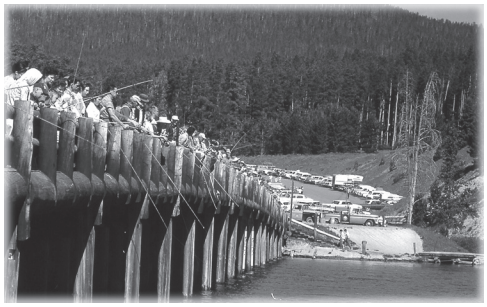
Nature and Culture at Fishing Bridge







A History of the Fishing Bridge Development in Yellowstone National Park

By Paul Schullery

National Park Service, Yellowstone Center for Resources
Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming
YCR-2010-02

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Front Cover:
Left: The "second" Fishing Bridge as it appeared in the 1920s was nearly identical in general features to the original. Note that a floating dock was at this date moored on the downstream side of the bridge near the east bank, and was used by small boats (NPS photo, YELL 171144). Center: Fishermen crowd the railing at Fishing Bridge, early 1960s (NPS Photo, YELL 01902). Right: The ecological inseparability of landscape elements near Fishing Bridge has vexed generations of managers and park constituents seeking simple and yet unified approaches to managing this area. The Fishing Bridge development is just to the east (right) of the bridge in this 2001 photograph. The large open area in the center of the photograph is the site of the former cabin area, and several miles of the Pelican Valley are visible across the top of the photograph (NPS photo by Jim Peaco, YELL 17339).

Previous page: The original Fishing Bridge boathouse was, according to the superintendent, a "floating dock with office and sleeping quarters." Steps led from the bridge down to the dock, where rental boats were tethered. A few other boats can be seen upstream of the bridge, and anglers lined the downstream side of the bridge in this 1928 photograph (Jack E. Haynes, photographer, #28372, Haynes Foundation Collection, Montana Historical Society).

Back cover:
Left: The original boathouse was replaced with a considerably grander and more permanent structure, just down the west shore from the bridge, in 1935. Shown here in 1951, the boathouse featured a shop and floating dock and continued in service until 1963 (NPS photo, YELL 29931). Center: The second Fishing Bridge gas station was completed in 1930 and opened for its first full season in 1931 (author photo, 2007). Right: As of 2007, only a few cabins remain of the once sprawling and long controversial cabin development north of the Fishing Bridge commercial strip (Author photo, 2007).

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Executive Summary

Like all of Yellowstone National Park's developed areas, the Fishing Bridge area has a colorful and surprisingly complicated history. And, like each of the others, Fishing Bridge's story is unique. Geophysically, the area is a product of Yellowstone Lake's volcanic and hydraulic restlessness. Ecologically, the area has become recognized as an elegantly complex crossroads of biological forces. Culturally, the area is distinguished as Yellowstone National Park's most consistently occupied setting, where humans have made themselves comfortable more or less continually for 10,000 years. This means that at Fishing Bridge, present nature is actually underlain by past culture.

Fishing Bridge is an extraordinarily important archeological site, certainly one of the richest and most revealing in Yellowstone National Park. The site, designated 48YE1, was one of the first two officially designated by the Smithsonian Institution Missouri River Basin Survey in 1948; its boundaries have been repeatedly enlarged by later investigators. Two separate human burial sites, discovered in 1941 and 1956, resulted in a series of controversial analyses over the identity and place of these ancient residents in the area's history. The remains were repatriated to regional tribes in 2006.

The first crude road reached the outlet of Yellowstone Lake in 1879. It was built by Superintendent Philetus Norris, who in 1881 also identified the route over the Abasaroka divide now known as Sylvan Pass (contrary to popular belief, Buffalo Bill Cody was not a significant presence in the exploration or selection of the route of the East Entrance Road). The site of the present bridge was not considered a desirable location for a bridge until later, when interest in a route to the Bighorn Basin necessitated a direct link with the north and west shores of Yellowstone Lake. From its construction stage (roughly 1900–1902) onward, the East Entrance Road was a source of exceptional annual vexation among managers for the instability of the alignment and extraordinary difficulties of maintenance.

The first bridge was designed by Hiram Chittenden and completed in 1902 and was rebuilt in 1919 due to flood and ice damage. This rebuilt bridge is known as the "second" Fishing Bridge. It lasted until 1937, when the present structure, a much wider bridge that better accommodated pedestrians and anglers, was completed.

The name "Fishing Bridge" was first officially applied to the bridge in 1914, but it was a decade later before the name "Fishing Bridge" gained general formal acceptance as the name of the development that sprang up along the road just east of the river. At first apparently perceived as a kind of suburb of the older Lake Area development, Fishing Bridge specialized in lower-cost accommodations, including an auto campground, tent cabins, and wooden cabins. The buildings in the present Fishing Bridge Historic District, including the bridge itself, mostly date from the period 1925–1937. These include the visitor center, service station and garage, general store, ranger station (now a warming hut), and a number of smaller associated buildings.

The rise of Fishing Bridge as a center of visitor accommodation and activity was nothing short of spectacular. The area went from essentially no development in 1919 to the largest camping area in the park by 1930. The cabin area continued to expand incrementally. The development reached its peak with the completion of the concessioner constructed trailer village (358 sites) in 1964 in the final days of the modernization and expansion programs of Mission 66.

The great showpiece of the historic district was and is certainly the visitor center, opened in 1931. The last and perhaps the most notable of the four original rustic "parkitecture" museums funded for Yellowstone by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, the Fishing Bridge Museum (renamed "visitor center" in about 1957) still interprets lake-area wildlife and geology. Designed by Herbert Maier, it has been consistently praised as a model for national park buildings that are thought to harmonize with nature, and is a National Historic Landmark.

As popular as Fishing Bridge obviously was with visitors, the hard times of the Depression and extreme budget restraints of World War II took a heavy toll on the development. Through the 1950s and 1960s, as the primary park concessioner and park managers struggled with collapsing infrastructure, Fishing Bridge became a regular target of critical pro-park commentators. The label "slum" was firmly attached to the huge and decrepit cabin area.

Thus, the most remarkable element of the Fishing Bridge story was the abrupt reversal of management perspective on the appropriateness of the development. Fishing Bridge reached its greatest size at the dawn of the environmental area, but Fishing Bridge's momentum for expansion had carried it well past the time when public enthusiasm for such growth was unanimous. By the 1960s, changing attitudes about park management—symbolized by the Leopold Report and Robbins Report of 1963—made Fishing Bridge seem, to many people at least, a terrible idea. Ecological investigations buttressed this opinion, and Fishing Bridge became a political hot spot in the grizzly-bear management controversies of the 1970s and 1980s. Yellowstone National Park's *Master Plan* of 1974 called for removal of the development, but regional political opposition, led by Wyoming Senator Alan Simpson, shortstopped the process.

According to a 1979 agreement between the National Park Service (NPS) and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, continued construction of the Grant Village development on the shore of Yellowstone Lake's West Thumb was contingent on removal of the Fishing Bridge development, and partial removal did occur. By 1990, the NPS campground and virtually all of the cabins were removed. But after 1994, both further removals and plans to replace the removed campsites at other locations in the park stalled. The present Fishing Bridge development is a product of both boom and bust, and stands in its present form almost by default. Wyoming historic preservationists have added another layer of irony to the Fishing Bridge saga by urging its preservation as a rare early example of commercial strip development.

Meanwhile, as agencies and advocates have waged a long and costly battle over the most suitable size and identity for Fishing Bridge, generation after generation of visitors have found apparently boundless recreational fulfillment in whatever extent and condition of facilities they encountered there.

Preface

Like all of Yellowstone National Park's developed areas, the Fishing Bridge area has a colorful and surprisingly complicated history. And, like each of the others, Fishing Bridge's story is unique. Geophysically, the area is a product of Yellowstone Lake's volcanic and hydraulic restlessness. Ecologically, the area has become recognized as an elegantly complex crossroads of biological forces. Culturally, the area is distinguished as Yellowstone National Park's most consistently occupied setting, where humans have made themselves comfortable for thousands of years, and where present nature is actually underlain by past culture.

To the attentive and informed eye, these special geophysical, ecological, and cultural attributes of the area are interwoven in a fascinating and instructive historical tapestry. It is no wonder, considering the story of Fishing Bridge, that national park histories so often take on the tone and rhetorical force of heroic sagas. So many interests, ambitions, passions, and dreams—energy crossroads indeed—have played out here that it could hardly be otherwise.

Today historians of Yellowstone are blessed, even overwhelmed, with a host of authoritative secondary sources. In the past 30 years, many of the most important aspects of the park's human history—precontact human society, archeology, anthropology, trail and road construction, administrative history, wildlife management, architectural history, political history, concessions history, histories of specific controversies, and more—have been the subject of book-length studies as well as shorter studies almost beyond counting. In a number of significant cases, there are similarly authoritative studies concentrating solely on Yellowstone Lake or even on the Fishing Bridge area itself.

The effect of this richness of scholarship on the writing of a developed-area history like this one is to provide the author with a wealth of pre-digested information of the highest scholarly quality—and perhaps to make the author wonder what point there is in covering the same informational ground again. As it turns out, that is precisely what authors with such an assignment are supposed to wonder. The NPS handbook on the writing of these documents, "National Park Service Administrative History: A Guide" (2004), asserts that "If a good account of a part of the park story already exists, there is no need to retell that aspect of it."[1]

This history of Fishing Bridge is, therefore (and with profuse thanks to many previous historians), a synthesis of previous syntheses—a summary, rather than an exhaustive retelling, of the many important Fishing Bridge stories. In that sense, it is also a guidebook to the scholarly literature of Fishing Bridge, in which interested readers may pursue whatever subject interests them.

It would be possible to write a credible history of Fishing Bridge relying solely on the array of excellent previous historical studies. Mary Shivers Culpin's administrative histories of roads and concession development in Yellowstone National Park, and Culpin's collaboration with Kiki Leigh Rydell on a history of NPS administrative development in the park, come to mind immediately as examples of the thoroughly researched studies from which a narrower and more localized narrative like this one could be entirely constructed. But for the sake of the story it would be a shame not to dip into the abundance of less readily available material, whether published, archival, or anecdotal, that enriches any meaningful history. Therefore, where it seemed most helpful and when time allowed, a fair amount of less formal source material, primary and secondary, has been employed.

Still, with so many powerful and authoritative voices at hand, it seemed most helpful to make this history heavily documentary. Those voices, especially the ones of historic park decision makers and of the scholars who have done the most important studies of them, are given room for extended expression here. It is hoped that in this way even though none of Fishing Bridge's intriguing historical sub-plots are explored in great depth, something of the authentic mood in each case might be brought to life.

If there is a subject area that seems disproportionately lacking in this narrative, it is certainly in

that shadowy administrative realm so unromantically categorized as "infrastructure." Utilities and other essential service features of the Fishing Bridge story are glanced at here and there, but for reasons of time they fell beyond the scope of this project. It is regrettable that these topics have not received the scholarly attention that so many other Yellowstone historical subjects have, but then historians are as susceptible as anyone else to topical glamour, and they shy away from subjects that, no matter how important they may be, seem at first glance only mundane or vaguely embarrassing. That said, if some enterprising historian wants to penetrate deeply into the mysteries of the human, social, and political Yellowstone, there would be few better avenues of approach than studies of the electrification, plumbing, or telecommunications of the park. Citations in the present book only hint at the rich documentary resource awaiting that historian's attention.

The question of audience, always of central importance for an author, is somewhat problematic here. As the NPS "Guide" to writing administrative histories has it, "The primary audience for park administrative histories is current and future park managers and staff."[2] Considering the immense public interest in all Yellowstone-related topics, almost any publication bearing on the park's history will find an eager and important audience among park employees; university students, instructors, and scholars; a full range of advocacy groups; congressional staffers and other political professionals; journalists; and other members of a public whose passion for Yellowstone information is beyond question.

With sympathy to that diverse a set of potential readers, it seems that a good model for a target audience for this book may be the many interpretive specialists—whether NPS, concessioner, or independent—who are daily expected to create sense and story from Yellowstone's wonderfully tangled saga, and to do so for vast numbers of interested people from all across the social and political spectra. In that spirit, this history is written as much for the interpretive professional as for the management professional.

Chapter One

The Setting: The Creation and Present Character of the Fishing Bridge Area

The geological creation of the Yellowstone Lake basin has been fully described in recent scientific publications and need not be elaborated upon here except as that volcanic history has affected the human use of the Fishing Bridge area since the end of the last glaciation.[1]

Fishing Bridge is an important visitor-use development on the eastern bank of the Yellowstone River immediately downstream from the river's outlet from Yellowstone Lake. For the purposes of this report, the area is bounded on the west by the Yellowstone River, on the south by Yellowstone Lake, and on the east by Pelican Creek meadows.[2] This land is also known as the Fishing Bridge Peninsula, a term used infrequently in this report to describe the land form just outlined. When speaking more generally of the area in and near the development, this report will rely on common local usage, referring to the place as "Fishing Bridge" or the "Fishing Bridge area," as the occasion demands. Use of the term "Fishing Bridge" to describe the historic bridge itself should be self-evident.

At an elevation of 7,732 feet, Yellowstone Lake is one of the largest high-elevation lakes in the world and a primary recreational feature of the Northern Rocky Mountains. Contrary to the popular perception of lakes as relatively static landscape features, large and energetic bodies of water are constantly reshaping their basins, and particularly their shorelines. This process has been especially dynamic in the case of Yellowstone Lake. In the 600,000-plus years since the Yellowstone Lake basin originated in an immense volcanic eruption, climate, wave action, continued surficial and subsurface volcanism, and a host of hydrothermal and geothermal forces have continued to modify Yellowstone Lake. These factors have all played a role in the ongoing construction and modification of the Fishing Bridge area.[3]

The "Real" Outlet

Interpreters of the complex geophysical processes involved in the Yellowstone Lake story often find it helpful to point out that the true "outlet" of Yellowstone Lake might be most accurately perceived not as the place where the lake visibly ends and the river begins, but at LeHardys Rapids, about three miles north of Fishing Bridge:

> At these rapids, the Yellowstone River runs east to west and crosses a series of faults that run southwest to northeast. Land downstream from the faults dropped downward relative to land on the upstream side, which has been lifted upward, creating the stairstep-like series of rapids in volcanic rocks that are highly resistant to erosion. This uplift has helped dam the Yellowstone River, which begins to pond upstream from the rapids, allowing water to back up and impound Yellowstone Lake at Fishing Bridge, a few miles south.[4]



NPS PHOTO BY JIM PEACO, YELL 17717

An aerial view of the Yellowstone River downstream from Yellowstone Lake (at top) shows the long slow reach of the river before it drops over LeHardys Rapids (the white water just visible at the lower left), which some consider the "real" outlet of the lake.

Thinking of the placid waters of the Yellowstone River from Fishing Bridge to LeHardys Rapids not as a river but as a long, narrow pond—almost like a sinuous, narrow bay—is especially helpful in appreciating that the lake itself is powerfully affected by the continuing volcanism underlying Yellowstone. The often-invoked "heavy breathing" of Yellowstone's volcanic caldera has caused repeated rises and falls in large but localized "domes" that have varied in elevation as much as a meter during the twentieth century, and as much as 20 times that amount in the past 10,000-plus years.[5] The Sour Lake Dome, near LeHardys Rapids, is the one affecting the levels of the river and lake upstream from the rapids. The changing levels of the lake in response to the heavy breathing has resulted in a series of pronounced and easily identifiable lakeshore terraces, some above and some below the present surface of the lake. These features are visible along much of the shoreline.

