

# **HISTORY OF TETON NATIONAL FOREST**

**Compiled and Written  
by Esther B. Allan**

**1973**

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PREFACE -- ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Mrs. K. C. (Esther) Allan was issued a contract in 1973 to write a History of the Teton National Forest. Research proved a big task, especially the preparation of the pre-Forest history, as Jackson Hole has a vast and exciting background. This background played a large part in the later development of the area and the Teton National Forest. Organizing an enormous amount of information, culled from newspapers, interviews and Forest Service data, was a difficult job, but one for which Mrs. Allan is well qualified.

Esther Allan is a member of the State Historical Society of Wyoming. She received their Activities Award in 1971 for arranging and planning a three-day meeting and trek, held in July 1970. This trek, planned in coordination with Rose Leigh Koops, traced the early trail of Mrs. Koops' father, "Beaver Dick" Leigh, into Jackson Hole via the Ashton Trail to Jenny Lake.

Over the years, Esther Allan has also prepared historical write-ups for local newspapers. She served as an historian in the Teton County Historical Society and worked in the Jackson Hole Museum.

Most important, however, is Mrs. Allan's strong personal interest in Teton National Forest history. After graduation from Iowa State Teachers College, advanced work at the University of Wyoming and Drake University, Mrs. Allan became the wife of a Forest Ranger. During the period 1933-42 she witnessed Forest developments and events firsthand and kept diaries and notes concerning the Jackson Hole area. An avid outdoorswoman, she accompanied her husband, Ranger Sunny Allan, on foot, skis and packtrips throughout the Forest. She has come to know Forest personnel, past and present, well.

Esther is a free-lance writer, contributing to such wilderness publications as Outdoor Life, The Rocky Mountain Sportsman, Western Wildlife Magazine and the Denver Post with feature articles on wildlife, while living at the Blackrock and Jackson Lake Stations.

She also served as Teton County Superintendent of Schools for the period 1960-1964.

This personal involvement and interest, together with Esther Allan's other credentials, has left her well qualified for this great task. From her many sources of information she has produced this fine History of the Teton National Forest.



## DEDICATION

This history of the Teton National Forest is dedicated to the memory of Mr. A. C. (Mac) McCain, Supervisor of the Teton National Forest from 1918 to 1936 and to all the early-day Rangers.

McCain was one of the finest Supervisors and served the longest tenure, eighteen years, on the Teton. He left the Ogden, Utah office when he was acting District Forester to get back into the field.

Supervisor McCain was an excellent leader in the beginning of the Teton Forest's development and growth, and was greatly respected and liked, not only by his Rangers but by the people of Jackson Hole. He understood the hardships, primitive living conditions, loneliness and needs of his men, for he had experienced it all. He formulated many of the policies that are still being used today.

We owe a great debt to the early-day rangers who lived a life of lonely hardihood, and self-sufficiency; of primitive living in log cabins, sometimes mere shelters miles from other people; who had to cover their vast districts many miles on foot, skis or webs, or horseback, traveling 15 to 30 miles a day trailing their pack horses and sleeping under the stars or a patrol cabin if they are lucky. They had no automobile, no telephone, few trails and few boundaries and small salaries. These men had to be map-makers, trail blazers, outdoorsmen, scientists, administrators and planners, and understand people--collaborators of skiers, cattlemen, hunters, loggers, state and county officials and all people who depended upon their districts for their own livelihood, recreation or inspiration. Most rangers worked hard to protect the forest from fire and misuse.

They made the land more productive by increasing the growth of desirable trees, protecting it from over-grazing, poachers and hunting, and planting fish. They built cabins, bridges, roads, trails and telephone lines. They did surveys on timber stands, grazing capacity of range lands, wildlife studies and anything needed to help in the administration of the forest.

They fought forest fires when they either had to walk or ride a horse through trailless, rugged and heavily timbered mountains; packing their tools and food on their backs. It took days to reach a "smoke" which could become a raging fire by the time they had arrived, as they had no planes, communication system or radios and few lookouts.

These early Rangers laid the foundations and paved the way for the more modern Forest Service policies and administration.

Esther B. Allan

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The Bridger-Teton National Forest officials for their advice and help in obtaining information. I am grateful to the following: Ernest Hirsch, Resource Coordinator; George E. Gruell, Wildlife Biologist; Robert N. Perkins, V.I.S. Coordinator, for his help with photographs and maps; but especially Elaine Mercill, Office Services, who hunted up material in the files and aided in countless ways to procure what was needed and smoothed the way in a difficult undertaking of research. To Elaine, my special thanks.

Many other people have contributed to the facts in this book through personal interviews, letters, newspaper clippings, diaries, and historic records in the Teton County Historical Society. They have either acted as principals in various stories or incidents and have supplied material and memories of various events. I am also grateful to the following for helping make this book possible.

Mr. Art Buckingham, former Supervisor of the Teton National Forest.

Mr. J. W. West, former Supervisor of the Teton National Forest.

Mr. Alfred E. Balch, former District Ranger at Moran and Kelly, Wyoming.

Mr. K. C. (Sunny) Allan, former District Ranger at Blackrock and Moran from 1929 to 1942, for his experiences, knowledge, and memories of events in the many years he served as Ranger. Also for the use of his photographs and the cover picture for this book.

Dr. David J. Love, Geologist for the Department of Geology, University of Wyoming, U.S.G.S. under the Department of Interior.

Dr. Donald G. MacLeod for the use of his extensive library and office.

To Floy Tonkin, former editor and owner of the Jackson Hole Guide, for historic material in her columns over the years.

The late Dr. Olaus J. Murie, Moose, Wyoming, for the gift of the Geological Atlas of the United States, Yellowstone National Park Folio, Folio 30, 1896. Engraved and printed by the Geological Survey, Washington D. C., Bailey Willis, Editor of Geologic Maps, S. S. Kubel, Chief Engraver. The penciled signature on the front said "Personal - Robert T. Griggs". The map opposite page 1 was copied from this atlas.

To the many others who have contributed their time, information and support.

Esther B. Allan

PART I

PRE-NATIONAL FOREST, EARLY DAYS

Part I - PRE-NATIONAL FOREST, EARLY DAYS

A. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE AREA AND JACKSON HOLE

Jackson Hole and the adjacent areas, pre-forest, included some of the most scenic country in the United States. Hidden deep in the recesses of the Rocky Mountains lies a spectacular valley rich in history and simple in name. It is called Jackson Hole. The story of this valley is really the story of the American west, in miniature. Across its sagebrush flats, along its rolling rivers, and beneath its snowcapped peaks have traveled and settled many of those remarkable characters who made the West what it was, and is. Indians and trappers, gold seekers and surveyors, cattlemen and farmers, movie makers and tourists, have all been eyewitnesses to the spellbinding beauty and the exciting history of Jackson Hole. 1/ (Figure 1)

Jackson Hole is situated in the northwestern corner of Wyoming, south of Yellowstone National Park. Much of the fifty-mile long, eight-mile wide valley is now included in the Teton National Forest, Grand Teton National Park and the National Elk Refuge. The fur trappers of the 1820's called the valley a "hole" because of its resemblance to a huge flat-bottomed cavity dug in the mountainous terrain which borders it on every side. To the north are the Yellowstone and Shoshone Highlands of the Absaroka Range; to the east, the Wind River Range, the Mount Leidy Highlands, and the Gros Ventre Range; to the south, the Wyoming Range; to the southwest, the Snake River Range; and to the west, the Teton Range. 2/

In the north end of the valley, nestled at the foot of the Tetons, is Jackson Lake. Flowing south from the mouth of the lake is the mighty Snake River, which is joined by three major tributaries from the east - the Buffalo, Gros Ventre and Hoback rivers. From Jackson Lake to the southern portion of Jackson Hole, the Snake River rolls madly along, braiding its channels, cutting its meandering trench in the vast sagebrush flats, and collecting melted snow water from the mountains on either side. At the south end of the valley, the Snake cuts a deep canyon through the Snake River Range and flows out into Idaho and on to the Columbia River. The landscape in the north-central portion of Jackson Hole is dominated by the rugged Teton peaks, which rise abruptly without benefit of foothills, from the flat valley floor. The highest is the Grand Teton (13,770 feet), towering a mile and a quarter above the sagebrush flats. With its deep glacier-carved cleavages, robe of fir and pine, and

1/ Saylor, David J. Jackson Hole, Wyoming. University of Oklahoma Press. Norman pp.3-4.

2/ Ibid.

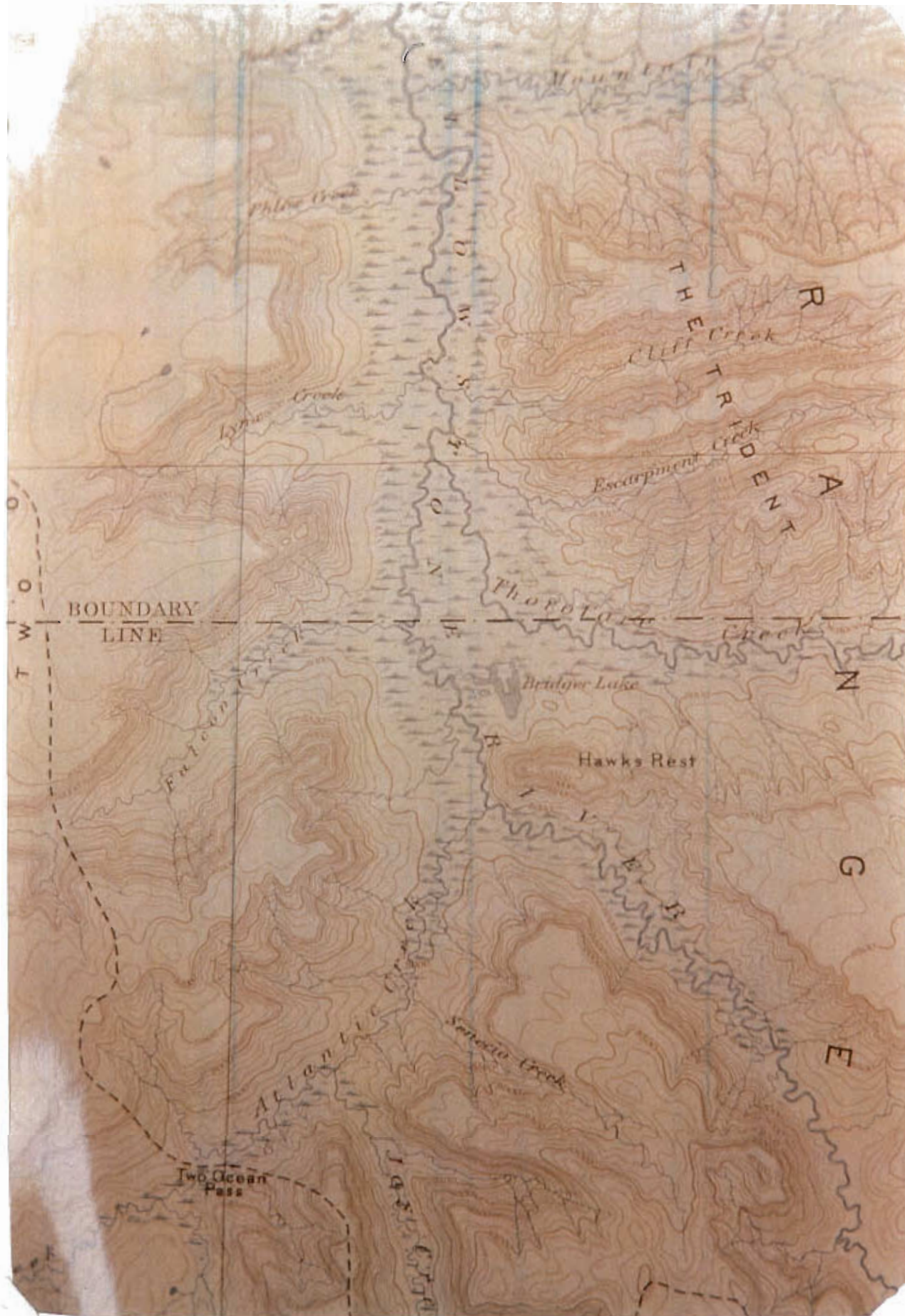


Figure I

U.S.G.S. MAP-Yellowstone National Park, Folio 30, 1896. Teton National Forest Boundary

six sparkling gem-like lakes at its feet, the Teton Range is one of the most scenic mountain groups in the world. 1/

Geology made the valley a complete entity, an "island" surrounded by extremely rugged terrain. The mountains around Jackson Hole proved to be more tangible boundaries than county lines. Its early inaccessibility made an excellent hide-out for those that were "fleeing" the law. It was tucked away among the mountains south of Yellowstone Park, hidden from the white man for centuries by the Teton and Grovont mountains. The picturesque name "Jackson's Hole" dates back to 1829, in which year Captain William Sublette so named it after his fellow trapper, David E. Jackson, who was especially partial to this beautiful valley. Fur hunters of the early nineteenth century mentioned Brown's Hole, Ogden's Hole, Pierre's Hole and Jackson's Hole. Most of these names have been changed; Pierre's Hole lying west of the Tetons now being known as Teton Basin, and Little Jackson's Hole near Bondurant, Wyoming now being called Hoback Basin, but Jackson's Big Hole, the present Jackson Hole remained. 2/

The Teton Mountains, early became landmarks to the Indians and hunters because of their distinctive size and shape. Shoshone Indians called them Teewinot, or pinnacles; Northwest trappers from Canada named them Tetons, the French word for breasts; and Wilson Price Hunt of the Astorians called them Pilot Knobs. The geologist, Dr. F. V. Hayden, described them as shark's teeth. His men named the loftiest peak Mt. Hayden in honor of him; but later the old name, the Grand Teton was restored to it. 3/

The valley of Jackson Hole has roads leading into it from Yellowstone Park to the north, through Hoback Canyon to the south, over Togwotee Pass to the east, and through Snake River Canyon and over Teton Pass to the west. All were originally Indian trails, older than the memory of man. In the early years the fur trapper and mountain man used these trails and others that have fallen into disuse. Of the latter, Conant Pass led through the Tetons at present Berry Creek west of Jackson Lake; Two-Ocean Pass went into Yellowstone from the northeast corner of Jackson Hole; and Union Pass cut through the mountains at the head of the Gros Ventre River. 4/

1/ - Saylor, David J. Jackson Hole, Wyoming. University of Oklahoma Press. Norman. pp. 3-4.

2/ - Hayden, Betty. From Trapper to Tourist. 1963. pp. 1.

3/ - Ibid., p. 1.

4/ - Annals of Wyoming. Spring 1972. Vol. 44, No. 1. Wyoming State Historical Society. Gleann R. Burkes, History of Wyoming.

Teton County is an area of 2,873 square miles bordered on the west by Idaho, on the north by Yellowstone National Park, on the east and south by the Wind River, Gros Ventre and Hoback Mountains. The Tetons are about 75 miles long from Pitchstone Plateau in Yellowstone to a point six miles north of the Grand Canyon of the Snake River. They range from 10,000 to almost 14,000 feet above sea level. Water covers 43,330 acres of Teton County in its lakes. 1/

Jackson's Hole is one of the principal valleys of the Snake River headwaters, stretching southward from Yellowstone National Park. This area is hemmed in on all sides by mountain ranges and interspersed by spurs of hills and by buttes. The Shoshone and Gros Ventre mountains bound the valley on the east. Within the valley the Snake River is fed by the Gros Ventre, Buffalo, and Hoback Rivers; and Pilgrim, Pacific, Cottonwood, Fish, Flat, and Spread Creeks. In the north end of the valley the Snake River forms Jackson Lake, about three by ten miles in size. Less important lakes in the valley are Jenny, Leigh, Phelps, Bradley, and Taggart, all of these lying west of the river at the foot of the Tetons. Tributary to Jackson Hole proper, and opening into the latter from the east, are the Gros Ventre valley, about twenty-five miles long; and the Buffalo valley, about twenty miles long.

Water for irrigation purposes is inexhaustible, and is easily diverted from the natural channels to the land to be irrigated. As a natural accompaniment of the abundant water supply, the mountains and hills lining the valley are covered by dense forests. All of this timber area was embraced within Teton National Forest, one of the first timber reserves created by President Cleveland. Nearly five townships, or 113,920 acres, lying near the center of the valley, and including the most thickly settled portions are part of the later forest reserve.

The general climatic conditions of Jackson's Hole are similar to those which are characteristic of northern and elevated regions. The atmosphere at times is ozonic and exhilarating, and its extreme transparency on a clear day is one of the delights of the region. Usually heavy snowfall does not begin until late December or early in January. The normal depth of snow in the valley is a foot and a half to two feet. Those living off the more frequently traveled roads are then "snowed in" and the mode of getting about for a great many under such circumstances is by snowshoes, the ski being the style of snowshoe generally used.

1/ - Annals of Wyoming. Spring 1972. Vol. 44, No. 1. Wyoming State Historical Society. Gleann R. Burkes, History of Wyoming.

The snow begins to melt under the March sunshine by the middle of that month, and in a month's time has disappeared from the lower levels, which are then turning green. Meanwhile the weather has been variable, ranging from the January "chinook" to the "cold snap", lasting about three days, when the temperature drops to 25 or 30 degrees below zero, but clear and normally cold days predominate throughout the winter. The late spring, summer months and early fall are a veritable delight to those who enjoy nature in her most enchanting mood and dress. 1/

The flora of the area is typical of the Central Rocky Mountains. Over 700 species of vascular plants are native to the country. Engelmann spruce and subalpine fir dominate at the higher elevations below timberline, while extensive lodgepole pine forests dominate the mid-elevation range between 7000' to 9000'. Douglas-fir is scattered at lower elevations, usually on shallow dry soils on ridge tops and south-facing slopes. Sagebrush type vegetation is commonly found at lower elevations on alluvial outwash plains. Aspen occurs on a wide variety of sites at mid-range and lower elevations. 2/

In several respects the flora of the Tetons is unique. The high mountains have constituted a barrier to plant migration which many forms could not cross; hence the range limit of a number of plants is found here. Representatives from north, south, east and west are found in this general region, this being the limit, in many instances, of their distribution. There are many plants typical of the central Rockies, and a few known only to this range. Four life zones are recognized within the area all occurring in a distance of less than 15 miles within what is now Grand Teton National Park. Plants migrating from other regions have grown equally well in each zone. The flowering period begins in the park as soon as the ridges and flats are free from snow in May, and it continues until about August 15 in the Artic-Alpine Zone. Hence, plants of at least one zone, and usually several, may be seen blooming at any time in the spring or summer. 3/

The evergreen trees form an appropriate frame for the majestic Teton peaks and are reflected in the beautiful lakes which they encircle.

1/ - Jackson's Hole Courier. Jan. 28, 1909. (First copy)

2/ - Land Use Planning. Bridger-Teton National Forest Bulletin. July 1973. p. 5.

3/ - Grand Teton. U. S. Dept. of Interior. 1938. pp. 16-17.



Over 200 species of birds and 50 species of mammals have been identified in the Jackson Hole area. Reptiles and amphibians are not common. The roles of vertebrates in nature are many, and often respond first when changes in the environment occur. 1/

A large portion has known oil and gas resources. Much of the Teton area is covered with oil and gas leases. 2/

The region was and is one of fabulous natural resources and wonderful possibilities - not only a paradise for hunters and big game and a resort for nature lovers, but famous as being the birthplace of both the National Forest and National Park systems.

The supervisor's office of the Bridger-Teton National Forest is located in the Town of Jackson at the southern end of Jackson Hole.

1/ - Land Use Planning. Bridger-Teton National Forest Service Booklet. July 1973. p. 5.

2/ - Ibid, p. 6.

B. GEOLOGY OF JACKSON HOLE AND ADJACENT AREAS

The geological components of the area are almost infinite in variety. Most noticeable to the traveler is the matrix of massive mountain formations as seen from the narrow mountain floor. On the Jackson Hole side, the Teton Range presents one of the most precipitous mountain fronts on the continent. Except for Teton Pass, at its southern end, the range is practically an insuperable barrier. Most of the range is lifted above timber line into the realm of perpetual snow, and in its deeper recesses, small glaciers still linger. 1/

Millions of years ago when the Tetons and the valley were linked together at the same elevation, the earth was broken by a north-south fracture near the eastern base of today's mountains. Eventually and slowly the block of earth on the west side moved upward, all the hills subjected to wind and water erosion. Meanwhile, the east block was depressed. The sedimentary strata on the steep side of the west block eventually washed down onto the east block, thus exposing the metamorphosed Pre-Cambrian rock which formed the interior of the west block. Millions of years earlier, the Pre-Cambrian rock had been sediment and volcanic matter subjected to tremendous heat and pressure. Hot gases and liquids invaded the mass of metamorphosing rock, and solidified. The vertical black dikes on Mt. Moran and the Middle Teton date back to this era. 2/ Probably the time of faulting was as remote as the middle of the Tertiary period (the period just before the Ice Age, the latest chapter of the earth's history). 3/

There were three glacial periods in the Jackson Hole area. They worked on buttes and the Tetons carving them into pinnacles when ice formed on them, grinding them on their sides. The grinding and uplifting floor of the valley sank. There were slides and slumps. Frequent earthquakes occurred during the years in the Gros Ventre area. Here, as in several other National Parks, the glaciers of the Ice Age, known to the geologist as the Pleistocene period, played a leading role in developing the extraordinary scenic features. Past glaciers moved down toward, and in many instances, into the basin from the highlands to the east, north and west. These glacial stages, during which extensive ice fields formed, and interglacial stages during which these were largely or wholly withdrawn, had a duration thought of in terms of tens

1/ - Grand Teton Magazine. U.S. Dept. of Interior. 1938. p. 5.

2/ - Saylor, David J. Jackson Hole, Wyoming. U. of Oklahoma Press. 1970. pp. 3, 4, 5.

3/ - Grand Teton Magazine. U. S. Dept. of Interior. 1938. pp. 5, 6, 7.

of thousands of years each. In Jackson Hole, besides the three glacial stages, there were two interglacial stages. 1/

As the west fault block rose, streams cut canyons through it. During the more recent ice ages, glaciers flowed east through these canyons to coalesce with great ice sheets coming down from the north. Overlapping layers of glacial till and outwash deposits in present day Jackson Hole suggest the several separate glacial advances. One filled the basin to a depth of a couple of thousand feet. Hanging U-shaped canyons formed where mountain glaciers encountered the deep mass of ice in the valley. 2/ Where Jackson Lake now is, there lay a great sluggish field of ice, resulting from the confluence of adjacent alpine glaciers. Thus the excavating process formed Jackson Lake. Similarly, glaciers in the canyons of the Tetons deposited the terminal moraines which now impound Leigh, Jenny, Bradley, Taggart, and Phelps Lakes. No lakes were formed along the eastern border of Jackson Hole valley, inasmuch as on this side no glaciers extended beyond their canyons. String Lake is dammed in part by a gravel fill. Today, a few retreating glaciers are visible high up in the Tetons. 3/

The moraines, outwash plains, and lakes are easily recognizable features that originated during the latest glacial stages, and most of the peaks and canyons were greatly modified. Moraines are deposits of debris, piled up by the ice itself. Such are the heavily wooded, hummocky embankments which rest along the base of the mountains from Granite Canyon northward, rising in some cases 200 or 300 feet above the floor of Jackson Hole and heaped with enormous boulders quarried by the ice far back in the range. Outwash plains are the deposits formed by streams which, during the Ice Age, issued from the glaciers. Of this origin are the broad, cobble-strewn flats, usually overgrown with sage, which cover the floor of the valley. They are diversified by bars, abandoned stream channels, terraces and "pitted plains", features of exceptional interest to one who examines them in detail. Several isolated buttes - Signal, Blacktail, and the Gros Ventre buttes - rise like islands a thousand feet or more above these flats.

1/ - Grand Teton Magazine. U.S. Dept. of Interior. 1938. pp. 5, 6, 7.

2/ - Saylor, David J. Jackson Hole, Wyoming. U. of Oklahoma Press. 1970. pp. 4, 5, 6.

3/ - Grand Teton Magazine. U. S. Dept. of Interior. pp. 7, 8.

NOTE: Reed & Love. Creation of the Teton Landscape. U. S. Geological Survey. 1st Edition 1968. (Used as a basic source for this section).

Each canyon gives evidence of the vigor with which the glacier it once contained gouged out its channel. In many places the rock of the broad floors and steep sides is still remarkably polished. Every canyon leads up to one or more amphitheatres, or cirques, with sheer bare walls hundreds of feet high. 1/

Very impressive is the contrast between the east and west sides of the Teton Range. From the east, the Jackson Hole side, one views the precipitous side of the mountain block as it has been exposed by uplift and erosion. From the west, the Idaho side, is seen the broad top of the block, which is gently inclined toward the west. In the eastern front, furthermore, one sees the ancient, deep-seated crystalline rocks (gneiss, schist, granite, etc.) belonging to the earliest known geologic eras, the Precambrian. In places on the top block, at the head of Death and Avalanche Canyons, for example, are seen the inclined layers of limestone, quartzite, and shale belonging to the less ancient Paleozoic era. These layers formerly covered the entire block, but they have been worn away from half of the area, thus exposing the underlying crystallines. The west and north flanks of the range are overlapping by relatively young beds of lava that are continuous with those covering eastern Idaho and the Yellowstone plateaus. 2/

The Grand, Middle, and South Tetons comprise the historic Trois Tetons, which were noted landmarks to the trappers and explorers of the early nineteenth century. Eleven peaks are of such boldness and prominence that they receive rank as major peaks. In order of descending altitude they are:

Grand Teton - 13,770'	Mount Owen - 12,928'
Middle Teton - 12,804'	Mount Moran - 12,605'
South Teton - 12,514'	Mount Teewinot - 12,325'
Buck Mountain - 11,938'	Nez Perce - 11,901'
Mount Wister - 11,490'	Mt. St. John - 11,430' <u>3/</u>

In addition to the eleven major peaks there are an even larger number of lesser prominence and altitude, such as:

Cloudveil Dome - 12,026'	Eagle Rest - 11,258'
Prospector's Mountain - 11,241'	Mount Rockchuck - 11,144'
Table Mountain - 11,106'	Bivouac Peak - 10,825'
Rendezvous Peak - 10,927'	Fossil Mountain - 10,916'
Rolling Thunder - 10,908'	Mount Hunt - 10,783'
Symmetry Spire - 10,546'	Storm Point - 10,054';

1/ - Grand Teton Magazine. U.S. Dept. of Interior. pp. 6, 8.

2/ - Ibid. - p. 6.

3/ - "Grand Teton National Park Map" - U.S. Geological Survey. 1968.

as well as a host of nameless pinnacles and crags which serve to make the Teton skyline the most jagged of any on the continent. 1/

Other mountains and peaks that are over 8000 feet are:

Munger Mountain - 8,383'	Huckleberry Mountain - 9,615'
Pinyon Peak - 9,705'	Whetstone Mountain - 9,610'
Soda Mountain - 10,915'	Gravel Mountain - 9,645'
Mt. Berry - 8,951'	Hawk's Rest - 9,761'
Pendegraft Peak - 10,599'	Younts Peak - 12,165'
Mt. Leidy - 10,317'	Green Mountain - 9,689'
Buckskin Point - 9,632'	Sheep Mountain - 11,190'
Crystal Peak - 10,954'	Knowlin Peak - 9,861'
Jackson Peak - 10,707'	Cache Peak - 9,730'
Pinnacle Peak - 10,809'	Pyramid Peak - 11,087'
Black Peak - 11,639'	Darwin Peak - 11,645'
Triangle Peak - 11,525'	Ramshorn Peak - 10,392'
Double Top Peak - 11,750'	Clause Peak - 10,612'
Hodges Peak - 11,130'	Breccia Peak - 11,007'
Mount Berry - 8,951'	

2/

Some of the main lakes are: Jackson, Jenny, Leigh, Marion, Bradley, Taggart, String, Phelps, Emma Matilda, Two Ocean, Gravel, Enos, Leidy, Bridger, Brooks, the Blue Lakes, Lunch, and Lake-of-the-Woods, Grassy, Loon, Lower and Upper Slide Lakes, the Six Lakes, Turquoise, Arizona, Brewster, and some lesser lakes in the Teton Park, and scattered around the wilderness area. 3/

The main rivers are: the Snake, Hoback, Gros Ventre, and Buffalo. The area is honeycombed with creeks, some almost as large as rivers. To name a few: Glade, Coulter, Nickel, Dime, Wolverine, Two Ocean, Pacific, Senecio, Daniels, Lost, Soda Fork, Joy, Lake, Clear, Box, Enos, Mink, Fox, Sheffield, Wood, Spread, Grizzly, Skull, Holmes, Red, Fish Creek, Slate, Horsetail, Middle, North and South Fork, Kettle, Trails, Redmond, West and East Miners, Pass, Soda, Shorty, Flat, Sheep, Nowlin, Tepee, Big Game, Mud, Big Cow, Park, Granite, Bunker, Corner, Jack, North and South Fork of Fall, Burnt, Clause, Cabin Snag, Kilgore, Lamb, Kerr, Little, Boulder, West Shoal, House, Jack, Muddy, Fisherman, Lick, and Half Turn to name most of them. 4/

1/ - Grand Teton National Park Map - U.S. Geological Survey. 1968.

2/ - Forest Service Map. Teton National Forest. 1966.

3/ - Forest Service Map. Comp. Regional Office, Ogden, Utah. 1964.

4/ Ibid.

Earth tremors and quakes other than the Gros Ventre ones, have been felt in Jackson Hole over the years. The big Yellowstone quake of 1959 was felt all over Jackson Hole. A smaller one was felt in the 1930's and knocked the plaster out of a chimney in the Blackrock Ranger Station. 1/

1/ - "Diary of Esther B. Allan". 1934 and 1959.

C. INDIANS IN THE FOREST

Up to 1800, Indians held undisputed sway over the country dominated by the Three Tetons. Then, as now, Jackson Hole was literally a happy hunting ground and while the severe winters precluded permanent habitation, during the milder seasons bands of Indians frequently came into the basin on hunting expeditions. They represented many tribes, usually hostile to each other - the dreaded Blackfeet, the Crows, the Nez Perce, the Flatheads, the Shoshone, and others. There is little reason to believe that these Indians ever invaded the more rugged portions of the Tetons, but it is certain they regularly crossed the range, utilizing the several passes.

The earliest evidence of man's presence in Jackson Hole consists of Indian arrowheads, grinding stones, and other artifacts uncovered in recent years along the northern shore of Jackson Lake. "How long Indians or their predecessors have been coming into the area may be indicated by Yuma points that have been found on the shores of Jackson Lake by W. C. Lawrence of Moran and others. Yuma arrowheads date from seven to ten thousand years ago, in this case leading to the supposition that man was coming into the valley soon after the last ice melted, and possibly during interglacial periods." 1/

Traces of Indian camps have been discovered along Spread, Mosquito, and Game Creeks. An early settler, Cal Carrington, claimed to have found a stone blind constructed by the Indians in Flat Creek Canyon, as well as at Goosewing. 2/ Evidence of camps made by them can be found all over Jackson Hole and adjacent areas. Excavations for homes and ditches have been steadily found. Arrowheads have been found along the beds of creeks and on islands in Jackson Lake, which was once a large meadowland.\* According to Betty Hayden, very ancient sites have recently been discovered high up on Buck Mountain and in Death Canyon containing only stone artifacts, either dating back to the time before Indians knew white men or to a later time when Sheep Eater Indians without horses or firearms, lived in a stone age culture in inaccessible places to be safe from more advanced, aggressive Indians who had

1/ - Hayden, Betty. From Trapper to Tourist. p. 6.

2/ - Saylor, David J. Jackson Hole, Wyoming. pp. 3-7. U. of Oklahoma Press. 1970.

\* This was before the Jackson Lake dam was built and covered a once large meadow with deep water. The action of the water and wind brings artifacts to the surface of the lake and washes them ashore.

horses and guns. It is believed there was an obsidian supply at Mosquito Creek and in Yellowstone Park which they sought for arrowheads. They were afraid of the strange geysers in Yellowstone Park so brought their supply back into Jackson Hole to make into arrowheads. Much evidence is found here in the form of obsidian chips around Jackson Lake. Across the lake on the west side there is a hill above the lake where the ground is liberally covered with these obsidian chips.

The Indians entered Jackson Hole over high mountain passes or through steep river canyons, often leaving crudely marked trails along the way. From the headwaters of the Yellowstone in the north, they crossed to Two Ocean Pass on the Continental Divide, descended Pacific Creek, and were soon in view of Jackson Lake. In the northeast they came over Togwotee Pass between the Absaroka and Wind River ranges and traveled down Blackrock Creek to the Buffalo River. In the east they used Union Pass in the Wind River Range as a gateway to the Gros Ventre River Canyon. From the southeast, they ascended the Green River, climbed to the Hoback Rim, and descended the Hoback River Canyon. The Teton Range blocked them in the west, except for two passes. One through the southern end of the range, known as Teton Pass, and the other through the northern end at the headwaters of Berry Creek, known as Conant Pass. <sup>1/</sup> They visited the valley during the warmer months to hunt the antelope, deer, elk and buffalo that roamed through the region. Each tribe hotly defended their hunting grounds. Game found its way into the valley where, in summer the grass was fresh and plentiful, but in winter the game had to seek open plains where it was warmer and without such deep snows. As they migrated in and out of the valley, they made well-worn trails which the Indians followed later in pursuit of their winter meat.

Entire villages of summer hunters came in each spring, the braves riding ahead on the best horses, followed by ponies dragging travois made from tepee poles on which were bound camp equipment, with the squaws bringing up the rear carrying papooses on their backs and children tugging at their skirts. While the squaws set up camp in a chosen spot, the men rode out in search of game, especially buffalo. They would surround a herd of buffalo, using bows and arrows once they had the animals milling. Buffalo was their prize meat as they not only used it for food, but hides for tepees, mocassins and saddle blankets and clothing. The squaws cared for the meat and the hides. They made pemmican by grinding dried meat between stones and mixed it with dried berries which

<sup>1/</sup> - Saylor, David. Jackson Hole, Wyoming. pp. 3-7.



they mixed with buffalo tallow and stored in rawhide boxes. Many of these grinding stones, mortars and pestals, have been found in the valley. 1/ When the season's hunt was over the small stones laid around the bottom of the tepee's inner wall were rolled off, the tepees dismantled and they disappeared as they came.

Each Indian tribe in the Rocky Mountain region had a favorite or established habitat. To the northeast of Jackson Hole lay the homeland of the Absarokas, or Crows, expert horsemen and even better horse thieves. To the south and west lived the Shoshones, or Snakes. Northwest of Jackson Hole was the domain of the Flatheads and Nez Perce, peace-loving nomads who, according to ancient lore, once flattened their heads and pierced their noses. More than a hundred miles north of Jackson Hole dwelt the fierce Blackfeet, hated neighbors of the Flatheads and vicious antagonists of the first white men in the Rockies. 2/

There were no doubt Indian skirmishes of one tribe of Indians defending their hunting grounds against another, but so far as is known, there was no large pitched Indian battle in Jackson Hole. The Atsinas, or Gros Ventres of the Prairies, a branch of the Blackfeet who lived north of the Missouri between the Judith Basin and Great Falls, were in the habit of making almost yearly pilgrimages to their relatives, the Arapahoes, living on the South Platte. To avoid their enemies, the Crows, they came into Jackson Hole, and keeping to the western base of the mountains that were to bear their name, went down the Green River and into northern Colorado. Though on a peaceful visit, they went fully armed and left a bloody trail behind them. It is more than likely that the Shoshones and Bannocks resisted their intrusion on their own hunting grounds. 3/

One small group of Indians may actually have endured the rugged winters of Jackson Hole. The Tikuarika band of the Shoshones, known as the Sheep Eaters, was scattered throughout the mountainous regions of northwestern Wyoming. This shy, backward people owned no horses, subsisted on roots and small animals and occasional mountain sheep, and lived in caves and under huts high up in the mountains. They lived in a stone age culture in inaccessible places to be safer from the more aggressive Indians who were armed and had horses. Though no written or archaeological records have been discovered that conclusively prove the presence of

1/ - Hayden, Betty. From Trapper to Tourist. pp. 6, 7.

2/ - Saylor, David. Jackson Hole, Wyoming. pp. 3-7

3/ - Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyoming

Sheep Eaters in Jackson Hole, it is quite probable that at some time in the distant past they did live here. 1/ The Sheep Eaters, one source tells us, left signs of their stay near the Granite Ranch area where evidence possibly belonging to Sheep Eaters has been found in a cave high on the bluffs in the form of human bones. 2/ Also, a curious structure of standing rock slabs arranged in a circle, found on the summit of the high west spur of the Grand Teton, may have been constructed by them. The structure is known to modern-day mountain climbers as The Enclosure. Frank Calkins states that they did live in Yellowstone Park, as did Captain William Jones in his diary. There they had squat little cone-shaped huts hidden in remote areas of the park. Captain William Jones was north of Jackson Hole in 1873 and his only competent guide was a Sheep Eater. He knew his way from the Upper Yellowstone, down Pacific Creek, then Lava, to the present vicinity of Moran Junction. He left them once to trap beaver but returned to the job when Jones threatened to put him in jail. 3/

1859

Noble Gregory, Sr. gives this report, "Speaking of the old days, say Green River, I crossed the Green in 1897 at a place called Lander's Crossing, where my father was with Colonel Lander. On the Fourth of July, 1859, Lander was to meet the Indians at that place to make a treaty with them, for them, the Indians, not to trouble the people, 'Emigrants' as they was called. My father said they could not figure where all of the Indians came from, but when we came to this Jackson Hole country in 1897, he said he could tell. There was Indian tepee poles and bath houses all over the upper part of Jackson's Hole where we stopped, and fish in all of the streams, all one wanted, and antelope all over the country, and the hills was full of elk, and the roads was Indians' trails." 4/ This was then a hunting and fishing paradise for Indians.

The United States Army was more a big police force than a little army. Scattered in tiny contingents through the frontier regions, it was charged with watching over the Indians and punishing those who declined to do the Great Father's bidding. The army tried for a century to perform its unconventional mission with conventional organization and methods. The result was an Indian record that contained more failures than successes. Between conflicts, troops and Indians mingled with enough familiarity to reveal dimensions

1/ - Rollins, Phillip A. The Discovery of the Oregon Trail.

2/ - MacLeod, Dr. Donald. "Interview". (Owner of Granite Ranch, Jackson, Wyoming).

3/ - Calkins, Frank. Jackson Hole. p. 29.

4/ - Jackson Hole Guide. "Do You Remember". Sep. 25, 1952.

of Indian character that a white man could find fascinating and even admirable, and to disclose something of the injustice, deceit, fraud, and cruelty the Indian endured from government officials and frontier citizens. 1/

1876  
1837 Indians were used as scouts at the beginning of the fur trade days. The United States Army, trappers, and explorers used them as guides. The United States Army went as far as to use friendly tribesmen against hostiles, as in Wyoming with George Crook who used Shoshones and Crows against Sioux in Wyoming and Montana in 1876. 2/ For about two decades, the Blackfeet mounted strong annual raids into the upper Snake River country. This attempt at conquest ended abruptly in 1837 when smallpox wiped out over half the tribe. 3/

1870 In later years the Indians were greatly misunderstood and cruelly treated by both trappers and early citizens as well as the army. Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane, around 1870, was one of these. He was responsible for one of the most severe Indian attacks at Fort Ellis in Montana in a winter attack on an encampment of Piegan Indians. Later he boasted it was "the greatest slaughter of Indians ever made by U. S. troops." This was done in his early years with the army. Corporal Enteridge distinguished himself by standing in the doors of the lodges and firing into them. The army tried to cover it up, but Lt. William Pease submitted the facts to U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Ely Parker, and it has never been justified. Doane was responsible for destroying the Indian lodges and all their winter provisions. 4/

Indians are mentioned in the history of the early trappers, explorers, survey parties and settlers which will be mentioned later. However, a few might be listed here. When Colter and a companion were exploring Yellowstone Park and Jackson Hole during the early 1800's, they asked permission from the Lewis and Clark expedition to trap beaver. The two men went up the Yellowstone River where they were suddenly attacked by Blackfeet Indians, an extremely hostile tribe. They killed Colter's companion and took Colter a prisoner to their camp. They tied him to a tree to be a target for their arrows, but the chief put a stop to the sport and had him stripped naked and given the chance to outrun the tribe of warriors for a certain distance. Colter, being a remarkable runner with great stamina, made it. He lived off the land for a week and finally made it to a trapper's fort. (One Indian

1/ - The American West Magazine of Western History Association. July 1973. Vol. X, No. 4. p. 19.

