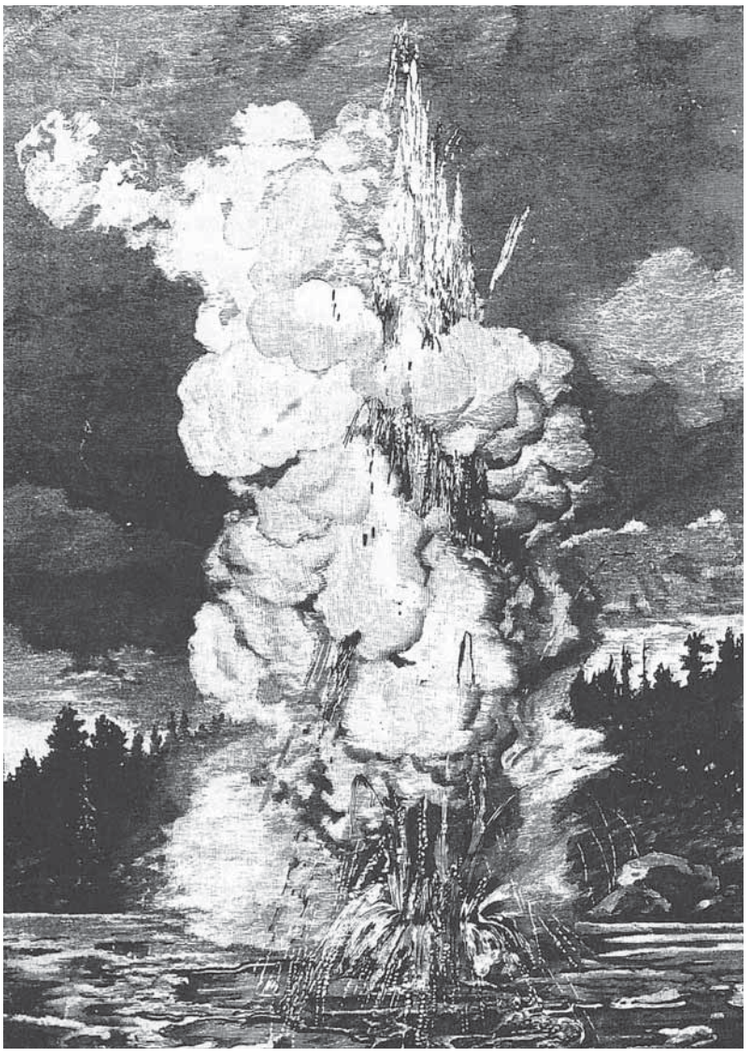


This drawing of a geyser fits with Dunraven's lavish description of the area.
Livingston Enterprise SOUVENIR EDITION, c1900

CHAPTER FOUR

The Earl of Dunraven visits. Custer dies at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. The Nez Percé meet the Cowan party. Philetus Norris is in charge. The tenures of three Superintendents are short. The Northern Pacific brings visitors to the Park. Frank Jay Haynes takes photographs. The Northern Pacific lays tracks in 1879. Livingston is founded. Uncle Rufus builds the National Hotel.

The Earl of Dunraven, officially known as Windham Thomas-Quin, Fourth Earl of Dunraven, Mountearl in the Peerage of Ireland, Second Baron Kenry of the United Kingdom, Knight of the Order of St. Patrick, Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, passed through the Park in 1874 with his extensive entourage: his personal physician George Henry Kingsley, his Scottish servant Campbell, his black valet Maxwell, his guide "Texas Jack" John Omohondro, and numerous servants. He needed no railroad or hotel for his rambles. Grumbling on conditions at Virginia City:

> *Good Lord! What a name for the place! We had looked forward to it during the journey as a sort of haven of rest, a lap of luxury; a Capua in which to forget our woes and weariness; an Elysium where we might be washed, clean-shirted, rubbed, shampooed, barbered, curled, cooled, and cock-tailed.*[33]

From there he and his party crossed the Gallatin Valley. Dunraven had good things to say about ten-year-old Bozeman, visited the Crow Nation with pleasure, and then to the new Park. When he got to Mammoth Hot Springs, the Earl called it the "last outpost of civilization - that is - the last place where whiskey is sold."[34] With his usual éclat he described the thermal areas as:

> *...honeycombed and pitted with springs, ponds, and mud-pots, furrowed with boiling streams, gashed with fissures, and*

[33] First published: *The Great Divide: Travels in the Upper Yellowstone in the Summer of 1874*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1876. See The Great Divide, Bison Books, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967: 43

[34] Ibid, 207

The Earl of Dunraven was quite the dandy.
Wyoming Tales and Trails.

