherty et al., 1999, v-4; Steven F. Mehls, "Bar BC Dude Ranch," National Register Nomination, 1988; *NPS-28* 1998, Chapters 2 and 8; "Survey Report: Grand Teton National Park Historic Transportation Survey," 15 April 1989, revised 24 March 1995, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Daugherty, 29 April 2005.

<sup>47</sup> "Resource Management Plan: Cultural Resources Component" (Moose, WY: Grand Teton National Park, 1988), 32-90; Daugherty 29 April 2005.

deterioration, but not restoring or reconstructing missing or deteriorated elements. Former National Park Service Chief Historical Architect, Hugh C. Miller, FAIA, has written of managing moldering structures, "The key concept is monitoring and mitigating decay and controlling access for visitor safety and related wear and tear. Management of moldering structures is an alternative to restoration, and with this component of management, an alternative to neglect—benign or aggravated—that usually leads to dereliction and demise of the structure." The category was used for structures for which more active preservation was not fiscally or otherwise possible, such as in roadless areas, or places like Big Bend, where the number of structures made preservation prohibitively expensive.<sup>48</sup> In the early 1980s, Miller established the management categories A, B, C, and D for the List of Classified Structures (LCS), which were included in that version of *NPS-28*: A meant "must be preserved and maintained," B meant "should be preserved and maintained," C meant "may be preserved and maintained," and D meant "can be demolished, disposed of, or altered for some other management purpose." Categories C and D required Section 106 review.<sup>49</sup>

The 1988 Resources Management Plan used these categories as well as management policies listed for each structure. Many structures with the management policy of preservation were listed with the management category C, meaning that their preservation in the long term was not assured. Only three sites were listed with the management category B, "should be preserved and maintained": the Old Administrative Area Historic District, Menor's Ferry (including the Maud Noble Cabin), and the Chapel of the Transfiguration. None were listed with the management category A, "must be preserved and maintained."<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Hugh C. Miller, FAIA, Bob Utley, and William E. Brown, email exchange forwarded to author by Miller, 17-22 April 2005; Hugh C. Miller, "Management of Moldering Historic Structures," in *International Perspectives on Cultural Parks: Proceedings of the First World Conference, Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado, 1984*, September 16-21, 1984, by the U.S. National Park Service in association with the Colorado Historical Society (Denver: National Park Service, 1989), 95-98; "Resource Management Plan: Cultural Resources Component" 1988, 30.

<sup>49</sup> Miller, Bob Utley, Brown, 17-22 April 2005.

<sup>50</sup> "Resource Management Plan: Cultural Resources Component" 1988, 32-90.

The plan was approved March 3, 1988 by Richard A. Strait, Acting Regional Director of the Rocky Mountain Region, “with the understanding that a revised plan will be completed meeting the new guidelines by December 1989.” Strait’s letter continued that the plan itself was not subject to Section 106 review, so Section 106 compliance would be required for any action proposed by the plan.<sup>51</sup> The next Resources Management Plan was not completed until 1995.<sup>52</sup>

Despite Strait’s mention that the plan was not subject to Section 106 review, it must have been sent to the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, because Stark recalls that the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office refused to comment on the plan, not wanting to participate in setting priorities, but preferring that the park preserve “everything.” He felt the State Historic Preservation Office was always berating him over cultural resources, and would take their complaints to outside parties, often influential ones, such as Congress, but never offered to take the lead in finding funding for preservation projects, although this is not within the responsibilities of the State Historic Preservation Office. Stark was aware of the Utah State Historic Preservation Office’s more hands-off relationship with the National Park Service in that state, and felt the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office had misinterpreted their mandate.<sup>53</sup> (Animosity developed between the State Historic Preservation Office and the park, which persisted for many years—through the tenure of Superintendent Jack Neckels as well. Cultural Resources Specialist Michael Johnson worked first for the Wyoming

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<sup>51</sup> Richard A. Strait, Acting Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, NPS, to Jack E. Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, Memorandum, “Approval of Resource Management Plan, Cultural Component, Grand Teton National Park,” 3 March 1988, attached to “Resource Management Plan: Cultural Resources Component,” Planning library, GRTE.

<sup>52</sup> “Resources Management Plan: Grand Teton National Park, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Memorial Parkway” (Moose: WY, Grand Teton National Park, 1995).

<sup>53</sup> Stark, 25 March 2005.

State Historic Preservation Office, then was hired in 1994 by the park. He felt the State Historic Preservation Office considered that he had “sold out to the NPS” and that many in the park considered him a State Historic Preservation Office “lackey or even spy.”<sup>54</sup>

In 1990, a public workshop was held at the Antler Motel, in Jackson, Wyoming, sponsored by the National Park Service, Teton County Historical Center [probably the Jackson Hole Historical Society and Museum], and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office. During the workshop, members of the public were told about the inventory of the park’s historic resources, given a slide show of images of the resources, and asked to choose their preferred action for the resources: preservation, removal, natural deterioration, or HABS recordation and demolition. The group also discussed opportunities for public/private partnerships, the possibility of forming a Certified Local Government to inventory historic structures in the county, and some representatives from the conservation community expressed concerns about the effects of historic preservation on natural resources.<sup>55</sup>

By 1995, the purpose of the park, as stated in the Statement for Management and taken from legislation, legislative history, and historic trends, was nearly identical to the National Park Service’s purpose: “To conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife and to provide for the public benefit and enjoyment by such means and manner to leave them unimpaired for future generations.” A second purpose was “To insure the permanent conservation of elk within the park.” These two statements reflect a more accurate understanding of the park’s enabling legislation, which specifies that the park should be managed in accordance with service-wide policies, as well as in accordance with specific provisions of the act, such as the management of the elk herd. Further, the Statement for Management lists as part of the

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<sup>54</sup> Michael Johnson, Historical Architect, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, to author, 15 March 2005.

<sup>55</sup> Jack E. Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, to all employees, GRTE, Memorandum, “Public Workshop on Historic Structures,” 22 June 1990, Park Historian’s desk files, unsorted, GRTE; Grand Teton National Park Workshop on Historic Structures, Agenda, 14 June 1990, Park Historian’s desk files, unsorted, GRTE; Thomas E. Marceau, Deputy SHPO to Doug Barnard, GRTE, 11 February 1991, Park Historian’s desk files, unsorted, GRTE.

park's significance the historic resources within it, and the fact that the historic structures, sites, and cultural landscapes of the park represent the "'Old West' myth." The Statement for Management addresses three obstacles in the park in the area of cultural resource management: a lack of coordination between state agencies and the regional and park staff, a lack of updated surveys (inventory), and a lack of management strategy. It outlines actions to address these, including the hiring of a cultural resources specialist (Michael Johnson), a planned inter-agency workshop, the programming of funds in fiscal year 1994 for a survey, and the completion of a cultural resource management plan.<sup>56</sup>

The Resources Management Plan produced the same year, 1995, cites the park's purpose as stated in the 1976 Master Plan, which focuses on the natural resources, mentioning cultural resources only in the context of interpretation:

Grand Teton was established as a unit of the National Park System to protect the scenic and geological values of the Teton Range and Jackson Hole, and to perpetuate the Park's indigenous plant and animal life. The Park will interpret these natural and scenic values, in association with the historical significance of the region, in a manner that preserves these resources for the benefit and pleasure of present and future generations.

It refers as well to the 1989 Statement for Management, which states the purpose "to protect the area's native plant and animal life and its spectacular scenic values." The management objectives of the Resources Management Plan include: "Preserve, manage, and display sites, buildings, and objects that are significant and represent the broad sweep of western history and prehistory;" provide for their preservation for future generations; bring the park's cultural resource inventory "up to standard;" maintain National Register sites to prevent deterioration; prepare a park administrative history; and "enhance and maintain a viable, working relationship with appropriate cultural resource organizations." The plan also provides a checklist of cultural resource documents, and their status. It identifies the need for a General Management Plan, an

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<sup>56</sup> "Statement for Management: Grand Teton National Park" (Moose, WY: Grand Teton National Park, 1995); U.S. Congress, *An act to establish a new Grand Teton National Park*, 1950.

Interpretive Prospectus, three more Development Concept Plans, a Cultural Resources Bibliography, basic archeological overview, identification, and evaluation documents, ethnographic documents, a Historical Base Map, a Cultural Landscape Report, an Exhibit Plan, a Historic Furnishings Report, and a Historic Structure Preservation Guide. The plan did not list the historic structures in the park, or prioritize or program for their management.<sup>57</sup>

A second round of surveys was completed in 1997 for the park. Using this data, in 1998, the park's National Register Multiple Property Submission was updated by Historical Research Associates, in Missoula, Montana, and seventeen properties were placed on the National Register or had their nominations amended.<sup>58</sup>

In 2000, Grand Teton Cultural Resources Specialist Michael Johnson produced a Management Plan for Buildings Listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The plan summarized the historic contexts in the park and grouped the resources according to their relative context. For each resource, it concisely summarized the history and management history of the site, its existing use, management objective, opportunities and constraints, alternatives, needs, and recent actions. The plan, completed at the end of Superintendent Jack Neckels's tenure, shows a distinct shift from the 1988 Resources Management Plan, and calls for retention of almost all of the historic structures in the park, with a few exceptions for which the possibility of removal is mentioned. For most of these, alternatives have been found to allow their preservation.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> "Resources Management Plan: Grand Teton National Park, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Memorial Parkway," 1995.

<sup>58</sup> Ann Hubber and Janene Caywood, Historical Research Associates, Inc. "Grand Teton National Park Multiple Property Submission," National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form, 20 November 1997; "Historic Structures Inventory, Grand Teton National Park," 2 November 2004, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE, "Historic Structures, Grand Teton National Park," 20 December 2003, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000.

<sup>59</sup> Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000.

The five-year Strategic Plan for the park produced the same year sets the long-term goal of having sixty-five percent of the park's historic structures in good condition by 2005, setting the goal of repairing ten structures per year, and 100 percent of the inventory of historic structures updated. The plan includes this mission statement for the park, which emphasizes the value of human history on the land:

The National Park Service through Grand Teton National Park is dedicated to the preservation and protection of the Teton Range and its surrounding landscapes, ecosystems, cultural and historic resources. The singular geologic setting makes the area and its features unique on our planet. Human interaction with the landscape and ecosystem has resulted in an area rich in natural, cultural and historic resources that represents the natural processes of the Rocky Mountains and the cultures of the American West.

The statement balances references to cultural and natural resources, and reflects the focus of park management, which has become more balanced in recent years.<sup>60</sup>

In 2003, a draft Historic Structures Treatment and Maintenance Plan was written, which is still in draft form and has not been approved or reviewed by the public. The plan is comprehensive, calling for drastic measures to preserve, stabilize and in some cases adaptively use the historic structures in the park. The costs for the recommended treatments were estimated to reach \$5.4 million, with annual maintenance costs of \$350,000. The executive summary concludes:

The task before Grand Teton is enormous and the need to act is urgent. The park needs the support of the NPS Intermountain Regional Office, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, and other partners to achieve its historic preservation goals.

The plan includes a five-year funding strategy, and recommendations for preservation and use of almost all the historic structures in the park.<sup>61</sup> Table 4.2 compares

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<sup>60</sup> "Strategic Plan for Grand Teton National Park and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Memorial Parkway, October 1, 2001—September 30, 2005" (Moose, WY: Grand Teton National Park, 2000).

<sup>61</sup> "Grand Teton National Park, 2003 Historic Structures Treatment & Maintenance Plan," Draft, courtesy of Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE.

management policies for each resource in the park from the 1988, 2000, and 2003 plans. Work on a new General Management Plan is projected to begin in 2007, subject to funding.<sup>62</sup>

The earliest years of cultural resource management in Grand Teton, including the management of the land by the Rockefellers and their Snake River Land Company, were characterized by a reverence for only the most picturesque resources, those thought to be representative of the "Old West," such as the Cunningham or Manges Cabins, but not less scenic resources such as the town of Moran, or tourist shops and entertainment facilities along Jenny Lake. The restoration of the Menor's homestead buildings and the reconstruction of Menor's Ferry during these years, accompanied by costumed interpreters, reflects trends in historic preservation from the period. During the 1960s, which were characterized by a renewed commitment to ecosystem conservation and scientific inquiry in the national parks, the focus of Grand Teton's management became more exclusively natural resources,<sup>63</sup> though a few cultural resources were selected for preservation, in order to preserve the earliest history of the valley. By the late 1970s, when the last Master Plan was written, the park was fully focused on natural resource management, and even though the designation was no longer in use service-wide, the Master Plan designated the park as a natural area. While the rest of the park service moved away from this type of management, that is, considering parks as either natural, cultural, or recreational, Grand Teton's management appears to have stayed focused on its natural resources through the 1980s. The first management plan for the park's cultural resources, a Historic Resource Study, and National Register multiple property submission all were accomplished in the 1980s, demonstrating an increased awareness and improved observance of service-wide policy and process, and reflecting an overall trend in improving cultural resource management

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<sup>62</sup> Mary Gibson Scott, Superintendent, GRTE, and Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE, interview with author, 11 April 2005.

<sup>63</sup> Dilsaver, 165-66, 197-98, 239, 269.

practices in the western regions. However, the cultural resource component of the Resource Management Plan produced in 1988 lists many historic resources for removal, and makes the preservation of only a small percent of the structures a priority, reflecting the reality of the goals of the park's management. By the 1990s, cultural resources had regained some of their prominence in management plans, particularly the 1995 Statement for Management. In the past five years, planning documents reflect a concerted effort to balance the management of cultural and natural resources, and have set ambitious goals for the preservation of historic structures in the park.

This cursory examination of the history of cultural resource management in Grand Teton National Park reveals that in many ways this history parallels the history of the National Park Service's resource management policies. These trends in the park's management of cultural resources are reflected in the history of the Bar BC as well, and set the context for the decisions and events in its management, which is discussed in the following chapter.

**Table 4.2. Historic Structures in Grand Teton National Park: comparison of Management Policies for structures in 1988, 2000, and 2003 Management Plans.** This list only includes buildings that are still extant and eligible for the National Register. Many buildings listed on the 1988 were removed and are not listed here, and some buildings that are still extant but ineligible were included in the 1988 plan. *The 2003 plan is still a draft and has not been approved, or reviewed by the public.*

	Site Name	1988 Resources Management Plan	2000 Management Plan for Buildings Listed on the National Register	2003 Draft Historic Structures Treatment & Maintenance Plan
1	AMK Ranch Historic District	Preservation	Retain for UW Research Station	Continue--new site plan and agreement
2	Aspen Ridge Ranch Residence and Barn	Removal	Removal	Rehabilitate for seasonal housing or office/meeting space
3	Bar BC Dude Ranch Historic District	Removal	Stabilize a portion	Stabilize a core of 6-8 buildings
4	Brinkerhoff Lodge	Preservation	Retain for administrative use	Continue as guest housing
5	Cascade Canyon Barn (aka Patrol Cabin)	Preservation	Retain for administrative use	Retain
6	Chapel of the Transfiguration	Preservation	[Not included]	Continue as church
7	Cunningham Cabin	Preservation	Retain as administrative site	Maintain as interpretive site
8	Death Canyon Barn (aka Patrol Cabin)	Preservation	Retain for administrative use	Retain
9	Double Diamond Dude Ranch (aka Climbers' Ranch)	Preservation	Retain as Climbers' Ranch	Continue as Climbers' Ranch
10	4 Lazy F Dude Ranch	Undetermined	Explore administrative uses	Life lease, explore administrative uses
11	Highlands Historic District	Preservation	Retain for administrative use	Continue as seasonal park housing
12	Hunter Hereford Ranch	Removal	Explore administrative use or remove	Move the Hunter Barn to Teton Science School
13	Jackson Lake Lodge National Historic Landmark	[Not included]	[Not included]	Maintain as concession facilities
14	Jackson Lake Ranger Station	Preservation	Retain for administrative use	Continue as housing
15	Jenny Lake Boat Concession Facilities	Removal	Continue as concession facilities	Maintain as concession facilities
16	Jenny Lake CCC Camp	Removal	Retain as Exum Guides' facility	Retain as Exum Guides' facility
17	Jenny Lake Ranger Station/ Crandall Studio (Jenny Lake VC)	Preservation	Retain as ranger station and visitor center	Maintain as ranger station and visitor center
18	Geraldine Lucas Homestead/ Fabian Place Historic District	Removal	Stabilize and consider alternatives	Rehabilitate for adaptive use based on park criteria
19	Kimmel Kabins	[Not included]	Retain for administrative use	Continue as seasonal park housing
20	Leigh Lake Ranger Patrol Cabin	Preservation	Retain for administrative use	Retain
21	Manges Cabin	Preservation	Retain as administrative site	Maintain as storage for trail crew
22	McCollister Residential Complex	Removal	[Not included]	Rehabilitate for seasonal housing
23	Menor's Ferry/ Maud Noble Cabin	Preservation	Retain as interpretive site	Maintain as interpretive site

	Site Name	1988 Resources Management Plan	2000 Management Plan for Buildings Listed on the National Register	2003 Draft Historic Structures Treatment & Maintenance Plan
24	Moose Entrance Kiosk	Preservation	Relocate for CCC Exhibit/Wayside	Relocate to a new location, interpret CCC period with waysides
25	Mormon Row Historic District	Retain Pfeiffer Ranch, Chamber's Homestead, and T.A. Moulton as mouldering ruins, remove the rest.	Retain as interpretive site	Continue as described in environmental assessment
26	Murie Ranch Historic District	Undetermined	Retain as Murie Center	Maintain as Murie Center
27	Old Administrative Area (Beaver Creek)	Preservation	Retain as administrative site	Retain all except: remove or relocate CCC barracks; interpret CCC at another location
28	Ramshorn Dude Ranch Lodge	Preservation	Retain as Teton Science School	Continue as Teton Science School
29	Reimer/ Hultman Residence	[Not included]	[Not included]	Rehabilitate for seasonal housing
30	Snake River Land Company Complex (Buffalo Dorm)	Preservation	Consider alternatives or remove	Rehabilitate for seasonal park housing. Perform condition assessment for housing and proceed.
31	String Lake Comfort Station	Preservation	Retain as public toilet	Maintain as restroom
32	Triangle X Barn	None (continued use by concessioner)	Retain as dude ranch barn	Maintain as the barn at Triangle X
33	Upper Granite Canyon Patrol Cabin	Removal	Retain for administrative use	Possible removal.
34	White Grass Dude Ranch Historic District	Removal	Consider alternatives or remove	Rehabilitate entire complex as Western Preservation Center
35	White Grass Ranger Station Historic District	Preservation	Retain for administrative use	Maintain as ranger station
36	Wolff Ranch	[Not included]	[Not included]	Move and rehabilitate one structure for permanent housing; dispose of the rest

Source: "Historic Structures Inventory, Grand Teton National Park," 2 November 2004, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE, "Historic Structures, Grand Teton National Park," 20 December 2003, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Michael Johnson, Cultural Resources Specialist, GRTE, "Management Plan for Buildings Listed on the National Register of Historic Places," (Moose, WY: GRTE, 2000); "Resource Management Plan: Cultural Resources Component" (Moose, WY: GRTE, 1988), 32-90; "Grand Teton National Park 2003 Historic Structures Treatment & Maintenance Plan," Draft, courtesy of Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE; Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE to author, 20 May 2005.

**CHAPTER V**

**COMPARISON OF SEVEN BRIEF MANAGEMENT  
HISTORIES OF CULTURAL RESOURCES IN  
GRAND TETON NATIONAL PARK**

The history of the management of the Bar BC Ranch in Grand Teton National Park is not an anomalous one; however, neither is it exactly typical. Table 5.1 lists cultural resources in the park, grouped by their condition, and lists their significance, use, and other details pertaining to their management. For a complete list of historic structures in the park, see Appendix D. Six of these resources have been chosen for more detailed examination, to represent the range of management histories among cultural resources in the park. They are: Menor's Ferry, the Old Administrative Area [Beaver Creek] Historic District, Brinkerhoff Lodge, Leek's Lodge, White Grass Ranch, the Mormon Row Historic District, and, for comparison purposes, the Bar BC Ranch. None of these cases is meant to be a thorough account of the park's management of each resource; instead, they are intended to give a general sense of each resource's management history. The resources were chosen for several reasons: they represent the diversity of resource types in the park; they represent the range of the condition of structures in the park; they represent the range of management decisions, from structures recognized early in the park's history for their significance, to structures whose significance has only recently been evaluated; the construction dates of the buildings range from c.1900 to 1946; and the structures are scattered in locations across the park (see figure 5.1 for locations). For practical reasons, these were also chosen because their files in the park historian's office at Grand Teton contained sufficient material to document a brief history of their management. This examination of a

**Table 5.1. Historic Structures in Grand Teton National Park.** Resources grouped by condition.

<u>Significance:</u>		<u>Condition:</u>		Total Number of Historic Structures Managed by GRTE: 290	
National	74	Poor	63	Total Number of Historic Structures within GRTE. Including Private Inholdings: 316	
State	61	Fair	100		
Local	181	Good	153		

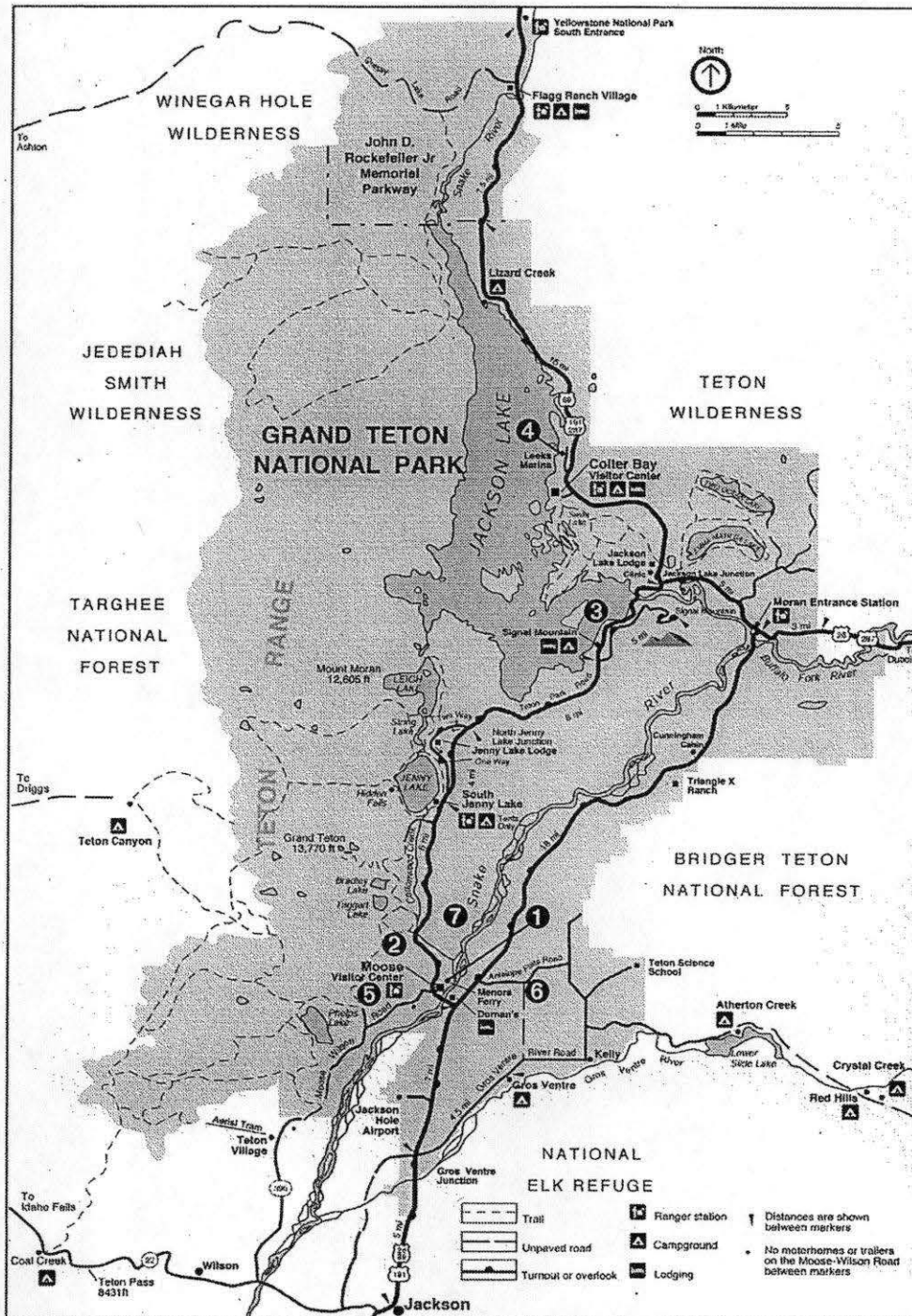
Site Name	Number of Structures	Level of Significance	Condition	Significance	Current Use	National Register*
1 AMK Ranch Historic District	14	Local	Good	Rustic architecture.	U Wyoming Research Center	1990
2 Brinkerhoff Lodge	2	Local	Good	The only extant example of the later development of vacation homes on Forest Service leases within Grand Teton National Park. Association with VIP guests, such as US Presidents, and for its rustic architecture.	Visiting NPS staff lodging and meeting space.	1990
3 Double Diamond Dude Ranch (aka Climbers' Ranch)	1	Local	Good	Ranch dining hall, significant for rustic architecture.	Low-cost lodging for climbers and trekkers.	1998
4 Highlands Historic District	19	Local	Good	Last privately-owned auto-camp/resort in Grand Teton National Park prior to MISSION 66, also for rustic architecture.	Seasonal housing for park employees.	1998
5 Jackson Lake Lodge National Historic Landmark	39	National	Good	Precursor to MISSION 66 modernism, for modern architecture.	Concession facility.	2003
6 Jackson Lake Ranger Station	4	Local	Good	U.S. Forest Service Ranger Station	Park employee housing.	1990
7 Jenny Lake Boat Concession Facilities	2	Local	Good	Development of first concession area in park, NPS rustic architecture.	Boat concession.	1998
8 Kimmel Kabins	13	Local	Good	One of two surviving motor courts.	Seasonal housing for park employees.	1990
9 Leigh Lake Ranger Patrol Cabin	1	Local	Good	U.S. Forest Service Ranger Patrol Cabin	Backcountry patrol cabin.	1990
10 Murie Ranch Historic District	26	National	Good	Association with American conservation movement, Olaus and Margaret (Mardy) Murie, Adolph Murie.	Murie Center wilderness institute.	1998
11 Ramshorn Dude Ranch Lodge	1	Local	Good	Dude ranch rustic architecture.	Teton Science School offices and cafeteria.	1998
12 Triangle X Barn	1	Local	Good	Vernacular architecture.	Storage for Triangle X Dude Ranch.	1998

Site Name	Number of Structures	Level of Significance	Condition	Significance	Current Use	National Register*
13 Chapel of the Transfiguration	[2] not included in count	Local	Fair to Good	Association with early tourist industry; served as church for guests and employees of dude ranches; and for rustic architecture.	Chapel. [Private inholding]	1980
14 Death Canyon Barn (aka Patrol Cabin)	2	Local	Fair to Good	Association with early development of Grand Teton NP and for rustic architecture.	Backcountry patrol cabin.	1998
15 Jenny Lake Ranger Station/Crandall Studio (Jenny Lake VC)	4	Local	Fair to Good	Modified pre-existing buildings in NPS rustic style, one of the first ranger stations in the park, and for architecture.	Park climbing and backcountry operations headquarters, Jenny Lake visitor center.	1990
16 McCollister Residential Complex	6	Local	Fair to Good	Association with Paul W. McCollister, founder of ski resort complex at Teton Village.	None.	2001
17 Mormon Row Historic District	42 plus [7] not included in count (privately owned)	State	Poor to Good	Early Mormon settlement, vernacular architecture.	No use. Future interpretive site. Clark & Veda Moulton Ranch is still privately owned.	1997
18 4 Lazy F Dude Ranch	[17] Not included in count	Local	Fair	Significant as late period dude ranch.	Under lifetime estate. No current plans for ranch.	1990
19 Cascade Canyon Barn (aka Patrol Cabin)	1	Local	Fair	Association with early development of Grand Teton NP and for rustic architecture.	Backcountry patrol cabin.	1998
20 Cunningham Cabin	1	State	Fair	Association with J. Pierce Cunningham, early settler, and for vernacular architecture.	Interpretive site.	1973
21 Manges Cabin	1	Local	Fair	Vernacular architecture.	Storage for trails crew.	1998
22 Menor's Ferry/ Maud Noble Cabin	9	National	Fair	Early settlement, transportation, conservation, vernacular architecture.	Interpretive site.	1969
23 Moose Entrance Kiosk	1	Local	Fair	NPS rustic architecture.	Storage.	1990
24 Old Administrative Area (Beaver Creek)	15	Local	Fair	NPS rustic architecture.	Residential, administrative, and storage for park.	1990
25 Reimer/ Hultman Residence	1	Local	Fair	Vernacular architecture.	Seasonal housing for park employees.	1998
26 String Lake Comfort Station	1	Local	Fair	NPS rustic architecture.	Summer toilet facility.	1990

Site Name	Number of Structures	Level of Significance	Condition	Significance	Current Use	National Register*
27 Wolff Ranch	6	Local	Fair	Late-era park acquisition, ranch, tourist cabins/ dude ranch.	No use.	2000
28 Aspen Ridge Ranch Residence and Barn	2	Local	Poor to Fair	Late-period vernacular architecture.	Seasonal fire crew camp.	1998
29 Geraldine Lucas Homestead/ Fabian Place Historic District	11	State	Poor to Fair	Association with pioneering single woman Geraldine Lucas, and as summer home of Harold Fabian, Rockefeller's main agent in creating Jackson Hole National Monument.	No use.	1998
30 Hunter Hereford Ranch	8	Local	Poor to Fair	Hobby ranch, and for vernacular, and architect-designed rustic architecture.	Storage.	1998
31 White Grass Ranger Station Historic District	2	Local	Poor to Fair	NPS rustic architecture and horse-patrol era ranger station.	Seasonal housing for volunteers in the parks.	1990
32 Bar BC Dude Ranch Historic District	35	Local	Poor	Ranch defined the standards for dude ranches in the valley, and association with Struthers Burt.	Future interpretive site.	1990
33 Jenny Lake CCC Camp	2	Local	Poor	Intact CCC camp buildings.	Leased to Exum Mountain Guides	1998
34 Snake River Land Company Complex (Buffalo Dorm)	3	Local	Poor	Association with John D. Rockefeller's Snake River Land Company/ Jackson Hole Preserve, and for vernacular architecture.	No use.	1998
35 Upper Granite Canyon Patrol Cabin	1	Local	Poor	Association with early development of Grand Teton NP and for rustic architecture.	Backcountry operations.	1998
36 White Grass Dude Ranch Historic District	13	Local	Poor	Defined the standards for dude ranches in the valley, development of dude ranches from cattle ranches.	Planned: Western Center for Preservation Training and Technology.	1990

\* Date listed or determined eligible.

Source: "Historic Structures Inventory, Grand Teton National Park," 2 November 2004, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE, "Historic Structures, Grand Teton National Park," 20 December 2003, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Michael Johnson, Cultural Resources Specialist, GRTE, "Management Plan for Buildings Listed on the National Register of Historic Places," (Moose, WY: GRTE, 2000); Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE, to author, 20 May 2005.



- 1 Menor's Ferry
- 2 Old Administrative Area [Beaver Creek]
- 3 Brinkerhoff Lodge
- 4 Former location of Leek's Lodge
- 5 White Grass Ranch
- 6 Mormon Row
- 7 Bar BC Ranch

Figure 5.1. Grand Teton National Park map with approximate locations of resources studied. Adapted from: Grand Teton National Park.

selection of other cultural resources in the park allows for comparison with the more detailed management history of the Bar BC. Patterns that are evident in these histories can be seen in the Bar BC's story. Elements of the Bar BC's history might have also been a factor in these histories, though it is not apparent from only a cursory examination. And finally, some elements of the history of the Bar BC seem to be unique to that resource.

### **Menor's Ferry**

**Construction Date:** c. 1900

**Number of contributing resources:** 9. The property includes the Maud Noble cabin and storage shed, a reconstructed ferry, Menor's homestead cabin (figure 5.2), storage shed, storehouse, smokehouse, outhouse, well, and lime kiln.