Formation of the Fishing Bridge Peninsula

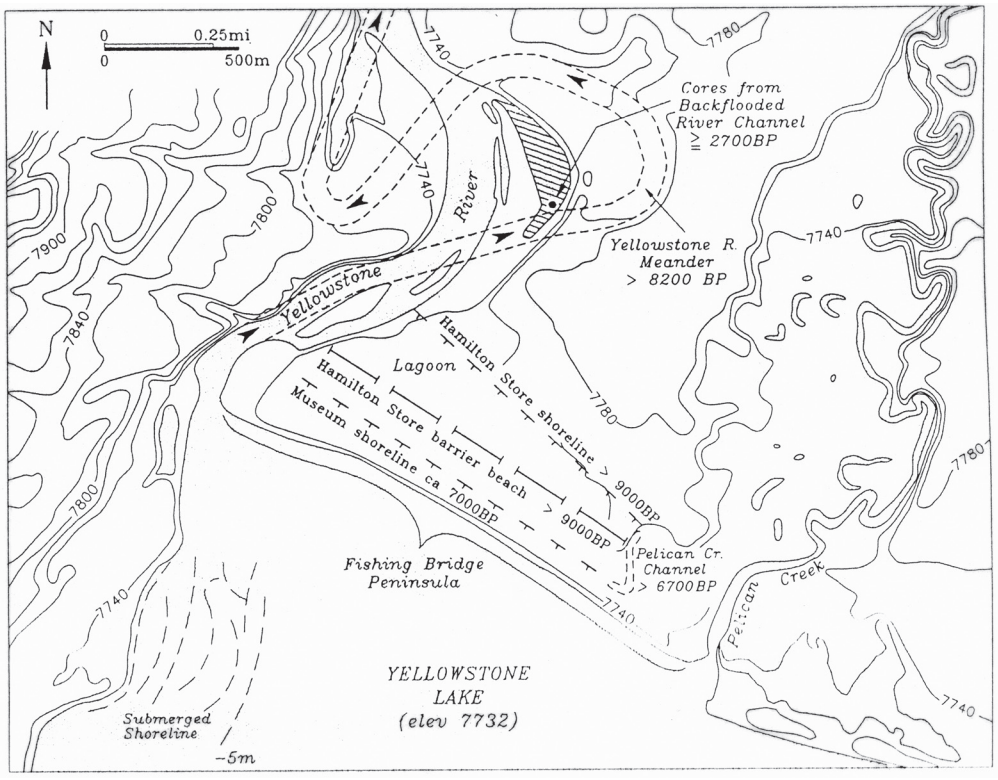
Still, as with every other aspect of our efforts to come to terms with the facts of Fishing Bridge, modern geological opinion has varied substantially in how the present landforms originated. Writing in 1994, Kenneth P. Cannon, George M. Crothers, and Kenneth L. Pierce reviewed earlier prevailing hypotheses:

> Currently at least two contrasting theories of Holocene strandline formation have been proposed. An early one by Richmond (1969, 1976) argues for a progressive, gradual lowering of the lake during the Holocene with two general periods of strandline formation. The higher terraces formed during the mid-Holocene (5000 to 8000 years ago) and the lower terraces during the late Holocene (Richmond 1976:32).

> The opposing theory, stimulated by recent geological work along the northern shore of Yellowstone Lake by Meyer and Locke (1986) and Hamilton (1985), provides a model of lake level changes and strandline formation much more complex than that presented by Richmond (1976). Geomorphic evidence in the outlet area from Fishing Bridge to LeHardy Rapids indicated repeated uplift and subsidence accompanied by major fluctuations in lake levels. A net relative uplift of 5 m or more which has occurred in the 2800 years B.P. in the Fishing Bridge area was probably due to unrest in the central part of the Yellowstone caldera. Lower-than-present stands for the lake are proposed by Hamilton and Bailey (1990) for the time period between 9200 and 5400 years ago. These recent findings, in association with evidence of submerged terraces (Hamilton 1985; Hamilton and Bailey 1990), has led Meyer and Locke (1986:20) to conclude that "the history of lake levels is apparently more complex than a simple decline over time."[6]

In their 1994 study "Archeological Implications of Changing Levels of Yellowstone Lake, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming," Kenneth L. Pierce, Kenneth P. Cannon, and George M. Crothers concurred with this assessment by Meyer and Locke, and built upon it to arrive at their own interpretation. Employing both geological and archeological evidence, they have identified six prominent cycles of uplift and subsidence in the Fishing Bridge area and downstream along the Yellowstone River during the past 15,000 years. The modern developed area on the Fishing Bridge Peninsula sits astride three of the resulting terrace formations, which Pierce et al. label the Museum shoreline (circa 7000 years B.P.); the Hamilton Store barrier beach (circa >9000 years B.P), and the Hamilton Store shoreline (circa >9000 years B.P.).[7]

We are not dependent solely upon written interpretations and diagrams to appreciate the changing nature of this landscape; earlier "versions" of the Fishing Bridge Peninsula can be viewed nearby. In contrast to the present scene at the lake outlet, Pierce et al. noted that Native Americans visiting this area just after deglaciation "probably encountered landforms similar to those at the mouth of Pelican Creek….An active barrier beach was built at the Hamilton Store shoreline, forming a shallow lagoon behind it. Several spits also extended westward into the lagoon. North from lagoon shoreline, Aeolian sand partially buried older beach deposits."[8]



Dates and locations of some past Yellowstone Lake shorelines and Yellowstone River courses, the Fishing Bridge Peninsula. From Kenneth L. Pierce, Kenneth P. Cannon, and George M. Crothers, "Archeological Implications of Changing Levels of Yellowstone Lake, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming," Current Research in the Pleistocene *11, 1994, 107. Used courtesy of the authors.*

Thus by traveling alertly along the present shoreline of the Fishing Bridge Peninsula to the mouth of Pelican Creek, modern visitors can in a sense also "visit" earlier shoreline settings of this same area—and perhaps imagine the lifeways that such settings would accommodate.

The Fishing Bridge Area Today

The climate of Yellowstone Lake is another of its most famous characteristics. The lake is noted both for its unpredictable weather and for the harshness of its winters.[9] Climate record-keeping at Yellowstone Lake dates from early in the twentieth century and is indicative of conditions at Fishing Bridge. During the 1961–1990 period, the average daily maximum temperature at Yellowstone Lake was 46.1°F, the average daily minimum temperature was 17.4°F, and the average daily mean temperature was 31.8°F.[10] Average total annual precipitation was 20.10 inches, and the mean total snowfall was 166.3 inches.[11] Between 1904 and 1977, the record lowest temperature at Yellowstone Lake was -56°F in February 1933; the highest recorded temperature in the same period was 94°F in August 1913.[12] From 1971 to 2000, the average day on which the lake has frozen over was December 24, and the average day in which the ice came off the lake was May 23.[13]

Human developments at today's Fishing Bridge—including various archeological sites, the strip development along the East Entrance Road, and the concessioner operated R.V. campground—occupy forested barrier beaches, rarely more than 50 feet above Yellowstone Lake. The vegetation along the shore of Yellowstone Lake, including at Fishing Bridge has been described:

> Modern vegetation along the lakeshore is dominated by various aged stands of lodgepole pine, in addition to other overstory species…. The age of the lodgepole pine overstory and the amount of canopy closure is a direct reflection of the local fire history. Ages of the stands range from less than 40 years to overmature stands of greater than 300 years…. *Artemisia*-Graminae (sagebrush-grasses) steppe is also a major vegetation community along the north shore. This community is generally associated with alluvial deposits along the Yellowstone River and Pelican Creek. Additional communities include Douglas fir, whitebark pine, and Englemann spruce/subalpine fir.[14]



AUTHOR PHOTO

The Yellowstone cutthroat trout (Onchorhyncus clarki bouvieri) *has been the animal most responsible for the popularity of the Fishing Bridge development among visitors.*

At Fishing Bridge, most of the lake-side shoreline and the lowlands along the shore of the Yellowstone River are in the Tufted hairgrass/sedge habitat type, while a large portion of the non-lakeshore central and eastern portions of peninsula are in the subalpine fir/pinegrass habitat type.[15]

Since about 1920, NPS management of Fishing Bridge, especially for construction and maintenance of numerous facilities including hundreds of cabins, has over-ridden fire and other ecological processes as the primary determinant of the condition of native vegetation.

The Yellowstone Lake basin is home to a full suite of native birds, mammals, amphibians, and reptiles.[16] The lake itself has long been celebrated as home to "the largest inland population of cutthroat trout in the world" as well as one other native fish species and at least four nonnative fish species.[17] It was the trout with which Fishing Bridge would become most closely identified in the minds of visitors to Yellowstone National Park—and it was the prospect of capturing those trout for which the area was ultimately named.

Chapter Two

Precontact: Archeology and Fishing Bridge

Archeological interpretations of the Fishing Bridge area have changed over the years, and there is not unanimity of opinion over some aspects of the area's Native American history. The following summary highlights the historical development of archeological study at Fishing Bridge with representative interpretations, but does not present an exhaustive view of all positions.[1] Attentive readers will notice disagreements among the investigators quoted.

Humans are known to have occupied the Fishing Bridge area almost continually, at least on a seasonal basis, for 10,000 or more years as part of a broader pattern of precontact use of the Yellowstone Lake basin and shoreline.[2] In a current overview of Yellowstone Lake archeological resources, NPS Archeologist Ann Johnson summarized the place of Yellowstone Lake in precontact human use of the present park area:

> Yellowstone Lake was important to people throughout prehistory because it is rich in plant, animal, and stone resources. The oldest sites in the park are known from around the lake. One of the reasons for this is the erosion that is exposing and destroying terrace deposits.[3]

Johnson further stated that "there is good-quality archeological inventory for only about 10 miles of shoreline, with occasional reporting of sites along another 50 miles."[4] She illustrated the good news-bad news nature of lakeshore archeological investigations, saying that "It is ironic that our best information about prehistoric use of Yellowstone National Park comes from cultural deposits that are being destroyed by erosion."[5]

Despite our awareness of a long and fruitful human occupation and use of the Yellowstone Lake shoreline, the sites so far investigated do not provide a particularly full portrait of the daily lives of these earlier residents. Speaking of fish—the natural resource that most of us today would presume to be of primary interest to precontact people at Yellowstone Lake—Johnson provided an excellent example of the incompleteness of our knowledge:

> To date there is no evidence for prehistoric predation of fish around the lake, but relatively few excavations have been carried out and the fine screening of archeological sites necessary to recover such small bones has not been used. Because fish bone is small and fragile, there may be preservation and visibility problems. It is worth mentioning that flotation of hearth contents would recover fish bones if present, but the analyzed contents of seven such features have tested negative for fish.[6]

Even given the limitations of our information, however, the archeological investigations that have occurred in the past several decades on and near Fishing Bridge are essential in providing a comparative measure of the degree to which this area was of interest to people.

The Early Development of an Archeological Perspective at Fishing Bridge

Though a variety of observers discussed Native American use of the Yellowstone Lake area during the first 70 years of the park's history, modern archeological investigation at Fishing Bridge might be dated from 1941, when the first of two human burials to be discovered there was unearthed in the cabin area. The find was regarded by park managers as significant, perhaps even momentous, in clarifying and reinforcing an official NPS perspective on native people's use of the park area. Chief Park Naturalist David Condon summarized the find and its importance:

> That the Indians of the west utilized Yellowstone National Park probably hundreds of years ago was brought to light when the grave of an American Indian was opened on August 27, 1941, by Mr. Alex Palmquist, a laborer who found the burial site directly in the path of a sewer trench he was digging. Unfortunately, the major portion of the skeletal remains were removed from the trench before the incident was reported to authorities who might have secured more accurate information had they been able to remove them from their resting place.
>
> This find is considered to have definite significance for Yellowstone. It is in all probability the first Indian burial found in the Yellowstone National Park; and from the artifacts, the stratigraphy of the grave, and other evidence the burial is not of recent date.[7]

Condon's report on this burial site, published in *Yellowstone Nature Notes* seven years later, was a foundation document of modern Yellowstone archeology. The report's accuracy and the character of the materials recovered from the site would be debated and reconsidered several times over the ensuing 60 years.

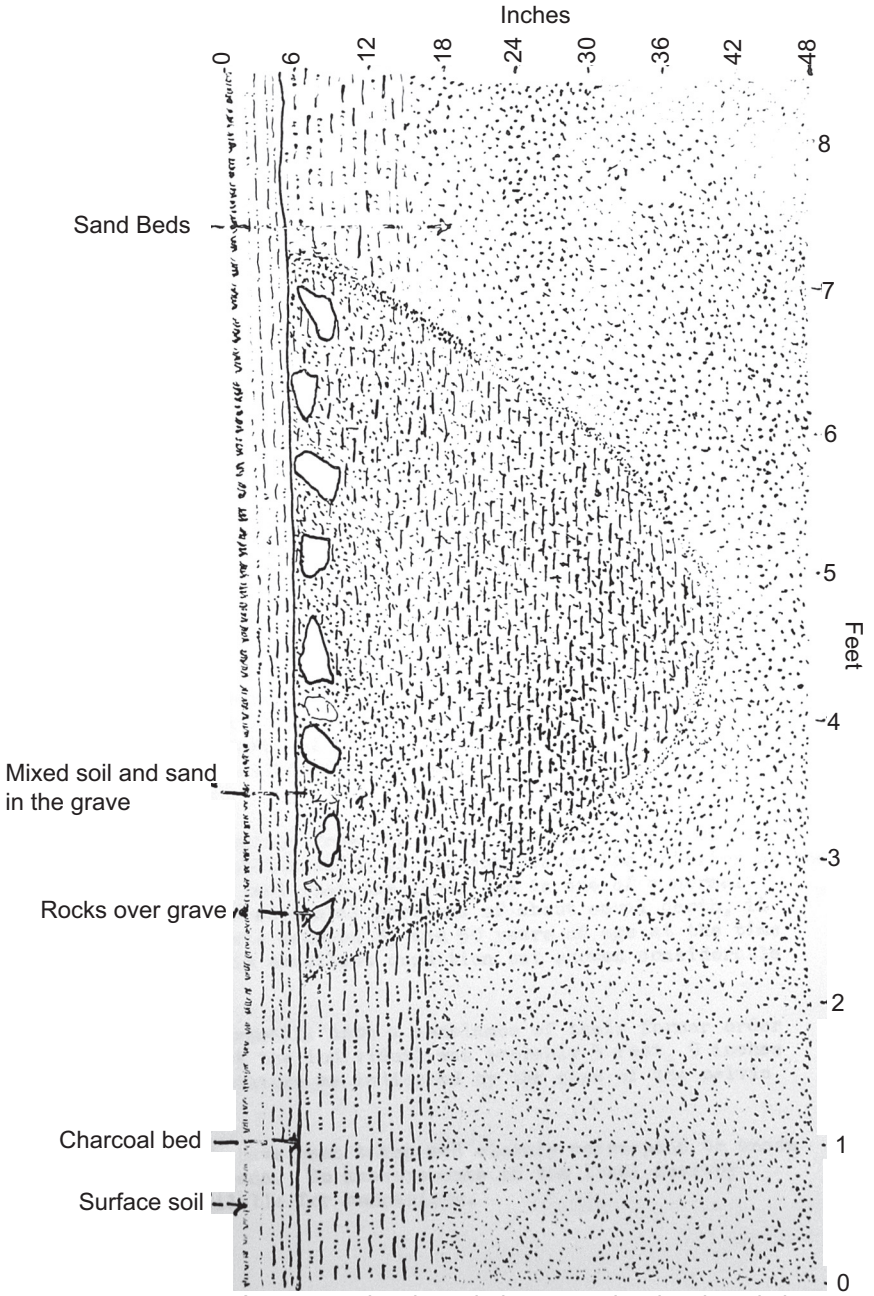
In August 1941, Condon was notified of the discovery and apparently rushed to the site. Despite the pains taking effort that he obviously put into preparing the report, replete with several drawings of the artifacts and the stratigraphy of the immediate site of the grave, Condon provided no information on the location of the grave at Fishing Bridge, perhaps because *Yellowstone Nature Notes* was a publicly distributed newsletter and there were fears that pot hunters would use such information to re-excavate the site. Condon summarized the find like this:

> The grave had a maximum depth of 40 inches. The surface diameter at the present ground level was, north-south diameter 5 feet 7 inches; east-west diameter 7 feet 5 inches. The grave contained mixed soils and charcoal down to its bottom, with the margins on all sides being easily distinguished along the mixed materials [in] contact with the stratified sand.
>
> After carefully questioning the laborers who removed the major portion of the skeletal remains from the grave, it was determined that the body had been placed there is [sic; in?] a flexed position, face down with the head pointed about 10° to the south of west. Underneath the bones of the skeleton were found some artifacts. Some of these were probably retained by the laborers, although an attempt was made to get possession of all the grave's contents.[8]

Condon reported that "5 to 8 inches below the present soil surface and directly over the grave there was found a total of 37 stones varying in size from about 2 inches by 2 inches to some stones 6 inches by 6 inches," and that "among the stones recovered were the fragmental remains of a pestle or grinding stone and a large and much used pounding stone which appears to have been used in breaking smaller rock material."[9] He found no evidence of Euroamerican contact in the grave.