2/ - Ibid., p. 24.

3/ - Ibid., p. 36.

4/ - Calkins, Frank. Jackson Hole, Wyoming. p. 19.

kept behind him after the others had given up and Colter killed him with the Indian's knife which he wrestled him for and plunged into the river where he hid behind some driftwood until dark and then swam downstream to the opposite bank.) 1/

In 1834, a battle was fought in Teton Valley between American trappers and fur traders, led by Wyeth and Sublette who defeated the Gros Ventre Indians. The battle was vividly described by Washington Irving in his Adventures of Captain Bonneville. The site of the bloody encounter could not be located for many years. An early settler filed on the ground as a homestead and Richard Leigh told Bill Spears "Your farm is on historic ground". Later through this information the battle ground was located and marked. 1/

Hoback, Reznor, and Robinson confirmed Wilson Price Hunt's worst notions about the warring Blackfeet who lived along the old Lewis and Clark trail. The trio suggested the route which they had taken earlier in the spring through Jackson Hole by passing the main Blackfeet villages to the north. Hunt agreed. Because of its safe distance from hostile Indians, Jackson Hole was to become, in Merrill J. Mattes' words, "the crossroads of the western fur trade." 1/

Another incident of Indian trouble was when Joseph Miller, Hoback and Reznor, trapping for beaver in Pierre's Hole and south along Bear River, had been robbed by the Arapahoes. When they later joined Hunt's party, the group found Hunt's cache but only three caches had escaped the Indians. Later Hoback, Reznor and Robinson met John Reed and a Pacific Fur Company brigade enroute from one of the recently completed interior posts to Hunt's caches on the Snake River. After leaving Hunt, they had completed a successful trapping season in Jackson Hole and had headed north to the Three Forks of the Missouri. There a band of Indians had attacked and robbed them, killing one of the men, Pierre Detaye. Carson, Delaunay, St. Michel, Hoback, Reznor and Robinson returned with Reed to the Columbia and lower Snake where most of them later perished at the hands of the Indians.

The government, in order to protect the settlers and gold seekers from hostile Indians, had the army build military posts at strategic points throughout the West, and dispatched reconnaissance patrols to map the Indian's land and to estimate the military strength and intentions of the various Indian tribes. To protect emigration, the army also conducted surveys for potential roads and railroads later. 1/

1/ - Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyoming.

## The Indian Scare of 1895

1895

One example of the Jackson Holers' hasty and often ill-conceived pursuit of justice occurred in 1895. This time the lawbreakers were Indians. By the mid-1890's, most of America's Indians had been assigned to various reservations throughout the West. While they were supposed to spend most of their time on the reservations, the Indians were often granted temporary passes which entitled them to visit neighboring reservations and to hunt wild game en-route.

Under a treaty signed with the Bannock tribe in 1868, the tribe was assigned to a reservation (Fort Hall) but also given the right to hunt on the "unoccupied lands of the United States."

For many years thereafter roving groups of Indians visited this valley and the Yellowstone Park country, killing elk and buffalo and drying the meat for winter, also fishing in the teeming streams. Often they hunted off the reservation because of dire hunger.

After Wyoming gained statehood, hunting and fishing laws were set up providing for open and closed seasons on hunting elk, but making no provision for the Indians.

Prior to the coming of the white man, the Bannocks had hunted over vast regions. They had viewed the great numbers of wagon trains of white settlers with growing alarm, and when white settlers turned their livestock loose on the "Camas prairie", destroying the plants which provided the Indians' bread, their alarm turned into bitterness, and they stubbornly held onto their ancestral right to hunt the elk in Jackson Hole. 1/

Bannocks from Ft. Hall Reservation west of Teton Pass and Shoshones from the Wind River Reservation used their passes to hunt elk in Jackson Hole. The practice irritated the white residents of the valley for several reasons. First, the whites were afraid and prejudiced against any armed red men hunting or camping in the vicinity of white homesteads. Second, Indian hunters reduced the number of trophy elk available to local white hunters and to rich eastern patrons on whose guide fees many local whites depended. Third, the State of Wyoming had certain seasonal game laws which every hunter was obliged to obey, but which Indian hunters blatantly disobeyed. For years, outraged Jackson Hole residents had complained in vain to their governor and the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs about Indians hunting illegally. Bureaucratic defenders of the red men pointed out that

1/ - Jackson Hole Guide. "Teton County Has Colorful Past".  
May 27, 1965.

treaties granting Indians the right to hunt on all unoccupied lands, regardless of season, were superior to state game laws which prohibited hunting out of season. In 1895 the new governor, William Richards, wired Marysville officials to enforce the Wyoming laws and put the Indians out of Jackson Hole. Marysville was the only post office in the valley at that time and western Wyoming was all in Uinta County.

Constable Bill Manning (Figure 2), with a number of deputies, sallied forth on a series of expeditions, catching a few scattered trespassers with game. Some paid their fines, others were unable to do so and were jailed, but escaped and returned to the reservation. Manning decided to deal more harshly with the next hunters, and set forth on July 10 with 26 deputies to arrest a group reported to be hunting down on the Hoback. The Indian encampment consisted of nine braves, thirteen women and five papooses. 1/

They were easily captured and marched thirty miles to Marysvale, Jackson Hole, where their rifles, saddles, blankets, tipis, and one horse were confiscated in lieu of cash to pay their fines. On the ride to Marysvale several white men suddenly loaded their rifles as if to indicate that the captive Indians would be shot in the back. Sensing danger, several braves dashed for cover. The posse believed that the Indians were trying to escape and one trigger-happy man started shooting (the Indians had already been told that they would all be shot when they reached the town), and in the melee that followed one old Indian man was killed and some wounded, but the Indians made their escape. One baby was jostled from its mother's back during the excitement and picked up later.\* Another baby was reportedly lost but never found. This incident took place near the high red peak which was later named "Battle Mountain". 2/

Not long after the shooting, settlers in Jackson Hole began to fear the consequences of their rash actions. Scattered throughout the valley in various hunting parties were two or three hundred braves, who, if they became vengeful, could wreak destruction on the valley, killing settlers and burning homesteads. The homesteaders

1/ The American West. Magazine of Western History Association. July 1973. Vol. X., No. 4.

2/ Jackson Hole Guide. May 27, 1965

\* The little papoose was cared for by Mrs. Martin Nelson (Cora Barber's mother) until his people came over and claimed him. We have been told that when he grew up he served his country in World War I.

gathered inside well-armed stockades at the ranches of Ervin Wilson, Robert Miller, and Pierce Cunningham and telegraphed Washington demanding military protection from imminent disaster. The Nation's press picked up the story and exaggerated it completely out of proportion to the truth. Page 1 of the New York Times headlined the story: "SETTLERS MASSACRED Indians Kill Every One at Jackson's Hole".

As things turned out, the people were not massacred, nor were they ever in any real danger. The Indians were in no mood to fight, and they harbored no illusions about being able to defeat the five companies of the Eighth Cavalry heading for the valley. When the full story became known, most eastern newspapers switched their sympathy to the side of the Indians. Federal officials publicly condemned the citizens of Jackson Hole for arresting the Indians and intentionally killing one of them. But the governor of Wyoming supported the settlers' actions against the Bannocks. With the blessing of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Chief Race Horse from Fort Hall Reservation volunteered for a case. Judge John A. Riner ruled that the settlers were in the wrong and that the laws of Wyoming were inferior to the prior treaty rights of the Bannocks. On May 25, 1896, however, the U. S. Supreme Court reversed the judgment of the lower court and upheld "the complete power" of a state "to regulate the killing of game within its borders". 1/

Technically, the Supreme Court's ruling justified the acts of Constable Manning and his Jackson Hole posse. In reality, however, there could be no moral or legal justification for the methods which the settlers had employed. When arrested initially the Indians (few of them could understand English and all of whom thought hunting in Jackson Hole was their legal right) were not told why they were being held, nor were they offered legal counsel. Moreover, shooting unarmed Indians (even though they appeared to be escaping) was utterly inexcusable as it would be today if a white policeman shot and killed an Indian boy for stealing a hubcap. Only with the passage of time did the citizens of Jackson Hole develop a more sophisticated understanding of the external legal authority and dependence on vigilante-type justice.

1/ - 11-In Re Race Horse, Federal Reported LXX, 598-613  
12-John H. Ward V. Race Horse LXX, 244-50  
U. S. Supreme Court Reports.



Figure 2

William Francis Manning  
First Game Warden, Constable  
and headed the 1895 posse against  
the Indians



D. TERRITORIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

In order to better understand what went on in the United States and how the country was divided up into territories, a brief of events might be included here.

- 1603 - King Henry Fourth of France included this acreage in Arcadia, from sea-to-sea, "Evangeline's Country". Evangeline was fictitious, but Arcadia was real.
- 1620 - King James the First of England created New England from sea-to-sea.
- 1762 - When France realized that she would lose her possessions on this continent to England, since "Louisiana" west of the Mississippi River had not been involved, France ceded it to Spain.
- 1800 - Napoleon, having conquered Spain, compelled Spain to restore Louisiana to France.
- 1803 - Through the efforts of Jefferson, Livingston, and Monroe, Louisiana was purchased by the United States.
- 1804 - East of the Continental Divide was in the District of Louisiana, and in 1805 in the Territory of Louisiana. At one time Lewis, or Lewis and Clark, was governor.
- 1812 - The name was changed to the Territory of Missouri, of which Clark became governor (1813-1821).
- 1818 - Portion west of the Continental Divide was included in the territorial claim by the United States as claimed by John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State.
- 1819 - West of the Continental Divide was counter-claimed by Spain by command of King Ferdinand the Seventh. This dispute lasted 15 days.
- 1821 - Title to the western part became undisputed U. S. territory through treaty with Spain.
- 1821 - East of the Continental Divide became unorganized Indian Country.
- 1848 - August 14. West of the Continental Divide was in the Territory of Oregon, organized under Governor Joseph Lane of Indiana.

- 1854 - May 30. Eastern part in the Territory of Nebraska by the adoption of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in Congress through efforts of Stephen A. Douglas.
- 1859 - Feb. 14. When Oregon State was admitted to the Union, that portion west of the Continental Divide was attached to Washington Territory.
- 1861 - March 2. Act establishing Territory of Dakota included portion east of Continental Divide.
- 1863 - March 3. All of area included in Act creating Territory of Idaho.
- 1864 - May 26. Section 18 of the Montana Territorial Act described Territory of Dakota as including portion east of the Continental Divide.
- 1868 - July 25. Organic Act approved creating the Territory of Wyoming from parts of Dakota, Utah, and Idaho. Approved by President Andrew Johnson.
- 1890 - July 10. Wyoming admitted as a state.
- 1921 - Teton County, from Yellowstone boundary south to include the Grand Canyon of the Snake River, was out of Lincoln County. Jackson was made the county seat. 1/

Jackson's Hole, during the territorial divisions, had been passing through several sovereignties; England, Russia, Spain and the United States all claimed the Oregon country. In the Northwest, the boundary dispute with Great Britain was finally resolved by the treaty of June, 1846. South of the Forty-ninth Parallel, the Oregon country, including Jackson's Hole, became exclusive property of the United States, thereby terminating the joint Anglo-American occupancy in effect since 1818. The Oregon country lay unorganized until 1853, when Oregon Territory, including the Continental Divide, was created, and continued until 1859 when Oregon became a state with its present boundaries. The rest of what had been Oregon Territory became Washington Territory and continued so until 1863 when Washington became a state with its present boundaries. Then the remainder of the original Oregon Territory became part of Idaho Territory, which it remained until Wyoming Territory was founded in 1868. Thus Jackson's Hole was in Oregon Territory from 1853 to 1859, in

1/ - This material obtained from Teton Forest Service files.

in Washington Territory until 1863, and Idaho Territory until 1868 when Wyoming became a territory.

For the year 1868-69 the narrow strip along the west side of Wyoming Territory lay unorganized; then it was made into Uinta County in 1869. Jackson's Hole was to be part of Uinta County with its county seat at Evanston, 200 miles away, until 1912 when the northern half of Uinta County became Lincoln County with its county seat at Kemmerer. Not until 1912 was Teton County created, with Jackson chosen by a one-vote majority as its county seat. Headquarters for the Teton National Forest was, and is located at Jackson. 1/

1/ - Hayden, Betty. From Trapper to Tourist. p. 25.

E. EXPLORATION

1800 Up to 1800, Indians held undisputed sway over the country dominated by the Tres Tetons. Then, as now, Jackson Hole was literally a hunting ground, and, while the severe winter precluded permanent habitation, during the milder months bands of Indians came into the basin on hunting or warring expeditions. 1/ We might say that the Indians were the first tourists into Jackson Hole. Jackson's Hole idled away the years until the coming of the trappers in 1807-8. The decades which followed may truly be referred to as "The Fur Era", for the Tetons became the center of the remarkable activities on the part of fur trappers representing both British and American interests.

1803-1806 Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, returning from the Columbia River, intersected the Yellowstone River and proceeded down to its mouth. They made a dramatic trip to the Pacific Ocean and back through what is now Montana to explore the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase and to see what President Jefferson had bought for two and a third cents an acre. Before them, a few French traders had penetrated the Wyoming country but were not as far as Jackson Hole. 2/

1807 John Colter, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, did not want to return to civilization after experiencing the primitive splendor of this unknown West. He joined two other trappers, Dixon and Hancock, and spent the winter on the Missouri River, where they went beaver hunting. In 1807 he met Manual Lisa, a squaw man, as he was returning from the Missouri who gave seeds, gifts and guns to the friendly Crows in exchange for their furs. Thus Lisa had built up a flourishing business for the Missouri Fur Company. After building the trading post, Lisa's Fort, now in Montana, he sent John Colter to solicit Indian trade. In the winter of 1807, with a thirty-pound pack on his back and a rifle in his hand, Colter set out into a vast, unexplored country. Trappers and hunters may have entered earlier, but he is the first known white man to set foot in and see the wonders of the Yellowstone and Teton country. 3/

Colter was now engaged on a trip through the Crow Indian country to drum up trade for the new Lisa post, a journey which had brought him up the Big Horn and Wind Rivers to the vicinity of Union Pass and his first view of the Tetons. From there he

1/ - Grand Teton National Park Magazine. p. 2

2/ - Wyoming Wonderland. pp. 26, 27. Sage Books. Alan Swallow Publishing. Denver, Co.

3/ - Walcott, History of Jackson's Hole, Wyoming, pp. 9&10.

1808-  
1809 descended the Gros Ventre to Jackson's Hole, crossed over Teton Pass to Pierre's Hole, came back across the northern end of the Tetons proper to the upper end of Jackson Lake and thence to Yellowstone Lake and back to Fort Manual Lisa. Sometime in 1808 Colter made his famous escape from the Blackfeet after having been taken prisoner by them near the Three Forks of the Missouri. \* Prior to that episode, while in company with a band of Crows, he had been forced to fight a large band of Blackfeet, and had received a wound in the leg. This fight occurred after his journey that took him through Jackson's Hole and the Yellowstone region on a separate trip in the spring of 1808 to the Three Forks of the Missouri. 1/

1810 The evidence of Colter's journey that made him the discoverer of Jackson's Hole rests largely on General William Clark's map 2/ of the Lewis and Clark expedition to which he added a route marked Colter's Route 1807. Clark had not been over this new region of Colter's, but he had talked with Colter about it after he (the letters) returned to St. Louis in 1810. The map is full of errors, Jackson Lake being named Lake Biddle, is drained by a branch of the Big Horn; Pierre's Hole is at the head water of the Rio Grande del Norte; and numerous other mistakes of drainage and scale were made. But never-the-less, the location of the mountain ranges, of Lake Biddle and Eustis Lake (Jackson and Yellowstone Lakes) and the placing of the route so that it falls along a reasonable course, make it apparent that Colter crossed Jackson's Hole and followed the route as outlined above. He also told of seeing geysers and hot springs which checks with the generally accepted interpretation of his route. 3/ Colter also had told of his experiences to his former boss, William Clark, who used this information from Colter and other explorers to add to his map of the country. It was very inaccurate due to illiterate trappers and to the man who made the map later. (Figure 3)

1/ - Watson, Walcott. History of Jackson's Hole, Wyoming. Before the year 1907. Master's Thesis, Harvard Univ. 1935. pp. 8, 9, 10.

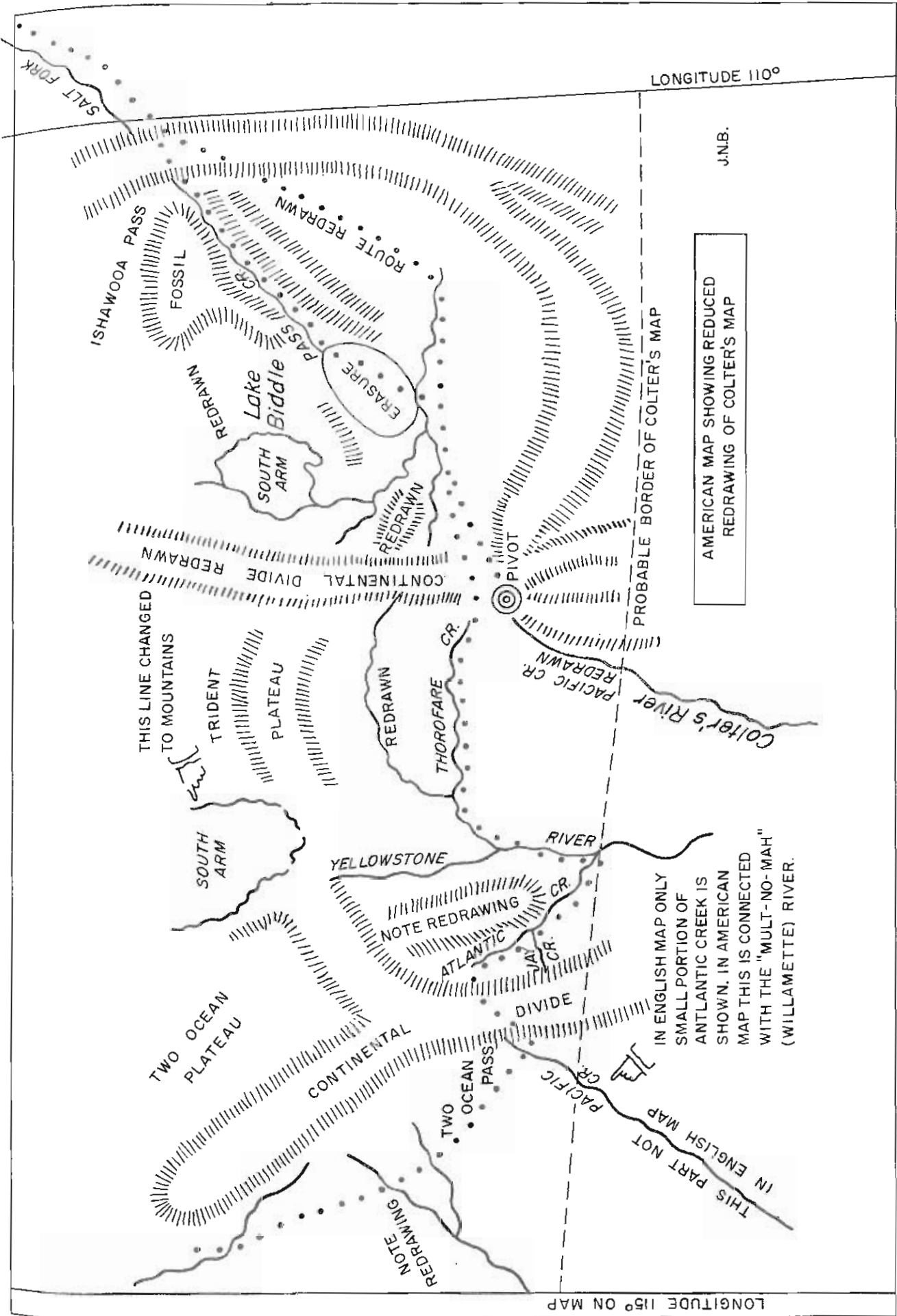
2/ - General Clark's Map of 1814. It can be found, among other places, in the back of Vol. IV Elliot Coues, ed History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark. N. Y. F. Harper. 1893.

3/ - Walcott. History of Jackson's Hole, Wyoming. pp. 9, 10.

\* The story of this under Indians on page 15 and 16 of this manuscript.

American Map Showing Reduced Redrawing of Colter's Map - 1814  
by J. Neilson Barry

This tracing is from the large-sized photostat of the American map, and does not show the absurd rivers flowing over mountain ranges syphon-like. Clark used Colter's sketch as a background and messed it most dreadfully. By J. Neilson Barry, Secretary Historical Research Council. The map is from his Colter research.



LONGITUDE 110°

J.N.B.

AMERICAN MAP SHOWING REDUCED REDRAWING OF COLTER'S MAP

PROBABLE BORDER OF COLTER'S MAP

THIS LINE CHANGED TO MOUNTAINS

NOTE REDRAWING

IN ENGLISH MAP ONLY SMALL PORTION OF ANTLANTIC CREEK IS SHOWN. IN AMERICAN MAP THIS IS CONNECTED WITH THE "MULT-NO-MAH" (WILLAMETTE) RIVER.

THIS PART NOT IN ENGLISH MAP

LONGITUDE 115° ON MAP

Some historians disagree over Colter's ever having been in Jackson Hole. However, he left two possible proofs (never authenticated) - the Colter Stone and a blaze on a tree near Colter Creek. He also left his route on William Clark's map.

The Colter Stone was plowed up in a field in the spring of 1923 by a homesteader 1/ on the edge of an aspen grove in Pierre's Hole, now called Teton Basin. It was in the form of a head-shaped stone; on one side of it is carved JNO Colte across the widest part and below that an R, and on the other side 1808. It was buried about eighteen inches deep in the soil. It was kept by the finder because of its resemblance to a human head, which had been accentuated by a notch to indicate the mouth. He did not know who Colter was, and had not a neighboring rancher noticed it in his house several months later, it might have been thrown away. He gave it to his neighbor, who in turn gave it to the museum of Grand Teton National Park, Moose, Wyoming. It was found in an ideal camping spot near a stream at the foot of the Tetons. 2/

The blaze on the tree was found in later years by Phillip Ashton Rollins when he was traveling through the country. 3/

Historians also disagree on dates of his journeys. Chittenden thinks that Colter crossed Jackson's Hole with a party of Crows in the fall of 1807, had the fight with the Blackfeet in Pierre's Hole, returned from there to Ft. Manual alone, and in the summer of 1808 made his miraculous escape at the Three Forks. 4/ Thwaites 5/ places the long journey of 1807 during the summer months and puts the Blackfoot escape in the spring of 1808. Dale 6/ denying that Colter got as far west as Jackson's Hole, puts the Blackfoot-Crow battle at the end of Colter's 1807 trip and the Three Forks episode a year later. Vinton 7/ places the start of the 1807 trip as late as November, for it took Lisa many months to ascend the Missouri that year. According to him, Colter made the trip on snowshoes, arriving back on the Big Horn shortly after the first of year, took part in the Crow-Blackfoot fight near the Three Forks in the spring of 1808, and made his escape in the same locality in the summer or fall.

1/ - Mr. William Beard, Tetonia, Idaho

2/ - Mr. A. Lyon of Tetonia.

3/ - Saylor, David. Jackson Hole, Wyoming. p. 29

4/ - Chittenden. American Fur Trade. p. 715.

5/ - Thwaites. Early Western Travels. Vol. V. p. 44.

6/ - Dale, Ashley-Smith Explorations. p. 28.

7/ - Vinton. John Colter. p. 45 ff.



The Vinton account seems to be much the best explanation. It gives credit to the Clark map, and also fits the apparent fact that Lisa's arrival at the Big Horn was late and that the Indian battle took place near the Three Forks. The stone could have been carved, while Colter was camped right on the map's route shortly after the first of year 1808, waiting, perhaps, in a sheltered camp for a blizzard to blow over. The journey was not a trapping expedition, but a quick tour of the tribes to give them information about the new post. For such a trip, a man on snowshoes in winter, can travel more rapidly and comfortably than by foot in summer. At this period, trappers still followed the Canadian habit of using canoes in the summer and snowshoes in the winter. The mounted trapper had not yet entered the picture. 1/

It seems logical, therefore, to say that John Colter did visit Jackson's Hole and was the first white man to do so. As to when, the answer must be a guess, but sometime near Christmas Day 1807 or New Year's Day 1808.

The trappers of Manual Lisa's company remained at Ft. Manual (or Raymond) and a new post at the Three Forks until the fall of 1810 when it was abandoned because of Blackfeet hostilities. After a hard winter at Henry's Fork they split up into groups going to different parts of the country trapping. One group composed of John Hoback, Edward Robinson, and Jacob Rezner went by way of Jackson's Hole. This was the second known visit of white men to the valley in the early spring of 1811. 2/ This was evidently their first trip as Irving states in his book that "They recognized the locality in the fall on their return."

With the advent of Colter into Jackson Hole and the Yellowstone, he presaged the coming of a new era.

1/ - Vinton, John Colter. p. 45 ff.  
Chittenden. American Fur Trade. p. 142 ff.  
2/ - Irving. Astoria. p. 366.

1811 Meanwhile, Wilson Price Hunt was assembling a party in Missouri to carry into effect his half of John Jacob Astor's dream. Astor had decided to establish a post at the mouth of the Columbia which would join in trade, the furs of the mountains and the riches of the Orient. In furtherance of this plan he sent one expedition by sea and one by land. Hunt started from St. Louis on March 12, 1811. On March 18th the party met John Colter who had married and settled down near LaCharette. He may have told them about Jackson's Hole. Farther up the river on May 26th they picked up Hoback, Robinson and Rezner and induced them to join the expedition. At the Aricara villages the party procured horses and set out overland across what is now South Dakota and northern Wyoming. Besides Wilson Price Hunt, the leader, there were four other partners, Donald McKenzie, Ramsey Crooks, Robert McLellan and Joseph Miller; the interpreter Pierre Dorion with his Indian wife and two children; the hunters John Day, Alexander Carson, Ben Jones, John Read and many others. The entire party, most of whom were French-Canadians, numbered over seventy and had with them at the start seventy-six pack horses, laden with equipment. This large and unwieldy expedition reached Union Pass on September 16th. Here they obtained their first view of the Tetons, which Hunt called Pilot Knobs. Instead of heading down the Gros Ventre, however, to Jackson's Hole, they descended into the Green River valley. (Finding his meat supply low, Hunt headed south to the Green River instead of the Gros Ventre Canyon where he had heard there was plenty of game). Here they ran into herds of buffalo grazing in rich meadows on the upper Green. They took an abundant supply of meat with little difficulty. Prior to this they had not been able to kill game for a week. They camped five days in the Green River tributary (North Fork of Beaver Creek) below the Hoback Rim. The hunters made great havoc of the buffalo from September 20-24. 1/

On the twenty-fourth, after having rested, the party crossed the low divide into Hoback basin and on the twenty-sixth of September reached the junction of the Hoback River with the Snake in Jackson's Hole. Hoback had recognized the former stream as having been followed by him that spring in returning from Ft. Henry, and so his name was bestowed on it by the other members of the party. A camp was made on the banks of the Mad River as Hunt named the Snake, and the expedition took another rest. 2/

1/ - Watson, Walcott, History of Jackson's Hole. 1935. pp. 13, 14, 15.

2/ - Ibid.

This group wanted to float the river to Oregon where they were headed, but their guides talked against it as they knew their dugout canoes wouldn't make it in the treacherous Snake. So they followed the Snake to the South Park area of Jackson's Hole and forded the river at the foot of Teton Pass. Hunt left four members, Carson, St. Michel, Detaye and Delaunay to trap that winter. They were the first white men to spend the winter in Jackson Hole. They left in the spring of 1812. 1/

The brigade had a successful hunt in Jackson's Hole, but the next spring when they tried to cross the Tetons with their heavily packed horses, they were attacked by the Crows. Detaye was killed and the others robbed of their cache. The survivors found refuge in a friendly Indian camp of the Shoshoni. (In the 1920's, Hazen Hawks of Drummond, Idaho found the following inscription on a flat stone on the Idaho side of Conant Pass). 2/

C A Henry     3/  
A J Hoback  
T B Jackson  
H P McBride  
E     1810  
R

1812 They were later found by another party of the Astorians.

Although the expedition broke up into various parties at different places along the Snake River, none of them wandered back to the neighborhood of the Jackson's Hole until a small party under Robert Stuart arrived at the junction of the Salt with the Snake River at the mouth of the canyon of the Snake, not twenty-five miles from their camp in Jackson's Hole the year before. 4/ This was on September 18, 1812. The party, however, was lost, so they followed down the Snake River until they came to Hunt's route of the year before, after which they obtained their bearings and reached Pierre's Hole at the end of the month. The party at this point consisted of Stuart, Crooke, Miller, McLellan, LeClere and two others. McLellan became annoyed at the rest and went on ahead from Pierre's Hole across Teton Pass through the Jackson's Hole and up the Hoback to Green River where he was found exhausted by the others on October 13th. He probably

1/ - Irving, Astoria. (Revised Ed. 1868) pp. 371

2/ - Watson, Walcott. History of Jackson's Hole Before 1907.  
pp. 16, 17.

3/ - Hayden, Elizabeth. From Trapper to Tourist. p. 9

4/ - Irving, Astoria. pp. 524.

passed through Jackson's Hole about October third. The main party which was delayed by Crook's illness was in the valley about October seventh. They were a sorry looking outfit, wearied by a month of aimless wandering without forward progress, and half starved by the inability to kill game, which for some reason was scarce at that particular time. These six Astorians did not linger in Jackson's Hole, but hurried off after McLellan. After almost starving, plenty of trouble with the Crows, and a winter on Plains, the entire party finally reached St. Louis, April 30, 1813. 1/

When Stuart reached St. Louis, he learned that Great Britain and the United States had been at war since June 19, 1812. He realized the threat which war could be to Astor's enterprise on the Columbia. The War of 1812, therefore, lessened the interest in exploration for almost a decade. It revived in 1816 somewhat but gained momentum by 1824.

The return of the Astorians marks the end of the first phase in the history of Jackson's Hole. The valley had been explored on all four sides, Colter having visited the eastern, western and northern approaches, and Hoback the southern. The large size of the Astorian expedition guaranteed the spread of information concerning its location and description among the mountain men. During that period there were still many trappers working out of posts along the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers, but it is unlikely that they needed to come as far as Jackson's Hole. Their interest in the valley remained. 2/

1/ - Watson, Astoria. pp. 16.

2/ - Chittenden and Richardson. Yellowstone Park. pp. 36.

## F. THE FUR ERA

The beaver, which was now being sought in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific region, lives in streams and ponds of cool timbered lands such as encircle Jackson's Hole. At that time a hundred pound pack of eighty beaver skins brought from three to five hundred dollars at market. The fur houses were not interested in beaver pelts so much as the soft under-fur that grew on the hide and which amounted to but a few ounces per pelt. The fine fur was used by hatters on the famous beaver hats which were then so popular. The rest of the pelt was used for by-products, the skins by glue makers and the outer fur for upholstery stuffing.

Osborne Russell describes a trapper's outfit: One or two robes for saddle and bedding blankets, a saddle and bridle, a belt to which was attached a butcher knife, an extra pair of moccasins, a powder horn and bullet pouch, a sack of six beaver traps, a small wooden box or bottle filled with bait (castoreum) which he wore around his neck on a thong; a tobacco pouch with pipe, implements for making a fire and sometimes a hatchet attached to the pommel of his saddle and a gun. 1/ The traps cost about fifteen dollars apiece; the castoreum, or odorous gland of secretion, readily obtained from beaver was smeared on sets to lure beaver to them. 2/ Trappers skinned animals where trapped, and often ate their meat. Beaver Dick Leigh, in his diary about enjoying a supply of beaver he had caught, mentioned the beaver tail as being a mountain man's delicacy. Trappers called what they carried "fixins" or "possibles". He dressed in hides like an Indian and seldom bathed; when lice became too thick on his clothing, it is said he put them on top of ant hills and let the ants delouse them. 3/

In the seventeenth century, Samuel Pepys paid over 4 pounds sterling for a beaver hat in London where they were in great demand. Today a genuine Stetson hat made of beaver fur costs around \$100. 4/

In addition to beaver pelts, there was a ready market for bear skins, martin, mink fur, and castoreum for perfume. 5/

Prior to 1822, all of the fur trade in the mountain country had been in the hands of the Hudson Bay Fur Company, an amalgamation of the old company of that name with the new Northwest or XY Company and the Missouri Fur Company. The former company controlled

1/ - Russell, Osborne. Journal of a Trapper. pp. 60, 63

2/ - Chittenden. Fur Trade. pp. 318 ff.

3/ - Urbanek. Wyoming Wonderland. pp. 28, 29. Sage Books.  
Alan Swall Publishing. Denver, Co.

4/ - Calkins, Frank. Jackson Hole. p. 55

5/ - Chittenden. Fur Trade. pp 318 ff.

not only all of the trade of the British Territory west of Canada, but that of the entire Oregon country and most of the Blackfoot trade in Montana as well. The Missouri Fur Company of St. Louis, under Manuel Lisa's guidance, worked the regions of the Missouri and its tributaries. John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company had been in existence since the ill-fated Astoria enterprise, but its power was not felt in the mountains until a later date. Those companies operated from fortified posts, using both trapping parties of their own and trade with the Indians to obtain their staples. Post commanders were generally British or American, the great majority of trappers, voyageurs and camp keepers were French-Canadians or half-breed (French-Indian). In consequence the plains and Rockies north of the Spanish explorations were covered with French names to the exclusion of all others except a few Indian names. Many of these original names were soon translated by the American trappers, but it should be remembered that Yellowstone, Big Horn, Blackfoot, Crow, and many others are merely translations of French originals. Nez Perce, Gros Ventre, Grand Teton, Platte, et cetera, have remained unchanged. 1/

1822 In 1822, Andrew Henry, who had just formed a partnership with William H. Ashley, Commander of the State Militia and Lieutenant Governor of Missouri, led a party up the Missouri to the mouth of the Yellowstone where a post was established. Joined by Ashley the next year they moved up to the Big Horn River, from which point the trappers scattered in all directions for the fall hunt. Etienne Provost's party probably discovered South Pass, the flat plateau between the Sweetwater and Big Sandy Rivers that became a vital point in the Oregon Trail; but there is no rumor or record that any of them entered Jackson's Hole. In the spring of 1824, Ashley decided to abandon the type of trapping that centered around a post, and sent his men out in mounted bands to trap over widely separated areas in the Green River, Snake River, and Great Salt Lake valleys. 2/ These bands were to meet each summer at a previously designated rendezvous where they would turn in their pelts and receive their next year's supplies. These rendezvous from 1824 to 1840 became the most picturesque feature of mountain life. None were held in Jackson's Hole, but close to it in every direction. After a few years, they developed into lengthy July camps attended by men of all companies in the region, "free trappers", and Indians to the number often of four hundred whites, and a thousand natives. During the rest of the year the trappers wandered in groups of from four to six, to thirty or forty. All were mounted and

1/ - Watson, Walcott. History of Jackson's Hole Before 1907.  
pp. 18, 19.

2/ - Ibid. pp. 19, 20.

well armed as they needed to be, for they were constantly subjected to open attack or stealthy, thieving Indians. About half the party would lay out and take in the traps and shoot the game while the other half, the camp-keepers, prepared the skins and cooked the food. 1/

Such was the type of life that Ashley inaugurated when he abandoned his winter post in the spring of 1824 and headed down the Green River. While most of the trappers went south into the regions of the lower Green River and the Great Salt Lake, Jedediah Smith and six men spent the spring and early summer trapping along the headwaters of the Snake, that is in Jackson's Hole area. They probably stayed in the valley until time for the appointed rendezvous in July. Jedediah S. Smith, the man who thus began the hunt for beaver in Jackson's Hole that was destined to send a steady stream of trappers into the locality for the next twenty years, was perhaps, the most interesting figure in the mountain trade. About this time, he succeeded Henry as Ashley's partner and from 1826 to 1830 ran the business in conjunction with David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette. General Ashley organized the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and 2/ advertised for 100 enterprising young men to go west and trap, among which were Jim Bridger, Jedediah Smith (see figure 4), Thomas Fitzpatrick, and the four Sublette brothers. One party went down the Green and finally reached Great Salt Lake after much hardship, and Bridger is the first known white man to have seen it. He also discovered Two Ocean Pass, 8,150 feet above sea level where the water may choose its journey to the Atlantic Ocean via the Yellowstone River or to the Pacific by way of the Snake River. Bridger and Fitzpatrick led thirty trappers in to the Snake and trapped all its tributaries. Bridger, leading his trappers by the best routes was first to develop trails that later became to Indians "The Great Medicine Road of the Whites", or the Oregon Trail. Bridger, a squaw man, possessed an instinctive sense of location and played an important part in the exploration of Wyoming. He was hospitable and friendly and a good friend with the Indians. 3/

1823 The Hudson Bay Company (which had merged with the North Westers, March 26, 1821) continued to expand operations in the Snake River area and in 1823 sent Finan McDonald on a trapping tour that quite likely took him through Jackson Hole.

1/ - Chittenden, American Fur Trade. pp. 271-305.

2/ - Watson, Walcott. History of Jackson's Hole Before 1907. pp. 20, 21, 22., and David Saylor, Jackson Hole, Wyoming. pp. 57 to 64.

3/ - Saylor, David. Excerpts from book Jackson Hole, Wyoming.

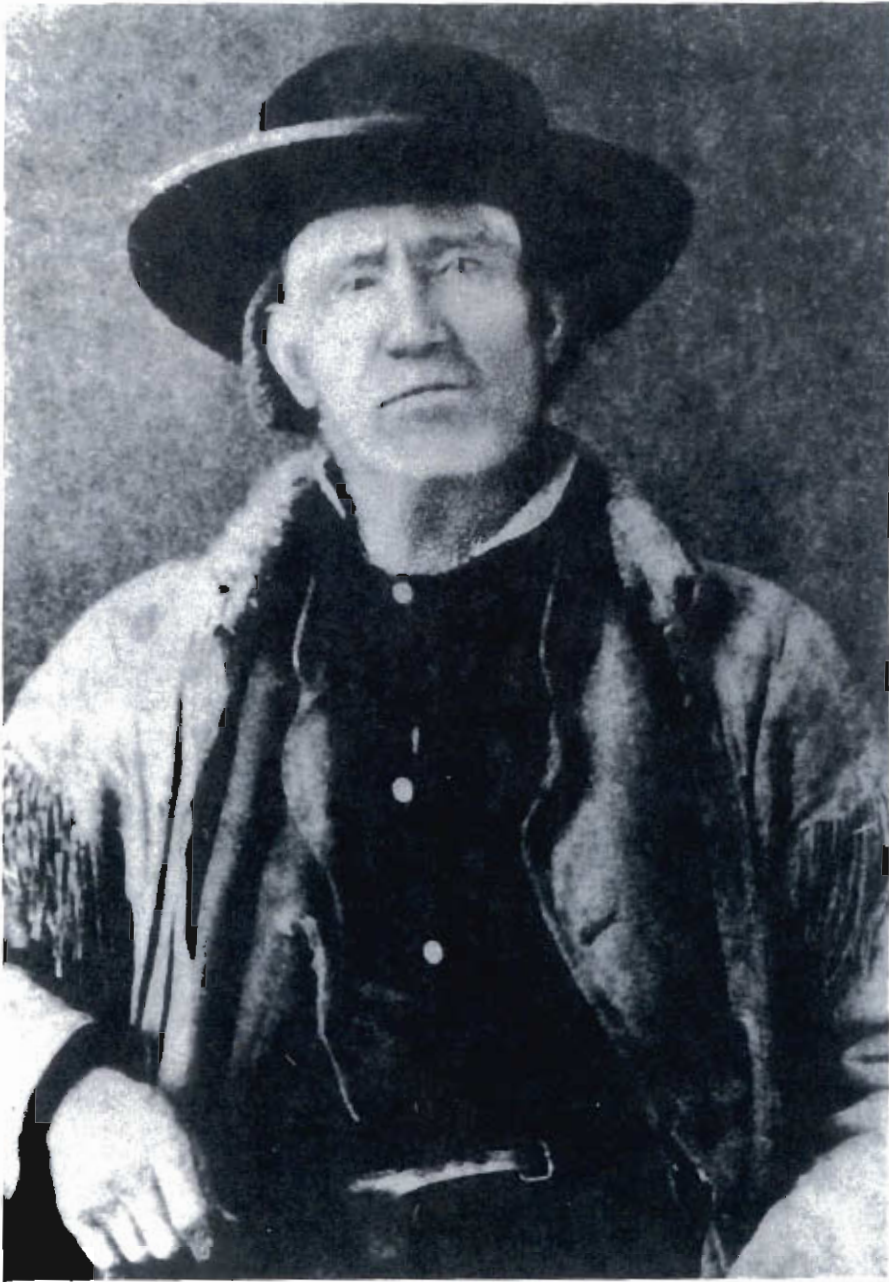


Figure 4      Jim Bridger. August 21, 1835



1826 In 1826, General William H. Ashley sold his company to Jedediah Smith, David Jackson, and William L. Sublette; three of his most dependable employees. Jackson, Sublette and several brigades returned to the upper Snake River and eventually to Jackson Hole, where Jackson and others had had such a successful hunt the previous fall. While trapping in the vicinity of the Tetons, Sublette named the adjoining valley Jackson's Hole in honor of fellow trapper, David E. Jackson.