**Date of NPS acquisition:** 1949

**Date listed on National Register:** 1969, lime kiln added in 1998

**Current Use:** Interpretive Site

**Projected Future Use:** Continue current use.<sup>1</sup>

**History:** Menor's Ferry was built by Bill Menor, who homesteaded the site in 1894, securing legal title in 1908. The pontoon ferry Menor constructed (figure 5.3) provided the only way of crossing the Snake River in the central part of the valley other than fording it at low water, and was one of three significant crossings on the Snake River. The presence of the ferry allowed the west side of the valley to be homesteaded, although it was not heavily homesteaded until the first dude ranchers established homesteads there. Menor had a store on the site, from which he sold goods to settlers and travelers, as well as the ferry and a blacksmith shop. He also practiced subsistence farming. Menor's brother, Holiday Menor, had a homestead across the river and built a lime kiln there. The Menor's Ferry Historic District also includes the Maud Noble cabin. Noble owned and operated the ferry and a store after she bought it from the

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<sup>1</sup> Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000; "Historic Structures Inventory, Grand Teton National Park" 2004;

Menor brothers in 1918. Her cabin is significant because it was the site of an early meeting in 1923, between Horace Albright, Struthers Burt, and other valley residents, at which the “Jackson Hole Plan” was created, which ultimately led to the creation of Grand Teton National Park. In 1927, a steel truss bridge was constructed across the Snake River, making the ferry obsolete. Noble sold her property to the Snake River Land Company in 1929.<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 5.2. Bill Menor's homestead cabin, Menor's Ferry.** (Courtesy of Grand Teton National Park)

**Management History:** At the suggestion of Laurance Rockefeller, John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s son, the architect in charge of the restoration at Colonial Williamsburg, A. E. Kendrew, was sent to Jackson Hole in the summer of 1942. Laurance Rockefeller was concerned about the historic structures that belonged to the

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<sup>2</sup> Daugherty et al., 95; Nedward M. Frost, Wyoming Recreation Commission, “Menor's Ferry,” National Register Nomination, 1969; *Menor's Ferry Historic District Guide and Map* (Moose, WY: Grand Teton Natural History Association, n.d.).

Rockefellers in Jackson Hole, and thought they should be evaluated and restored. Kendrew spent two months there, looking at the historic structures in the valley, and also considering potential sites for tourist accommodations and studying the plans for the development of the park. One of the sites Kendrew identified as significant and as a potential interpretive site was Menor's Ferry. That summer, Kendrew directed the installation of a new roof and the demolition of the barn on the site, as well as stabilization of the remaining elements of the ferry for future restoration. Kendrew produced measured drawings of the existing buildings, ferry equipment, and the ferry itself. In the summer of 1949, months before the creation of the 1950 park, a reconstructed ferry was put into operation by Jackson Hole Preserve, Inc. the successor to the Snake River Land Company, under the direction of Harold Fabian, the company's vice president. The history of the site was interpreted to the public, and visitors could cross the Snake River on the replica ferry.<sup>3</sup>

Menor's Ferry was identified in the first interpretive prospectus for the park in 1960, and an Interpretive Plan was produced in 1964.<sup>4</sup> Since then it has been consistently included in park planning documents and designated as a priority site for preservation and interpretation.<sup>5</sup> It was the first historic resource in the park to be nominated to the National Register, and was listed only three years after the National Historic Preservation Act, in 1969.<sup>6</sup> The site was the subject of a Historic Structures Report in 1976. Robert M. Cox, who wrote the report, found the complex in good

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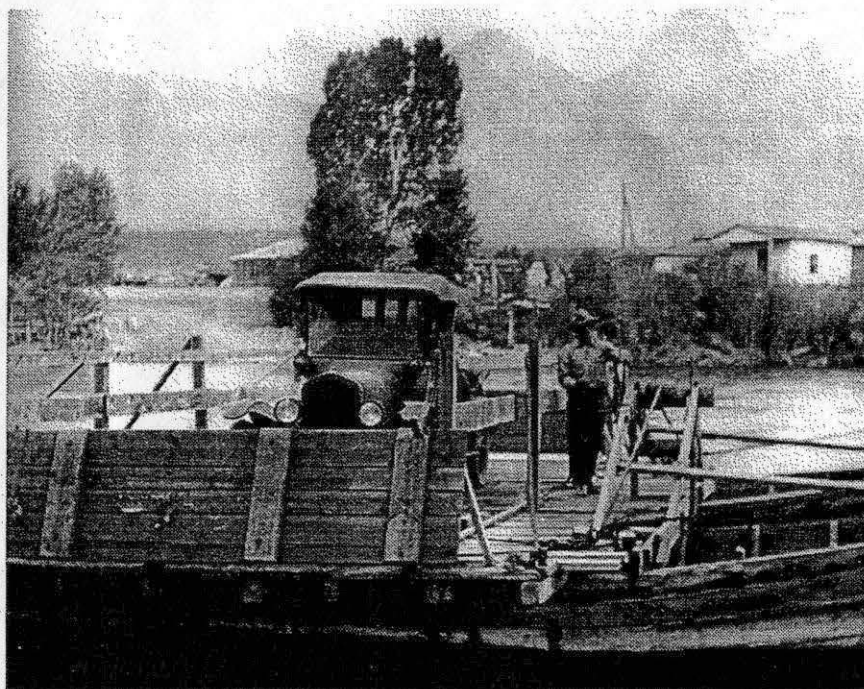
<sup>3</sup> A.E. Kendrew, "Report on Owned Structures of a Historic Character"; Chorley, 25 May 1942; A. E. Kendrew to Harold P. Fabian, 23 September 1942, Menor's Ferry file, Park Historian's files, GRTE; "Menor's Ferry Restoration in Grand Teton National Park," n.a., n.d., Menor's Ferry file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>4</sup> Apple; Nan V. Carson, "Interpretive Development Plan: Menor's Ferry Historical Area, Grand Teton National Park," October 1964, Menor's Ferry file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>5</sup> "Master Plan for Grand Teton National Park: MISSION '66 Edition"; "Master Plan: Grand Teton National Park" 1976; "Resource Management Plan: Cultural Resources Component" 1988; Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000.

<sup>6</sup> "Historic Structures Inventory, Grand Teton National Park" 2004; Frost, "Menor's Ferry."

condition.<sup>7</sup> The park Master Plan from that year made Menor's Ferry such a high priority for preservation that it suggested that the headquarters development at Moose be restricted or even reversed to alleviate its effect on the Menor's Ferry area.<sup>8</sup> The ferry was operated until 1983, when the replica was beached for safety reasons. In 1990, another replica of the ferry was constructed, based on Fabian's plans, and the pontoons were replaced in 2001. The structures have received periodic log and roof replacement.<sup>9</sup>



**Figure 5.3. Menor's Ferry.** (Collection of the Jackson Hole Historical Society and Museum)

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<sup>7</sup> Robert M. Cox, "Historic Structures Report: Menor's Ferry," (Denver: NPS, Denver Service Center, Historic Preservation Division, 1976).

<sup>8</sup> "Master Plan: Grand Teton National Park" 1976.

<sup>9</sup> Angus M. Thuermer, Jr. "Menor's Ferry floats again," *Jackson Hole News*, 4 July 1990; Whitney Royster, "'Best thing' for ferry was to sink in Snake," *Jackson Hole News*, 1 August 2001; Cox.

Menor's Ferry is the park's most fully developed interpretive site. Visitors can still ride on the reproduction ferry in the years that the park is able to put it in the water, and in some years there have been volunteer costumed interpreters at the site. Because it is near the Moose Visitor Center, as well as the Chapel of the Transfiguration, Menor's Ferry receives many visitors in the summer.<sup>10</sup>

Menor's Ferry is popular with visitors, and has been consistently favored over all other sites in the park for preservation and interpretation as a historic resource.<sup>11</sup> It owes its preservation to the work of the Rockefeller family and A. E. Kendrew, which ensured an early appreciation of the significance of the site and its potential for interpretation to the public. The complex is also conveniently located, within the developed Moose area, so that preservation and interpretation of the site does not impact a more pristine natural area.

### **Old Administrative Area [Beaver Creek] Historic District**

**Construction Date:** 1934-39

**Number of contributing resources:** 15. Five residential buildings, including the Superintendent's residence (figure 5.4); a bathhouse; the old administration building (the first park headquarters); and two sheds, a carpentry shop, and five garages.

**Date of NPS acquisition:** 1929

**Date listed on National Register:** 1990 (expanded in 2001, and retracted in 2003).

**Current Use:** Administrative area, used as residences, offices, and storage.

**Projected Future Use:** Continue current use.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000; Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE, to author, 20 May 2005.

<sup>11</sup> "Master Plan for Grand Teton National Park: MISSION 66 Edition"; "Master Plan: Grand Teton National Park" 1976; "Resource Management Plan: Cultural Resources Component" 1988; Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000.

<sup>12</sup> Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000; "Historic Structures Inventory, Grand Teton National Park" 2004; Holtman, 20 May 2004.

**History:** The Beaver Creek area was first developed by the United States Forest Service in 1908, when the Stewart Ranger Station, which was later expanded to become the park administration building, was built. In the 1930s the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) expanded the existing ranger station and built new rustic-style structures, to serve as headquarters for the newly formed Grand Teton National Park. The area served as headquarters until the current Moose visitor center and headquarters buildings were constructed in Moose in the 1960s during the MISSION 66 period.<sup>13</sup>



**Figure 5.4. Superintendent's Residence, Old Administrative Area Historic District.**  
(Courtesy of Grand Teton National Park)

**Management History:** Many of the buildings have been upgraded due to their use as residential units, sometimes haphazardly.<sup>14</sup> Several new residential units have been built both within and outside of the boundary of the historic district. The

<sup>13</sup> Daugherty et al., 297; "Old Administrative Area Historic District," National Register Nomination, n.a., n.d.; Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE, "Old Administrative Area Historic District" (Boundary Increase), National Register Nomination, 2001; Holtman, 20 May 2004.

<sup>14</sup> Mark Kelleher, Facility Manager, GRTE, to Richard Cronenberger, Historical Architect, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, NPS, 6 January 1992, Beaver Creek file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

Superintendent's residence has been upgraded as well. Recent new construction and modifications have been designed to be compatible with the existing architecture, following the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*.<sup>15</sup> The area was listed as a historic district in 1990, as part of the National Register multiple property submission for the park.<sup>16</sup> In 2000, the park sent Section 106 documentation to the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office for the removal of a residential building in the Beaver Creek area that was not part of the National Register historic district. The State Historic Preservation Office replied that the park had not supplied sufficient documentation for the building.<sup>17</sup> The building was not removed, and in the next year, the district was expanded to include it and two other residence buildings.<sup>18</sup> The three buildings were constructed by the CCC in Yellowstone National Park, but were moved to Grand Teton in 1947. In 2003, the historic district boundary was returned to its original configuration, and the three CCC structures were removed in 2004, all with concurrence from the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office.<sup>19</sup> The old administration building was declared unsafe for human occupation in 2004 due to an unhealthy accumulation of bat guano in the attic space, but had been used up to that point as offices.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Jack Neckels, Superintendent, GRTE, to John T. Keck, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer, 30 June 1998, Beaver Creek file, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Michael D. Snyder, Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, to Dr. David Kathka, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer, 17 April 1992, Beaver Creek file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>16</sup> "Old Administrative Area Historic District," National Register Nomination.

<sup>17</sup> Judy K. Wolf, Wyoming Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, to Jack Neckels, Superintendent, GRTE, 14 September 2000, Beaver Creek file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>18</sup> Steven F. Iobst, Acting Superintendent, GRTE to Wendy Bredehoft, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer, 12 March 2001, Beaver Creek file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>19</sup> Holtman, 20 May 2005.

<sup>20</sup> Rebecca Huntington, "Bat guano makes old park offices unsafe," *Jackson Hole News & Guide*, 27 October 2004.

For all of its existence, the Old Administrative Area has generally served the purpose for which the park intended it when the administrative building was expanded and the rest of the structures were built or moved to the site; that is, it has been a park residential and administrative area, which has meant that the buildings have been maintained, not only once they were recognized as historic, but also for many years prior to their historic designation, by virtue of the fact that they were maintained as any other park operations structures would have been. In some cases, before the buildings were considered historic, maintenance and alterations were not always done in a sensitive manner, but the end result is that the buildings remain, and remain largely intact. The structures are located in an area which has continued to develop as a residential area outside of the historic district, meaning the buildings' existence is probably not perceived as intruding on an undeveloped natural area.

### **Brinkerhoff Lodge**

**Construction Date:** 1946

**Number of contributing resources:** 2. Lodge (figure 5.5) and caretaker's cottage.

**Date of NPS acquisition:** 1955

**Date listed on National Register:** 1990

**Current Use:** Housing and meeting space for visiting National Park Service personnel and others visiting on official National Park Service business.

**Projected Future Use:** Continue current use.<sup>21</sup>

**History:** The Brinkerhoff family, owners of an oil exploration company, built this vacation lodge and caretaker's cottage on a Forest Service lease on the eastern shore of Jackson Lake, not far off the park's inside road. The lodge and caretaker's cottage were built in 1946, and were designed by Casper, Wyoming architect Jan Wilking. The lodge was finely crafted by Swedish builders from Lander, Wyoming, and still contains the Brinkerhoff's collection of western- and southwestern-style furnishings, including

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<sup>21</sup> Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000; "Historic Structures Inventory, Grand Teton National Park" 2004; S. F. Mehls, "The Brinkerhoff," National Register Nomination, 1988.

custom pieces made by Thomas Molesworth. The lodge is considered significant as an example of the late period of development of vacation homes in the park, and the only remaining example of a Forest Service lease vacation home in the park. Its significance extends to its ownership by the National Park Service, because it was used as a VIP retreat for dignitaries. The lodge is also significant for its rustic architecture.<sup>22</sup>



**Figure 5.5. Brinkerhoff Lodge.** (Courtesy of Grand Teton National Park)

**Management History:** The Brinkerhoff family sold the lodge to the National Park Service in 1955. Over half of the purchase price was covered by donated funds, the majority of which, if not all, was probably from Jackson Hole Preserve, Inc., the company formed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to succeed the Snake River Land

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<sup>22</sup> Mehls, "The Brinkerhoff"; "The Brinkerhoff House," n.d., n.a., Brinkerhoff file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

Company.<sup>23</sup> After the park acquired the lodge, it was used as a retreat for visiting dignitaries. Presidents Kennedy, Nixon, Carter, and then Vice President George H. W. Bush have stayed at the lodge.<sup>24</sup> In 1990, the lodge was listed on the National Register as part of the multiple property submission, even though at the time, the lodge was not yet fifty years old.<sup>25</sup> The lodge is no longer used for VIP visitors; since 1992, it has been used instead for visiting National Park Service staff and others visiting on official National Park Service business.<sup>26</sup> A new cedar shingle roof was installed in 1994 by the National Park Service's Williamsport Preservation Training Center. Log and wood repairs were made to the lodge in 1996, and it receives periodic treatment for carpenter ant infestation. A furnishing evaluation was conducted in 1996 by a conservator with the National Park Service's Harper's Ferry Center, during which each piece of furniture was evaluated and a repair program was established. In 2003, the lodge was cleaned and oiled by a contractor.<sup>27</sup>

The Brinkerhoff Lodge's survival is probably due to the fact that it is a well-built, attractive, comfortably furnished, and easily accessible building for which the park found a use soon after acquiring it. The use of the house was not a concerted effort to find a use for a historic building, because the lodge was a relatively new building when the park acquired it, gaining much of its significance as a Park Service structure. Instead, the fact that it has survived has less to do with being historic than its beauty and

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<sup>23</sup> "[Illegible] History 'Brinkerhoff - Lot 8, Block A, Jackson Lake Summer House Sites,' n.d., n.a., Brinkerhoff file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>24</sup> Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000.

<sup>25</sup> Mehls, "The Brinkerhoff."

<sup>26</sup> Jack Neckels, Superintendent, GRTE to Division Chiefs, GRTE, "Policy Memorandum—Use of the Brinkerhoff Lodge," 14 August 1997, Brinkerhoff file, Park Historian's files, GRTE; "Brinkerhoff Lodge now is for business use only," *Jackson Hole Guide*, 11 March 1992.

<sup>27</sup> Ronald E. Sheetz, "Condition Survey of Furniture at the Brinkerhoff Lodge," (Harper's Ferry, WV: Division of Conservation, Harper's Ferry Center, NPS, 1996), Brinkerhoff file, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Roddy Rohrer, NPS Williamsport Preservation Training Center, Weekly Field Reports 1-3, August 12-26, 1994, Brinkerhoff file, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Holtman, 20 May 2005.

usefulness. Additionally, the lodge is located on a strip of land sandwiched between the inner park road and the shores of Jackson Lake. Its proximity to a highway means it is in an area that is already subject to impacts from humans and vehicles.

### Leek's Lodge

**Construction Date:** 1927

**Number of contributing resources:** [1]

**Date of NPS acquisition:** 1943

**Date listed on National Register:** 1975<sup>28</sup>

**Current Use:** Removed.

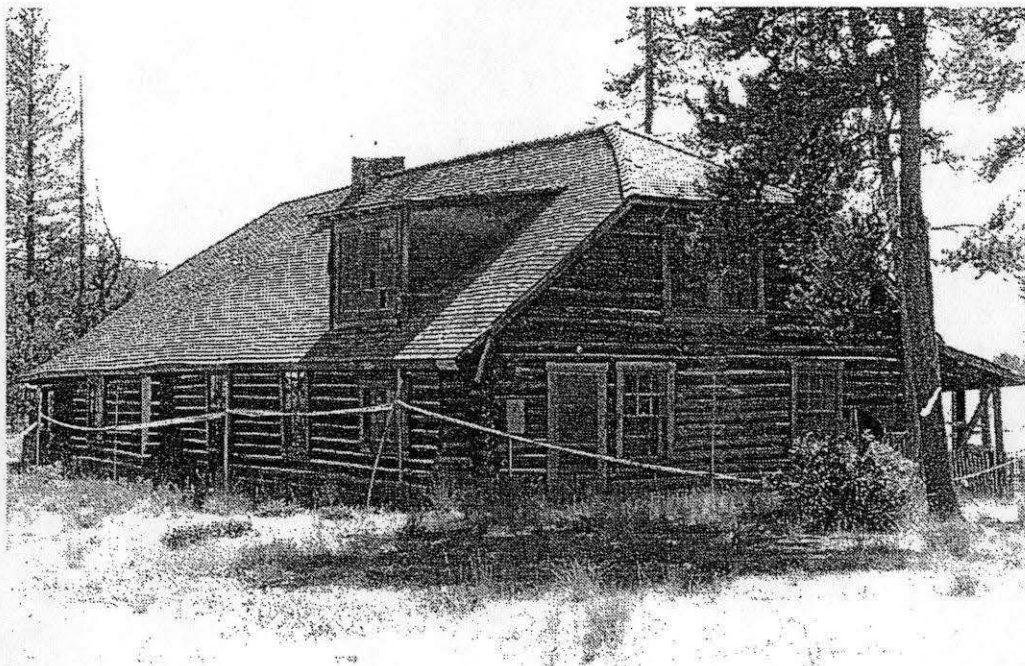
**Projected Future Use:** N/A.

**History:** Over his lifetime, Stephen Leek was a trapper, dude rancher, photographer, writer, outfitter, and state representative who arrived first in Jackson Hole in 1888. Leek was also an early conservationist. He photographed starving and dying elk in the winter of 1909, and because of his advocacy, the National Elk Refuge was created in 1912. Leek's Lodge was designed and built by Leek in 1927 on Forest Service land when Leek was sixty-seven (figure 5.6). The building served as a social space for Leek's summer hunting and fishing camp, which apparently functioned at times somewhat as a dude ranch and a boys camp, and which included a number of additional cabins. The Leek family ran the camp until after World War II, after which the concession was taken over by a series of new owners. The lodge ceased operation in the late 1970s, with the marina operation continuing under a concession permit.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ned Frost, Wyoming Recreation Commission, "Leek's Lodge," National Register Nomination, 1974; Jean Carlton Parker, "Historic Structures Report: Leek's Lodge," (Denver: Midwest/ Rocky Mountain Team, Denver Service Center, NPS, 1979).

<sup>29</sup> Frost, "Leek's Lodge"; Parker.



**Figure 5.6. Leek's Lodge.** (Courtesy of Grand Teton National Park)

**Management History:** Leek's Lodge became a NPS concession after the creation of Jackson Hole National Monument in 1943, at which point the land on which it was located transferred from the U.S. Forest Service to the National Park Service. Maintenance inspections from the 1950s on indicate that the building was poorly maintained and had begun to deteriorate by the 1960s. The Wyoming Recreation Commission (State Historic Preservation Office) nominated Leek's Lodge to the National Register of Historic Places, and it was listed in 1975. Soon after, the park acquired the cabins, including the lodge, from the concessioner, and subsequent to Section 106 compliance, removed most of the cabins except for the lodge and several others; of these, only the lodge was included on the National Register nomination.<sup>30</sup>

A Historic Structures Report was completed in the 1970s, and published in 1979 by the National Park Service Denver Service Center, in order to provide direction for the restoration and adaptive use of the lodge structure as seasonal housing. The report

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

included HABS drawings of the lodge.<sup>31</sup> In 1976 the park stabilized the exterior, maintaining its historic appearance, renovated the interior for seasonal housing, and structurally reinforced the lodge, under the direction of Harrison Goodall, a log restoration expert.<sup>32</sup> A new marina facility and restaurant was built at Leek's in the late 1970s, at a cost of \$1.3 million, after great effort to design it to be compatible with the historic building.<sup>33</sup> The stabilization work that had been completed on Leek's Lodge was not adequate to prevent further deterioration of the structure, and additional stabilization work was conducted in 1985. By the early 1990s, the park began to discuss demolition of the structure, by which point each winter's snow load caused further damage to the lodge, making it a safety and health hazard.<sup>34</sup> In 1996, the park estimated the cost for rehabilitating the structure was \$250,000.<sup>35</sup>

In 1995, the park made the decision to remove the structure, and initiated Section 106 review of the project. A memorandum of agreement (MOA) was reached between the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, and the park, and was submitted to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. The MOA stipulated three measures to mitigate the adverse effect of removal of Leek's Lodge. First, the park was required to advertise the building for sale to a buyer who would restore it to the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation*. Second, if a buyer was not located, the park was required to salvage any materials from the lodge that could be reused on other historic buildings. Third, if any party to the MOA raised an objection to

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<sup>31</sup> Parker.

<sup>32</sup> The Historic Structures Report, which directed this effort, must have taken several years to be published after its completion. "Leek's will undergo repair," 16 August 1978, [newspaper unknown], Leek's Lodge file, Park Historian's file, GRTE.

<sup>33</sup> Peter S. Hayden, Aquatic Biologist, GRTE, to Assistant Superintendent, GRTE, "Leek's day-use area development program," 18 May 1982, Leek's Lodge file, Park Historian's file, GRTE; John Daugherty, Park Historian, GRTE, to Superintendent, GRTE, Memorandum, "Leek's Lodge," n.d., Leek's Lodge file, Park Historian's file, GRTE.

<sup>34</sup> Jack Neckels, Superintendent, GRTE, to Rodd Wheaton, Chief of Cultural Resources, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, 23 June 1993, Leek's Lodge file, Park Historian's file, GRTE.

<sup>35</sup> Michael Johnson, Cultural Resources Specialist, GRTE, to Jack Neckels, Superintendent, GRTE, Memorandum, "Leeks Lodge," 16 August 1994, Leek's Lodge file, Park Historian's file, GRTE.

the implementation of the MOA, the park would resolve the objection. Ads were placed in the National Trust for Historic Preservation publication *Historic Preservation News*, and in local newspapers. Fifty-five prospective bidders received information on the lodge, but Sarah Resor submitted the only bid. Though she bought the lodge, she was unable to remove it. She attempted to interest others, but was unsuccessful. Several other efforts were made to find buyers, but these were also unsuccessful. The glu-lam beams installed in the 1980s were salvaged, as well as the window sashes, and the lodge was burned in the fall of 1998.<sup>36</sup>

The story of Leek's Lodge begins as a near model of cultural resource management, including adequate Section 106 compliance and proper evaluation and treatment of the building. While Leek's Lodge was still useful as a concession facility, the park invested money and time in its preservation. It was located in an area designated for concession development, which might have further justified its preservation. It appears that once repair costs escalated past the point that was justifiable for the function of the building, the unspoken policy, from 1985 to 1995, was intentional neglect.

### White Grass Ranch Historic District

**Construction Date:** 1917-?

**Number of contributing resources:** 13 (including the main cabin, figure 5.7).

**Date of NPS acquisition:** 1957, 1983. Life lease ended in 1985.

**Date listed on National Register:** 1990

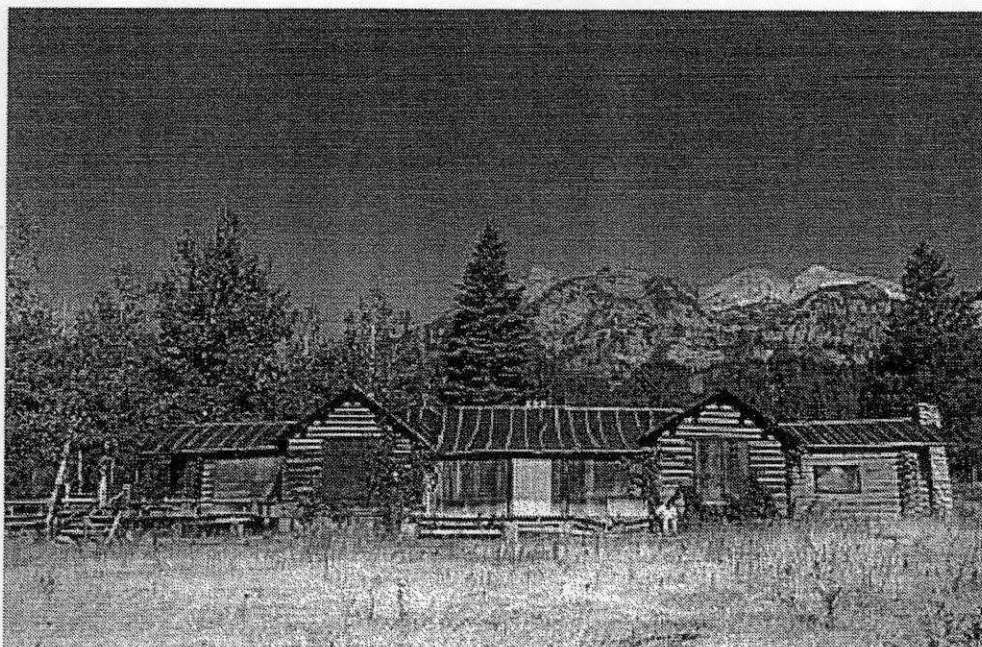
**Current Use:** Abandoned.

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<sup>36</sup> Christopher Shelton, "History takes a beating: GRTE want to remove historic Leek's Lodge," *Jackson Hole Guide*, 12 July 1995; Rachel Odell, "Leek's Lodge marked for destruction in fall," *Jackson Hole News*, 12 August 1998; "Memorandum of Agreement between the NPS and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer regarding the removal of Leek's Lodge, submitted to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation pursuant to 36 CFR 800.6(a)," March 1996; "Leeks Timetable," n.d, n.a., Leek's Lodge file, Park Historian's file, GRTE.

**Projected Future Use:** Western Center for Preservation Training and Technology.<sup>37</sup>

**History:** The White Grass Ranch was the third dude ranch in Jackson Hole, after the JY and the Bar BC. It is located in a large natural meadow at the base of the Teton Range. It was started in 1917 by Harold Hammond and Tucker Bispham. Hammond's stepson, Frank Galey, Jr., ran the dude ranch until his death in 1985. The National Park Service purchased 301 acres of the ranch in 1957, and purchased six remaining acres in 1983. Similar to the arrangement at the Bar BC, Galey was allowed to operate White Grass as a dude ranch under a life estate until the time of his death. The year Galey died, White Grass held an auction to sell the ranch horses, saddles, and furnishings—all the assets but the buildings. That fall, an electrical fire destroyed the Galey cabin at White Grass.<sup>38</sup>



**Figure 5.7. White Grass Ranch main cabin.** (Courtesy of Grand Teton National Park)

<sup>37</sup> Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000; "Historic Structures Inventory, Grand Teton National Park" 2004; "White Grass to cease operation," *Jackson Hole News*, 28 August 1985.

<sup>38</sup> "White Grass to cease operation"; George Gladney, "White Grass Ranch auction big event," *Jackson Hole News*, 18 September 1985; "Fire destroys Galey cabin at White Grass Ranch," *Jackson Hole News*, 6 November 1985.

**Management History:** Frank Galey's widow, Nona Galey, was permitted to live at the ranch until her death, but after her house burned, she conveyed her life estate interest to the park in 1986.<sup>39</sup> One of the first efforts once the ranch came under park control was to "rehabilitate" White Grass, by which was meant, "returning the altered areas to their natural condition." This included removing fences, discontinuing horse trail use to allow re-growth, removal of exotic plants, filling in the 33,835 feet of irrigation ditches, removal of trash dump sites, filling in an eighty by forty by twenty feet deep "borrow pit," removal of scrap farm implements, removal of four acres of fox breeding kennels, removal of the domestic water supply catchment pit system, filling in the swimming pool, removing the irrigation diversion, filling in the primary irrigation canal, and filling in an artificial pond.<sup>40</sup> The result was that the majority of the cultural landscape elements of the White Grass Ranch were obliterated. The White Grass files at Grand Teton contain no record of Section 106 or National Environmental Policy Act compliance for the removal of these cultural landscape features.

In 1989, the park completed Section 106 compliance for the removal of fourteen buildings from White Grass Ranch. These had been determined to be ineligible to the National Register of Historic Places by the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office and the National Park Service.<sup>41</sup> Presumably, one of these was the White Grass barn, because park naturalist Jon Gerster bought the barn for \$1 and moved it that fall, storing the pieces until 1997, when it was reconstructed on Carole and Norman Hofley's property near Wilson, Wyoming.<sup>42</sup> White Grass Ranch was listed on the National

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<sup>39</sup> Chief, Land Resources Division, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, to Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, Notification of Closing, 24 July 1986, White Grass file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>40</sup> "White Grass Rehabilitation," n.d. [1985], n.a., White Grass file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>41</sup> Richard A. Strait, Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, to Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, 24 October 1989, White Grass file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>42</sup> "The White Grass Barn," n.a., n.d., White Grass file, Teton County Historical Society; Pat Paquette, "Historical society remembers White Grass," *Jackson Hole News*, 22 August 2001.

Register of Historic Places in 1990, as part of the park's multiple property submission. The boundaries of the district included only the remaining core of thirteen contributing structures.<sup>43</sup> An additional cabin, the Laidlaw cabin, was removed in 1991, subsequent to Section 106 compliance.<sup>44</sup>

Soon after the 1985 transfer of the ranch to the park, concerned citizens, the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation began to lodge complaints with the park concerning the management of the White Grass Ranch. These groups perceived that the ranch was neglected, and some thought it was intentionally being allowed to deteriorate. The park's position was that the structures were near a heavily used park trailhead, an area that had value to wildlife, and that the buildings had already been in poor condition by the time they acquired them, and they did not have sufficient funding to repair them. Further, park management argued that when Congress appropriated funds to purchase the property, the intention was that the site would be cleared and allowed to return to a natural state.<sup>45</sup>

The 1990s were a period of inactivity at the ranch. The park repaired some of the roofs at White Grass, but the buildings deteriorated dramatically. Under Superintendent Jack Neckels, the park's intention was to remove the ranch.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Steven F. Mehls, "White Grass Dude Ranch," National Register Nomination, 1988.

<sup>44</sup> Michael G. Schene, Supervisory Regional Historian, Park Cultural Programs, Division of Cultural Resources, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, to Chief, Branch of Property Management, Administration, Rocky Mountain Region, "Section 106 Compliance, Removal of HS-1166, Laidlaw Cabin, Grand Teton National Park," 31 May 1991, White Grass file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>45</sup> Robert Fink, Chief, Western Division of Project Review, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, to Lorraine Mintzmyer, Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, 1 December 1987, White Grass file, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Sheila Bricher-Wade, Survey and Registration Program Manager, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, to Debra Wilson Lopez, 6 October 1987, White Grass file, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Denis P. Galvia, Acting Director, NPS, to John E. Grotberg, House of Representatives, 3 January 1986, White Grass file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>46</sup> Neckels, 6 March 2005.