The identified artifacts from the grave site "consisted of eight good pieces, numerous worked fragments and a large quantity of obsidian and flint flakes. One piece of elk antler was recovered which measured 6-1/2 inches by 1-1/2 inches and was apparently used in the making of arrowheads."[10] Two dogs were also buried with the human:

> The bones of the dogs still preserved were the major portion of the skulls, some leg bones, rib bones, and several vertebrae. That these dogs had short muzzles and rather broad heads



A cross section through the grave showing the relative position of soil, sand, charcoal, rocks over the grave, and the size of the grave.

Yellowstone National Park Chief Naturalist David Condon included this cross-section diagram of the gravesite discovered in 1941. From David Condon, "American Indian Burial Giving Evidence of Antiquity Discovered in Yellowstone National Park," Yellowstone Nature Notes*, 1948, 22(4): 40.*

> is indicated by a careful comparison with skulls of the Coyote (*Canis latrans*) and the Wolf (*Canis nubilis*), the jaws being shorter than those of the wolf and the coyote, but with the breadth of the dog skulls being equal to that of the wolf.[11]

After extensive measurements, Condon estimated the human skeleton to have belonged to a male "between 35 and 50 years of age" who was "probably 5 feet, 9 inches tall and of fairly broad stature as indicated by the size of the pelvic and scapular bones."[12] Condon made only tentative speculations on tribal affiliation.

It is remarkable that in 1956 another precontact burial site in Yellowstone National Park was also discovered at Fishing Bridge. Though less information was apparently recorded at the time, Superintendent Lemuel Garrison noted that this site also contained both human and dog remains:

> On July 24, 1956 the Studer Construction Company crew in digging sewer trenches in the Fishing Bridge campground unearthed the skeleton of an American Indian. The burial was about 18 inches below the surface in the sand and fine gravel of the area. No artifacts were found. Buried with the human was apparently one dog. The bones were added to the collection of material on Indians in the headquarters museum.[13]

During the next 40 years, questions of interpretation arose regarding these two separate finds. It was determined that the 1956 find included the remains of two individuals. But advances in analysis techniques did not lead smoothly to a clearer portrayal of the remains. One subsequent re-analysis of the material apparently (and unknowingly) dealt with an administrative confusion of the two finds, leading to a claim that the Condon report had even misidentified the 1941 remains as male when they belonged to a female.[14] Further scientific review finally clarified the material from both sites and restored correct gender identification.[15]

In the 1960s and 1970s, the informal and haphazard recovery, handling, and possession of Native American remains and related materials on federal lands (as typified by these Fishing Bridge finds) were reformed and redirected as the result of a series of laws and amendments, including the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966; the Archeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974; the Archeological Resources Protection Act of 1979; and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990. It was in compliance with NAGPRA that all of Yellowstone's Native American remains and related materials were given authoritative description in an official "Inventory Completion," published in the *Federal Register* on December 9, 2005.

After so many years of evolving interpretation and controversy surrounding the identity of these remains, it would perhaps be incautious to consider the *Federal Register* descriptions as scientifically definitive. However, considering that the remains have now been restored to the appropriate tribes for re-interment, no additional analysis is likely. Thus the *Federal Register* descriptions will likely stand as the official last word on the matter. The *Federal Register* summarized the two Fishing Bridge finds as follows:

> In 1941, human remains representing a minimum of one individual were removed from the Fishing Bridge Peninsula in Park County, WY, during a construction project in the tourist cabin development area. The individual was identified as a Native American male most likely 35-45 years old. He was buried in a flexed position with his head pointed about 10 degrees to the south of west. Projectile point typology and geomorphology suggest that the burial dates to the Late Prehistoric period. No known individual was identified. The 105 associated funerary objects are 1 antler fragment, 1 chert drill, 1 chert knife, 2 chert flakes, 2 dog skulls, 1 granite pounding stone, 1 obsidian flake, 1 projectile point, and 95 stones of various sizes. Three small projectile points, 10 worked scrapers and flakes, and 200–300 stone flakes are missing from the originally recovered associated funerary objects and are not included here.
>
> In 1956, human remains representing a minimum of two individuals were removed from the Fishing Bridge Campground in Park County, WY, during a trench-digging project. One individual was identified as a Native American female most likely 40–50 years old. The other partial set of remains represents a Native American infant. It is not known whether the remains were flexed or in which direction the head of the female was oriented. The absence of artifacts precludes relative dating of the burial and radiocarbon dating did not occur. However, geomorphic analysis from a nearby burial site suggests a Late Prehistoric age. No known individuals were identified. The one associated funerary object is the fragmentary skeleton of a dog. [16]

This *Federal Register* notice, part of NAGPRA compliance, was intended to announce the formal attempt to repatriate these remains to the appropriate tribe or group. Interested parties were directed to contact the superintendent of Yellowstone National Park.

The notice reviewed consultation conducted by NPS staff with tribes:

> Of those tribes with whom the park consulted, only three stated they buried dogs with humans: Shoshone Tribe of the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming and the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes of the Fort Hall Reservation of Idaho, stated their ancestors customarily included dogs in burials with humans and that children were sometimes buried with women. The Shoshone Tribe of the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming, and the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes of the Fort Hall Reservation of Idaho stated that some of their ancestors were on the Yellowstone Plateau as early as what archeologists refer to as the Paleoindian period and continued to inhabit it through historic times as the Lemhi Shoshone and the Sheepeaters. A Crow tribal historian and descendant of the Mountain Crow, a Northwest Plains group, stated that families traveled to and inhabited the Yellowstone Plateau during the summer. He said that before horses, dogs were included in human burials. Archeological evidence places the Crow in Wyoming by 1490. However, the short-stature of both adults is suggestive of the Shoshoneans, rather than groups from the Northwest Plains.[17]

Considering other potentially involved tribes, the notice stated that, "the oral traditions of the Shoshone, the Salish, and the Nez Perce indicate that they rendezvoused at Fishing Bridge prior to the arrival of Euroamericans. However, there is no archeological evidence of Nez Perce burying dogs with humans. A representative from the Salish Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee stated that not enough traditional information exists to determine if Salishan speakers buried dogs with humans."[18]

The notice stated that Yellowstone National Park officials determined that "there is a relationship of shared group identity that can be reasonably traced between the Native American human remains and associated funerary objects and the Shoshone Tribe of the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming and the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes of the Fort Hall Reservation of Idaho," and that unless the superintendent of Yellowstone National Park was notified by other interested parties by January 9, 2006, the remains and objects would be repatriated to those tribes. Repatriation was completed shortly thereafter.[19]

The Beginning of Formal Archeology at Fishing Bridge

Though active archeology of various degrees of professionalism was practiced at Fishing Bridge from at least Condon's work in 1941, it was intermittent and opportunistic. In 1948, J. M. Shippee and Jack T. Hughes of the Smithsonian Institution Missouri River Basin Survey visited the park, and were the first to formally register Yellowstone National Park archeological sites according to the survey's site registration system. They designated two such sites: the famous wickiups near Mammoth Hot Springs and a portion of the Fishing Bridge area. At Fishing Bridge they designated an area approximately one mile by 300 yards as 48YE1.[20]

In 1958, J. Jacob Hoffman conducted a "preliminary archeological survey" of the entire park under the direction of Montana State University archeologist Carling Malouf. Hoffman paid special attention to the Fishing Bridge area.[21] During his work, Hoffman eventually added many more formally designated sites to the two originally recognized by Shippee and Hughes.[22] The discovery of the 1956 site was one of the reasons that the University of Montana team decided to conduct survey work in Yellowstone National Park.[23]

Hoffman reported that the entire "Fishing Bridge Peninsula is an extensive chip strewn area."[24] He explained the shortage of tools found during his investigation as a result of continued heavy public use of the area:

> While cultural debris in the form of stone chips is still extensive on the site, few stone tools were recovered by the survey crew or other agents of the Mammoth Museum in surface reconnaissance. Since definitive stone tools have been found on sites immediately adjacent to 48YE1….the paucity of stone tools on the peninsula is probably due to the great number of tourists who have camped in the area in recent times. Almost the entire peninsula is either overlaid with modern structures or has been disturbed by excavations for parking lots, pipe lines and sewerage trenches. Undoubtably [sic], some of these disturbances uncovered cultural evidences which were carried away by curious tourists or Park personnel.[25]

Hoffman did not include the original 1941 burial site as a distinct site in his inventory (Shippee and Hughes had designated a significant portion of the Fishing Bridge Peninsula as 48YE1, within which the burial site was discovered in 1941, thus making it part of an existing site), but he did include the smaller sites he designated as 49YE419 and 48YE398, both located in the public auto campground east of the Fishing Bridge Visitor Center and south of the East Entrance Road.

In 1964, continuing and expanding upon Hoffman's work, Dee Taylor, also of Montana State University (then the name of the school in Missoula, Montana, now known as the University of Montana), provided descriptions of these two sites.

Site 48YE419 was said to be an occupation site, located on the "first terrace above Yellowstone Lake: from south end of loops D and E, Fishing Bridge public camp, to terrace face overlooking beach and lake….North end of site now occupied by modern campgrounds and cut by roads. South end of site cut by trails."[26] The area of occupation was "approx. 50 by 150 yards" and collections included a "chert knife; obsidian and chalcedony points; obsidian end scraper; obsidian, chalcedony and jasper flakes, chips and pieces."[27] Taylor explained that the reason for designating areas like 48YE419 as separate sites was that even though the "entire campgrounds above Yellowstone River to Pelican Bay on the lake is (sic) chip strewn," areas like 48YE419 "only represent concentrations."[28]

Site 48YE398 was also an occupation site, in "Lots H2 and H4, Loop H, Fishing Bridge Public Campgrounds. .8 mile east of east end of Fishing Bridge….200 yards north of Lake edge. Site is now occupied by modern tourist camp."[29] The site was "approx. 20 by 20 yards" and featured obsidian tools, chips, and refuse; the "generalized chip strewn area seems to run through the entire camp area from the museum to the south of Pelican Creek. Sites have been designated only where sufficient concentration of artifacts has warranted the designation."[30]

An archeological investigation at Fishing Bridge was undertaken in 1980, but collapsed when the field investigator abandoned the project unfinished. F. A. Calabrese, Chief of the National Park Service Midwest Archeological Center, summarized this scholarly mishap in 1989:

> During 1980 the State University of New York at Albany conducted mitigative work for the rehabilitation at Fishing Bridge at sites 48YE1 and 48YE304. The work was directed by Dr. Gary Wright. Subsequent to the field work, a student undertook the sites' analysis for a Master's thesis. Unfortunately, the student left the project uncompleted when he left for parts unknown.[31]

Calabrese was pleased to report that "Dr. Stuart Reeve has now completed the analysis and report from the available data."[32] Reeve, however, was at a significant disadvantage in attempting to piece together the results of the 1980 study from incomplete records and evidence because "the field supervisor abandoned the project during the laboratory curation and artifact analysis phases, taking all field records. This former student has not been relocated and field records have not been recovered to this time."[33]

Still, among its other contributions, Reeve's report provided us with a workable description of the other Fishing Bridge area site of note, site 48YE304. This is the large site on the west side of the Yellowstone Lake outlet, which Reeve mapped as a half-circle in a dotted line on the west side of the outlet, centered on the western end of present Fishing Bridge. Reeve provided the following summary description of 48YE304:

> Both sides of the Yellowstone Lake outlet were major areas for prehistoric occupations, with the Fishing Bridge site (48YE1) on the east, and 48YE304 along the western outlet….The sites extend across lake terraces of very different ages, and provide direct access to different plant and animal communities. Thus, we can not necessarily assume that the sites shared the same culture history, nor that the same kinds of subsistence or social functions were carried out at the respective sites….
>
> At the western outlet, chipping debris has been observed from the lowest lakeshore beaches, and west for more than 420 meters across a number of higher terraces to at least the 7800 foot contour (18–20 meter terrace). The lowest late Holocene terraces are not developed along the western outlet, instead, the 7.6 meter terrace rises abruptly

> from the river banks, and the main 48YE304 site area extends upward from this terrace….
>
> This was the probable camp site from the 1872 Hayden Expedition. North of the ravine, the soils are moister, and meadows abound. Blue camas is the most unusual meadow plant, reaching its eastern-most biogeographic limits in this area. Camas was potentially a major food resource to groups utilizing 48YE304….
>
> We do not expect that hunting provided a major rational [sic] for large and recurrent occupations at 48YE304. Fishing at the lake outlet or plant gathering in terrace camas meadows provide much more efficient hypotheses for [31] subsistence activities at 48YE304.[34]

See comments by Johnson, above, for a differing and more current, perspective on fishing activities in the Precontact Fishing Bridge area.

Reeve evaluated past attempts to define the boundaries of the large Fishing Bridge site, 48YE1, and recommended further enlargement:

> The National Park Service site form for 48YE1 (after Taylor 1964) seriously underrepresents the areal extent of the site: stating a total site area of only 17,500 square yards. This approximates a hypothetical circular site diameter of only 136 meters. In contrast, Taylor's (1964) map for the lake outlet indicates that the main areas of 48YE1 extended from the point at the outlet to the Fishing Bridge Burial at least 570 meters north of the East Entrance Road, and included the cabin area, Museum and campground. The 1980 excavations suggest an even greater site area, extending more than 1075 meters north of from [sic] the tip of Fishing Bridge at the Lake outlet to the crest of the 15–17 m terrace. The site extends east for a yet undetermined distance along the Yellowstone lakeshore, and may include 48YE415 [apparent typo; this is site 48YE419] and 398 toward Pelican Creek. A closer approximation of the 48YE1 site area should exceed 2.2 square kilometers.[35]

In 1997, NPS anthropologist and archeologist Elaine Hale "formally extended the site boundary to include the Fishing Bridge Peninsula to Pelican Creek," with the concurrence of the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO).[36]

In recognition of the significance of the site, "Reeve (1989:19) recommended the site (48YE1) as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places based on the long record of prehistoric occupation of the area and its potential to provide significant insight into prehistoric lifeways on the Yellowstone Plateau."[37] This recommendation was reinforced a few years later by Kenneth Cannon, and the Wyoming State SHPO concurred on May 1, 1992.[38]

The Fishing Bridge area was again studied in 1992 and 1993 by Cannon, George Crothers, and Kenneth Pierce, who further refined and summarized interpretations of the area's archeology. Their very helpful summary of the complexities of previous investigations included the following conclusions:

> The results indicate extensive evidence of prehistoric occupation for almost 10,000 years. The evidence also indicates substantial variability in the intensity of occupation in time and space. Areas in the northwestern portion of the site have the highest density of material, and presumably occupation, while areas in the southwest and southeast have diminishing evidence of occupation away from the main drainages. The occupation of the terraces near an old channel of Pelican Creek also have the evidence of fairly intense occupation, especially during the mid-Holocene. [39]

Cannon and his colleagues also made important management recommendations to ensure the survival of remaining cultural resources despite the extensive modern development of the area:

> Management recommendations for use of the area for fill storage involve the intentional burial of the site to protect it from further destruction. We believe the area behind the Hamilton Store in the old cabin area, now occupied partially by the ballfield[,] is the most logical spot for storage of equipment and fill. Our excavations, while providing evidence that this area was the most intensively occupied, also revealed truncation of the upper 20 cm of deposits during cabin removal, as well as



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Native Americans traveled and routinely inhabited the outlet of Yellowstone Lake for 10,000 years. By contrast, even in the last decade prior to the establishment of Yellowstone National Park, official knowledge of the landscape was incomplete and often erroneous, as Captain William Raynolds' 1860 manuscript map of Yellowstone Lake and its surroundings abundantly demonstrates.