> *gaping with chasms from which issue hollow rumblings…The crust feels as if it might break through at any moment and drop you into fire and flames beneath, and the animals tread gingerly upon it. The air is full of subdued, strange noises, distinct grumbling as of dissatisfied ghosts, faint shrieks, satirical groans, and subterranean laughter; as if the imprisoned devils, though exceedingly uncomfortable, were not beyond being amused at seeing a fresh victim approach.*

Dunraven concludes with this thought:

> *All honor then to the United States for having bequeathed as a free gift to man the beauties and curiosities of 'Wonderland.' It was an act worthy of a great nation, and she will have her reward in the praise of the present army of tourists, no less than in the thanks of the generations of them yet to come.* [35]

During the period of Northern Pacific's suspension of construction, a number of events occurred that would eventually help the railroad when it commenced laying track again in 1879. After a number of skirmishes with the Lakota Sioux, Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer and five companies of the Seventh U. S. Cavalry lay dead at the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876. The total number killed was 315. There followed more military intervention in the area and the Sioux were forced to move to reservations to the east. Now the Northern Pacific Railroad could lay tracks from Bismarck to Livingston without fear of Indian attack, if the company could raise the money to do so. The friendly Crow would allow the engineers to build the railroad on the south side of the Yellowstone River, a better way to go, avoiding the high cliffs on the north side of the river.

In the Park itself, another group of Indians made history. In the late summer of 1877, a party of nine sightseers from Radersburg that included Emma and George Cowan made a trip to Yellowstone National Park that they would not soon forget. They dined on roast venison, fished a great deal, and made their main camp at Fountain Geyser. After what they called a delightful visit to Wonderland, they had a musical evening just before they planned to break camp. Little did they know that their entertainment was also enjoyed by a band of twenty or thirty Nez Percé warriors. Chief Joseph was nearby. At some point, fighting began and George Cowan was wounded by three gunshots. Emma and party feared George was dead and continued through the Park without him. They came through Bottler's Ranch, and on to Bozeman, then Helena, where Emma learned that George was alive. The Nez Percé, not superstitious of geysers or mud flats as generally assumed, continued north through the Park on their way to Canada. After crossing Jack Baronett's bridge, they burned it.[36] George Cowan came home in slow stages with a military escort. General Miles apprehended the Nez Percé in the Bear Paw Mountains and they were forced to surrender.

Despite the lack of federal funding, forty-year-old Nathaniel Langford kept the job as Superintendent for five years. He visited the park seldom, but he did manage to keep a number of business interests at bay in hopes that the Northern Pacific would recover to build its line west, thereby moving closer

[35] Ibid, 262

[36] The bridge was rebuilt the following year.

Philetus W. Norris dressed in what he thought was proper western gear. Yellowstone National Park Heritage and Research Center

to Yellowstone and its promise. He hadn't visited the park for several years when he was booted out by the new head of the Department of Interior Carl Schurz and replaced by Colonel Philetus Norris, who had wanted to be the Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park since 1870.

Unlike Langford, Norris was in the Park a great deal of his tenure. He learned how to trap during his life in Michigan, fancied himself a western romantic and dressed accordingly. He wore a big white hat, decorated with an eagle's feather. His hair and beard were long and white and he wore fringed buckskins. He was armed with a revolver, knife, and tomahawk. The position was still unsalaried but Norris had money put by to live on. He did receive a modest $10,000 from the Department of the Interior to construct roads. His aim was to build them throughout the Park, but some said at best they resembled "scars through the wilderness which he rather audaciously described as 'roads'."[37] However, before he came, there were 32 miles of road and 108 miles of trail. At the end of his tour of duty there were 153 miles of road and 204 miles of trail. As Hiram Chittenden wrote:

> *As a road engineer, he was not a distinguished success. His work was ill-conceived and poorly executed, but at the same time it gave access to so many places wholly inaccessible before. All the difference between poor roads and no roads at all may justly be put to his credit*[38]

Norris did like to name places and ended up naming numerous sites after himself. He complained in his reports to Washington that the despoliation of the parkland continued – uncontrolled forest fires, the killing of wildlife and destruction to mud flats and pools. Gamekeeper Harry Yount was hired in 1880 but resigned one year later, saying he could not control the loss of wildlife on his own. Perhaps without meaning to, Norris got in the middle of opposing interests. He became the object of scorn in some of the local newspapers.