In 2003, under Superintendent Stephen Martin and Intermountain Regional Director Karen Wade's leadership, the park began discussions with the National Trust for Historic Preservation to find a use for the White Grass buildings. The result was an agreement between the National Trust and the National Park Service to turn White Grass into the Western Center for Preservation Training and Technology. The National Trust pledged to raise up to \$1 million for the project. Barbara Pahl, Director of the National Trust's Mountains/ Plains Office, who was one of the people who conceived the plan, has said, "The goal of the center is to preserve, through adaptive use, the historic buildings at White Grass but also to create a work force of trainees who can tackle other buildings in the park in need of stabilization, maintenance, and preservation." The center will train park staff, employees of other federal agencies and state parks, private contractors, students, and volunteers to maintain and restore structures in the western national parks. The White Grass project has a precedent in Rocky Mountain National Park, where the National Trust helped raise money to rehabilitate and adaptively use the McGraw Ranch.<sup>47</sup>

The White Grass Environmental Assessment was made available for review in September of 2004, and a Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI) was released in February of 2005.<sup>48</sup> The project has not been without some controversy. Environmental advocates have vocally opposed the project, particularly the Jackson Hole Conservation Alliance, because of its potential impacts on wildlife. The National Parks Conservation Association raised concerns about whether the process involved an appropriate level of public involvement, and whether the decision to restore the ranch was made before the NEPA process was initiated, since an agreement was signed with

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<sup>47</sup> Rebecca Huntington, "Ranch becomes living laboratory," *Jackson Hole News & Guide*, 8 October 2003; Barbara Pahl, Director, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Mountains/Plains Office, to author, 10 March 2005; "Time Share," *Preservation* (January, February 2004): 21.

<sup>48</sup> "White Grass Ranch Rehabilitation and Adaptive Use: Environmental Assessment/ Assessment of Effect," (Moose, WY: Grand Teton National Park, 2004); "White Grass Ranch Rehabilitation and Adaptive Use: Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI)," (Moose, WY: Grand Teton National Park, 2005).

the National Trust before the Environmental Assessment was completed.<sup>49</sup> From the perspective of the preservation of cultural resources, the White Grass center could be an enormously positive project both for White Grass and for the other cultural resources in the park. The center could reverse damage done by past management decisions, and provide solutions to many of the obstacles to preserving historic structures in the park.

The poor condition of the ranch when it was taken over by the park is likely due to the fact that the Galeys were aware that any investment in maintenance would be lost once the buildings reverted to the park. The park had a "hands-off" policy for properties under life estates, meaning they did not require or supervise maintenance. It is also possible Nona Galey was aware of the park's plans, formalized in the 1988 Resources Management Plan, to remove all of the buildings upon acquisition. Both Superintendents Jack Stark and Jack Neckels intended the White Grass Ranch to be removed, to return the area to a natural state.<sup>50</sup> White Grass's recent resurrection has been due to the efforts both of park leadership, and the National Trust, which has acted both as an advocate and a provider of funds. The ranch is located in a natural meadow frequented by elk during the fall mating season, which was the justification for its removal, and has made proposals for its adaptive use controversial with conservationists.

### **Mormon Row Historic District**

**Construction Date:** Early twentieth century.

**Number of contributing resources:** 42 managed by the park, 7 privately held.

**Date of NPS acquisition:** 1930s-1950s

**Date listed on National Register:** 1990, 1997.

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<sup>49</sup> Rebecca Huntington, "Values collide in park project," *Jackson Hole News & Guide*, 6 October 2004; Tim Young, Grand Teton Field Office Manager, National Parks Conservation Association, to Ralph Tingey, Acting Superintendent, GRTE, 19 March 2004, White Grass file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>50</sup> Neckels, 6 March 2005; Stark, 25 March 2005.

**Current Use:** None. Frequently visited but not interpreted.

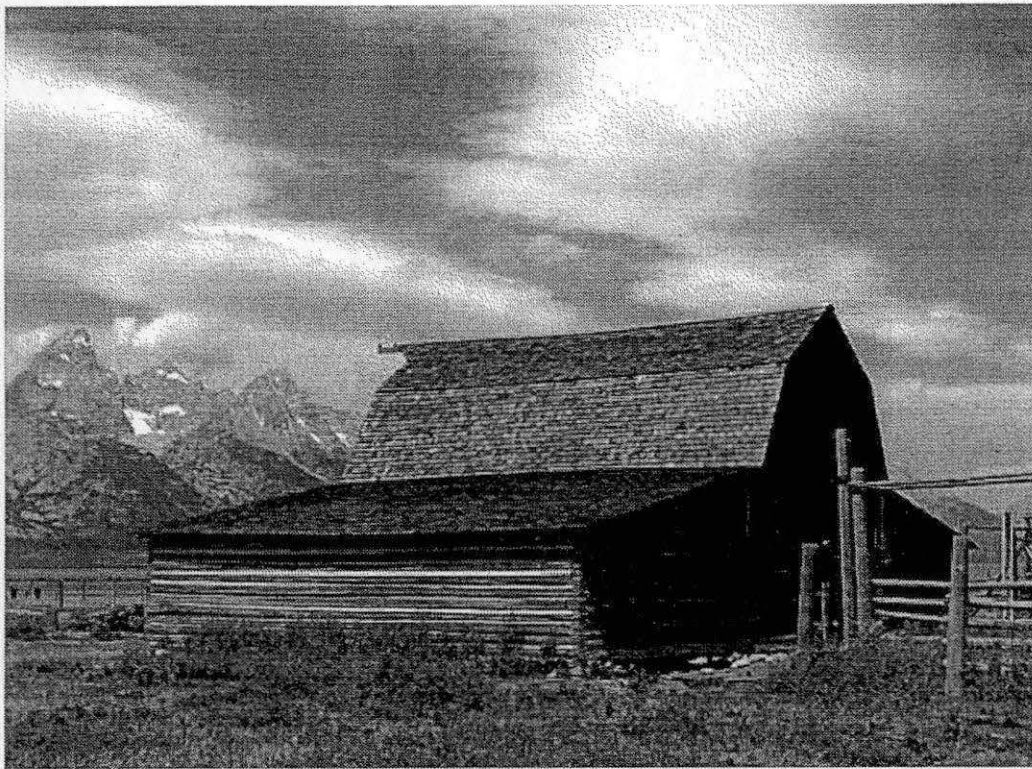
**Projected Future Use:** Implement preferred alternative of 1999 Mormon Row Environmental Assessment, which includes installing wayside exhibits, walking trails, and parking areas.<sup>51</sup>

**History:** Mormon Row, once called Grovont, was an agricultural community inhabited primarily by Mormons, which lasted only two generations. The homesteads along Mormon Row are arranged in a linear pattern along the former Jackson to Moran Road. The community represents the expansion of the "Mormon Culture Region" from Utah, Idaho, and Arizona in the early part of the twentieth century, and the Mormon settlement of high and arid country. It is significant for its vernacular architecture and cultural landscape, including an extensive irrigation system. There are today six remaining homesteads on Mormon Row, though it once had five times that many. More farms failed than survived in the difficult agricultural climate of Jackson Hole, and combined with the pressures of the Great Depression and the overtures of the Snake River Land Company and the National Park Service, most families sold their land between the 1930s and the 1950s. These two organizations had a policy during those years of removing human development. As a result, most of the buildings and cultural landscape elements are no longer extant. Some of the remaining farm complexes retain high degrees of integrity, but others do not. As a district, however, even these less intact complexes contribute to an understanding of the community. The site sits on the sloped eastern part of the valley, with views of the Teton Range seven miles away.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000; "Historic Structures Inventory, Grand Teton National Park" 2004; A. Hubber, C. Miller, and J. Caywood, Historical Research Associates, Inc./ Amphion, "Mormon Row Historic District," National Register Nomination, 1996; "Mormon Row Historic District Management Alternatives and Environmental Assessment" (Moose, WY: Grand Teton National Park, n.d. [1999]); Holtman, 20 May 2005.

<sup>52</sup> Hubber, Miller, and Caywood.



**Figure 5.8 John Moulton Barn, Mormon Row.** (Courtesy of Grand Teton National Park)

**Management History:** The park did not fully recognize the significance of Mormon Row or the value of preserving it until the 1990s, but in many ways, the recent management history of Mormon Row has been a model of successful cultural resource management. The Snake River Land Company or the National Park Service removed most of the Mormon Row structures in the early years of the park, leaving only one fifth of the original complex. The Pfeiffer Homestead narrowly escaped demolition in 1965, when local preservationists urged the park not to destroy it, as they were planning to do.<sup>53</sup> At that point, the park, and the Regional Office, did not consider the Pfeiffer

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<sup>53</sup> Several people have insisted that the Pfeiffer Homestead is not a part of Mormon Row. The property is not included in the Mormon Row Historic District, and could not have been because it was no longer extant when the district was nominated, but the National Register nomination, which includes a thorough history of the community, mentions Pfeiffer throughout as a member of the Mormon Row community. Joe Pfeiffer is listed in the nomination as one of the Mormon Row homesteaders, and listed with other non-Mormons whose homesteads were on Mormon Row (the community was not exclusively Mormon).

homestead historic. That seems to have changed because a National Register nomination was submitted by the park for the Pfeiffer Homestead in 1972, but the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office declined it.<sup>54</sup> Then a request in 1977 to demolish the T. A. Moulton Ranch and allow the Pfeiffer Homestead to “wither away” was approved by the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, and the Pfeiffer site was allowed to “molder” and all of the T.A. Moulton buildings were demolished, except the barn, which had become an icon for photographers and artists.<sup>55</sup>

The 1980s seem to have been a period of “benign neglect” for Mormon Row, and the park did little to preserve the structures. The first efforts to evaluate the Mormon Row area appear to have been in 1990, when a Level I Cultural Landscapes Reconnaissance Survey of Mormon Row was completed by Cathy Gilbert, Historical Landscape Architect with the Cultural Resources Division of the Pacific Northwest Region.<sup>56</sup> In 1994, the park permitted Clark Moulton, then eighty-one, to lead a work session to repair the T. A. Moulton barn, which had formerly belonged to his family.<sup>57</sup>

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From this history, it seems likely that, had the Pfeiffer Homestead survived, it would have been included in the Mormon Row Historic District. Hubber, Miller, and Caywood.

<sup>54</sup> The grounds for declining the nomination were that “there are many Wyoming homesteads, related to much more important history ... which await nomination to the National Register. If every old homestead still standing in Wyoming is to be nominated to the Register, the one with really significant history will be lost in the multitude.” The nomination was submitted as part of a group of eleven nominations submitted by the NPS. Seven out of eleven were declined by the Wyoming SHPO, mostly based on the minimal and often erroneous documentation supporting the nominations. The Pfeiffer nomination includes not more than 300 words combined in both narrative sections, section 7 and section 8. Paul H. Westedt, Wyoming State Liaison Officer for National Historic Preservation Act, and Nedward M. Frost, Secretary, Wyoming Consulting Committee on Nominations to the National Register of Historic Places, to Leonard Volz, Director, Midwest Region, NPS, 30 October 1972, Pfeiffer Homestead file, Park Historian’s files, GRTE; Andrew R. K[?]rdos, Ranger Naturalist, seasonal, GRTE, “Joe Pfeiffer Homestead,” National Register Nomination, n.d., Pfeiffer Homestead file, Park Historian’s files, GRTE.

<sup>55</sup> Paul H. Westedt, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer, to Lynn H. Thompson, Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, 26 August, 1977, Mormon Row file, Park Historian’s files, GRTE; Ned Frost, Chief, Historical Division, Wyoming SHPO, to Lynn H. Thompson, Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, 6 March 1978, Mormon Row file, Park Historian’s files, GRTE.

<sup>56</sup> Cathy Gilbert, Trip Report, Grand Teton National Park, August 27-31, 1990, Mormon Row file, Park Historian’s files, GRTE.

<sup>57</sup> “Moulton’s dig up support for barn,” *Jackson Hole Guide*, 10 August 1994.

The Pfeiffer Homestead was lost in a wildland fire in August of 1994.<sup>58</sup> In 1995, a Level II Cultural Landscape Inventory was completed by Cheryl Miller of Amphion and Janene Caywood of Historical Research Associates, Inc.<sup>59</sup> In 1995, volunteers organized another workday at the T. A. Moulton barn. The same summer, more volunteers, a group from Michigan that would come to be known as "The Michigan Volunteers," worked on the Chambers homestead under the direction of log expert Harrison Goodall.<sup>60</sup> An excellent and thorough Historic District/ Rural Historic Landscape National Register Nomination was prepared in 1996 by Historical Research Associates, Inc. and Amphion.<sup>61</sup> Measured HABS drawings of the Mormon Row homesteads, including site plans and drawings of the major structures, were completed in 1996 or 1997.<sup>62</sup> In 1998 and 1999, the park stabilized the John Moulton barn (figure 5.8), the Chambers barn and granary, and the John Moulton residence and pumphouse.<sup>63</sup>

In 1998, a planning effort began for Mormon Row, integrating both natural and cultural resource specialists, interpreters, landscape architects, and planners. The group addressed the fact that Mormon Row was deteriorating, was not being interpreted to the public, and was receiving a "light but steady amount of visitation," which was not supported by adequate parking or amenities. The effort produced "Management Alternatives and Environmental Assessment for Mormon Row" in 1999, which accomplished both NEPA and Section 106 compliance. The six alternatives presented ranged from the most minimal alternative of stabilizing a core of the historic structures,

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<sup>58</sup> Mark Huffman, "Gumption, skill saves homes," *Jackson Hole News*, 31 August 1994.

<sup>59</sup> Cheryl Miller, Amphion, and Janene Caywood, Historical Research Associates, "Mormon Row Cultural Landscape Inventory," Draft 8/28/95.

<sup>60</sup> Mark Huffman, "A Mormon Row clean-up," *Jackson Hole News*, 26 July 1995; Mark Huffman, "Row's Chambers place gets fixed up," *Jackson Hole News*, 11 October 1995.

<sup>61</sup> Hubber, Miller, and Caywood.

<sup>62</sup> "Mormon Row Historic District Management Alternatives and Environmental Assessment."

<sup>63</sup> Michael Johnson to Rick Watson, Email, 9 October 1998, Mormon Row file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

letting the cultural landscape elements deteriorate, constructing a vehicle turnout, and not actively interpreting the site; to a more elaborate alternative, which involved stabilizing the structures and rehabilitating two of the interiors, preserving and maintaining the cultural landscape, providing parking and improved roads, and interpreting the site through personal interpretive services and wayside exhibits. The debate over the alternatives raised public awareness of the difficulty of balancing cultural and natural resources in the park, especially through several newspaper articles, with titles like "Does the park's past have a future?" The NEPA process ended with a Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI), and the alternative chosen was to stabilize the structures, remove non-historic additions, allow some cultural landscape elements outside the homestead complexes to decay, upgrade parking to accommodate cars and buses, rebuild a bridge to allow pedestrian access to the length of Mormon Row, and interpret the area through numbered posts corresponding to tour brochures.<sup>64</sup>

The Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office recognized the park's efforts at Mormon Row, which had been led by Cultural Resources Specialist Michael Johnson, by nominating the project for several awards.<sup>65</sup> In 1999, Mormon Row was designated an official project of the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Save America's Treasures program.<sup>66</sup> Between 2002 and 2004, eight more structures on Mormon Row were stabilized.<sup>67</sup>

Mormon Row's preservation has depended in large part on the efforts of volunteers, particularly the Michigan Volunteers, who have formed something of a constituency for the district. Its location on the east side of the Snake River, on the less

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<sup>64</sup> "Mormon Row Historic District Management Alternatives and Environmental Assessment"; Rachel Odell, "Does the park's past have a future?" *Jackson Hole News*, 18 August 1999; Rebecca Huntington, "Teton Park to restore Mormon Row site," *Jackson Hole Guide*, 24 May 2000;.

<sup>65</sup> John T. Keck, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer to Jack Neckels, Superintendent, GRTE, 5 January 1999, Mormon Row file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>66</sup> Tiane C. Benson, Director, Save America's Treasures, to Jack Neckels, Superintendent, GRTE, 15 June 1999, Mormon Row file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>67</sup> Holtman, 20 May 2005.

visited side of the park, and along an existing road, has also been an advantage. It is likely that since the area is highly visible, and the structures are frequently photographed with the Tetons in the background, this has given the park added incentive for their preservation.<sup>68</sup>

### **Bar BC Ranch Historic District**

**Construction Date:** 1912-?

**Number of contributing resources:** 35 (including the main cabin, figure 5.8).

**Date of NPS acquisition:** 1929, life lease ended in 1988.

**Date listed on National Register:** 1990.

**Current Use:** Abandoned.

**Projected Future Use:** Interpretive Site.<sup>69</sup>

**History:** The Bar BC was the second dude ranch in Jackson Hole, after the JY. It was built by Horace Carncross and Struthers Burt, starting in 1912. The Burts, Katherine and Struthers, were both writers, and Struthers Burt's *Diary of a Dude Wrangler* was a popular book thought to have set the standard for the dude ranch industry. The ranch is located approximately one mile from the inside park road, on the banks of the Snake River, out of view of the road. The ranch was sold to the Snake River Land Company in 1929, and run under a life lease as a dude ranch until World War II, and then as rental cabins, until 1985. The lease ended in 1988, at which point the park took over management of the Bar BC.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.; Wheaton, 7 May 2005.

<sup>69</sup> Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000; "Historic Structures Inventory, Grand Teton National Park" 2004.

<sup>70</sup> This is a summary of the history given in Chapter III. Please see that chapter for further details and for sources.



**Figure 5.9. Bar BC main cabin.** (Author)

**Management History:** The Bar BC came under the park's control at the death of its last owner, Margaretta Corse, in 1988. Prior to her death, a controversy had erupted when she had attempted to sell the cabins on the ranch, with the park's consent. Critics pointed out that the buildings, under the terms of the lease, belonged to the park, and removal would require Section 106 compliance. Some suspected the park's management was intentionally trying to rid itself of the buildings. The sale of the buildings was halted, although several buildings built after the 1929 sale of the land were removed. The park had not required maintenance or monitored the condition of the ranch while it was under life lease, and the lessees had not maintained the buildings well. By the time the park received them, they were already in poor condition. Fearing the park intended to remove the buildings, and to encourage the park to preserve the ranch, the Rocky Mountain Regional Office initiated a Historic Structures Report for the Bar BC. The report took several years, and included elements beyond the standard scope of a historic structures report, bringing the cost close to \$250,000. The year after the last draft of the report was completed, Cultural Resources Specialist Michael

Johnson circulated an alternative recommendation for the treatment of the Bar BC, which was a much more limited plan for the preservation of only a few of the buildings: the very earliest structures on the ranch. This plan was never formalized, and a final decision was not made for the ranch until quite recently. In the 1990s, trash was removed from the site, several buildings had new roofs installed, and snow support columns and window coverings were installed. Under Superintendent Steve Martin, eight buildings at the Bar BC were stabilized. The park now intends to stabilize as many of the buildings as funding will allow, and provide access and interpretation to the public.<sup>71</sup>

### Lessons

There are several lessons to be derived from these brief studies:

- Historic structures which have an intentional use—either their original one or an adaptive use—have fared better than those that sit abandoned. The Brinkerhoff and the Old Administrative Area both show the advantages of receiving routine maintenance as useful operations buildings, and Leek's Lodge shows the rapid decline which can occur when a building is no longer practical for its use. The large number of buildings whose original uses are no longer feasible makes finding adaptive uses a critical part of preserving historic structures in the park.
- The influence of an advocate outside of the park is a factor in the preservation of resources, such as the Moulton family and the Michigan Volunteers at Mormon Row, or the National Trust at White Grass Ranch. Independent citizens have been active in urging the preservation of cultural resources in the park, and their influence helps provide accountability for management decisions.
- Park leadership makes the most important decisions for cultural resources: Superintendent Martin led the preservation of White Grass and Bar BC, which had been slated for removal under Superintendent Stark. Martin's leadership was a powerful force in reversing the trend of neglect for the two ranches.

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<sup>71</sup> This is a summary of Chapter VI. Please see that chapter for further details and for sources.

- The influence and vision of the park's patron, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is a powerful factor in the way resources are managed, as at Menor's Ferry. The next chapter demonstrates that perceptions of Rockefeller's intentions, even inaccurate ones, can also be influential in advocating for the removal of cultural resources.
- The park's "hands-off" policy for properties under life leases meant that the White Grass Ranch and the Bar BC were in poor condition by the time they came under park control, making preservation costly. These structures, because they are historic and were owned throughout the period of these leases by the federal government, are subject to Section 106, meaning the park should have evaluated the potential impacts of the "hands-off" policy.
- The locations of the resources, whether in areas designated for development or in less developed "natural" areas, has made a difference in how they have been managed. It is easier to find new uses for those in developed areas, which are already heavily impacted by human use, than it is to suggest new uses in more "pristine" natural areas, such as at White Grass, where rehabilitation plans have angered conservationists.

Many of these factors are active in some way in the story of the Bar BC, particularly the importance of adaptive use, the influence of the park's superintendent, the vision of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the "hands-off" policy during life leases. Because these are common themes, they are likely ones that would be apparent in a more comprehensive study of cultural resource management in the park as a whole. Some may be common to other parks, as well.

## CHAPTER VI

### A HISTORY OF GRAND TETON NATIONAL PARK'S MANAGEMENT OF THE BAR BC RANCH

The Bar BC Ranch did not come into National Park Service hands until the death of its last owner, Margaretta Corse, in 1988; however, the ranch had been destined to become park land since the Snake River Land Company purchased it in 1929. Therefore, the National Park Service was involved in decisions about the ranch made prior to Margaretta Corse's death, as well as once the National Park Service was exclusively responsible for the management of the property. The transition from the Corse occupation of the ranch to park control was a rocky one, and since then, the Bar BC has been a challenging resource to manage within the goals and objectives of Grand Teton National Park. Its story has evolved along with changes in park leadership and management practices. This chapter will recount the history of the management of the Bar BC Ranch by Grand Teton National Park and the National Park Service.<sup>1</sup>

When Struthers Burt and Irving Corse sold the Bar BC at the end of 1929 to the Snake River Land Company, they sold 577.83 acres, which represented all of the ranch except 72.56 acres, which belonged to Irving Corse. Corse's land was to be conveyed to the Snake River Land Company at his death. As many ranch owners did when they sold their ranches, the partners signed a "life lease" with the Snake River Land Company for the remaining 577.83 acres, in order to continue to run the ranch as long

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<sup>1</sup> This account is based on information in documents and files from Grand Teton National Park, the National Archives in College Park, MD, newspaper articles, and interviews. Further research could include files from the NPS Intermountain Regional Office, the National Archives in Denver, or the Wyoming SHPO.

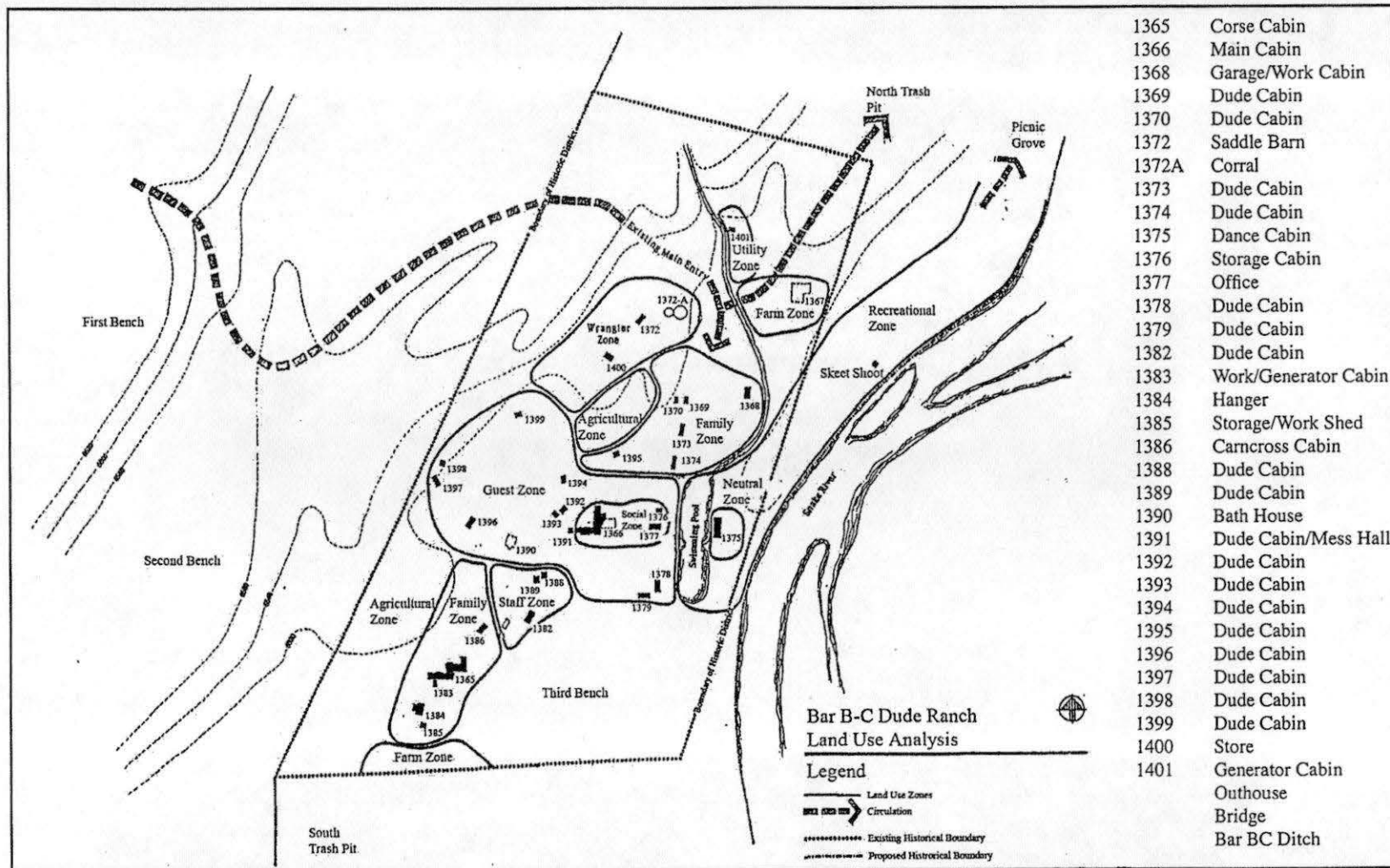


Figure 6.1. Map of Bar BC Ranch. Showing land use analysis, adapted from cultural landscape report portion of the Bar BC historic structures report. (NPS, Intermountain Region).

as they lived.<sup>2</sup> At this point, the vision of the park held by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. was that dude ranches would continue to operate in the park, and the Bar BC, where the Rockefeller family had stayed, was most likely one of these.<sup>3</sup> In 1939, the Burts were dropped from the lease when they sold their share of the business, and Corse's much younger second wife, Margaretta, was added to it.<sup>4</sup> In 1950, when the ranch was transferred to the National Park Service by the Rockefellers, through the Snake River Land Company's successor, Jackson Hole Preserve, Inc., the federal agency became the lessor. Irving Corse died after a period of illness in 1953, at which point the 72.56 acres were conveyed to the National Park Service, and Margaretta Corse retained the life lease.<sup>5</sup> Please see figure 6.1 for a site plan of the ranch as it exists today.

Nathaniel Burt, Struthers and Katharine Burt's son, has written that his father felt it was his duty to sell the Bar BC to the Snake River Land Company, but that he did not envision the destruction of the ranch. Struthers Burt apparently thought the ranch had historical significance, even at that early date.<sup>6</sup>

Several other families lived at the ranch after its sale to the Snake River Land Company. In 1938, a cabin known as the Pavenstedt Cabin, which was apparently moved to the ranch, was leased to Frank Crocker. In 1941, the Corses subleased land to E. Webster Harrison, who built a cabin there. Beginning during Corse's illness, and for several years after his death, the Conderman family leased the ranch, from 1950-59.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Irving Corse to Snake River Land Company, Agreement, 12 March 1930, "Corse 04-132 Bar BC 1930-1954 Deed # 8" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>3</sup> Righter, *Crucible*, 128-131.

<sup>4</sup> [No first name given] Mullady, "Memorandum on the 'Corse' lease," "Corse 04-132 Bar BC 1930-1954 Deed # 8" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>5</sup> Daugherty, et al., 235-236; Righter, "Preserving the Past," 9-13; George Gladney, "Bar BC auction Saturday," *Jackson Hole News*, 13 August 1986.

<sup>6</sup> Daugherty et al., 354.

<sup>7</sup> Mullady, "Memorandum on the 'Corse' lease"; E. Webster Harrison, Lease, "Corse 04-132 Bar BC 1930-1954 Deed # 8" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

The lease that governed the Corses' use of the land had a clause that would cause some confusion before the property transferred to the park in 1988:

Any and all improvements built on or made to property during the term of this lease shall at once become the property of the Company [Snake River Land Company], its successors or assigns, and on the expiration or termination of this lease shall be and remain a part of the property hereby leased, not including, however, moveable property or improvements which can be removed from the premises without material injury to the freehold; and provided that lessee shall be free at any time to tear down, destroy, alter, move or change in any manner any building or other improvement if in the opinion of lessee such action shall be in furtherance of the purposes for which the property is leased.<sup>8</sup>

Irving Corse apparently understood this clause to mean that all structures and improvements on the land belonged to the lessor. In a written statement for a Senate Subcommittee concerning Senate Resolution 250, Corse wrote, "Under our lease we can improve this [Bar BC], but we don't own any of it at all. Anything that is fixed and is part of the property, like a cabin, becomes part of it. Anything we build is fixed to the realty and we have got to leave it."<sup>9</sup>

The National Park Service seems in those early years to have understood the same thing, that any improvements to the land belonged to the National Park Service, and further, that the Park Service should protect those buildings from being destroyed by the lessee. In 1953, the year Irving Corse died, the Region Two Regional Director, Howard Baker, sent a letter to the new superintendent of Grand Teton National Park, Francis R. Oberhansley, regarding the Corse lease, pointing out that the buildings on the ranch were part of the freehold, and therefore the park must "observe operations at the Bar BC Ranch if activity indicates the lessees are destroying, changing, or altering buildings or improvements. Basically, the buildings and improvements are the property

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<sup>8</sup> Albert V. Witham, Regional Solicitor's Office, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, Memorandum, "Bar BC Ranch, Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming," 13 August 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>9</sup> John Daugherty, Park Historian, GRTE, to Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, and Assistant Superintendent, GRTE, Memorandum, 18 July 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

of the United States, and this Service would be compelled to interpose objection if the property were to be sold or otherwise disposed of or altered.”<sup>10</sup> During these years, it was still the intention of the park to continue the presence of dude ranches in the park, a policy made official in 1945 by a memorandum from National Park Service Director Newton Drury.<sup>11</sup>

It seems the park was operating under this understanding of the lease in 1957, when Grand Teton gave Margaretta Corse permission to raze four buildings on the ranch. It is not clear if she had asked permission, however.

The lease agreement you hold with the National Park Service stipulates that buildings will not be removed without consent and consent is given to raze the buildings mentioned, if you wish, in order to improve the appearance of the approach to the main ranch buildings.<sup>12</sup>

Margaretta Corse apparently felt she was within her rights according to the lease three years later when she wrote to advise the park (rather than to ask permission) that she would be burning down two cabins, an action she felt was covered by the section stating, “lessee shall be free at any time to tear down, destroy, alter, move or change in any manner any building or other improvement if in the opinion of lessee such action shall be in furtherance of the purposes for which the property is leased.”<sup>13</sup>

In 1962 Margaretta Corse wrote Grand Teton’s superintendent, and also Senator Gale McGee, to see if an arrangement could be made to ensure that the Bar BC could continue to be run as a dude ranch by her descendants after her death. “It is in very bad condition and my son and I are contemplating putting a good deal of money into it to put it back in first class condition and running it as a dude ranch.” She had been told at

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<sup>10</sup> Howard W. Baker, Regional Director, Region Two, NPS, to Superintendent, GRTE, 30 October 1953, “Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-” file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>11</sup> Drury.