> old utility trenches; however, deeper deposits are intact and have the ability to increase our knowledge concerning prehistoric occupation of the area. The intentional burial of this area with truncated surfaces will provide a means of protecting these deeper deposits.[40]

This work was undertaken by the NPS in the 1990s.[41]

In their conclusion, Cannon and his colleagues emphasized that although much had been changed on the site by nearly a century of development, the site continues to retain extraordinary importance in Yellowstone archeological study. They emphasized the great duration and continued value of the site:

> In summary, the Fishing Bridge Peninsula, based on its unique location, has provided an area where people have lived and buried their dead for nearly 10,000 years. Although some areas have been partially impacted by previous construction projects, information obtained from testing over the last two years has shown significant data is still present in buried contexts and can be used to address a number of important research topics.[42]

Chapter Three

The Fishing Bridge Area in Early Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1917

The creation of Yellowstone National Park on March 1, 1872, initiated a great, ongoing experiment in defining and re-defining national parks—an experiment that continues today. With only loosely applicable models, such as a variety of eastern American and European recreational facilities, spas, game reserves, and resorts, early Yellowstone managers now seem to us to have been quite scattered in their notions of what would eventually constitute a fully developed and well-managed national park.[1] And as the park's early years coincided with the first widespread flourishing of a conservation movement among the American public, the desires of conservationists were soon mixed with the equally ardent desires of a variety of commercial interests and the perhaps even less clearly thought-out wishes of the visiting public.

All these lofty enthusiasms and stimulating ideas aside, in the new park there was an extreme shortage of the services that virtually all parties agreed were essential to the success of the park. A long-existent and eminently pragmatic Native American trail system was often followed by early visitors, but tourist traffic had different goals than those trails would necessarily satisfy. A system of roads connecting the park's foremost attractions and capable of accommodating wheeled vehicles was perhaps the visiting public's most urgent need.

Geographer Yolanda Youngs' study of the Euroamerican development of Yellowstone Lake reviewed the gradually improving public access to the lake basin and shore. As Youngs noted, it is generally accepted that Superintendent Philetus Norris developed the first road—though it might be more accurate to call it a proto-road, or even a "route"—to the outlet of Yellowstone Lake in 1879:

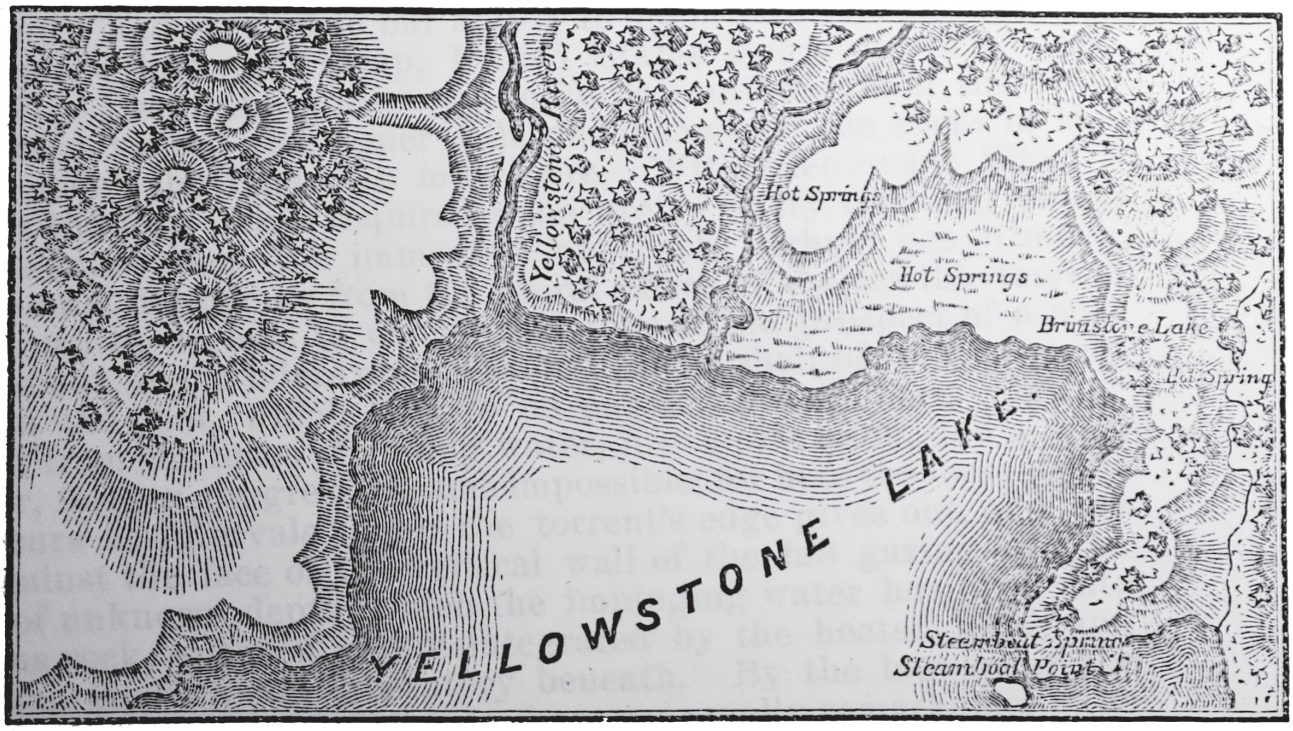
> Although Yellowstone Lake was a park attraction noted even by the earliest park managers, trails and roads were slow to reach its waters. Two prime reasons for this lag in development are the distance between the lake and the main park entrance at Mammoth and the difficulty in clearing the forest and finding suitable routes across the uneven terrain to and around the lake. Norris's 1879 report describes the difficulty of finding a route along the heavily timbered shores of the lake.[2]

But getting a road through to the lake was only the beginning of satisfying the needs of the visiting public.

Early Bridge Placement Questions

By 1879, it was clear to travelers and managers that access to the eastern shore of the outlet of Yellowstone Lake and the immense wilderness country beyond it, would soon require a bridge. A variety of travelers had established that the outlet could not be consistently or safely forded. [3]

But even in the park's early years, savvy and forward-looking observers like Norris appreciated



The first official map of the north end of the lake, centered on the Fishing Bridge Peninsula area, appeared in William A. Jones, The Reconnaissance of Northwestern Wyoming, including Yellowstone National Park, Made in the Summer of 1873 *(Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office), 1875, page 22, and referred to the area of "Crystal Beach."*

the promise of the region east of the outlet and all the way to the Bighorn Basin:

> This season's explorations clearly show an excellent trail and fair wagon-route from the foot of Yellowstone Lake via the east fork of Pelican Creek to the Stinkingwater Pass, towards the Big Horn Valley, doubtless destined to become a summer route of access to the park from all those regions, as soon as occupied by white men, and ultimately for the most of Wyoming Territory, in which the park is mainly situated.[4]

It is helpful to appreciate the eventual placement of a bridge at the outlet of Yellowstone Lake in the broader context of the entire Yellowstone National Park landscape. Though millennia of native travelers and decades of Euroamerican travelers had found the Yellowstone River at most a minor inconvenience in their travels through the park area, the river effectively excluded comfortable tourist traffic—i.e., in wheeled conveyances—from an immense portion of the park. When Norris wrote the above-quoted remarks, the only bridge across the entire 600-plus-mile length of the Yellowstone River was Jack Baronett's small bridge near the mouth of the Lamar River. Baronett constructed this bridge in the winter of 1870–1871. It was "a ninety-foot stringer bridge of two spans—thirty and sixty feet—supported by a rock-filled, log-crib pier erected upon a shelf of bedrock jutting out from the west bank. As originally built, it was suitable only for packtrain traffic," but it served the miners for whom it was built as a toll bridge well enough.[5]

Today we are conditioned by the existence and needs of the Fishing Bridge development and the century-old East Entrance Road to assume that a bridge at the outlet of Yellowstone Lake is and always was an intuitive necessity in the minds of park managers, but for Norris the park was a clean slate. Everything remained to be decided, including just where visitors should travel by road. In 1881 he identified the two most strategic locations for additional bridges across the Yellowstone River in the park, and neither was at the outlet of the lake:



AUTHOR PHOTO

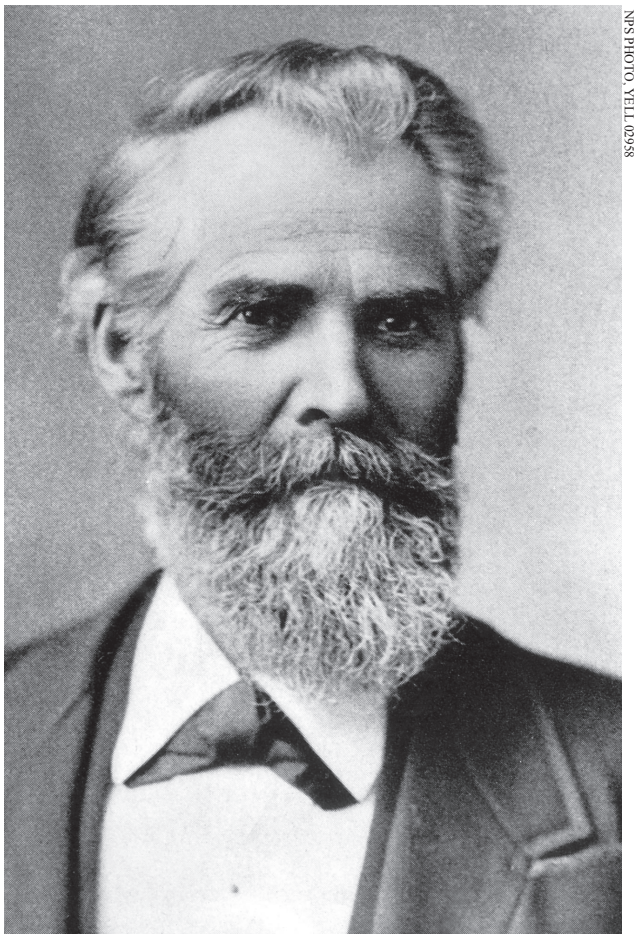
The Absaroka Mountains along the east side of Yellowstone National Park were a daunting barrier to travel to and from Wyoming's Bighorn Basin. View from near the Fishing Bridge Visitor Center, 2007.

> As heretofore mentioned, it will be necessary to bridge the Yellowstone twice in order to avoid constructing several smaller bridges over branches, and heavy expensive grades in reaching the Great Falls from Alum Creek. A bridge between the mouth of this stream and that of Tower Creek nearly opposite, at a point where the river is fully 300 feet wide and very deep, but has a sluggish current, gravelly bottom, and fine approaches upon both sides, and another at the narrowest place upon the Yellowstone River just below the lake, which is something less than 70 feet between the rocky abutments just above the Upper Falls where there are good approaches, if a bridge be built high above the dashing water near the brink.[6]

Though Norris' syntax is somewhat tormented, his meaning seems to be that there should be bridges built across the Yellowstone River somewhere near Tower Creek and somewhere in the narrows just upstream from the Upper Falls. Though today's Tower Creek seems a long way from the mouth of Alum Creek, there may be some question which "Tower Creek" Norris intended, as prior to the naming of the now-recognized Tower Creek the name had been applied to a west-flowing tributary of the Yellowstone River farther upstream. Still, it must also be said that the narrows upstream from the Upper Falls are not really "just below the lake," either.

Norris accomplished none of these things, but he did establish a sense of direction upon which subsequent managers could build, if they wished.

In his milestone 1883 report on the park's then



NPS PHOTO, YELL 02958

Philetus Norris, Yellowstone National Park's second superintendent, is credited with completing the first primitive road to the outlet of Yellowstone Lake in 1879 and with first developing plans for appropriate bridges across the Yellowstone River in the park. He is one of several people erroneously credited with the "discovery" of Sylvan Pass and the best route from the outlet of Yellowstone Lake to the Bighorn Basin.

marginal road system, Lieutenant Dan Kingman, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, described roads that were "all very bad, barely passable even in good weather," an opinion echoed by other early travelers.[7] As part of his investigation, Kingman, like Norris two years earlier, revealed the degree to which the park's future road system remained undefined when he discussed the possibilities of boat travel on, and presumably across, the Yellowstone River downstream from the lake outlet:

> While in the Park, at the request of the vice-president of the National Park Improvement Company, I made a slight examination of the two rapids in the Yellowstone River, between the lake and the falls, to see if they could be so improved as to render the river navigable for a light-draught steamboat. I am of the opinion that they could only be surmounted by the aid of canals and locks, or else by locks and dams, either of which owing to the character of the river and the nature of its bottom and banks would be very expensive.[8]

It is difficult for us today to imagine the extent to which early managers played "what if" in their deliberations of how to develop Yellowstone National Park. Only by reading a thorough listing of the options that were either rejected outright or remained unfulfilled for lack of funding or other reasons can we begin to appreciate the alternative futures to which Yellowstone was exposed in its formative first half-century. Roads through the Thorofare, to Shoshone and Heart lakes, over Bighorn Pass, and to other areas we now regard as sacrosanct wilderness were either pioneered or intended, and countless other now-startling developments were proposed, planned, or even constructed, only to be abandoned in our ongoing attempts to get Yellowstone right. In the 1880s, a vehicle-worthy route connecting the Bighorn Basin with the park's main interior road system was just one of many such ambitions.

There continued to be intermittent acknowledgment among concerned observers that "there seems to be a strong demand for a bridge across the Yellowstone River just above the Upper Falls."[9] The incompletely formed idea of what areas the park road system might eventually reach was revealed in an 1890 park guidebook, which optimistically promoted a road to the remote "Hoodoo Region, or Goblin Land, a weirdly wild region, as yet visited by only a few sportsmen and ambitious explorers, but which time and the construction of roads will render accessible to all."[10] That some informed observers assumed that such a wild portion of the park must inevitably be connected to the road system speaks volumes not only about the development ambitions of early park concessioners (and, presumably, their customers), but also about the growing importance of bridging the river.



NPS PHOTO, YELL 7593

Lieutenant Dan Kingman, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, made one of the first official reconnaissances of the Yellowstone River downstream from Yellowstone Lake, primarily to investigate navigability.

The Lake Outlet Becomes a Visitor Attraction

Meanwhile, at the outlet of the lake, numerous popular commentators had discovered and were promoting the recreational opportunities of the river, especially the fishing. An 1896 guidebook expressed representative enthusiasm:

> Fishing Grounds.—In the river at the lake outlet are the fishing grounds, about a mile from the hotel, while at many places between the lake and canyon excellent fishing is had from shore. The best results in the outlet are had from row boats; they can be rented from the steamboat company who have a supply, as well as competent and experienced oarsmen. Not more than two can successfully fish from



COURTESY OF THE NPS

Fast fishing action was an important element of promotion almost from the establishment of the park. Engraving from an 1882 brochure of the Wylie Permanent Camping Company.

> one boat. When the grounds are reached, have the oarsman occupy the "stern," as from this position he can manipulate the landing net to a better advantage, the anchor is attached to the "bow." During the trout season (July to September), no better fishing can be found. They average about one and one-half pounds each and are of the salmon myhiss [sic] variety—a catch of 100, three or four hours before sundown, is not unfrequent.[11]

This glowing account of the fast sport was not confined to concessioner promotion; it was quickly common knowledge, described in popular magazines.[12]

By 1896, visitors to the lake area were encouraged to take advantage of official "Camp No. 21, at the outlet of Yellowstone Lake. Excellent camping grounds are found a mile or two north of the Hotel. A creek of cold spring water, wood and grass in abundance."[13] This camp, whose number would vary over the years, was apparently quite near the west end of the present Fishing Bridge.