"The best evidence of a Smith-Jackson brigade visiting Jackson Hole in the fall of 1826 is a letter written at the 1827 rendezvous by trapper, Daniel Potts". 1/ "We took a northerly direction of about 50 miles, where we crossed Snake River, on the South Fork of Columbia, at the forks of Henry's and Lewis's; at this place we were daily harassed by the Blackfeet; from thence we went up Henry's or North Fork which bears north of east thirty miles and crossed a large rugged mountain (The Teton Range) at either Conant Creek or Teton Pass which separates the two forks; from thence east up the other fork (through Jackson Hole) to its source which heads on top of the great chain of Rocky Mountains which separates the water of the Atlantic from those of the Pacific." 2/

1827-  
1828 For the next two years, the Smith-Jackson-Sublette brigades combed the west, trapping streams and learning topography. Sublette led his troops into the Wind River valley, up either Togwotee Pass or Union Pass and fell in with Jackson in the valley of Lewis (Jackson) Lake and went for rendezvous with him across the Teton, perhaps via Conant Pass. Jackson and half the company headed west in Jackson's Hole. At the next rendezvous in 1830, Smith, Sublette and Jackson sold their firm to five of their employees and it became the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. They sold out because beaver had been so heavily trapped that they were scarce; the Blackfeet as dangerous as ever, and the Astor interest had been renewed as strong competition. 3/

1829 A rendezvous at the Popo Agie. Sublette brought out fourteen wagons, each with 1,800 pounds, the first wagons into Wyoming. The Indians began to give more trouble and several battles were fought. Sublette declared war on the Indians and brought in 199 Kentucky riflemen. The trapping brigades increased in size

1/ - Saylor, David. Excerpts from book Jackson Hole, Wyoming.

2/ - Daniel T. Potts to Robert T. Potts, July 8, 1827. Published in Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser, Sept. 27, 1827 and reprinted in Frost, "Notes", pp. 219-20.

3/ - Teton Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wy.

for protective purposes. Blackfoot, Sioux, Cheyennes, and some of the more western Indians were placed up on the list of Indians who were not to be trusted. The Astor and American Fur Companies penetrated northern Wyoming. 1/

331 In 1831, a rendezvous was held at Pierre's Hole for both the American and Rocky Mountain Companies.

332 In 1832, the rivalry of the two fur companies came to the fore when several American Fur Company brigades appeared at the Rocky Mountain Fur Company rendezvous in Pierre's Hole. Groups from both companies crossed in Jackson Hole. There was great activity among trappers and traders. Captain Bonneville came with 110 men. The American Fur Company had fully as many. The Rocky Mountain Fur Company kept about 150 men within the territory that is now Wyoming. In addition, there were a dozen bands of free trappers numbering from 15 to 30 men each. This same year, Captain Bonneville had obtained leave from the army and had come to the rendezvous with 20 wagons. J. R. Walker and M. S. Gerre were his subordinate officers. They went up Green River to Jackson Hole and Pierre's Hole. The Sublette-Wyeth party entered Jackson Hole via Hoback Canyon the Fourth of July, 1832 and reached the banks of the Snake River. The main body of men ascended Teton Pass and waited for the stragglers, many of whom were too ill to walk. They were unused to the rigors of frontier life. After a meal of tree-bark (they were nearly out of provisions) they finally reached Pierre's Hole for the big rendezvous where they celebrated and relaxed. Here they were attacked by the hostile Indians, the Gros Ventres, returning from their annual visit with the Arapahoes (in trappers' lore, the Battle of Pierre's Hole). The Indians lost against the whites and their friendly Indians. 2/

333 A rendezvous of the same fur companies on the Green River.

By the summer of 1833, competition between the Rocky Mountain and American Fur Companies was so intense that each company faced financial disaster. Dishonor and treachery were rampant. At the 1833 rendezvous a truce was called between the two companies. The American Fur Company was to have rights to land west of the Continental Divide and immediately sent an expedition under Robert Newell and Warren Ferris northwest through Jackson's Hole to the Flatheads on the Columbia and again in the spring returned via Jackson's Hole and the Hoback. About the same time,

1/ - Teton Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

2/ - Ibid, and excerpts from Jackson Hole, Wyoming, David Saylor.

John Jacob Astor sold his interests in the American Fur Company as he found out the beaver hat would be supplemented by silk ones and this would be most detrimental to the demand for beaver pelts. In a few short years, the great Rocky Mountain Fur Company came to a standstill. 1/

1/ - Saylor, David. Jackson Hole, Wyoming. pp. 69-71.  
University of Oklahoma Press. 1970.

G. MISSIONARY GROUPS

1835 On August 21, 1835, Samuel Parker left rendezvous in a company headed by Jim Bridger. (Figure 4). On the 22nd, they traveled 20 miles and camped in Jackson's Little Hole, or Upper Hoback Basin. They killed a small number of buffalo and continued down the Hoback with difficulty. He described the sulfur spring and place where three trappers had been killed by Indians (in the Horse Creek area). Reverend Samuel Parker was a missionary sent west to christianize the Indians of the Oregon country. With him were Kit Carson and Jim Bridger and some enthralled Indians (over his religious teachings), the Nez Perces and Flatheads. On August 23, 1835, he held the first christian worship service in the Rocky Mountains while they were camped at the Hoback Basin. The Indians wanted to lead him to their homeland. Upon reaching the main part of Jackson's Hole, Bridger sent several of his men into the mountains to hunt and trap. When the party attempted to ascend Teton Pass, they encountered a stampede of buffalo coming straight toward them. They camped in South Park on the 24th and camped in Jackson Hole on the 25th where they stayed three days. On the 28th, they went over Teton Pass to Pierre's Hole. They jumped a herd of buffalo on the west side. 1/

1836 In 1836, Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman traveled through South Pass on their way to the Pacific Coast. 2/

This same year of 1836 a band of American Fur Company trappers under Osborne Russell entered Jackson's Hole through the Gros Ventre Canyon and went north to Jackson Lake. They ascended Pacific Creek to Two Ocean Pass and into the Yellowstone country. Russell spent considerable time in Jackson's Hole for the next few years. Part of this time was spent trapping in the Spread Creek area. He met Andrew Drips and Jim Bridger with about 60 men. In 1839, Russell returned to Jackson's Hole on his last trip and camped along the shore of Jackson Lake. 3/

1839

1840 Pierre-Jean DeSmet, a Belgian Jesuit priest, passed through Jackson Hole in 1840 on his way to the Flathead Indian villages where he hoped to build a Catholic mission. They entered Jackson's Hole through Hoback Canyon and to the banks of the Snake River. He returned several times up through 1841. With DeSmet's passage, the great fur-trade era in the American West came to an end. Men like Bridger, Newell,\* Meek and Fitzpatrick turned to guiding the first pioneers over the trail. 4/

1/ - Teton Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wy.

2/ - Saylor, Jackson Hole, Wy. p. 72 U. of Okla. Press. 1970.

3/ - Ibid.

4/ - Ibid.

\* Note: Saylor. Jackson Hole, Wyoming. p. 72. Robert Newell spent Christmas Day, 1838 in Jackson Hole.

H. THE ERA OF THE GOVERNMENT SURVEYS IN JACKSON'S HOLE  
IN THE 1860's TO THE 1870's

After the ending of the great fur exploits, Jackson Hole remained in comparative quiet. About 1842 the trappers ceased roaming the mountains for beaver and Jackson's Hole, that had seen twenty years of activity, reverted to complete wilderness interrupted only by hunting parties of Indians. In the period of westward expansion along the Oregon and Overland Trails, the trapper and settler had not yet come. Although many hundreds of trappers had visited the Yellowstone country prior to 1840, their stories had been looked upon as "tall" tales and seldom taken at face value. No new knowledge of the remarkable phenomena of the region had been acquired. The valley was five days ride from the nearest post, Fort Hall, Idaho, and twice the distance from the nearest settlement in Utah. Jackson had ceased to be the cross-roads of the mountains. However, the romantic trapper of "the Fur Era", had vanished from the Rockies --not, however, without having won for himself an imperishable place in American history. He had made it easier for government expeditions and the early settlers because of his topographical discoveries and trails. However, the immigrants who crossed the Rockies at this time took an easier route many miles south of Jackson's Hole.

The next important era came in the 1860's. This was the era of the surveyor, mapper, photographer and painter. These were the people who made the world aware of the Teton-Yellowstone area. "Prospectors were first known to have come through Jackson's Hole in the sixties and seventies combing the valley looking for the mother lode that supplied the flour gold in Snake River". 1/

1. Raynolds Railroad Survey

1860

On June 11, 1860, a large expedition under William F. Raynolds of the United States Engineers, reached Jackson's Hole from the east. This was the beginning of a new discovery of the valley and adjacent areas. In 1853, Congress authorized the Department of War to survey all possible transcontinental railroad routes. Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, sent four official parties into the field, one of which was to cross the continent along the forty-seventh and forty-ninth parallels north of Jackson's Hole. Much controversy ensued as to possible routes for the transcontinental railroad and Congress was already split over the tariff and slavery issues. Only the secession of the South would make possible a final decision. In the intervening years, before the South seceded, several railroad reconnaissance expeditions into the West occurred. One of these was the Raynolds Surveys.

1/ - Hayden, Betty. From Trapper to Tourist. p. 23.

Raynolds, of the Topographical Engineers, and guided by old Jim Bridger, who had been one of the last trappers to abandon the old life, became the first to open a new period of exploration which lasted until the settlement of the valley in 1884. Bridger led the expedition over Union Pass (named by Raynolds) to the upper waters of the Gros Ventre. Several times Bridger tried to find a pass north through the Mt. Leidy Highlands toward Togwotee and Two Ocean Pass, but failed due to deep snow and his poor memory (he hadn't been in this area for fifteen years). They gave up trying to reach the headwater of the Yellowstone and continued down the Gros Ventre; and on June 10, 1860, crossed its south bank a short distance above the Gros Ventre's junction with the Snake River in Jackson's Hole. They moved down the Snake in search of a ford. Enroute, they met a party of Blackfeet along the Gros Ventre foothills and later a friendly band of Shoshoni swimming their horses across the river from the Teton side. The Snake was swollen with the spring run-off when the Raynolds group arrived; so the crossing of the large and cumbersome outfit became quite a problem. Lance Corporal Bradley was drowned on the twelfth, while attempting to launch a raft. On the following day, they lost the heavy log raft on which they had planned to buck the current. A more buoyant craft was obviously needed. They, therefore, constructed a light pole frame which they covered with gutta percha blankets and lodge skins and an application of rosin to insure its tightness. This contrivance did the trick, and the crossing was effected with only the abandonment of the odometer wheels which remained on the bank of the Snake River. Among the men in the party were Ferdinand Vandever Hayden, Lance Corporal Lovett and L. C. Bradley. As they crossed Teton Pass to get into Pierre's Hole, they found a tree with the inscription "J. M., July 7th, 1832" and "July 11, 1833". It had been made by Joe Meek, the trapper, on his way to the rendezvous at Pierre's Hole and Green River more than 28 years before. The expedition pushed north toward Henry's Lake and the upper Missouri the following day, June 18, 1860. Raynolds discouraged the idea of rail transportation across the Continental Divide to Jackson's Hole and the Yellowstone in his report to the Secretary of War, saying the land was too lofty and it would be inexpedient to cross it by rail. (No railroad has ever come into Jackson's Hole.) While they were camped on the west bank of the Snake they were visited by a band of Snake Indians under their chief, Cut-Nose. Jim Bridger left the valley this time never to return. The soldiers in the party were soon destined to gaze at dead along the line of battle, instead of counting revolutions on the odometer wheel. 1/

1/ - Forest Service Files, Bridger-Teton National Forest, Jackson, Wyoming and Raynolds, Report on the Exploration of the Yellowstone River. pp. 93, 95.

## 2. Early Prospecting and Mining

The outbreak of the war the next year put an end to all government activity in the region, but it could not silence the call of the mining camps. The big gold discoveries in Montana occurred in 1862 and in the spring of 1863, the rush began. The rush itself missed Jackson's Hole completely, but many who were too late to stake the best claims started prospecting over the adjoining terrain. One group under the leadership of Captain Walter DeLacey decided to pan the gravels along the headwaters of the Snake, so they came down through Idaho into Jackson's Hole and camped near Buffalo Fork during the latter part of August 1863. They had found that other regions had been already overcrowded with prospectors. Too, DeLacey had learned that placer mining in California's gold fields had been replaced by the more expensive deep-rock and hydraulic methods and had forced many small-time operators out of business. DeLacey, the elected leader of 43 miners fresh from the Montana gold camps, prospected along the south branch of the Snake, a virgin area not yet visited by the hordes of gold seekers. They panned the lower end of Jackson's Hole in the waters of the Hoback and Gros Ventre. Finding no gold, they continued up along the valley. Upon reaching Pacific Creek, they erected a corral and held a meeting and drew up rules to govern themselves in case of disputes that might arise over rich diggings. From August 28th to the 31st, two teams of prospectors panned Pacific Creek to no avail. A third team explored the Buffalo River and possibly Blackrock Creek with no better luck. DeLacey and his forty-three men gave up after the four days without striking gold in paying quantities and left the valley. DeLacey returned to Yellowstone and the geyser basins, and a group of fifteen returned directly to Virginia City via Teton Pass and Pierre's Hole. This did not discourage other miners from trying their luck. 1/

1863

1864

The next year, George H. Phelps covered the region with no results. 2/ At the same time, a large party of seventy-three men under James Stuart that had been prospecting as a unit, broke up on the Stinking Water (Shoshone) River into several bands. One of these went down to South Pass, up Green River to Jackson's Hole, and after inspecting the possibilities of finding paying gravel continued northeast to Two Ocean Pass and the source of the Yellowstone. 3/

1/ - Chittenden, Yellowstone National Park, p. 63 ff., and Watson, Walcott. History of Jackson's Hole, Wy. pp. 41, 42.

2/ - Saylor, J. H. Jackson's Hole, Wyoming. p. 102. U. of Okla Press. 1970.

3/ - Watson, Walcott, History of Jackson's Hole, Wy. p. 41., and Chittenden, Yellowstone National Park. p. 67

### 3. Period from the 1860's to the 1870's

1860  
1870

During the sixties and seventies, great changes were coming over the mountain region. The Indians were placed on reservations to live a settled agricultural life; the continent was opened up by railroad, and the frontier was slowly giving way before the miner, ranchman, and farmer in numerous scattered areas. These changes did not affect Jackson's Hole directly for a long time, but indirectly they caused its transformation during the sixties from a forgotten valley to a not unknown locality visited occasionally by prospectors, hunters, and reservation Indians. These Indians continued to shoot game in the valley, coming from the Wind River Reservation on the east and the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho; but they were peaceable Shoshonis and Bannocks who did not depend on their hunting for a livelihood. It was in this period that the hunter-trapper made his reappearance in Jackson's Hole. The new trapper was the man who rebels against society that the steady advance of civilization had now driven into the more remote mountain sections. Living largely on the game he shot, he had to depend on furs for the cash he needed. The price for pelts was not high enough to induce any ambitious men into the occupation. The earliest name known was that of Tim Hubbard 1/ who is said to have wintered on the Snake River during 1865-66. None of these trappers took up a permanent abode in the valley until after it was settled. The outside world knew very little about the valley, and even the explorers and topographers of the Rockies were ignorant of the details of its topography. 2/

### 4. Government Exploring Parties

1870

1871

DeLacey's stories about the phenomena in Yellowstone created much curiosity among prominent citizens. In 1870, a group under the leadership of Henry D. Washburn, territorial surveyor-general, was escorted by Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane and a small cavalry detachment into the Yellowstone country to verify DeLacey's findings. The Washburn-Doane expedition was followed in 1871 by two official government exploring parties, one under the War Department was headed by Ferdinand Vandever Hayden who was on the Reynolds' expedition, and the other under the Department of Interior. These two explorations marked the beginning of bitter and wasteful bureaucratic rivalry. Barlow and Hayden cooperated to some extent. It was their explorations that gained the Yellowstone nationwide publicity and led to the area becoming a national park. 3/

1/ - Watson, Walcott, History of Jackson's Hole, Wy., p. 42.

2/ - Ibid. p. 42, 43.

3/ - Forest Service Files, Jackson Wy.



## 5. The Hayden Surveys

Hayden returned in 1872 with two survey divisions, one under his assistant, James Stevenson and the other under Hayden's direction. Chief Geologist, Frank H. Bradley, led a party into Jackson's Hole from the Yellowstone and went out through Snake River Canyon. On the list of men on this expedition were names to be remembered in Jackson's Hole. Stevenson was the first to climb the Grand Teton with N. P. Langford, first superintendent of Yellowstone National Park on July 29, 1872. Professor Bradley and his assistant, W. R. Taggart, left their names on two lakes in Grand Teton Park. Coulter Creek, a tributary of the upper Yellowstone, is named for John M. Coulter, Hayden's botanist, and Mt. Leidy is named for the paleontologist of the expedition. William Henry Jackson, Hayden's official photographer, made the first photographs of the Tetons. Thomas Moran, the artist who accompanied Hayden left his name on a massive mountain in the Teton Range. Beaver Dick Leigh (Richard Leigh), guided the Snake River division and in appreciation they named Leigh Lake for him and Jenny Lake for his squaw. William Henry Jackson's beautiful photographic plates from the 1871 expedition were instrumental in persuading Congress to create America's first national park. Another assistant was C. Hart Merriam, ornithologist. W. H. Jackson's pictures were instrumental in publicizing the expedition's accomplishments, and without this publicity and the paintings of Moran, Hayden might not have been able to secure federal appropriations to carry on his work. Old Molly, Jackson's mule, carried his cumbersome equipment (photographic) and was an important part of the team. Risking his life, Jackson crawled out on sheer precipices on Table Mountain to get his pictures of the Tetons, the first photographs of those historic trappers' landmarks. 1/ (Figures 5, 6, 7)

1872 Leigh guided Stevenson's group up Teton Creek on the west slope of the mountains. While there, Stevenson and Langford claimed to have reached the summit of the Grand Teton. The claim went undisputed until 1898, when William Owen, (figure 8), Frank Peterson, Franklin Spaulding and John Shive climbed the Grand and discovered that Langford's description did not match what they saw, nor was any marker left to prove they had been there. Fourteen members of the party left their advance camp early in the morning of July 29. Of these, five reached the lower saddle. Frank H. Bradley waited here, while Langford, Stevenson, Hamp and Spencer headed up the steep couloirs toward the upper saddle, which the former two reached after a hard climb. In his official report to Hayden, Langford reported the ascent with reasonable

1/ - Saylor, David. Jackson's Hole, Wy. pp. 104. U. of Okla. Press. 1970.



Figure 5. William H, Jackson on the Tetons in 1871 or 1872.



Figure 6. Hayden Survey Team, 1872.



Figure 7. Hayden Survey Team, 1872.



Figure 8 William Owen. 1898.  
In the first party to reach the summit of the  
Grand Teton in 1898 and first to make a survey  
of Jackson Hole in 1892. Mt. Owen was named  
for him.

accuracy, but the wall that rises above the saddle is not referred to, and the summit itself is only described in the most general manner that anyone from below would easily recognize. In June 1873, Scribner's magazine published Langford's article, The Ascent of Mount Hayden 1/ (as the members of the survey had decided to rename the Grand Teton), - an article that contains so many mis-statements of fact as to refute the claim, even after due allowance is made for the exaggerated style in which it was written. Hamp and Spencer who had been left behind on the upper climb, were picked up by Langford and Stevenson on their way down. 2/ Spencer, geologist for the expedition, had to accept their story of reaching the top; but whether he was angry at having been excluded from the climb to the top, or whether he had real doubts, he related the following in his official report as "if their account is correct, the hardest part of the ascent is passed when the high saddle is reached". "They report that ---- (they) reached the summit", and other questioning remarks. 3/

It is likely that Langford thought that his story would never be checked, for he wrote, "as it is not probable that another ascension will be made in our day, we have no advice to give those who are ambitious of this distinction". However, in 1877, three members of Bechler's survey party, Thomas Cooper, Louis McKeene, and Peter Pollack reached the upper saddle only to be rebuffed by the vertical precipice, a fate that was likewise encountered by William O. Owen in 1891 and 1897. In 1898, however, Owen, accompanied by Franklin S. Spaulding, later Episcopal Bishop of Utah, and Frank L. Peterson, and John Shive, ranchers, made a determined effort that resulted in the discovery of the "cooning place" and the attainment of the summit on August eleventh. 4/ (Figure 8)

There was a bitter controversy in the papers by Owen and Langford. Owen secured official confirmation of the priority of his party's ascent by an act of the Wyoming legislature, and in 1929 a plaque commemorating their ascent as the first was affixed to the peak as part of the ceremony inaugurating Grand Teton National Park. W. H. Jackson stated that it must always carry with it the shadow of a doubt as to the first ascent. 5/

The Snake River Division moved north along the western base of the Tetons to Madison River. In mid-September, with replenished supplies they turned south and approached Jackson's Hole along

1/ - Fryxell, Teton Peaks and Their Ascents, p. 41.

2/ - Watson, Walcott. History of Jackson Hole, Wy. p. 46

3/ - Bradley, Report. U.S. Geol. Survey of Terr. Vol. VI. P. 222

4/, 5/ - Watson, Walcott. History of Jackson Hole, Wy. p. 47 ff.

the upper Snake. Near Conant Pass they united with Richard Leigh. They conducted an extensive geological and topographical survey of Jackson's Hole. 1/

Other parties followed. In 1877, the Hayden Survey's Teton Division led by Gustavus R. Bechler mapped considerable portions of Jackson's Hole. In 1878, Frederick C. Clark's Division mapped the rest of the valley. The chief geologists on both expeditions was Orestes St. John, after whom one of the Teton Peaks was named. This same year, Jackson went through the valley on a photographic tour, but failed to get good pictures due to smoke in the valley from forest fires. He took a number of them from Signal Mountain. W. H. Holmes, his artist, made sketches of the Tetons and Jackson Hole which were made into plates for the annual report of the expedition. 2/

Note: In 1873, during the peak Hayden years, Captain William A. Jones accomplished what Captain Reynolds failed to do in 1860. He located a direct route for a military road from Wind River to Yellowstone River. On a return trip from Yellowstone Park via Two Ocean Pass, Lava Creek and Blackrock Creek in Jackson's Hole, Jones discovered Togwotee Pass. His recommendation to build a road over this pass on to Two Ocean Pass was never approved. The nearest approach to the fulfillment of this plan was a military road built from the mouth of DuNoir Creek, near Dubois to the mouth of the Buffalo in 1898, and extended to Jackson Lake in 1900. 3/

#### 6. Doane's Expedition

1876 There was much foolhardy army exploration during the 1860's and 1870's but one of the most foolish and amazing ones was made by Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane who had guided the 1870 expedition through Yellowstone under General Washburn. He was ordered, apparently for professional spite, to make an exploration in the dead of winter from Yellowstone Lake to the Columbia. In his party were six men with horses, an Indian lodge, and a boat and rations for sixty days. They arrived, after struggling through snow and sleet, at Jackson Lake via the Snake River on November 23, 1876. This trip took them nearly a month. It took them seven more days to cover a mere thirty-two miles around the west shore of the lake, some by horse and some by boat around the difficult shore. They were forced to eat their horses when they ran out of

1/ - Watson, Walcott. History of Jackson Hole, Wy. p. 47 ff.

2/ - Bradley. Report, U. S. Geol. Survey of the Terr. Vol. VI. o, 261-271, and

3/ - Jones, J. R. Annals of Jackson Hole and Forest Files. Jackson, Wy.

provisions and the game was very scarce since most of them had left the valley due to winter. They were expiring from exhaustion and hunger. South of the present town of Wilson, they met John Pierce, a trapper who was spending the winter in a cabin at the south end of the valley. The fishing skill of one man, Private Warren, and the generosity of John Pierce, saved the men from starving to death. Pierce gave them elk in exchange for clothing and ammunition. Why this expedition was ever undertaken is not known for sure. It has been said that Doane's commanding officer did it for spite. Doane kept a remarkable diary of his expedition. 1/

#### 7. Other Government and Private Expeditions

1881 In 1881, Major Wesley Hoyt, territorial governor of Wyoming escorted by Major Julius Mason went through Jackson's Hole over Two Ocean-Togwotee Pass. Hoyt was looking for a practical wagon route into Yellowstone Park from the southwest.

1882 In 1882, Lieutenant Phillip H. Sheridan toured the Jackson Hole regions as part of his annual reconnaissance through possible hostile Indian country. Ever since Custer's massacre the military had been keeping close watch over the Indians. Sheridan named the pass, a low area between Togwotee and Union which he used, Robert Lincoln Pass (it is also said that President Arthur named this pass) for the Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln. General D. E. Sacket, who was with the expedition, reported rich placer gold mines having been discovered and worked in the Teton Basin (Jackson's Hole) on the Grovont and Buffalo Fork of the Snake River. His opinion was highly exaggerated as no significant mineral wealth has ever been found in Jackson's Hole. 2/

#### 8. Expedition of President Chester A. Arthur

1883 In 1883, General Sheridan returned to the Jackson's Hole valley with a distinguished party. Chittenden called President Arthur's visit to Yellowstone Park the most elaborate expedition ever to pass through Yellowstone. It traveled by horseback with one of the most complete pack-trains ever organized, escorted by a full troop of cavalry. In the President's party was his Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln, Missouri Senator George G. Vest, Montana Territorial Governor John Schuyler Crosby, and a host of lesser dignitaries. Also present was photographer F. Jay Haynes, chief packer Tom Moore and his assistants, some Indian guides, and an armed escort of seventy-five men, cavalrymen under the command

1/ - Doane, G. C. Expedition of Lt. G. C. Doane 1876-1877  
(U. S. Govt. Print. Ofc., 1931)

2/ - Saylor, David J., Jackson Hole, Wy. pp. 113-117

of Captain E. M. Hayes. President Arthur had come west with Sheridan for three reasons: to relax; to acquaint himself with western geography; and to learn more about the American Indian.

The party left Fort Washakie on saddle horses, and 135 pack horses which carried their equipment. Eighteen camps were made, six of them in Jackson's Hole before they established their base camp at Mammoth Hot Springs in Yellowstone. Beginning at Sheridan Pass (which it is said President Arthur named after Robert Lincoln) their camps extended along the Gros Ventre River and up the east side of the Snake. Military couriers were posted every twenty miles with fresh relays to insure daily communication with the outside world. The expedition was entirely by horseback. The official records show that on August 9, 1883 the party left Ft. Washakie for Cinnabar, Montana. Hiram Martin Chittenden, Captain of the Corps of Engineers, tells of this expedition in his The Yellowstone National Park, 1895, as "going through some of the wildest, most rugged, and least settled portions of the West. No accident occurred to mar the pleasure of the expedition." The party crossed Wind River Range, came down the Gros Ventre River and canyon to Jackson's Hole, traveling what was afterward locally called the "Bottle Trail". Turning north along the east side of Snake River, they traveled around the South Gate area of Yellowstone; on to Lewis Lake, West Thumb, Lake Area, Lower Yellowstone Falls, Tower Falls, and to Mammoth. The six camps considered to be in the Jackson Hole area were described as follows:

Camp No. 7 - Camp Lincoln, on Lincoln Pass, Continental Divide, about seven miles northwest of Union Pass and 15-1/2 miles south of Togwotee Pass.

Camp No. 8 - Camp Isham, about 18 miles west of Lincoln Pass, on the south bank of the Gros Ventre River, nearly 13 miles southeast of Mt. Leidy.

Camp No. 9 - Camp Arthur, on the north side of the Gros Ventre River, 16 miles (airline) from the confluence of that river with the Snake.

Camp No. 10 - Camp Teton, on the north bank of the Gros Ventre River, nearly 8 miles from its confluence with the Snake River, and nearly 15 miles directly south of the south shore of Jackson Lake.

Camp no. 11 - Camp Hampton, about 1-1/2 miles south of the Buffalo Fork and the Snake River, on the east bank of Snake River, 7-1/2 miles due east of the southeast corner of Jackson Lake.



Camp No. 12 - Camp Strong, about 2 miles south of the south boundary of Yellowstone National Park and a mile west of the Snake River.

While resting at Union Pass, President Arthur and his group stopped for tea and this event has been commemorated by historical groups.

Even in the wilderness, the President was in contact with the outside world, thanks to the efforts of mounted military couriers operating out of Fort Ellis, Montana Territory, and Fort Washakie, Wyoming Territory. Press coverage of the trip was scanty and often contrived. Reporters were not allowed to accompany him and had to rely on brief messages relayed by Colonel James F. Gregory, Sheridan's aide-de-camp. Several large newspapers responded to the demand for news by manufacturing stories and exaggerating the brief items. They were often confusing and contradictory.

Sources: (1) - Sheridan, Report of an Exploration of Parts of Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana, in August and September 1882; (2) Freeman Tilden, Following the Frontier with F. Jay Haynes, 115-39. Arnold Hague, Report, House Executive Document No. 1, 49th Congress, 2nd session, Part 5, 54-59; John W. Hoyt, Report, Part 5, 1074-77; Teton National Forest Service files and document, Expedition of President Chester A. Arthur: Saylor's Jackson Hole, Wyoming. pp. 113-117.

I. EARLY SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

1878

Hunters continued to come into the valley and some of them built cabins to return to from year to year. John Holland trapped here in the early seventies. Albert G. Richards, in the fall of 1878, came as a boy of eleven to hunt in the company of another boy, Will White, of Cokeville. They planned to meet John Holland in Jackson's Hole, but failed to find him so didn't go trapping with him. They met several parties of Indians returning to their reservations with meat for the winter. The two boys camped and trapped east of Jackson Lake until February when they loaded their furs and returned home through seven feet of snow. At Goe's Hot Springs, they found two prospectors, Jack Davis and Holland who guided them to Greys River in exchange for supplies. The boys were paid \$2,300 for their cache of furs.

1884

1896-

1897

European noblemen and wealthy capitalists were trying the valley's exceptional fishing and hunting, and hunters and trappers of lesser birth and money also came into Jackson's Hole. Men like Beaver Dick Leigh, John Pierce, Tim Hibbard, and Dave Brackenridge built temporary cabins in the valley, but not until 1884 did John Holland and his friend John Carnes establish the first permanent homesteads here. In 1896 and 1897, F. Jay Haynes accompanied by two elaborate outfits, came into Jackson's Hole with financial backing from American railroad magnate W. Seward Webb. Haynes photographs attest to the success of Webb and his wealthy hunting partners. This helped to increase the interest of wealthy hunters in the fabulous area of the valley. This also added to the interest already created by Captain William Drummond Stewart of Murthlie Castle, Scotland and the publication of his experiences. Another European, William A. Baillie-Grohman bagged a trophy elk in the Gros Ventre Mountains when he hunted Jackson's Hole in the 1870's and 1880. His success brought Austrian counts, Ernst Hoyor and Ferdinand Trautmannsdorf to the valley. "Beaver" Dick Leigh guided many famous men (including his guiding of the Hayden Expedition) into Jackson's Hole as he was a reliable guide who knew the area and how much game was there and where to find them.

1883

The first permanent settlers came to Jackson's Hole in 1883. They were John Carnes, John Holland and Mike Detweiler. All three of these settled a few miles northeast of the present site of Jackson on what is known as "The Flat", being drained by Flat Creek and its tributaries. Carnes settled on the west half of what is now the Ben Goe ranch, while Holland settled on the east half. These places were later purchased by David H. Goe who came to Jackson Hole after having lived for several years in Teton Basin, where he was one of the first pioneers.

The cabin which was built by Carnes was the first one built in Jackson Hole by a permanent settler. The remains of this cabin and of Holland's buildings may still be seen on the former Goe Ranch. At the time they built, however, the land had not been surveyed. When it was surveyed it was found that while Holland's house was on his own land his barns were east of the half section line on what later became the D. C. Nowlin ranch.

Mike Detweiler settled a short distance north of the Carnes place. One of the buildings still stands on this place which is now part of the U. S. Biological Survey, or Elk Refuge.

1884 In 1884, Robert E. Miller located just northeast of the present site of the town of Jackson. This ranch also was purchased later by the U. S. Biological Survey and is now the headquarters of the Elk Refuge.

1887 John Pierce settled on what is now the Frank Peterson ranch in 1887. Its location is at the north end of "The Flat". West of the former Detweiler Ranch is the home of Joseph Infanger who located there in 1887. Other settlers who came in 1887 were Fred White, Adolph Miller, Emil Wolff and a man named Loeffler. The latter located on the William L. Simpson place but did not stay long. Wolff also located on that place, which is just north of the present town of Jackson.

1888 In 1888, more settlers arrived. Among them were Stephen N. Leek who is credited with having introduced irrigation, dairying, sawmilling and dude ranching into the valley, and was also a state legislator and the originator of many game laws of Wyoming; William Crawford, Jack Ricks, Dick Turpin, Andy Madison and John Sargent. The following settlers came sometime during the late eighties or early nineties: Bill Blackburn, Pete Milligan, Captain Smith, Pete Karns, B. F. Blodgett, John Cherry, Robert R. Hamilton, Pierce Cunningham, Nick Cass, Sawyer, Glidden, Jackson and Pettigrew. The dates and facts of some of these people are largely hearsay evidence. It is said that in 1888 there were only eighteen people living in Jackson's Hole, all men except the Indian wife of John Carnes. In another year or two, the population had increased to sixty-four.

1889 In the fall of 1889, the first authentic wagon train, carrying five Mormon families from Utah, entered Jackson's Hole over Teton Pass. The caravan included fifty-five year old Sylvester Wilson, his wife Mary, son Joseph and daughters Ella and Rebecca; Sylvester's son-in-law Selar Cheney, wife Mary, and children; Sylvester's brother Elijah N. "Uncle" Nick Wilson, wife Matilda and daughter Kate; and Elijah's married daughter Louise Smith and her two boys. Both Idaho and Utah had driven

them to seek green pastures for their starving livestock as there was a drought in both states. The Wilsons were among the first to make a successful passage over Teton Pass. The men had to hitch several teams to each wagon to make the ascent, one wagon at a time, and the descent was even more difficult. They had to clear a way in front of the wagons first, then drag heavy chains behind them, exchange the larger rear wheels for the front ones to keep the heavily-laden wagons from tipping over; the wheels were chain-locked and even at times had to tie on behind the wagons to hold them back. They arrived in Jackson's Hole in colder temperature and imminent snows so had little time to build cabins. They moved in with earlier homesteaders, such as John Cherry. That winter some of the cows died and they had to rely on wild game meat, but elk was their main diet. One infant son was fed a diet of elk soup. By the fall of 1890, their situations were improved. In 1891 Effie Jane Wilson, the first white child to be born in the valley and Howard Cheney, the first white boy arrived. Most of the Wilsons settled in South Park. Other homesteaders followed. Small settlements grew up at South Park, Wilson, Jackson, Marysvale, Zenith, Grovont, Kelly, Moose, Elk (near Spread Creek), Moran, Hoback and Bondurant.

It took a hardy pioneer to live in Jackson's Hole in those early days and even much later. There were many difficulties but the main ones were: food, clothing, shelter, medicine, transportation, communication, education, religion, law and order, politics and government. The nearest supplies were across Teton Pass in Idaho Falls and Rexburg, many miles away. These trips were made in summer when it was easier to get over the pass and not very often. Some of them made their wagons out of whatever they could get, as supplies into the valley were very limited. Some had dog teams and sled for winter travel. The problem of crossing Jackson's Hole's deep streams and rivers was very difficult in early spring, late fall and winter. In winter the water was usually low enough or frozen over and during spring and fall it was low. The settlers could ford the waterways, but during the warmer months, the melting snows made the rivers much too rapid for safe crossing. There were no bridges or ferries for the early pioneers and they had to build them.

The winters were very long and rugged. Old-timers claim there was nine months of winter and three months of summer. This is exaggerated but some years the snow came as early as September and October but didn't last, and often by Thanksgiving the settlers were really snowed-in or out of Jackson and over the passes. There were no snow-plows then and the pioneers had to wait till the warm, spring weather melted the deep snows.

This was often well into May unless it was a mild winter when the melting snows of the high country made the rivers rise above their channels and brought down trees and brush which clogged and even washed out the few bridges they had later built of wood. In summer the settlers relied on horses for transportation but in winter they traveled on crude home-made skis and snowshoes. A few of the lucky ones had horse-drawn sleighs but the route of travel had to be kept packed down.

1891 The first deaths of the settlers occurred in 1891 when two of Sylvester Wilson's children died of dyptheria and the first valley cemetery was started in South Park.

There were a hundred settlers by 1891. Steve Leek had brought in the first sawmill from Market Lake, Idaho.

The settlers had to provide their own food. The women had to raise gardens and can vegetables and wild fruit they picked. The season was too short to raise some things but the early pioneers learned to pick wild huckleberries, gooseberries and raspberries to make into jam and jelly or to can as fruit. The elk herd saved many a pioneer, by furnishing him meat all winter. They could hang them out in the sub-zero temperatures in winter and saw off what they needed, or can the meat. Their only refrigeration was the cold outside. They also killed antelope, bear and deer. Bear grease was excellent for using in place of lard. There was also beef for those who had cattle.

Communications was a great problem. Mail came as far as the railroad depot on the Idaho side of Teton Pass and from there had to be transported on horseback or snowshoes depending on the season of the year. The mail was distributed to the various individuals and post offices (after they were built). In 1892, the first post office was established 5 miles north of present Jackson at Marysvale. Mrs. Frank White was the first postmistress. Mail distribution was therefore most uncertain and the Jackson people were not in touch with the outside world. Due to weather and poor roads, they had little communication with each other with no radios, newspapers or telephones. The first valley newspaper wasn't started until 1909, the Jackson's Hole Courier, which was a welcome relief to the people and the outside world.

Religion was another concern. The settlers of South Park held the first Mormon service on Easter Sunday, 1890, in Sylvester Wilson's home. In 1894, the group moved to a log church nearby for their services. Jackson followed a few years later with an Episcopal, Baptist and Mormon church. In later years other churches appeared throughout the valley, particularly at Mormon Row, a Mormon settlement on the east side of Blacktail Butte.

Education was first taught in the homes. The first one was a room of Ervin Wilson's cabin; then they built a log school building on land that Ervin Wilson donated, paying a teacher's salary for six months with tuition collected per child. This was in 1896. Each father built desks and benches for his children. Miss Susie Clark of Idaho Falls was hired by the settlers to teach a three-month term when the school first opened. In 1895, Unita County made South Park a school district and the county paid the teacher's salary.

The early pioneers hauled in crude farm machinery and other supplies over the divide from Green River across Bacon Creek.