<sup>12</sup> W. Ward Yeager, Assistant Superintendent, GRTE, to Mrs. Angeline Richie [*sic*] Corse, 27 July 1957, “Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-” file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE. Angeline Corse was Irving Corse’s first wife. The park must have mistakenly addressed the letter to her instead of Margaretta.

<sup>13</sup> Margaretta Corse to Harthon L. Bill, Superintendent, GRTE, 29 October 1960, “Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-” file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

one point that the park would want to keep the ranch running because of its historic significance.<sup>14</sup> Initially, Superintendent Harthorn Bill replied that the park could not make a commitment to guarantee her son could operate the ranch.<sup>15</sup> However, Corse's letter to Senator McGee found its way to the Midwest Regional Director, Howard Baker. In a memorandum from Baker to Conrad Worth, the Director of the National Park Service, Baker suggested there was some possibility of letting the Corse heirs continue to run the ranch as a concession after Margaretta Corse's death, since this would be in accordance with the park's Master Plan, which recognized dude ranches were part of the "Old West" flavor and atmosphere of the park and recommended that they should be continued. The letter stipulated that further study would be needed to determine which ranches should be chosen to continue, and whether the Bar BC, in its "run-down" state, would be practical for this use.<sup>16</sup> The Director then sent Margaretta Corse a letter to let her know that the possibility of allowing the ranch operation to continue would be considered, but only after her death. "Historically speaking, the Bar BC is of interest and, as time passes, it may have even greater appeal. It is an objective of the National Park Service to have a select few of the typical guest ranches within Grand Teton National Park continued during the remainder of their period of usefulness."<sup>17</sup> Without the assurance that the ranch could continue, by all accounts, Corse let the Bar BC structures deteriorate, investing little in maintenance.

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<sup>14</sup> Margaretta Corse to Senator Gale McGee, 12 June 1962, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE; Margaretta Corse to Harthorn Bill, Superintendent, GRTE, 31 May 1962, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>15</sup> Harthorn L. Bill, Superintendent, GRTE, to Mrs. Irving P. [Margaretta] Corse, 8 June 1962, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>16</sup> Howard W. Baker, Regional Director, Midwest Region, NPS, to Conrad Wirth, Director, NPS, Memorandum, "Status of the Bar BC Dude Ranch, Grand Teton," 13 July 1962, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE; "Master Plan for Grand Teton National Park," Mission 66 Edition.

<sup>17</sup> George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director, NPS, to Mrs. Irving R. [Margaretta] Corse, June 1966, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

A few year later, in 1966, all federal agencies, including the National Park Service, were subject to a new law requiring preservation of cultural resources: the National Historic Preservation Act. After this point, any buildings at the Bar BC which were eligible to the National Register were subject to the processes mandated by the National Historic Preservation Act.

The question of the ownership of the Bar BC buildings emerged again in a 1977 memo from Arthur Sponsel, the Chief of the Branch of Property Management, Rocky Mountain Region, to the Procurement and Property Management Officer at Grand Teton. After doing real property inventory at Grand Teton, Sponsel had looked at the Bar BC buildings, and prepared forms and real property cards "to pick them up in our records." Sponsel mentioned the previously-cited clause in the original lease because he thought it might cause some adjustment of the National Park Service's building records in the future. Sponsel interpreted the lease to mean that the lessee had the right to destroy or remove buildings, but that they ultimately belonged to the National Park Service: "Even though the Bar BC may remove the buildings, we feel that it is in our interest to pick up the buildings on our real property records, so that we don't have to go through more inventories, measurements, etc."<sup>18</sup>

There developed over the years an antagonistic relationship between Margareta Corse and the park. She was apt to dispatch frequent, angry letters, which seemed to fuel resentment and resistance to her requests. In 1969 she wrote to Frank J. Betts, then the acting assistant superintendent: "I am FED UP with people barging in to fish on the Bar BC and I think, most definitely, your rangers should be briefed about it and that it is PRIVATE PROPERTY."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Arthur M. Sponsel, Chief, Branch of Property Management, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, to Procurement and Property Management Officer, GRTE, Memorandum, "Tract 04-132, Bar BC Ranch," 7 January 1977, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>19</sup> Mrs. Irving P. [Margareta] Corse to Frank J. Betts, Acting Assistant Superintendent, GRTE, 14 October 1969, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

She wrote in 1986 to Senator Clifford Hansen, a Jackson Hole resident and a friend, regarding Superintendent Jack Stark, and his treatment of her grandson Andy Ross, who was occupying the ranch.

He [Stark] has been harassing the boy there and me, by putting a lock on the gate, so that Andy cannot get out, by sending people down there to see the place, by telling his rangers that the place is abandoned. Two of them went there last week, taking license numbers etc. and stated that's what they had been told. Since Irv died, the ranch belongs to me until I die or turn it over to the Park, and I would appreciate it if you would let Stark know that he is to let us alone.<sup>20</sup>

Historian Robert Righter writes that Corse "came to despise the National Park Service, and I think the feeling was mutual," although Corse rented cabins to seasonal park employees, many of whom found her to be a pleasant landlord. Park Historian John Daugherty, who had good relationships with other lessees in the park, never met Corse, and the few telephone conversations he had with her were unpleasant. There were reports from fishermen in the Bar BC area who would return to their cars to find their tires flat because someone had let the air out of them, and Margareta Corse was suspected by some to have done it.<sup>21</sup>

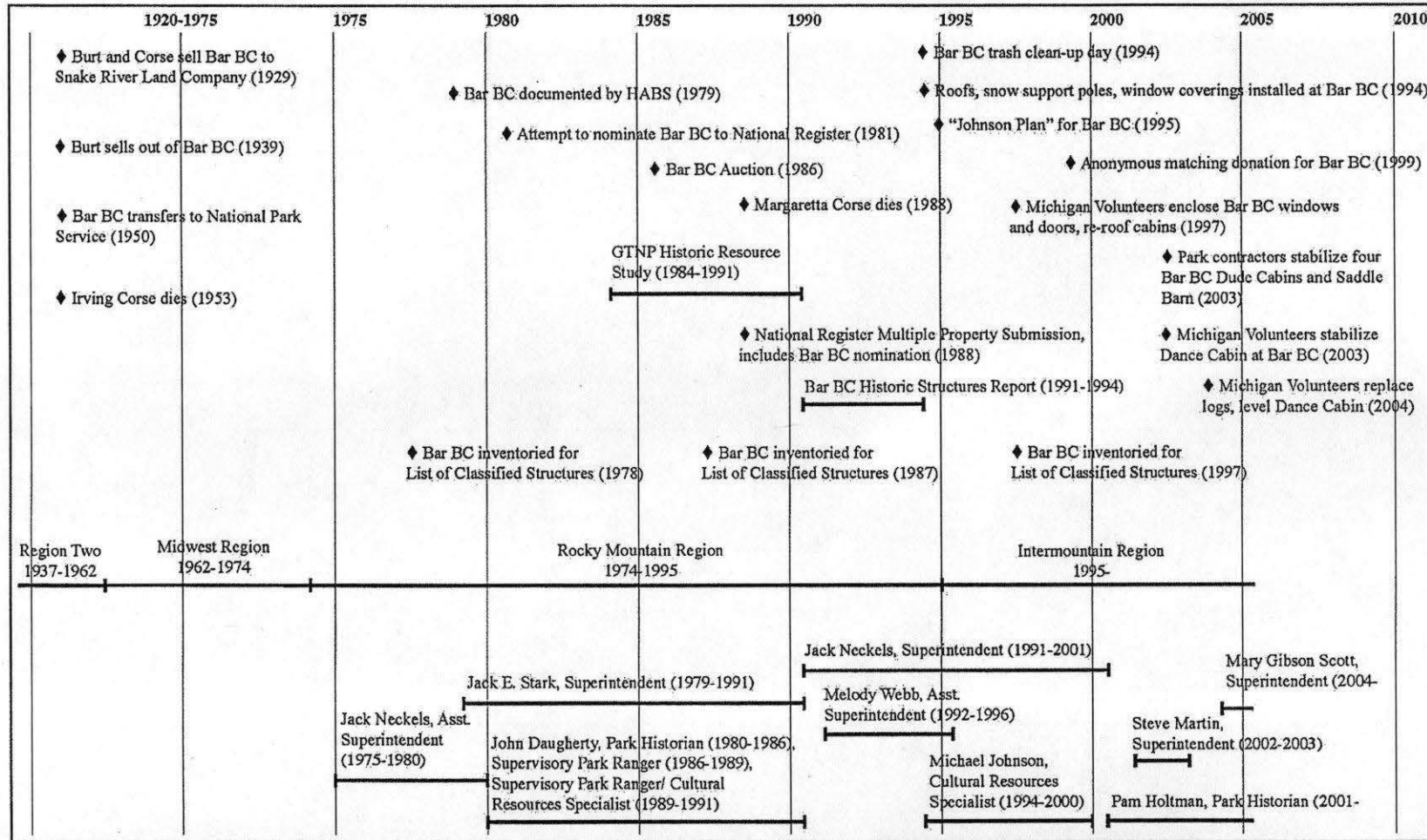
There were three attempts to record and evaluate the Bar BC using standard National Park Service methods while the ranch was still under life lease (Please see table 6.1 for a chronology of events in the Bar BC's management history). The ranch was inventoried by James Muhn for the park in 1978 for the National Park Service's List of Classified Structures. The inventory assessed the ranch as being potentially eligible to the National Register, and of local significance, as "the second oldest dude ranch in Jackson Hole, however, it is not the best representative example of [a] dude

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<sup>20</sup> Margareta Corse to Senator Clifford Hansen, 15 July 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>21</sup> Righter, "Preserving the Past," 12; Richard L. Cronenberger, Historical Architect, Intermountain Region, NPS, to author, 8 March 2005.

**Table 6.1 Chronology of events in the management of the Bar BC Ranch.**



ranching operation in the park.” (The form does not specify which ranch was the best representative example.) The section for recommended treatment was left blank on each structure’s form.<sup>22</sup>

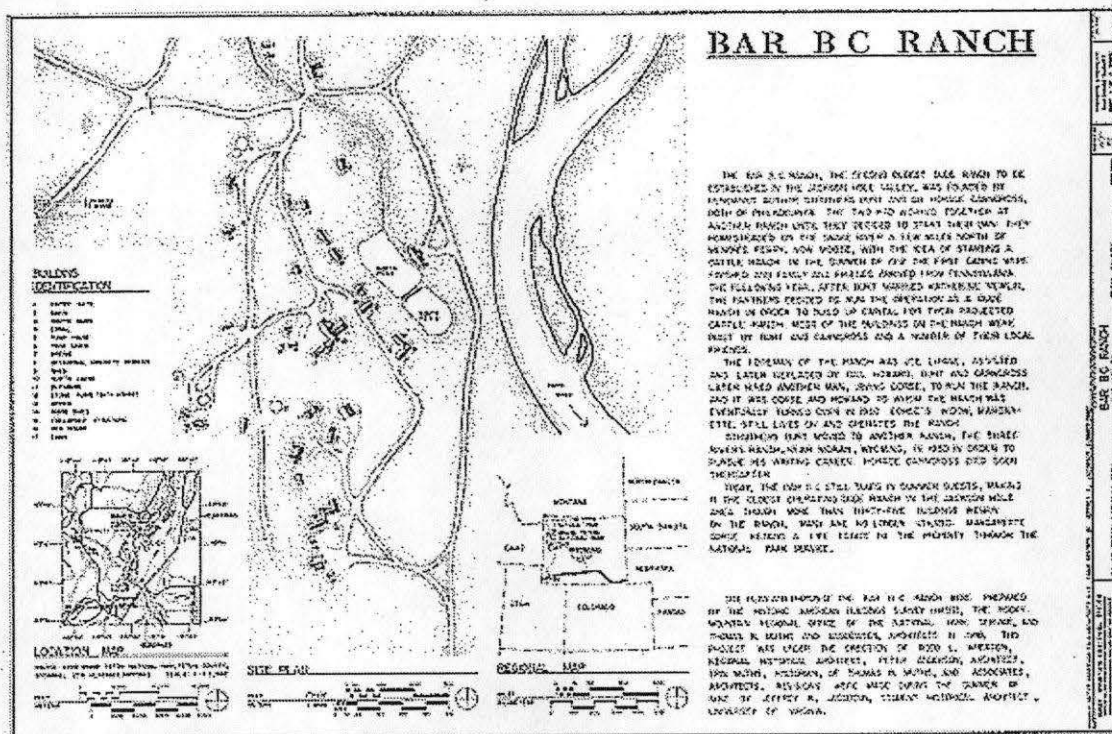


Figure 6.2. 1979 HABS Bar BC Ranch site plan. (HABS)

Second, in 1979, the Bar BC site was recorded by using Historic American Building Survey (HABS) photographic (4" x 5") documentation and a measured site plan (see figure 6.2).<sup>23</sup> The HABS project was orchestrated by Thomas Muths, an architect in Jackson who was later a member of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, with the cooperation of Rodd Wheaton, then Chief of the Branch of Cultural Resources at the Rocky Mountain Regional Office. Wheaton recalls, "It was a

<sup>22</sup> James Muhn, Classified Structure Field Inventory Reports, Bar BC file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>23</sup> Graham, 1; Richard L. Cronenberger, Historical Architect, Intermountain Region, NPS, to author, 7 March 2005.

means of documenting what was there, as I recall, because the site was so threatened with concerns for how long the life estate would last and the park's future intentions. Tom and I wanted to make sure it was on the park's radar for posterity."<sup>24</sup>

Third—and it is not clear what prompted it—in 1981, Margaretta Corse wrote to the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office to initiate the process of having the ranch nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. Corse wrote, "The ranch is now owned by the Teton National Park and on my death they plan to bulldoze all the cabins underground and make the ranch a wilderness area."<sup>25</sup> That summer, State Historic Preservation Office Survey Historian, Sherry L. Smith, attempted to visit the Bar BC, but inexplicably, Corse did not allow her to visit.<sup>26</sup> That year or the next, according to news articles, the State Historic Preservation Office wrote to Grand Teton, stating that it believed the Bar BC was eligible for the National Register. According to the State Historic Preservation Office, the park did not follow up with a request for a formal determination of eligibility.<sup>27</sup> Any property the park owned that was determined eligible to the National Register would have been protected under the National Historic Preservation Act. The ranch had been evaluated as potentially eligible during the 1978 inventory, but it was not nominated or officially determined eligible until after it came under park control.

During the 1970s, the park acquired many buildings when their leases expired, and many were removed. The park was struggling to care for the buildings that were not removed, and was even being criticized for adaptively using buildings whose former

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<sup>24</sup> Richard L. Cronenberger, Historical Architect, Intermountain Region, NPS, to author, 12 April 2005; Wheaton, 20 April 2005.

<sup>25</sup> Margaretta Corse to Jan L. Wilson, Wyoming SHPO, 15 March 1981, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>26</sup> Sherry L. Smith, Survey Historian, Wyoming SHPO, to John Daugherty, Park Historian, GRTE, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>27</sup> George Gladney, "Agencies cry foul over sale of Bar BC," *Jackson Hole News*, 6 August 1986.

owners had expected they would be removed.<sup>28</sup> The period also seems to have been one when the focus of park management was strongly on natural resources. The 1976 master plan designated the park as a natural area, and set a strong tone of natural resource protection through the limitation of human impacts.<sup>29</sup>

In the summer of 1986, Margareta Corse advertised that the Bar BC cabins and furnishings would be sold at auction, in preparation for turning the ranch over to the National Park Service. The auction caused a controversy concerning the ownership of the structures at the Bar BC, causing another examination of the terms of the lease.

The auction was scheduled for August 16, 1986, less than a year after the auction of the White Grass Ranch, which had been turned over to the park after the death of the last owner, Frank Galey. The auction leaflet advertised that the Bar BC auction was to include all of the ranch cabins, including the main lodge, dining hall, recreation hall, and guest cabins, and their furnishings, many of which were made on the ranch. Auctioneer L. D. Frome of Frome Auction Service (Afton, WY) told reporters that most of the cabins could be moved, although some might be available for on-site salvage only. A local house mover was advertised to be on site during the auction to advise and help move cabins.<sup>30</sup> If, as the lease suggested, the cabins on the Bar BC belonged to the National Park Service, even though the lease was written before the National Historic Preservation Act (1966), the sale of the historic structures would require compliance with Section 106 of the act, something that had not been accomplished.

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<sup>28</sup> "Statement for Management: Grand Teton National Park," 1975.

<sup>29</sup> "Master Plan: Grand Teton National Park," 1976; "Final Environmental Statement: Master Plan, Grand Teton National Park."

<sup>30</sup> George Gladney, "Assets of historic Bar BC for sale," *Jackson Hole News*, 30 July 1986; "Historic Bar BC Dude Ranch Liquidation Auction," Advertisement, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

Several years before, the Three Rivers Ranch, which Struthers and Katharine Burt had built after selling their share of the Bar BC, had come under park control at the end of its lease, which had been for only fifty years, and the buildings there had been sold and moved off the site by Nathaniel Burt, the son of Struthers and Katharine. Nathaniel Burt had tried to convince the park to allow the ranch to continue as a private writers' retreat, but when the park declined, Burt sold the structures on the ranch. The terms of the Three Rivers Ranch lease were different, and the buildings belonged to the Burts, as John Daugherty, who was the park's cultural resource specialist at the time, remembers it. Margaretta Corse might have been thinking of this precedent when she planned to sell the Bar BC cabins. Daugherty remembers reviewing other leases to determine if any others in the park were similar to the Three Rivers lease, but does not remember finding any.<sup>31</sup> Rodd Wheaton, then Chief of the Division of Cultural Resources for the Rocky Mountain Region, remembers that he pushed for Section 106 review for the removal of the Three Rivers structures, but that the park "refused to have anything to do" with the buildings and wanted them removed.<sup>32</sup>

Margaretta Corse had written to Jack Stark in the spring of that year, to ask if the park was interested in buying the contents of the cabins, and suggesting the idea of an auction.<sup>33</sup> Stark replied, giving Corse permission to sell all furniture and personal property on the ranch, and notifying her, "Anything attached to the buildings is considered real estate and as such is Government property and may not be sold," a

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<sup>31</sup> Jack Stark, interview with author, 12 April 2005; Daugherty, 29 April 2005.

<sup>32</sup> Wheaton, 20 April 2005.

<sup>33</sup> Margaretta Corse to Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, 31 March 1985 [1986], "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

statement that suggests he was aware of the terms of the lease.<sup>34</sup> Margaretta Corse replied that she had been planning to sell some of the cabins and wanted to know what was meant by “attached to the buildings.”<sup>35</sup> Stark apparently had not thought of the possibility that the buildings would be sold.

He replied that improvements could be removed from the land, provided no damage was done to the land. “The lease also states you may destroy any building which in your opinion is in furtherance of the purposes for which the property is leased. As the purpose was to operate a dude ranch and you now intend to terminate your lease, you may not destroy any of the buildings. You can however remove those you wish to by sale or donation.”<sup>36</sup> Stark’s interpretation contradicts itself, suggesting that to remove the buildings was permissible, but not to destroy them.

Then Bill Schenk, assistant superintendent of Grand Teton National Park contacted Lee Garrison, of the National Park Service Lands Division in Denver, to ask his opinion of the lease and the rights of the property owners. Garrison noted in his memorandum, “Bill asked that we not go to the Solicitor [the Regional Solicitor]”. Garrison’s opinion was that freehold referred to land only, and that since the lessee (Corse) was still alive, the lease was still valid, and the lease allowed for moving, altering, and destroying improvements if it furthered the purpose of the lease, and therefore the buildings could be removed, provided the process did not injure the freehold.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, to Mrs. Margaretta Corse, 7 April 1986, “Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-” file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>35</sup> Margaretta Corse to Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, 28 April 1986, “Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-” file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>36</sup> Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, to Mrs. Margaretta Corse, 22 May 1986, “Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-” file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>37</sup> L. L. Garrison, “Grand Teton National Park, Tract 01-120 – General,” 8 July 1986, “Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-” file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

Three days later, Jack Stark called Vern Witham, at the Regional Solicitor's Office in Denver. Stark's notes from the conversation read: "[Witham] said that freehold meant the surface and that if the improvements could be removed without damaging the surface, in my interpretation – that the lessee then had the right to remove them (or words to that effect)."<sup>38</sup>

A week later, John Daugherty looked over the lease, and, referring to a legal dictionary, interpreted freehold to include buildings, not just land. He pointed out that the National Park Service had considered the buildings their property from the beginning, and cited Howard Baker's letter from 1953 as proof. Further, he argued that even Irving Corse had understood that the buildings belonged to the National Park Service, the evidence for which was his written statement for the Senate subcommittee. Daugherty recommended the whole file be submitted to the Regional Solicitor for an opinion.<sup>39</sup> Superintendent Stark responded with a memorandum to Daugherty citing Witham and Garrison's opinions, and advising Daugherty, "Based on the advice I have received, I do not plan to seek further counsel on the matter."<sup>40</sup>

Ten days before the auction, the news broke in the local paper: three government agencies were "challenging the motives and methods of the National Park Service" in allowing the August 16 auction. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, and even the Rocky Mountain Regional Office of the National Park Service were questioning whether the park was trying to avoid the Section 106 process mandated by the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, Memorandum, "Memo to File- Bar BC Land File (Corse)" 11 July 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>39</sup> John Daugherty, Park Historian, GRTE, to Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, and Assistant Superintendent, GRTE, Memorandum, "Bar BC Lease," 18 July 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>40</sup> Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, to John Daugherty, Park Historian, GRTE, 25 July 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>41</sup> Gladney, "Agencies cry foul."

Thomas Marceau, Wyoming's Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, had written to Superintendent Stark, to tell him that they had learned from the Teton County Clerk that the Bar BC buildings were owned by the National Park Service; no property tax had been paid on the structures for fifteen years, indicating that they were not privately owned. "We seek your clarification on how a private individual is in a position to sell public property," Marceau wrote. He stated the State Historic Preservation Office's opinion that the Bar BC was eligible to the National Register, and that, in compliance with Section 106, "the sale or transfer of [National Register] eligible property out of Federal ownership is an adverse effect ... and requires consultation with both the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and the State Historic Preservation Office prior to any final decision. As of this date, we have no record of the Park Service's request for our comments on this matter."<sup>42</sup>

Superintendent Stark responded to Marceau, explaining his position. The situation, as he saw it, hinged on the extent to which the cabins were moveable. Most of the cabins were not built on foundations, and therefore were easily moveable. Stark addressed the fact that the buildings had been on government property records, and said that Rocky Mountain Regional Property Officer Joe Bolin had inspected the buildings, and Bolin had agreed that the buildings could be removed. Stark then suggested that the State Historic Preservation Office could fulfill their Section 106 consultation role by sending their comments in writing to him and copying the Rocky Mountain Regional Director, Lorraine Mintzmyer.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Betsy Bernfeld, "Controversial auction at Teton Park ranch," *Casper Star-Tribune*, 16 August 1986; Thomas E. Marceau, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, Programs, to Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, 24 July 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>43</sup> Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, to Thomas E. Marceau, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, Programs, Wyoming, 29 July 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

Having been notified of the issue by the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Robert Fink, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's Chief of the Western Division of Project Review, wrote to Regional Director Mintzmyer asking that the Bar BC auction be investigated, and that the Council be consulted if the buildings indeed belonged to the National Park Service.<sup>44</sup>

Rodd L. Wheaton, Chief of the Division of Cultural Resources at the Rocky Mountain Regional Office of the National Park Service even went on record in the newspapers as being troubled by the situation, "I see it as a sale of government property by a private citizen. ... It makes a sham of everything my office is trying to do."<sup>45</sup>

On August 11, only five days before the auction, Jack Neckels, Acting Rocky Mountain Regional Director (later superintendent of Grand Teton), wrote to the Regional Solicitor, Vern Witham, to ask for a formal opinion on the ownership of the Bar BC structures. A team had been sent to visit the site, including a civil engineer from the Rocky Mountain Regional Office; Robin Gregory, a landscape architect with Grand Teton National Park; Bill Schenk, assistant superintendent of Grand Teton; and Rick Bryant, Review and Compliance Program Manager from the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office. They had determined the buildings were in fact moveable and easily detached from the ground.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Robert Fink, Chief, Western Division of Project Review, to Lorraine Mintzmyer, Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, 24 July 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>45</sup> Gladney, "Agencies cry foul."

<sup>46</sup> Jack W. Neckels, Acting Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, to Regional Solicitor, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, attn: Vern Witham, Memorandum, "Legal Opinion, Bar BC Ranch Building Ownership, Grand Teton National Park," 11 August 1988, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

The Corse family's position was that their lease gave them the right to remove the property, and that, further, with the exception of the house in which Mrs. Corse was living, none of the buildings were in existence prior to the date of the lease—that is, that all of them had been built by the lessees and therefore were their property.<sup>47</sup>

On August 13, Vern Witham, the Regional Solicitor, issued his opinion. He interpreted the clause of the lease in question, repeated again below:

Any and all improvements built on or made to property during the term of this lease shall at once become the property of the Company [Snake River Land Company], its successors or assigns, and on the expiration or termination of this lease shall be and remain a part of the property hereby leased, not including, however, moveable property or improvements which can be removed from the premises without material injury to the freehold; and provided that lessee shall be free at any time to tear down, destroy, alter, move or change in any manner any building or other improvement if in the opinion of lessee such action shall be in furtherance of the purposes for which the property is leased.<sup>48</sup>

Witham's opinion interpreted "freehold" to include the lands *and* the preexisting structures on the land, and took the lease to mean that any structure at the Bar BC could be sold or moved if it was built after January 28, 1930, the date of the lease, and only if moving it did no damage to the freehold (lands or preexisting structures).<sup>49</sup>

Witham's opinion meant that the auction of the cabins was effectively halted the day before the sale.<sup>50</sup> Superintendent Jack Stark wrote to Floyd King, the attorney for the Corse family, to notify him that only buildings that could be substantively proven to have been built after 1930 could be removed.<sup>51</sup> Despite the Corse family's claims, only

<sup>47</sup> Floyd R. King, attorney, to Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, 8 August 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE; Andy Ross, Affidavit, 8 August 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>48</sup> Albert V. Witham, Regional Solicitor's Office, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, Memorandum, "Bar BC Ranch, Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming," 13 August 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> George Gladney, "Park changes mind, blocks sale of Bar BC cabins," *Jackson Hole News*, 20 August 1986.

<sup>51</sup> Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, to Floyd King, 13 August 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

two buildings, the barn and hangar, were allowed to be sold at auction, because the construction dates of the other buildings could not be proven to be after 1930 in time for the auction. The hangar was never removed.<sup>52</sup>

The auction was conducted as planned, with the exception of the sale of the structures, on Saturday, August 16, 1986. There were 300 registered bidders, and an estimated 700 people attended.<sup>53</sup>

After the auction, when it had been determined which structures on the ranch had been built after 1930, there was a disagreement over the ownership of these as well. Two cabins, known as the Crocker and Harrison cabins, were built after 1930. Margaretta Corse's descendents were interested in moving these from the property, and thought they had the right to do so, but the Regional Solicitor found that although they had been built after 1930, the houses had been built by the sub-lessees, Harrison and Crocker, with the understanding that they would belong to the park once the Corse lease concluded.<sup>54</sup> Then the Regional Solicitor re-thought the situation, and decided that the houses were considered part of the Bar BC only as long as the sub-lease was in effect, and that when that lease terminated, the terms of the lease reverted to the original Snake River Land Company (later the National Park Service) lease. Therefore, the houses, since they were built after 1930, and could be removed without damaging the land, could be sold.<sup>55</sup> The Crocker cabin sold to Gibbs Smith, and the Harrison Cabin sold to

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<sup>52</sup> Gladney, "Park changes mind;" Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, to L.D. Frome, 14 August 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE; Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, to Floyd King, 15 August 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>53</sup> Dan Mathewson, "75 years of Bar BC history went on block," *Jackson Hole Guide*, 19 August 1986; Gladney, "Park changes mind."

<sup>54</sup> Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, Memorandum, "Request for Solicitor's Opinion Re: Sale of Cabin—Bar BC Lease," 12 January 1987, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE; Wilson Ross to Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, 18 December 1986, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>55</sup> Albert V. Witham, Regional Solicitor's Office, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, Memorandum, "Bar BC Ranch, Grand Teton National Park- Sale of "Harrison" Cabin," 23 January 1987, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

Charlie Ross, Mrs. Corse's grandson, who intended to use it for a family retreat.<sup>56</sup> Permission was also given to remove the new (1940-41) wing of the main cabin, provided it did not damage the original portion. The wing was removed, leaving parts of the walls, the floor, and chimney, which is how the lodge is left today (see figure 6.3). Rodd Wheaton, formerly Assistant Director for Cultural Resources for the region, believes the removal of this wing not only destroyed the cabin's integrity, but left it vulnerable to deterioration.<sup>57</sup> The Crocker cabin seems to have been removed in 1989,<sup>58</sup> and in 1990, Charlie Ross sold the Harrison Cabin to John Horn, who moved it that year.<sup>59</sup>

Once the controversy concerning the auction diminished, discussion turned to the park's plans for the Bar BC structures. The local paper reported, "After the ownership question is settled, the cabins belonging to the United States will be studied for their historical significance and eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, in compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act."<sup>60</sup> Marshall Gingery, then assistant superintendent of Grand Teton, suggested that a historic district might be formed and "all, part, or none" of the structures would be preserved. "Another possibility is to allow the cabins to remain on the property and deteriorate naturally with the elements and passage of time."<sup>61</sup> Jack Neckels, Acting Regional Director, replied to the Advisory Council's Chief of the Western Division of Project Review Robert Fink's

<sup>56</sup> Charlie Ross to Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, 13 August 1987, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>57</sup> John Daugherty, Park Historian, GRTE, to Jack [Stark], Superintendent, GRTE, 21 June 1988, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE; Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE to Charlie Ross, 25 August 1987, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE; Wheaton 20 April 2005.

<sup>58</sup> Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE to Gibbs M. Smith, 14 August 1989, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE; Charlie Ross to Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, 14 September 1989, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>59</sup> Charlie Ross to Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, 29 June 1990, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>60</sup> Bernfeld, "Controversial auction."

<sup>61</sup> George Gladney, "Park halts sale of historic Bar BC cabins," *Jackson Hole News*, 18 August 1986.

letter concerning the auction, reassuring the Advisory Council that Grand Teton National Park would comply with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, and that the park was studying the National Register eligibility of the Bar BC.<sup>62</sup> Robert Richter, a historian who had been involved behind the scenes in the auction controversy, told reporters that it was unrealistic to expect that the ranch could be restored, but he hoped it could be left in “moldering ruins.”<sup>63</sup> Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer Thomas Marceau told the press that he hoped the park would hold onto the main house and a few outbuildings to be used as an interpretive center.<sup>64</sup>



**Figure 6.3. Bar BC main cabin, showing removed wing. (Author)**

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<sup>62</sup> Jack W. Neckels, Acting Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, to Robert Fink, Western Division of Project Review, ACHP, 17 November 1986, “Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-” file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>63</sup> Bernfeld, “Controversial auction.”

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

The ranch was inventoried again for the List of Classified Structures, in 1987, by Western Historical Studies, Inc.<sup>65</sup> The major planning documents for the park from the 1980s, the 1985 Statement for Management and the 1988 Resource Management Plan, which would have guided decisions concerning the Bar BC (as the 1976 Master Plan would have as well), generally focused management on the preservation of natural resources, and made cultural resources a low priority. The 1988 Resource Management Plan had designated only a handful of structures as management category B, "should be preserved and maintained," and most as C, "may be preserved and maintained," or D, "can be demolished, disposed of, or altered for some other management purpose." The Bar BC, in the 1988 plan, was marked for removal.<sup>66</sup>

The same year as the Resource Management Plan, in 1988, Margaretta Corse died. Her heirs were given until June 30 of the next year to remove their belongings and any buildings constructed after 1930.<sup>67</sup> Soon after Margaretta Corse's death, Charlie Ross, her grandson, wrote to the director of the National Park Service asking for consideration of the possibility of his running the Bar BC as a dude ranch under a concessioner's license. He was hopeful that this could be arranged because the previously cited 1962 letter from the Director of the National Park Service had suggested that the ranch could be continued as a dude ranch on a concession basis, after Mrs. Corse's death, if the park thought it was appropriate.<sup>68</sup> Ross's letter was forwarded to Grand Teton, and Jack Stark replied:

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<sup>65</sup> Carol Drake Mehls, Classified Structure Field Inventory Report, Structure no. 1365, "Main House," Bar BC file, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>66</sup> "Resource Management Plan: Cultural Resources Component" 1988, 32-90; "Statement for Management: Grand Teton National Park," 1985.