The Cody Road and the First Bridge

Also by the 1890s, plans were underway to construct a road from the Bighorn Basin to the lake outlet. The town of Cody was founded in 1896, and public interest in, and pressure for, this route naturally increased. To that date, though almost all of the acreage of Yellowstone National Park was in Wyoming, virtually all visitors entered the park through Montana.

Despite accumulated historical evidence, including the aforementioned quotations from Superintendent Norris about a possible route to the Bighorn Basin, it has become established in regional folklore that William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody played a primary role in pioneering the route followed by the East Entrance Road to Cody. For example, local guide-book author Bill Barnhart has written, "Buffalo Bill's association with the North Fork dates back to the 1870s when he guided the O.C. Marsh geological expedition through the country some 25 years before he would become the key promoter of the Cody area."[14] However, there is little reason to believe that, as significant as Buffalo Bill eventually was in the promotion of the town of Cody, he had an important role in the original Euroamerican exploration of the route from Cody, especially that part of the route through the difficult mountain country over Sylvan Pass to Yellowstone Lake. Historian Robert Bonner recently investigated the supposed connection between Buffalo Bill and Marsh, concluding that it was insignificant as far as introducing Buffalo Bill to the Bighorn Basin, much less to the Absaroka Mountains on the eastern edge of Yellowstone National Park:

> Cody claimed in a newspaper interview in 1910 to have guided Yale paleontologist Othniel C. Marsh into the Basin in 1870, and consequently to have learned of its great agricultural potential. The fact is, however, that he was taken off that assignment just as it began and spent only one day with Marsh. He appears to have learned something about the geology of

> Wyoming around Marsh's campfire, but it was unlikely to have been specific to the Big Horn Basin, as Marsh probably never set foot in the Basin.[15]

The historical record suggests that a variety of white travelers, some of them certainly working at least in part from ancient Native American familiarity with the Absarokas, traveling on Native American trails, or guided by Native Americans, gradually developed an awareness of the various routes that connected the Bighorn Basin with the interior of Yellowstone National Park. It thus appears that in any fair reckoning of the establishment of the route of the present road, credit must be given first to the Native Americans who did pioneer routes through these mountains. Then, when the subject of building a road through the area arose in the late 1800s, credit must also be shared by a number of individuals.[16] Among those individuals of special note must be Superintendent Norris himself. In the summer of 1881, having just escorted a party of dignitaries through the park, Norris embarked on an exploration of possible routes from the park into the Bighorn Basin, and described his route as follows.

> The length of time expended by Governor Hoyt and Colonel Mason in their outward route from Wind river would not allow of the search for a pass there, in our crossing to the Stinkingwater, or while following it to its great cañon, which they descended; leaving me to prosecute the exploration. This I did, ascending several creeks, and from lofty peaks viewing all the others, as well as passes of the range above the cañon, finding few trails and no practical passes until on the north bank of the second creek below Jones's I found an ancient but very heavy lodge-pole trail, which I traced eight miles to the fork of the creek, and camped in a grove of cottonwood and other timber—indicating a sheltered and warmer location than is common at that elevation—and some pine trees 150 feet in height. Phelps caught trout, Roy kept camp and cooked supper, while Yount ascended the south and I the north fork of the creek. He reported impassable, snowy barriers; myself, indications of a pass some 5 miles distant; and the evening with the glistening of a glorious sunset and the haloes of the harvest moon of other lands upon the Giants' Castle, towering athwart the glittering stars, was spent in plans, preparations, and hopes of a morrow's crossing of the divide.
>
> Pressing ahead of the packs in the morning, I was blazing the trail along the steep acclivity, when it dwindled, and, in Shoshone guttural, *kay-put* [spelling unclear]; or, according to border provincialism, "played out," and a sharp turn to the right at once revealed the cause to be the branching of the trail for various elevations in ascending to a low, clear-cut, but very narrow pass directly through the range, unlike all others, which are elevated, with very steep, rocky climbing from one or both approaches to the sharp, narrow crest. We reached the summit in time for a romantic noon camp on a velvet lawn of grass and frost flowers, beside an Alpine lake supplied by a snow-fed rivulet, skipping in several fifty-feet leaps from the cliffs….[17] (Norris 1881, 15).

It seemed evident to former Yellowstone National Park Historian Aubrey Haines, as it does to present Yellowstone National Park Historian Lee Whittlesey and me, that Norris was describing not only the Sylvan Pass route, but concluded by identifying the waterways now known as Eleanor Lake and Crecelius Cascade, features that are not duplicated on any other nearby route.[18]

However one chooses to view the unofficial preliminaries of establishing the route of the road from Cody to Yellowstone National Park, official scrutiny of the potential options for the road was extensive even after Norris became the first park administrator to identify Sylvan Pass. U.S. Army Engineer Hiram Chittenden, whose name is closely associated with Yellowstone National Park both for his essential achievements in building the road system and for his historical study of the park, described the process by which the route of the East Entrance Road was selected:

> A great deal of care was taken in determining the best route across the Absaroka range, which extends along the east boundary of the Park. There are only two practicable crossings,

> Jones Pass and Sylvan Pass, and both of these are excessively difficult. Sylvan Pass is nearly 1,000 feet lower than the other, and this fact alone made it very desirable to utilize it if possible to do so. But the physical obstacles were very great, and it was only after repeated reconnaissances that it was decided to undertake it. The pass is one of great scenic beauty and will be an important addition to the attractions of the Park.[19]

By the end of the 1900 season, Chittenden reported slow progress in constructing a road over this difficult and challenging route:

> The eastern approach is located and begun, but is still incomplete. It extends up the valley of the north fork of the Stinkingwater River, across the forest reserve to the mouth of Middle Creek, and up the latter stream to Sylvan Pass, and thence to the outlet of Yellowstone Lake. It enters the park about 2 miles above the mouth of Middle Creek. The distance from the east boundary of the forest reserve to the belt line will be about 58 miles.[20]

By 1901, the superintendent reported the completion of "construction of 12 miles of road on the eastern pass approach, carrying that road into the valley of Middle Creek beyond Sylvan Pass. This work includes the construction of new pile bridges over Yellowstone River and Pelican Creek."[21] Chittenden added that "the crossing of the Yellowstone River is about one-fourth of a mile below the lake and connects with the belt line about 1,000 feet distant and 1 1/2 miles from the Lake Hotel."[22] In what would be among the first of very many discussions in later reports of the peculiar challenges of road construction over this route, Chittenden added that the "scenery along the entire valley of this stream is on the highest scale of grandeur and sublimity. The work on the east road has been costly, owing to heavy grading at the crossings of the Yellowstone and Pelican valleys and the delay caused by the necessity of transporting supplies by water over a portion of the distance. Two weeks' time was practically lost by having to use the force to fight forest fires."[23]

Still, Chittenden was able to report that "on the eastern approach about 6 miles of road has been graded and the bridge over the Yellowstone has been about half built."[24] The "crossing and approaches" of the Yellowstone River cost $2,072.50, while he estimated that the bridge itself would cost $10,000.[25]

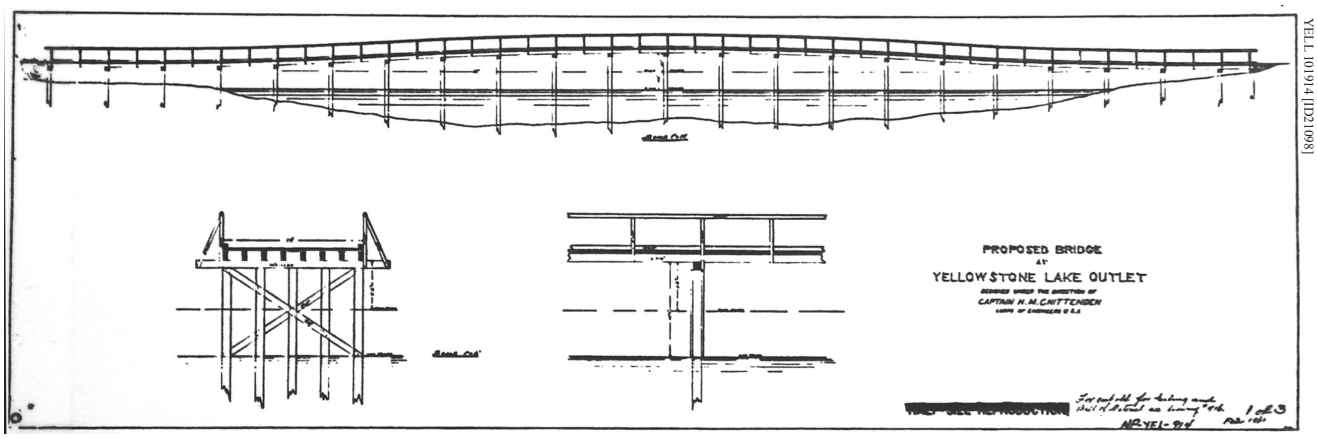


NPS PHOTO, YEL 36806

Captain Hiram Chittenden, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, surveyed the route of the East Entrance Road to the Sylvan Pass area, and also designed and built the original Fishing Bridge, completed in 1902.

At the end of the 1902 season, Chittenden reported that work had continued on the road but there would still be "about 12 miles to be opened next spring, and it is hoped that this may be done before the 1st of July."[26] But the bridge was complete. It was "built on piles in 16-foot bents; total length 360 feet. In order to avoid a heavy embankment on the eastern approach to the bridge, yet, at the same time, to give rowboats ample space to pass under it at high water, the bridge was given a curved profile, so as to raise the center about 3 feet above the ends."[27] The bridge reached directly across the river at right angles to the shorelines (the current, or third, bridge, constructed in 1937, would realign the bridge to cross the river at a noticeable angle to the current).

In the annually updated park guide published by concessioner F. J. Haynes, A. B. Guptill was



YELL 101914 [ID21098]

Above: Army Engineer Captain Hiram Chittenden's plans for the original Fishing Bridge, 1901.



YELL 22539

Right: The original Fishing Bridge, constructed in 1902, as it appeared in about 1915. Note the floating dock along the west shore; most photographs of the bridge from the 'teens on show some sort of docking facility somewhere on the south side of the bridge, leading up to the more expansive facilities constructed starting in the 1920s.

quick to celebrate this milestone in park access, saying, "The construction of the road from the outlet of Yellowstone Lake to the eastern boundary of the park has opened up a delightful portion of Park scenery. A substantial bridge spans the Yellowstone River about two miles from the Lake Hotel."[28]

For many years thereafter, almost annually the park's administrative reports dealing with the East Entrance Road elaborated on the unusual difficulty of its maintenance, including problems with landslides and snowdrifts, and described an apparently endless but gradually successful quest to widen the narrowest stretches and moderate the steepest grades. Similar comments were made, perhaps even more frequently, about the road from the East Entrance toward Cody.

In 1905, Acting Superintendent John Pitcher summarized the achievement of the road to that date while expressing modest expectations for its effects on park visitation:

> East Road.—This road was commenced in 1890, under an appropriation of $20,000. It was opened to travel July 10, 1903, and since that time a considerable amount of money has been expended upon it. There still remains an important piece of work on the eastern slope of Sylvan Pass, involving a loop and a high trestle to reduce the grade. A bridge over Grinell [sic; Grinnell] Creek is required and considerable widening below Sylvan Pass. It is estimated that these three items will cost $20,000. There should also be expended about $5,000 in regular annual repairs. This makes an estimate of $25,000 for the next year.
>
> The opinion of the officer in charge of the work is that this road will be mainly used by camping parties from the Bighorn Basin, and that therefore a good single-track wagon road will answer every requirement until the railroad is considerably nearer the park. With the exception of the improvements asked for above such a road now exists, and an annual outlay after next year of $5,000 ought to keep it in good repair.[29]



AUTHOR PHOTOS, SEPTEMBER 21, 2007.



Becoming Fishing Bridge

The now-completed road and bridge, though long heralded as an important step in increasing both access to the park from Wyoming and visitor access to a previously little-visited portion of the park, would only slowly assume a significant role in park visitation. In 1907, 545 of the park's 16,414 visitors entered through the East Entrance, which was still often referred to informally as the Sylvan Pass entrance or route.[30] That proportion of use did not change materially until after the NPS finally assumed control of the park in 1918.[31] In 1908, 762 of 19,542 visitors entered via the East Entrance.[32] In 1909, an unusually heavy travel year, the tally was 805 of 32,545.[33]

The visitors were having some pronounced effects on the Fishing Bridge area experience by then. In his guidebook for 1910, concessioner Haynes substantially moderated his prediction for angler

Left: This wooden "stump" is correctly located possibly to be a remnant of a piling from the first or second Fishing Bridge, just a short distance south of the present bridge.



NPS PHOTO, YELL 14439

The famous Corkscrew Bridge, high in the Absaroka Mountains on the East Entrance Road, was part of the adventure for visitors entering the park from the east. Maintenance of the difficult route over the Absarokas was a source of nearly annual vexation and substantial expense for park managers.

success at the lake outlet, now asserting that "a catch of 20, three or four hours before sundown, is not unfrequent."[34] This was a five-fold reduction from the 100 trout that an earlier edition of the same guidebook had asserted anglers were assured of catching only a decade earlier.

Starting in 1912, Tex Holm, of Cody, Wyoming, was permitted to bring tourist parties into the park over the East Entrance Road; this "would constitute the first concession contract other than camping" for transportation on this route, and that same year Holm received permission to build log structures for campers at several locations including Yellowstone Lake.[35]

By 1912, park managers were beginning to anticipate a most dramatic change in park use as the pressure to admit automobiles mounted. That year, "in compliance with Senate resolution No. 275, April 2, 1912, an estimate was prepared and submitted to Congress, through the War Department, of the cost of new roads or changes in the present roads in the Yellowstone National Park in order to permit of the use of automobiles and motor cycles therein without interfering with the present mode of travel in vehicles drawn by horses or other animals."[36] The projected costs for this change-over were substantial. The combined cost for the improvements on the "belt-line" roads from the East and West entrances was lumped together in Brett's summary:

> In this estimate, it was recommended by Capt. C.H. Knight, Corps of Engineers, who is locally in charge of the road work in the park, that in case automobiles and motor cycles are to be granted the use of park roads that the present roads be reconstructed at an estimated cost of approximately $2,265,000, in order to provide a single system of roads for automobiles, motor cycles, and vehicles drawn by horses and other animals. As a result, the sum of $77,000 was included in the sundry civil bill, approved August 24, 1912, for the widening and improving surface of roads, and for building bridges and culverts, from the belt-line road to the western border; and from the Lake Hotel Station to the eastern border, all within Yellowstone National Park, to make such roads suitable and safe for animal-drawn and motor-propelled vehicles.[37]

At the same time, the first rail passengers from Cody were brought to the East Entrance. Within four years, the buses of the Cody-Sylvan Pass Motor Company would be operating over that route as well.[38]