Though trapping, hunting and guiding were first Jackson's Hole pursuits for a century, cattle raising was the first business of Jackson's Hole settlers. William L. Simpson stated that one hundred legally owned cattle were in the valley in 1883 that was believed to belong to John Holland. Sylvester Wilson brought in a herd of eighty in 1889, and each succeeding family brought its herd. By 1900 cattle raising was the chief industry with the cattle census at one thousand head. By 1910 that number had swelled to more than 3,000. A few years later the number of more than 15,000 was reached and that number remained fairly constant for two decades at least, making it appear that the cattle business had held its own since the settling of Jackson's Hole.

At the turn of the century, John Sargent and Ray Hamilton dreamed of a deluxe dude ranch on the shores of Jackson Lake, and built a ten-room log house there. Herb Whiteman and his partner had built a cabin north of the lake with a similar purpose in mind. They found the transportation of supplies both difficult and prohibitive, and were forced to abandon the plan. Ben Sheffield ran a camp for fishermen and hunters near Moran before 1910. The JY Ranch, started in 1908 by Mr. Lou Joy and the Bar BC, began by Struthers Burt and Dr. Horace Carncross in 1910 were the first dude ranches.

1892

In 1892, W. O. Owen (Figure 8) made the first survey in Jackson Hole and the same year the Jackson Coal Company was formed with its mine on the north side of what is now Slide Lake. This same year Bill Menor arrived. He built a ferry near what is now the town of Moose to get people across the Snake River. There were now enough people coming into the valley to support it. It was constructed along one of the few stretches where the Snake River flows in a single channel. It was a railed platform supported by two pontoons, guided across the Snake by

ropes attached to an overhead cable which in turn was secured to a massive log on shore. The current of the river provided the power to move the ferry, the deck of which was large enough to accommodate a four horse team and wagon, or a large number of livestock. Menor's prices were reasonable: fifty cents for a team and twenty-five cents for a horse and rider. A foot passenger rode free if a vehicle was crossing at the same time. Each winter the ferry was hauled ashore and a temporary bridge erected to serve till ferry operations resumed in the spring. About this time and during the 1890's, a wagon road slowly developed on the rocky west terrace of the Snake from Menor's Ferry to Conrad's Ferry and the Moran bridge. Conrad's Ferry was across the Snake River in back of Signal Mountain, east, where there is a cattle bridge. This ferry was built by a mining group who were placer mining up Gravel Creek. These miners had sawed out four inch planks and bored holes in them. They put these planks in the stream in hopes that gold would be deposited in the holes as the water ran through them. The later pioneers used these planks to build things such as flumes for their irrigation ditches.

Another rough wagon road developed on the east side of the valley in the 1890's, the east road, (travelers had to ford Gros Ventre, Ditch Creek, Spread Creek and the Buffalo River). Steel bridges were not constructed in the valley until much later, about 1915 between Jackson and Wilson, and in 1927 at Moose. Crude roads over Teton and Conant passes, or through Hoback and Gros Ventre canyons were the only acceptable ways into or out of the valley until 1898 when the army reacted to the Indian scare in the region by building a military road over Togwotee Pass.

The town of Jackson was laid out in 1897, though it was then just a dream in the minds of its founders. Charlie Hedrick, who came to the valley about this time, described the town in 1900 as rocks, sagebrush, jackrabbits, mosquitoes and a few hunters in the fall. At that time there were four buildings on the townsite: Foster's saloon, Jimmy Simpson's building where the old Rainbow Theater later stood, "Pap" Deloney's log store across from it, and the Club House (it was built about 1898 by the men of the community for a recreation hall. It was a two-room log building; the first room was a smoker for men and the second room had bunk-like benches running around on which the children could be bedded down during dances which lasted all night to the tune of Pete Karn's fiddle. No drinkers were allowed). In the fall, John Anderson moved his post office from the "Y", then known as Antelope Pass, to the present location of the Open Range Cafe and enlarged it for a combined hotel and post office. "Pap" Deloney's store was the heart of the town where people gathered to chat and buy merchandise. Groceries and hardware

were on one side, drygoods on the other. Everything from horse collars to wash tubs hung from cross-poles. Most of the people settled their accounts once a year when they sold their cattle. There was no bank, so the store served that purpose. Mr. Deloney sometimes received a shipment of as much as 5,000 pounds freight which was brought over Teton Pass by sleighs and wagons. It had to be forded across the Snake River.

1903 In 1903, Robert Miller brought his bride into the valley from the East and moved her into a crude log cabin with a dirt floor. While he was away to get her, someone had removed all the boards from the floor to use for themselves.

1907 Medical attention was another problem in the early 1900's. There were no doctors or nurses and no hospital. The early pioneers had to take care of themselves or go "outside" to the nearest doctor and hospital. In 1907, Dr. Palmer built what he called his "insanitarium", a four room, two story log building, which "Ma" Reed bought about 1908 and turned into a hotel. "Ma" Reed also acted as a nurse to the ill when Dr. Palmer left and before Dr. Charles W. Huff came. Dr. Huff was very ill and came to the valley for his health. "Ma" Reed claimed to have cured him of his illness and talked him into staying in Jackson as a doctor. Thus, medical attention was very limited until 1916 when Dr. Huff, a recent graduate of John Hopkins Medical School became the first permanent doctor in Jackson's Hole.

"Ma" Reed was a tough old girl that looked like "Whistler's Mother", but sounded like the toughest of men. She often told "tall" tales that were mostly true about her experiences and how she could run a drunken cowboy or a man fleeing from the law out of her hotel and dining room. She bragged about hiding "Butch" Cassidy when the Pinkertons were on his trail. She ran a first class dining room after she sold her hotel to the Henry Crabtrees in later years. At her famous table sat people of national importance as well as royalty, with ranchers and cowboys and sometimes strangers fleeing from the law. The original four rooms are still a part of the Crabtree Hotel which has been converted to an art center.

1905 - In 1905 the Jackson Valley Telephone Company was formed and  
1907 managed by Fred Lovejoy. Parker and Mullins had been making bricks at Antelope Pass since 1903, and some went into the making of the LDS Church in 1905, and to cover the logs of the Jackson Hotel. The first rodeo was started in 1907 and is now a regular happening for dudes and natives alike.

1906 In 1906 the U. S. Reclamation Service had built at the southeast  
1910 end of Jackson Lake, a log-crib dam which washed out in 1910 and



was replaced by an earth dam under engineer Frank Crowe. The materials for the construction of the dam were transported over the newly made Reclamation Road built for that purpose. It was built over Squirrel Meadows. The new earth dam cost \$50,000 and impounded 380,000 acre/feet of water. In 1916 the dam was raised, increasing the capacity of the reservoir to 790,000 acre/feet.

The Jackson Hole Courier was started in 1909 with Douglas Rodeback as editor.

The first settler did not ask for frills or an easy life. They were content to have fertile soil to farm, abundant grass and hay for their cattle, and a warm, cozy home of logs. Most of them couldn't afford but small herds of cattle. All these things they found in our valley, as well as plenty of game and fish to supply their needs. The winters were bitter, the snow was deep, but they managed to survive. And as more and more people came, they were able to have schools and churches for culture. Small communities sprang up -- a store, a postoffice, a hotel, a livery stable. These provided the ranches and trappers a place to congregate. No one expected that the area would ever become a metropolis. Money was scarce, but there was enough to supply their needs. Indians still roamed over the valley, and mail came in from outside only occasionally -- when there was no radio, no TV, no newspaper, no electric power, and water was hauled from the creek or river in barrels or buckets.

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Note: The material from under section G was gathered over the years from various sources, old-timers, newspapers, notes and the diary of Esther Allan, Elizabeth Hayden's From Trapper to Tourist, David Saylor's Jackson Hole, Wyoming, personal interviews, letters and especially the "Souvenir History of Jackson's Hole", compiled by the seventh and eighth grade pupils of the Jackson School in 1924. Mrs. Stone's "Uinta County" contains some material of early settlement. However, the latter two are based mostly on hearsay evidence.

J. People Who Played an Important or Interesting Role in the Early Settlement of Jackson Hole.

1. Richard Leigh (Beaver Dick)

Beaver Dick was the last of the real mountain men and played an important part in the early history of Jackson's Hole.

Richard Leigh was an Englishman who ran away from his home when he was 16 and went to sea. He began his career in the British Army, later to join the Hudson's Bay Company, which brought him to the American territory. According to his diary, he "went for the Mexican War at the close of '43, attached to Co. E., First Infantry, - then I came to the Rocky Mountains" -- to begin life as a free trapper and with such men as Bridger, and to learn peace among whites and Indians -- still labored in birth pangs.

The Mormon chief-with-many-squaws (Brigham Young) had first called him "Beaver Dick", perhaps because of the Englishman's prowess in trapping beaver. Or, as some historians have written, "his two upper front teeth protruded not unlike that of the beaver itself". Indians also knew him as Beaver Dick, but among the Shoshones, his reddish hair had won him the name of "Ingapumba", which means red hair.

Beaver Dick's main occupation was as a guide for hunting parties who came to the Rocky Mountains from the East. Among his close friends were Purdie and Louie Vanderbilt, Dr. Boies Penrose of Philadelphia, W. H. Jackson, Owen Wister, Theodore Roosevelt, Dr. Meriam, the famous naturalist, and N. P. Langford, first Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park.

He lived at East Wilford, Idaho near St. Anthony, which was then known as Hog Hollow. He brought in many hunters and explorers into Jackson's Hole from Idaho. He worked as guide, not only for the Hayden Expedition, but other government agencies as well as important men who came hunting. Beaver Dick's family accompanied him on his guiding expeditions and lived in their own "wiki-up". He was a squaw man who raised two families.

872

He is described by a member of the Hayden U. S. Geological Expedition party in 1872 as quite a character. "He is an Englishman, has been engaged in trapping for 21 years, is perfectly familiar with all the accessible portion of the Rocky Mountains and has adopted many of the habits and pursuits of the Indians. We must depend upon his guidance in fording streams, crossing mountain passes and avoiding collisions with unfriendly Indians.



Figure 9 Richard (Beaver Dick) Leigh about 1872. His first Indian family who all died of smallpox.



Figure 10 Richard (Beaver Dick) Leigh's second family about 1883. Original of this picture owned by K. C. Allan and given to him by his Uncle Ern Chase. Photograph by Senator Penrose.

"His children already great favorites with our company, and his dusky wife seems a quiet inoffensive creature whose highest aim is to learn how best to serve her lord and master". Beaver Dick and his first family are pictured by the Hayden surveying party in 1872 on a trip into Jackson's Hole. (Figure 9).

1876

His first family was as follows: Jenny, his wife as a member of the Eastern Shoshone tribe; memorialized by Jenny Lake. She was born in 1849 and died December 17, 1876. Richard, Jr., born 1866, died December 26, 1876; namesake of his father. Ann Jane, born 1870, died December 24, 1876. William, born 1872, died December 25, 1876. Elizabeth, born 1874, died December 28, 1876. (Figure 9)

This first family all died of smallpox, introduced by the whites. In a letter to his friend, Josiah Curtis, Beaver Dick tells of the loss of his entire family when they all had died. The account is most pathetic and heart-rending. He tells of an Indian woman and her little girl coming to the Leigh cabin when they were camped about six miles west of Rexburg, Idaho by the Snake River. The woman was about to give birth and Jenny packed wood and food to the lodge door for her, but did not go in. The woman died after giving birth to the child. When Beaver Dick returned from hunting, he told his wife to care for the child. He thought the woman had died from childbirth. In four days the baby broke out with smallpox and died. Beaver Dick's family later all died within a few days of each other. Beaver Dick caught it, but recovered.

1866

He lived a lonely life after the death of his entire family. He accepted employment as a government scout which would require him to take long trips to forget. Some of these were made in great haste to convey important information upon some phase of military service. In 1866, General Howard employed him to guide his troops in the pursuit of Chief Joseph. He also continued to take important men into the Jackson's Hole country on hunting and exploratory trips.

When he was about 50 years old, around 1880, he married a young Bannock Indian girl, Susan. Susan's parents' names were Tadpole and Pam-Pige-mena (John) and were full-blooded Bannocks. Beaver Dick and his new bride lived in a cabin by the Teton River in East Wilford. Three children were born to them: Emma in 1881, whose spouse was Mr. Thompson who died in 1940; William, born in 1884 and who died after enlisting in World War I; and Rose born about 1888 whose spouse was Mr. Koops, and she is still living in Salmon, Idaho (now on the Blackfoot Indian Reservation



Figure 11. Rose Koops (Beaver Dick's only living child),  
July 30, 1970.  
This picture taken by the Teton National Park  
Service on her visit as a guest of the Teton  
County Historical Society at Jenny Lake, Wyoming,  
at the ceremony for her.

in Idaho) --the only living child of Beaver Dick. She is a spry 80-year old. 1/ (Figure 10, 11)

Dr. Mitchell, in his diary, describes Beaver Dick: "In the edge of a swamp, 3 miles from our camp, Beaver Dick and his prospecting party (2 gentlemen of about 50) were making camp, assisted by Beaver Dick's wife, an Indian, a strapping girl, his daughter, and 2 or 3 small fry. A round shouldered, long-bearded, big nosed old man, with a clear light blue eye is B. D. -- 50 odd years in the Rockies, and drops his H's like a hansom cabby in the Strand; has married 2 squaws, a Bannock and a Shoshone, so has endless Indian friends and relatives, besides 14 children of his own; very talkative, like all the mountain men and old trappers; 28 years scout, guide and interpreter for the Army, trapper, pioneer, and real frontiersman, hating the encroachment of settlements, and keeping away from them, till now he is getting too old and has to spend his winters in a house, but packing his ponies and starting out every summer with his wife, two girls and a boy, living 3 or 4 months in the Teton range. He is to come tomorrow and show us how to get through the canyon without wings!"

He goes on to describe their perilous descent into the canyon and rough trail and how they decided if B.D., a man of 65 and a horse of 3 could do it, he could. They finally reached a great circular basin, surrounded by mountains, divided too by several rough ridges running lengthwise through it and filled with the sound of a dozen streams and at the south end a great rough wall of mountain, half covered with snow, closed the view. "We explored the basin under Dick's guidance, partly to make sure of our other way out, namely, via Bitch Creek and the Conant trail. The valley is even more beautiful than I had thought, and when we scaled the sharp edge of a ridge to the southwest and looked down into a little basin with a deep emerald green--beyond over Idaho, with Mt. Moran to our left seen over snow fields. The old man, (B.D.) talked for an hour over the fire before he started for "home" and was very interesting -- Indians, ways, tribes, tongues, trappers, and the old fur companies' days, the early expeditions in the Yellowstone Co." 2/

1/ - Allan, Esther, Jackson Hole Guide. July 30, 1970. An article "Beaver Dick's Family to Visit Jackson".

2/ - Jackson Hole Guide. "Teton County Has Colorful Past". Floy Tonkin, Editor. Aug. 5, 1965. (Excerpts from the diary of Dr. Mitchell).

Beaver Dick recalled that in the hard winter of 1857 in Teton Valley, a large herd of buffalo perished in the deep snow. For many years he once lived on Beaver Dick Island near the mouth of the Teton River with his first wife.

Dick Weaver and John Karns trapped with Beaver Dick in the seventies, and eighties. Karns lived in Jackson's Hole with his squaw in the eighties.

Ernest Chase, uncle of K. C. (Sunny) Allan, lived on the adjoining ranch to Beaver Dick and was a good neighbor. Their children went to the same school in East Wilford, Idaho. One day a package came for Beaver Dick, which Erne Chase brought to him. When Beaver Dick opened it and saw it was a picture, he said, "Here Chase, you can have this". It was a photograph taken by Senator Penrose of Beaver Dick's second family when Beaver Dick had taken Senator Penrose on a hunting trip. Sunny's uncle gave it to Sunny years ago, and as far as is known, it is the only picture taken in the early years of the second family. From it, many copies have been made. (Figure 10)

Beaver Dick died March 29, 1899 and his grave, that we have visited, overlooks the Snake River at East Wilford, Idaho on a small knoll where he had his ranch. Leigh Lake is named after him and at one time String Lake was called Beaver Dick Lake. (Figure 12)

The Teton County Historical Society invited Rose Koops and her relatives to be their guest in 1970. She was especially honored by both the Teton National Forest and Teton National Park as well as the Historical Society, who sponsored her visit. It was not only to honor her, but to recognize and honor Beaver Dick's role in Jackson Hole history. 1/ (Figure 11)

Herb Whiteman, early settler of Jackson Hole told us some stories about Beaver Dick. He took a silk man on a hunt. Emma helped him so much that he sent her a piece of silk. Emma and her mother made a dress like a Mother Hubbard--no machine, no pattern and no style.

The silk dealer, Patterson, as well as many others, hunted with Beaver Dick. Among these English parties was General Carpenter, who was with the Negro cavalry and hunted mostly mountain sheep which were plentiful and used 390.40 rifles. Carpenter moved in with Dick's family and hunted mostly with Sue and

1/ Allan, Esther, Jackson Hole Guide. July 30, 1970. An article, "Beaver Dick's Family to Visit Jackson".



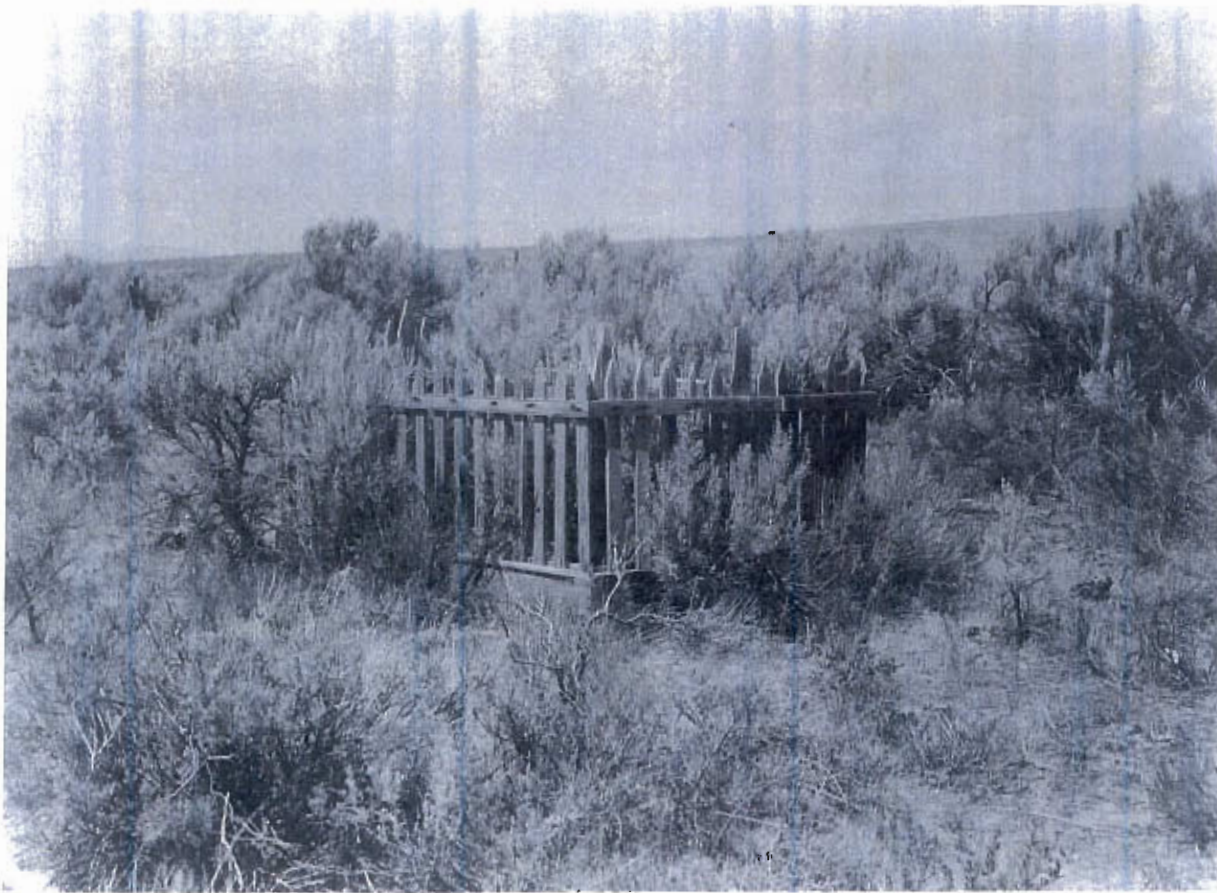


Figure 12. "Beaver Dick's grave at East Wilford,  
Idaho, overlooking the Snake River  
where he had a ranch.  
Photo by K. C. Allan.

Emma. The Herb Whiteman ranch was at the head of Jackson Lake near Arrowhead Point, and Dick's camp was just ahead of Herb's. Dr. Seward Webb was also with General Carpenter in camp. Beaver Dick always returned to Wilford, Idaho loaded with plenty of game meat after these Jackson Hole hunting trips. Dick brought out Mr. Carnegie. The Carnegie boys went to a dance and paid for everything. They got a big kick out of the square dances. Uncle Ern Chase, (Sunny Allan's uncle) asked Sue to dance with him. She did and they gave the boys a real show. Everyone stopped dancing to watch them.

1892

Theodore Roosevelt who went on an elk hunt in the Two Ocean country in 1892, said he encountered the Leigh's camp in that area and had a visit with Beaver Dick and his family. 1/

1/ - Notes from an interview with Herb Whiteman in 1934 at the Blackrock Ranger Station and from notes taken from K. C. (Sunny) Allan.

2. John Sargent and Robert Ray Hamilton

1886  
1890 John Dudley Sargent came to Jackson's Hole for the first time in 1886. Robert Ray Hamilton of New York City became his partner in 1890. Both these men were remittance men. Jackson's Hole over the years had a number of these remittance men. They were paid to stay away from home by their wealthy parents. Hamilton, grandson of Alexander Hamilton, got into trouble with a woman in New York and there was a breach-of-promise suit against him, so he came to Jackson's Hole to hide out. Both men had plenty of money and lived high while the money lasted. They built an elegant log lodge of ten rooms in the area of Jackson Lake above Leek's camp. In those days it was customary for wealthy men to have a hunting lodge in which to entertain friends and take them on "safari". Too, Sargent and Hamilton thought they would start a dude ranch this way with paying guests, but it didn't work out. They brought in tie-hacks from Ashton, Idaho who whipped-sawed the logs and put the corners together with pegs and called it Merymere.

1890 Sargent moved his wife, Adelaide, and their baby son to the ranch in October of 1890, bringing them in by way of the Conant Trail. Mrs. Sargent rode horseback and held the baby in her arms. 1/

The two men freighted in many luxurious items for the lodge, including an 18-foot boat brought in by a bunch of Swedes from Marysvale. Many strange stories are told about their activities. The boat was said to have sunk in Jackson Lake.

1891 Hamilton did not live long enough to see their dreams come true. In 1891 he disappeared on a hunting trip and three days later searchers found his drowned body and that of his horse with an antelope tied on the saddle. Legend has it that according to a pre-arranged plan, when his body was found the searching party was to build a fire on top of a nearby mountain to let searchers know -- hence the name, "Signal Mountain". 2/ The incident occurred when Sargent and Hamilton had attempted to cross a ford at the outlet of Jackson Lake, or near there. Sargent went out to Idaho and hired K. C. (Sunny Allan's ) uncle, Ern Chase, to take a message to the nearest telegraph office. Mr. Chase rode horseback from Mud Lake for ten dollars. It was believed that Sargent had killed his partner, but was never proved.

1/ - Jackson Hole Guide. "Teton County Has Colorful Past"

2/ - Notes made by Esther Allan in an interview with Herb Whiteman, early settler of Moran. (1933 and 1934).

Sargent had a store about two hundred yards above his house on the old Sheridan Trail. He had to go to South Landing about two miles from Leek's Camp to get groceries and supplies. He would bring them back either on a scow or raft. He had a sign at his place with the letters M & M for Merymere, but other people called it the Milk and Music place as that was all they got when they stopped in. Short of funds, he put a mortgage on his store for \$1300. Robert Miller and Herbert H. Drake, Mrs. Sargent's brother, held the mortgage.

1897 On May 15, 1897, (Mrs. Sargent's birthday), Mrs. Sargent died of injuries said to have been inflicted by her husband. Some soldiers who had come by the ranch heard screams and stopped to find out if Mrs. Sargent was injured. They knocked on a window but Sargent wouldn't come to the door. They reported the incident. D. C. Nowlin and Bill Manning got Mrs. Sam Osborne and brought her along to help Mrs. Sargent. It was the middle of winter so they loaded Mrs. Sargent on a sled and took her to Jackson where she died a few days later. Brown and Warty Jones told Sargent they were going to lynch him on his pinto horse. Sargent left and rode through Yellowstone Park. He was tried later for murder, but evidently was not convicted. Sargent left and didn't return till 1899.

Within a few years he married a woman from Philadelphia who lived at Merymere for several years. People thought she was crazy because of the queer things she did. Her family paid Sargent \$30.00 a month to keep her out of their sight and he continued taking the money after they were married. She used to go out naked in the forest around the lodge with her violin and a sack of peanuts with ordinary mittens on her feet instead of shoes, and with the ends flapping. She was a good left-handed violinist and a pianist. Herb Whiteman said she wasn't crazy, but that Sargent took away all her clothes and she had to go around without any. Al Austen, when he was an early ranger on a patrol trip tells of seeing her hide in a bush because she was naked. She wanted Al to give her some paper to write a letter to her folks. She wrote the letter and Al took it to mail.

Sargent was most abusive to his children and there were several trials. The children were finally taken care of by neighbors. They finally sentenced him to six months for the possible murder of Hamilton and his first wife. It didn't stick.

1913 Being alone and without funds, Sargent committed suicide in the spring of 1913. He had put on a violin record and when a high note was reached, his gun went off. Herb Whiteman found him

when he went to investigate why he hadn't shown up on the day he was suppose to.

The property was sold\* to Mr. W. L. Johnson, a wealthy dude, and is now owned by the Alfred Berol Estate 1/

\* - After Sargent killed himself, the property was sold for taxes. After Mr. Johnson's death, it was willed by him to a children's orphanage who never used it.

1/ - Notes made by Esther Allan in an interview with Herb Whiteman, early settler of Moran, (1933 and 1934).

3. Emile and Marie Wolff

1893

Emile Wolff was born in Belgium in 1854. His grandfather was one of Napoleon's orderlies. Emile came to the United States when he was sixteen and enlisted in the U. S. Army. He received his discharge at Ft. Hall, Idaho where he had learned much about medicine by helping the army doctor for five years. This knowledge came in handy when he homesteaded in a pioneer land. He bought a farm in Teton Basin and farmed there for a couple of years, then was called back to Belgium to care for his mother who was ill. There he met and courted Marie and brought her back to this country about 1893. They spent their summer at the Smykal place where he built a cabin on his homestead near the Spread Creek area. Emile saw that water was necessary to raise hay on his place, so he spent several years digging a ditch from Spread Creek, five miles away. This proved very profitable, for the ranch became one of the valley's finest. Marie was a fine singer, and Emile played a zither, so their four children grew up with music. An opportunity came to get an old piano, and they all learned to play and sing. The piano, now in the Jackson Hole museum (later taken from there to the daughter's home near Wilson) was first brought in by John Sargent, who ferried it across Jackson Lake on a raft. While it was being ferried across the Buffalo River it fell into the water, and was reconditioned by Mrs. Wolff.

Mr. Wolff didn't get his cabin built until late in the fall so he chinked it with cow manure to keep out the snow and cold. While he was away on a trip, Mrs. Wolff decided that she didn't want that stinking stuff in her new bridal home, so she spent days digging it all out with a knife. When the first snow came, she realized what a mistake she had made.

1903-  
1904

It is interesting to note that Emile Wolff and Robert Miller first homesteaded what is now the townsite of Jackson, but Emile relinquished his and later filed on Spread Creek. His patent to the land was signed by Theodore Roosevelt. He and Miller brought the first wagon into Jackson Hole by dismantling it and bringing it in on horseback. The Wolffs. were true pioneers who lived out their lives in the valley. Emile worked for the Forest Service in the early days, 1903-1904, as a ranger in the north country. 1/

1/ - Jackson Hole Guide. "Teton County Has a Colorful Past".

#### 4. Robert E. Miller

Robert Miller entered Jackson Hole in 1882. Realizing the great possibilities of the area, he returned in 1885 to become Jackson Hole's first life-long resident. He established a ranch on property that now adjoins the town of Jackson. He married Grace Green of Ottawa, Illinois, on October 26, 1893. They had one child who died in infancy.

Mr. and Mrs. Miller were prominently active in founding the town of Jackson and in developing Jackson Hole. His homestead is now part of the Refuge operation. At first he was a trapper\*, a two-hundred pound man who built his empire on his 12% lendings. He trapped and hunted the valley in 1882, returned to locate in 1885 when he became a life-long resident.

1882  
1885

His fine log house (Figure 13) on the present Elk Refuge, contrasted strikingly with the one-room cabin he bought from an early outlaw. When he brought his wife to Jackson Hole, they found the first cabin stripped of its flooring. Some enterprising neighbor had taken it to build a flume while the owner was absent on his wedding trip. Mrs. Miller began housekeeping on a dirt floor.

Miller had a knack for acquiring land and livestock. He was usually one jump ahead of everyone. Mrs. Miller was the first in the valley to file a desert claim (claimant was required to irrigate waterless land).

1902

When the Teton National Forest was established in 1902, Miller became the first Supervisor and served for sixteen years. He sold out his home in 1914 on what is now the Elk Refuge and moved to Jackson where he built another large home that now belongs to the William Mercills.

To a man resourceful enough to live off the country, Miller's salary as a Forest Supervisor, was an extra dividend. Years later he boasted he still had the first dollar he made. Few others in the valley had a flow of cash. Miller became the financier of the community -- the lender. "Old 12 percent" they called him, for he charged high, just as he collected one and a half tons for every ton of hay he furnished the Mormon settlers that first struggling winter.

Miller told an old timer he "bought" the home place (on the Elk Refuge) from the outlaw, Teton Jackson, or his lieutenant

\* Note: In 1886 Robert Miller and W. F. Arnn trapped Ditch Creek Canyon taking \$160 in fur in 12 days.



Figure 13. ROBERT E. MILLER home on the present  
Elk Refuge.  
Courtesy Teton County Historical Society.



Thompson; but the Land Office records Miller as the first owner. The outlaws certainly had no desire to record their hideout with the U. S. Government who was looking for them, and Miller no doubt made a good bargain for possession. Logs from the original outlaw cabin went into other buildings now on the Elk Refuge.

1901 In 1901 Miller received a grazing permit on May 31st, for 200 head of cattle and Grace E. Miller received one on June 25th for 200. Both were for May 15 to October 15 on "all timbered lands within the reserve; the stock to be allowed only in the open parks and not to be allowed to congregate in large bunches along the streams, nor to be herded in the timber".

The old timers of Jackson Hole formed a brotherhood, or club and dug up \$90 between them. Bob Miller was the secretary and whatever they wanted to do they all went in together. Each man wore a red bandana for a badge. If you saw a man in the country without the bandana, you knew he was a stranger. 1/

Mrs. Miller was Mayor of Jackson for two terms beginning in June of 1920 when the town had an all-woman government. Press coverage brought Jackson Hole attention nationwide. It was called Jackson's "petticoat government". "A photograph of the town officers was transported from Jackson to the river by automobile, crossed the dangerous torrent in a frail scow, and was carried by wagon and sled through the mountains to the railroad at Rexburg, Idaho." A print of this photograph hangs in the Congressional Library in Washington, D. C.

On May 11, 1920, a slate of women defeated a slate of men, two to one, in the largest vote ever registered in the town, up to then, earning Jackson a place in history as the first town in the United States to be governed entirely by women. It is interesting to note that in 1920 the nation had decided to ratify the 19th Amendment and the women of Jackson took advantage of being allowed to vote and more, to get into office. It was also the first women's Lib movement. Mayor Miller is quoted as saying, "We are not campaigning for the office because we felt the need of pressing reforms. The voters of Jackson believe that women are not only entitled to equal suffrage, but they are also entitled to equality in the management of governmental affairs."

1/ - Jackson Hole News, September 17, 1970.

Others on the all-women slate were:

Councilwomen: Mrs. Mae Deloney, Mrs. Rose Crabtree, (she defeated her husband, Henry), Mrs. Faustina Haight, and Mrs. Genevieve Van Vleck. Town Marshall, Pearl Williams Hupp; Marta Winger, Town Clerk and Mrs. Fae Deloney Porter, a clerk later. "Mrs. Dr. Huff" was appointed Health Officer.

Calvin Coolidge, then Governor of Massachusetts, congratulated the citizens of Jackson for electing women to all town offices, and paid high tribute "to the good sense" of the people of Jackson.

During Mrs. Miller's term, the town council never missed a meeting and never failed to have a quorum and they got things done. They secured title to the city cemetery and built a road to it. They met the conditions which gave Jackson the ground for Frontier Park (where the fairground is), laid out the city and improved the streets. They instructed their Marshall Hupp to "abate any nuisance occasioned by loose stock, keeping pigs within city limits and garbage and manure piles remaining unmoved." On August 6, 1920, they passed an ordinance prohibiting the firing of fire-crackers or explosives of like nature. They started plans for the drilling of a town well and granted permission to E. C. Benson to occupy the streets and alleys of the town with poles, wires, appliances and appurtenances for electric lighting and power purposes.

Their salaries per year were: Mayor, \$25; Councilwomen, \$20; Health Officer, \$25; and Clerk \$100. 1/

In 1914, Miller organized the Jackson State Bank with most of the \$10,000 capital subscribed by local citizens. Nearly everyone was mortgaged to Miller at one time or another. When Rockefeller decided to buy the lands for the National Park, Miller was employed at a high salary to buy up the lands. The pressure of his mortgages closed many a deal. "Now is the time to pay off", he explained. "I want to count all my money".

Miller resigned on June 30, 1918 after serving as Forest Supervisor for 16 years. He received a beginning salary of \$1500 per year. His home on the Elk Refuge has been preserved as an historical monument. 2/

1/ - Jackson Hole News, September 17, 1970.

2/ - Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyoming

5. Pierce Cunningham.

1885 Pierce Cunningham came into the valley in 1885, as a trapper. After two years he decided to homestead here. His cabin has been restored as an historical monument in Grand Teton National Park. Mrs. Cunningham was the only woman in a vast unsettled area until Emile Wolff brought his bride, Marie, to live at their homestead within walking distance. Although the two women spoke different languages at first, Mrs. Wolff soon learned English. The Cunningham cabin is famous because it was the scene of the shooting of two alleged horse thieves while the Cunninghams were wintering "outside". In 1892, Cunningham let two men from Montana, Mike Burnett and George Spencer, winter a herd of horses there. (Note: this story will be included later in this manuscript). A short distance north of the Cunningham cabin once stood an old log fort which was built during the Indian scare of 1895. The Cunninghams used the post office that was established in the upper valley and later moved to the Wolff Ranch where Mrs. Wolff was post-mistress for fourteen years.

6. Charlie Hedrick.

1896 Charlie came into the valley with a companion in 1896 over Togwotee Pass. There was no road at that time, but there was a well-marked Indian trail. When they came into the valley they stopped first with two homesteaders, John Cherry and Jack Shive. (Jack Shive lived at the present site of the old Blackrock Ranger Station). Mr. Hedrick said it was in one of their cabins that he saw his first elk migration. There was a big snowstorm up in the hills and on November 1, the elk came running down to the valley. He thought there were thousands of them. The men holed up in the cabin until they were past, as it was like a stampede.

He liked the country, and returned in 1899 to make it his home. He homesteaded in the upper country about ten miles north of the present Moose village, and in 1904 brought his bride to live there. He tried raising beaver in captivity, it is said, but keeping them under fence proved too much. He carried the mail for some years, ranched and trapped, and was at one time a Teton County Commissioner.

7. The Charles Allen Family.

1896 In 1896, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Allen, their daughter and husband, Mr. and Mrs. James A. Budge, the James May family, and the Roy McBride family came over from American Falls by way of Teton Pass in a covered wagon. The trip took fourteen days and

Mrs. Budge often told of the big adventure -- how much fun they had on the long trip; how thick the mosquitoes were; how the girls walked behind the wagon on the way up Teton Pass and rescued the eggs which the hens laid as they rolled along down the wagons to the end-gates. The Allens stayed first at the Johnny Carnes ranch and later homesteaded near Moran where they had a store and postoffice..

8. John Bircher.

1897 John Bircher arrived in Jackson in 1897. He homesteaded the Morrison Ranch south of Wilson. In 1906 he moved to the west side of Teton Pass and opened a sawmill and road house. People came over Teton Pass by horse-drawn sleighs and wagons. His inn was a favorite stopping place for travelers. From July 1900-1901, he carried the mail twice a week over Teton Pass which was then contracted for the daily mail. He assisted his brother, Will Bircher, and Andy Bowles. After cars started coming in, he built a service station and auto camp at the road-house site on Coal Creek, which is now a Forest Service campground.

9. The James Budge Family.

1897 The James Budge family arrived in 1897 and are an example of the hardworking early settlers that came and improved the land. In 1897, Mr. Budge filed on a homestead east of Blacktail Butte, where they lived for 44 years. They made the new land into a fertile ranch with a fine garden and orchard. The buildings were removed after the place was sold to Teton Park, but some of the old apple trees still bloom. "Aunt Nan" had a saddle horse which would stand in the middle of the stream and let her fish. She spent 65 of her years in Jackson Hole and had many descendants.

10. James R. Simpson.

1894 James Simpson arrived in 1894 and homesteaded the Red Rock Ranch on Crystal Creek. In 1913 he started a drugstore in Jackson, which he sold to Bruce Porter in 1919. (E. C. Steele had the first drugstore in Jackson). Jimmy was a guide and outfitter for big game hunting with a wide renown among the big game hunters. He was appointed to the first Fish and Game Commission created by the State Legislature. He was chairman for several years and made it a strong working organization. He helped Holly Leek and his family run the Turpin Meadows Dude Ranch at the foot of Togwotee Pass which was a Forest Service lease. He left for Alaska with the Leeks in 1933.

11. William Owen.

92 William Owen came to Jackson Hole in 1892. He was a civil  
engineer, a surveyor of lands and irrigation ditches and  
made the first ascent of Grand Teton. He was U. S. Examiner  
of Surveys for fifteen years and did mineral surveys in Wyoming.  
92 He carried the first lines for public surveys over Gros Ventre  
95 Mountains into Jackson Hole in 1892 and over Wind River Mountains  
in 1895. He did a bicycle tour of Yellowstone in 1883. He first  
saw the Tetons in 1883. Mount Owen bears his name and Emma  
Matilda Lake is named after his wife. (Figure 8)

12. Owen Wister

80- Owen Wister, author of "The Virginian", pack-tripped through  
90 the upper country in the 1880's and 1890's. He later built a  
home on the road from Moose to Wilson in the area of what is  
now the R Lazy S Ranch. The building has been preserved there.  
Mount Wister was named in his honor. The first ascent of this  
mountain, which is rimmed by higher peaks and canyon walls,  
was made on September 23, 1928 by Phil Smith and Oliver Zierlein.  
The official government register was placed on its summit on  
August 16, 1931 by Fritiof Fryxell.

13. Sylvester Cheney

89 Sylvester Cheney, son of Selar and Mary came to the valley in  
the fall of 1889. He put up wild hay from the swamp. Selar  
Cheney, Charles Wilson and John Wilson came that same year.  
Becky Robertson came along to cook and camp with them. They  
came in from St. Anthony, which was the end of the railroad line  
then. Sylvester was an active rancher. Joseph Howard Cheney, son  
of Selar and Mary Wilson Cheney, was the first white boy to be  
born in Jackson on June 20, 1891 in South Park.

14. Cora Barber

91 Cora Barber rode over Teton Pass on a horse behind her mother  
when she was four years old. Her father homesteaded east of  
Gros Ventre Butte (now Boetcher Hill). She and her family came  
to the valley in 1891. William Owen, who made the first official  
survey, found their house outside the property line. Her father,  
"Slough Grass" Martin Nelson had to move his house. He probably  
got his name from the swampy area in which he lived, which is  
now part of the Elk Refuge, and where he raised wild hay. Cora  
attended the first school in the valley at South Park.