<sup>67</sup> Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, to Wilson Ross, 1 September 1988, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

<sup>68</sup> Charlie Ross to William Penn Mott, Director, NPS, 4 August 1988, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

For many reasons, Grand Teton National Park has no intention to consider a course of action that would involve rebuilding the Bar BC. The buildings that presently exist are eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. We are in the process of evaluating those buildings that remain for possible preservation or retention as moldering ruins. In addition, we will evaluate options to interpret the facility to the public. Intensive new development such as you suggest in the riparian area of the Snake River is contrary to all of the present management plans of the National Park Service. This includes the Master Plan, the Natural Resources Management Plan, and the Snake River Management Plan. These documents call for the site to ultimately revert to its natural state. As you are also aware, the present condition of the buildings is such that none of them could be used without total reconstruction. A complete new water and sewer system would also have to be developed to support such a facility...

There are other impacts associated with a dude ranch operation which we would object to in this location, namely increased automobile traffic, the impacts of livestock grazing, and an increase in the number of ranch guests utilizing the edge of the Snake River.

If indeed the Service did wish to establish a major new use of this area [illegible] as you suggest, we would anticipate that a very complete environmental assessment or more likely an environmental impact statement would be required as a first step. This would require public participation, considering the policy and planning commitments we have made in the past 20 years, we believe there would be considerable opposition to such a decision.<sup>69</sup>

Charlie Ross then wrote a letter to President Ronald Reagan, pleading his case. This was also forwarded to the park, and Stark replied to it:

The National Park Service has no intention of continuing the lease for a number of reasons. These would include the condition of the structures and their location along the Snake River, in a heavily used portion of the Park. We also believe that Grand Teton has a number of overnight accommodations for visitors, including a dude ranch, and it is not desirable to expand that use.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Stark, 25 August 1988.

<sup>70</sup> Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, to Charlie Ross, 3 October 1988, "Corse 04-132 Deed #8 1955-" file, Moose mailroom files, GRTE.

Though Stark does not cite them, his decision, although it was made without a full examination of alternatives and their impacts, was in alignment with the 1976 Master Plan for the park, which called for confining dude ranch operations to the east side of the Snake River, and with the 1988 Resource Management Plan, which called for the removal of the ranch.<sup>71</sup>

During the 1980s, John Daugherty had worked on a Historic Resource Study for the park. The study was the basis for a National Register multiple property submission prepared by Western Historical Studies, Inc. in 1988, the year the Bar BC reverted to Grand Teton National Park. The properties nominated by the park in 1988 were listed April 23, 1990. The Bar BC was one of these.<sup>72</sup> The Ranch is listed with its thirty-five contributing resources, and is considered significant at the local level because it defined and set standards for dude ranches in Jackson Hole, and for its association with Struthers Burt. The official period of significance for the Bar BC is 1912-1937.<sup>73</sup>

Soon after the park took over the Bar BC, in 1988, the Rocky Mountain Regional Office, alerted by the auction controversy to the possibility that the park intended to remove the ranch, and with concern that the buildings were rapidly deteriorating, initiated the process for contracting for a Historic Structures Report for the Bar BC. The contractor began work on the report in 1991. The buildings were in poor condition by the time the park acquired them. They had been built hastily, often without foundations, and had not been well maintained for years under Irving and Margaretta Corse's management.<sup>74</sup>

A Historic Structures Report is "the primary guide to treatment and use of a historic structure." Ideally, a Historic Structures Report should be prepared for each structure or group of structures managed as a cultural resource. *NPS-28* specifies, "In

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<sup>71</sup> "Master Plan: Grand Teton National Park" 1976; "Final Environmental Statement: Master Plan, Grand Teton National Park"; "Resource Management Plan: Cultural Resources Component" 1988, 32-90.

<sup>72</sup> Daugherty et al., 1999, v-4; Mehls, "Bar BC Dude Ranch."

<sup>73</sup> Mehls, "Bar BC Dude Ranch."

<sup>74</sup> Cronenberger, 7 March 2005, 8 March 2005; Wheaton, 20 April 2005.

no case should restoration, reconstruction, or extensive rehabilitation be undertaken without an approved HSR.” A standard Historic Structures Report includes the following: Part 1 is a developmental history, describing the evolution of a structure, its condition, and causes of deterioration. It may include historic context information, although this is better addressed in a Historic Resource Study. Part 2 outlines alternative uses and treatments, and concludes with a recommended treatment “responding to objectives identified by park management.” Part 3 documents the actual treatment the structure receives.<sup>75</sup>

The Bar BC Historic Structures Report was funded by the Rocky Mountain Regional Office, using Cultural Resource Preservation Program funds. Richard Cronenberger, Regional Historical Architect at the Regional Office in Denver, developed the scope of work and managed the contract. The report was essentially forced on the park by the Regional Office to attempt to compensate for the politically controversial events surrounding the Bar BC auction, and to help the park arrive at a management decision for the Bar BC.<sup>76</sup> Melody Webb, who would become assistant superintendent in 1992, remembers, “Maybe in part, [Chief of the Division of Cultural Resources] Rodd Wheaton was using the HSR [Historic Structures Report] as a means of documenting [the Bar BC] in case it wasn't preserved. But I think he was really trying to coerce management into preserving it.”<sup>77</sup> Wheaton today says that was exactly what he was trying to do. He knew Superintendent Stark had wanted the buildings removed, and he hoped the report would give the park some perspective on the significance of the ranch.<sup>78</sup>

In 1991, the park submitted a request for archeological survey work in preparation for a “clean-up day” at the Bar BC, to remove trash from the site. A memo from Richard Strait, Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation

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<sup>75</sup> *NPS-28*, Chapter 8.

<sup>76</sup> Cronenberger, 7 March 2005, 8 March 2005.

<sup>77</sup> Melody Webb, to author, 10 March 2005.

<sup>78</sup> Rodd Wheaton, interview with author, 19 April 2005; Wheaton, 20 April 2005.

for the Rocky Mountain Region, suggested that clean-up work was premature, and should wait for completion of the Historic Structures Report, work on which would begin that summer, and which would include a Cultural Landscape Study and archeological survey. Some of the items proposed for removal in the site cleanup could have been contributing features.<sup>79</sup> There is no further mention in park files of this clean-up day, and no evidence that it occurred.

That year the park fielded a request from the Teton County Historical Society and Jackson Hole Museum to relocate a cabin from the Bar BC to a site in Jackson. Superintendent Jack Stark expressed support for the idea. "We believe your proposal is a good way to interpret valley history and will cooperate in any way we can," but he told them a decision would have to wait for the completion of the Historic Structures Report, would depend on the organization's ability to provide a site for the cabin and move and maintain the structure, and would involve consultation with the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, in compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act.<sup>80</sup> Underlying Stark's response is an eagerness to have buildings removed from the site,<sup>81</sup> and perhaps a recognition that a building moved from the Bar BC might have had a better chance of being preserved than one left in place. His response shows little concern for protecting the integrity of the site, an issue that would have been brought up in Section 106 consultation for the proposed move, had it occurred.

Superintendent Stark retired in 1992. When asked about the Bar BC today, he says he was guided by the principle that Grand Teton was a "natural park," and the Bar BC was located in what he saw as an unofficial natural corridor along the Snake River, where he felt the natural value prevailed over any historic significance of the site. He

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<sup>79</sup> Richard A. Strait, Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, to Superintendent, GRTE, Memorandum "Site Clean-up Work at Bar BC Dude Ranch," 29 April 1991, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>80</sup> Jack Stark, Superintendent, GRTE, to Jack Richards, President, Jackson Hole Museum & Teton County Historical Society, 25 March 1991, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>81</sup> Stark, 25 March 2005.

still feels the division of Park Service units into natural, cultural, and recreational categories is appropriate. As superintendent, he based his policies on the history of the park, and his interpretation of the intention of its founders to purchase land and remove the structures on it, what he refers to as the "Rockefeller Plan." He felt the park already had an active historic dude ranch at the Triangle X Ranch (although only the barn at the Triangle X is eligible for the National Register), which was justification for leaving the Bar BC to disintegrate. He saw the Bar BC buildings, which were left to the park by the Corps in poor shape to begin with, as a drain on park resources, which he needed to be used on other programs. Each new use found for historic structures, to him, required more money, more time from park staff, more infrastructure, and created a new constituency for each site, making new demands on the park. His policies are clearly reflected in the major management documents produced during his tenure, specifically the 1985 Statement for Management and the Resource Management Plan (1988).

He did think it was appropriate to find uses for some of the historic structures in the park; in fact, he says he was the one who originally suggested to conservationist Mardy Murie that her ranch be preserved and adaptively used after her death. The Murie Ranch is considered nationally significant, though, and Stark felt that resources that were only significant locally were not always worth preserving.<sup>82</sup> John Daugherty, the park historian and cultural resources specialist for most of Stark's tenure, feels he might have had some influence on Stark, and on Bill Schenk, the assistant superintendent, when it came to cultural resources. Daugherty tried to act as an advocate for specific buildings, such as Leek's Lodge.<sup>83</sup>

Work on the Bar BC Historic Structures Report began in the summer of 1991. The consultant competitively selected for the project was Roy Eugene Graham and Associates, a historic architecture firm out of Washington, DC, and Austin, TX. In the news article announcing the work, it was stated, "The results of the study will enable the Park Service to prepare a preservation plan for the historic site and to interpret the

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<sup>82</sup> Stark, 25 March 2005, 12 April 2005.

<sup>83</sup> Daugherty, 29 April 2005.

early history of dude ranching.” Measured drawings of the buildings were to be done by graduate students at the Catholic University of America in Washington, DC.<sup>84</sup> In 1991, Richard Strait, the Associate Regional Director of Planning and Resource Preservation, estimated the cost of the Bar BC Historic Structures Report to be \$212,000, and said it was intended to prioritize an estimated \$1 million of stabilization work.<sup>85</sup> John Daugherty left the year work on the report was begun. He remembers that towards the end of the contractor’s stay, he had some misgivings about the direction they were going. Daugherty hoped the report would give “solid information to determine costs to stabilize at least a portion of the buildings and interpret the role of the Bar BC as a dude ranch in the early 1920s, and its regional importance as a dude ranch. I envisioned wayside exhibits, possibly augmented by a short self-guiding trail guide.”<sup>86</sup>

There was a three year gap between the time when John Daugherty left the park and when the next cultural resources specialist, Michael Johnson, was hired, during which Marshall Gingery, the chief of resource management in the park, oversaw cultural resources. Richard Cronenberger served as the unofficial cultural resources expert for the park, reviewing projects, and discussing approaches to management and preservation work.<sup>87</sup>

The next year, the fifty percent draft of the Bar BC Historic Structures Report was sent to Grand Teton National Park. A letter from Jack Neckels, the new superintendent of Grand Teton, signed and most likely drafted by Melody Webb, the new assistant superintendent, herself a historian, contained the park’s comments on this first draft:

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<sup>84</sup> “Bar BC Ranch historic study to begin in park,” *Jackson Hole News*, 26 June 1991.

<sup>85</sup> Strait, 29 April 1991.

<sup>86</sup> Daugherty, 29 April 2005.

<sup>87</sup> Richard Cronenberger, RA, Historical Architect, Intermountain Regional, NPS, to author, 16 May 2005.

The Historic Structures Report ... is a fine report. In many ways, it is a model Historic Structures Report. By incorporating social history, archeology, and cultural landscape analysis, the study is as definitive as any one study can possibly be. It was a major undertaking that, for the most part, delivers a valuable product.

The study ... is flawed by a major erroneous assumption—no management decision guided the development of the study. If a decision had been made regarding how the site was to be managed, the Historic Structures Report could have provided essential information. Instead, the report assumes that the management decision will be preservation and even restoration. This assumption may conflict with a long-term management objective to remove all structures from riparian areas. In addition, the Bar B-C Ranch is in the floodplains and may be subjected to flooding. Thus, management might determine that the buildings cannot be preserved. Then, additional work may be required to document the structures for “acceptable loss.” If the proper cultural resource management process had been followed, this report could have met that need.

The letter continued with specific recommendation for improving the report, and praised the Cultural Landscape Report, a successful early example of its type, completed by Stephen Domigan. The letter concludes, “In general, as an intellectual document, it is extremely well done. Whether it will adequately serve management, however, remains to be seen.”<sup>88</sup> Webb says today that she remembers Superintendent Jack Neckels was irritated that the Rocky Mountain Regional Office had funded the study without any consultation from him or former Superintendent Jack Stark. “The Regional Office took total responsibility for the report and the park had little or no input.” The first time Webb saw the report, it was in draft form, and she can’t remember that the consultant, Roy Eugene Graham and Associates, ever met with Neckels or her as a courtesy. She says, “While the lack of professional courtesy was an irritant, it didn’t enter into management decisions.”<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Jack Neckels, Superintendent, GRTE, to Associate Regional Director, Resource Management and Research, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, Memorandum “Comments on Draft Historic Structures Report for Bar B-C Ranch,” 25 November 1992, Park Historian’s files, GRTE.

<sup>89</sup> Webb, 10 March 2005.

The last draft of the Historic Structures Report for the Bar BC, prepared in 1994, is over 400 pages long.<sup>90</sup> It includes a very complete social history of the Bar BC—probably the most complete history written to date—an architectural history of the buildings, historic photographs, condition assessments of all the buildings with recommendations, a site survey and plan, measured drawings of the cabins' floor plans and isometric drawings (figure 6.4), a Cultural Landscape Report which included an addendum to the National Register nomination, and an archeological study. The draft acknowledged that there had not been a management decision on how the Bar BC would be treated, and explained that it was addressing the most conservative approach: preservation.<sup>91</sup> The preservation and stabilization of the structures recommended in the report come to an estimated cost of \$583,328.<sup>92</sup> The final contract price for the report was \$207,001.03 (not including National Park Service employees' time, which might have brought the cost closer to \$250,000), a cost considered by many to be exorbitant, although it was in line with the estimate. The Bar BC Historic Structures Report went beyond the standard scope of a Historic Structures Report, however, and this may account for the high cost, especially the measured drawings.<sup>93</sup>

Webb recalls today:

My biggest problem with the report is that it treated the Bar-BC in isolation to the rest of the park. It recommended preservation without the involvement of management or assessing other dude ranches in the area. ... I think a historic resource study or contextual study of just the dude ranches to assess overall significance and integrity would have helped management decide which ranches should be preserved. Then after a decision to consider preservation, a historic structures report should be written. But we don't live in a perfect world. Rodd Wheaton [Chief of the Division of Cultural Resources for the region] had an interest in the ranch and the money to fund a HSR but not a history study. Besides the former district interpreter [John Daugherty] was supposedly writing

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<sup>90</sup> Roy Graham was contacted for his perspective on the Bar BC Historic Structures Report, but did not reply fully in time for inclusion in this thesis.

<sup>91</sup> Graham, 2.

<sup>92</sup> Graham, 182-215.

<sup>93</sup> Cronenberger, 7 March 2005.

a history of the park [a Historic Resource Study]. It was eventually published [as *A Place Called Jackson Hole*] but didn't really assess the resources and their significance.

According to Webb, without guidance at the beginning, or even in the process of completing the report, the Historic Structures Report could not be used as a management document. She thinks if the project manager and the contractor had periodic meetings with park management, "the project wouldn't have been written in such a vacuum."<sup>94</sup> Richard Cronenberger, however, recalls many such meetings with the Chief of Resource Management at the park, Marshall Gingery, and that he had a difficult time getting the park engaged with the project, because, he thinks, management was not supportive of the project. Throughout, Cronenberger worked to back the park in dealing with the contractor, to temper the recommendations in the report, and keep the contractor in line with National Park Service policies.<sup>95</sup>

Today, Wheaton counters Webb's objections by pointing out that Daugherty's Historic Resource Study was more than adequate, and served as a contextual study for the resources in the park. The parks' resources had also been documented in the National Register multiple property submission, including the Bar BC. Wheaton was continually frustrated by the unwillingness of the park's leadership to accept the ranch's significance. "It IS the second oldest dude ranch in the valley and IS park-owned whereas the oldest [the JY Ranch] was in private ownership and not accessible. Its significance was established early on as being important and no 'study' would have said otherwise."<sup>96</sup>

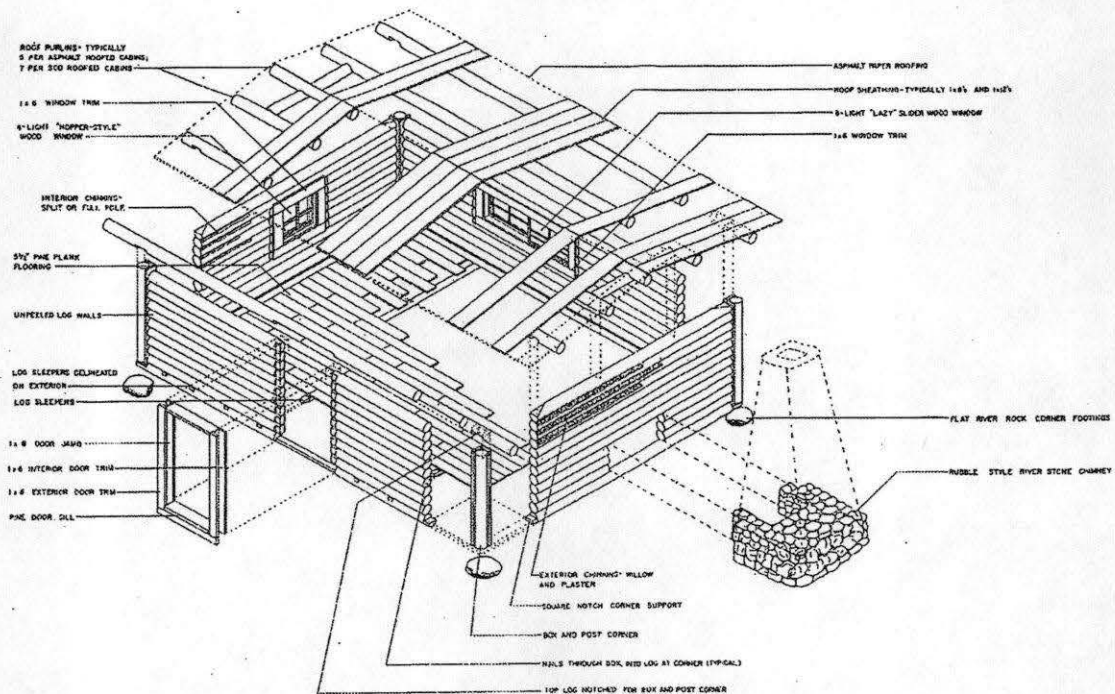
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<sup>94</sup> Webb, 10 March 2005.

<sup>95</sup> Cronenberger, 16 May 2005.

<sup>96</sup> Wheaton, 20 April 2005.

Richard Cronenberger feels the report fell short in recording the individual histories of the buildings, but that the social history the contractor was able to produce, through his own social connections, was invaluable. Additionally, the HABS documentation, along with the 1978 HABS photos, adequately documented the ranch in case of loss.<sup>97</sup>



**Figure 6.4.** An isometric measured drawing from the Bar BC Historic Structures Report of a typical Bar BC dude cabin. (NPS Intermountain Region)

Had the coordination, especially at the beginning of the Historic Structures Report project, been better between the regional office, the contractor, and the park, which was most likely resistant to the project at the beginning, the contractor could have worked within the larger context of the park's inventory of resources—a context that could and should have been provided by the park. Work on the report coincided with a three-year gap between the tenures of Park Historian (later Supervisory Park

<sup>97</sup> Cronenberger, 7 March 2005.

Ranger and Supervisory Park Ranger/ Cultural Resources Specialist) John Daugherty and Cultural Resources Specialist Michael Johnson, which could partially explain the lack in input from the park. Ideally, the report would have provided alternative treatments and costs. As it was, the contractor addressed the minimal approach, preservation, which was acceptable practice considering there was no guidance or management strategy provided by the park.<sup>98</sup>

In 1994, once the last draft of the Historic Structures Report for the Bar BC was complete, and the buildings, structures, cultural landscapes, ethnographic resources, and archeological sites had been surveyed, another site “clean-up” project was proposed. It was organized by Grand Teton’s Cultural Resources Specialist Michael Johnson—a historical architect, formerly with the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, who had been hired that year—and sponsored by the park and Teton County Historical Society. This project was for emergency stabilization “to prevent further deterioration until management decisions [were] made on how to preserve and interpret this site.”

The flyer to recruit volunteers read,

The site is deteriorating at a rapid rate with buildings collapsing, doors and windows broken out, old trees falling on the structures and new trees growing up inside them. However, it is not too late to stabilize this site as an interpretive area. The recently completed Historic Structures Report funded by the Rocky Mountain Regional Office of the National Park Service identifies the need to preserve this site. With a little bit of clean-up, a more presentable face should help discourage those who say it should be abandoned.<sup>99</sup>

By the end of the day, through the efforts of park staff and volunteers, four or five dumptruck loads of trash were hauled away. Volunteers removed brush and vegetation growing up around the cabins, removed trash from the interior and exterior of cabins, reattached broken window frames and doors, and cataloged and locked into a cabin for storage any historic items found on the ranch.<sup>100</sup> Later that year, with park funding, a

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<sup>98</sup> Toothman, 9 May 2005.

<sup>99</sup> “Clean-up Day at the Bar-B-C,” flyer, Bar BC files, Park Historian’s files, GRTE.

<sup>100</sup> Michael Johnson, Cultural Resources Specialist, GRTE, to all GRTE employees, email, 24 May 1994, Park Historian’s files, GRTE.

contractor installed temporary metal roofs on the oldest cabins, and an inmate crew from the Wyoming Honor Farm installed snow support poles under purlins and ridge beams, plywood panels over open windows, and locks on the doors.<sup>101</sup>

The next year, in the Spring of 1995, Michael Johnson circulated an unofficial internal proposal for the stabilization of the Bar BC. He began the proposal by saying that the Historic Structures Report recommended the preservation of the Bar BC, but that the recommended treatment could cost much more than the estimate: closer to \$1 million. Johnson continued, "a more limited preservation plan needs to be proposed." Johnson's proposal was based on three assumptions: that there would never be enough money to restore all of the structures; that many significant structures from the 1930s and 1940s were missing or deteriorated, and that the loss of other features, including fences, lawns, and gardens "will never permit a true representation of how the ranch appeared during its 'heyday'"; and that Burts' association with the ranch ends at 1930, and even though the official period of significance ends in 1937, the earliest buildings have the strongest connection to the Burts and their guests. Johnson's recommendation was that only the very earliest buildings (1912-1915) should be preserved. He had his own opinion of which these were, questioning some of the construction dates in the Historic Structures Report.

Johnson also suggested an idea that had originated with Marshall Gingery: that a walking trail be built from the Moose Visitor Center and the Chapel of the Transfiguration, two-and-a-half miles south of the Bar BC, to the ranch, passing by a historic fish hatchery ruin south of the Bar BC. The trail could allow the park to interpret the ranch to visitors.<sup>102</sup> It would also have had impacts on natural resources, triggering an Environmental Assessment.

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<sup>101</sup> "Stabilization of the Bar-B-C," Assessment of Effect Form, signed 29 September 1994, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Michael Johnson, Historical Architect, San Antonio Missions, to author, 30 March 2005.

<sup>102</sup> [Michael Johnson, Cultural Resources Specialist, GRTE], "Proposal for the Stabilization and Interpretation of the Bar BC Dude Ranch, Draft version 2.1," n.d., Park Historian's files, GRTE; Cronenberger, 7 March 2005, 8 March 2005.

Johnson estimated his plan would cost \$125,000. He proposed using volunteers or the Wyoming Honor Farm Crew to stabilize the structures.<sup>103</sup> As an alternative source of funds, Johnson suggested a fundraiser, or that the park sell off some of the cabins not included in Johnson's proposal. He phased the project over five years, first stabilizing the main lodge and cleaning up the site. The next summer work would focus on six original dude cabins and mess hall; then the laundry, office, saddle shed, and corral; then the bunkhouse, shed, and two-room dude cabin; and in the last summer signs would be installed and the walking trail constructed.<sup>104</sup>

"This plan advances clearly non-traditional NPS methods of historic resource management and reflects the new realities of smaller budgets and increasing visitors, and provides new potential ways of doing business. The preservation of the original Bar-B-C is a good place to implement a new way of caring for historic sites," Johnson wrote.<sup>105</sup>

Richard Cronenberger has criticized Johnson's plan because his recommendation of which buildings to stabilize excluded approximately half of the earliest structures, those built on Horace Carncross's homestead, even though the two were intended to be one ranch.<sup>106</sup> Johnson seems to have been searching for a compromise that park management would find more palatable than the expensive recommendations in the Historic Structures Report. His intentions may have been to save as much as was possible of the Bar BC, but his proposal would have seriously compromised the integrity of the ranch, ignoring many buildings from the period of significance. Melody

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<sup>103</sup> Located in Riverton, WY, "The Wyoming Honor Farm is a minimum security facility with a mission that provides educational, vocational, treatment and a variety of agricultural work programs for adult male offenders. One of the most well-known programs is the Wild Horse Program, operated in partnership with the federal Bureau of Land Management." Wyoming Department of Corrections [http://doc.state.wy.us/prisons/honor\\_farm.asp](http://doc.state.wy.us/prisons/honor_farm.asp) [17 February 2005].

<sup>104</sup> [Johnson], "Proposal for the Stabilization and Interpretation of the Bar BC Dude Ranch."

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Richard L. Cronenberger, Historical Architect, Intermountain Support Office, to Files, GRTE, Memorandum, March 2005, courtesy of Richard L. Cronenberger.

Webb recognizes now that Johnson was trying to find a solution that would appease the State Historic Preservation Office and the Regional Office, but would “conform to the short-term funding reality and long-term viability of the ranch.”<sup>107</sup>

Although what was at the time considered the 100 percent draft of the Bar BC Historic Structures Report was submitted in 1994, it did not meet all of the agency’s needs, as an effort led once again by Richard Cronenberger was initiated in 1999 to revise the study. Cronenberger circulated a list of to-do items, and predicted that completion of the report would take some time, since it had been five years since anyone had looked at the report. The report was in need of substantial editing for spelling, grammar, and documentation. There were other obstacles to completing the report, including computer glitches, the fact that all the original measured drawings were lost in a National Park Service office reorganization and move (copies were eventually reproduced), and copies of the historic photographs were still needed. There was the question of finding funding for publishing the report, and the research materials and archeological materials produced by the study would require archiving, as well. And a decision remained to be made on what the final report should include. Cronenberger suggested sections of the 100 percent report should be dropped, such as the cost estimates and recommendations thought to be unrealistic such as rip-rapping the Snake River. Additionally, the National Register nomination was to be updated, as the original was very brief, and the boundaries of the property had to be extended to include cultural landscape features that were left out of the original nomination.<sup>108</sup>

Several people were sent copies for editing, including Dawn Bunyak, a historian in the Intermountain Region Cultural Resources Division, who wrote to Cronenberger, “After reading correspondence directed to Roy Graham after consideration of the 75 percent draft, I realize that comments made earlier in the review process at the 50 percent were never addressed. These same concerns were not addressed in the 95

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<sup>107</sup> Webb, 10 March 2005.

<sup>108</sup> Richard L. Cronenberger, Memorandum “Bar B-C Completion of the HSR,” 16 June 1999, Bar BC HSR Correspondence file, Park Historian’s files, GRTE.

percent draft.”<sup>109</sup> The contractor, Roy Eugene Graham and Associates, had proven to feel strongly about how the Bar BC should be managed, and requests to remove suggestions the National Park Service considered inappropriate, such as rip-rapping the Snake River to prevent erosion, were fruitless. Graham was convinced the significance of the site outweighed the cost of rip-rapping the river banks. In the end, Cronenberger removed the “Recommended Treatments” section from the report entirely.<sup>110</sup>

The report was never formally published, and the National Register nomination has not been amended. Richard Cronenberger, in a 2005 memorandum, attributes this to several factors: that there was not enough money in the region to publish it, that there was resistance from Grand Teton National Park to publishing it, as well as reluctance on the park’s part to fund publishing it, and that the recommendations in the report were not approved by the National Park Service. Cronenberger had gotten estimates of the cost of finishing the report, which came to \$17,522, but the money was never found to do it.<sup>111</sup>

In 1997, as part of a park-wide survey for the List of Classified Structures, the Bar BC was inventoried again, by Historical Research Associates, Inc.<sup>112</sup>

Through the 1990s, Cultural Resources Specialist Michael Johnson worked to get funding for stabilization work for the Bar BC, and organized a few work days using an inmate crew from the Wyoming Honor Farm to install snow support columns and seal up buildings to prevent vandalism. He was also able to have metal roofs installed on some cabins. Johnson was a historical architect and was able to oversee work crews doing hands-on stabilization projects.<sup>113</sup> Johnson also had the benefit of a group of

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<sup>109</sup> Dawn Bunyak to Richard L. Cronenberger and Pat O’Brien, Memorandum, “Review of the Bar BC Historic Structures Report,” 7 July 1999, “HSR Correspondence,” Park Historian’s files, GRTE.

<sup>110</sup> Richard L. Cronenberger, Historical Architect, Intermountain Region, NPS, to author, 7 March 2005, 8 March 2005, 15 March 2005.

<sup>111</sup> Cronenberger, Memorandum, March 2005; Cronenberger, 7 March 2005, 8 March 2005.

<sup>112</sup> Historian, Historical Research Associates, Inc., National Park Service-Historic Buildings/ Structure Survey Form, Historic Structure no. 1365, “Corse Cabin,” Bar BC file, Park Historian’s files, GRTE.

<sup>113</sup> Michael Johnson, Historical Architect, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, to author, 4 March 2005, 15 March 2005.

volunteers that came to be known as the "Michigan Volunteers." The group first came to the park in 1995 to work on the Chambers homestead on Mormon Row, and has since worked on over thirty-five structures in the park, including other buildings on Mormon Row, the Lucas/Fabian historic district, White Grass Ranch, the Buffalo Dorm, and the Bar BC. With guidance from log expert Harrison Goodall, the group has become proficient at log repairs. In 1997, the Michigan Volunteers enclosed windows and doors on many cabins at the Bar BC, and re-roofed several cabins.<sup>114</sup>

Annually, Johnson remembers, he would submit funding proposals for the Bar BC site, but other sites took priority. During those years, he remembers funds going to many other preservation projects, such as Mormon Row, the Cunningham Cabin, Jenny Lake Ranger Station, the Crandall Studio, Hunter Hereford Barn, Lucas Homestead, and backcountry cabins. Johnson did not have the support of the Chief of Interpretation, Bill Swift,<sup>115</sup> who did not think the Bar BC was as important a part of the story of the Tetons as the natural history was. Johnson's impression was that Superintendent Jack Neckels did not consider the Bar BC a significant resource either.<sup>116</sup>

Superintendent Jack Neckels felt much as former Superintendent Jack Stark had, that the vision for the park had been set by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and Horace Albright, and Neckels and Stark interpreted that vision to mean removing evidence of human settlement and returning the area to a natural state. Neckels believed the park was formed because of its natural resources, and that they should be the priority in management. He questioned the significance of many of the buildings in the park, valuing nationally significant properties over locally significant ones. He also felt history could still be interpreted to the public without the related buildings. However, during Neckels's tenure, cultural resources fared better than they had under Stark.

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<sup>114</sup> Judith Taylor and Ed Brown, "Grand Tetons National Park: Michigan Volunteers," 2004, courtesy of the authors.

<sup>115</sup> Johnson's supervisor was Bob Schiller, Chief of Science and Resource Management. Michael Johnson, Historical Architect, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, to author, 18 April 2005.

<sup>116</sup> Johnson, 4 March 2005, 15 March 2005.