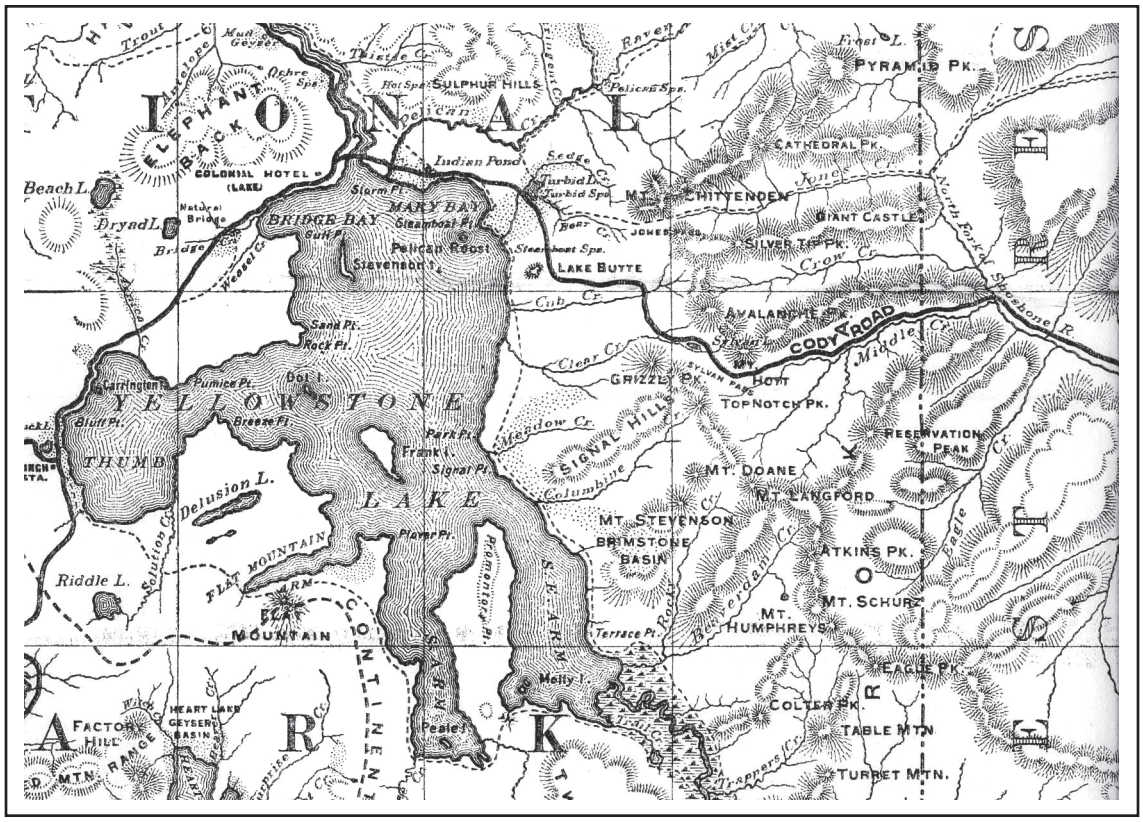
The first official mention of the soon-universally popular name of the bridge at the lake outlet may have appeared in Acting Superintendent Brett's annual report for 1914. While discussing stream gauging work then being developed in cooperation with the U.S. Geological Survey, Brett said that the gauging station on the Yellowstone River above the Upper Falls had not worked out, but "approximate data for low stages of flow can now be obtained, however, based upon one wading measurement and on three measurements from the Fishing Bridge at the outlet of Yellowstone Lake."[39] Speaking further of the bridge, he reported that "the 465-foot bridge over the Yellowstone River near the lake outlet was redecked."[40]

From 1914 until well into the 1920s, the name not only of the bridge but of the development on the peninsula to its east remained, officially at least, up for grabs. We will see in that period's documents what seems to have been an almost organic process by which various names were tried on, modified, rejected, and firmed up until the whole development became known as Fishing Bridge.



AT THE OUTLET OF LAKE YELLOWSTONE.

Boating anglers gathered daily both upstream (as shown here) and downstream of the bridge to enjoy the remarkable concentration of trout. Trout numbers were noticeably declining by the time this photograph was published in the 1914 edition of Campbell's New Revised Second Edition Complete Guide and Descriptive Book of the Yellowstone Park*, by Reau Campbell (Chicago: H. E. Klamer, 1914), 70.*



The East Entrance Road as depicted in this detail from Campbell's New Revised Complete Guide and Descriptive Book of the Yellowstone Park for 1914 *featured no formal visitor services though the road had been open for more than ten years; traffic along the road typically still accounted for less than five percent of annual park visitation.*

In hindsight, it also appears that this modest nomenclatural identity crisis was in good part the result of what the Fishing Bridge development actually was: a slightly detached appendage of the Lake development. In an early example of loosely planned development sprawl in a national park, Fishing Bridge took time to form its own distinctive identity in the minds of managers and visitors. Practically speaking, it was in fact just a suburb in the greater Lake Area development.

It could be that further exploration of archival records will reveal surviving management dialogues in the 1916–1925 period that may clarify whatever discussions occurred about the appropriate way to label the Fishing Bridge development. Without additional documentation, we are left with the impression that the name sorted itself out less formally, in official, concessioner, and public conversations. No doubt an important factor was the sharp marketing eye of concessioners who were quick to attach the attractive term "Fishing Bridge" to an area that probably seemed to them to be otherwise undistinguished.

In August 1915, automobiles were officially admitted to the park for the first time.[41] In 1916, 4,593 of 35,849 visitors entered the park through the East Entrance, indicating a shift in entry use, as a somewhat larger proportion of visitors arrived from the East—a shift even more apparent in the 754 of 3,340 cars that year using the East Entrance.[42] No doubt railroad traffic from distant points to the town of Cody boosted the number of visitors interested in entering the park on the east side.

That same year, efforts were underway to accommodate the special needs of all these new motorized travelers:

> Four sanitary automobile camps were established at Mammoth Hot Springs, Upper Geyser Basin, Outlet of Yellowstone Lake, and Grand Canyon. At each camp was constructed a shed 60 by 32 feet, 8 feet high at the eaves, frames

> built of poles cut in the park and covered with 28-gauge corrugated steel roofing, painted. The sheds are divided by rows of supporting posts into six double stalls each 32 by 10 feet, each stall to hold two automobiles, making a total capacity of 12 automobiles to each shed. The sheds cost an average of $292.81.[43]

Commercial conveyances complemented the traffic to the lake outlet from Cody:

> The Eastern or Cody Entrance to Yellowstone National Park is considered by many travelers the most picturesque. It is 57 miles from Cody, Wyoming, on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad to the eastern boundary and 28 miles further to the Yellowstone Lake on the main circle road.
>
> This distance is covered in one day by the Cody-Sylvan Pass Motor Company, organized in 1916 to transport passengers from Cody to Yellowstone Lake and return. At Yellowstone Lake the passengers transfer to the vehicles of the various companies operating over the regular route.[44]

With the arrival of the NPS and these new, independent, and highly mobile visitors, "Fishing Bridge" was about to cease meaning merely the bridge itself, and would soon come to mean the park's newest major overnight accommodation facility.

Chapter Four

The Development of the Fishing Bridge Area, 1918–1941

The creation of the National Park Service on August 25, 1916, signaled the beginning of many changes in Yellowstone National Park. Within a few years, a massive reorganization and simplification of concessioner operations; the near-complete transition from horse-drawn to motorized vehicles; early stirrings of a more scientifically based approach to resource management; a spectacularly successful effort by the new agency to promote park visitation; and the beginnings of a formal government-sponsored educational program would all contribute to a dramatic transformation of the park experience.[1] Fishing Bridge would exemplify the effects of all these changes.

In Yellowstone, however, the transition was hampered, indeed stalled completely, for more than two years because local communities objected to the departure of the U.S. Army. Concern among local businessmen over loss of revenue provided by a sizeable military operation—which was to be replaced by a much more modest and perpetually underfunded civilian administration—led to hasty congressional intervention. Historian Aubrey Haines described this somewhat seamy episode in regional politics:

> This so angered the Montana delegation that they took the matter to Congress, backed by a joint memorial in which the Legislative Assembly of Montana petitioned Congress to "again police the Yellowstone National Park with officers and soldiers of the regular army to the end that it shall be well protected."
>
> None of this escaped the baleful eyes of Representative John Fitzgerald, whose hostility to the civilian changeover had already been evident. His power in appropriation matters was such that he was able to deny funds to the civilian force for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1917, and to require return of a detachment of troops to the Park.[2]

Fortunately, as Haines explained, this "low blow" aimed at the vulnerable fledgling agency soon lost its effectiveness and backfired on its perpetrators. The replacement troops proved incompetent and troublesome enough to cause public "dissatisfactions that even a stubborn Congress could not overlook."[3] Perhaps it is fortunate that this taint on the Army's extraordinary contribution to Yellowstone and to the American conservation movement has largely faded from public memory, leaving only the greater heroism of the park's military guardians to be celebrated today. By November 1918, the army had departed for good, and the new NPS administration reported that its rangers were on duty. [4]

Positioning Fishing Bridge as a Visitor Attraction

The work of the new civilian administration, with its much more ambitious vision for Yellowstone National Park's place in the American recreation scene, was soon felt at Fishing Bridge. A growing

recognition of the potential significance of the "Eastern Gateway" to the park was reflected in the 1917 Superintendent's Annual Report, which proclaimed the success of the East Entrance route:

> During the summer of 1916 the opening of the scenic Cody gateway to the park was the sensation of the season. The marvelous grandeur of the Shoshone Gorge, the Shoshone Dam, the second highest structure of its kind in the world, the beautiful lake that it forms, the fantastically carved canyon of the North Fork of the Shoshone, Sylvan Pass in the Absarokas, and the beautiful vistas to be obtained all the way from Sylvan Pass to Lake Yellowstone, surprised and overwhelmed the hundreds of visitors that selected this new route into the park. This route was still more popular during the 1917 season.[5]

The superintendent did not explain why this route was described as "new" when it had been open to public travel for 15 years, but the sudden fanfare over a long-open road presumably had to do with ongoing improvements in the road along the arduous and technically challenging route. Perhaps a desire to further commercially promote one of the less-used entrances to the park also was a factor in the hyperbole.[6] The similarly little-used but newly improved southern route into the park via Jackson Hole enjoyed an even more glowing rhetorical treatment, being described as the "Climax of Yellowstone Scenery." [7]

This increasing enthusiasm for the eastern route into the park was soon complicated by the seriously deteriorated condition of the largest of the many bridges that made it possible. In fact, historic spring runoff conditions caused serious damage at many points along the road to Cody:

> During June, 1918, while there was still a large amount of snow on the mountains in the easterly portion of the park and in the forest reserve, exceptionally warm weather, followed by very heavy rains, produced freshets said to have been the highest ever observed in this portion of the park. As a result, the approach road through the east forest was badly damaged, numerous serious washouts occurred and the approaches to several of the bridges were carried away, so that at the close of the fiscal year the approach road through the east forest reserve was impassable to vehicles; Sylvan Pass was closed to vehicular traffic by snow 6 feet deep.[8]

These problems were of special concern at the outlet of Yellowstone Lake, where the engineer in charge asserted that "the so-called Fishing Bridge, a wooden pile bent structure, built in 1900 [the bridge was completed in 1902], across the Yellowstone River on the east approach at the outlet of the lake, should be replaced as soon as possible. Owing to its character, this bridge in time of freshet collects a large amount of drift and ice, which endanger its safety. A number of the piles on the upstream side are now missing, having been thus carried away."[9] Note in this statement the continued implication of uncertainty about the name of the "so-called" bridge. As mentioned earlier, from the final years of the army administration well into the early years of the NPS, there appears to have been hesitation to adopt this name, either for the bridge itself or for the development that soon appeared to its east. In 1919, the superintendent continued to refer to the Fishing Bridge area as the "Lake Outlet," and the bridge as the "Yellowstone River bridge." [10]

Though the usually thorough official reports have relatively little to say about the work, according to Aubrey Haines the bridge was "entirely rebuilt in 1919."[11] Whether this meant that the original bridge was removed and replaced by new pilings and other structural elements, or just a thorough replacement of damaged portions and repair of the rest, is not clear. In any event, this "second" Fishing Bridge had about the same life span as the original, and was itself completely replaced in 1937. Once the "new" 1919 bridge was in place, there were no further hindrances to interfere with the remarkable transformation that the Fishing Bridge area was to undergo in the 1920s and 1930s.

By 1920, though its name may have been a matter of uncertainty, and though the decline in the quality of the fishing had been recognized for some years, Fishing Bridge was firmly ensconced among the park's popular visitor attractions, and was well known for its consistent and easy fishing. The superintendent described the typical park angler in the 1920s:



NPS PHOTO, YELL 17144

The "second" Fishing Bridge as it appeared in the 1920s was nearly identical in general features to the original. Note that a floating dock was at this date moored on the downstream side of the bridge near the east bank, and was used by small boats.

> Of those who do fish, by far the greater majority come from that class of tourists who are making camping trips through the park, and the most of their fishing is done in the streams close to the main road, or at the Fishing Bridge near Lake Junction, where the fishing is easy and most everyone is more or less successful. Towards the end of the season, however, the trout are not so plentiful at the bridge, and many are disappointed.[12]

It is an apparent sign of acceptance of the bridge's popular name that in this statement, "Fishing Bridge" was used without comment as the name of the bridge itself, but was of course not applied to the rest of the area, where little development had yet appeared.

Concern over the success rates of the angling public at Fishing Bridge and elsewhere was a significant factor in an August 15, 1919, superintendent's order to park concessioners to the effect that "the further catching of fish for table use in the hotels and camps, except by tourists in strict accordance with the rules and regulations, was prohibited."[13] This was no doubt an easily justifiable decision, even though it terminated a well-established practice among park concessioners that dated from the earliest days of the park, when hotel managers had routinely harvested not only fish but mammals to feed their guests.[14] By the early twentieth century, as visitation increased, this practice was no longer acceptable. The superintendent explained the magnitude of the issue in 1919, reporting that "between the opening of the season and the effective date of this order the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company took 5,327 pounds of fish from Yellowstone Lake and the Yellowstone Park Camping Company took from the same waters 2,164 pounds."[15]

As the fishing experience at Fishing Bridge continued to be an important visitor attraction, and as visitation and fishing pressure increased, the prohibition of commercial fishing was probably a helpful—if still insufficient—step in trying to maintain an acceptable angling success rate. The success rate must have stayed sufficiently high for many years because the bridge became more and more famous. Though over the course of the next few decades, park guidebooks would recommend Fishing Bridge for its scenic beauty, boating opportunities, and wildlife, and though NPS interpretive efforts at Fishing Bridge would emphasize a variety of lake-related ecological and geological topics, it is probable that for many if not most park visitors, "Fishing Bridge" continued to mean just that: a place to go fishing.

Definition of the Historic District

Because virtually every element of what we today refer to as the Fishing Bridge Historic District originated in the first two decades of NPS management, it is timely at this point in the narrative to invoke the formal definition of this district as eventually articulated in 1979:

> The district is on the north shore of Yellowstone Lake and the east side of the headwaters of the Yellowstone River and Yellowstone Lake. The Fishing Bridge spans the Yellowstone River and is on U.S. Highway 14 and links the campground-museum area with U.S. Highway 89 and the rest of the park.
>
> The district consists of the Fishing Bridge Museum, Ranger Station, Naturalist's Residence, Amphitheater, Cafeteria, Tourist Cabin Office, Photo Shop, Hamilton Store, Repair Garage, Service Station, Dormitory, Comfort Stations, and one-room Tourist Cabins, double Tourist Cabins, three-room Tourist Cabins, and Fishing Bridge.
>
> Part of the district exemplifies an early commercial strip development with the Service Buildings, Cafeteria, Tourist Cabin Office, Photo Shop, Auto Repair Garage, Service Station, and Hamilton Store fronting the main road. The accommodations, the Tourist Cabins, are laid out in a grid pattern between the Service Buildings. The Museum and residences are across the road closer to the lake.[16]