15. Fannie Robertson
- 1896 Fannie Robertson came as a baby to Jackson Hole in 1896, in a covered wagon. She helped care for the sick as most of the wives did in those early days and her husband carried the mail from Jackson to South Park.
16. Mrs. Martin Nelson, who came to Jackson in 1888 claimed to be the first pioneer woman in the valley.
17. Albert Nelson
- 1912 Albert Nelson was born in 1912 at Moran, homesteaded the Gros Ventre in Kelly. As a teen-ager, he worked for the Forest Service building drift fences, ditches, trails and cabins on the entire Gros Ventre drainage. The Kelly flood wiped out his family home, so he moved to Jackson to work as a carpenter.
18. Effie May Foster
- 1900 Effie May Foster came with her family to Jackson Hole in 1900. They left Oregon by wagon train. Effie rode horseback all the way as her job was to care for the cattle and horses. They came up the Green River and Grovont to the valley. They homesteaded the Giltner Ranch which is now the Resor Ranch. She worked with Dr. Huff as mid-wife.
19. Noble Gregory
- 1897 In 1897 he headed for the West during the gold rush days. He lost his map at Landers' Crossing below South Pass and found himself at the divide at Bacon Creek, so he traveled down it to Jackson Hole. He hadn't planned on coming here. He panned gold in the Snake River and worked at the YY Ranch with cattle. He froze his feet the first winter and had to stay in his cabin till spring. He carried the mail between Elk and Moran about 1900; collected elk tusks; ranched; worked on the dam at Moran. His early mail carrying was done horseback summers, sleighs in winter and even on homemade skis hewn from logs.
20. Stephen N. Leek
- 1888 He first came to the valley in 1888 with friend Nicholas Gass and they spent the winters of 1888 and 1889 at Jackson Lake. He later mentioned the terrible fires of 1889. That year there were forty people living in the valley and by 1891 there were 100. Stephen homesteaded southwest of the town of Jackson.

In 1893, he set up the first water-power sawmill in Jackson Hole, on Mill Creek, about four miles up Mosquito Creek which turns off the Fall Creek Road 4.4 miles south of Wilson. The machinery for the mill was brought over Teton Pass from Market Lake, Idaho, and his friend Ed Blair helped him set up the mill. This was the first of the "firsts", he said.

His interests and skills were widely varied. He was an ardent and expert photographer, taking hundreds of pictures of the valley, its wildlife, and particularly the elk. He would hide in haystacks "or, camouflaged in white against the snow, with white camera, Leek would creep close to the slow moving herd, shout 'Hey' and every animal, lifting its head or hoof alertly, gave his momentary pose for the picture." Remnants of the tree house from which he photographed Jackson Lake and the Tetons, can still be seen near his old lodge on the lake. His interest in the elk, however, went far beyond using them for his pictures. During the 1880's and 1890's, as people came into the area from outside Jackson Hole, more and more elk sought shelter in the valley where the forage was inadequate, and living skeletons of once noble specimens wandered aimlessly through the snow. The ranchers tried to feed them, but had to protect their own needed hay supply by putting fences around their haystacks. (Figures 14, 15, 16 and 44)

S. N. Leek took and circulated pictures of the desperate animals in nationwide newspapers and magazines. The old timers tell of the winter of 1908-09 when one could walk miles on the strewn bodies of dead elk. Thanks chiefly to S. N. Leek's pictures, lectures, and articles, there was widespread public concern over the possible extinction of the herd. In 1909 the Wyoming legislature appropriated \$5,000 for grain to feed them. In 1911, the U. S. Congress appropriated \$20,000 toward hay purchases. During the succeeding two years, Congress bought property along Flat Creek above Jackson totaling 1,760 acres, and added, 1,040 acres of unentered public land to form the National Elk Refuge. Additional government purchases and donations by the Izaak Walton League in 1927 and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in 1949, have enlarged the Refuge to its present size of more than 23,000 acres.

Mr. Leek, who became Uinta County (later Teton) representative in the Wyoming State Legislature in 1907, helped draft legislation for the protection of the elk and especially against the tusk hunters.

Stephen Leek had the first dude ranch in Jackson Hole. He set up a tent camp and later built log cabins at Leek's Lodge on

Figure 14. Hay loft with protective boards.  
Jackson Hole, early 1940's.



Figure 15. Feeding the elk, early 1940's.



Figure 16. S. N. Leek feeding the elk in the winter of 1919 or 1920. A. C. McCain took the picture



the shore of Jackson Lake. He guided many famous men on hunting trips. He looked for and found evidence of the earliest white men to come through this area, such as the carving, O.S. 1837 on the bark of aspen trees in two different places; or the ancient dugout canoe he found in a beaver pond on his place.

He made the first moving pictures and showed them on the first projector in Jackson Hole, 1919. His pictures were exhibited throughout the country on the Orpheum Circuit. A grateful editor of Recreation Magazine gave him the first victrola in the valley. He had the first grain binder; the first radio, it was an old Atwater Kent with three dials to tune it and operate off of car batteries.

He was, of course, in great demand to take pictures of all the big events -- dances, rodeos, etc. His pictures appeared frequently in the Jackson's Hole Courier which started in 1909. In 1933, Leek's dairy supplied Jackson with milk. He helped organize the winter festivals. He was also a poet and philosopher. He did a great deal to publicize Jackson Hole, its scenery and wildlife. He helped save the elk herd for future generations.

His late son, Holly Leek, followed in his father's footsteps as photographer, historian and naturalist. He married Etta Wilson, daughter of Elijah Nicholas Wilson, for whom Wilson, Wyoming is named. They had two sons, Holly and Lester. Mr. Leek and his son Lester ran the Turpin Meadows Dude Ranch in the early thirties. Jimmy Simpson was also a partner of Lester's at Turpin.

21. Cal Carrington

1870 In the 1870's a young man came into the valley and settled on a tract of land near Sheep Mountain, at the head of Flat Creek. No one knew his name but he guided many hunters. Among them was a wealthy Englishman by the name of Carrington. The Englishman had a most successful hunt and was impressed by the young man's ability. One day Carrington asked what his name was. "Don't have any", said the young man. Further conversation brought out the story that he had been adopted by a man whom he detested and at the first opportunity he ran away from his foster home, and because he hated the man, he refused to be known by the man's name. The Englishman advised Cal that he couldn't go on through life nameless, and after due consideration offered his name as a surname. Cal accepted it, then the discussion turned to a first name. As Cal was always talking about going to California, the Englishman suggested "California", Cal for short. So from then on he was Cal Carrington.

After he got his name, Cal filed on his piece of land as a homestead, later selling to Countess Gisycka. It is still known to old timers as the "Countess' place". Cal ran the ranch for the Countess for many years until she stopped coming to Jackson Hole. Cal mostly guided dudes and was an early Forest Ranger or Assistant Ranger in 1905 and was then known as Enoch Carrington, it is said.

22. W. C. "Pap" Deloney

1900 W. C. "Pap" Deloney, a Jackson resident since 1900, was active in political circles: Wyoming Legislature, 1919-1927; State Senator, author of bill creating Wyoming Game and Fish Commission and making it self-sustaining; creating Teton County in 1919, State Inspector School lands. He had a general merchandise store with his father. It was the heart of the town for gathering the latest news, shopping and visiting. It also acted as bank for the settlers who settled up their bills once a year when they sold cattle. Hunting guides left their cash with him to draw on as they needed it.

23. The William L. Simpsons

1892 He moved to Jackson Hole in 1892 to homestead the land that is now Jackson. For a number of years he worked as a cowhand. W. C. Deloney and Bill Simpson operated the first grocery store in 1899. Simpson studied law in the office of Douglas A. Price at Lander, Wyoming, and was admitted to the bar in July, 1892. He was the first lawyer in Wyoming to be admitted on oral examination in open court. 1/

He was active in establishing the status of wild game in the State of Wyoming. He served as a member of the Game & Fish Commission for the State of Wyoming for a number of years. He was the father of Milward Simpson, who was Senator and Governor of Wyoming. The grocery store was built on Simpson's homestead. In 1901, lots were surveyed for the Town of Jackson on this homestead.

Mrs. William Simpson moved to Jackson in 1892, a true pioneer woman of the West. She named the post office of Jackson and became its postmistress. She laid out two separate additions to the town of Jackson (the original townsite being laid out and dedicated to her son, William Lee Simpson). She saw log

1/ Manuscript material from Milward L. Simpson, Cody, Wyoming, December, 1945 and from a tape done of Mrs. William Simpson in 1972 by Esther Allan.

cabins of pioneers replaced by modern houses and buildings. She knew the area in its primitive state. She lived to be one hundred years of age and recently died in Cody in 1974.

24. Benjamin Sheffield

1903 In 1903, Benjamin Sheffield bought some land and a toll bridge near the town of Moran from Frank Lovell. In 1906, the Moran post office was turned over to Mr. Sheffield. He continued to operate the toll bridge from 1903-1910. When the wooden dam at the outlet broke, it swept away the toll bridge. He ran the store at Moran. He purchased a place near the dam at Moran in 1903 from Lovell and operated it as the first big dude ranch until 1928. A number of people were employed by him to help run the ranch. He brought in dudes from Yellowstone and other parts of the country. His first trip to the Jackson Hole country was made in 1888 when he came through Yellowstone Park from Livingston. He returned each season after that with hunting parties until he settled at Moran. His brother, Ed Sheffield was at the Flagg Ranch but never filed on it. After Ben sold out, he worked for the Forest Service as lookout in the late thirties and early forties on Signal Mountain where he lived in a tent during the fire season. The Forest Service later built a permanent lookout station and he was no longer molested by bear coming into his tent.

25. Herb Whiteman

1895 Herb Whiteman settled near the present site of the Moran Dam after he sold out his place near Arrowhead Point above Moran on Jackson Lake. There were then only a few people in that area including five soldiers who were stationed on the south boundary of Yellowstone Park. Herb was a cattleman and helped many people in time of trouble. He arrived in 1895.

26. J. G. Imeson

1902 He had a hard trip trying to get to Jackson Hole about 1900. He had traded his land for 400 horses in 1896 and headed south to sell the horses. There were horse raids when he arrived in Arkansas and he only had 18 of his horses left. In 1902 he arrived in Jackson Hole. He and Don Imeson were among the first rangers for the Forest Service. He surveyed and helped build the first road through Hoback Canyon and surveyed the Teton Pass road. The roads were built by hand. He counted elk, on skis; cleared for telephone lines, provided his own transportation, housing and board out of his \$90.00 a month salary from the Forest Service. He had the U Lazy U cattle ranch in South Park.

He put into effect the transfer of the Gros Ventre waters into Flat Creek for irrigating (he had help on this from other ranches). Imeson and Pete Hansen represented Wyoming in negotiations to protect the ranchers' water interests.

27. The Ervin Wilsons

1889 The Ervin Wilsons and baby son came in with the party headed by "Uncle Nick" Wilson in 1889. They had a hard winter, but managed to pull through. Their second child, Effie Jane, was born in March, 1891, to be the first white child born in the valley. In the fall of 1890 they moved into their first home, a one-room cabin with dirt floor, which was soon covered with rough planks. For lights they used a saucer of elk tallow with a rag wick.

1890

Mrs. Wilson remembered the great migrations of antelope in those days. She also often saw Indians who would stop for coffee, sugar or flour, and would trade buckskin for it. An Indian woman taught her how to tan hides and showed her how to make moccasins.

Ervin always worked hard to improve his 320 acre ranch even with his poor health. The first schoolhouse was built on his place in 1896.

28. Charles Wort

1893 Charles Wort came into the valley in 1893 to see his brother and half-brother who had homesteaded here. In 1889 he brought his bride, Luella, and they lived on their homestead for many years. Here their three sons were born. Moving to Jackson, Mr. Wort operated a livery stable (where the Wort Hotel now stands). His dream for many years was to put up a really nice hotel, as he was sure this would become a thriving community in time. The Worts ran a fishing and hunting camp lodge on Jackson Lake near Moran, the Signal Mountain Lodge. Mr. Wort never lived to see his dream of a hotel in Jackson, but his sons built it later after they had sold out their interest in the Signal Mountain Lodge.

29. Al M. Austen

1889 Al M. Austen first visited Jackson Hole in 1889. After his wife died, he was so broken-up that he started off on horseback and just wandered from place to place. He worked at different jobs, mines mostly, so he could eat. He finally ended up in Jackson Hole as he had liked it so much on his first visit.

1900

This was in about 1900. (Figure 18)



Figure 17. Al M. Austen - 1939  
Early Forest Service ranger and wildlife  
photographer. Photograph by Esther Allan.



Figure 18. Al M. Austen's cabin near Jackson in the early 1900's.

Courtesy of Teton County Historical Society.

Al had an interesting youth, which explains his later life and love of nature. He was one of a set of twins. His mother had two other small children and couldn't manage with two new babies. His family lived close to a tribe of Blackfeet Indians and Lizzy Moore, a half-breed, took Al to raise at the Indian village. Al was well-nourished, he said, as Lizzy and the other squaws who had small papooses took turns nursing him. Al was raised as an Indian boy during the early years of his life which greatly influenced his beliefs -- he learned to think and live as an Indian.

He had developed, for one thing, an ability to photograph animals by stalking them like an Indian stalks for the kill. He also learned to play on the animal's curiosity and seemed to sense when an animal would be around the next bend. This served him well in his fine animal pictures.

In the early 1900's Al acted as guide for different well-known men, both on hunts and photographic expeditions but especially to study wildlife. Mr. Eastman, of the Eastman Kodak Company was one of them. He took him on several trips into the wilderness and it was Eastman that got Al started in earnest on his photography of wildlife. Eastman was Al's great friend for the rest of his life and sent Al gifts of kodaks and late equipment and it was one of these, a telephoto lens (then unknown in Jackson Hole), that enabled him to get some tusk hunters convicted that had long been killing many elk both inside Yellowstone Park and outside -- the Purdy group. Many others tried to catch them but couldn't get a conviction because of lack of real evidence. Al got their pictures in the act of pulling the teeth from elk they had killed. It helped nail the conviction. Al was working for the Forest Service at the time, 1906-1916, as a temporary ranger. The animal pictures were excellent especially of the hard-to-get mountain sheep. From 1914 to 1916 he worked summers helping build the road over Teton Pass and just monkeyed around (his words) during the winters but did a lot of mechanical and building work around Jackson. He was handy with tools and did a great deal of work on cars and machinery. In 1917 he ran a garage in Jackson (now the Spicer Garage). He was a mechanic for Skinner and Eddy (the ship building company men) at the Hatchet Ranch above the town of Moran not far from the Blackrock Ranger Station, and which is still known by that name. After the war, he was an instructor-mechanic at the Russell Air Field. He started a flying company, the Le Grande Air School at Le Grande, Oregon, 1920-1922, but it failed and they lost \$3,000. He returned to Jackson Hole. (Figure 17)

In 1922, he returned to Jackson and was a mechanic. He later



was the first mechanic in Teton Park and continued to take pictures of wildlife that he used to illustrate his talks that he gave in the outdoor theater in Teton Park. His finest movies were made at this time.

He was a witness to the shooting of the supposed horse thieves at the Cunningham Ranch and gave us the true story and took us to the spot where the "horse thieves" were buried on the old road that went by the Elk Ranch.

His early experiences in Jackson Hole, his knowledge of animals and pictures, his personal information of mysterious happenings in Jackson Hole and its early history, made him an interesting companion. He hated hunters with a passion and became our good friend when he found we shared his dislike of hunting.

The last few years of his life he spent his summers camping in back of the Arizona Guard Station taking pictures and living with nature. K. C. (Sunny) Allan, who was ranger of the Jackson Lake District, gave him permission to camp there.

He had long expressed his desire to die when his time came like an old bull elk, away from the herd, and in his favorite spot. He had long been sick and believed he had cancer. He had planned to die and had picked his spot as he didn't want to be a nuisance to his friends. He sorted all his possessions and gave them to his friends the last year. On the twentieth of October, 1940, Al came to see us and spent the entire day with us and it seemed very special somehow. He was in the best of spirits and anxious to tell us all that we wanted to know of his experiences and life. He returned on October 28th to bring us some of his things to keep for him, he said, as he was going to Montana for the winter. This was the last anyone ever saw of him.

None of us thought anything about this until he didn't return the next spring. He had planned it well. When his mail was returned to Jackson Hole and the snow had been gone for weeks with no sign of him, we began to wonder if he hadn't gone off to die like he planned. My husband decided that he just might have picked his favorite spot in back of the Arizona Station for his death. He asked two of his fire-guards\* who were going out to work on trails, to keep an eye out for his possible tent camp in back of the Arizona Station. They looked for days as

\* The two guards were Bud Thompson and Billy Ferrin.

they worked the trails and on June 11, 1941, the two boys came in to report they had found him. In his camp there was plenty of wood and tea but only a few unopened cans of meat. He hadn't done any eating nor taken much food with him. A diary was found near the body which recorded the enumerated dates when it snowed and the last entry was November, 1940, the second week. Wilford Neilsen, then County Attorney, kept this diary when he left the office. Sunny and I went out to see what he had done with his car. He had driven it back from Arizona Station a half mile or so in the timber and hidden it and then hiked back to his camp. He must have been preparing his death for some time. That is why he hid the car so well, as he didn't want it to be found too soon. He had taken off the taillight and all things that might catch the light and attract attention and partially covered the chrome parts with boughs. 1/

30. Jack Shive

Jack Shive was among the earlier settlers of the upper valley. He was stationed with the army in Yellowstone Park in 1885 and was discharged in 1889. He then came at once to Jackson Hole and in 1891 homesteaded what is now known as the Hatchet Ranch on the Buffalo River. In 1897 he married a widow from Montana named Lucy Nesbitt, and they made their home on the Buffalo until 1919.\* Mrs. Shive was known as the "boss of the Buffalo area" and staunch men, including Dick Ohl, ranger in that area, quailed when she took after them for some real or imaginary offense. Mr. Shive's name is commemorated at the summit of Grand Teton as a member of the first party to reach the summit.

1/ - From the diary of Esther B. Allan

Note: In 1885, Al was near Mt. McCloud in the Louis Riel Rebellion. The Red River half-breeds and the Cineboine Indians started the first of it and later the Blackfeet and Creeves got into it. Al was fighting for the Blackfeet and was wounded in one battle when a bullet hit him in the neck. His horse was shot from under him and when he fell off, he broke his nose and jaw. Nancy Harper, a half-breed who had raised him, stopped the bleeding by using tobacco and wool on the wound.

\* In 1919 the Shives sold their ranch to D. E. Skinner, a Seattle philanthropist, and it was later purchased by Jake Smith of Kentucky, who became one of the county's first State Senators.

31. Dick Turpin

Dick Turpin was a trapper, miner and homesteader. His real name was Smalley and he had served with the Union Army in the war between the states. He served under Generals Grant, Fremont, Anderson and Sherman. After his honorable discharge the story is that he got into a knife fight, and thinking he had killed a man, he fled to the mountains and took a new name. Years later he found out that his adversary had recovered. He homesteaded up on the Gros Ventre and located a good vein of coal. In 1892 the Jackson Hole Coal Company located 52 claims in this area. It is said that Turpin dug a tunnel 60 feet into the mountain on a 16' vein of coal.

1880 He settled in Jackson Hole in 1880. He never talked of his past to anyone in the valley, a mysterious man as were others in the early days. He told Jim Simpson his real name was Richard Smalley. He homesteaded the Mose Giltner place near Jackson. He was one of the settlers who took part in the Indian trouble. He had established his cabins all over the valley as was the habit with trappers in order to have shelter. He had an ungovernable temper and it got him into trouble. The meadows near Turpin Meadow Dude Ranch were named for him and he must have had a trapper's cabin in that area.

32. Walter Germann

Walter Germann came into the valley in 1904 over Teton Pass driving a yoke of bulls. He worked cutting timber for the Jackson Lake Dam which was being built, and was known to be the best crosscut saw-operator in the country. He built a wagon, wheels, and all from a huge log he felled, and it was used to haul trees down to the lake where they were floated to the outlet.

He homesteaded in the Buffalo River country in 1907. He hauled freight from Ashton, Idaho to Moran.

33. Bill Menor

1890 Bill Menor came to the valley about 1890 and homesteaded on the west side of Snake River. He built a ferry to cross the river and beginning in 1892, he ferried passengers, horses, machinery, supplies, and what-have-you--" with the river for power and his conscience for a guide." When a group of women and children out to pick berries wanted to cross, he exacted a toll of the fruit -- but usually it was "cash on the barrel-head".

This ferry was the only connecting link between the east and

west banks except during low water. People crossing the river in the early days had to drive many long miles up to the ferry. Bill's brother, Holiday, lived with him for a long time but the two irascible old guys couldn't get along together and eventually Holiday moved to the east side of the river. They are said to have never spoken to each other again.

1916

Bill Menor sold the ferry in 1919 to Miss Maud Noble and associates and they operated it until the Snake River bridge was built at Moose. Miss Noble came to Jackson Hole in 1916. Her cabin still stands at Moose on the Snake River and has been preserved, as has Menor's Ferry by the National Park Service. ( Figures 19, 20, 21, 22)

34. William Francis Manning

William Francis Manning (Figure 2) was a machinist, blacksmith and farmer in his early days, until the Civil War, when he joined the fighting forces. He fought in the battles of Appamotox, Shilo, Gettysburg and around Richmond in the 57th Ohio Infantry. In 1866 he farmed in Iowa, Kansas, Colorado and Texas. He rejoined the army and was in the campaign against the Indians under General Miles.

1891

He then accepted an engagement to hunt and mine for United States officials, doing this work in Montana 'till 1879. From then on until 1881, he was in Colorado and Yellowstone National Park. He came to Jackson Hole in 1891 and ranched and raised stock in South Park. He owned 160 acres of good land. In 1894, he was elected game warden and constable, for the purpose of breaking up the habits of the Indians and to prevent them from roaming over the public domain at will and hunting where they chose. He deputized parties of men to aid in keeping the Indians on their reservations and succeeded in his efforts. His actions were finally sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. He led a posse against the Indians in 1895 which will be included later in this history. 1/

35. John L. Dodge

John Dodge, known locally as Locky Dodge, was related to the Dodge Motor people. He was another "Remittance Man" who was an outcast from his family, perhaps because he had been struck on the head during a fight and had lost most of his memory. He was a champion pugilist at one time and had been injured in a fight against another champion.

1/ Excerpts from the biography of Melvina Robertson, Feb. 1969.

Figure 19. Waiting for the Ferry Boat at Snake River, 8 miles from Jackson. Assistant District Forester Homer Fenn standing. July 3, 1914. Picture by W. C. Barnes.



Figure 20. All ready to set sail for the opposite shore, Snake River Ferry near Jackson. July 3, 1914, by W. C. Barnes.

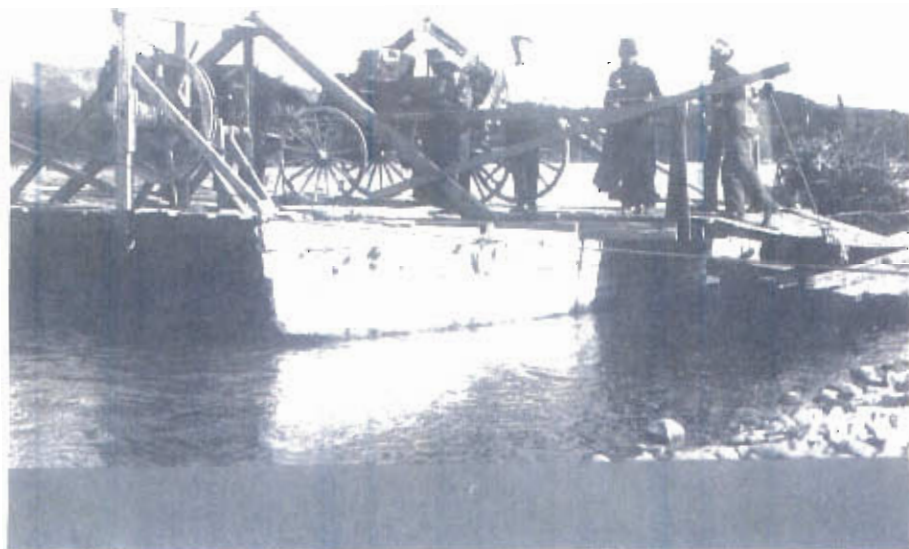


Figure 21. Crossing the Snake River on the Ferry. Teton Forest Service Photo.



Figure 22. Menor's Ferry, 1918. A.C. McCain (#1), Man McCain (#2) Bike McCain (#3), Rosie Rosencrans (#4).



1902

He came to Jackson about 1902 where he acquired four mules he called Hobo, Bobo, Napoleon and Bonaparte. Jim Imeson met him in the summer of 1903 and they went hunting at the present location of the Michigan School down the Hoback. Jim and John were hunting in an old wagon top with the mules pulling it. The mules pulled and the brake broke causing the mules to run away. Napoleon, the leader, went on the wrong side of a tree when they hit Camp Creek and ran into some quaking aspens. The men spent hours digging the mules out. John Dodge would pour ice water on his body each morning out of a frying pan all over his stark naked body to keep him fit, he explained.

A. N. Davis, a Forest Service ranger from 1905-6, ran into George Spaulding and Ed Ludward out hunting elk teeth. Dodge was then the Prosecuting Attorney for the State. He got the men sent to the penitentiary for fifteen years. Later they met Dodge and wanted to fight him for putting them in jail. Dodge licked them good.

Dodge started a wild west show and went all over the western area. He needed some wild cattle for his show and Allen Dudley told Dodge he had some he could buy. Dodge went into the pen to look them over and one old cow knocked him down again and again. He ran for the gate and yelled, "They'll do".

One of his mules cut his foot badly and Dodge was so sorry for it that he took it into his cabin and the mule died there. Dodge didn't move him out, but just stepped over and around the mule on the floor for a long time.

Dodge found some fresh bear tracks in the snow once. He and his partner tracked him to a crevice in some rocks. He shot the bear in the hole. His partner said, "What will we do if the bear comes out?" Dodge answered, "He don't come out, I's sittin' in the hole".

Another time, he was riding a wild horse and was wearing a linen duster and carrying a suitcase. He dropped the suitcase when the horse threw him, but rushed to grab the suitcase. He was then 61. His partner was amazed at the chances he took but he told him, "My boy, the glory of 1,000 eyes are on me".

This was Locky Dodge as Jim Imeson knew him.

36. "Ma" Reed

1910

"Ma" Reed opened a hotel about 1910 when the lot was purchased from Pearl Keister, and called it the Reed Hotel. Dr. Palmer

probably built the first house on the premises, which was later enlarged into the present building now known as the Crabtree Hotel. That seems to be the recollections of Pearl Deyo, C. R. Van Vleck and Willard Miner. 1/

"Ma" played a prominent part in stories of the early settlement of Jackson. She had one of the few, if not the only, eating place in Jackson Hole. She looked like "Whistler's Mother" in her immaculate white uniforms but ran her hotel and dining room with a strong arm and a biting tongue. Her language rivaled that of the toughest cowhand. She ran off any undesirables and if she didn't like someone, she invited them out in short order. Many strong men were afraid of "Ma" Reed's lashing tongue and strong-armed tactics. She was a very small, frail person but could stand up to an armed man, and did.

If she didn't like what any of her customers were doing, she invited them out. On one of these occasions two important Forest Service officials, Regional Director Rutledge and Major Stewart, Chief Forester from Washington, D. C., were in Jackson on an official trip. They had just finished eating a fine dinner, pushed back their chairs and Major Stewart pulled out his pipe for a smoke. "Ma" rushed over to their table and invited him to go outside if he wanted to smoke as she didn't want anyone smoking in her dining room. He said, "I have smoked this pipe all over Washington and other cities in high society and I had to come to Jackson to get thrown out of a dining room."

She now had only a dining room as she left Jackson in about 1916 or 1917 when she sold her hotel to the Henry Crabtrees who had worked for her in the Reed Hotel. She made a lot of money and left Jackson she often said, with \$50,000 in her sock and came back to make another \$50,000 in the little dining room where the Quality Cleaners now stands.

In her early years, she acted as mid-wife and took care of the sick before there was a doctor. When Dr. Charles Huff arrived in Jackson as a young man, who was very ill, she took care of him and nursed him back to health. He took care of her in her late years and built her a little house in Jackson.

She used to tell us many wild stories about her experiences in Jackson: how she used to throw out noisy drunks in various ways; hide fugitives in her hotel that she happened to like, and how she would sit in her hotel with the famous "Butch" Cassidy

1/ Jackson Hole Courier. No date.



when he hid out there. He would be reading about how the Pinkertons were about to catch up with "Butch" Cassidy in the local paper and all the time he was safely hidden away in Ma's hotel. She used to call him her boy friend.

She could cook like an angel and most of the business men and Forest Service men ate there. Quite a few of the business people had to eat there to collect in meals what she owed them for supplies or service. She never paid her bills if she could help it. Once "Sunny" Allan was eating there when he was working in the Forest Service office on a trip from Blackrock. "Ma" asked him if he would go to Billy Mercill's store and get her a jug of syrup. Sunny went to Billy and asked for syrup. Billy said, "Did she send any money?" Sunny told him no and Billy said, "She knows darn well, she can't charge anything here anymore till she pays her big bill." 1/

In 1934, "Ma" had to close her restaurant, after running it for about 20 years. She never did make another "stake" and a public auction was held in 1934 of all her personal property, goods and chattels in order to raise money to help pay her bills. She then moved into the little home Dr. Huff had built for her and raised a garden. 2/

37. John and Maude Bircher

John and Maude Bircher operated a sawmill at the foot of Teton Pass and for a time they lived at the top of Teton Pass where John took care of the livery stable and Maude cooked and ran a small lunchroom for travelers. Maude said that there was quite a large livery barn at the pass in those days which was located about where the parking lot is at the top of the pass today. She mentioned that they generally used four horse teams coming over from Idaho and John would take a team and go down the west side to meet them. The road over Teton Pass was much narrower and winding then, and was never plowed. It was simply packed by the horses and sleighs pulling over it. When spring came, there was a transportation lull in Jackson Hole while the Pass Road, the only entrance to the valley then, dried out sufficiently to allow wagons and cars to pass.

They also raised cattle and horses on the place they later bought from Maude's parent's homestead. Then one of the first things

1/ - Allan, Esther B. & K. C. ("Sunny") Allan recollections.

2/ - Grand Teton, March 6, 1934, p. 1, Col. 2

Maude did was build a dance hall. . They conducted a contest to name it and "The Jungle" won out. This complemented Wilson's reputation as a cannibal island and the nickname stuck. Part of South Park was known as Hog Island, but no reason was ever given for its origin. Maude was such an outstanding citizen, she was presented the first Qesly Award (given to the persons living in Wyoming who have proved themselves to be outstanding citizens) in Teton County in 1964. Maude came to Jackson Hole in about 1903. 1/

1/ - Jackson Hole Guide. April 11, 1974. An Interview.

K. MINING

1886 The mining venture best known because of its grisly ending was the project at Deadman's Bar, located below the Snake River overlook on the present Jackson to Moran Highway. In May 1886, four Germans, Henry Welter, August Kellenberger, T. H. Tiggerman and John Tonnar, living in Butte, Montana, entered into a partnership to prospect for gold in the valley. Tiggerman, who had prospected there before, was leader; Tonnar was a newcomer to the business. They bought the necessary equipment, hired a team and wagon and set out. In Teton Basin they stopped for a few days with Tiggerman's old schoolmate, Emile Wolff, who was to be one of the early settlers of Jackson Hole. Wolff helped them buy horses and they packed their outfits over Teton Pass; built a shanty on Deadman's Bar on a timbered gravel bar -- now known as Deadman's Bar because of the murders. 1/ In 1887, John Tonnar was brought to trial on the charge of killing his three gold-mining partners.

On July 19, Wolff had been surprised to have Tonnar show up alone at the ranch saying that the others had gone hunting. Tonnar stayed with Wolff three weeks.

Meanwhile, in August, Frank Free of Ione, California, a conductor on the Southern Pacific Railroad, was hunting and fishing in Jackson Hole with his companions. While fishing the Snake, a terrible stench led him to investigate two mounds of river boulders under which he found the decomposed bodies of three men. They had been badly mutilated and were killed one at a time, evidently in their sleep. Tiggerman's skull was crushed, Welter had an ax cut in the head, and Kellenberger had two bullets in his back.

The trial was held in Evanston with evidence gathered from the scene of the murder by investigators. Since the bodies were so badly decomposed, the heads were removed and placed in iron pots of water to remove the remaining flesh from them. Tonnar admitted the triple murder but claimed he had acted in self defense. For lack of witnesses, he was acquitted. Jackson Holers learned that courtroom methods weren't always the answer to justice. Years later, a fisherman found one of the iron pots hanging in a tree and decided it would make him a good cooking article. Imagine his surprise when he got the pot down and found a skull in it. The pot and the skull are now in the Jackson Hole Museum in Jackson. 2/

1/ - Hayden, Elizabeth. From Trapper to Tourist. p. 24.

2/ - The Wolffs, Bessie and Stippy. Children of Emile Wolff in an interview years ago. Some of the above story was also gathered from old newspaper clippings over the years from the Jackson Hole Guide and the Jackson Hole Courier.

North of Gros Ventre River and east of Moose, there is an artificial ditch that leads water from the hills onto the valley bottom. It is called Ditch Creek as it was named by early settlers. It was first described by the geologist St. John in 1877 as being "constructed some six or seven years ago for the purpose of conveying water to some placer mines in the lower bottom level". He also reported "prospects pits were found in several places in the valley, which is periodically resorted to by small parties and solitary individuals in quest of gold and adventure". 1/ Pat Patterson, one of the prospectors who helped dig the ditches, continued to come into the valley after it was settled. Former Supervisor, Robert E. Miller, knew him in 1890, when he was an old man. 2/

1889

The most elaborate mining project in Jackson Hole was the Whetstone Mine which was developed about 1889. It was located in the Whetstone area in northern Jackson Hole. A Captain Harris sold stock and built cabins, elaborate sluices and a sawmill. They also built a road over Teton Pass. The mining company had about \$50,000 worth of equipment. The men constructed the valley's second ferry, known as Conrad Ferry for its operator, Ernest Conrad. It consisted of an unrailed, barge-like platform pulled across the Snake River at a point several miles downstream from the Jackson Lake outlet, in 1895. In 1896, the company established a sawmill. There was no gold to justify all this outlay of money and the easterners who had bought stock lost all they had invested. It was run by the Harris-Dun Company. They went out of business in 1897 but Conrad who had operated the mining operations, stayed on to operate the ferry. The manager had absconded and the stockholders sent a representative to liquidate the business and Steve Leek then came into possession of their sawmill. 3/ When Conrad's Ferry went out of business in 1897, a toll bridge was built at near-by Moran to accommodate Conrad's former customers.

1/ - St. John, Report, U. S. Geological Survey of the Territory, Vol. XI; p. 445.

2/ - Forest Service Files.

3/ - Mumey, Nolie. The Teton Mountains. pp. 350-61., and Forest Service Files.

In 1892, the Jackson Hole Coal Company formed and located 52 coal claims of 160 acres each north of Upper Slide Lake. The assessment work for all the claims was done by one 60 foot tunnel running on a fifteen foot vein of coal dug by Dick Turpin on the south side of this coal ridge. The first load of coal was brought to Jackson, February 1924 and used by Harry Wagner, Jackson's first mayor. At that time there was no road up to the mine and there was no way coal could be hauled out before 1924. The first mine to furnish good coal was opened up on Lava Creek, a tributary of the Buffalo River. This mine was owned by Mrs. William Johnson of Lander, Wyoming. Coal was hauled from this mine for the Jackson Lake Dam and other places in the valley. Sunny Allan, ranger at the Blackrock Ranger Station used it to keep a fire going at night during the extremely cold winter. The next mine was opened up on Cache Creek and has supplied lots of coal for Jackson people. There have been other coal mines opened up on the Buffalo River and Ditch Creek as well. Some of the creek beds run through a good grade of coal, indicating the enormous amount of coal in this section. 1/ Up to 1923, the Reclamation Service had removed about 6,000 tons of coal from Pilgrim Creek and Lava Creek, but at that time was securing its supply from the Lava Creek site, only.

Coal and phosphate outcrops are along Lava Creek, Cache Creek, the Buffalo and Gros Ventre. Coal wasn't found in good enough quality to make transportation outside feasible. Most of the settlers used wood from the nearby forests and didn't buy much coal.

There have been two copper mines in the northern portion of the Tetons. One was located on the North and the other on the South Fork of the Buffalo River. These mines were never worked extensively.

Some quarried limestone for sale to Jackson proprietors and to Holiday Menor who operated a lime kiln across the river from his brother's ferry at Moose.

Men still panned for gold but no mother lodes were ever discovered. "Float Gold" is found in dry, rock soil such as Jackson Hole but it is too fine to collect so no mining of it was economically profitable. 2/

1/ - Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyoming.

2/ - Ibid. and the Jackson Hole Courier, no date from an early edition.

1916

"In the early 1900's mining explorations in what is now Teton County were at a brisk pace. A search through early courthouse records reveals numerous claims, both from individuals and corporate firms. One of the most intriguing individuals involved in the flurry of mining activity was John Graul. Little has been written about him. He was from Iowa and originally came to Jackson Hole to work on the Moran Dam. When the dam was completed in 1916, John turned his efforts to mining. He was first assisted by his brother, Charles. John filed fifteen claims between 1916 and 1921, all of them adjoining the northern part of the country. John's names for his mines or claims bear those only a miner could identify with -- Arapajoe, Strettin, Blue Bell, Little Johnnie and Dipper to name a few. But what John was mining for will probably never be known for certain. His claim records all are of the same general wording, mentioning 'gold, silver and other precious metals'. However, it is unverified that he was after gold or silver. Some think he might have been looking for platinum or asbestos. It seemed to be an obsession as for twenty-three years he returned annually to his mine, and with the exception of his brother's help for the first two or three years, single-handedly he carved a horizontal shaft about 200 feet long into the mountain bedrock. Varying in width from 4 to 8 feet and 7 to 8 feet in height, it is an impressive piece of labor for a miner equipped with a minimum of explosives, a steel wheelbarrow, shovel and pick. He disciplined himself to an eight-hour, six day a week work schedule. As he was very religious, he took Sunday off as a day of rest.

A long time resident of the valley reports John would appear in Jackson in the spring working for the Bureau of Reclamation when work was available, and head for his mining claim in mid-June or whenever the trails became passable. He took all his provisions with him and lived in a log cabin on the ledge above his mine. He departed in October generally for mines in Colorado where he worked during the winter months to earn enough cash to pay for his local mining activities. His mining work in Jackson Hole showed no evidence of ever paying off. Shrouded in mystery while alive, even his death ends in irony, as he was killed in a mine in Colorado when he was working on a Sunday" 1/

"Jackson's Hole has great possibilities as a mineral producer (1909). Ore containing 25% copper has been discovered in the Buffalo region. This property is now being developed by a company of Chicago men under an \$18,000 lease. A local incorporated company, the Jackson's Hole Mining Company, has been operating some placer mines at the mouth of the Buffalo River.

1/ - Strauss, the Jackson Hole Guide, Nov. 8, 1973.

E. C. Steele, a metallurgist, is at the head of this company. High grade galena is found near Fox Creek, southwest of Jackson Lake. Gold and silver bearing rock of great promise has been taken from prospect holes in the northern hill. Gold in paying quantities has been taken from placer mines on the Snake River at the south end of the valley. Coal of the best quality and unlimited stores of it, is found in the vicinity of the Buffalo and Gros Ventre rivers and on Pacific and Pilgrim Creeks, as well as extensive coal beds on Willow Creek." 1/

Jackson Hole is rich in other mineral resources -- the gypsum on the Hoback River, the copper and graphite on Buffalo River, the ferric oxide which give the mountains of Grovont Canyon their red color, together with the lead, mica and galena. 2/

1923 There were two asbestos mines active in 1923. One was located on Berry Creek and the other on Owl Creek. The former was said to contain valuable deposits and arrangements were being made to establish the necessary machinery. The mine was being worked each year. 3/

Jackson's Hole has never rewarded the prospector with any rich diggings, but from this time down to the present, men have continued to investigate the gravels of the Snake and its tributaries. Signs of mineral are numerous and thin deposits have been worked, especially since the depression following 1929, but at best the miner can pan only a few dollars a day. (Figures 23, 24)

1/ - Jackson's Hole Courier, the First Edition, Jan. 28, 1909.