Several preservation projects, including Mormon Row, gained momentum under his leadership, thanks to the efforts of the park's Cultural Resources Specialist Mike Johnson, who worked under Neckels for most of his tenure at the park. Neckels hired Melody Webb, a historian, to be his assistant superintendent, because he knew she understood cultural resources. He particularly needed her to improve relations with the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, but she was also influential in educating the staff at the park. Neckels was faced with the same budget limitations Stark had been faced with, and saw the historic buildings in the park as "swallow[ing] up [the] budget." He says now he is not ashamed of the budgets he submitted during those years, that he always tried to get money for cultural resources, and stretch the money the park did get for cultural resources as well as he could. Although the Bar BC was never a priority for him, Neckels supported Johnson's efforts to do some stabilization of the buildings, within the limits of the budget. Plans produced during his tenure show a gradual shift toward a more balanced management of natural and cultural resources. By 2000, when the Management Plan for Buildings Listed on the National Register was produced, the park was committed, if only on paper, to the preservation of more historic structures than it ever had been in the past.<sup>117</sup>

Webb remembers the biggest obstacle for cultural resources was funding. "Every operational cent that went to historic preservation meant less for interpretation, maintenance, and protection." While assistant superintendent, she pushed for a cultural resource program, to prioritize projects and funding, but could not get staff interested in program management. She felt Mike Johnson and Bob Schiller, chief of science and resource management, were more interested in projects than in developing a program. "We had multiple listings of structures, all locally significant without much more evaluation. We couldn't isolate the Bar BC from all the others."<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Neckels, 6 March 2005.

<sup>118</sup> Webb, 10 March 2005.

Again, Rodd Wheaton feels the Historic Resource Study had established the context needed to evaluate the Bar BC, and that the significance of the ranch was undeniable.<sup>119</sup> It would have been possible to update the 1988 Resources Management Plan, but the 1995 Resources Management Plan did not prioritize preservation treatments, and an updated plan was not produced until 2000, when Johnson produced a Management Plan for Buildings Listed on the National Register of Historic Places, which prioritized projects, as Webb had wished. The Bar BC was designated for preservation, with a representative portion of the buildings stabilized and interpreted to the public, a plan roughly aligning with Johnson's 1995 stabilization plan for the Bar BC.<sup>120</sup>

During the 1990s, the Snake River changed its course and began to work its way toward the Bar BC. The pattern of erosion suggested to some that it would continue and obliterate some of the ranch buildings. Others believed it would bypass the ranch, moving south, rather than west.<sup>121</sup> It has eroded to within about fifty feet of some of the buildings, and has taken away part of what was once the swimming pond.

In 1999 an anonymous matching donation was received, for \$10,000 (\$20,000 total) for stabilization work on the Bar BC. The donor hoped to get community members to match his donation, and a fundraising committee was formed headed by historian Robert Righter to raise money over the fall and winter of 1999/2000. The money was ear-marked to be used on the original portion of the lodge, and, if there were sufficient funds, a few original dude cabins. The work would have been accomplished in the summer of 2000. The park's project statement for the fundraising committee read: "Long term, Grand Teton National Park may or may not decide to do additional work, however, this agreement is limited in scope to this modest preservation plan. Any further work will require development of an Environmental Assessment and

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<sup>119</sup> Wheaton, 20 April 2005.

<sup>120</sup> Johnson, "Management Plan" 2000.

<sup>121</sup> Johnson, 4 March 2005, 15 March 2005; Cronenberger, Memorandum, March 2005.

Management Plan for the site.”<sup>122</sup> This made clear that the park could make no commitment to the future of the Bar BC. A memo to the park, not signed, although it was presumably from Robert Righter, asked for details for soliciting donations, including an assurance from Grand Teton that the money would not just stabilize the buildings, but would provide access and interpret them to the public. “If we had the assurance that the NPS endorses favors [*sic*] this means of interpreting the site, it would be *a great advantage* in fund raising.”<sup>123</sup> The park files end this episode there, but Robert Righter recalls that he got no such support from Superintendent Jack Neckels. According to Righter’s memory, he met with the donor and explained the difficulty of raising the money without such an assurance. The donor agreed that the situation was “rather hopeless,” as did Cultural Resources Specialist Michael Johnson, and the group abandoned the idea.<sup>124</sup>

In 2000, Michael Johnson left the park, and in the next year, Pam Holtman was hired as park historian.

The JY Ranch, the first dude ranch in Jackson Hole, was retained by John D. Rockefeller Jr. for his family’s personal use when he transferred the 35,000 acres from Jackson Hole Preserve, Inc. to the National Park Service in 1950. In 2004, in an agreement orchestrated by Superintendent Jack Neckels and approved in the Washington, D.C. office of the National Park Service, the Rockefeller family began to dismantle the ranch and moved a majority of its buildings to property outside of the park’s boundary. Before it was dismantled, the family had HABS-quality documentation done, including measured drawings and large format photographs of the buildings and site, a measure similar to what would have been appropriate mitigation, had the action been subject to Section 106 compliance. The remaining buildings, for which the family had no use, were donated to the park. Several were moved to new

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<sup>122</sup> Michael Johnson to Jack Neckels, Steve Iobst, Bill Swift, Cam Hugie, email, “Bar-B-C Dude Ranch,” 23 June 1999, Bar BC files, Park Historian’s files, GRTE; “Project Statement for the Bar-B-C Fundraising Committee,” n.a., n.d., Bar BC files, Park Historian’s files, GRTE.

<sup>123</sup> Untitled memorandum, July 9, 1999, n.a., Bar BC files, Park Historian’s files, GRTE.

<sup>124</sup> Robert Righter to author, 2 March 2005.

locations in 2004, and the rest will be moved in 2005 and 2006. These will be used for housing, storage, and a shop. Before the JY Ranch lands transfer to park ownership in 2006, the family plans to construct a visitor contact station and trails for public use. Once the JY is removed, the Bar BC will become the oldest extant dude ranch in the valley.<sup>125</sup>

Stephen P. Martin became superintendent in 2002. Although the National Park Service had shifted away from managing different units as either natural or cultural to managing the two types of resources together in a balanced way, Grand Teton had not completely made the transition. Martin's period of leadership served as a "course correction," bringing that balance to the park, and bringing park management into alignment with service-wide policy. Martin had previous experience as superintendent of Denali National Park and Preserve, and Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve. Martin went on to serve as Regional Director for the Intermountain Region, and is now Deputy Director of the National Park Service. He initiated the White Grass Ranch adaptive use project, the adaptive use of the McCollister property as seasonal housing, and supported the preservation of the Bar BC Ranch. Martin's emphasis appears to have been on finding adaptive uses for historic structures, recognizing that those with uses had a better chance of being preserved. Rodd Wheaton, formerly the Assistant Regional Director for Cultural Resources for the Intermountain Region, believes the planned removal by the Rockefeller family of the JY Ranch, which began in 2004, gave the Bar BC increased importance in Martin's mind, because it is the second oldest dude ranch in Jackson Hole, and is now the oldest extant dude ranch.<sup>126</sup>

In 2003, the Michigan Volunteers returned to the Bar BC to stabilize the Dance Cabin, which was near collapse. With supervision by Pam Holtman, the park historian, and Al Williams, the park maintenance supervisor, the group put on a new roof and installed temporary bracing, and in 2004 returned to replace rotten logs and level the

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<sup>125</sup> Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE, to author, 27 April 2005; Rodd Wheaton to author, 20 April 2005; Daugherty, 29 April 2005.

<sup>126</sup> Scott and Holtman, 11 April 2005; Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE, interview with author, 2 May 2005; Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE, to author, 27 April 2005; Wheaton, 20 April 2005.

building, which had sagged at one end more than fifteen inches.<sup>127</sup> In 2003, four Dude Cabins and the Saddle Barn at the Bar BC were stabilized using contractors. Stabilization treatment included stabilizing or replacing foundations, replacing deteriorated wall and sill logs, replacing in kind roof sheathing and rolled roofing, replacing edge boards on roofing, covering doors and windows with plywood, and re-grading for drainage.<sup>128</sup> In 2004, the park's fire crew removed trees and brush from around the buildings, to reduce hazardous fuels, in order to protect the structures from wildland fires.<sup>129</sup>

Park Historian Pam Holtman, who came to the park in 2001, having been a student contractor in the Cultural Resources Division at the Intermountain Regional Office in Denver, has emphasized adherence to policies and procedures—"making sure it gets done properly"—during her tenure. She has been able to successfully secure funding for cultural resources projects, and has had not just support from Superintendents Martin and Scott, but also, particularly under Martin, received clear direction for cultural resources projects, many of which Martin initiated.<sup>130</sup>

The current superintendent of Grand Teton, Mary Gibson Scott, came to the park in 2004 and has continued the pattern set by Stephen Martin of managing cultural resources in the park according the National Park Service's management policies—rather than according to a philosophy unique to the park as Stark and, to some degree, Neckels had done—which call for balanced management of both natural and cultural resources. Scott had worked at Golden Gate National Recreation Area; Fort Wadsworth, Gateway National Recreation Area; the Blue Ridge Parkway; and as superintendent of Carlsbad Caverns National Park. The park's current plan for the Bar

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<sup>127</sup> Taylor and Brown 2004.

<sup>128</sup> Stephen P. Martin, Superintendent GRTE, to Richard L. Currit, State Historic Preservation Officer, 25 April 2003, Bar BC files, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Stephen P. Martin, Superintendent GRTE, to Richard L. Currit, State Historic Preservation Officer, 18 June 2003, Bar BC files, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>129</sup> Site visit by author with Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE, November 2004.

<sup>130</sup> Holtman, 2 May 2005.

BC is to stabilize and preserve as many of the structures as is feasible, beginning with the most significant structures, and provide limited interpretation of the site through wayside exhibits. Access to the site will be via the original gravel road, which will be marked by signage as a four-wheel-drive-road, as several other park roads are as well. The project, because it will change little about the use of the site, which is accessible today, will not require an Environmental Assessment. According to Scott, the park is committed to stabilizing and interpreting the ranch, and the park's natural resource management staff is supportive of the project. The work done to date has been by both volunteers and contractors hired by the park. At this point, it is unlikely the Bar BC will be allowed to deteriorate as it has in the past. Progress is dependant on the availability of funding, but the park has been successful in three out of the past four years in obtaining funding from the National Park Service's Historic Structures Stabilization funding source, and more funding will be available in 2008. Once the Western Center for Preservation Training and Technology is established at White Grass Ranch, the Bar BC will provide opportunities for hands-on training in preservation techniques for Western log structures.<sup>131</sup> The park should have access to Repair/ Rehabilitation, Regular and Cultural Cyclic funding once the structures are stabilized.<sup>132</sup>

When the park received the Bar BC in 1988, the buildings were already in poor condition. In the period of time since then, while decisions were postponed, and a few buildings were stabilized, the site as a whole has continued to deteriorate (see figures 6.5- 6.8). National Park Service Historical Architect Richard Cronenberger considers that the integrity of the site has been seriously compromised, since many of the historic landscape features have been lost, several of the buildings have deteriorated beyond repair, and the course of the Snake River has eroded the site, including a portion of the swimming pond. Efforts in the past few years have attempted to reverse this trend, and future efforts will preserve what is left of the site and forestall additional deterioration. Cronenberger believes that while the site once could have been nominated as a National

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<sup>131</sup> Scott and Holtman, 11 April 2005; Holtman, 20 May 2005.

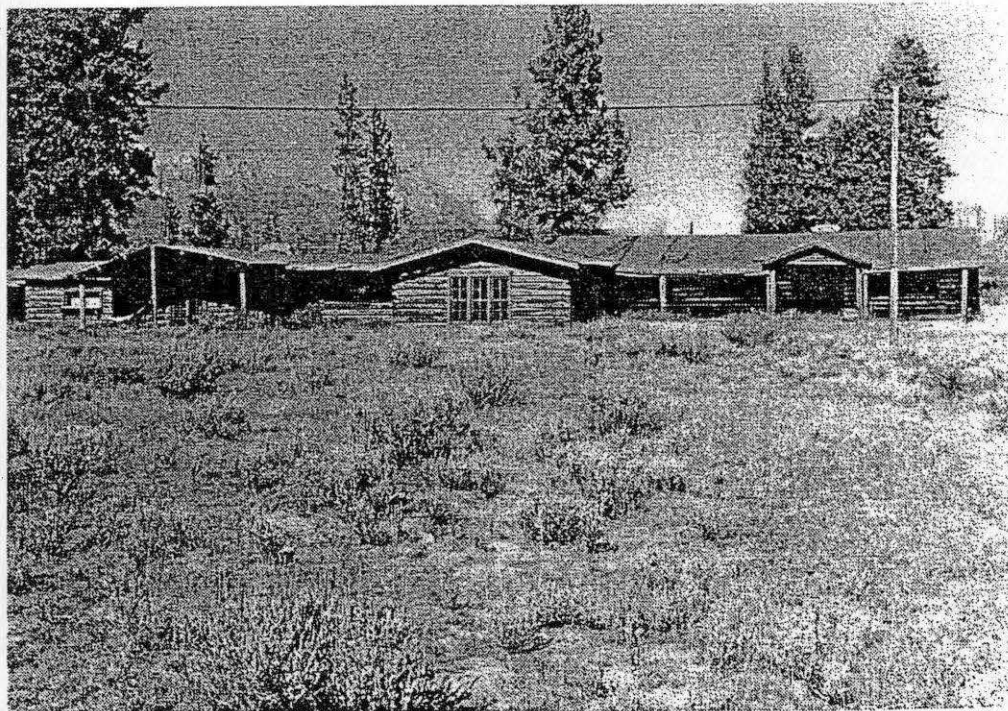
<sup>132</sup> Toothman, 9 May 2005.

Historic Landmark, which has much higher criteria for eligibility, its integrity, if not lost, is now too far compromised for it to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status.<sup>133</sup> It remains listed on the National Register, however, and is significant at the local level.

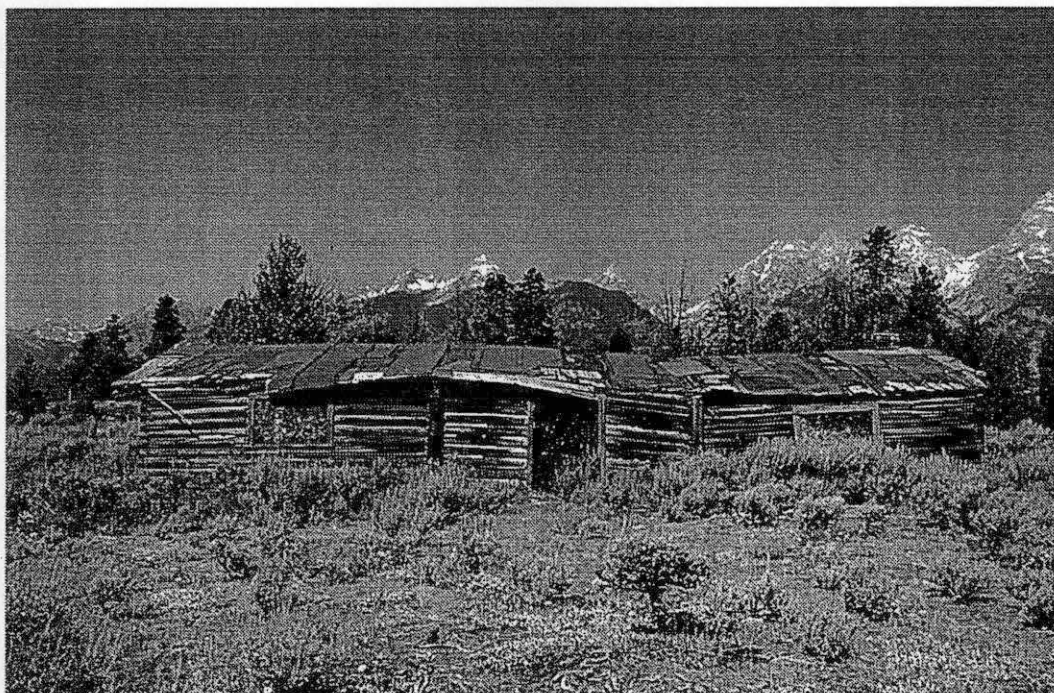
The story of the Bar BC contains elements that reflect issues in the larger history of cultural resources management in Grand Teton National Park, as well as in the larger context of park management service-wide. The following chapter will analyze what the obstacles have been to preserving the Bar BC, what has changed in the past few years, and what can be learned from the Bar BC's story.

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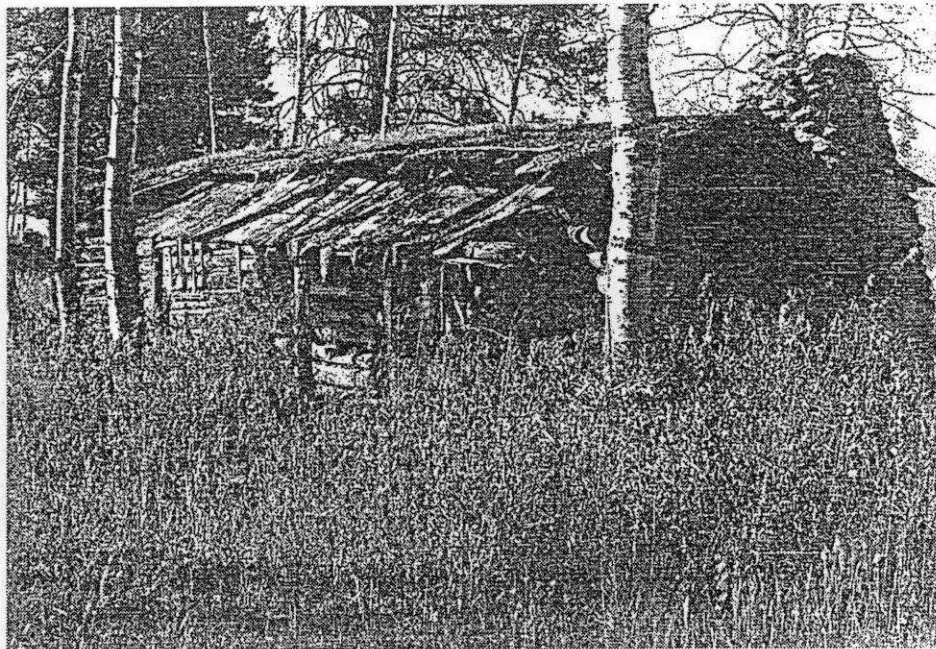
<sup>133</sup> Cronenberger, Memorandum, March 2005.



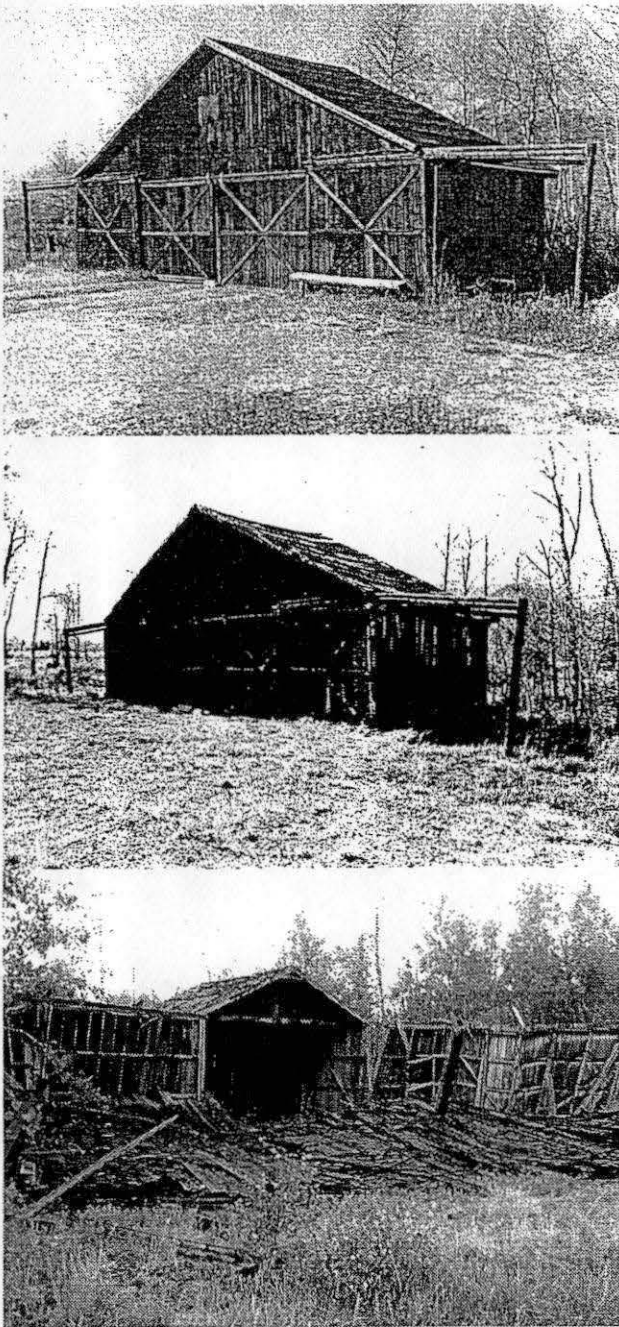
**Figure 6.5.** The Bar BC main cabin (HS1366). In 1979 (top) and 2003 (bottom). Note missing wing on the right. (Top, HABS; bottom, courtesy of Grand Teton National Park)



**Figure 6.6. The Bar BC Dance Cabin (HS1375).** View from the east in 2003 (top), and in 2004, from the west, after two summers' work to stabilize it by the Michigan Volunteers. (Top, courtesy of Grand Teton National Park; bottom, author)



**Figure 6.7.** Horace Carncross's cabin (HS 1386). 1979 (top) and 2003 (bottom). Many of the structures, like this one, were in poor condition when the park acquired them in 1988. (Top, HABS; bottom, courtesy of Grand Teton National Park)



**Figure 6.8. Bar BC hangar (HS 1384).** In (top to bottom) 1979, 1995, 2003. In this case, the building has collapsed while under park ownership. (Top, HABS; middle and bottom, courtesy of Grand Teton National Park)

## CHAPTER VII

### ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

#### Analysis

The story of the management of the Bar BC Ranch in Grand Teton National Park provides insight into the issues that have shaped the overall management of cultural resources in a national park that has for most of its existence been focused on natural resources. Elements of the Bar BC's story are common in the management histories of cultural resources in other national parks, such as Rocky Mountain, Yellowstone, or Grand Canyon—including the belated recognition of the importance of cultural resources, especially those of local or regional significance, within the context of a “natural park.” Other elements of the Bar BC's story, however, are specific to Grand Teton. The critical issues at play in the management of the Bar BC include: the perception of the park as a natural area, the misunderstood legacy of the park's patron, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., a lack of updated planning documents reflecting service-wide and national policies to guide treatment and set priorities, the failure to identify an adaptive use for the Bar BC, its long history of being managed under a life estate and its poor condition upon park acquisition, and the underlying influence of park superintendents on park management decisions. Changes in the park's leadership in the past few years have meant that the story of the Bar BC has turned a corner and is headed in a new direction. What follows is an examination of the patterns and themes in the Bar BC's history.

The most important obstacle to the preservation of the Bar BC has been the persistence of the perception that the park's purpose is to preserve natural, not cultural resources. This appears to stem from the period from the 1960s through 1970, when

parks were designated as natural, cultural, or recreational areas, with separate guidelines for each, and the subsequent failure of park leadership to adapt when these policies changed. The designation of the park as a natural area for management purposes was formalized in the park's last Master Plan, in 1976, which stated that the park "by the provisions of its establishment act, is a natural area."<sup>1</sup> In fact, the enabling legislation for the park does not specify whether the park was set aside for natural or cultural resources. Further, the policy of splitting parks into these management categories had ended in 1970, with the General Authorities Act. Two years after the park's 1976 Master Plan, the Redwood National Park Expansion Act would reinforce this decision for all parks to be uniformly managed.<sup>2</sup> Since the park has not had an updated Master Plan or General Management Plan since the adoption of the 1976 Master Plan, the use of this management category in the park persisted long after the service-wide policy had changed.

Compounding the problem has been the persistence of a misconception of the intentions of the park's patron, John D. Rockefeller, Jr.—a misconception that was held by both Superintendents Stark and Neckels as their guiding vision for their management of the park. Both believed the "Rockefeller Plan" was to remove all evidence of human settlement from the land, in order to return it to a "natural" condition.<sup>3</sup> In reality, Rockefeller's vision, which was shared by Horace Albright, the second Director of the National Park Service, was not just to remove developments he felt were inappropriate, but was also to preserve the "Old West" atmosphere of the valley, by continuing the presence of dude and cattle ranches in the park, and by restoring pioneer structures and interpreting them to the public.<sup>4</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable has written that Rockefeller's restoration at Colonial Williamsburg taught the American public to accept a "sanitized

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<sup>1</sup> "Master Plan: Grand Teton National Park" 1976.

<sup>2</sup> Dilsaver, 356-357; Sellars, 245-246.

<sup>3</sup> Neckels, 6 March 2005; Stark, 25 March 2005.

<sup>4</sup> Righter, *Crucible*, 33-34, 128-131.

and selective version of the past.”<sup>5</sup> Rockefeller might be criticized for trying for the same sanitized version of the past in Jackson Hole—his version of the “Old West” favored picturesque ranches over dance halls—but his efforts to preserve historic resources should not be disregarded when citing his vision for the valley, as Stark and Neckels did.<sup>6</sup>

Former Assistant Superintendent Melody Webb says today that she felt an overall strategy, in the form of a cultural resource program, to prioritize projects and funding, was the main element lacking in the park’s cultural resource program.<sup>7</sup> There was a twelve-year gap between the 1988 cultural resources component of the Resource Management Plan, and the 2000 Management Plan for Historic Resources. The 1988 plan called for removal of many structures that have since been preserved. The 1995 Resources Management Plan did not prioritize or program treatment for individual structures. Discussions were ongoing through the 1990s to prioritize structures for preservation, which concluded finally in the 2000 plan. This meant that there was a time lapse, during which the 1988 plan was the only document specifically prioritizing and guiding preservation treatment. Judging by the number of buildings that were preserved despite their designation for removal in the 1988, the plan was not followed. Compounding the lack of clear direction in the planning documents is the fact that the 1976 Master Plan was the last for the park, and it did not reflect the shift in National Park Service policy that had occurred in 1970 with the General Authorities Act.

One challenge for the Bar BC and its preservation has been that it is a collection of buildings designed and built for a specific use which is no longer viable. Although at one point, the park’s Master Plan called for the continued existence of dude ranches in the park, later plans abandoned or misconstrued this original vision, and called for the

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<sup>5</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable, “Inventing American Reality,” *The New York Review of Books* 39, no. 20 (3 December 1992): 24-29. Thanks to Leland M. Roth for bringing this article to my attention.

<sup>6</sup> Righter, *Crucible*, 33-34, 128-131.

<sup>7</sup> Webb, 10 March 2005.

isolation of dude ranches to the eastern side of the Snake River.<sup>8</sup> Because Grand Teton National Park was formed after it was settled, it contains many structures whose original uses are obsolete: motor courts, dude ranches, vacation homes, and pioneer homesteads. There is a correlation between the condition of these obsolete buildings and whether they have been used, either adaptively or for their original purposes. Those with uses have generally been better maintained. The Old Administrative Area and the Brinkerhoff Lodge were never allowed to deteriorate, because they were used from the time they were acquired or built. During Steve Martin's tenure as superintendent, with Pam Holtman as Park Historian, new adaptive uses were found or explored for several of the park's historic buildings. These are described in the draft 2003 Historic Structures Treatment and Maintenance Plan, which, although it is not yet approved and has not been reviewed by the public, sheds light on the direction Martin intended for the park. The draft plan calls for new uses for buildings that either had no use or were slated for removal in the 1988 Resources Management Plan or the 2000 Management Plan for Buildings Listed on the National Register. Among these are the Aspen Ridge Ranch, slated for removal in 2000, planned for seasonal housing or office/meeting space in the 2003 draft plan; the Lucas/Fabian property, which was planned for removal in 1988, was marked for adaptive use in the 2003 draft plan; the McCollister complex, which had been slated for removal in the 1988 plan, and has been rehabilitated as seasonal housing; the Reimer/Hultman residence, which had not been included in previous plans, which the 2003 draft marked for seasonal housing; and White Grass Ranch, slated for removal in 1988, and by 2003, planned for adaptive use as the Western Center for Preservation Training and Technology.<sup>9</sup> Time will tell if the plan to make the Bar BC an interpretive site will help ensure its preservation. Having visitors

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<sup>8</sup> "Master Plan for Grand Teton National Park," Mission 66 Edition; "Master Plan: Grand Teton National Park" 1976.

<sup>9</sup> "Grand Teton National Park 2003 Historic Structures Treatment & Maintenance Plan."

and park staff at the site more frequently will certainly benefit the ranch, which appears to have suffered from an "out of sight, out of mind" tendency, because it is located out of sight of the inside park road.

Added to the lack of an identified adaptive use, the condition of the Bar BC buildings, which was already poor when the park acquired the ranch, combined with the fact that they were hastily constructed, and probably not intended to last this long, has made it difficult to justify their preservation, as repairs are costly, and made it simpler to plan for the buildings to be removed or allowed to disintegrate. The Bar BC's deteriorated condition developed during the fifty-year period it was held under a life estate, in part due to park managers' failure to recognize or enforce the lessee's responsibility to maintain the federally-owned property. In the 1988 Resource Management Plan, the Bar BC is listed for removal, with the note, "Life estate. No NPS responsibility for maintenance."<sup>10</sup> The Bar BC had been owned by the park since 1950, but had been occupied under a life lease (or life estate) until 1988, when the last owner, Margaretta Corse, died. In the 1950s, the Region Two Regional Director, Howard Baker, had reminded the park that it was their responsibility to monitor alterations and changes to the buildings at the Bar BC while it was under this lease, not because the buildings were historic, but because they were government property.<sup>11</sup> By 1962, when Margaretta Corse asked for firm assurance that the ranch could continue to be operated under a concession permit after her death, the buildings were already in a "run-down" state. When she did not get a definite answer, she had little motivation to invest money in maintaining the buildings, allowing them to deteriorate.<sup>12</sup> After 1966, when the National Historic Preservation Act was enacted, the park had a responsibility under Section 106 of the act, and under Executive Order 11593 (later Section 110 of the act), to preserve and protect any historic structures they owned or controlled, which meant

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<sup>10</sup> "Resource Management Plan: Cultural Resources Component" 1988, 76.

<sup>11</sup> Baker, 30 October 1953.

<sup>12</sup> Mullady, "Memorandum on the Corse lease"; Corse, 12 June 1962; Corse, 31 May 1962; Bill, 8 June 1962; Director, NPS, to Corse, June 1966.

ensuring the lessee was adequately managing them.<sup>13</sup> By 1966, the earliest buildings at the Bar BC, built in 1912, were fifty years old and therefore should have been evaluated to determine if the structures were eligible to the National Register. If they were determined eligible, the park would have been responsible for Section 106 compliance.<sup>14</sup> It was not until 1978, when the first List of Classified Structures inventory of the park's resources included the Bar BC, that it was evaluated as potentially eligible.<sup>15</sup> Despite the fact that the property was possibly historic, the park maintained a "hands-off" policy during this time period, not requiring maintenance or monitoring the condition of the buildings. Therefore, by the time the Bar BC came into the park's hands and was officially determined eligible, it was in poor condition.<sup>16</sup>

*NPS-28* specifies, "Pending planning decisions, cultural resources are preserved and protected in their existing forms." Further, "Every treatment project is supported by an approved proposal, plan, or report appropriate to the proposed action."<sup>17</sup> The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's first recommendation in their "Policy Statement on Balancing Cultural and Natural Values on Federal Lands," is to identify through thorough study any potential conflicts early, in order to avoid damage to resources, especially through demolition by neglect, which the council specifies should only occur when it has been a management decision, integrated with long-range planning, and involving the public in the decision.<sup>18</sup> The List of Classified Structures inventory from 1978 did not specify a management category for the Bar BC structures, and neither did the 1987 inventory, but the unspoken intention in the 1980s was to remove the Bar BC buildings, a decision that was formalized in the 1988 Resources

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<sup>13</sup> *Federal Historic Preservation Laws* 2002, 35-98.

<sup>14</sup> Daugherty et al., 233-234.

<sup>15</sup> Muhn, Classified Structure Field Inventory Report.

<sup>16</sup> Neckels, 6 March 2005; Stark, 25 March 2005.

<sup>17</sup> *NPS-28*, Chapter 4.

<sup>18</sup> The ACHP's policy statement is a relatively recent document, which essentially reinforces policies that were already in place in the NPS. "ACHP Policy Statement."