By April 1882, sixty-two-year-old Patrick Henry Conger of Iowa was in place as Superintendent with a salary of $1,200 per year. Later, that sum was increased to $2,000. Conger's tenure was filled with controversy – accusations were tossed back and forth between Washington and the Park. In 1884, another Iowa man succeeded Conger – Robert E. Carpenter. The new Superintendent did no better than Conger and quarreled with many. The slaughter of wildlife continued. He was removed from office on May 29, 1885. When David W. Wear of Missouri took office, President Grover Cleveland said to him, "if you don't take care of the park, I shall have to turn you out."[39] And so he did. On August 17, 1886, Captain Moses Harris of Company M, First Cavalry, entered the Park and became the first of a number of military men in charge of the Park until 1919.

Up to this time, well-to-do Americans

[37] Richard A. Bartlett, "Will Anyone Come Here for Pleasure?" *American West*, volume 6 number 5 (September 1969): 11

[38] Hiram Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park*, (Cincinnati: The Robert Clark Company, 1895: 130-131

[39] Livingston Weekly *Enterprise*, June 6, 1885

Lily Snyder Haynes and Frank Jay Haynes at the time of their marriage, January 1878. Montana Historical Society Research Center

Charles S. Fee was an influential passenger agent for the railroad. Montana Historical Society Research Center

had customarily taken vacations without their families, either a trip to Italy or France or in one of the more notable watering holes along the East coast. Now it was becoming fashionable for family members to spend a holiday together. The officers of the Northern Pacific sensed this change and realized that its line must run close to the borders of the new Park, and that accommodations for these wealthier Americans must be planned. Within a year or two visitors to Yellowstone National Park would arrive.

With well-to-do tourists in mind, the Northern Pacific hired twenty-two-year-old photographer Frank Jay Haynes in 1875 to promote railroad patronage from Minnesota to Puget Sound. A native of Michigan, he established his first shop at Moorhead, Minnesota, and then moved to Fargo, North Dakota. By this time he had married Lily Snyder.

Ten years later, the couple established a shop in St. Paul. Haynes became the friend of Charles S. Fee, who was to become Northern Pacific's Passenger Agent. Both Haynes and Fee pointed out to the railroad management that on the back of each Haynes photo was printed the "Northern Pacific Views," an instant advertising. In 1881, Haynes made his first visit to the Park. In 1884, Haynes became the first official photographer for Yellowstone National Park and established two stations there. Both the Northern Pacific and Park officials knew that, in addition to towering mountains and canyons, advertisements should show people enjoying the sights.

In 1885, Haynes bought a Pullman car, earlier called *The Yellowstone,* from the Northern Pacific and turned it into a traveling photographic studio, complete with darkroom at the cost of some $13,000. He called it the Haynes Palace Studio and used it until 1905. For his work in the Park, Haynes had no such luxuries. At first he used a rickety wagon to carry his heavy photographic equipment; later he was able to upgrade to proper coaches.

He had great success in selling his images. In 1893, Haynes showed his Park photographs at the Chicago World's Fair. This exhibit resulted in great interest in

Sixty-six feet long, the F. Jay Haynes Palace Studio car traveled the Northern Pacific route. Annette and Robert Evans Collection

F. Jay Haynes was official photographer of Yellowstone National Park. Montana Historical Society Research Center

The elegant interior of the Palace Studio car greeted the photographer's clients and was furnished at a cost of some $2,000. Annette and Robert Evans Collection

Yellowstone National Park; from then on, the number of visitors increased considerably.

When capitalist Frederick Billings became president of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1879, he vowed to find the resources to renew building the tracks from Bismarck to a spot on the Yellowstone River. He was in luck as national finances had begun to improve. More and more people were on the move to the West. The Northern Pacific had about one thousand miles of track to construct.