2/ - Forest Service Files

3/ - Ibid.



Figure 24. Miner's cabin used by miner for storage; located just east of horizontal mine shaft about 1 mile west of large cabin on Moose Creek in Webb Canyon.

Courtesy of Robert N. Perkins. (1953)





Figure 23. Miner's cabin. Large cabin located on west side of Jackson Lake area up Webb Canyon on Moose Creek.

Photo Courtesy of Robert N. Perkins  
(1953)

"The Laramide revolution of the Late Cretaceous threw up the Cordilleran crest of the Rockies. The subsequent erosion, if I have grasped my geology correctly, of the Tertiary era left an 80 mile saddle between the crests of the Wind River on the northwest and the Sierra Madres on the southeast. At the northern edge of this saddle near the headwaters of the Sweetwater, the erosion had left a long gradual slope. Its ascent was so gentle that John C. Fremont compared it to 'the ascent of Capitol Hill from the Avenue at Washington'.

"In two fateful decades 300,000 Americans trekked up this ascent and descended the Pacific side. The numbers of these people are not so important as the goal they sought and won. They were on their way to settle Oregon, California and Utah. They won, giving thereby a continental dimension to American representative democracy.

"South Pass was the pre-eminent mountain pass of this Westward Movement. Of the thousands who guided the wagons or pushed their hand-carts through this pass, each according to his hopes, was thinking of a farm in Oregon, a haven in Utah, a gold claim in California. Many also thought beyond to an ever beckoning Asia. If our fate in the world today is inseparably tied into Asia one of the links in the long chain of events and forces would have to be South Pass. For the men, women, and children who trekked through, had found the Northwest Passage.

"The first American to traverse this pass was Robert Stuart who was returning from a little bit of empire building at Astoria. John Jacob Astor was attempting to establish himself in the fur trade which was part of the China trade at that time.

"Stuart had gone to Astoria by sea. It fell on him to lead a party eastward overland to report a disaster to John Jacob Astor. His trade ship the "Tonquin" had been destroyed by Indian attack in British Columbia. Stuart, a young Scotsman, brought up in the fur trade had heard of a 'pass to the South' leading more directly to St. Louis, the point of departure for the trans-Mississippi West. He headed east. After delays and difficulties, he arrived on the western approaches to the pass on October 22, 1812. Stuart passed south and east of the part of the pass the emigrants would follow.

1812

"In his meticulous account Stuart gives not the slightest indication that he realized what he had discovered." 1/

1/ - O'Callaghan, Jerry A., Chief, Office of Legislation and Cooperative Relations, Bureau of Land Management at the dedication of South Pass City, July 16, 1967.

"In the terms of his own business, the fur trade, he saw an opportunity at South Pass. He introduced an innovation in the fur trade, substituting the annual traders' rendezvous for the fixed trading post. He and his men quickly sized up South Pass as the key topographical feature.

1825-  
1840

"For fifteen years from 1825 until 1840, the heyday of the Rocky Mountain fur trade, the annual rendezvous was held near South Pass. Even before the mountain men were finished with their rendezvous, others were using South Pass to demonstrate its other uses. Captain Bonneville, on leave from the army, tried his hand in the fur trade. He brought wagons through the pass.

1835

"The mountain men's rendezvous of 1835 was notable in that two men of the cloth, Samuel Parker and Marcus Whitman, were present to remind the mountain men that society was not far behind them. The next year the missionaries were back and the message should have been even clearer that organized society was close behind.

"Marcus Whitman was back with his bride, Narcissus, and Henry Spalding had his bride, Eliza. Captain Bonneville had shown that wagons could come across South Pass; Narcissus Whitman and Eliza Spalding proved that wagons and women could make the trek.

1842

"It is somewhat ironic that these two ladies should have been at South Pass even before the intrepid explorer and army officer, John C. Fremont. He came to South Pass in 1842 'to describe and fix in position the South Pass...'

"Fremont did not discover South Pass. He did, however, have a facile pen and an expansionist senator for a father-in-law. His report, printed by the Government and widely distributed, gave widespread publicity to this mountain corridor.

1841  
1843

"Just at the abrupt ending of the fur trade, the emigrants began coming through. The first wagon trail to California came through in 1841. While there would be migrations of greater size, the 1843 migration to Oregon was the crucial one. It tipped the scale for American predominance at least south of the Columbia River.

"For two decades South Pass was a great transportation corridor. The emigrant trains of the 1840's and 1850's were succeeded by commercial freighters. The romantic Pony Express operated

through the Pass for a brief eighteen months, followed by the less romantic but technologically far advance of telegraph lines in the early 1860's." 1/

1860 Because of geographical circumstances, neither Colter's nor Hood's route was adopted, for an easier route-- South Pass, did exist and countless trains of emigrants were able to avoid the higher passes and rugged canyon entrances into Jackson Hole. Jackson Hole was able to avoid the curses and blessings of civilization for at least another generation. Had either Colter's or Hood's suggested route been adopted the main thoroughfare for westward migration, Jackson Hole would have been settled long before the 1880's. In 1839, 1839 just two years before the first substantial caravan of settlers crossed South Pass, Captain Hood of the U. S. Army's Topographical Engineers had devised "a practicable route for wheeled vehicles across the mountains" by way of Jackson Hole. He had suggested coming up the Green River to Horse Creek, across the main Hoback ridge and follow down Jackson's fork to its mouth to the northward along Lewis's Fork (Snake River), passing through Jackson's Hole and over Teton Pass. 2/

1842 A Georgian made a first discovery of gold in 1842. He came there with the American Fur Company. Thirteen years later forty men arrived and made rich discoveries. The next year they were driven out of the country by the U. S. troops. More attempts at mining were made from 1858-1864. Lt. William H.

1864 Brown, in the summer of 1864, made some new discoveries and found a rich lead north of Rock Creek which he claimed later to have opened out as the Buckeye lead which yielded a large amount of gold. The Indians destroyed their tools while they were locating claims. They decided to go back to their duty of protecting the telegraph line and emigrants. Major Baldwin outfitted two prospectors and the Lincoln Mining

1876 District was organized. In 1876 the Carissa was discovered. Captain Lawrence and Tony Shields were killed by Indians the

1868 same year. There was a mad rush to South Pass in 1868 and numerous rich mines were discovered that year. There were numerous attacks by Indians and the building of sawmills

1869 and quartz mills. New discoveries were again made in 1869 with more Indian depredations. In the spring of 1869 enough people had gathered around what is now known as Atlantic City

1/ - O'Callaghan, Jerry A. Dedication South Pass, 1967.

2/ - History of Wyoming by T. A. Larson. Univ. of Nebraska Press pp. 9-11. 1965.

1869 to form a community of several hundred. There was also a considerable settlement around what was later known as Miners Delight. In 1869, Esther Morris arrived in South Pass. During the summer of 1869 the town was a typical mining town. Beginning on August 20, the Indians started killing a number of men and wounding others and taking a great deal of booty in form of horses and money. F. G. Burnett, one of the oldest living settlers in Wyoming went to South Pass in 1869. He was the grandfather of Virginia Barker, a Jackson Hole lady.

1850 In the summer of 1850, ten wagons arrived at South Pass containing emigrants on their way to California. 1/

1/ - Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyoming.

M. RENEGADES AND OUTLAWS

Troubles with Indians, horse thieves and other renegades enlivened the early years of the Jackson Hole settlement. Owen Wister wrote in THE VIRGINIAN on the period of the 1880's that Jackson Hole was "a mountain sanctuary where many crooked paths have led. He that took another man's life, could always run here if the law or popular justice was too hot at his heels. Steep ranges and forests walled him in from the world on all four sides, almost without a break; and every entrance lay through intricate solitudes. Snake River came into the place through canyons and pines and marshes, to the north, and went out at the south between formidable chasms. Every tributary to this stream rose among high peaks and ridges, and descended into the valley by well-nigh impenetrable courses: Pacific Creek from Two Ocean Pass, Buffalo Fork from no pass at all, Blackrock from the To-wo-ge-tee Pass-- all these and many more, were the waters of loneliness among those thousand hiding places it was easy to be lost."

Mr. A. A. Anderson, when he was placed in charge of the Yellowstone Timber Preserve which included Jackson Hole, had this to say about the fugitives, "It was one of the worst places in the United States, filled as it was with rustlers, convicts, and desperadoes". 1/

The citizens of Jackson Hole do not like to admit that there were any bad men in Jackson Hole. The first issue of the Jackson's Hole Courier, January 28, 1909 has this to say in defense. "The name Jackson's Hole to the person who has heard anything at all about this region, is more apt than not to suggest an inaccessible, formidable mountain fastness which serves only as a refuge for outlaws--. For such is the widespread misconception of one of Wyoming's most law-abiding and progressive communities inhabiting the region----" "Another source of this misconception is the confounding of Jackson's Hole with the notorious Hole-in-the-Wall situated in the Big Horn Mountains, 150 miles to the east and which was once the favorite retreat of bandits, notable among them, Butch Cassidy". The editor goes on to mention Brown's Hole as another easy to reach refuge as being the intersection of Wyoming, Colorado and Utah state lines.

Early history tells us that there were horse thieves, during the eighties and nineties, which used Jackson's Hole as a

1/ - Forest Service Files, Historical Notebooks.

"hide-out." United States Marshals often traveled into the region in search of them. Sometimes posses, made up of deputized citizens and settlers of Idaho, came with the Marshals into Jackson's Hole to help recover stolen stock. No mention is made in any accounts of cattle rustling. 1/

1885 Lee Lucas, an early settler, once said that rustling was over before the cattle industry ever started. The rustlers never rustled cattle anyway, their operations were confined to horse stealing. Cattle were too slow moving to be brought in and out of this country. 2/ However, William L. Simpson wrote that when he came to Jackson Hole on October 1885, he was with a posse of Stock Association men, sheriffs and deputies who were looking for a large herd of steers that had been stolen from the head of Wind River. The party was under the command of Pap Conant. There were fourteen men and Simpson in the party. They camped on the old Indian Trail on the Gros Ventre, five miles north of Jackson. They found only a few steers on the head of Spread Creek and all cattle trails had been obliterated by fifteen inches of snow. There were a great many horse signs, but no horses in sight. The person engaged in horse stealing had evidently heard them coming and hid the horses on the Flat Creek Meadows and at what is now known as Leek's Draw. The posse was not looking for horse thieves so made no inquiry about the matter. 3/

1892 1. Many are the versions of the killing of two horse thieves on the Cunningham Ranch in the fall of 1892. Sheriff Swanner of Teton Valley, Idaho was called by Montana officials when the Poindexter and Orr ranches there were raided by horse thieves. The Montana officers were tipped off that the horses had been taken to Pierre's Hole. Sheriff Swanner (a deputy sheriff) was asked to investigate the case. 4/

"At that time John R. Karnes, who was residing in Jackson Hole with his Indian wife, happened to be in Teton Basin and told Swanner that there were some men over in Jackson Hole with a bunch of horses who were not residents there. Swanner asked Karnes to investigate the matter when he got home. He soon reported that these were Poindexter and Orr horses from Montana, but the officers would have to hurry if they caught them, as the snow was going fast on the hills and the thieves were about to move. Swanner sent word to Montana. 5/

1/ - Dibble, C. E., Forest Service Ranger report.

2/ - Calkins, Frank. Jackson Hole. p. 114.

3/ - Nielsen, W. W. Jackson Hole Courier, no date, and A Scalp is Creased, and William Simpson's biography.

4/ - Ibid.

5/ - Ibid.

"A posse from Montana, consisting of five men, with John Williams, a squaw man as leader, then came into Teton Basin in pursuit of the outlaws and camped at the Breckenridge Ranch, where they added to their force from the valley until the posses consisted of ten or twelve men. They went over to Jackson Hole on showshoes". In Jackson, they picked up more men for the posse, including Pierce Cunningham, Frank Peterson, Mose Giltner, John Holland, Robert Miller, Johnny Karnes, Josh Adams and Steve Leek. 1/

Al Austen who was an early ranger for the Forest Service was a witness to what followed and gave us this account of the happening.

"Mike Burnett from the Wind River country and another who called himself Spencer had worked together in Montana. From Wind River they came over the Sheridan Trail down the Gros Ventre to Slate Creek where they herded their bunch of horses. As winter was approaching, they decided to hole up with their herd until spring. They offered Cunningham a good price for the hay and a place to feed their stock and also the use of his cabin and barn. The Cunninghams had moved to the lower end of the valley where there was a chance to earn a little money during the winter months. The snow came deep and Spencer and Burnett were snowed-in.

"Near spring four travelers came over Teton Pass to Jackson. They made it known that they were deputy sheriffs from Montana in search of stolen horses. They put up a good line of talk and had little trouble in getting a good sized bunch to go with them. (Note: Al gives the same names as does Mr. Nielsen in the Jackson Hole Courier). They made the journey to the Cunningham ranch on snowshoes.

"Early one morning they got there. A short 100 yards from the cabin was the barn. Two of the supposed deputies and John Holland slipped to the barn and entered. The rest of the party lay behind the creek bank near the cabin. About sunrise the door of the cabin opened and Spencer appeared with his 45 slung on his hip. Those on the creek bank lay motionless and those in the barn made no sound as Spencer walked down the trail leading to the barn. When he reached the corral something aroused his suspicions. He halted just inside the corral and looked. Maybe his sixth sense was working or he caught a glimpse of a gun barrel where the chinking had been knocked out. At any rate, his hand dropped to his six-shooter. Then one man in the barn called, 'hands up'. Then Spencer pulled his gun. He never

1/ - Nielsen, W. W., Jackson Hole Courier account, no date.



fired a bullet. He was shot first and the bullet caught him fairly between the eyes. He fell on his face in the corral."

"The sound of the shooting brought Mike Burnett from the cabin where he was cooking breakfast. He walked to the northeast corner of the cabin where the trail started toward the barn, said 'I suppose you intend to murder me as you did Spence'. In that instant someone from the creek bank fired the bullet which entered his side near the heart. Mike turned and before he fell pulled his gun off. The bullet went through the end of a log and 'embedded itself in a lower log' (I saw Billy Dunn dig it out). As soon as the trails opened, the Montana bunch drove the horses out.

"Spring passed and summer came. One day the truth drifted into the valley. The Montana bunch of pretended sheriffs were not officers of the law, nor the owners of the horses. In brief, they were the real horse thieves". 1/ Al claimed that the well-meaning men from Jackson were ashamed of the part they had played in the shooting and it was covered up. Al took us years later and showed us where the two men were buried. He took us to the location of their graves where they were buried on the old road that went by the Elk Ranch from across the Buffalo River bridge. Burnette and Spencer were wrapped in their blankets and buried in a common grave.

It seems that two other men spent the night in the cabin with the horsemen, Swede Jackson, employed at that time by Mr. Cunningham, and Ed Hunter, a trapper in that vicinity who had become a friend of Burnette and Spencer. Hunter was a tough hombre and a notorious marksman and why he took no active part in the shooting has always been a mystery. 2/ As soon as the shooting ceased, Hunter and Jackson came from the cabin with their hands in the air. No action was taken against them as it was thought they were in no way connected with the horse thieves. 3/

The log cabin where the horse thieves spent the night still stands and has been preserved as an historic place by the Grand Teton National Park Service.

1889 2. Matt Warner, bank robber, claimed to have gone to Jackson Hole to hide out after a bank robbery in 1889. Warner, Butch Cassidy, and Tom McCarty robbed a bank in Telluride, Colorado. Warner and McCarty married two local girls in Star Valley and left there to come to Jackson Hole via the Stump Creek Trail. 4/

1/ - Austen, Al, Early Forest Ranger who wrote up the account of what he had witnessed and gave it to us in 1918. (E.B.A.)

2/ - Dibble, C. E. Forest Service Ranger's version of the Cunningham Affair.

3/ - Ibid. p. 3

4/ - Forest Service Files

3. Butch Cassidy was born George LeRoy Parker in Circle Valley, Utah. Cassidy served a very busy term with the McCarty gang, staging holdups in banks mostly and did such jobs as the Montpelier National Bank robbery, the Castle Gate robbery and several train robberies. Cassidy served with the McCarty gang and they were credited with nine hold-ups in just over a year. After this hold-up three of the gang were killed and two men were captured. The Pinkertons were hot on their trail. Cassidy evidently "holed up" at various times in Jackson Hole when the Pinkerton Agency detectives were after them for "Ma" Reed claimed she had let him hide out in her hotel and said he was her boy friend. The gang maintained a string of hideouts from Wyoming to New Mexico. While he was relaxing at the Reed Hotel reading the paper about how the Pinkertons were about to catch him, he would laugh and wink at "Ma". Within five years of joining the gang, Cassidy was undisputed leader of the most prolific outlaw gang in the country. The papers tagged them with the name of "The Wild Bunch". One of their favorite hideouts was the famous Robber's Roost which could be reached by the Green River. 1/

Alva A. Simpson gives the following account of one incident. "I remember the visit of George "Butch" Cassidy who was being tried in District Court for horse stealing over in the Green River country. My oldest brother, Will, was prosecuting attorney of Fremont County at the time and it was his duty to prosecute Cassidy whom we had known at Jakey's Fork together with his pardner, Rayner. Cassidy was a personable young man and being out of jail on bail, frequently visited us until convicted, principally on the evidence of his pardner. He was sentenced to the penitentiary at Rawlins, Wyoming for a term of three years.\* Will Simpson was the only man to convict Cassidy it is said. Cassidy told my brother, Will, that if convicted he would turn outlaw when he had served his sentence. How true, upon his release he did." 2/

1894

Cassidy was simply a man who chose to be an outlaw by profession. As he often told friends, he knew the consequences of such a life and was prepared to accept them, for he wanted no other kind of life. Today's lawmen would consider him nothing but a

\* Note: Mrs. Will Simpson and her husband came to Jackson in 1893. He is the father of our former governor, Milward Simpson, later U. S. Senator; Virginia Barker, whose husband Harry Barker, ran the Skagg Grocery Store in Jackson for years and later had the Circle H Dude Ranch near Moose; and Burnett McDowell Simpson of Antelope, Oregon. Mr. Simpson took an active part in the affairs of Jackson Hole and for a few years had a newspaper in Jackson. 1/ - Fetsco, Pete. Butch Cassidy, Outlaw Legend, "Best Scene" Mag., published at the State Penitentiary. 2/ - Simpson, Alva A., Biography. Forest Service Files, Jackson.

criminal. However, set against the backdrop of his own era, he is one of the most interesting and colorful characters to emerge from the history of this country's westward expansion. 1/

He was also regarded with affection by some. At one time he led a fairly quiet, law-abiding life in the Lander area and gained many friends there. Mrs. Simpson regarded him as a hero during the flu epidemic of 1892 when he stopped in for a visit and found her son with a high fever. He rode over fifty miles at a dead heat to obtain the needed medicine and saved the boy's life. From that time she sang his praises to all who would listen. 2/ He helped a great many people in other ways.

Cassidy was also known as William Arnn in Jackson Hole when he came here in 1885. Arnn counted six men besides himself that year: John Holland, Robert Miller, Ed Thompson and a partner Hilderbrand, Locke Beye (or Behy) and Ed Garrubgtib. Thompson, Hilderbrand and Ed Garrubgtib were horse thieves. Arnn or Cassidy said that John Carnes provided supplies to rustlers using the valley. 3/

4. Teton Jackson. (William J. Jackson) was convicted and sent to Boise City penitentiary for killing his partner, Robert Cooper, on Badger Creek in 1882. He escaped from prison and came to the Teton-Jackson Hole area and there revived the local crime wave. 1870 He evidently hid out in Jackson Hole also about the 1870's, in the marsh now included in the National Elk Refuge. He built a cabin in the "morass" and made it safe from attack. There was a ledge locally known as Fort Standoff. Here Ed Thompson is supposed to have met officers while he was enroute to John Carne's cabin. He met three peace officers and shooting started. Thompson's buckskin jacket was riddled with bullets, but he eventually drove off the lawmen. A posse started out for Jackson Hole. They got there and encountered a portion of "Teton's" band under the efficient leadership of Bill Thompson, Teton's lieutenant, a fearless desperado and the best rifle shot this side of the border. After a sharp fight on the open ground, the robbers retreated to their "log castle" in the morass, and the posse let them stay there. (Robert Miller acquired the hide-out cabin from Teton Jackson for his own home. It was later torn down by him and the logs used for other buildings on his ranch.) 4/

1/ - Fetsco, Pete. Butch Cassidy, Outlaw Legend, "Best Scene" Mag., published at the State Penitentiary.

2/ - Simpson, Mrs. Will, in an interview in 1970.

3/ - Calkins, Frank. Jackson Hole, p. 115. U. of Okla. Press. 1970.

4/ - Ibid pp. 112-114 & Jackson Hole Courier. Early edition, no date.

1881

5. Ed Harrington was one of the early occupants of Jackson Hole and fed stock part of the time for a job. Ed M. Harrington (alias Tranton, Trafton and Travis) was one of the early day outlaws of Jackson Hole. Any one of these names might have been his true one. Historian, the late Ben Driggs, calls him Harrington but in Jackson Hole he was known as Trafton to the Forest Rangers. Driggs places him here as early as 1881 with Sam Hill, Joseph Y. Hill, Robert Benbrook, John Cutshaw and four other men who were trappers from Teton Valley, Idaho.

From that early date until after 1915, Trafton stole horses, rustled cattle, robbed business houses and held up stages in Wyoming and Idaho as a steady occupation. His specialty was in having witnesses to establish his alibi and then make a foray at night and return home before dawn. He had a claim in Teton Valley, Idaho, and in spite of his other operations, was the first mail driver in that valley. Two of his best known companions were Jim Robinson and Columbus (Lum) Nickerson but he oftentimes operated alone. They held up coaches in Yellowstone Park a few years prior to 1915 when Harrington or Trafton did it alone, but was never apprehended for this. 1/

Mr. Balderston and his companions who were great canoeists, went canoeing one evening along the west shore of Jackson Lake looking for wildlife. Suddenly they heard chopping back in the woods. In those days (1913-1915) it was pretty unusual to find anyone in those woods and they stopped, beached their canoe, and walked in to see what was going on. Here was a man whom they recognized as one of the workmen from the dam making a dugout canoe from the log of a big lodgepole pine that he had felled. He wasn't very happy to see them so they went on their way and didn't think much about it at that time. About a week later, Frank Crowe, superintendent of the dam construction got a call from the Soldiers' Station at the south entrance to Yellowstone Park that a holdup had been committed and that a desperado had taken money and jewels from the tourists on several stage coaches going and coming from the park. He also advised that the desperado had allowed some of the tourists to take his picture and that they would send a copy down as soon as possible for identification. Lo and behold, when the print arrived, here was the man that they had seen making the dugout canoe along the west side of Jackson Lake. The theory was that he had used the canoe, slipped by the soldiers at the south entrance by paddling down the Snake River. A canoe of similar make was later found drifting around the head side of the lake. 2/

1/ - Jackson Hole Guide. October 21, 1965.

2/ - Balderston, William. Experiences in Jackson's Hole, Wyoming. 1913-14-15. p. 5.

Del Jenkins who now lives in Jackson Hole in South Park, was an early stage driver in Yellowstone Park. He told us about being held up by Trafton and having his dudes robbed. "Gramps" Jenkins was one of the best stage coach drivers in Yellowstone Park. 1/

It was following the stage coach job that Harrington (Trafton), after escaping over Teton Pass and going to Denver, returned with a touring car and spent the winter in Jackson Hole. He most certainly was hiding from the law.

Buster Estes who ran a dude ranch, the STS Ranch at Moose, Wyoming, gives his account of Trafton. "He was another character in Jackson Hole -- a holdup artist. Back in the early 1899's when the park service was unheard of and the U. S. Army ran things, Buster said the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company was already in operation, hauling people around to see the geysers, bears and other wonders. At that time the tourists (11 to a coach) were taken across Yellowstone Lake from Thumb to Lake Lodge on a launch, as the lake shore road was then only a dream.

"Along in 1914-15, a new dam was being constructed at Moran as the old one had washed out. Among the men who worked on the construction gang was a character named Ed Harrington, alias Trafton. He made it a point to visit with Buster in the evenings, and finally suggested that it would be a good deal to hold up the Yellowstone Park coaches and relieve the rich dudes of their money and jewelry. Buster, thinking Trafton was joking, agreed that it would be a good idea. Trafton then said that he had it all worked out; he would build a boat and take it up to the north end of Jackson Lake where he would overturn it and make it appear he had drowned. Instead he planned to strike out afoot across to the road and hold up the coaches, then disappear into the forest.

"Trafton went ahead and built a boat and one night said to Buster that he thought the time was about ripe for that deal. Buster still didn't believe he was serious and told Trafton he better go ahead without him as he was pretty busy. Next day Trafton and the boat were gone from Moran, and Buster began to wonder if the old boy had been kidding or not.

"Buster drove dudes for Sheffield in a white-top. These dudes enjoyed a boat trip from Moran to the north end of Jackson Lake where the white-top and Buster picked them up. A day or two after Trafton and his boat had disappeared, Buster went to

1/ - Jenkins, Del, Jackson, Wyoming, an interview.

"Mammoth for a load of dudes. On the way he passed nineteen park coaches, with Charles (White Mountain) Smith driving the lead coaches (he was later Teton Park Superintendent). They were stopped at Kepler Cascades, looking at the beautiful sight. Buster proceeded to Thumb where later that day he saw a string of coaches come tearing in, and when the passengers tumbled out they said they had been held up by a lone bandit at Shoshone Point. The following day Sheffield reported that Trafton's boat had capsized and that they thought he had drowned.

"The pieces of the jigsaw puzzle fit together for Buster, and he must have looked like he knew too much, because three or four days later, Sgt. Jim Webb of the Yellowstone soldiers came to Buster and told him he was under arrest for being an accomplice in the holdup. Buster laughed and said he'd have to get his dudes and deliver them first, and after quite an argument, Webb said 'okay, but he'd send a couple of soldiers along to see that Buster didn't escape'. So, conducted by the soldiers, Buster arrived at Fort Yellowstone (Mammoth) which was the site of headquarters. He went to Major Brett and told him what he knew of Trafton's plans and that it looked to him like Trafton was the holdup man. The Major then asked Buster if he would recognize the character, but not as Trafton, the prisoner who was a poor, little, scared Irishman who had been in Moran recently looking for a job". \*

Trafton had made his getaway with the loot, but eventually was heard from in Denver, where he had been spending money hand over fist and had got himself involved with some woman, hired a taxi to take him out in the country, beat the taxi-driver and tied him to a tree, then took off in the taxi. Trafton's wife, known as "Hun" was infuriated to hear he had been running around with other women, and notified authorities they could find him at Sandpoint, Idaho. There the bandit of the Yellowstone was found and taken into custody. 1/

Trafton had a hide-out cabin so successfully hidden in the forest east of Jackson Lake that it was years before it was found. "Slim" (W. C.) Lawrence of Moran found it by accident in 1931.

Trafton who had already served two sentences for horse-stealing in Idaho and who had robbed his own mother of a large sum of money, was eventually tracked down. He was tried in Cheyenne, sentenced, and served a five-year term in Leavenworth. He stayed clear of the law after that. Thus passed into history the last of the famous stage robbers. 2/

\* From the Buster Estes Recollections.

1/ - Jackson Hole Guide. Oct. 21, 1965, and Buster Estes.

2/ - Ibid.

6. Burnt Wagon Gulch. Bill Scott and Bill Seebohm found the burned wagon in a gulch just behind Mrs. Lucas' place (where the Harold Fabians now have a summer home) in 1914. Two men had come in with a wagon and a black team. Abe Ward, sheriff, found a 25-35 rifle in a hollow log. He took it to Frank Waterman who was justice of the peace. Waterman traced it and found it had been ordered by a Montana man. He wrote to his home town and found he had left there with a trapper in a wagon drawn by a black team, but had never returned. Some Jackson Hole people had seen one man riding a black horse followed by another black horse going out over Phillips Canyon. It was thought that the trapper had murdered the owner of the wagon and horses, but he was never found. No mention is made of the year it happened nor the names of the two men involved. 1/
  
7. Thomas L. Sewell killed his neighbor, Paul Morse, (also called Charles P. January) in a man-to-man shoot out on June 1906. The two had been feuding for some time. Sewell lived eight miles south of Wilson with his pregnant wife and four small children. Morse taunted and abused Sewell until the latter avoided him, and this made Morse think Sewell was afraid of him. On June 9, Mrs. Sewell, who was in a delicate condition, was unexpectedly taken very sick and in the morning Mr. Sewell sought his horses which generally ranged near the ranch, to go to Wilson for medical aid and attendant. Failing to find his horses on their accustomed range he discovered their trail or tracks leading up Snake River and around Mr. Morse's field fence, which was not enclosed on the side next to the river, and into the field and from there tracks leading into Snake River with foot tracks of someone having driven them to and across the river which was past fording then. He went to Mr. Morse's house to ask if he had seen his horses and was informed that he had driven them across the river. Hard words evidently resulted, in fact, Mr. Sewell said to friends, "Morse started to abuse me and challenged me in all kinds of ways, finally daring me to get my gun and fight it out and I accepted and went home and got my gun, came back and sat on the fence and waited for him to come out. Then we walked within 150 yards of each other and exchanged five shots, my third shot got him. I then went to Harry Pilbricks and told him what I had done and requested him to bring someone to my wife and tell at Wilson what I had done". Mr. Sewell was sent to the Wyoming penitentiary for killing his neighbor.

1/ - From old files in the Teton National Park, Moose, Wyoming.

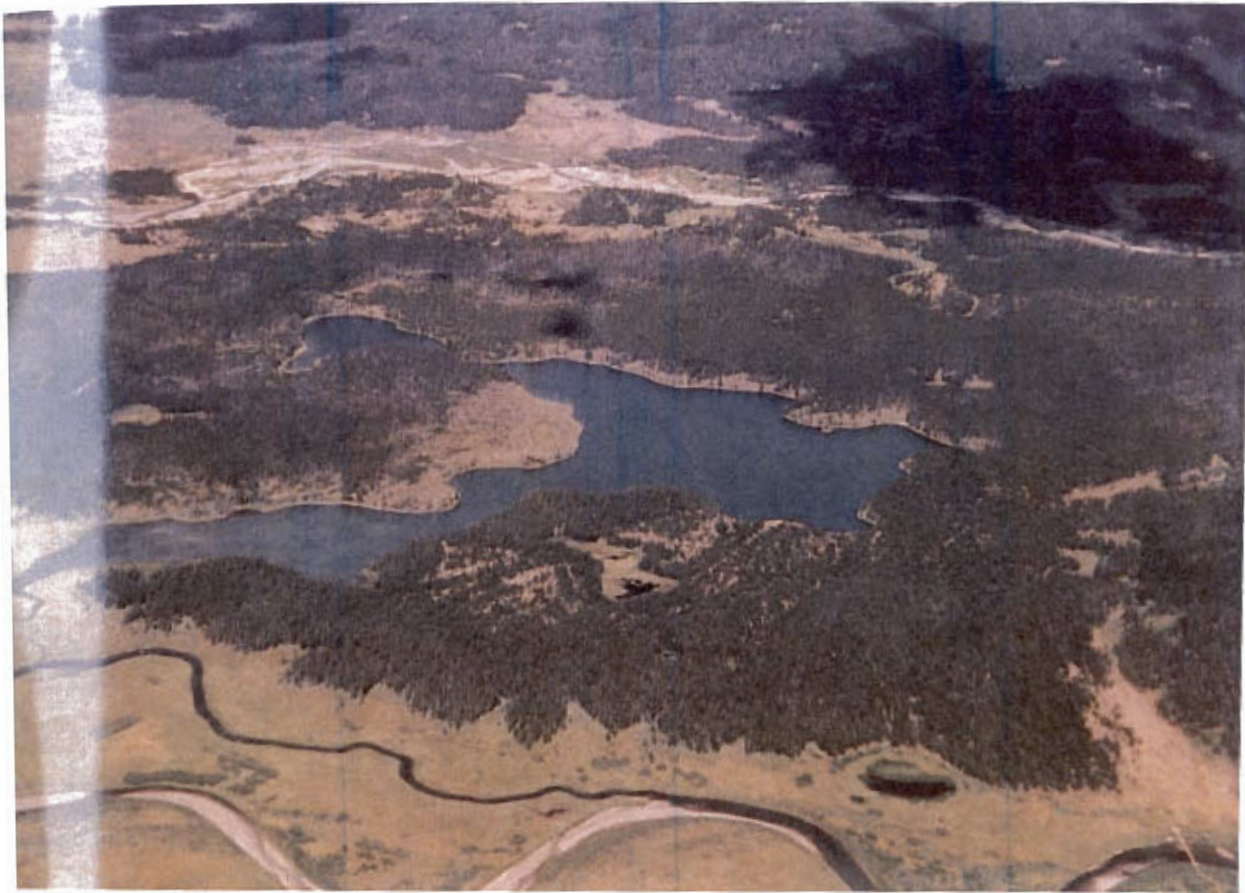


Figure 31. Bridger Lake, Teton Wilderness  
U. S. Forest Service Photo  
Courtesy of Bob Perkins.



Mr. Robert Miller helped him get a pardon by writing to the State Board of Pardons and Sewell was pardoned on January 11, 1909. The fact that Mr. Sewell neither attempted to conceal his crime nor escape from the officers, but instead sent word to them and awaited their summons, and in court pled guilty, was evidence of duty regardless of penalty.

The Board of Pardons stated that in signing the application for pardon, they had done so believing that Sewell had been doubly punished for his crime, not by confinement of himself alone but by the helpless condition of his wife and children, the burden of care of self and children under which his faithful wife, in whose defense the deed was committed, now struggles; with himself helplessly behind the bars for doing what no man could resist doing. 1/

8. Winslow brothers' murder. "Rube" and Henry Winslow, brothers, who had ranches on Red Top Meadows near Munger Mountain, were foully murdered and their bodies burned by some unknown person or persons some time between July 3 and 5, 1919. On the morning of July 3, a lad named Wilson came by their place on his way to Wilson. One of the brothers had stopped him and sent a message to the other brother, who was in Wilson, telling him that someone had set fire to their home that morning and burned it. On receipt of this message, the brother at Wilson started immediately for home. On the 5th of July the Wilson lad went back down the valley and when he came to the Winslow ranch he found that another cabin had been burned since he was there the 3rd. Seeing no one around he went to a neighboring ranch and gave the alarm. The scene of the tragedy is about 14 miles from Wilson. Consequently it was two days before an investigating committee could go down and investigate and return to Wilson to notify Deputy Sheriff J. A. Francis. 2/

"Mr. Francis, in company with one or two other parties, went to the scene of the crime on the 8th and found the remains of both bodies in the smoldering ruins of the cabin. One body was almost entirely burned up, but the dirt roof had partially covered the other one and his body from waist to shoulders was not consumed. Evidence of blood and a bullet hole through his shirt indicated that he might have been shot. The bodies were brought to Wilson and Sheriff Oakley notified. He arrived at Wilson this afternoon and is investigating. We have not been notified that any clues have been obtained. The Winslow brothers came into the valley about 10 years ago (1909) from Ogden, Utah. They were

1/ - Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wy. State Board of Pardons, Cheyenne, Wy., Jan. 11, 1909 letter to Supervisor, Robert E. Miller.

2/ - Jackson's Hole Courier. July 10, 1919.

peaceable and law-abiding, seldom left home, and as far as is known, had no enemies. \* Mystery shrouds the entire affair, which is very much regretted by everyone. Jackson's Hole has been trying to live down its past reputation, but such outbreaks of lawlessness render the task harder." 1/

9. Yellowstone Park soldier murdered. A Mr. Fitzmeyer had a roadhouse between Dime Creek and the Flagg Ranch near the old Reclamation or Yellowstone Road. He trapped in winter and ran a roadhouse in the summer when the soldiers were still in Yellowstone Park. Early one winter in about 1912, he started on a trapping trip, forgot something and came back. He found a soldier with a woman who had been living with him that winter. He shot and killed the soldier and buried him not far from the ranch. There is no record of what happened to Fitzmeyer and if he was convicted of the crime. At that time there was heavy freighting from Ashton to Moran. The old Reclamation road forded the river below the Flagg Ranch and then came out near Dime Creek and on to Moran on the old Sheridan Trail Road. There was an old army cabin two or three miles below the Flagg Ranch and the entrance to Yellowstone with no bridge at the Flagg Ranch. Some of the soldiers were stationed at the cabin. 2/

Note: There may be other stories of renegades of this early time but the ones noted here were the best known to old-timers. The Tusk Hunters will be handled later when the elk in Jackson Hole are discussed.

Note: Paul Morse who was murdered by Tom Sewell, was a newspaper reporter. He had homesteaded land near Mosquito Creek. It was intimated that the murder was instigated by Forest Service "brass" who wanted his land for the forest. Morse had gone to Washington and got the boundary of the Teton Forest altered to exclude the land of men who were living there and proving up on the land. (As told by Bill Schofield in an interview years ago).

\* - It was later said by old-timers that the Winslow brothers, Reuben T. and John H. were shot and burned in their cabin near Wilson by Wildcat Johnson and Bill Sewell. Bill Schofield, an early homesteader in 1899, said he thought Tom killed them, but Bill took the rap as he had already been in prison for murdering Morse and it would mean life imprisonment for Sewell. Johnson was pardoned in a few years, but was killed soon afterward in a car accident.

1/ - Jackson's Hole Courier. July 10, 1919

2/ - Allan, K. C. (Sunny) Interview.

PART II - ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
TETON NATIONAL FOREST

## II. Origin and Development of the Teton National Forest

### A. Steps Leading up to Need for Forest Protection and Reasons

The steps leading up to the creation of the Forest Service form an interesting and significant backdrop to the broad conservation programs now being applied and widely accepted.

The period immediately following the Civil War was one of rapid expansion and exploitation. Civilization was moving westward. As successive frontiers were established and settled, industries moved in to utilize the apparently unlimited resources of the newly developed areas. Large areas of virgin timber were being cleared for agriculture. Logging became big business in the Lake States and was conducted with little regard to the future. Uncontrolled fires burned in cut-over and virgin timber stands alike, with tremendous losses.

873 The first note of alarm came from the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which in 1873 memorialized Congress to formulate some action to preserve the forest resources of the country. Three years later Dr. Franklin B. Hough, professionally a medical man, who had spearheaded this movement, was appointed special agent in the Department of Agriculture to study America's forest conditions. Upon his recommendation, a Division of Forestry with an appropriation of \$2,000 was set up in the Department of Agriculture in 1881. This organization of three men was assigned the enormous task of finding out how much timber there was, and how long it would last under the practices then in effect. Thus a forestry organization was established in the Department of Agriculture, yet all public forest lands were under the jurisdiction of the General Land Office in the Department of Interior. 1/ Prior to 1872, two official expeditions were sent to the Yellowstone, the first in 1869, and the second in 1870. The latter were much impressed with the beauty of the region. Their report and recommendation was mainly responsible in making it a national park, March 1, 1872 by President Grant.

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In 1889 the American Association for the Advancement of Science petitioned President Harrison, urging reservation of public forested lands for protection. A bill for this purpose was introduced in Congress that year, but failed to pass. Two years later, Secretary of Interior John W. Nobles succeeded in getting the provision attached as a rider to the General Revision Act of 1891. This act gave the President of the United States "authority to set aside forest reserves to protect from destruction the timber remaining on public domain and to insure a

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1/ Jackson Hole Guide, Feb. 3, 1955, p.1

regular flow of water in the streams." President Harrison Used this authority the same year to create the Yellowstone Park Timberland Reserve, now the Shoshone National Forest.

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No appropriation for administration of lands reserved under the act were made available. The question of how the reserves should be administered became highly controversial and this controversy continued in Congress for several years with one group seeking appropriation to administer the new areas and the other seeking continued exploitation without regulation. The matter came to a head in 1897 when President Cleveland, on February 11, proclaimed thirteen more forest reserves. Interest was nationwide when Congress enacted the bill as to whether or not the new areas would be administered on a use basis. On June 4, 1897, Congress passed as part of the Sundry Civil Act, provision for the Secretary of Interior to protect, and regulate the use of the forest reserves, including grazing, timber sales, and free timber for settlers. Since administration of the reserves was the responsibility of the Secretary of Interior, a Forestry Division was organized in the General Land Office of his Department for this purpose, which utilized the technical services of the similar Division in the Department of Agriculture in setting up a system of management for the forest reserves.