Management Plan, which officially designated the ranch for removal, so it must have seemed to make little sense to require maintenance if the buildings were to be removed. However, if this meant that the decision was to allow the owner to let the buildings deteriorate, Section 106 would have required an assessment of the effect of this policy, and consultation with the State Historic Preservation Office and Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.<sup>19</sup> The expectation that the buildings were to be removed and the decision to allow deterioration appears to have been in place for years before the Resource Management Plan formalized it, so the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's recommendation for early intervention in this case would have been appropriate. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's statement also recommends using mandated planning processes as decision-*making* processes, not methods for *approving* decisions.<sup>20</sup> In this case, the decision to remove the Bar BC seems to have been made before it was made official in the Resource Management Plan, and the "hands-off" policy had already had an adverse affect on the Bar BC resources by that point. The proper procedure should have been followed with the first List of Classified Structures inventory, in 1978, when a management category could have been established in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Office and Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

The apparent disregard for Section 106 during these years culminated in the Bar BC auction controversy, which appears to have been exactly what its critics charged: an attempt to remove the buildings without following Section 106 procedures. Superintendent Jack Stark, while he says today that he does not remember the specifics of the event, does say of the auction, "As much of that junk that she [Margaretta Corse] got rid of, the happier I was. ... I felt the historic significance was limited." It is important to note that Stark's opinion of the significance of the property is irrelevant, since only a full evaluation of the property's significance would determine this. Stark

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<sup>19</sup> NPS-28, Chapter 5; Muhn, Classified Structure Field Inventory Report; Mehls, Classified Structure Field Inventory Report.

<sup>20</sup> "ACHP Policy Statement."

does not regret the removal of some of the buildings.<sup>21</sup> Although the Bar BC narrowly missed removal in this incident, one could argue that the event ensured its preservation, as any future attempt to remove the structures would have been scrutinized by the same agencies for compliance with Section 106.

While Superintendent Neckels and Assistant Superintendent Webb may have felt that the Bar BC Historic Structures Report failed to provide meaningful management guidance, and while the report itself was never published, it probably fulfilled the goals of the Rocky Mountain Regional Office, which were to forestall the removal of the buildings and encourage the park to preserve them by providing documentation to aid in planning decisions, even though no commitment to the preservation of the Bar BC was made until Superintendent Stephen Martin's tenure.

*NPS-28* specifies that a Historic Structures Report should make recommendations "responding to objectives identified by park management."<sup>22</sup> Rodd Wheaton, who was at the time Chief of the Division of Cultural Resources for the Rocky Mountain Region, says today that his intention in initiating the Historic Structures Report was to bring some perspective to the park's perception of the Bar BC, and Webb's contention that Wheaton was trying to "coerce" the park to preserve the ranch is accurate. The disconnect relates to a less than effective relationship between the park and the Regional Office. Wheaton recalls every decision regarding cultural resources in the 1980s and 1990s was "a battle" with park leadership, and Superintendent Jack Stark's impression was that the Regional Office was encouraging the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office behind his back to "stay on [his] case."<sup>23</sup> Although Wheaton says the Regional Office never schemed with the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, because Wheaton says they were also troubled by the State Historic Preservation Office's obstinacy, he admits he had to resort to some subterfuge to overcome the difficulty he faced when dealing with a park superintendent

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<sup>21</sup> Stark, 25 March 2005.

<sup>22</sup> *NPS-28*, Chapter 8.

<sup>23</sup> Wheaton, 19 April 2005; Stark, 25 March 2005

who “steadfastly refuse[d] to budge on issues and refuse[d] help from the very professionals hired to help him.”<sup>24</sup> Grand Teton’s Cultural Resources Specialist Michael Johnson was torn between the two—the regional office and service-wide policy, and the reluctance of park leadership to fully acknowledge these—when, a year after the last draft of the Bar BC Historic Structures Report, he wrote an alternative plan for the stabilization of the Bar BC, which he concluded:

This plan advances clearly non-traditional NPS methods of historic resource management and reflects the new realities of smaller budgets and increasing visitors, and provides new potential ways of doing business. The preservation of the original Bar-B-C is a good place to implement a new way of caring for historic sites.<sup>25</sup>

Making the whole problem less pleasant for everyone involved, the relationship between the park and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office has been combative and antagonistic for the past twenty years, and has only improved within the past five years. This failed working relationship could provide ample material for exploration at length in another study, which could yield recommendations for avoiding a similar situation in other states or in the future of Grand Teton’s management. It is not within the scope of this study to dissect the problems inherent in the relationship, but the antagonism seems to have come from both sides, with the State Historic Preservation Office’s modus operandi having generally been confrontational, and park staff appearing to take every opportunity to antagonize the state agency in return.<sup>26</sup> At one point, in 1991, the State Historic Preservation Office wrote the park to notify them that “all current and future projects involving historic structures located within Grand Teton National Park will not be reviewed by State Historic Preservation Office staff.” The letter recommended direct consultation between the Advisory Council on Historic

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<sup>24</sup> Wheaton, 7 May 2005.

<sup>25</sup> [Johnson], “Proposal for the Stabilization and Interpretation of the Bar BC Dude Ranch.”

<sup>26</sup> Johnson, 15 March 2005; Wheaton, 19 April 2005.

Preservation and the park.<sup>27</sup> This relationship has probably not endeared cultural resources to park management, nor has it engendered trust on the State Historic Preservation Office's side. The problem seems to not only have made processes such as Section 106 unpleasant, but it probably unintentionally encouraged, or has been used as an excuse for, avoidance of some of these processes in the past.

The cultural resource staff at Grand Teton (John Daugherty, Michael Johnson, and Pam Holtman), while dealing with the many other obstacles to preservation of the Bar BC, seem to have had two challenges intrinsic to their jobs: one was limited funding for preservation, and the other was limited cultural resource personnel, a problem common to all parks in the West. Rodd Wheaton, former Assistant Regional Director for Cultural Resources for the Rocky Mountain/ Intermountain Region, says Grand Teton has always had the smallest cultural resource staff of the parks of its size in the region.<sup>28</sup> Melody Webb recalls that funding was the biggest obstacle for cultural resources while she was assistant superintendent at Grand Teton.<sup>29</sup> Cultural resource staff has had to be creative with funding and with stretching their own time and resources. Cultural Resources Specialist Michael Johnson was able to use creative methods to overcome the exorbitant costs of preserving the structures at the Bar BC by engaging an inmate crew to do work, and by using the Michigan Volunteers.<sup>30</sup> Park Historian Pam Holtman has also been able to accomplish what would otherwise be expensive stabilization work by using the "Michigan Volunteers," in addition to successfully securing stabilization funds from the National Park Service to pay contractor fees.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> David Kathka, State Historic Preservation Officer, to Rodd Wheaton, Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, Rocky Mountain Region, NPS, 13 November 1991, Park Historian's files, GRTE.

<sup>28</sup> Wheaton, 19 April 2005.

<sup>29</sup> Webb, 10 March 2005.

<sup>30</sup> "Stabilization of the Bar-B-C," Assessment of Effect Form, 1994; Johnson, 30 March 2005.

<sup>31</sup> Taylor and Brown, 2004; Martin, 25 April 2003; Martin, 18 June 2003.

Interestingly, the Bar BC files do not reflect any battles between natural resource management and cultural resource management. The site is in the Snake River riparian corridor, and is therefore more valuable to wildlife than other sites in the park. Elk and pronghorn use the sage and grassland flats surrounding the Bar BC, and a bald eagle nest is nearby.<sup>32</sup> Pete Hayden, a research biologist at Grand Teton for twenty-six years, does not remember any particular conflict over the Bar BC site between natural and cultural resource staff. He remembers conversations about whether the site was appropriate to preserve from a natural resources perspective, but does not think discussions turned into written documentation. He thinks natural resource managers were generally aware of the site's significance. The impacts to natural resources had been significant when the ranch was operational, but he does not remember interpretation to visitors being controversial.<sup>33</sup> Steve Cain, senior wildlife biologist at Grand Teton since 1989, has only seen minor conflicts occur between the management of cultural and natural resources, and thinks resource managers have been generally supportive and respectful of the other program's importance.<sup>34</sup>

It also does not appear that any natural resource laws or policies were used to argue for the removal or abandonment of the Bar BC. These elements might be present in disagreements over other cultural resources in the park, but this research did not uncover any documented conflicts between natural and cultural resource staff or laws and policies. The Bar BC's story is much more about the influence of the views and policies of park leadership than about conflicts between staff in the natural and cultural resource disciplines.

Almost all of the elements of the Bar BC's story point to one basic lesson, perhaps an obvious one to anyone who has ever worked in a park: the powerful influence that can be wielded by a park's superintendent, even in defiance of management policies that are intended to prevent drastic variations in management

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<sup>32</sup> Steve Cain, Senior Wildlife Biologist, GRTE, to author, 2 May 2005.

<sup>33</sup> Pete Hayden, interview with author, 23 April 2005.

<sup>34</sup> Cain, 2 May 2005.

styles. Treatment of cultural resources in Grand Teton can be divided logically into periods corresponding to the tenures of its superintendents. During the period of the Bar BC's management, Superintendents Jack Stark and Jack Neckels were guided by the vision that Grand Teton was meant to be a natural park, and further, that part of their role as superintendents was to fulfill the vision of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and Horace Albright, which both superintendents interpreted to mean removing human developments from the park and returning the land to a "natural state." Neckels perhaps acted on this perception in a less active way than Stark did. Superintendents Steve Martin and Mary Gibson Scott seem to have been guided more exclusively by a commitment to the policies of the National Park Service, rather than by a philosophy unique to the park. Part of this difference can perhaps be ascribed to the different backgrounds of the superintendents and their training in cultural resource management and park management in general. Both Stark and Neckels began their careers as park rangers in national parks: Stark in Yellowstone, Neckels at Theodore Roosevelt. Stark's education was in forest recreation, Neckels' was in biology. Mary Gibson Scott began her career as a planner, the field in which she was trained.

More importantly, part of the difference in management styles can also be ascribed to the generation of Park Service employees to which these superintendents belonged, and the broader context of National Park Service policies of their times. Stark and Neckels came to Grand Teton at the ends of their careers, having come of age in the Park Service during the time when Park Service units were still managed using the categories natural, cultural, and recreational. Although there was a subtle shift in management over Neckels' tenure, it was only in the mid 1990s, long after the rest of the Park Service had changed. Martin and Scott came to Grand Teton mid-career, having received their training more recently, reflecting a shift to a more expansive definition of park responsibilities, and were perhaps better versed in current policy.

Steve Martin has a degree in Natural Resource Management, and started his career as a park ranger, like Stark and Neckels, but his management style reflects a “coming of age” in more recent times in the Park Service.<sup>35</sup>

Perceptions of historic significance and understanding of cultural resource management practices can also vary between superintendents because of these differences in backgrounds and training. Stark and Neckels differed with the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office and the Regional Office over which resources were significant in the park. Both had experience working in units in the North Atlantic Region that had nationally significant resources, and in their view, many of the resources in Grand Teton were simply not significant enough to warrant the same protection. Superintendent Stark’s perception of the Bar BC’s significance was perhaps colored by the fact that the ranch had been occupied by Margaretta Corse, who had been difficult to deal with during his tenure, and had not run the ranch as a dude operation for years. His associations might have overshadowed the early history and significance of the ranch. Both Stark and Neckels thought one justification for removing the Bar BC was that the park already had one functioning historic dude ranch, the Triangle X, a policy that showed a lack of consideration for the fact that only the Triangle X barn was eligible or listed on the National Register. Jack Neckels today thinks the preservation and adaptive use of the McCollister complex, the residence of the founder of the Jackson Hole ski resort at Teton Village, an organization which has played a significant role in the valley’s economy, is inappropriate, because the buildings’ significance does not relate to Grand Teton National Park, a comment that demonstrates a lack of understanding for the park’s responsibility to preserve locally significant resources. Stark agrees that the adaptive use of the McCollister complex is “a travesty,” that the park is using the structures’ historic significance as an excuse to move people into the isolated complex.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Thanks to Rodd Wheaton for some of these ideas. Wheaton, 19 April 2005; Neckels, 6 March 2005; Stark, 25 March 2005; Scott, 11 April 2005; Holtman, 2 May 2005.

<sup>36</sup> Wheaton, 19 April 2005; Neckels, 6 March 2005; Stark, 25 March 2005; Scott, 11 April 2005.

A superintendent's influence can persist even after he or she has left a park, as decisions remain in place, either informally among staff hired by the former superintendent who maintain the mindset of the superintendent, or in plans that remain in effect which reflect the former superintendent's management style.

The new direction of the park is attributable to the leadership of its two recent superintendents: Martin and Scott. Both have provided clear guidance and support for the preservation, and in many cases, the rehabilitation and adaptive use, of the historic structures in the park, and have been committed to fulfilling the park's responsibilities under the laws and National Park Service policies directing park management. Funding proposals are submitted annually by Park Historian Pam Holtman, and additional support comes from volunteers such as the Michigan Volunteers, from non-profit advocacy groups such as the National Trust, and from the Teton County Historic Preservation Board.

The two main elements of the Bar BC's history which have had the biggest effect on the condition and management of the site's resources have been the influence of the park's superintendents—some of whom have perpetuated the perception of the park as a natural area and the myth of the "Rockefeller Plan," at the expense of developing an adequate cultural resource management program—and the "hands off" policy of management during the life lease of the Bar BC. The lack of maintenance during the years of the life lease meant that removal of the Bar BC upon acquisition was a forgone conclusion—one that had not been reached through the appropriate compliance procedures. It has also meant that stabilization of the structures has been a financial burden to the park, making any planning for its preservation difficult. The superintendents' influence, especially the vision of the park as a natural area, permeates planning documents, levels of compliance with cultural resource laws, and ultimately the history of the treatment of the Bar BC.

The strongest force in the recent change of fortune for the Bar BC has been the strong leadership of superintendents who are well-versed in current management policies. Their understanding of cultural resource management has meant that they

recognized the local significance of cultural resources such as the Bar BC and White Grass Ranch, and have worked to comply with laws and policies to manage these resources appropriately. They have led according to service-wide policies, rather than according to a subjective interpretation of the park's unique purpose. For the positive changes made in the past several years to continue, future superintendents will need to maintain a commitment to the balanced management of natural and cultural resources.

### **Opportunities for Further Study**

There were several research directions beyond the scope of this thesis that would make interesting future studies.

First, the administrative history of Grand Teton National Park has yet to be written. A thorough account of the cultural resource management portion of the administrative history would make a very interesting study.

The role of the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, and their relationship with the park could be explored at length. A comparison could also be made between it and the roles of State Historic Preservation Offices in other states with national parks.

Teton County has a Certified Local Government, which was formed in the 1990s. They have had some involvement with park cultural resources, which I was not able to thoroughly research.

The role of the Regional Office, and whether there has been an effective working relationship between the park and the cultural resources division in Denver could be further explored.

It was clear from many letters in the park files that advocacy groups, including the Jackson Hole Conservation Alliance, the National Trust, and individual interested citizens, have been active spectators of the park's management—environmental groups seem to frequently take the position that the park should not be adaptively using historic buildings that have been vacant in the past; historic preservationists have pushed for the

opposite, with a few activists taking on specific properties and working with the park to find new uses for them. John Daugherty, who has moved up in the Park Service from park historian at Grand Teton, to superintendent of a historic site, writes,

Public interest in and scrutiny of all aspects of park management has increased significantly over the last 30 years. When an issue becomes contentious or controversial, two characteristics are generally present. 1) The public (or a vocal interest group) demonstrates high concern over the issue, coupled with 2) a low level of trust of the responsible agency or organization and by association, their information and messages. This situation gets into the field of risk communication.

More advocacy groups have emerged to support specific causes over the last thirty years. They are usually interested in presenting their message and opinion, not in 'an interactive exchange of information and opinion among individuals, groups and institutions.' The quote is the National Research Council's definition of risk communication.

It's fair to characterize environmental and historic preservation organizations as advocacy groups. Advocacy is important, but one has to understand the goals of advocates in risk communication situations.<sup>37</sup>

Hugh C. Miller, FAIA, the former Chief Historical Architect for the National Park Service, suggests that further study could examine the concept of "impairment," and its bearing on cultural resource management, particularly the leverage it gives to various constituent groups. Miller also suggests that recent restructuring and changes in preservation processes—the consequences of funding and staffing for the National Park Service, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and State Historic Preservation Offices—are causing changes in the field which could be studied further. Recent congressional activities have involved potential changes to laws, including the Section 106 process, which could substantially change the way cultural resources are managed in federal agencies.

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<sup>37</sup> Daugherty, 29 April 2005.

The recent removal of the JY Ranch, and the motivations of the Rockefeller family for this action, in the context of their role and vision for the park from the earliest years, would make an interesting study, if the family was willing to participate.

Documenting the buildings that were removed from within the park's boundaries, both under the ownership of the Snake River Land Company and under National Park Service management, would be an enormous project that would yield valuable information, giving the remaining structures better context and enhancing the understanding of their significance. There is at least one box of files at Grand Teton labeled "removed structures," and the Rockefeller archives might yield further information. I found only estimates of the number of buildings removed, and no evaluation of whether any of the buildings were significant, though the 1960 Apple Report does mention that some buildings were removed that would have been appropriate to save.

I was not able to visit the National Park Service Intermountain Regional Office, the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, or the University of Wyoming libraries, all of which might have resources that would be helpful in understanding this history better.

### **Conclusion**

Grand Teton National Park appears to have moved safely beyond the years during which few cultural resources were recognized for their significance and value, and the de facto management decision for most historic structures was removal or demolition by neglect. This change has taken strong leadership, and adherence to the laws and National Park Service policies that have been designed to protect these resources and provide for their thorough and careful management. Past management has made this task a difficult one, as many of the park's buildings have been allowed to deteriorate to the point that their stabilization or rehabilitation will be costly and time-consuming. The draft 2003 Historic Structures Treatment and Maintenance Plan

acknowledges, "The task before Grand Teton is enormous and the need to act is urgent."<sup>38</sup> Park leadership and cultural resource staff in the past several years have worked diligently to secure funding for the stabilization of these structures, and to tackle the enormous backlog of preservation work.

Jackson Hole is a community of educated, passionate, active people, many of whom are environmental activists. They value the natural resources in Grand Teton National Park, and actively participate in park planning processes by writing letters to the local newspapers, and to the park. From discussing this issue with acquaintances in Jackson Hole, and from reading letters from the public in park files and in local newspapers, it seems the park is not only battling to save the historic structures in the park from deteriorating, but is also battling to defend their actions from an interested public that has become accustomed to the ways the park has been managed in the past. It is difficult to see, for many people, why a structure in a natural setting which has been abandoned for so many years and, as one person put it, "left to the elk," should be resurrected. The park, which was harangued for years by historic preservation activists, the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, the National Trust, and the Regional Office, is now hearing cries from environmental groups for introducing human activities into undeveloped areas, in order to find adaptive uses for historic structures, such as at White Grass Ranch and the McCollister complex. There is a need for public outreach and education, to help these groups and individuals understand that the standard management direction of the park in the past was out of line with the laws and National Park Service policies that direct Park Service management nation-wide. The changes occurring in the park are not going to the opposite extreme, they are merely bringing the park into line with the rest of the National Park Service.

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<sup>38</sup> "Grand Teton National Park, 2003 Historic Structures Treatment & Maintenance Plan."

While some cultural resources have been lost, and others are beyond saving, many have been preserved by their acquisition by the park, and even by having been neglected while waiting for their planned removal. The National Park Service is the steward of much of Jackson Hole's history. It is in the interest of future generations that the park preserve these remnants of the valley's earliest history, and not let these few surviving, "finite and nonrenewable" resources disappear.

## APPENDIX A

## GRAND TETON NATIONAL PARK ENABLING LEGISLATION (1929)

*Seventieth Congress of the United States of America;  
At the Second Session,*

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the third day of  
December, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight.

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**AN ACT**

To establish the Grand Teton National Park in the State of  
Wyoming, and for other purposes.

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*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the  
United States of America in Congress assembled, That the tract of  
land in the State of Wyoming particularly described by metes and  
bounds as follows, to wit:*

Beginning at the northwest corner of township 44 north, range 115  
west, of the sixth principal meridian; thence southerly along the  
west line of said township to the northeast corner of section 12, town-  
ship 44 north, range 116 west; thence westerly to the northwest cor-  
ner of the northeast quarter northeast quarter section 12; thence  
southerly and westerly, respectively, on quarter-quarter section lines  
to the southwest corner of said section 12; thence southerly to the  
southwest corner of the northwest quarter northwest quarter section  
13; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the southwest quarter  
northeast quarter section 13; thence southerly on the east quarter-  
quarter section lines of sections 13, 24, and 25, to the southwest cor-  
ner of the northeast quarter northeast quarter section 25; thence  
westerly and southerly, respectively, on quarter-quarter section lines  
to the northwest corner of the southwest quarter southwest quarter  
section 25; thence westerly to the northwest corner of the southwest  
quarter southeast quarter section 26; thence southerly to the south-  
west corner of the southeast quarter section 26; thence westerly to  
the southwest corner of the southeast quarter southwest quarter sec-  
tion 26; thence southerly to the southwest corner of the northeast  
quarter southwest quarter section 35; thence easterly to the northeast  
corner of the southwest quarter southeast quarter section 35; thence  
southerly to the southeast corner of the southwest quarter southeast  
quarter section 35, all in township 44 north, range 116 west; thence  
westerly to the northeast corner of the northwest quarter section 2,  
township 43 north, range 116 west; thence southerly on mid-section  
lines of sections 2, 11, and 14, to the northwest corner of the south-  
east quarter section 14; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the  
northwest quarter southeast quarter section 14; thence southerly on  
east quarter-quarter section lines of sections 14, 23, 26, and 35, all in  
township 43 north, range 116 west, to the right bank of South Fork

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Snake River; thence westerly along said bank to its intersection with the north line of township 42 north, range 116 west; thence westerly along said township line to the northwest corner of said township; thence southerly along the west line of said township to its intersection with the main hydrographic divide immediately south of Granite Canyon; thence southwesterly along said divide to its intersection with the main hydrographic divide formed by the crest of the Teton Mountains; thence northerly along said divide, between the headwaters of Moose Creek and Granite Canyon, Fox Creek, and Open Canyon, Dirby Creek and Death Canyon, Teton Creek and Taggart and Glacier Creeks, Leigh Creek and Leigh Canyon, Badger Creek and Moran Canyon, to a point where said divide intersects the main hydrographic divide immediately south and southeast of Webb (Moose) Canyon; thence northeasterly along the last-mentioned divide to its intersection with the projected east quarter-quarter section line of what will probably be when surveyed section 7, township 46 north, range 115 west; thence southerly along said line to the northwest corner of the southeast quarter southeast quarter section 7; thence westerly to the northwest corner of the southwest quarter southeast quarter section 7; thence southerly on projected mid-section lines of probable sections 7, 18, 19, and 20, to the southwest corner of the northeast quarter section 30; thence westerly to the southeast corner of the southwest quarter northwest quarter section 30; thence southerly to the southeast corner of the northwest quarter southwest quarter section 30; thence westerly to the southwest corner of the northwest quarter southwest quarter section 30, all of township 46 north, range 115 west; thence southerly on projected west line of said township and the west line of township 45 north, range 115 west, to the southwest corner of section 6, township 45 north, range 115 west; thence westerly on projected north line of what will probably be when surveyed, section 12, township 45 north, range 116 west, to the northeast corner of the northwest quarter northwest quarter section 12; thence southerly to the southeast corner of the southwest quarter northwest quarter section 12; thence westerly to the southeast corner of the southwest quarter northwest quarter probable section 11; thence southerly to the northeast corner of the southwest quarter southwest quarter section 11; thence westerly to the northwest corner of the southwest quarter southwest quarter section 11; thence southerly on projected west lines of probable sections 11 and 14 to the southwest corner of said section 14; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the northwest quarter northwest quarter probable section 23; thence southerly to the southeast corner of the northwest quarter northwest quarter section 23; thence easterly to

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the southwest corner of the northeast quarter of the northeast quarter section 23; then southerly to the southwest corner of the southeast quarter northeast quarter section 23; thence easterly to the southeast corner of the northeast quarter section 23; thence southerly on projected east lines of probable sections 23 and 26 to the northeast corner of the southeast quarter southeast quarter section 26; thence eastward to the northeast corner of the southeast quarter southeast quarter section 25, all in township 45 north, range 116 west; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the southeast quarter southwest quarter section 30, township 45 north, range 115 west; thence southerly on mid-section line of sections 30 and 31, to the south line of section 31, said township; thence easterly to place of beginning, is hereby reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or disposal under the laws of the United States, and dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasure ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of the United States under the name of the Grand Teton National Park of Wyoming; *Provided*, That no new roads shall be constructed and no hotels or permanent camps shall be established on such lands except under authority of appropriations specifically made therefor by Congress, but nothing herein shall be held to restrict the establishment and construction of trails on said lands.

Sec. 2. That the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916, entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," and all Acts supplementary to and amendatory of said Act, are made applicable to and extended over the lands hereby included in said Grand Teton National Park; *Provided*, That under rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior any bona fide claimant or entryman claiming or owning land reasonably adjacent to the land in said park shall have the right to graze upon land in said park reasonably adjacent to the lands claimed or owned by him such number of livestock as he has been accustomed to so graze in the past or as may be reasonably necessary to the conduct of his business, and shall also have the right subject to such rules and regulations to secure dead or down timber from park lands for use in the conduct of such business.

Sec. 3. That the provisions of the Act of June 10, 1920, entitled "An Act to create a Federal Power Commission, to provide for the improvement of navigation, the development of water power, the use of the public lands in relation thereto, and to repeal section 18 of the River and Harbor Appropriation Act, approved August 8, 1917, and for other purposes," shall not apply to or extend over the land hereby reserved and dedicated as the Grand Teton National Park.

S. 5543-1

Sec. 4. That nothing herein contained shall affect any valid existing claim, location, or entry under the land laws of the United States, whether for homestead, mineral, right of way, or any other purposes whatsoever, or shall affect the right of any such claimant, locator, or entryman to the full use and enjoyment of his land.

Sec. 5. That the appropriations heretofore and hereafter made available for the administration, protection, and maintenance of the Yellowstone National Park shall also be available for these purposes for the Grand Teton National Park of Wyoming unless said park is otherwise provided for by Act of Congress.

*Nicholas Longworth*

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

*Charles McNary*

Vice President of the United States and  
President of the Senate.

*Approved, February 26, 1929,*

*Wm. H. Murray*      *Wm. H. Murray*

## APPENDIX B

JACKSON HOLE NATIONAL MONUMENT  
PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION (1943)

ESTABLISHING THE JACKSON HOLE NATIONAL MONUMENT - WYOMING

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

## A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS the area in the State of Wyoming known as the Jackson Hole country, including that portion thereof which is located in the Teton National Forest, contains historic landmarks and other objects of historic and scientific interest that are situated upon lands owned or controlled by the United States; and

WHEREAS it appears that the public interest would be promoted by establishing the aforesaid area as a national monument to be known as the Jackson Hole National Monument:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the act of June 4, 1897 (30 Stat. 11, 36; U.S.C., title 16, sec. 473), and the act of June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225; U.S.C., title 16, sec. 431), do proclaim that the Teton National Forest lands within the aforesaid area are hereby excluded from the said national forest and that, subject to all valid existing rights, the lands excluded from the said national forest together with all other lands within the following-described area

are reserved from all forms of appropriation under the public land laws and set apart as a national monument, which shall hereafter be known as the Jackson Hole National Monument:

beginning on the present western boundary line of the Grand Teton National Park at a point where the hydrographic divide between Webb Canyon and Snowshoe Canyon intersects the hydrographic divide of the Teton mountains (within what will probably be when surveyed section 1, township 45 north, range 117 west, sixth principal meridian); thence northerly and northeasterly along the divide formed by the crest of the Teton range to the projected position of what will be when surveyed the line between sections 4 and 5, township 47 north, range 116 west; thence south along the section line between sections 4 and 5, 8 and 9, to the point for the corner of sections 8, 9, 16, and 17; thence east along the line between sections 9 and 16, 10 and 15, 11 and 14, 12 and 13, township 47 north, range 116 west, sections 7 and 18, 8 and 17, 9 and 16, to the point for the corner of sections 9, 10, 15, and 16, township 47 north, range 115 west; thence south along the line between sections 15 and 16, 21 and 22, 27 and 28, to the point for the corner of sections 27, 28, 33, and 34; thence east along the line between sections 27 and 34, 26 and 35, to the point for the corner of sections 25, 26, 35, and 36; thence south along the line between sections 35 and 36, township 47 north, range 115 west, sections 1 and 2, 11 and 12, 13 and 14, 23 and 24, to the section corner common to sections 23, 24, 25, and 26; thence east along the line between sections 24 and 25, township 46 north, range 115 west, sections 19 and 30, 20 and 29, 21 and 28, 22 and 27, 23 and 26, 24 and 25, township 46 north, range 114 west, sections 19 and 30, township 46 north, range 113 west, to the point for the quarter section corner of sections 19 and 30; thence south along the meridional quarter section line of unsurveyed sections 30 and 31, township 46 north, range 113 west, and surveyed sections 6, 7, 18, 19 and 30, township 45 north, range 113 west, to the present boundary of the Teton National Forest; thence easterly, southerly, and southwesterly along the Teton National Forest boundary to the corner of sections 25 and 36 on the east boundary of township 44 north, range 115 west; thence

west three-fourths mile to the west one-sixteenth section corner of sections 25 and 36; thence south one-half mile to the west center one-sixteenth section corner of section 36; thence east one-fourth mile to the present boundary of the Teton National Forest; thence southerly along the Teton National Forest boundary to the south bank of the Gros Ventre River; thence westerly along the south bank of the Gros Ventre River to the line between sections 10 and 11, township 42 north, range 115 west; thence south to the section corner common to sections 10, 11, 14 and 15; thence west to the section corner common to sections 8, 9, 16, and 17; thence south to the section corner common to sections 20, 21, 28, and 29, thence west one-half mile to the quarter section corner between sections 20 and 29; thence south one-half mile to the center quarter section corner of section 29, township 42 north, range 115 west; thence west to the quarter section corner of sections 25 and 30 on the line between township 42 north, range 115 west, and township 42 north, range 116 west; thence south to the corner of sections 25, 30, 31 and 36; thence west to the corner of sections 25, 26, 35 and 36; thence south along the line between sections 35 and 36, township 42 north, range 116 west, sections 1 and 2, township 41 north, range 116 west, to the south and east bank of Flat Creek; thence southerly and westerly along the south and east bank of Flat Creek to the line between sections 27 and 28, township 41 north, range 116 west; thence along the section line between sections 27 and 28 to the quarter section corner between sections 27 and 28; thence west one-fourth mile; thence north one-half mile to the east sixteenth section corner between sections 21 and 28; thence north three-fourths mile; thence east one-fourth mile to the north sixteenth section corner between sections 21 and 22; thence north on the line between sections 21 and 22, 15 and 16 to the section corner common to sections 9, 10, 15 and 16; thence east between sections 10 and 15 to the quarter section corner between sections 10 and 15; thence north one-fourth mile; thence east one-fourth mile; thence north one-half mile; thence east one-fourth mile to the north sixteenth section corner between sections 10 and 11; thence north on the line between sections 10 and 11, 2 and 3, to the corner common to sections 34 and 35, township 42 north, range 116 west, and sections 2 and 3, township 41

north, range 116 west; thence west along the township line between townships 41 and 42 north to the quarter section corner between section 3, township 41 north, range 116 west, and section 34, township 42 north, range 116 west; thence northerly on the meridional quarter section line of section 34 to the north bank of the Gros Ventre River; thence northeasterly along the north bank of the Gros Ventre River to the line between sections 34 and 35; thence north on the line between sections 34 and 35, 26 and 27, 22 and 23, 14 and 15, to the quarter section corner between said sections 14 and 15; thence west one-fourth mile; thence north one-fourth mile; thence west one-fourth mile; thence north one-fourth mile to the quarter section corner between sections 10 and 15; thence east one-fourth mile; thence north one-fourth mile; thence east one-fourth mile to the south sixteenth section corner between sections 10 and 11; thence northerly on the line between said sections 10 and 11 to the north sixteenth section corner between said sections 10 and 11; thence east one-fourth mile; thence north one-fourth mile to the west sixteenth section corner of sections 2 and 11; thence in a straight line to the northwest corner of Section 1, township 42 north, range 116 west; thence west on the line between townships 42 and 43 north to the present boundary of the Grand Teton National Park; thence northerly along the east boundary and southwesterly along the north boundary of the Grand Teton National Park to the place of beginning; also a tract embracing the following lands: sections 5, 6, 7, 8, and 18, and those parts of sections 3, 4, 9, 10, 16 and 17, township 42 north, range 116 west, sixth principal meridian, lying west of the center line of the main channel of Snake River.