When the Northern Pacific line reached what is now Livingston in 1882, the

Ascending the Point of Rocks toward Livingston, Haynes used a simple wagon to carry his heavy photographic equipment back and forth. Annette and Robert Evans Collection

officers realized that it was a good spot to establish a terminal, switchyard, roundhouse, repair shops, a passenger station, and fuel and water structures. The site was highest elevation along the way at 5,600 feet. Before the railroad arrived, a collection of a few huts marked the spot, and was called Clark City after Heman Clark, a contractor for the railroad. By 1882, the spot held two hotels, a hardware store, two restaurants, two watchmakers, three blacksmiths, two wholesale liquor dealers, two meat markets, six general stores, two drug stores, and some thirty saloons. Benson's Landing was four miles to the north where travelers had crossed the Yellowstone River by ferry since 1873.

A Chinese crew looks at the camera before going back to work on the Northern Pacific line. Their white foreman shows his profile. Crazy Mountain Museum, Big Timber, Montana

So the terminal became Livingston on August 13, 1882, named for Crawford Livingston,[40] a member of the Northern Pacific board. Within a short time, some 3000 to 4000 people were in residence and thirty-nine saloons did a brisk business. There were six hotels and restaurants, four stores and five stables, two butcher shops, two liquor outlets, and a lumberyard. The first depot was built with wood and it burned down within a few years. The second depot was constructed of brick; but very soon it became too small for the growing business.

Second depot at Livingston, 1894. F. Jay Haynes photo, Montana Historical Society Research Center

Now that it was almost certain that tourists would begin to descend on the Park, the Northern Pacific decided that their photographer, Frank Jay Haynes, should devote himself solely to taking pictures in the Park. He rented out the Palace Studio car to others. The railroad company was also concerned with the prospect of incoming tourists and where they would stay.

Moreover, the firm hoped to build a line through the Park. The *New York Times* told its readers on January 16, 1882, that a group of wealthy men, "more or less intimately connected with the Northern Pacific," had formed to provide funds for an eighty-mile railroad line to the Geyser Basin well within the Park boundaries. The cost was estimated at $20,000 per mile. They also planned to fund a hotel at that point with five hundred rooms at a cost of $150,000.

[40] The Northern Pacific executive is listed as Crawford Livingston in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and Johnston Livingston in some other sources.

Wall Street financier Rufus Hatch, sometimes known as "Uncle Rufus," under the umbrella of the Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company, and with Northern Pacific official Carroll T. Hobart and Henry Douglas, began to build the first real hotel in Mammoth Hot Springs at a projected cost of $140,000. Uncle Rufus had already become known for unusual and unsavory activities, notably in the cattle business. Nevertheless, he engaged St. Paul architect Leroy S. Buffington to construct such a hotel northeast of the terraces. The Mammoth Springs Hotel, otherwise known as the National Hotel, would be 414 feet long, 54 feet deep, and four stories high. There would be running water in each of the 141 rooms, the height of elegance. In the corridors of the new building electric lights would be installed. Mr. Steinway donated a grand piano to the hotel; there were two billiards tables. An outside porch filled with rocking chairs ran along the front of the building. Three chefs, two French and one German, planned the cuisine. Their stove was twenty-two feet long. A recent development across the country would become a permanent part of the menu: ice cream was served at the end of every meal. The chimneys were brick and the rooftops were red; the building was painted green. The hotel was partially

The hotel at Mammoth Hot Springs is under construction, 1883. F. Jay Haynes photo, Montana Historical Society Research Center

Early Superintendents of Yellowstone National Park

Nathaniel Pitt Langford: May 10, 1872 - April 18, 1877

Philetus W. Norris: April 18, 1877 - February 2, 1882

Patrick H. Conger: February 2, 1882 - July 28, 1884

Robert E. Carpenter: August 4, 1884 - May 29, 1885

David W. Wear: May 29, 1885 - August 20, 1886

Moses Harris, Captain, Company M, First Cavalry: August 10, 1886 - June 1, 1889

Captain Frazier A. Boutelle, First U. S. Cavalry: June l, 1889 - January 21, 1891

Captain George S. Anderson, U. S. Sixth Cavalry: January 21, 1891 - June 23, 1897