905

In January of 1905 an American Forest Congress was held in Washington, D.C. This group recognized the futility of maintaining separate forestry organizations in the two departments. It also believed that the renewable resources such as timber and forage that were contained in the forest reserves, were agricultural in character, and so sponsored a bill in Congress which would merge the two government forestry organizations in the Department of Agriculture. On February 1, 1905 Congress enacted the bill, renaming the Bureau of Forestry "The Forest Service". The late Gifford Pinchot, whose experiences are vividly portrayed in his book, "Breaking New Ground", became the first chief. 1/

B. The Yellowstone Timber Preserve \* (Figures 1 and 78)

Northwestern Wyoming has the distinction of being the birthplace of both the National Forest and National Park systems. Less than two decades after Yellowstone Park had been set aside by President Grant, the lands surrounding the Park were withdrawn from the public domain to become Forest Reserves. The first Forest Reserve consisted of 1,239,400 acres immediately to the south and east of the Park. These lands were set aside in 1891 by President Harrison under an Act of Congress which authorized the President to establish Forest Reserves.

1/ Jackson Hole Guide, Feb. 3, 1955, p. 1. "Forest Service Marks Fiftieth Anniversary This Month" and the Forest Service files, Jackson, Wyoming. Land Use Planning, p.1

\* This name changed later to Yellowstone Reserve.

These lands are now part of the Teton and Shoshone National Forests. Succeeding Presidents Cleveland and Theodore Roosevelt, enlarged the Yellowstone National Forest to 8,329,200 acres. The Teton Forest was established in 1897 to include 929,440 acres adjacent to Jackson Hole, and for a number of years the Yellowstone and Teton Reserves were managed as a single unit. 1/ Yellowstone Forest Reserve was the first large forest reserve in the United States, surrounding Yellowstone Park on all four sides and occupying space in three states-- Montana, Wyoming and Idaho. It covered about 9500 square miles, an area twice as large as the State of Connecticut. Apart from its size, the Yellowstone Forest Reserve is significant in that it provided the inspiration and basic plan for the development of all our national forest reserves. 2/ (Figures 1 and 78)

A large share of the credit for establishing the first National Forest has been assigned jointly to Wyoming artist-rancher, A. A. Anderson, and to President Roosevelt. Anderson possessed not only the artist's appreciation of the beauty of forest-covered mountains but also a realization of the practical value of such resources. 3/

Mr. Anderson gives us a description of what the area was like in the late 1800's and early 1900's. The government had not yet prohibited free grazing of cattle on public lands. Sheepmen were over-grazing the land and setting man-made fires to run off the cattlemen. They were devastating the natural resources. There was also deforestation, the wholesale slaughter of buffalo and other game, wasteful methods of farming, the squandering of water-power resources. The man-made forest fires were a true menace in that period as the sheepmen set fires in order to make it easier for them to trail their sheep through deforested areas, and since the weeds that would spring up the next season were desirable food for sheep which they would eat as readily as grass. Then 70,000,000 sleepers were required every year to replace the worn out and worthless ties in the road beds of the railroads. Systematic forestry was necessary to supply the demand for lumber, if for no other reason. 4/

Also, cultivation in Wyoming was, and still is, dependent on irrigation derived from streams that have their source in mountains. The forest fires were bringing destruction not only of trees but also the valuable spongy matter beneath, so that the snow which fell during the winter, melting rapidly in the warm sunlight, was no longer absorbed, but rushed down the

1/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wy. Land Use Planning, Charles T. Coston, Forest Supervisor, p. 1, Introduction.

2/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wy.

3/ Ibid. Anderson, A.A. Experiences and Impressions

4/ Ibid. Anderson, A.A. Experiences and Impressions

mountainside like rain from a roof. This made a scarcity of water in summer. With the extinction of the forests, the animal life was disappearing, and much of the charm of the countryside was being destroyed. Therefore, the few wandering sheepmen were jeopardizing not only the forest and wildlife, but the prosperity of the farmers and ranchers -- the very life of the state. These trespassers were doing this at the expense of local sheepmen, men who had a legal right to the home ranges. They were bringing their flocks from denuded ranges of other states after shearing time, to poach upon the ranges of Wyoming sheepmen until the snow disappeared, and then drive them up into the mountains where they could only keep them for about two months and then drive them on the home ranges of Wyoming sheepmen. It was high time for some sort of forest conservation and control. The lands in question were U.S. Government lands, so the solution seemed to be Federal supervision and Mr. Anderson realized help must come from Washington. He went there in 1901. President ROOSEVELT was the first president to realize the necessity of conserving our natural resources. After lengthy discussions with the Departments of Interior and Agriculture, Anderson made maps with tentative boundaries of the reserve conservation of the lands surrounding Yellowstone Park to present to the President. As a result of this, on July 1, 1902, President Roosevelt created the Yellowstone Forest Reserve and appointed A. A. Anderson as the first Forest Superintendent with control over matters of organization, managements, and promotion within the Reserve, the issue of grazing and timber permits, the surveying of the boundaries, and reporting to Washington what had to be done. 1/

1902

The surveying of the boundaries along Yellowstone was no small undertaking, for it necessitated the work of a party of ten men with thirty-five saddle and pack horses over a period of three months, with a moving of camp almost every day. When the long survey had been completed, and the boundaries ascertained and marked, Mr. Anderson divided the territory into four divisions -- north, east, south and west of Yellowstone: Shoshone, Absaroka, Teton and Wind River Divisions. These divisions were then broken up into ranges with a ranger in charge of each. He also appointed a superintendent for each district or division. On June 9, 1899, Charles "Pap" Deloney was appointed superintendent of the Teton division lying south of Yellowstone Park. In August 1902, W. Armor Thompson took Deloney's place and had his headquarters at Elk, Wyoming. He didn't remain long, less than a year and Robert E. Miller received his appointment August 20, 1902, effective August 25, 1902. 2/ (Figure 1)

1899

1902

1/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

2/ Ibid.

Each ranger was to report facts of importance to go to the supervisor of each division who, in turn, reported to Mr. Anderson. Since this Reserve covered about 9,500 square miles, an area which included space in three states, it wasn't too easy to administer. However, Mr. Anderson, it is said, virtually set up a military organization. Each division was assigned its supervisor and forest rangers. The supervisor held a rank of captain, and the rangers held the ranks of lieutenant, sergeant and private. Each rank was obliged to keep in constant contact with the others and to record all facts of importance, these being reported in turn to Anderson. In this way he was able to keep in touch with all important developments and to forward his own report to Washington. 1/

C. First Personnel in the Reserve

Special Forest Superintendent: A. A. Anderson, appointed July 1, 1902. Mr. Anderson was at the right time and the right place to head the Yellowstone Reserve and gain the aid of President Roosevelt. His headquarters (Field) were at Fourbear, Wyoming.

Mr. Anderson had this to say about his appointment: "President Roosevelt never took very long to decide any matter. He immediately directed a letter to the Secretary of the Interior, authorizing him to issue a proclamation creating a Forest Reserve following the boundaries furnished by my map. Upon formally presenting the letter, I had the gratification of realizing that the Yellowstone Forest Reserve was now an actuality. With it came my appointment to the post of Special Forest Superintendent, effective July 1, 1902."

Supervisors of the Teton Division of the Yellowstone Timber Preserve:

Charles "Pap" Deloney was the first, appointed in 1898 and served till 1902. He had this letter while serving. Copy of letter to Charles Deloney:

Cody, Wyoming  
(No Date)

Chas. Deloney  
Forest Supervisor,  
Jackson, Wyoming

Sir:

I am directed by Sup't Garbutt to turn over that portion of the Yellowstone National Park Timber Reserve lying south of the National Park to your supervision. As I have no rangers in that portion of the reserve there is nothing for you to do as far as I am concerned but to go up there and take it. (Figure 1)

Yours,  
A. D. Chamberlin  
Forest Sup't. 2/

1/ Forest Service Files, Jackson  
2/ Ibid.



Mr. Deloney also ran the general store in Jackson at the same time and it was a part of an era and had its part in winning of the west.

1902

\* W. Armor Thompson was appointed in 1902 to succeed Mr. Deloney. His headquarters were at Elk, Wyoming. He didn't hold this position but a few months.

1902

Robert E. Miller appointed August 20, 1902, effective August 25, 1902. He resigned on June 30, 1918. He received a salary of \$1500 per year to start and was promoted to \$2000, December 15, 1902. He came to the valley in 1863, as a 200 pound trapper and built an empire with 12% loans. He trapped and hunted the valley in 1882 and left to return in 1885. His first home was a one-room cabin he bought from the early outlaws, Teton Jackson and gang. His cabin was located near what is now the Elk Refuge barns.

Mose Nelson claims the Miller Springs as those at the old buildings, and the other spring at the pond known as the Jack Hick spring. 1/

In 1886, Miller and W.F. Arneon trapped Ditch Creek Canyon and took 160 furs in twelve days. Miller had the knack of acquiring land. He was the first to file a desert claim. His home and land are now part of the National Elk Refuge and his second log home there, is now being preserved as a Historical Monument by the Teton County Historical Society. He organized the first state bank in 1914 while still Supervisor. He was running several hundred head of cattle in 1904.

#### Rangers from 1902-1908 2/

1902-3

A ranger organization had been established in the Jackson Hole area before the Forest Service was established. Of some of these men there is little information. Ralph Spencer was ranger in the Hoback Basin; Charlie Lee had charge of the Wilson area, where the present Lee Ranger Station bears his name; Joe LaPlante

\* Note: Mr. Alva A. Simpson, Assistant Regional Forester, Albuquerque, New Mexico, Journal of Forestry, Oct. 1941, pp. 886-891, has this to say about the short term of W. Armor Thompson. He served for a year or two until A. A. Anderson, the artist and at that time general superintendent of forest reserves in Wyoming, became dissatisfied with his services and one day loaded up the records, dismissed Thompson, and dumped the job and office on R. E. Miller, a prominent Wyoming pioneer and business man. Also during the early period C.W. Garbutt of Sheridan, Wyoming was a superintendent. (He must have preceded Mr. Anderson as that is mentioned in another source of Forest Service records).

1/ Jackson Hole Guide, Feb. 3, 1955, "Forest Service History"

2/ Forest Service Files

was a ranger on the Gros Ventre; John Alsop, the Jackson Lake District and Lower Buffalo River. Later in 1910 he constructed the present Buffalo River Station, now being used as a Game Warden Station. He left the service in 1913 as result of ill health incurred in fighting fires in 1910. Rudolph Rosencrans came in 1903. 1/

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Mr. C. N. Woods named other rangers who were there in 1904 when he arrived: Hugh McDermott, Wiley Smith, Ernest Edgerton, Cal Carrington, Richard Smith, John Nelson, Burton, Roland W. Brown, B. F. Bondurant, and C. N. Woods. 2/

The Souvenir History of Jackson Hole gives this list: John J. Fisher, Ronald W. Brown, Sr., Henry Bircher, Charles Fisher, L. W. Reeves, Emil Wolff, Donald McDonald, E. Cal Carrington, E. E. Edgeleston, John Alsop, John Fee, John Raphael, Fred Graham, A. N. Davis, J. G. Imeson, D. S. Imeson, Al M. Austen, W. W. Smith, Edward Romey, B. L. Colter, R. Rosencrans, Richard Ohl, Albert Gunther, W. H. McKahan, C. S. Horel, Roy Conner, E. R. Harris, Hugh McDermot, C. N. Woods and Hugh McDermot. (Some of these may have been temporary or assistants.) 3/

104

John Alsop said, "The Forest Service was already established in Jackson with Bobby Miller as Supervisor. Joe LaPlant was ranger at Jackson, Emil Wolff on Spread Creek and Hugh McDermot on the Teton side. Charlie Lee was ranger at Wilson and B. F. Bondurant in Hoback Basin. I went to work under LaPlant in 1904 and with Rudolph Rosencrans explored the head of the Yellowstone, Open Creek and Thorofare Creek and the Continental Divide in the vicinity of Two Ocean Pass." 4/

After helping get the sheep removed, John was assigned a ranger district along the south side of the Yellowstone Park. "As winter came on we (Rosencrans and Alsop) built a cabin on the Buffalo River and cut some timbers for a new bridge across the river, helped by C. N. Woods. The next spring (1905) Mr. Miller, the Supervisor, wanted me to come down to Cache Creek and help him with a ranger's examination. It was mainly to show that applicants had horses, saddle and pack outfit; knew how to handle them; how to cook; and had a good sense of direction along with some education." 5/

1/ Jackson Hole Guide, Feb. 3, 1955.

2/ Teton Forest Files, excerpt from C. N. Wood's letter, "Thirty-seven Years in the Forest Service".

3/ The Souvenir History of Jackson Hole, 1924 by the 7th & 8th grades of Jackson Public School, p. 33.

4/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo., John Alsop's Memories in Old Timer Club.

5/ Ibid.

The Jackson Hole Guide gives this version of the rangers' examination. "The examination was a three day test, conducted by Robert Miller, Supervisor of the Teton Division of the Yellowstone Timber Reserve, and George Cecil, a forest inspector out of the Washington Office. Problems in land surveying, timber measurement, and other technical phases of the job were wrestled with the first two days. The third day was designed to test the practical qualifications of the applicants, including horsemanship, packing, camping, and general mountaineering problems. Of those taking the entrance examinations Fred Graham and John Rafael accepted appointment on the Teton Division which at that time included the portion of the now Bridger National Forest, west of Green River, and south to the Cokeville area. Fred Graham helped Rosencrans and John Alsop build a trail from Turpin Meadows to Togwotee Pass, and later that summer was assigned a ranger district out of Big Piney. Rafael worked in the Ham's Fork area through the summer and was assigned to the Victor district that fall. Both of these men had long and successful careers in the Forest Service. C. N. Woods, later 1/ to become Regional Forester in the Inter-mountain Region of the Forest Service, was Chief Ranger. Rudolph Rosencrans received his ranger appointment in 1904, and was in charge of the Buffalo District. "Rosy" was told that his salary would be \$60 per month and that he would be expected to furnish at least two good horses and all of his equipment. He began his work as ranger of the Teton Division of the Yellowstone Timber Reserve on September 19, 1904. He was appointed ranger by Teddy Roosevelt, of which he was most proud. His territory was an expanse of primitive forest just under a million acres. Later this area was broken up into six national forests or districts.

The requirements of an early ranger: To be able to pack a horse, mount his saddle horse and lead the pack-horse on a lope for a few miles. If the pack did not come off he passed the exam. The test in the days of Miller was given at the Miller ranch barn. A ranger was expected to keep a diary and note down the number of miles he traveled each day and what was done on the trip or at the ranger station. If he fell short of the miles covered, he was liable to lose his job. He was expected to cover a vast amount of miles per day in order to cover the vast part of his district. In winter he traveled by snowshoes or homemade skis into the deep snow country to look for poachers. 2/

1/ Jackson Hole Guide, Feb. 3, 1955, "Forest Service History".

2/ Calkins, Frank, Jackson Hole, pp. 130-131.

Leon F. Kneipp, one of the original members of the Forest Service group relates: "The old-timers in the Forest Service had an attitude that was the natural result of the atmosphere and environment in which they lived. Beyond great valleys stretched range after range of mysterious mountains, threaded only by trails with here and there a ranch or cabin, or little mining camp. There were few roads, few telephones and few intrusions of the outside world. To cover their far-flung districts, the early foresters jogged along on their horses for fifteen to thirty miles per day, trailing their pack horses or sharing the hospitality of ranches, cow camps, prospector's cabins, logging camps or wayside stage stations. They lived a lonely, self-sufficient life in a world in which the old charm, romance and traditions of the West were still a living, motivating influence that added much to the zest of life. This was the way of life in the Jackson Hole area up until the mid-forties for a district ranger and his helpers -- trail men, fire-lookouts, fire-fighters and other assistants. Most district rangers lived in out-lying ranger stations, miles from a town or companionship and very little in modern conveniences." 1/

Mr. C. N. Woods notes that "We were pretty exclusively field men. Supervisor Miller did his own office work, and during my two years on the Teton Forest I never did a day's work in his office and did very little office work anywhere, except to writing my diary and making a very few short reports on trespass and on grazing matters, and drawing maps and compiling data obtained on timber surveys". 2/

"It would be said a ranger received nothing except their salaries. They got no travel expenses. They furnished at least two horses each and what little equipment they used. Not even an axe or shovel was furnished by the government. I received no travel expenses whatever from the government until I went to the Humboldt Forest in 1907." 3/

"There were only 115 foresters with degrees from American colleges in 1905 when the administration of the forest reserves was transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture. Most of these were employed by the newly created Forest Service, formerly Bureau of Forestry. The foresters constituted only a small minority in the new set-up, which was rapidly expanded to encompass additional duties and responsibilities. Additional personnel was recruited from many walks

1/ Roberts, Paul H., Them Were the Days, pp. 3, 4, as told by Leon F. Kneipp.

2/ Woods, C. N., Thirty-seven Years in the Forest Service. Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

3/ Ibid.

of life: ex-cowboys, stockmen, lumberjacks, timber cruisers, miners, -- graduates of rimrocks, sagebrush, frequently lacking in formal education but rich in the lore of the West -- a general sprinkling of engineers, artists, pharmacists, health seekers, ministers, and plain adventurers. Many were of the break often found on the fringes and distant operation of mankind. Although it was as heterogeneous an outfit as could be put together for the task it had to meet, it was instilled by Gifford Pinchot and some of his associates it was with a common purpose and a crusading spirit, the like of which is a seldom thing." 1/

5

"By this time (1906) we were beginning to make considerable progress. Technical foresters were being hired and were of much help in showing us how to estimate, mark, scale, and utilize timber. The first of these I contacted on the forest was George Cecil, in 1905. We were beginning by 1906 to get a little better range management. Grazing trespass was being greatly reduced. A start was made to divide the sheep ranges into grazing allotments so that an individual permittee would have a range of his own. He would be much more likely to graze it properly when he had a separate allotment than several or many camps and the best feed first. Until ranges were divided, there was excessive trailing of sheep and uneven utilization of ranges, nor were they grazed according to seasonal readiness." 2/

The true Forest Rangers, even if the terminology covers any member of the Forest Service who goes into the field, are men in charge of ranger districts in national forests. These, in the early days, often had been born and raised in or near the countryside in which they served. They might stay on the same district or on the same forest for years. Sometimes they served a full career in one forest. They knew their districts thoroughly -- the timber, range conditions, the people, and the people knew them for better or worse. 3/

#### D. Biographies

##### 1. Supervisors

- a. Charles "Pap" Deloney had a Forest Superintendent appointment in 1898, and he was furloughed during the late fall. "On June 9, 1899, he was appointed Supervisor of that portion of the Yellowstone National Park Timberland lying south of Yellowstone National Park. This infor-

1/ Roberts, Paul H., Them Were the Days, pp. 3, 4.

2/ Alsop, John, Memories in the Old Timer Club

3/ From Paul H. Roberts, Them Were the Days, pp. 123

mation is somewhat cloudy as to just when he was appointed and for which area. A telegram definitely appointed him to take over that portion of the Teton Division, but the telegram was addressed to Superintendent Charles Deloney, so he must have already had that appointment or title for some other area". 1/ He served until 1902. He agreed to take the position only until the government could find someone on a permanent basis. This was a great responsibility and he performed his duties to a high degree, in the meantime falling in love with the country. (He was living in Evanston, Wyoming at the time of his appointment in 1898 and moved to Jackson.) 2/

He was a true pioneer in every way, having come to the Territory of Wyoming from Michigan in 1867. Upon coming to Wyoming, he was employed by the Union Pacific Railroad as a foreman of a tie-cutting crew and had many thrilling and dangerous experiences, some with Indians. He was a close friend of Buffalo Bill as well as other noted characters of the frontier. 3/

He started a store in Jackson which was the first to supply the few people living there at that time. It was very difficult getting supplies for it, having to be hauled by horses and wagon a distance of 100 miles. There were no roads -- just trails, and there was the worry of hostile Indians at all times, requiring two weeks or more to get a load of groceries into Jackson. It was where the Jackson Hole Museum now stands and the storage building, the Pink Garter site. He also worked for the good of the community by serving many years in both the territorial and State of Wyoming legislatures, and State Senate. He was kind to the people, hence the name "Pappy". 4/

- b. Robert E. Miller was appointed on August 20, 1902 replacing Armor Thompson who served less than a year. Miller served for 16 years until June 30, 1918. He was the third Superintendent of the Teton Division of the Yellowstone Reserve but was the first supervisor when the Teton National Forest was established in 1908. He located the first forest office in a log cabin at the side of the present Refuge shops. From here the office was moved to the Bennett house about two blocks east of the city park. 5/

Miller sold out his property there and moved to town in 1914. To a man resourceful enough to live off the country, Miller's salary as forest supervisor was an extra dividend. Few others in the valley had a flow of cash. Miller became the financier of the valley, the lender. He also organized the first bank in

1/ Letter from Clare Hendee, Deputy Chief, U. S. Department of Agriculture. May 12, 1967 to Senator Clifford Hansen, Forest Service Files.

2/ Old Timers News, Intermountain Region, June 1966

3/&4/ Ibid.

5/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

Jackson and served as its president starting in 1914. He also ran cattle and both he and Mrs. Miller had grazing permits. He had his fingers in many pots as his work as Forest Supervisor didn't entail too much of his time even though he did his own office work. 1/

(Note: More about Miller is covered under Part I, J, - Important or Interesting People.)

## 2. Ranger Biographies

906 a. Rudolph "Rosie" Rosencrans received his ranger appointment in 1904, and was in charge of the Buffalo District from then until 1927 when he retired for disability -- he was going blind. Educated in the strict discipline of the Austrian homeland, his qualifications for his chosen work were exceptional. With passage of the Forest Homestead in 1906, examination and survey of all tracts applied for under this Act developed upon the district ranger. Vast areas of the forest were still unmapped and for this work he had unusual ability. His surveys and maps were models of accuracy, and his draftsmanship unexcelled. Many of his professionally drawn maps are on file in the Jackson Forest office. 2/ (Figures 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30)

He was also handy with tools. He built the first ranger station at Blackrock, a one-room cabin east of the more elaborate one of two rooms. His second one was well built with hand-hewn logs inside and was used by many rangers after "Rosie" retired. In 1904, Alsop, C. N. Woods and "Rosie" built a two-room cabin just below the old Gregory Bridge, near the mouth of the Buffalo Fork of the Snake. The cabin had a dirt roof and the floor was the ground. In any prolonged rain, the roof leaked badly. They next built a bridge across Buffalo Fork, a short distance below the old Gregory Bridge. 3/

Buildings at both the Buffalo and Blackrock sites which are now in use were constructed in 1904-1905. 4/ These were of a more permanent type. "Rosie" was very proud of the Blackrock Ranger Station which he had built by hand and once he came all the way from Jackson to see if they had painted it purple, as some of the Forest Service men had told him, for a joke. He couldn't see it, but we assured him it wasn't painted but just like it was when he lived there. This was in 1934. 5/

1/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wy.

2/ Jackson Hole Courier, Feb. 17, 1949, Forest Anniversary

3/ Woods, C. N. Thirty-seven Years in the Forest Service, Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wy.

4/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wy. Letter from Art Buckingham, former supervisor of the Teton.

5/ Allan, K. C. and Esther, from notes compiled from visits with "Rosie" over the years.



Figure 25. Rudolph Rosencrans  
Taken by the movie company of "Rosie" when he  
was 49 in 1922. The picture was THE COWBOY  
AND THE LADY.





Figure 26. 'Rosie Rosencrans' first cabin at Blackrock in the early 1900's. It was located about 100 yards southeast of the present Blackrock Station on the Buffalo River. Picture taken about 1940.

# INSTRUCTIONS.

In mapping National Forest areas on these sheets, use should be made of only five scales, viz, 1, 2, 4, 8, or 16 inches to 1 mile.

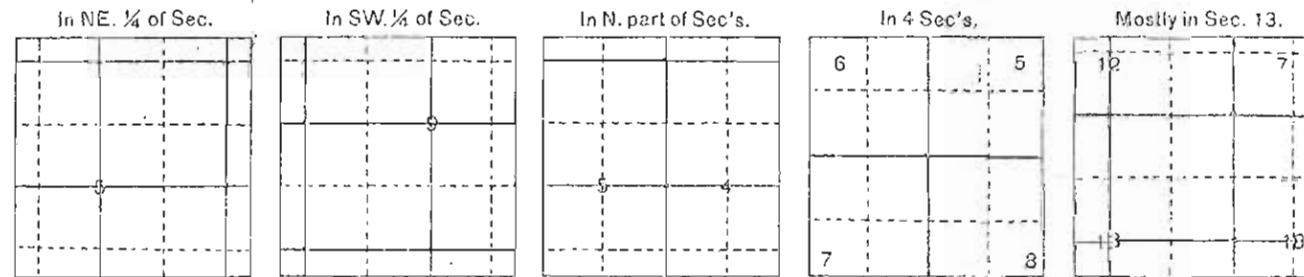
For outline maps of township or other simple boundaries, rights of way, reconnaissances, etc., the scale of 1 inch to 1 mile may be used, provided there is not much data to be plotted or the total area is not small, in either of which cases the scale should be doubled to 2 inches to 1 mile. If the area is very small or there is detail which requires it, the scale of 4 inches to 1 mile should be used.

For maps to show many features, like relief, drainage, roads, houses, land and forest types and conditions, block or other detailed boundaries, etc., as will be necessary on most working-plan maps, the scales of 8 or 16 inches to 1 mile should be used.

The plat on the front of this sheet is 8 inches square and divided into 256 squares by lines one-half inch apart. These dimensions are very well adapted to the mapping of areas surveyed by the rectangular system, as may be seen in the following table of equivalents:

KIND OF MAP.	INCHES PER MILE.	CHAINS PER INCH.	CHAINS PER SQUARE.	SQUARE MILES PER SHEET.	ACRES PER SQUARE.	SQUARES PER SECTION.	SQUARES PER $\frac{1}{4}$ SECTION.	SQUARES PER 40 ACRES.	INCH GRADUATION.	CHAINS PER GRADUATION.
Few outlines on large area.....	1	80	40	64	160	4 = 2x2	1	$\frac{1}{4}$	40ths.	2
Few outlines on small area.....	2	40	20	16	40	16 = 4x4	4 = 2x2	1	40ths.	1
Numerous outlines.....	4	20	10	4	10	64 = 8x8	16 = 4x4	4 = 2x2	20ths.	1
Topographic or economic.....	8	10	5	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	256 = 16x16	64 = 8x8	16 = 4x4	10ths.	1
	16	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1024 = 32x32	256 = 16x16	64 = 8x8	10ths.	$\frac{1}{2}$

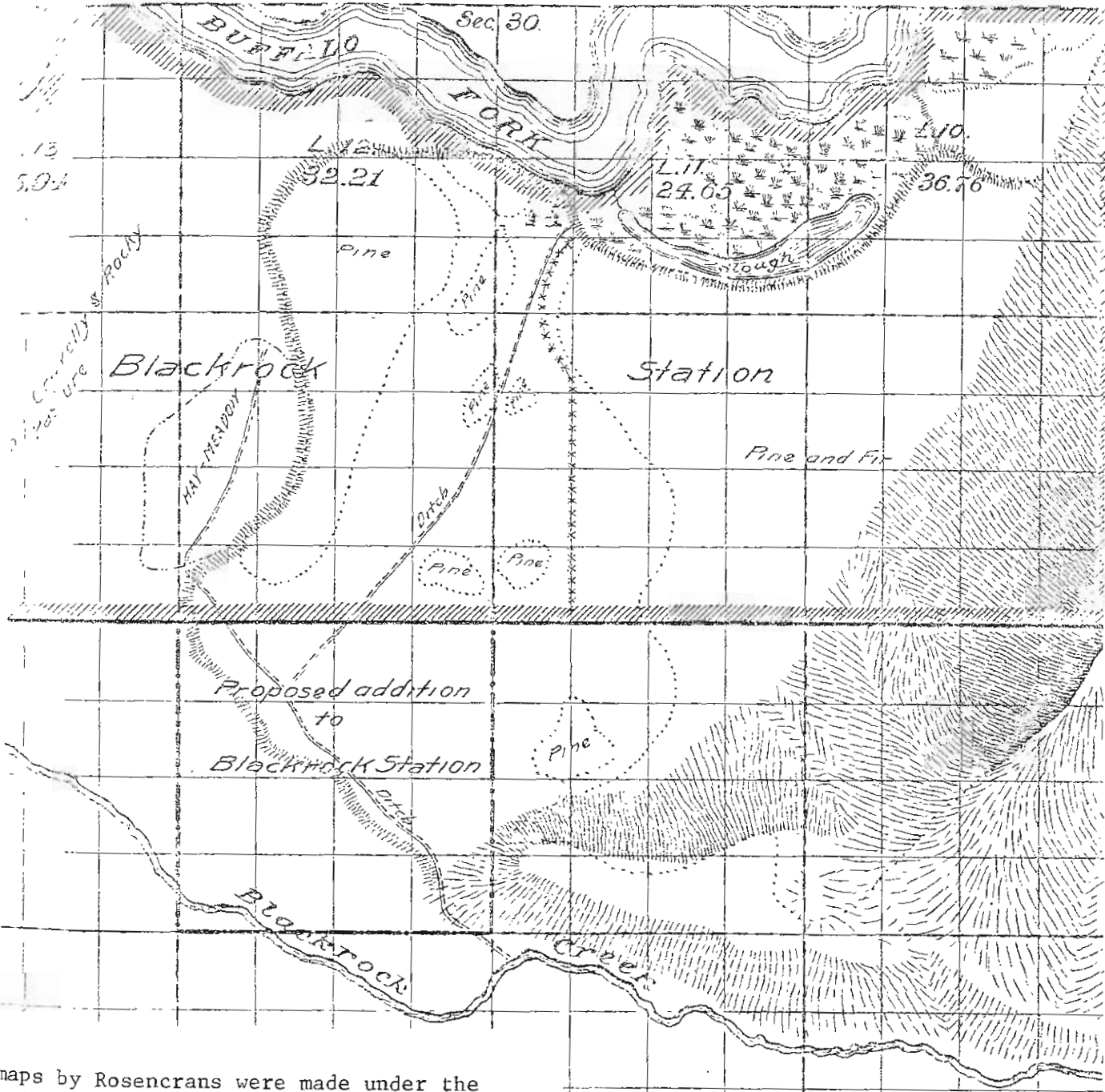
Each map should be placed as near the center of the sheet as the size and shape of the area will permit. The following diagrams illustrate how areas of less than 640 acres can be adjusted to a sheet when the scale is 8 inches to 1 mile:



When an area is too large to fit on one sheet the lined portion of another sheet should be pasted to the bottom or side of the first, according to the shape of the area to be mapped. The lines on all sheets should coincide wherever they join each other. The additional sheets should fold over upon the original one in such shape as to be filed with it as one sheet.

MAP SHEET

No. \_\_\_\_\_ Teton National Forest.  
 District \_\_\_\_\_ Block \_\_\_\_\_  
 T. \_\_\_\_\_, R. 11/2 N., \_\_\_\_\_ 6<sup>th</sup> P. \_\_\_\_\_ T., Section 30-31, Quarter \_\_\_\_\_  
 P. Rosencrans \_\_\_\_\_ Scale: 8 inches = 1 mile.



maps by Rosencrans were made under the  
 ctions from the 1907 manual, INSTRUCTIONS  
 KING FOREST SURVEYS AND MAPS, U. S. Depart.  
 iculture, Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot,  
 er.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
FOREST SERVICE

MAP SHEET

H. Appl. No. 218

Teton

National Forest.

District

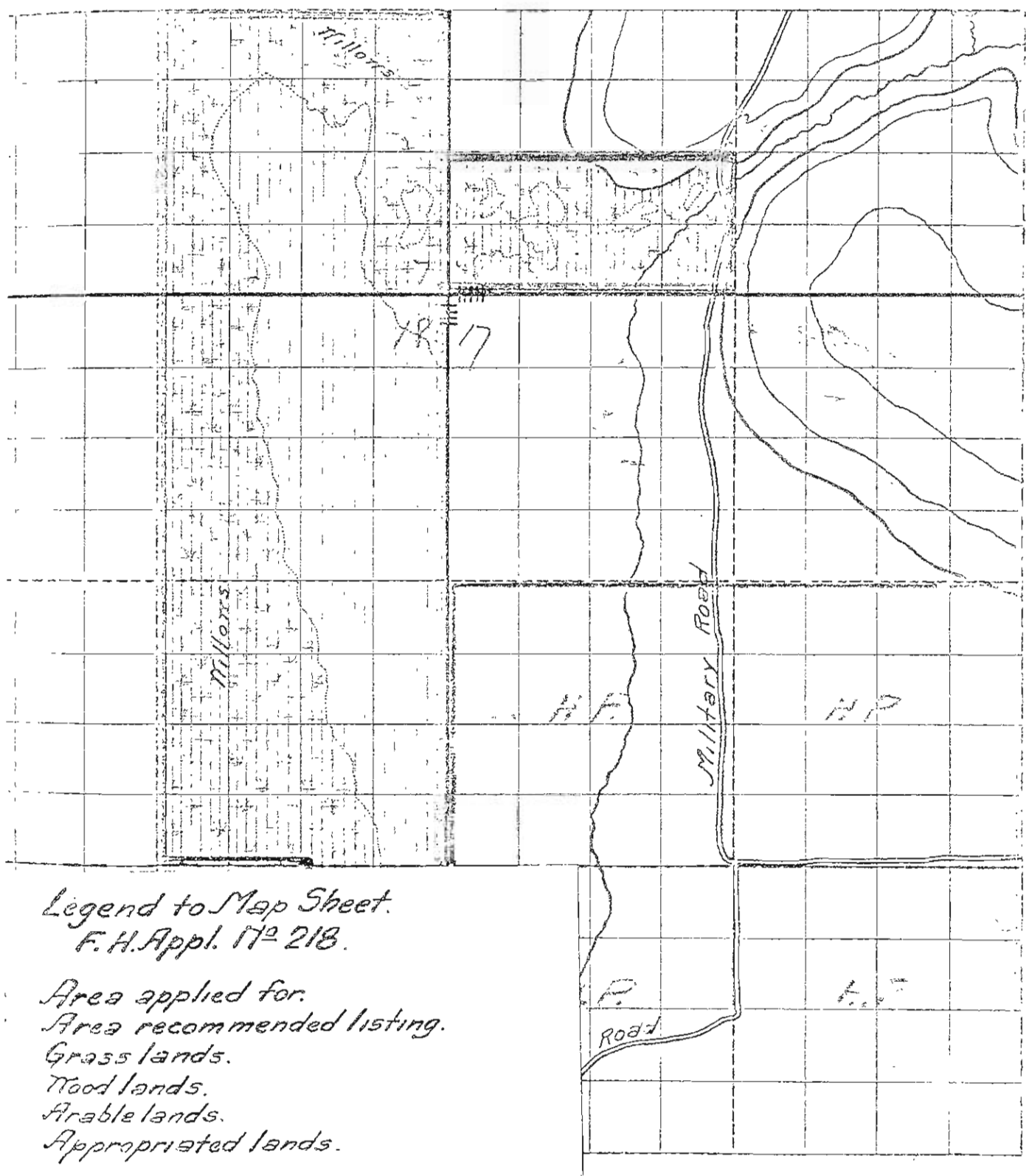
Block

15th, R. 14th

6th P. M., Section 7-8-18, Quarter

J. P. Rosencrans.

Scale: 3 inches = 1 mile.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
FOREST SERVICE

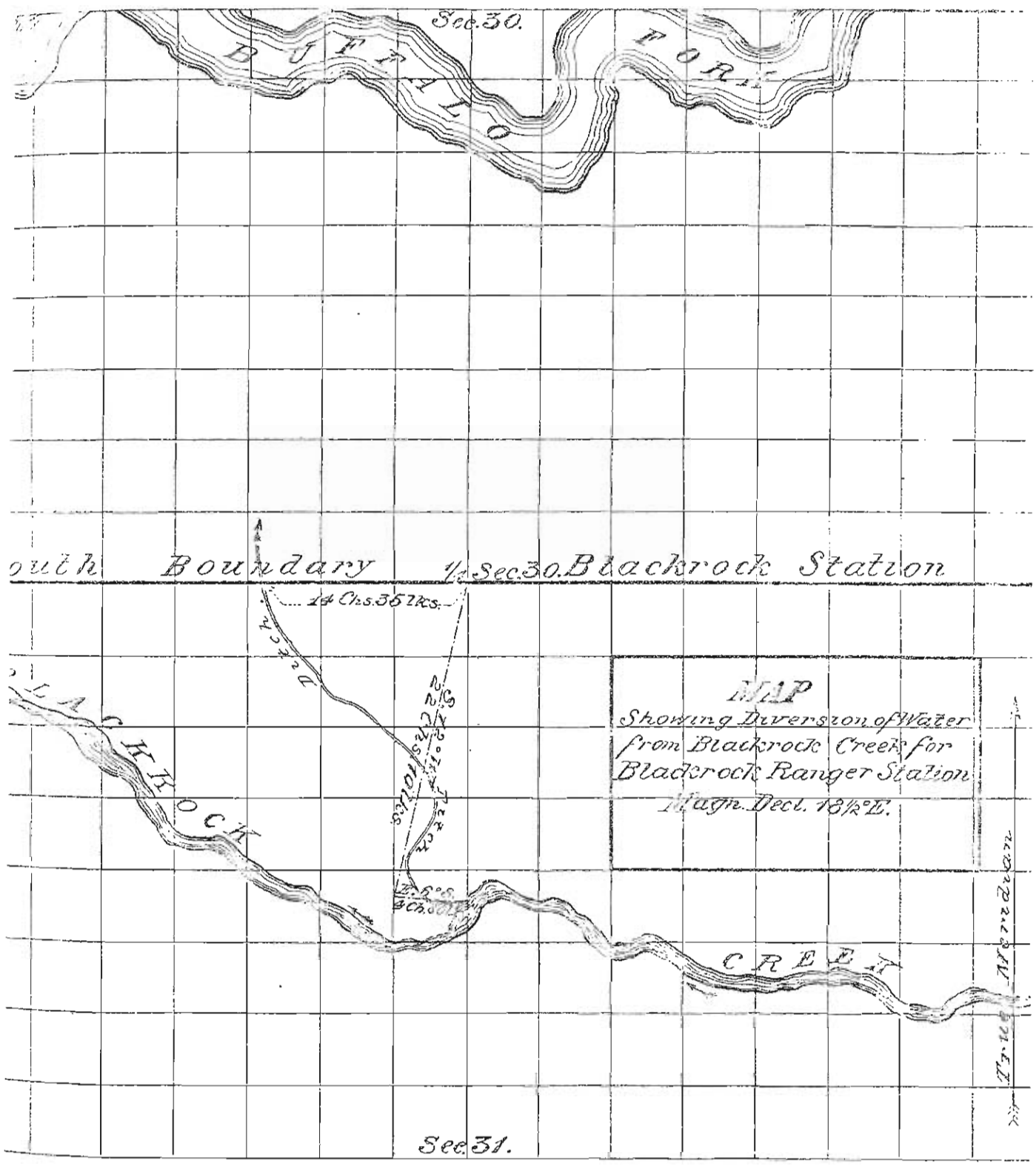
MAP SHEET

No. \_\_\_\_\_ *TETON NATIONAL* Forest Reserve,

Dist. \_\_\_\_\_, Block \_\_\_\_\_

T. *45N.*, R. *112W.*, 6th Pr. M., Section *31*, Quarter *N.W.*

by *Rudolph Rosencrans, Forest Ranger* Scale: *8* inches = 1 mile.