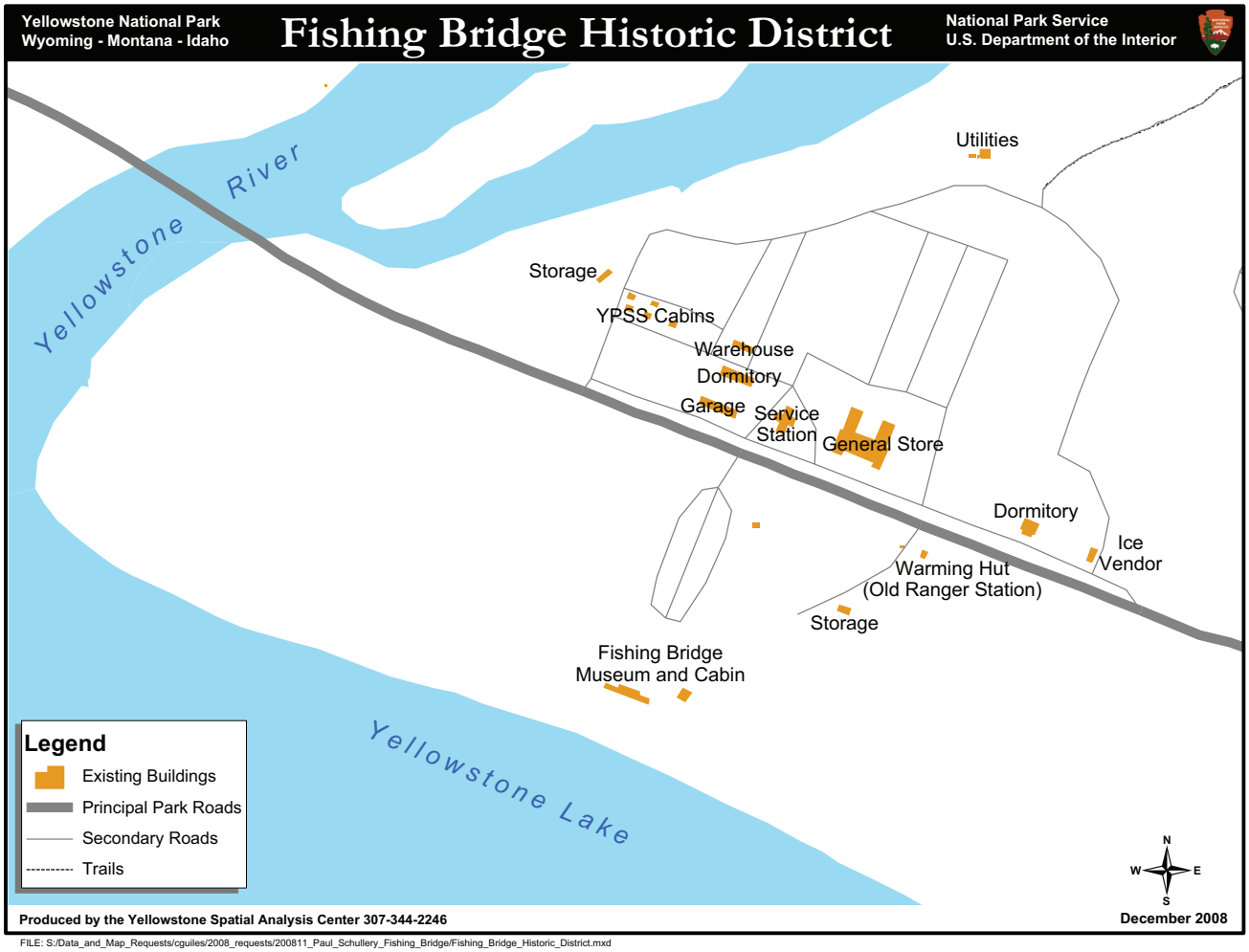
This description was prepared during the process of removal of some of the named structures, most notably the tourist cabins and related structures. Note also that the statement described the outlet of Yellowstone Lake as the "headwaters" of the Yellowstone River, though the actual headwaters of the river are in the Bridger-Teton Wilderness Area south of Yellowstone National Park.[17]

The historic and precontact acreage of management interest at Fishing Bridge obviously extends well beyond the historic district. The present narrative thus also necessarily ranges beyond the narrow confines of the historic district. Still, introducing the district here is essential stage-setting for understanding historic cultural resource management issues as they grew from this initial period of rapid expansion of the Fishing Bridge development.

The Development Era at Fishing Bridge: 1918–1932

Among the many interesting questions posed by Fishing Bridge area experts with whom I spoke while writing this history was, in short, "Why the outlet?" What was the rationale for creating a development adjacent to the outlet of the lake rather than at any other location along the lake shore? Considering the eventual development of visitor-use areas at Bridge Bay, West Thumb, and Grant Village, it is a fair question.

The question, however, does not have a simple answer. Most probably a combination of very practical factors influenced the placement of the Fishing Bridge development. Once the bridge was complete and the road was open to the East Entrance and on to Cody, visitors coming from that direction were no doubt attracted to the famous fishing at the outlet, just as earlier visitors coming from the north and south certainly would have been. This pattern of established interest in the outlet's fishing may alone have been enough to ensure that more formal development would follow in the footsteps of informal camping and related uses around the outlet. The outlet was obviously a place that visitors wanted to be. An equally practical factor may have been the need, especially in pre-automobile days, to keep services reasonably centralized. As mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, the Fishing Bridge development seems to have started as a slightly disconnected suburb of the Lake Area (for the purposes of this book, the development centered on the Lake Hotel and Lake Lodge shall be referred to as the Lake Area; informal local usage characterizes it today simply as "Lake" but that shorthand terminology may confuse some readers). Though there was plenty of room for additional development immediately north of the Lake Hotel, it may have seemed preferable to establish some distance between the two developments, either for unspoken social reasons (i.e., to separate different "classes" of visitors) or so that no one development was so overwhelmingly large that it lost its essential rustic, woodsy quality.[18]



The Fishing Bridge Historic District extends from the western end of the bridge to the eastern end of the development strip. NPS diagram courtesy of Elaine Hale, Yellowstone Center for Resources.

Once in undisputed control of park planning and development in Yellowstone, NPS managers were quick to identify the most pressing needs of visitors. Foremost among these problems was a severe shortage of formal camping areas for the growing number of car campers. In 1919, the superintendent described that shortage:

> There is a crying need for the immediate construction of several large new automobile camp grounds for the use of motorists who bring their own camping outfits into the park. Next year the camps at Upper Geyser Basin, Thumb, Lake Outlet, Grand Canyon, Tower Falls, and Norris Geyser Basin should be improved by the extension of the water system, and much attention should be given to the sanitation of these camps. This free automobile camp system should be progressively extended and improved year by year, and as soon as possible not less than 30 major camps should be made available.[19]

Over the course of the next fifty years, formal camping areas would at one time or another occupy the overwhelming majority of the acreage south of the East Entrance Road from just east of the bridge almost to the Pelican Creek meadows. In other words, within a few decades of the creation of the NPS, 10,000 years of precontact archeological evidence, including much if not most of archeological site 48YE1, would be overlain by modern Euroamerican developments that are now themselves viewed as legitimate subjects of historic archeological attention.

Besides the need for expanded camping facilities, in 1919 the superintendent expressed an urgent

need for new administrative structures: "Many of the ranger stations of the park are in a dilapidated condition and should be rebuilt. The greatest need is for new stations at Upper Basin, Lake Outlet, and the Grand Canyon."[20]

Some visitor services were already available at or near the Fishing Bridge area. According to the superintendent in 1919, the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company "maintained repair stations at several points in the park and sold gasoline, oil, and other supplies at Mammoth Hot Springs, Upper Geyser Basin, Lake Outlet, and Grand Canyon."[21] This mention of "lake outlet" may underscore the vagueness of terminology still in play when Fishing Bridge was discussed; the station in question was almost certainly at the present Lake Area, not at Fishing Bridge. The *Haynes Guide*, the most widely respected of park guidebooks at the time, made no mention of any service facilities at Fishing Bridge that year.[22] But the superintendent predicted that "during the autumn or early next spring the company will construct three very attractive filling stations. They will be built of stone and logs, and will be located near the stores at Upper Geyser Basin, Lake Outlet, and Grand Canyon."[23]

In 1920, the superintendent reported that among the "corporations and individuals to whom long-term franchises covering the operation of public utilities in the Park have been granted" was C. A. Hamilton, for a "General Store, gasoline, oil, etc., at Outlet of Lake Yellowstone."[24] The effective date of this franchise was January 1, 1920, and it was to expire December 31, 1928. Long-time local concession employee Edward Moorman, in 1920 assistant manager for the Yellowstone Park Camping Company, reminisced many years later that in 1920 "we established two delicatessens, one at Old Faithful and one at the Fishing Bridge, selling cooked foods, etc., to tourists who carried them away to eat in the public auto camps."[25] This delicatessen was presumably located in the automobile camp area.

Starting in 1921 and from then on, the *Haynes Guides* listed the "Fishing Bridge Automobile Camp," 0.2 miles east of the bridge.[26] This campground was on the south side of the road, and would be the subject of numerous detailed updates in subsequent superintendent's annual reports regarding maintenance, improvement, and enlargement of its facilities by both NPS and concessioners. Some excerpts from the superintendent's annual reports in the 1920s exemplify the scale of this work:

> 1924: "Fishing Bridge: Installed 16 flush toilets, and wash basins, 2 urinals, 100 wood tables and benches. Constructing water system with 4500' 4" iron pipe, settling tank, dam."[27]

> 1925: "Fishing Bridge: enlarged water main – 4,000 feet 4-inch galvanized iron water pipe; 800 feet 3-inch water pipe; 1,000 feet 2-inch water pipe. Built two comfort stations. Installed 16 flush toilets, 2 urinals, 4 wash basin and built 100 tables."[28]

> 1925: The Yellowstone Park Camps Company "constructed, in the Fishing Bridge Auto Camp, a lunch counter and delicatessen building, T-shaped, consisting of 2 wings, each 28 feet wide by 60 feet long, and installed 39 canvas and fram [sic] lodges, which were moved from the main camp."[29]

> 1926: "Fishing Bridge Auto Camp. – Constructed concrete sewerage treatment tank 130 feet long by 10 feet wide by 9 feet deep, with concrete top accessible by 12 cast iron manhole covers. Built 200 tables. Installed 2,000 feet 6" sewer pipe, 400 feet 1", 1,000 feet 2", 1,200 feet 2-1/2" and 650 feet of 3". Built 3 comfort stations, including 24 flush toilets, 6 wash basins and 1 urinal."[30]

> 1927: "Lake Fishing Bridge Automobile Camp – Moved 30 good canvas tents to the housekeeping department. Installed water lines throughout the house-keeping section."[31]

As the Fishing Bridge camp grew to become the most heavily used in the park, this level of maintenance attention was apparently routine.

Other services kept pace with the flourishing campground. In 1924, the concessioner "Mr. Hamilton also built this year [a] small but very attractive store structure at West Thumb of Lake Yellowstone and at the Fishing Bridge."[32] The store was further described as a "new frame store with log trim erected at Lake Fishing Bridge" accompanied by a "filling station with 5,000 gallon tank completed at this



The Fishing Bridge cafeteria (right foreground) constructed in about 1925, as it appeared in 1929. The building immediately to the left of the cafeteria is probably the original "filling station" built by Hamilton in 1924, while beyond that the roof of Hamilton's original store is also visible.

point."[33] This original Fishing Bridge "filling station" would serve for about six years before it was replaced by the present structure (see below).

Notice also that as late as 1927, the superintendent referred to the Fishing Bridge area as "Lake Fishing Bridge." This was another common alternative name to the Fishing Bridge area in the early 1920s, though by 1927 it had mostly been abandoned in official reports. As the Fishing Bridge development grew, it only gradually escaped from the intuitive and apparently common perception of it as merely an extension—what we might now even call a suburb—of the Lake development. In the early 1920s, it seems that the term "Fishing Bridge" was still applied primarily if not exclusively to the bridge itself. Using the name so narrowly and specifically became more complicated, however, as more and more structures appeared in association with the bridge and campground. Soon it might have seemed necessary for practical purposes to recognize that "Fishing Bridge" was likely, if not inevitably, to be the name of whatever development appeared on the shore east of the Yellowstone Lake outlet.

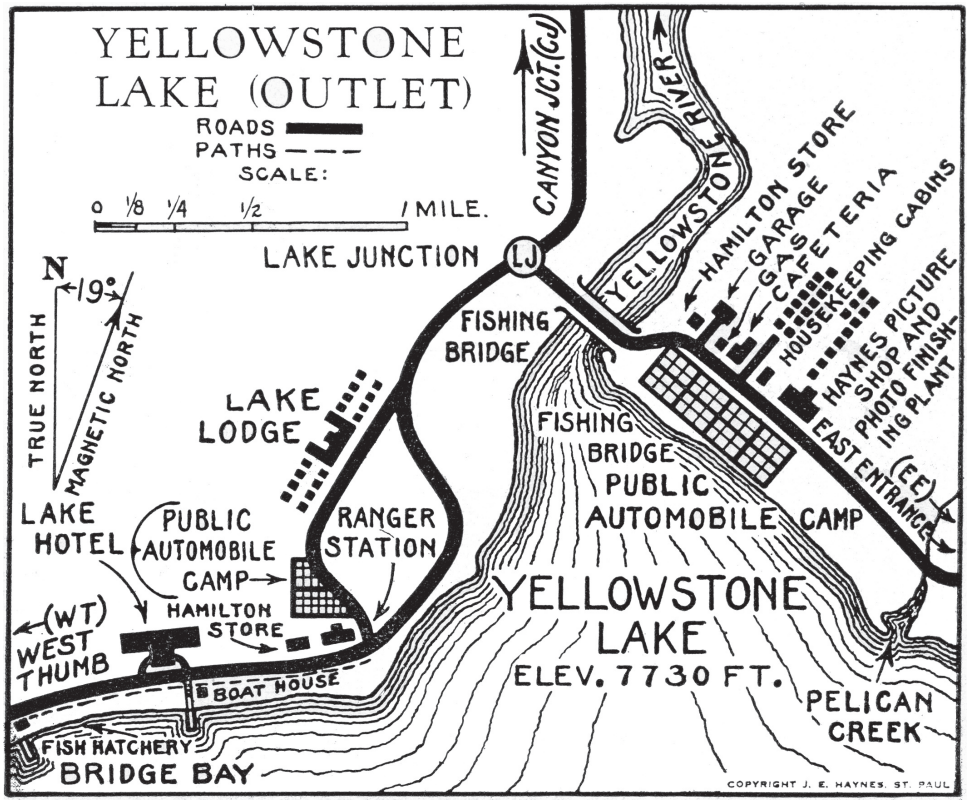
In 1925, acceptance of this nomenclatural reality seemed to take hold, as the superintendent reported that Hamilton "enlarged Fishing Bridge store to double its former size, and put in a Delco lighting plant."[34] Hamilton also "painted the entire building" and built a "rack for draining crank cases adjoining filling station."[35] Concession employee Edward Moorman remembered that in 1925, "the Fishing Bridge Cafeteria building was constructed but was used this season as a lunch station with counter service, and the following year, was converted into a cafeteria."[36]

By 1926, a full-service development was in place along the highway strip east of the bridge. That year, a handsome, stylized map in the *Haynes Guide* showed, in eastward succession from the bridge, Hamilton Store, garage, gas, cafeteria, housekeeping cabins, Haynes Picture Shop and Photo Finishing Plant.[37] On the map, the entire south side of the road along this strip development was occupied by the Fishing Bridge Public Automobile Camp, shown as a rectangular series of grids. This map appeared in the *Haynes Guides* essentially unchanged for several years.[38]

In 1927, the superintendent reported that among the building projects in the park, the Yellowstone Park Boat Company had a "floating dock with office and sleeping quarters built at Fishing Bridge."[39] Hereinafter, this will be referred to as the "boathouse."

Research by former NPS interpreter Karen Reinhart indicates that this boathouse was at times on the downstream side of the bridge on the east bank of the river, though it is not certain that it was always in the same location.[40] A 1928 Haynes photograph confirms that the boathouse was at least sometimes located on the east side of the river. The 1928 photograph

Left: Haynes Guide *map of Fishing Bridge, 1926.*



shows the boathouse clearly in the current of the river some distance off the east shore, with a stairway leading from the bridge to the boathouse. It is not possible to determine from the photograph whether the boathouse had its own pilings, or was attached only to the bridge. It depends upon what the superintendent meant by "floating dock." In photographs taken during the construction of the third bridge in 1936, the boathouse appears to be in the same location as in 1928. Additional research may reveal to what extent this boathouse was mobile. If it indeed could be floated free of the bridge, was it disconnected at the end of the season and drawn up on the shore to protect it from the ravages of winter? Was it ever attached elsewhere to the bridge?