Colonel S. B. M. Young: June 23, 1897 - Nov. 15, 1897

Colonel James B. Erwin: Nov. 16, 1897 - May 15, 1899

Captain W. E. Wilder: May 15, 1899 - June 23, 1899

Captain Oscar J. Brown: June 23, 1899 - July 23, 1900

Captain George W. Goode: July 23, 1900 - May 8, 1901

Captain John Pitcher: May 8, 1901 - June 1, 1907

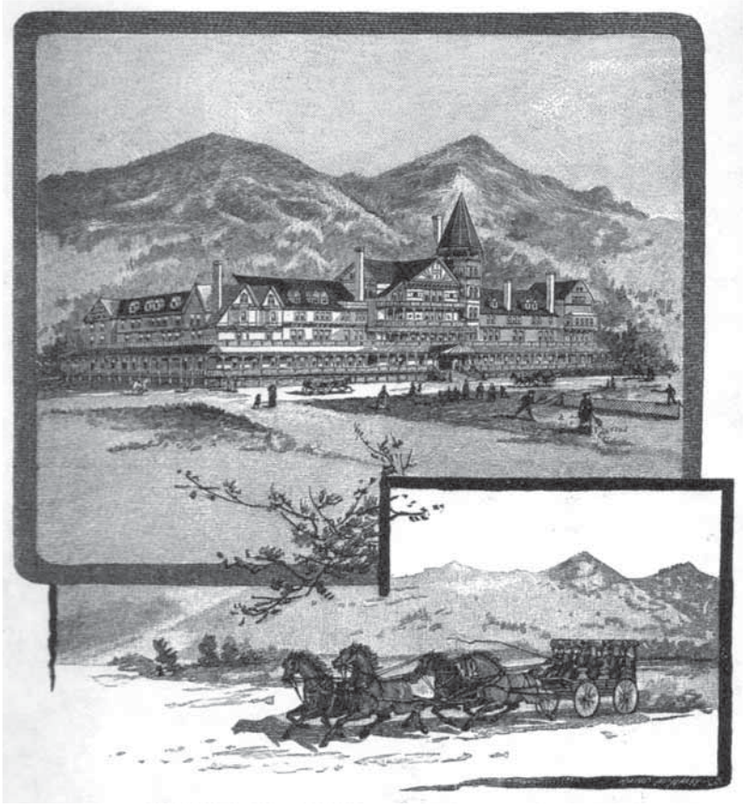
Colonel S. B. M. Young: May 14, 1907 - Nov. 28, 1908

Major H. C. Benson: Nov. 28, 1908 - September 30, 1910

Colonel L. M. Brett: September 30, 1910 - Oct. 15, 1916

Chester Lindsley: October 16, 1916

Horace Marden Albright: 1919 - 1929



The hotel at Mammoth Hot Springs.
Albert B. Guptill, *A Ramble in Wonderland*, St. Paul: Northern Pacific Railroad, 1891

Daniel C. Kingman constructed the first passable roads in the Park. Yellowstone National Park Heritage and Research Center

completed in late 1883.[41] As was customary, those who came by train, then by stagecoach seating thirty-seven passengers, driven by six matched horses, to the hotel, "dressed" for dinner to socialize with their own kind.

Uncle Rufus began to establish tent camps as well at Norris Geyser Basin, Old Faithful, and Canyon. Hatch also planned to transport new tourists by buckboard, surrey or buggy. Stagecoaches would come later.

At about the same time Lieutenant Daniel Christie Kingman was hired by the Army Corps of Engineers to build roads in the Park that would connect the notable geysers and other thermal features. Kingman got to work and designed a series of looped roads to cover those tracks that Superintendent Norris had earlier called roads.[42]

There were those visitors, however, who did not wish to stay at the new hotel at Mammoth. Called "sagebrushers," they came in their own wagons, prepared to camp in the wild. Others, called "couponers," were wealthy enough to stay at the hotel but preferred to camp with their extensive entourage, away from other tourists.

Despite these ambitious plans, Hatch's Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company was in trouble. Monies for its enterprises were not always forthcoming. The group was unpopular with Park residents, who found the group high-handed, arrogant, and condescending. In addition, the Company was using Park trees for its lumber and Park animals for its meat. The group owed a great deal of money. The men building the National Hotel had not been paid and went on strike. A doctor, wondering why so many visitors came down with diarrhea, looked over a number of the Company facilities and pronounced them vile. Nevertheless, the Company vowed it would build more hotels in the Park. In the halls of Congress, however, the words "park steal" were heard. George Graham Vest, Senator from Missouri, looked into the matter and quietly assembled a considerable host of friends devoted to Yellowstone National Park.

[41] The National Hotel was torn down in 1935.

[42] Lieutenant Kingman eventually became Brigadier General and headed the Army Corps of Engineers.