*MAP*  
*Showing Diversion of Water*  
*from Blackrock Creek for*  
*Blackrock Ranger Station*  
*Magn. Decl. 18 1/2 W.*

*Sec. 31.*

Mr. Rosencrans had an interesting background for his forest work. He was born in Redegrubes or Hock Clumetzor, Austria in 1875. His father was a forester on the estate of a nobleman and Rosie took advantage of what his father knew; also inheriting his father's keen intelligence and controlled mind. He applied himself to learning many things: mathematics, languages, skill with his hands and eyes, and had a great knowledge of the forests and their inhabitants. He attended the University of Vienna for two years and left to serve his time in the navy of Austria. He had studied engineering at the university so got accepted at the naval academy at Pola where he studied navigation at Fiume and at Pola. He got a job as navigator on the battleship Princess Elizabeth under the command of Arch-duke Emperor Francis Ferdinand. Warships of that day had sails and during a typhoon in the Yellow Sea, he got hung up on the rigging which he was fixing, and injured his ankle badly. When the ship docked in San Francisco, Rosie left it to go to a doctor to see about his ankle. His departure was not a formal cleavage from the Austrian Navy. Later he was given an honorable discharge. 1/

He had an uncle and aunt who lived in Butte, Montana and he headed there. Early in the century, he decided to visit Jackson Hole and came in with Senator Spooner from Wisconsin in 1896. He was then nineteen years old. He had been fascinated by Buffalo Bill and his shows in Europe and that was a drawing card for the west. A second trip there was an Irishman along with Rosie who was headed the same way. They came down Phillips Canyon, the first canyon north of Teton Pass, with their horses. When they got to the river, they found they would have to swim their saddle and pack horses across. The Irishman's horses got loose and were swept downstream. "Rosie" and other men in the party raced down the side of the river and finally got the animals out. Everything in the outfit, including the men, their horses, grub and beds were soaked. It was early spring and very cold. The men started a fire to dry out their things. The fire got away and in their hurry to pack up and clear out, Rosie discovered bottles of acid and other suspicious equipment in the panniers belonging to his Irish companion. Fire or not, Rosie stopped to inquire why the presence of acid and it developed that the Irishman, a clever draftsman, was headed for Jackson Hole away from the world to spend some time counterfeiting. 2/ A fight ensued between the two hot-blooded men, with the Irishman intent on cracking the Austrian over the head with his .45. Rosie got away without a cracked skull, but they parted company, the Irishman going back where he had come from and Rosie went on into Jackson Hole. He entered it fighting and went on fighting poachers, fires, cattle rustlers, stagecoach robbers, holdup men, and in calmer moments, fighting for conservation of its rich resources.

1/ Allan, K.C. and Esther, from notes compiled from visits with Rosie over the years.

2/ Ibid.

Another incident Rosencrans notes in his diary of July 9, 1907, states that he left Jackson to go to his ranger district. When he arrived at the Gros Ventre River, 7 miles north of Jackson, George Kissinger, the stage driver and mail carrier, had just been drowned. Ranger Rosencrans took part in the search for the body. Kissinger's team was found downstream on an island still hitched together, though one of the horses had been drowned.

While at the scene of the accident, Dr. Palmer rode up the bank of the river on his way to call on Ranger Lee's wife at Zenith. When the doctor saw the river and knew of the drowning he refused to go across. Rosencrans told him he had a good horse and persuaded the doctor to let him tie a rope around the doctor's waist, then if the doctor's horse couldn't make it, Rosencrans could pull the doctor out, but they crossed the river without any difficulty.

Rosencrans did many jobs, according to his diary of 1906-07. He patrolled his vast district by horse or skis and webs; counted game, issued grazing permits; checked on hunters and trappers looking for poachers; built cabins, bridges and fences, constructed culverts and drainage ditches; cut his firewood, sharpened his tools, put out forest fires; rescued the lost and injured and recovered bodies; marked boundaries for the new agricultural boundary; made not only his own but skis and snowshoes for other people; made long trips to Jackson on skis in winter and other parts of his domain; drew maps of the area; posted the trails which he built and did all the other things that needed doing. His was a typical life of rangers from 1905 to the 1940's, in general type of work done.

In 1914, Rosie took Buffalo Bill into Open Creek up a game trail to Hidden Creek. Buffalo Bill said if he could live in the wilderness like "Rosie" he would live to be a hundred and feel great. He had a pint of whiskey with him and only gave Rosie one short drink, then he finished therest. Rosie thought he drank too much and that is probably what finally killed him. Since Rosie came to America because he had seen Buffalo Bill in Europe on one of his tours there and was very impressed with him, this trip was a tremendous event in his life. Buffalo Bill was so pleased with his trip with Rosie that he asked him what he could give him. Rosie finally told him he would like a lock of his hair as a keepsake, so Buffalo Bill pulled out his hunting knife and whacked off a lock of hair. Rosie kept it for the rest of his life and showed it to his many friends.

Note: The material above obtained from interviews with K. C. "Sunny" Allan, Ranger on Blackrock and Moran.

Rosie also raised wild hay at Blackrock for his horses. He used to ski from Blackrock to Jackson in four hours when the ski conditions were good. That was the only means of transportation when the few roads were snowed in. He had great stamina. 1/

"Rosie" was part of the history of Jackson Hole and contributed much to the story of its growth and eventful episodes. This was the era of the beginning of many things following the period of the early trappers and explorers. The late 80's and early 90's marked the beginning of many things; early settlers, irrigation, dude ranches, sawmilling, the first post office, the first grocery store, the beginning of the town of Jackson, the first commercial enterprise of Menor's Ferry, troubles with the Indians and the creation of the Teton National Forest. The biographies of people of that period such as Rudolph Rosencrans are the history of a country. 2/

b. John Alsop was appointed ranger by Forest Superintendent, A. A. Anderson, and was sent into Jackson Hole by President Roosevelt in January 1904. His district was a thirty mile strip along the south side of Yellowstone National Park. He and Ranger Rosencrans patrolled the roads during the rest of the summer in 1904. "It was in the horse and covered-wagon days and travelers built their fires here, there and everywhere and we had to see they put their fires out. During the winter we worked on building a cabin on the Buffalo River and cut timbers for a new bridge across the river there with the help of C. N. Woods. During the winter we skied up Pacific Creek and back into the Thorofare country, looking for beaver trappers and game poachers. 3/

There were some of the local citizens not above poaching themselves, especially beaver and elk for their winter meat on closed territories. Among the beaver poachers was one man that gave us a bad time, Charlie "Beaver Tooth" Neal. He was one of the most notorious of the poachers both for beaver and elk tusks. He had a small ranch east of Moran on the old road to Turpin Meadows. We had many run-ins with "Beaver Tooth" but he was a smart, wily character and had many tricks to fool us. He caused the north country rangers a great deal of trouble as well as the game wardens who knew what he was doing but couldn't catch him doing it."

"I looked across the flat from where we were building a cabin and barn at the Buffalo River and saw a man we had been looking for and trying to catch. He was "Beaver Tooth". I said, 'There goes Neal and it looks like he has a beaver on his back', so we

1/ Notes from interviews with Rudolph Rosencrans by K. C. and E. A. Allan

2/ Ibid.

3/ Alsop, John D., Newsletter, Forest Service; Old Timers Club, F.S.

4/ Interview with R. Rosencrans by K. C. and E. B. Allan.



started after him on snowshoes and couldn't catch him. We came back and I phoned the Justice of the Peace to get a search warrant. Supervisor Miller had told me to have everything in the search warrant that I thought was in the house and not search for anything but what was in the warrant, so I had to snowshoe six miles down to Fred Cunningham's and get a search warrant. This Neal was a man that always rose early and be gone before anybody got around which was why he was hard to catch. 1/

"We got our warrant and came back. I phoned Rosencrans who lived two miles above Neal's place that we were leaving at two o'clock in the morning and to meet Romey and me at Neal's. We had four miles to ski and it was cold that morning and we waited awhile until, it being ten below, we couldn't take it any longer, I said to the others, 'I used to play football and learned to shoulder. I know that door is bolted, but I think I can break it loose.' I took a run and jumped my shoulder against the door and knocked it plumb off. I and the door landed inside. A beaver hide fell beside me. Romey rushed in and said to Neal, 'You behave now, and everything will be lovely'. He took the guns at the head of the bed, emptied them and stacked them outside. I read the search warrant and expected to find beaver hides in his bed between the mattresses or underneath the springs. I searched everywhere and found nothing until I got to his wife's trunk. She began to cry and said, 'I just ironed yesterday and have everything pressed and put away and I hate to have you disturb them. I looked at it and almost weakened at the thought, but when I started to feel down the inside, I found beaver hides clear to the bottom, eleven of them and we had a nice case, so we had to take him to the Justice but couldn't leave the woman there. We looked around and found a little sleigh, a kind of toboggan, so Romey and Rosencrans on skis pulled her five miles to the settlement. Neal got his six months in jail and his hides were confiscated." 2/

Note: Rudolph served 23 years with the Forest Service in the same district at Blackrock. He was retired in 1927 due to failing eyesight. He was given a pension of \$772, \$20 per year, in monthly installments, to commence November 25, 1927 and to continue during total disability for useful and efficient service, or until otherwise terminated by law. 3/

Rosie was one of the few remaining Charter Members of the Forest Service up until his death in St. John's Hospital on September 22, 1970, just three months prior to his 95th birthday. He lived for many years totally blind in his little log cabin in the town of

1/ Alsop, John D., Newsletter, F.S. Old Timers Club, March 1956, Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

2/ Ibid.

3/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

Jackson. For only the last five years was he confined to the hospital in Jackson. His final resting place is on his beloved ground at the Blackrock Ranger Station, with a timbered mountain above the station that will forever bear his name, "Rosie's Ridge". 1/

"I remember a man hunt. We got news from Dubois that a man had hit a storekeeper in the head with a stove poker, robbed a safe and had stolen a horse and saddle. He had a rifle in a scabbard, a six shooter with a belt full of ammunition and was headed for Jackson Hole. Ed Romey and I thought we were in a good place to catch him. After waiting until noon we brushed out the tracks in the road and went to the cabin for a quick bite. Upon coming back we saw fresh horse tracks in the road, so we mounted our horses and followed it. When we got to Charlie Allen's store he said, 'John, you are wanted on the phone'. Ben Sheffield, who ran a dude ranch at the outlet of Jackson Lake said over the phone, 'He is trying to cross the river now, has made two attempts, but the river is so high he is afraid to tackle it'. By this time we were joined by two game wardens, a soldier, and Charlie Deviney, a new ranger, who was helping me. We hurried to the spot but as we approached the man took off through a swamp toward the park. I told the others that I would follow him through the swamp and they should take off around the road and try to head him off at the head of the swamp. Charlie Deviney and the soldier reached the upper end just as the robber was coming out. They started to ask him if he had seen any elk and while the fellow was pointing to a nearby hill where he had seen some, Charlie leveled his gun on him, rode up along side of him, pulled his six-shotter out of his belt and his rifle off his saddle, saying, 'You come along with us and save a lot of trouble'. They hollered to me, 'We have him John, come out'. 'So, you're the big gull are you, what are you going to do now?' I told him to leave that to us. We went back to Charlie Allen's where we met the sheriff's party from Dubois and turned the culprit over to them." 2/ (Ed Romey helped on construction work on the original Buffalo River Cabin and was at this time a Yellowstone Park Scout a-parently hired by the Forest Service on a temporary basis or else contributed his time.) 3/

John Alsop worked in the dry summer of 1910 fighting forest fires. This resulted in his early retirement from the Forest Service. 4/

c. Clarence N. Woods began working on the Shoshone Division of the Yellowstone Forest Preserve in July 1902; transferred to the

1/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

2/ Alsop, John D., Newsletter, F.S. Old Timers Club, March 1956, Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

3/ Buckingham, Art, Former Forest Supervisor, Letter to the F.S. January 18, 1955. Forest Service Files.

4/ Woods, C. N., The Boys of the Old Brigade. Forest Service Files, February 1, 1955.

Teton Division in September of 1904. With two pack horses and one saddle horse he rode from Cody up the Shoshone River through the Sylvan Pass, around the north end of Yellowstone Lake, and south to Jackson. 1/

He reported to Supervisor Miller who had his headquarters on his ranch about a mile and a half from the town of Jackson. He had extensive ranch holdings and was running several hundred head of cattle in Jackson Hole at that time. He was a prominent high-minded citizen and a man of excellent judgement. 2/

He stopped in Jackson but one night and then started south to look over the work and country in the south half of the Teton Division. The Teton Forest then included what is now the Teton and the old Wyoming Forests, and a part of the Yellowstone National Park, and the south end was about 35 miles north of Kemmerer, Wyoming. It required about 180 miles of travel to go horseback from one end to the other by the most practical roads and trails. He was hired as a second-class ranger at \$75.00 per month. 3/

He worked and rode with Rudolph Rosencrans and John Alsop in 1904 and 1905. "I also rode with Fred Graham, John Raphael, and George Cecil in 1905. I worked in range management with Homer E. Fenn and Ernest Winkler for five or six years. There were three classes of rangers, first, second and third, with wages per month of \$90, \$75, and \$60 respectively. Forest officers were then all political appointees prior to February 1, 1905, when the Civil Service took over. The average cowpuncher or ranch hand usually was able to get a passing grade. 4/

"In 1903 we sent grazing applications for approval to New York City to the Superintendent of the four divisions of the Yellowstone Park Timber Land Preserve. 5/

"That many years ago we didn't travel deluxe, occasionally we swam our horses across a stream at flood. We made a trip of several days on skis with back-packs, no bedding, camping out where night found us, or sleeping a while during the day in the sun and skiing part of the night. On some winter trips we forded streams carrying our skis and clothes across, dressing and then continuing our trip. We sometimes skied in temperatures near fifty below zero. In summer and fall, often the grass was plentiful for our horses. If there weren't too many flies and

1/ Woods, C. N., Thirty-seven Years in the Forest Service.  
Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

2/ Ibid.

3/ Woods, C. N., The Boys of the Old Brigade, Forest Service Files.

4/ Ibid.

5/ Ibid.

mosquitoes, life in the open was pleasant. When we had plenty of fish or elk meat, navy beans and a fair supply of canned goods, Dutch-oven biscuits and John Alsop's "Bear Sign", which consisted of rice and dried blackberries boiled together for desert, a meal was something to look forward to."

"On my stay on the Teton I seldom saw a deer."

"Rudolph Rosencrans lost his eyesight from the glare of the sun on snow as he skied on the headwaters of the Buffalo Rock and Yellowstone, patrolling to protect beaver from poachers." 1/

"The winter of 1906=07 we built two bridges across the Gros Ventre River. 2/

"I remained on the Teton until the winter of 1906-97 when I was transferred to the Humboldt National Forest, February 1907." (He advanced to the position of Regional Forester.) 3/

"Forest Ranger A. N. Davis has been detailed to look after the cutting of timber for the sawmills west of Wilson." 4/

Note: There isn't too much material on the early rangers but have tried to cover what there is.

1/ Woods, C. N., The Boys of the Old Brigade, Forest Service Files.

2/ Woods, C. N., Thirty-seven Years in the Forest Service, Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

3/ Ibid.

4/ Jackson Hole Courier, "Forest Anniversary", February 17, 1949.

## E. Grazing and the Sheep War

Grazing administration in national forests in the early days presented more difficulties and absorbed more time and effort than all other activities combined. (1) Ample reasons, some of which reverted to conditions on the open range prior to the creation of the Forest Reserves, others were integral with the successful establishment of the National Forest System. Progressively changing conditions directly affected use of the range lands. (2) The National Forest System was created by withdrawal of Forest Reserves from the vast expanses of the unappropriated public domain. Congress authorized such withdrawals in the Act of March 3, 1891. The Reserves were created mostly in the eleven western range states simply because there were little or no public domain forests left elsewhere in the country. The administration of the Reserves was first placed under the General Land Office in the Department of the Interior, but was transferred to the Department of agriculture, by Act of Congress, February 1, 1905. The name of the old Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture, was changed to "Forest Service" in the then pending appropriation bill for the Fiscal Year 1906, and "Forest Reserves" was changed to "National Forests" by Act of Congress in 1907. Most of the lands within the reserves were grazed by domestic livestock and the most important task of the newly created Forest Service became the development and establishment of a system of controlled grazing use on the reserve range lands. This unprecedented task was tantamount to the successful establishment of the national forest system which would embrace one-fifth of the total area of the eleven western range states. 1/

Range wars were rampant on the open range around the turn of the century and conditions chaotic. Many bills were introduced in Congress during the nineties to authorize administration of the Public domain so the Forest Service consulted with livestock organizations and they cooperated in determination of the basic controls and the governing regulations. (The stockmen and the Forest Service, however, in the western scene, and in a web of circumstances not fully understood and over which they had little, if any, control.) The range had been depreciating since around the turn of the century. It was too heavily stocked even in the early years. Mormon settlers brought both cattle and sheep into the country in the later seventies. The forest fires started by the sheepmen in the Yellowstone Reserve also added to the overall picture of the depletion of the forests. 2/

1/ Roberts, Paul H., Them Were the Days. p. 113.

2/ Ibid.

1902

John Alsop tells of making a trip south of Jackson Hole to Star Valley where he counted three hundred thousand sheep. Fred Graham was with him to help. One the way down to Afton they crossed the Menor Ferry and went down the river to Mosquito Creek, then around into the canyon of the Snake River. The river was so high they had to take to a steep hillside. Going around this steep place, Alsop's nice little pack horse rolled off into the river and away went everything, never to be seen again. He was taking records of the Teton Forest office for the new forest office in Afton, so the records were lost too. \* This was the year 1902. 1/

The ranges there could not begin to support such numbers, and the sheepmen were constantly on the hunt for new territory. In 1897 cattlemen had issued an ultimatum that sheep would not be permitted in the valley. In 1902 these thirty thousand sheep were pushed north into the Upper Green River's lush meadows. These flocks were attacked by a large number of men and about 2000 sheep were killed. In Teton Basin on the other side of Jackson Hole sheep herds were being turned onto the ranges formerly used by cattle. A band of sheep was herded across the divide onto Mosquito Creek in Jackson Hole. Their herder was attacked by armed and masked men and whipped; about 300 sheep were shot and killed, including the herder's horse and dog; and his camp outfit was burned. Ed Trafton (Harrington) shot a sheep camp's team of horses and their saddle horse and attempted to blow up the sheepmen by planting blasting powder along the trail they used. Lee Lucas, an old-timer of Jackson Hole, claimed that sheepmen drove four thousand sheep into Jackson Hole across Snake River where they had built a bridge for this purpose. Cattlemen destroyed the bridge and drove the sheep back that hadn't already crossed back into Idaho. The sheep that had crossed the bridge were ordered to be taken with speed by way of Wind River. 2/

In the early years of his administration Mr. Anderson had to contend with the continued resentment and hostility of the sheepmen. Once he boldly confronted an assemblage of sheepmen gathered to make an organized protest against the Reserve. He explained to them how, instead of harming Wyoming sheepmen, the Reserve would be of inestimable benefit to them, for it issued no grazing permit to any but residents of the state. Thus their home ranges would be unmolested by the wandering herds. In 1904, the warning was sent out that unless Anderson resigned as Superintendent of the Reserve, Wyoming might withhold its support from the Republican administration. An investigation was invited and Gifford Pinchot, Frank W. Mondell, then speaker of the house,

1/ Alsop, John, Memories in Old Timer Club, Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

2/ Ibid.

3/ Me. Alva A. Simpson mentions that Tom Imeson lost these records in the Snake. Perhaps he was along.

and Senator Borah paid a visit to the Reserve, after which Mr. Pinchot reported to the President that the Yellowstone Reserve, "was one of the best organized, patrolled and managed forest reserves in the country". 1/

There were many others that criticized Mr. Anderson's "Gestapo" methods of running the reserve. The sheepmen thought of him as having a "Me and Gott" attitude similar to the one shared by Kaiser Wilhelm. To give an example of their caustic criticism the Meeteetse News stated that "Mr. Anderson can, by a single stroke of his diamond-bedecked hand, put out of existence that noble animal (the sheep) that clothes his unclean body". The sheepmen seemed to consider the Reserve an attack on their special interests and began holding meetings at various places, one of which was at Meeteetse. The following article was taken from the Bulletin of the Wyoming Wool Growers' Association.

"Mr. A. A. Anderson's article in the April "Annals of Wyoming" has stirred up considerable discussion among the sheepmen of the state and those who are familiar with case, disagree with some of the statements made by Mr. Anderson.

"In all fairness to Mr. Anderson we must admit that his article shows no lack of egotism. He also leads us to believe that Mr. Anderson believes that, one, Mr. Anderson is an extremely important personage. His whole article shows he has an exaggerated sense of his own self importance.

"We believe that the sheepmen of the Meeteetse country both then and now were far more interested in the future welfare of the State of Wyoming than was Mr. Anderson. These men have their all invested in the State, have built permanent homes and are twelve-month citizens of our State.

"Mr. Anderson is unquestionably a great artist and on that account should perhaps be allowed some latitude in painting word pictures." 2/

"In response to our request for some further information on the trespass case referred to by Mr. Anderson in his article, Frank A. Hadsell of Rawlins, Wyoming, who at the time referred to was U. S. Marshall for Wyoming, has written us as follows: "I was called on as U. S. Marshall to serve papers on the Covey Brothers, who were trespassing. I was accompanied by Edward Clark, Deputy U. S. Attorney. We were met by Supervisor Miller

1/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

2/ Ibid.

with a team of mules to the Big Piney Postoffice.

"We arrived at Anderson's camp about sundown and found them already to greet us with twenty or more Forest Rangers, drawn up as a company of cavalrymen as they would be when receiving a general. I asked Miller what that meant. He informed me that we would be saluted on arrival. As I knew several of the rangers, I didn't feel like treating them as a bunch of soldiers. I stopped the mules and jumped out and started to unhitch. Anderson became indignant at the procedure and failed to ask me to his camp. Anderson put these men and horses through a military drill. The drill was repeated every morning and I requested a guide from Anderson to direct me to the Covey camp. He informed me I would be escorted by him, with his full force. I informed Anderson that mine was a civil procedure and I didn't need protection. He insisted on accompanying me.

"We arrived at the Covey camp and I served the papers on one of the Covey brothers. It was a command from the U. S. Court to vacate the Reserve in the most direct manner, which would compel them to go out onto the cattle range of the Green River Valley which was hostile to sheepmen and there had been a killing of sheep a short time prior in that vicinity. Mr. Covey asked me if I was going to insist on his going east into trouble. I told him that if I were he, I would use my best judgement. Anderson insisted that he should proceed in strict compliance with the order of Court, but when I told Covey again I would use my best judgement if I were he, Anderson in his most arbitrary and offensive manner turned to me and said, 'Mr. Marshal, do you know how much of the State of Wyoming I control?' I said, 'No, I do not, but it is a very small part of what I control as Marshal of the District of Wyoming'.

"I then told Covey I would ask Anderson for two Foresters to watch me depart in the most direct manner from the Reserve that I would travel safely. We left Covey in his camp, proceeded back to Anderson's headquarters, where he proceeded to put his men and tired horses through another drill. I was disgusted. I was more disgusted with him now than ever, watching those tired horses, which had climbed more than 40 miles of mountain country on a strict grass diet.

"I have read Anderson's article in the April Annals. I think that the Coveys, Mr. Robert Miller of Jackson or Edward Clark of Billings will substantiate this statement.

"In case you don't make this letter public, I would like you to send a copy of same to Anderson.

"Yours truly

FRANK A. HADSELL" 1/



Editor's Note: Mr. Hadsell's opinion is shared by many citizens of the State.

1/ This letter published in the Bulletin, Wyoming Wool Growers Association, McKinley, Wyoming, June 22, 1927 to be distributed at the 24th Annual Convention, Lander, Wyoming, July 20-21-22, 1927.) Copies from the Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyoming.

The sheepmen continued to wage war against Mr. Anderson and the Yellowstone Timber Preserve, causing many forest fires, almost burning down Mr. Anderson's ranch near the Grey Bull River, and threatening him with death. The enmity did not stop there. Other incidents occurred from time to time which proved it to be far from dormant. There were occasions when definite emergencies arose which called for quick and decisive action. One of these came up when Mr. Anderson was engaged on a tour of inspection in the Teton Division. A telegram from Washington informed him that 60,000 sheep had been put into that division without a permit, and asked him to investigate the matter and report. The supervisor, Robert Miller, verified the report. He declared he had not sufficient authority to prevent this trespass. The sheep belonged to four large owners in Utah, and were herded by forty armed men. Thanks to the communication facilities and Anderson's army-like organization, he was in a position to issue orders to rangers in various portions of the Reserve. \* They met him at a place called Horse-creek near Jackson Lake the following week. About sixty-five of them came, in full regalia, armed and well mounted. He gave his men the chance to volunteer to carry out his orders. After a day's march and an overnight camp, they left at three a.m. They later encountered 1500 sheep guarded by herdsmen who were having lunch. Mr. Anderson told them they could not go where they planned without a permit but they refused to obey. At last the sheep were taken in the direction Mr. Anderson intended. The rangers rounded up several other bands of sheep and took them across the eastern boundary of the Reserve, It took nearly a week to get Commissioner Clark to arrive with the injunctions to be served on several owners. The sheepmen also ran into some cattlemen across the Green River from the Reserve where 800 sheep and their camps were destroyed. One man was hit over the head with a rifle. Mr. Anderson and his army of rangers settled the affair by permitting the Jacobs' brothers, sheepmen from Utah, to take their herds back across the Reserve to Utah. In three days not a sheep was left within the boundaries. Eventually all owners were summoned to appear before the court in Cheyenne and fined for trespass. From that day to the present, there has never been another sheep trespass upon the Reserve. 1/

Mr. Anderson was appointed first colonel of the ranger patrol in charge of the Reserve, and also assistant State Game Warden and he in turn made all his rangers game wardens without pay. They became deeply interested in protecting the wildlife of the country and for the first time the game laws of the state were

\* Perhaps Mr. Anderson got his ideas of how to manage the Reserve from the army stationed at Yellowstone Park to run it in those days.

1/ Anderson, A. A., Experiences and Impressions

enforced. Wyoming was then divided into judicial districts with a judge appointed to serve them in each district. 1/

Then the Indian tribes were permitted by the Indian Department to leave their reservations and hunt on the Forest Reserve, a privilege which they exercised in and out of season and a tremendous amount of game was being slaughtered. Mr. C. N. Woods on his first trip through the Hoback Basin in October 1904, saw a herd of perhaps 200 antelope, and killed one of them. He saw but three or four antelope in Jackson Hole in 1905 and 1906, and none at any other time. There were at that time remains of stone walls in Hoback Canyon along the old horse-trail, built and used, it was said, by Indians who hid behind these walls and shot the antelope as they came up on their way to or from Jackson Hole. 2/ A letter from A. A. Anderson to the Indian Department at Washington brought an end to all permits granted to Indians to hunt on the Reserve. 3/

Big game hunters had been coming into the valley. Dr. Arthur Elting and Mr. Parker Corning came into Jackson Hole to hunt in 1908 and mention they were successful in getting their quota of elk, antelope and mountain sheep. They found plenty of antelope in the Green River country. 4/

The hard winters and the forest fires in the early 1900's played havoc with the big game animals as it depleted their forage. Also, by 1900 cattle raising was the chief industry with the census at 1,000 head and by 1910 that number had swelled to more than 3,000. The cattle were feeding on land that the elk had used and this continued through the years, as more and more cattle were being raised and allowed on the public domain. The thousands of sheep were even more detrimental to the game animals as to the feeding areas.

Cattle on the Reserves: In 1883 there were 100 legally owned cattle in Jackson Hole believed to have belonged to John Holland. Sylvester Wilson brought in a herd of 80 in 1889, and each succeeding family brought its herd. By 1900 cattle raising was the chief industry with the cattle census at 1,000 head. By 1910 that number had swelled to more than 3,000. 5/

1901

Grazing permits were issued in the spring of 1901 as a first in Jackson Hole. Instructions regarding the issuance of permits were mailed out early in the winter of that year and apparently

1/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

2/ Woods, C. N., Thirty Seven Years in the Forest Service, Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

3/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

4/ Elting, Dr. Arthur W., the Argus Newspaper, Albany, N.Y., October 18, 1908. "Hunting Big Game in the Jackson Country".

5/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

aroused quite a protest from the settlers. Representative F. W. Mondell, in reply to these complaints, stated: "We have always been accustomed to running stock on the public domain freely and it seems a little irksome in the first instance to ask for a permit for ranging stock in the Forest Reserve. This provision, however, was intended by the Interior Department, like all other rules which have been made for the government of the Forest Reserves, to be in the interests of the people in the vicinity of establishment of the Teton Reserve, believing that the settlers in the vicinity so desired, prohibited sheep grazing, thus leaving the entire Reserve for the grazing of cattle and horses. In order to enforce this order and to protect the Reserve so that it will be constantly a good grazing ground and to prevent the destruction of the timber by fire, the government goes to a considerable expense every year in the patrol and care of the Reserve. It was thought by the department that a provision requiring application for the right to graze on the Reserve would not be irksome on the part of the settlers, and it would clearly define their rights to graze so that there would be no question with regard thereto." 1/

906

In 1906 grazing fees were 10¢ each for the first 100 head of cattle and 20¢ each for all over 100 head. These were for the season May 15 to October 31. 1906 was the first year that complete records were kept of grazing permits. Fifty-six individual permits were issued for 4,072 cattle and 159 horses. The fee for horses for the season was 20¢. The largest permit was for 425 cattle and there were three permits for 300 cattle, but the majority of the permits were for less than 100 head. 1906 was also the year in which a charge for grazing use was first established. 2/

F. The Tusk Hunters. When Mr. Anderson first took charge of the Jackson Hole country in the Yellowstone Timber Preserve, he said that it was one of the worst places in the United States, filled as it was with rustlers, convicts, and desperadoes and poachers. He started in with the aid of his rangers to clean it up. He was appointed first colonel of the ranger patrol in charge of the entire area. During this time he is credited with having cleaned out the notorious Jackson Hole hide-away of the Indians, rustlers and ex-convicts. He once stormed one hideout with a band of rangers and shot down most of the fugitives. 3/

1/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyoming - Grazing

2/ Ibid.

3/ Ibid.

1904

In the early 1900's members of the B.P.O. Elks Lodge considered it quite the thing to dangle an elk tooth from a watch chain. Only the incisors, "Tusks", were considered appropriate. Quite a market sprang up for these teeth, and as there were lots of elk in Jackson Hole and Yellowstone Park, some enterprising poachers got busy. Their activities were discovered by game wardens and Forest Service rangers when they found scores of elk were being slaughtered and left to rot. In every case the tusks were missing. 1/ Tusk hunting began in 1904 exceptionally fine tusks which sold for from twenty to fifty dollars or more depending on their size and coloring. Men often kept them in a cup of coffee or in a tobacco pouch to try and darken them and make them more valuable. 2/

D. C. Nowlin was state game warden in those days, and he appointed J. D. "Si" Ferrin to the local post in July 1904. Si started trying to catch the poachers, and a year later got an assistant warden, Charles Harvey. They explored every clue that appeared. 3/

Up on the Gros Ventre, where the Teton Valley ranch now is located, lived four men whose names were William Binkley, Purdey, Merritt, and Darwin with their wives. Ferrin had long suspected them but could never pin the slaughters on them for lack of evidence. One winter of deep snow the wardens found an entire herd -- bulls, cows and calves -- shot. There were no ski or snowshoe tracks leading to or from the place. Close study of the elk tracks showed some with a peculiar line beside them, \* and eventually Si and Charlie figured it out. The poachers had mounted boards on elk feet, sort of like roller skates and strapped them on, so there was nothing but elk tracks, therefore, in the vicinity. 4/ A local poacher, "Beaver Tooth" Neal mounted his elk feet on stilts for the same purpose and packed skis with him to make the run home ahead of the game wardens while they were still out searching for him.

Too, Indian squaws used elk teeth to decorate their dresses, especially the Shoshones, who would cover the front in a design of elk teeth and sometimes use them on the sleeves and hems as a border.

There was a small, log cabin located on Glade Creek at the

1/ Jackson Hole Guide, "Teton County Has Colorful Past", no date  
2/-4/ Ibid.

\* These lines were made when the boards tipped and left an edge mark.

extreme north end of Jackson Hole. Here tuskers smoked elk meat, better known as "jerky" and took it by pack horse to Idaho where there was a ready market for it. This cabin, like others found around the valley later, was a cleverly arranged smoke-house built in the heavy timber to conceal it. It had shelves made of small pine poles spaced so smoke could get up and around all the meat. The fire was built in a firebox outside the building and smoke flowed through a rock flue that entered the cabin from the center of the floor. The W. C. Lawrences found this cabin. 1/ Tuskers' cabins were often hidden under overhanging ledges and weren't easy to spot.

Rudolph Rosencrans, who became a ranger about this time, played an important part in tracking down tuskers. "Rosie" hated them as much as he did forest fires and pursued them relentlessly. An organized gang of them had come into the valley and Yellowstone Park and one of his first jobs in the Reserve was tracking them down. On one of his trips, Rosie had been in pursuit of a tusker for several days with a party of armed men. As they approached Yellowstone Park in search of the game violator, they spotted the approach of a stagecoach. With six-shooters drawn, the party barred the way and ordered the lone passenger to step down and be questioned. It was none other than the Secretary of the Interior returning from an inspection trip of Yellowstone Park. The party and "Rosie" were most embarrassed. However, the tusker was finally caught with a sack containing 275 elk teeth and was charged with shipping \$10,000 worth of elk horns and tusks to a Los Angeles buyer. "Rosie" was also on the hunt for beaver poachers, payroll bandits, stagecoach robbers and other violators. 2/

"Mr. A. A. Anderson had an experience with the tuskers. He had been informed of three desperadoes who had a camp near Jackson Lake and were killing elk merely for their tusks. He sent them a written order to leave the Reserve. A week or so later he was riding along in that part of the mountains ten miles from the nearest ranger when, unexpectedly, he came upon their camp. As they had seen him, there was nothing to do but put up a bold front, so he rode directly up to the three men, all of whom were armed. 'I sent you an order to leave the Reserve', he said, 'How is it I still find you here?'. Two of them merely glowered at me in a sullen way, but the other was very talkative and said that they hadn't been able to find some of their stray horses and it had taken them some time to get their traps together. When asked how long it would take, they answered that it would take a few days. Anderson gave them a week for the purpose and told them that if they weren't off the Reserve by that time, he would have them arrested and turned over to the soldiers at the Snake

1/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyo.

2/ Ibid.

River Station in Yellowstone. He felt very lucky not to get shot in the back as he was leaving." 1/

Mr. Anderson remembered one instance when a ranger had arrested a man named Rogers on a charge of killing game out of season. He was found with 25 fresh elk tusks in his pockets; proof that he had shot bull elk merely for the sake of their tusks, leaving their carcasses to rot on the ground. Anderson took the man to the judge at Jackson, Wyoming and he was fined twenty-five dollars. As he came out of the court, he flippantly said, "Well, I'll have to go kill me some more elk to pay the fine." 2/

Anderson wrote a letter about the slaughter of the elk to the Order of Elks when they were holding their annual convention in Salt Lake City. As a result, a resolution was passed abolishing elk tusks as the official emblem of the order. 3/

William Binkley and his gang of poachers were arrested a number of times. One of these is told by Judge John W. Meldrum, U. S. Commissioner for Yellowstone Park. Binkley was in the guard-house the first time for poaching. He shipped to Los Angeles a half carload of elk heads and horns and they arrested him on the way to California; prosecuted him in Idaho for going through there with contraband property. They convicted him there and in Los Angeles and sent him back here to Yellowstone. They also shipped the whole business to Gardner, but I wouldn't accept it. They brought Binkley back here and after a long trial and witnesses from all corners of Los Angeles, Idaho, Jackson Hole and other places; all we could prove on him was that he killed one elk in Yellowstone Park. However, he had poached a lot down in Jackson Hole that I couldn't take into consideration. They were all afraid of him, I think, He was doing pretty much what he wanted to in Jackson Hole, so they saddled it on to the United States to prosecute him. In fact, the President of the United States took a personal interest in the case -- (President Roosevelt). General Young, who was superintendent, was a personal friend of Roosevelt and he was just wild to convict these fellows. We did convict him and another man named Purdy and sent them to the guard-house, for ninety days. Dr. T. S. Palmer, the Biological Survey man, was taking quite a part in it and was disgusted with the way the trial went. There was also a fine of about \$1000. The two poachers didn't have any money. Palmer and General Young between them decided to pay the freight on the carload of elk heads and horns

1/ Anderson, A. A., Experiences and Impressions.

2/ Ibid.

3/ Ibid.

so I sent a transcript of the trial to Cheyenne for the cost in this case and a levy on that property, and got an execution issued. Lindsley was deputy marshal at the time and he went there with the execution but he couldn't find a thing. The quartermaster wouldn't let him in where the stuff was supposed to be stored. I went back with them and after an argument we got in. All that was there was a pair of old bleached horns. We went to General Young with a telegram from the Department of Justice through the U. S. Attorney. I asked him if he could answer the telegram about what had happened to the evidence. He told us the property had been shipped to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. That was the last we ever heard of the matter. William Binkley later was out on the job of putting dirt on the plaza here, and coming in one evening to the guard house after it was getting a little dark, he jumped off the wagon when they got into a piece of brush and was never seen after that. However, he later came back and held up some stage coaches. 1/ Note: Judge Meldrum didn't seem to get any cooperation with the trial from anyone and was very bitter about the way it turned out.

## 1906

A vigilante action took place in 1906 when thirty-five Jackson men chased William Binkley, Charles Purdy, and Charles Isabel and their gang of five to seven men out of the valley. The settler had noticed a thinning out of the bigger bulls and a deterioration of the entire herd. Since they depended on the elk as many of them were hunting guides, they decided to do something about it since the State Game Department seemed unable to put a stop to it.

A posse of local citizens, including Billy Beard, Joe LaPlant, Ben Goe, Jim Chambers, Pierce Cunningham, and Albert Nelson, Sr., went to Binkley and told him he had better "git" or he would be strung up. The poachers took off for California. The Wyoming Game department contacted the California department and Binkley, Merritt, and Purdey were taken into custody, along with their wives. Later when they were searched, authorities found that they had sewn dozens of elk teeth inside their clothes.

1/ Judge John Meldrum, U. S. Commissioner for Yellowstone Park. Report. Forest Service Files. Jackson, Wyoming.



The poachers received jail sentences. 1/ They came back to Jackson Hole later.

1907

Al Austen, early ranger and a fine photographer who had the first telephoto lens in the valley, got some pictures of the Binkley gang in the process of extracting tusks and killing them. This was the first real evidence and helped to finally convict them. His films were used in the trial April 27, 1907 in Pocatello, Idaho. 2/

Rudolph Rosencrans, ranger on the Buffalo area, played a big part in bringing the Binkley gang to justice. Since they had vanished into thin air, Rosie went back into the area by himself where they had been poaching and spent weeks doing some private sleuthing. He discovered many indications that pointed to the technique of the gang and he piled up evidence that he feared might never be used. Forest Supervisor, Robert Miller, didn't give up either. Rosie and Miller got a lead on where the teeth and hides had been shipped and the evidence was turned up in far away Los Angeles. (It must not have been in the Smithsonian Institute after all.) Two of the men, Binkley and Purdy, were brought back to Pocatello this time, for a hearing. The following spring, April 1907, the hearing was held and the men were brought to trial twice. 3/

The SEMI-WEEKLY POCATELLO TRIBUNE of April 27, 1907 carried an account of the trials. The situation was considered serious enough that a U. S. Attorney from Washington, D. C. came out to the trial which was getting nationwide attention. President Roosevelt was deeply interested in getting rid of the evil of wholesale game poaching. The following is from excerpts of the April 27, edition of the paper. "It seems that a dog at Sugar City, Idaho got into the act and was responsible for Binkley and Purdy being tried and convicted for a misdemeanor -- trying to ship elk teeth, hides and heads as household goods. Purdy and Binkley had brought their loot to Sugar City while Rosie and the law officers, ranchers and others were in Yellowstone Park looking for them, and consigned it to Los Angeles as household goods. After Purdy and Binkley pulled out, the little dog following his nose, tore open one of the burlap bags, persistently pulled away at the stuffing and the deception was uncovered. The shipment was sent on its way, however, perhaps because railroad officials in those days, along with everyone else, considered

1/ Jackson Hole Guide, "The Tuskers", no date.

2/ From the files of Esther Allan from an interview with Al Austen in 1935.

3/ Forest Service Files, Jackson, Wyoming, notes on Rosencrans.