The reservation made by this proclamation supersedes, as to any of the above-described lands affected thereby, the withdrawals made for classification and other purposes by Executive Orders No. 3394 of January 28, 1921; No. 4685 of July 7, 1927; No. 4857 of April 16, 1928; No. 5040 of February 4, 1929; No. 5436 of September 2, 1930; No. 5480 of November 13, 1930; and No. 7680 of July 30, 1937.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized

persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

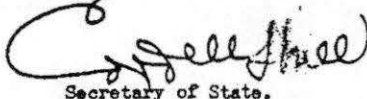
The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of the monument as provided in the act of Congress entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535, U.S.C., title 16, secs. 1 and 2), and acts supplementary thereto or amendatory thereof, except that the administration of the monument shall be subject to the reclamation withdrawal heretofore made under the authority of the act of June 17, 1902, 32 Stat. 388.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 15<sup>th</sup> day of

March in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty-seventh.

By the President:

  
Secretary of State.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
FILED AND MADE AVAILABLE  
FOR PUBLIC USE  
MAR 17 11 29 AM '43  
FEDERAL REGISTER

## APPENDIX C

## GRAND TETON NATIONAL PARK ENABLING LEGISLATION (1950)

**GRAND TETON NATIONAL PARK ACT****AN ACT TO ESTABLISH A NEW GRAND TETON  
NATIONAL PARK IN THE STATE OF WYOMING,  
AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES,**

Approved September 14, 1950 (64 Stat. 849)

*Be it enacted by the State and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purpose of including in one national park, for public benefit and enjoyment, the lands within the present Grand Teton National Park and a portion of the lands within the Jackson Hole National Monument, there is hereby established a new "Grand Teton National Park". The park shall comprise, subject to valid existing rights, all of the present Grand Teton National Park and all lands of the Jackson Hole National Monument that are not otherwise expressly provided for in this Act, and an order setting forth the boundaries of the park shall be prepared by the Secretary of the Interior and published in the Federal Register. The national park so established shall, so far as consistent with the provisions of this Act, be administered in accordance with the general statutes governing national parks, and shall supersede the present Grand Teton National Park and the Jackson Hole National Monument. The Act of February 26, 1929 (45 Stat. 1314), and any other provisions of law heretofore specifically applicable to such present park or monument, are hereby repealed: *Provided*, That no further extension or establishment of national parks or monuments in Wyoming may be undertaken except by express authorization of the Congress. (16 U.S.C. §§ 406d-l and note, 431a, 451a.)*

**SEC. 2.** The following described lands of the Jackson Hole National Monument are hereby made a part of the National Elk Refuge and shall be administered hereafter in accordance with the laws applicable to said refuge:

[description given]

Containing in all six thousand three hundred and seventy-six acres, more or less. (16 U.S.C. § 673b.)

**SEC. 3.** The following-described lands of the Jackson Hole National Monument are hereby made a part of the Teton National Forest and shall be administered hereafter in accordance with the laws applicable to said forest:

[description given]

containing in all two thousand eight hundred six and thirty-four one-hundredths acres, more or less. (16 U.S.C. § 482m.)

**SEC. 4.** With respect to those lands that are included by this Act within the Grand Teton National Park—

(a) the Secretary of the Interior shall designate and open rights-of-way, including stock driveways, over and across Federal lands within the exterior boundary of the park for the movement of persons and property to or from State and private lands within the exterior boundary of the park and to or from national forest, State, and private lands adjacent to the park. The location and use of such rights-of-way shall be subject to such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior;

(b) all leases, permits, and licenses issued or authorized by any department, establishment, or agency of the United States with respect to the Federal lands within the exterior boundary of the park which are in effect on the date of approval of this Act shall continue in effect, subject to compliance with the terms and conditions therein set forth, until terminated in accordance with the provisions thereof;

(c) where any Federal lands included within the park by this Act were legally occupied or utilized on the date of approval of this Act for residence or grazing purposes, or for other purposes not inconsistent with

the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), pursuant to a lease, permit, or license issued or authorized by any department, establishment, or agency of the United States, the person so occupying or utilizing such lands and the heirs, successors, or assigns of such person, shall, upon the termination of such lease, permit, or license, be entitled to have the privileges so possessed or enjoyed by him renewed from time to time, subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Interior shall prescribe, for a period of twenty-five years from the date of approval of this Act, and thereafter during the lifetime of such person and the lifetime of his heirs, successors, or assigns but only if they were members of his immediate family on such date, as determined by the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided*, That grazing privileges appurtenant to privately owned lands located within the Grand Teton National Park established by this Act shall not be withdrawn until title to lands to which such privileges are appurtenant shall have vested in the United States, except for failure to comply with the regulations applicable thereto after reasonable notice of default: *Provided further*, That nothing in this subsection shall apply to any lease, permit, or license for mining purposes or for public accommodations and services or to any occupancy or utilization of lands for purely temporary purposes. Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed as creating any vested right title, interest, or estate in or to any Federal lands (16 U.S.C. § 406d-2.)

**SEC. 5.** (a) In order to provide compensation for tax losses sustained as a result of any acquisition by the United States, subsequent to March 15, 1943, of privately owned lands, together with any improvements thereon, located within the exterior boundary of the Grand Teton National Park established by this Act, payments shall be made to the State of Wyoming for distribution to the county in which such lands are located in accordance with the following schedule of payments: For the fiscal year in which the land has been or may be acquired and nine years thereafter there shall be paid an amount equal to the full amount of annual taxes last assessed and levied on the land, together with any improvements thereon, by public taxing units in such county, less any amount, to be determined by the Secretary of the Interior, which may have been paid on account of taxes for any period falling within such fiscal year. For each succeeding fiscal year, until twenty years elapse, there shall be paid on account of such land an amount equal to the full amount of taxes referred to in the preceding sentence, less 5 per centum of such full amount for each fiscal year, including the year for which the payment is to be made: *Provided*, That the amount payable under the foregoing schedule for any fiscal year preceding the first full fiscal year following the approval of this Act shall not become payable until the end of such first full fiscal year.

(b) As soon as practicable after the end of each fiscal year, the amount then due for such fiscal year shall be computed and certified by the Secretary of the Interior, and shall be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury: *Provided*, That such amount shall not exceed 25 per centum of the fees collected during such fiscal year from visitors to the Grand Teton National Park established by this Act and the Yellowstone National Park. Payments made to the State of Wyoming under this section shall be distributed to the county where the lands acquired from private landowners are located and in such manner as the State of Wyoming may prescribe. (16 U.S.C. § 406d-3.)

**SEC. 6.** (a) The Wyoming Game and Fish Commission and the National Park Service shall devise, from technical information and other pertinent data assembled or produced by necessary field studies or investigations conducted jointly by the technical and administrative personnel of the agencies involved, and recommend to the Secretary of the Interior and the Governor of Wyoming for their joint approval, a program to insure the permanent conservation of the elk within the Grand Teton National Park established by this Act. Such program shall include the controlled reduction of elk in such park, by hunters licensed by the State of Wyoming and deputized as rangers by the Secretary of the Interior, when it is found necessary for the purpose of proper management and protection of the elk.

(b) At least once a year between February 1 and April 1, the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission and the National Park Service shall submit to the Secretary of the Interior and to the Governor of Wyoming, for their joint approval, their joint recommendations for the management, protection, and control of the elk for that year. The yearly plan recommended by the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission and the National Park Service shall become effective when approved by the Secretary of the Interior and the Governor of

Wyoming, and thereupon the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission and the Secretary of the Interior shall issue separately, but simultaneously such appropriate orders and regulations as are necessary to carry out those portions of the approved plan that fall within their respective jurisdictions. Such orders and regulations, to be issued by the Secretary of the Interior and the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission, shall include provision for controlled and managed reduction by qualified and experienced hunters licensed by the State of Wyoming and deputized as rangers by the Secretary of the Interior, if and when a reduction in the number of elk by this method within the Grand Teton National Park established by this Act is required as a part of the approved plan for the year, provided that one elk only may be killed by each such licensed and deputized ranger. Such orders and regulations of the Secretary of the Interior for controlled reduction shall apply only to the lands within the park which lie east of the Snake River and those lands west of Jackson Lake and the Snake River which lie north of the present north boundaries of Grand Teton National Park, but shall not be applicable to lands within the Jackson Hole Wildlife Park. After the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission and the National Park Service shall have recommended to the Secretary of the Interior and the Governor of Wyoming in any specified year a plan, which has received the joint approval of the Secretary of the Interior and the Governor of Wyoming, calling for the controlled and managed reduction by the method prescribed herein of the number of elk within the Grand Teton National Park established by this Act, and after the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission shall have transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior a list of persons who have elk hunting licenses issued by the State of Wyoming and who are qualified and experienced hunters, on or before July 1 of that year the Secretary of the Interior, without charge, shall cause to be issued orders deputizing the persons whose names appear on such list, in the number specified by the plan, as rangers for the purpose of entering the park and assisting in the controlled reduction plan. Each such qualified hunter, deputized as a ranger, participating in the controlled reduction plan shall be permitted to remove from the park the carcass of the elk he has killed as a part of the plan. (16 U.S.C. § 673c.)

**SEC. 7.** The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to accept the donation of the following-described lands, which lands, upon acceptance by the United States, shall become a part of the national park:

SIXTH PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN

Township 41 north, range 116 west: Section 3, lots 1 and 2.

Containing seventy-eight and ninety-three one-hundredths acres, more or less. (16 U.S.C. § 406d-4.)

**SEC. 8.** All temporary withdrawals of public lands made by Executive order in aid of legislation pertaining to parks, monuments, or recreational areas, adjacent to the Grand Teton National Park as established by this Act are hereby revoked. (16 U.S.C. § 406d-1 note.)

**SEC. 9.** Nothing in this Act shall affect the use for reclamation purposes, in accordance with the Act of June 17, 1902 (32 Stat. 388), and Acts amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto, of the lands within the exterior boundary of the park as prescribed by this Act which have been withdrawn or acquired for reclamation purposes, or the operation, maintenance, rehabilitation, and improvement of the reservoir and other reclamation facilities located on such withdrawn or acquired lands. All provisions of law inconsistent with the provisions of this Act are hereby repealed to the extent of such inconsistency. The remaining unexpended balance of any funds appropriated for the present Grand Teton National Park and the Jackson Hole National Monument shall be available for expenditure in connection with the administration of the Grand Teton National Park established by this Act. (16 U.S.C. §§ 406d-5, 406d-1 note.)

## Appendix D. Historic Structures Inventory: Grand Teton National Park

contributing historic structure
removed
not eligible (non-contributing)

L=Local

S=State

N=National

NHL=National Historic Landmark

1=Entered-Documented

2=Entered-Undocumented

3=Determined Eligible by Keeper

4=Determined Ineligible by Keeper

5=Determined Eligible by SHPO

6=Determined Ineligible by SHPO

Struct #	Name	National Register		
		Eligibility	Date	Condition
<b>AMK Ranch Historic District</b>				
1	1345 Berol Lodge	L/1	4/23/90	G
2	1345A AMK Outhouse	L/1	4/23/90	G
3	1346 Johnson House	L/1	4/23/90	G
4	1346A Johnson Barn	L/1	4/23/90	G
	1347 Cabin			
	1348 Cabin			
	1349 Cabin		4/23/90	G
5	1350 Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
6	1351 Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
7	1352 Wood Shed	L/1	4/23/90	G
8	1353 Powerhouse	L/1	4/23/90	G
9	1354 Paint Shop	L/1	4/23/90	G
10	1355 Tack Room/Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
11	1355A Smokehouse	L/1	4/23/90	G
12	1356 Barn	L/1	4/23/90	G
13	1357 Chicken Coop	L/1	4/23/90	G
14	1358 Boathouse	L/1	4/23/90	G
	1358A Building Burned Down			
	? AMK Boat Dock			F
<b>Aspen Ridge Ranch Residence and Barn</b>				
1	1336 Aspen Ridge Ranch Residence	L/5	5/15/98	P
2	1337 Aspen Ridge Ranch Barn	L/5	5/15/98	F
<b>Bar BC Dude Ranch Historic District</b>				
1	1365 Corse Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
2	1366 Main Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
	1367 ??	L/1	4/23/90	
3	1368 Garage/Work Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
4	1369 Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
5	1370 Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
	1371 ??	L/1	4/23/90	
6	1372 Saddle Barn	L/1	4/23/90	P
7	1372A Corral	L/1	4/23/90	P
8	1373 Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
9	1374 Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
10	1375 Dance Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
11	1376 Storage Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
12	1377 Office	L/1	4/23/90	P
13	1378 Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
14	1379 Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
	1380 ??	L/1	4/23/90	

National Register					
Struct #	Name	Eligibility	Date	Condition	
	1381	?? No longer there?			
15	1382	Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
16	1383	Work/Generator Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
17	1384	Hanger	L/1	4/23/90	P
18	1385	Storage/Work Shed	L/1	4/23/90	P
19	1386	Carncross Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
	1387	??			
20	1388	Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
21	1389	Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
	1390	Bath House			P
22	1391	Dude Cabin/Mess Hall	L/1	4/23/90	P
23	1392	Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
24	1393	Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
25	1394	Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
26	1395	Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
27	1396	Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
28	1397	Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
29	1398	Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
30	1399	Dude Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
31	1400	Store	L/1	4/23/90	P
32	1401	Generator Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
33		Outhouse	L/1	4/23/90	P
34		Bridge	L/1	4/23/90	P
35	CA-7	Bar BC Ditch	L/1	4/23/90	
<b>Brinkerhoff</b>					
1	0133	The Brinkerhoff	L/1	4/23/90	G
2	0134	Caretaker's House	L/1	4/23/90	G
<b>Cascade Canyon Barn (aka Patrol Cabin)</b>					
1	0050	Cascade Canyon Barn	L/1	8/18/98	F
<b>Chapel of the Transfiguration</b>					
	0763	Chapel of the Transfiguration Brides' Room	L/1	4/10/80	F
	0762	Chapel of the Transfiguration	L/1	4/10/80	G
<b>Cunningham Cabin</b>					
1	0312	Cunningham Cabin/Bar Flying U Ranch	S/1	10/2/73	F
<b>Death Canyon Barn (aka Patrol Cabin)</b>					
1	DC 7	Death Canyon Barn/Patrol Cabin	L/1	8/25/98	F
2	DCST-1	Death Canyon Corral	L/1	8/25/98	G
<b>Double Diamond Dude Ranch (aka Climbers' Ranch)</b>					
1	0379	Double Diamond Dude Ranch Dining Room	L/1	8/18/98	G
<b>4 Lazy F Dude Ranch</b>					
	0399	4 Lazy F Lodge	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0400	4 Lazy F Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0400A	4 Lazy F Curing House	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0401-0402	4 Lazy F Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0404	4 Lazy F Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0404A	4 Lazy F Smokehouse	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0406	4 Lazy F Icehouse	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0407	4 Lazy F Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0408	4 Lazy F Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0409	4 Lazy F Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0410	4 Lazy F Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0412	4 Lazy F Caretaker's House	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0412A	4 Lazy F Outhouse	L/1	4/23/90	F

		National Register			
Struct #	Name	Eligibility	Date	Condition	
	0412B	4 Lazy F Garage	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0413	4 Lazy F Barn	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0414	4 Lazy F Tack Room	L/1	4/23/90	F
	0415	4 Lazy F Chicken Coop	L/1	4/23/90	F
<b>The Highlands Historic District</b>					
	1031	Pump House			
1	1032	Dining Room and Lounge aka Community Bldg.	L/1	8/19/98	F
2	1034	Dormitory	L/1	8/19/98	G
3	1035	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
4	1036	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
5	1037	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
6	1038	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
7	1039	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
8	1040	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
9	1041	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
	1042	Cabin		8/19/98	G
10	1043	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
11	1044	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
12	1045	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
13	1046	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
14	1047	Hen House	L/1	8/19/98	G
	1048	Linen Shed		8/19/98	F
15	1049	Triplex Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
16	1050	Duplex Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
	1051	Cabin		8/19/98	G
17	1052	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
18	1053	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
19	1054	Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	G
<b>Hunter Hereford Ranch</b>					
1	1271	Barn	L/1	8/24/98	F
2	1272	Chicken House	L/1	8/24/98	P
3	1273	Hay Shed	L/1	8/24/98	P
4	1274	Garage	L/1	8/24/98	P
5	1293	Foreman's Residence	L/1	8/24/98	P
6	1294	Cabin/Bunkhouse	L/1	8/24/98	P
7	1295	Stud Barn	L/1	8/24/98	P
8	1297	Equipment Shed	L/1	8/24/98	P
<b>Jackson Lake Lodge</b>					
1	JL-1	Main Lodge	NHL	7/31/03	G
2	JL-101	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
3	JL-121	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
4	JL-129	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
5	JL-100-301	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
6	JL-116/317	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
7	JL-132/333	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
8	JL-300/501	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
9	JL-312/513	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
10	JL-324/529	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
11	JL-332/537	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
12	JL-801/600	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
13	JL-813/612	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
14	JL-825/620	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
15	JL-601/400	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G

Struct #	Name	National Register			
		Eligibility	Date	Condition	
16	JL-621/420	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
17	JL-629/428	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
18	JL-437/236	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
19	JL-425/224	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
20	JL-417/216	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
21	JL-401/200	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
22	JL-201	Motor Court Guest Lodging	NHL	7/31/03	G
23	JL-44	Seasonal Dormitory	NHL	7/31/03	G
24	JL-45	Seasonal Dormitory	NHL	7/31/03	G
25	JL-46	Seasonal Dormitory	NHL	7/31/03	G
26	JL-47	Seasonal Dormitory	NHL	7/31/03	G
27	JL-50	Seasonal Dormitory	NHL	7/31/03	G
28	JL-51	Seasonal Dormitory	NHL	7/31/03	G
29	JL-52	Seasonal Dormitory	NHL	7/31/03	G
30	JL-53	Seasonal Dormitory	NHL	7/31/03	G
31	JL-35	Permanent Housing	NHL	7/31/03	G
32	JL-36	Permanent Housing	NHL	7/31/03	G
33	JL-37	Permanent Housing	NHL	7/31/03	G
34	JL-41	Permanent Housing	NHL	7/31/03	G
35	JL-42	Permanent Housing	NHL	7/31/03	G
36	JL-43	Permanent Housing	NHL	7/31/03	G
37	JL-22	Stable	NHL	7/31/03	G
38	JL-18	Gas Station	NHL	7/31/03	G
39		The site of Jackson Lake Lodge	NHL	7/31/03	G
<b>Jackson Lake Ranger Station</b>					
1	0066	Ranger Station	L/1	4/23/90	G
2	0076	Barn	L/1	4/23/90	G
3	0077	Garage	L/1	4/23/90	G
4	0077A	Outhouse	L/1	4/23/90	G
<b>Jenny Lake Boat Concessions Facilities</b>					
1	0107	Reimer's Cabin	L/1	8/24/98	G
2	0034	Jenny Lake Boathouse	L/1	8/24/98	G
<b>Jenny Lake CCC Camp</b>					
1	0069	Jenny Lake CCC Camp Messhall	L/5	7/17/98	P
2	0070	Jenny Lake CCC Camp Bathhouse	L/5	7/17/98	P
<b>Jenny Lake Ranger Station Historic District</b>					
1	0036	Jenny Lake Ranger Station	L/1	4/23/90	F
2	0039	Jenny Lake Campground Men's Comfort Station	L/1	4/23/90	F
3	0040	Jenny Lake Campground Women's Comfort Station	L/1	4/23/90	F
4	0298	Crandall Studio	L/1	4/23/90	G
<b>Kimmel Kabins</b>					
	0655	Pump House			F
1	0656	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
2	0657	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
3	0658	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
4	0659A	Pedestrian Bridge	L/1	4/23/90	P
5	0660	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
6	0661	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
7	0662	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
8	0663	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
9	0664	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
10	0665	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
11	0666	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G

		National Register			
Struct #	Name	Eligibility	Date	Condition	
12	0667	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
13	0668	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
	0669	Residence			F
	0670	Kimmel Rescue Cache	non-contri.		
<b>Leigh Lake Ranger Patrol Cabin</b>					
1	0045	Leigh Lake Ranger Patrol Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	G
<b>Lucas/Fabian Property</b>					
1	0747	Geraldine Lucas Cabin	S/1	8/24/98	F
2	0746	Russell Lucas Cabin	S/1	8/24/98	F
3	0746A	Pump House	S/1	8/24/98	P
4	0748	Naomi Colwell Cabin	S/1	8/24/98	F
5	0749	Storage Shed/Tool House	S/1	8/24/98	P
6	0749A	Fabian Outhouse	S/1	8/24/98	P
7	0750	Lucas Garage	S/1	8/24/98	P
8	0751	Guest House	S/1	8/24/98	P
9	0752	Fabian Powerhouse	S/1	8/24/98	P
<b>Manges Cabin</b>					
1	0684	Manges Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	F
<b>McCollister Residential Complex</b>					
1	1150	Residence	L/5	1/31/01	G
2	1150A	Cabin B	L/5	1/31/01	G
3	1151	Barn/Vehicle Storage	L/5	1/31/01	F
4	1152	Cabin A, Crystal Springs Cabin	L/5	1/31/01	G
5		Tack Room	L/5	1/31/01	F
6		Shed	L/5	1/31/01	F
<b>Menor's Ferry</b>					
1	0109	Maud Nobel Cabin	N/1	4/16/69	F
	0110	Transportation Shed	N/1?	4/16/1969?	F
	0110A	Menor's Ferry	N/1	4/16/69	F
2	0111	Maud Nobel Storage Shed	N/1	4/16/69	F
3	0114	Menor's Smokehouse	N/1	4/16/69	F
4	0114A	Menor's Outhouse	N/1	4/16/69	F
5	0114B	Menor's Ferry Lime Kiln	L/5	5/15/98	P
6	0115	Menor's Storehouse	N/1	4/16/69	F
7	0116	Menor's Homestead	N/1	4/16/69	F
8	0116A	Menor's Well	N/1	4/16/69	F
		Menor's Ferry Museum/Shed			
		Menor's Ferry Pole Barn (East Shore)			G
<b>Moose Entrance Kiosk</b>					
1	0182	Moose Entrance Kiosk	L/1	4/23/90	F
<b>Mormon Row</b>					
1	JEB 1	Chambers Granary	L/1	6/5/97	P
2	RCB 1	Roy Chambers Residence	L/1	6/5/97	F
3	RCB 2	Roy Chambers Garage	L/1	6/5/97	F
4	RCB 3	Roy Chambers Chicken Coop	L/1	6/5/97	P
5	RCB 4	Roy Chambers Bunkhouse	L/1	6/5/97	G
6	RCST 1	Windmill	L/1	6/5/97	F
7	RCSITE 1	Dump	L/1	6/5/97	P
8	1312	Andy Chambers Homestead (Residence)	L/1	4/23/90	F
9	1313	Andy Chambers Barn	L/1	4/23/90	F
10	1314	Andy Chambers Gas and Oil	L/1	4/23/90	F
11	1315	Andy Chambers Granary	L/1	4/23/90	F
12	1316	Andy Chambers Machine Shed	L/1	4/23/90	F

		National Register			
Struct #	Name	Eligibility	Date	Condition	
13	1317	Andy Chambers Saddle Shed	L/1	4/23/90	P
14	1318	Andy Chambers Chicken House	L/1	4/23/90	P
15	1319	Andy Chambers Garage	L/1	4/23/90	P
16	1320	Andy Chambers Outhouse	L/1	4/23/90	F
17	ACB 1	Andy Chambers Feed Storage	L/1	4/23/90	F
18	ACB 2	Andy Chambers Feed (Hay) Shed	L/1	4/23/90	F
19	ACST 1	Andy Chambers Corrals	L/1	4/23/90	G
20	ACST 2	Andy Chambers Feed Bunks	L/1	4/23/90	P
21	ACST 3	Andy Chambers Fence System	L/1	4/23/90	F
	CMB 1	Clark & Veda Moulton Residence	L/1	4/23/90	Privately owned
	CMB 14	Clark & Veda Moulton Frame Garage	L/1	4/23/90	"
	CMB 4	Clark & Veda Moulton Outhouse			"
	CMB 2	Clark & Veda Moulton Granary/Guest Cabin			"
	CMB 3	Clark & Veda Moulton Bunkhouse/Guest Cabin			"
	CMB 7	Clark & Veda Moulton Cabin A			"
	CMB 8	Clark & Veda Moulton Cabin B			"
	CMB 9	Clark & Veda Moulton Cabin C			"
	CMB 10	Clark & Veda Moulton Bathhouse			"
	CMB 5	Clark & Veda Moulton Barn/Garage	L/1	6/5/97	"
	CMB 6	Clark & Veda Moulton Small Shed	L/1	6/5/97	"
	CMB 15	Clark & Veda Moulton Log Garage	L/1	6/5/97	"
	CMB 12	Clark & Veda Moulton Cribbed Granary	L/1	6/5/97	"
	CMB 13	Clark & Veda Moulton Shed	L/1	6/5/97	"
	CMB 11	Clark & Veda Moulton Studs-out Granary			"
22	1324	T.A. Moulton Barn	L/1	6/5/97	G
23	1276	John Moulton Residence	L/1	6/5/97	G
24	1276A	John Moulton Outhouse	L/1	6/5/97	F
25	1276B	John Moulton Outhouse	L/1	6/5/97	F
26	1276C	John Moulton Showerhouse	L/1	6/5/97	P
27	1278	John Moulton Barn	L/1	6/5/97	F
28	1280	John Moulton Bunkhouse	L/1	6/5/97	F
29	1281	John Moulton Granary	L/1	6/5/97	F
30	1282	John Moulton Pumphouse	L/1	6/5/97	F
31	JMST 1	John Moulton Corral	L/1	6/5/97	F
32	JMST 2	John Moulton Fencing	L/1	6/5/97	F
33	1283	Reed Moulton/Thomas Murphy/Joe Henniger Hous	L/1	6/5/97	F
34	1284	Reed Moulton Barn	L/1	6/5/97	G
35	1284A	Reed Moulton Outhouse	L/1	6/5/97	F
36	1285	Reed Moulton Shed	L/1	6/5/97	G
37	1287	Reed Moulton Garage/Pumphouse	L/1	6/5/97	F
38	RMST 1	Reed Moulton Hay Derrick	L/1	6/5/97	F
39	RMST 2	Reed Moulton Fencing	L/1	6/5/97	F
40	CA 3	Mormon Row Ditch	L/1	6/5/97	F
41	CA 6	Johnson/Eggleston Ditch	L/1	6/5/97	F
42	MROW 1	Swimming Hole	L/1	6/5/97	P
<b>Murie Ranch</b>					
1	0972	Olaus Murie Studio	N/1	4/3/90	G
2	0973	Murie Residence	N/1	4/3/90	G
3	0973A	Outhouse	N/1	8/24/98	F
4	0973B	Woodshed	N/1	8/24/98	F
5	0974	Chena Cabin	N/1	8/24/98	G
	0974A	Outhouse	non-contri.	8/24/98	F
6	0975	Estes Cabin	N/1	8/24/98	G

		National Register			
Struct #	Name	Eligibility	Date	Condition	
7	0976	Robin's Nest Cabin	N/1	8/24/98	G
8	0977	Moviewood Cabin	N/1	8/24/98	G
9	0978	Cabin	N/1	8/24/98	G
10	0979A	Outhouse	N/1	8/24/98	F
11	0980	Duplex Cabin Alatna	N/1	8/24/98	G
12	0980A	Outhouse	N/1	8/24/98	F
13	0981	Belvedere Cabin	N/1	8/24/98	G
14	0981A	Outhouse	N/1	8/24/98	F
15	0982	Polaris Cabin	N/1	8/24/98	G
16	0982A	Outhouse	N/1	8/24/98	F
17	0983	Montana Duplex Cabin	N/1	8/24/98	G
18	0983A	Outhouse	N/1	8/24/98	F
19	0984	Homestead Cabin/STS Lodge	N/1	8/24/98	G
20	0985	Wild Lone Cabin	N/1	8/24/98	G
21	0986	Engine Room	N/1	8/24/98	G
22	0986A	Outhouse	N/1	8/24/98	F
23	0987	Garage	N/1	8/24/98	G
	0988	Oil House		8/24/98	
24	0991	Frame Cabin	N/1	8/24/98	G
25		Outhouse	N/1	8/24/98	F
26		Electric Utility Pole	N/1	8/24/98	F
<b>Old Administrative Area/Beaver Creek</b>					
1	0001	Superintendent's Residence	L/1	4/23/90	G
2	0002	Residence	L/1	4/23/90	G
3	0006	Residence	L/1	4/23/90	G
4	0007	Residence	L/1	4/23/90	G
5	0008	Residence	L/1	4/23/90	G
6	0010	Old Administration Building	L/1	4/23/90	P
7	0016	Equipment Shed	L/1	4/23/90	F
8	0017	Equipment Shed	L/1	4/23/90	F
9	0018	Carpenter Shop	L/1	4/23/90	F
10	0021	Garage	L/1	4/23/90	G
11	0022	Garage	L/1	4/23/90	G
12	0023	Garage	L/1	4/23/90	G
13	0024	Garage	L/1	4/23/90	G
14	0026	Garage	L/1	4/23/90	G
15	0032	Guest Bath House	L/1	4/23/90	G
	0056	Residence	L/5	3/12/01	P
	0057	Duplex Residence	L/5	3/12/01	P
	0058	Duplex Residence	L/5	3/12/01	P
<b>Ramshorn Dude Ranch Lodge</b>					
1	0785	Ramshorn Lodge	L/1	8/19/98	G
<b>Reimer/Hultman Residence</b>					
1	1359	Reimer Residence	L/3	5/15/98	G
<b>Snake River Land Company Complex (Buffalo Dorm)</b>					
1	0117	SRLC Office and Residence/Buffalo Dorm	L/5	7/17/98	P
2	0121	Blacksmith Shop	L/5	7/17/98	P
3	0122	Garage	L/5	7/17/98	P
<b>String Lake Comfort Station</b>					
1	0043	String Lake Comfort Station	L/1	4/23/90	F
<b>Triangle X Barn</b>					
1	0707	Barn	L/1	8/19/98	G

Struct #	Name	National Register			
		Eligibility	Date	Condition	
<b>Upper Granite Patrol Cabin</b>					
1	0055	Upper Granite Patrol Cabin	L/1	8/19/98	P
<b>White Grass Dude Ranch</b>					
1	1154	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
2	1155	Employee Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
3	1156	Hammond Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
4	1157	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
5	1158	Double Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
6	1159	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
7	1160	Triplex Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
8	1161	Double Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
9	1162	Showerhouse/Laundry	L/1	4/23/90	P
10	1163	Double Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	F
11	1164	Double Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	F
12	1165	Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
13	1168	Main Cabin	L/1	4/23/90	P
<b>White Grass Ranger Station</b>					
1	0037	White Grass Fire Cache	L/1	4/23/98	F
2	0053	White Grass Ranger Station	L/1	4/23/98	P
	0081	White Grass Tack Room	L/1	4/23/98	
	0081A	White Grass Corral	L/1	4/23/98	
<b>Wolff Ranch</b>					
1	1444	Main Residence	L/5	8/15/00	F
2	1445	Garage	L/5	8/15/00	F
3	1446	Cabin 1	L/5	8/15/00	F
4	1447	Cabin 2	L/5	8/15/00	P
5	1448	Residence	L/5	8/15/00	F
6	1449	Shed	L/5	8/15/00	F

Total Number of Historic Structures Managed by GRTE: 290

Total Number of Historic Structures within GRTE, Including Private Inholdings: 316

Source: "Historic Structures Inventory, Grand Teton National Park," 2 November 2004, Park Historian's files, GRTE; Pam Holtman, Park Historian, GRTE, to author, 20 May 2005.

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