Research by Xanterra Parks & Resorts Interpretive Specialist Leslie Quinn indicates that this first boathouse was designed by prominent Bozeman architect, Fred F. Willson. Quinn's research also yielded an intriguing tidbit of nomenclature history. In the plans for this boathouse, approved by Superintendent Albright and the acting director of the NPS on April 9, 1927, it is referred to as a boathouse "for Fishing Creek Bridge." This added yet another to the variety of names already known for this area.[41]

This first boathouse and dock served until 1935, when the superintendent reported that this dock was replaced: "Yellowstone Park Boat Company: A new boat house 26 x 54 feet was constructed near Fishing Bridge while 40 new rowboats were purchased."[42]

It was recently discovered that the new 1935 boathouse was designed by Yellowstone's most famous architect, the designer of the Old Faithful Inn and other historically significant Yellowstone structures, Robert Reamer.[43]

Reamer biographer and Xanterra Parks & Resorts interpreter Ruth Quinn writes that the building



JACK E. HAYNES, PHOTOGRAPHER. #28372, HAYNES FOUNDATION COLLECTION, MONTANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The original Fishing Bridge boathouse was, according to the superintendent, a "floating dock with office and sleeping quarters." Steps led from the bridge down to the dock, where rental boats were tethered. A few other boats are faintly visible upstream of the bridge, and anglers lined the downstream side of the bridge in this 1928 photograph.



NPS PHOTO, YELL 2995I

The original boathouse was replaced with a considerably grander and more permanent structure, just down the west shore from the bridge, in 1935. Shown here in 1951, the boathouse featured a shop and floating dock and continued in service until 1963.



NPS PHOTO, YELL 1818D

Robert Reamer, designer of the second Fishing Bridge boathouse.

was recommended in anticipation of the new and much-improved bridge over the Yellowstone River, and that concessioners "wanted 'a room large enough for two men, an office for the sale of fishing tackle, etc., and a small waiting room. In the deep water just off shore, is to be a float where the row boats will be kept, the float and building to be connected by a ramp."[44] According to Quinn, "Carpenters completed the building in 1935. Although it was a small structure with a recreational use, Reamer designed an attractive artistic cottage like that at the Chinaman's Garden or his other residential proposals. This building served the Yellowstone Park Boat Company until the mid-1960s when the entire boat operation was consolidated at Bridge Bay Marina. James Wolfe, a boat company employee in 1962, 1963, and 1964, recalls that the building was torn down in 1963. One park guide book indicates that visitors could still rent boats at Fishing Bridge in 1966."[45]

The *Haynes Guides* revealed an entertaining flexibility by publishing a photograph of happy campers in 1927 at the "Lake Public Automobile Camp," while in 1930 and other years the same photograph was captioned as the "Fishing Bridge Public Automobile Camp."[46] Perhaps this was an indication of a lingering casual approach to naming the Fishing Bridge development while still recognizing its attachment to the greater Lake Area development. Just as likely it indicates that Haynes knew that for the purposes of his guide such photographs were practically, if inaccurately, interchangeable if the need arose.

No doubt at least partly in response to the growing public use of the Fishing Bridge area, the NPS built a new ranger station there in 1928.[47] A "classic NPS rustic design,"[48] the "L-plan building is one story with two rooms and is approximately 25' x 19' with porch being 12' by 6'. The building is of saddle notched log construction with extended log crowning. The wood shingled gable roof has exposed log rafter ends, purlins and ridge pole. A stone chimney is centrally placed. The building's windows are casement sash."[49] The building was known as a "snowshoe cabin" at first, though whether this indicates that winter ski patrols actually used it, or it was named from a sense of tradition from earlier years when considerably less spacious backcountry buildings were constructed for that purpose, seems unclear.[50] In response to the 1932 *Master Plan*, the cabin was moved to the "east side of the museum at the entrance to the campground," where it remains today and is used as a warming hut. Some modifications were made to the building in 1934.[51]

Though, as quoted above, there was an automobile repair garage at Fishing Bridge before 1928, this was the year in which the present garage appeared:

> Built in 1928 by the Yellowstone Park Company, the rectangular shaped building, approximately 87' by 27', is one story with 3 rooms. The exposed log frame building has a wood shingled gable roof with exposed log rafter ends. The front elevation has three sets of double garage doors. The double hung sash windows have 6/6 lights. The building is painted light green.[52]



NPS PHOTO, YELL 31657

The Fishing Bridge ranger station was built in 1928 and moved to its present location in 1932; it is shown here on blocks during the move.

Haynes's photo and related services at Fishing Bridge were improved in 1928, when the Haynes Picture Shop, Inc., "constructed building 60x60 feet in size at Fishing Bridge automobile camp to house Haynes' picture shop, mess and photo finishing plant, two stories and garage integral."[53] This building was absorbed into the Hamilton Store operation, still as a photo shop, and was removed in 1990.[54]

It was also in 1928 that planning began for the Fishing Bridge Museum, now the most historically significant structure in the development except for the bridge itself. In the early 1920s, as the NPS focused on its public education functions, the Laura Spelman



AUTHOR PHOTO, 2007

The Fishing Bridge ranger station now functions as a warming hut during the winter season.



AUTHOR PHOTO, 2007

The Fishing Bridge repair garage has been servicing motorists' ailing vehicles since 1928.



NPS PHOTO, YELL 29904

The Haynes Picture Shop, shown here in 1929, was a substantial structure housing not only photo shop and processing facility but Haynes employees' dining facility and garage space.

Rockefeller Memorial and the American Association of Museums (AAM) cooperated in funding and facilitating construction of Yellowstone museums.[55] According to historian Mary Shivers Culpin, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial first funded a museum for Yosemite National Park in 1924. At that time, the only educational exhibits in Yellowstone were somewhat haphazard and rather home-made efforts in existing facilities. In 1928, however, in response to a request from Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work, the memorial donated $118,000 for the construction of a system of "trailside museums" at key developed areas and attractions in Yellowstone. By 1930, this influential set of structures had been completed at Old Faithful, Madison Junction, and Norris. It has been suggested that one of the reasons for the increased sense of need for such facilities was that as a growing percentage of park visitors arrived and traveled through the park in their own cars, "people were no longer accompanied by a guide as they were on stagecoaches and White touring cars and busses."[56] The museums were thus a way to ensure educational opportunities to park visitors who in earlier times might have had other ways of learning about the park.[57]

Designed by AAM architect (and landscape architect) Herbert Maier, the trailside museums became among the most beloved public structures in Yellowstone: "Maier's buildings best exhibit the notion that structures of any kind in a national park should harmonize with nature to the point of being almost unnoticeable."[58]

Historian Aubrey Haines, writing 30 years ago in the immediate wake of the Mission 66 construction of "visitor centers" that replaced numerous museums (including the Maier-designed Old Faithful Museum torn down in 1971), had high praise for the trailside museums and less kind words for their successors:

> The trailside museums were not only effective interpretive facilities, but also pleasing examples of that rustic, stone-log architecture which, for a time, became synonymous with national park structures. Unfortunately, the National Park Service has since abandoned the distinctive style it pioneered with such



NPS PHOTO, YELL 44323



Shown here under construction in 1930, the Fishing Bridge Museum was the last of the original rustic NPS Yellowstone museums to be completed.



NPS PHOTO DORR YEAGER, YELL 19653

A distinguished gathering of NPS educational pioneers at Fishing Bridge, August 26, 1930, during the construction of the Fishing Bridge Museum: from left, Harold C. Bryant, chief of the NPS Branch of Research and Education; Herbert Maier, architect; and Carl P. Russell, NPS field naturalist and museum advisor.





AUTHOR PHOTO, 2007

Though the extensive use of native stone in and near the Fishing Bridge Museum added much to its rustic appeal, concerns were expressed at the time about the uneven footing provided by the material. Above: Photograph of building with stone-lined walkway from informational circular, National Park Service, Yellowstone [Wyoming] National Park (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936), 20. Right: Stone steps from museum to beach.

> success, resorting to less appropriate and less durable construction.[59]

The Fishing Bridge Museum was completed somewhat later than the others in the park. Rydell and Culpin summarized the controversy surrounding the planning of this very important building:

> The museum planned for Fishing Bridge in 1928 as part of the park's trailside museum project was finally constructed in 1930, but not without controversy. The educational staff, notably Dr. Hermon C. Bumpus of the American Association of Museums and assistant landscape architect Kenneth McCarter, favored a location on the lakeshore near the auto camp [i.e., Fishing Bridge], while [Yellowstone] Superintendent Toll and [NPS] Director Albright argued for a site by the hatchery [at the Lake Area], or at the very least, on the loop road between the hatchery and the proposed Lake Junction. Toll and Albright felt that the lake location would exclude visitors without their own means of transportation—those

> staying at the Lake Hotel, for example—or those driving the loop road who were willing to stop only once, that stop being at the fish hatchery. Both Toll and Albright agreed, however, that the decision should be Bumpus's—both, in short, were willing to "accept his judgment," and so the museum was built at Bumpus's proposed location off the main road by the lake.[60]

The Fishing Bridge Museum remains a model of its era, type, and spirit:

> The building itself, the last of the four museums planned and designed by Herbert Maier, perfectly illustrated the NPS's rustic design concept. The one-story, stone and wood-frame structure had an elongated rectangular footprint of a central block with two unequally sized wings. The structure's "uncoursed rubblestone masonry foundation…extend[ed] to the window sills," and the frame section about was covered with "wood shingles set in a wave pattern." Wooden shakes covered the gable roofs, which had large log purlins and rafters with exposed ends and log brackets supporting the central building's overhanging roof. The three rooms, devoted to "Bird Hall," (the central room), "Lake Geology," and "Lake Biology" (the wings), were well-supplied with natural light from multi-light doors and casement windows.[61]

Among its other distinctions, the Fishing Bridge Museum "served as a model for hundreds of subsequent buildings constructed throughout the nation in state, county and local parks under the auspices of the National Park Service during the work relief programs of the 1930s."[62] Research by Karen Reinhart indicates that the exhibits "were assembled and installed under the supervision of Carl P. Russell, Field Naturalist and Museum Advisor for the NPS. The taxidermy, which was privately contracted to Clarence E. McCafferty of Alliance, Nebraska, and others, represents the 1930s state-of-the-art and has endured remarkably well."[63] The most memorable wildlife exhibit was probably the original standing grizzly bear, who seemed to be silently roaring at passersby.[64] This famous mount was eventually replaced by a more benign family group of bears still on exhibit.



NPS PHOTO BY TEISBERG, YELL 32409

For many years visitors to the Fishing Bridge Museum encountered a huge snarling grizzly bear mount that no doubt fueled countless wilderness fantasies, and more than a few nightmares before it was replaced by more benign modern mounts.

Reinhart attributed the following details about the museum's currently popular grizzly bear exhibit to fellow ranger-interpreter Guida Veronda:

> The grizzly bears in the book sales room were picked out as good specimens by Lowell Biddulph, Assistant District Naturalist at Fishing Bridge in the late 1950s. They were shot in Hayden Valley the day after Dr. Biddulph located them there. The sow and two cubs were obtained as specimens by David Condon, Chief Naturalist. The taxidermy work was done by Jonas Brothers of Denver, Colorado.[65]

On May 28, 1987, the Norris, Madison, and Fishing Bridge museums were designated National Historic Landmarks.[66]

Herbert Maier also designed the cabin known as the naturalist's residence immediately to the northeast of the Fishing Bridge Museum, though apparently an "addition," or wing, was added later. Rydell and Culpin described the structure:

> The residence, also one story and of wood-frame construction, had a cement foundation "faced with large-diameter uncoursed rubblestones that slope outward at each exterior



AUTHOR PHOTO, 2007

The "naturalist's residence," built during the construction of the Fishing Bridge Museum, has housed generations of NPS interpreters in one of the most scenically advantaged of all Yellowstone employee housing opportunities.

> corner in a naturalistic organic design." Wooden shingles in a wave pattern covered the frame structure above the stone-faced foundation, and, with every fifth course doubled, they also covered the roofs—both the hip roof of what is probably the original section and the shed roof of what might be the addition.[67]

In 1929, the capacity of overnight accommodations at Fishing Bridge continued to expand as the Yellowstone Park Company further developed its housekeeping units with an "office building with 24 capacity dormitory above completed. Double comfort station completed. 36 new tents, total 160; capacity about 490; 60 permanent type cabins under construction."[68] A modern laundry was added in 1929.[69]

By that year, Fishing Bridge was one of four "contract stations" for the Post Office, and the following year it was upgraded to a "classified postal station," meaning it had the same status and provided the same service as was available at similar stations at Old Faithful and Mammoth Hot Springs.[70]

In 1930, Fishing Bridge was one of several park developments to receive new housekeeping cabins. According to the *Haynes Guide*, Fishing Bridge had assumed a leadership role among park developments in its breadth of services:

> Fishing Bridge Public Automobile Camp (Mileage 94.2) at which are the following services operated by the various park companies: Housekeeping Cabins, Haynes Picture Shop which carries a full line of park views, books, photographic supplies and specializes in overnight photo finishing, Cafeteria, Fuel Yard where bundles of split wood of convenient size are available, Garage, Gas Station and Hamilton Store which carries a full line of curios and tourist supplies. This is the second largest automobile camp in the park, the one at Old Faithful being the largest, and is a desirable place to spend many days, boating, fishing, and hiking.[71]

Having previously shared its incinerator needs with other developments, Fishing Bridge merited its own incinerator, on the service road north of the main development, in 1930. The building is still there, but now abandoned and in poor condition with more the appearance of a ruin than an official structure. The building regularly intrigues passersby—both employees and hikers—so its description may be relevant here:



NPS PHOTO, YELL 57960-1



NPS PHOTO, YELL 57960-2

Construction of the Fishing Bridge incinerator, 1930.

Dimensions: 24' (L) x 38' (W) x 20' (H). A 2-story concrete platform with exposed log superstructure supporting a side gable roof with wood shingles. Set against a steep slope, the split level incinerator allows gravity feed of refuse from the upper-level platform, through the interior incinerators, to a lower-level ash bin.

Concrete pillars support the upper platform and log columns support the roof structure. A shed roof addition is placed beside the lower platform. The upper concrete platform measures 38' x 11'6". An 8' expanse of platform is open to the weather, while the gable roof, supported by log posts tied to the concrete frame, protects the remainder of the platform. The log truss system is exposed, faced on the gable ends with plank siding placed on the diagonal.

The lower level platform measures 12' x 15' and is protected by a shed roof supported by log columns. Wood planks, set vertically, fill the shed ends. Rafter and purlins ends are chopper cut, and extend well beyond the eave line.[72]

As interesting as the incinerator is its less visible companion structure, the "old incinerator bunkhouse," now commonly known among NPS staff as the "naturalist's cabin" (not to be confused with the naturalist's residence next door to the Fishing Bridge Museum). This building, likewise apparently regarded to be of no formal significance, was also built in 1930 and now appears to be used only for storage. It sits parallel to and directly uphill from the incinerator, at the end of a light service road.[73]

Though some historical studies have dated the present service station as having been constructed as early as 1928 or 1929, research by Ruth Quinn indicates that its construction was approved in September of 1930, so it probably opened for business in 1931.[74] The original "filling station," discussed and illustrated above, was replaced by this structure. Except for an incorrect dating of construction, the 1981 listing of eligibility of the building for the National Register is an accurate description of the present gas station, including some post-construction modifications:

> Service Station. Built in the late 1920s by the Yellowstone Park Service Stations, Inc., the rectangular shaped building, approximately 22' by 79', has two transverse gable canopies serving as service bays. The building has concrete walls banded horizontally, with large logs used as pilasters and pillars. The wood shingled gable roof has exposed log ridge, purlins and rafter ends. The gable ends are shingled. The building is painted brown with green trim.[75]

The service station is still highly regarded for its materials and, possibly, its distinguished designer:



AUTHOR PHOTO, 2007

Today the Fishing Bridge incinerator is an abandoned and badly deteriorated structure just off the service road to the Fishing Bridge Sewage Treatment Plant.



AUTHOR PHOTO, 2007

The Fishing Bridge incinerator bunkhouse, which sits in a wooded area uphill from the incinerator, was often referred to as the "naturalist's cabin." At the end of a short service road, it was built in 1930.

> The service station is an example of uncommon construction materials and techniques used to achieve the rustic architecture favored for buildings in Yellowstone NP. Since the construction is similar to the nearby Hamilton General Store, it is reasonable that the Store's architect, Robert Reamer, also designed the Service Station.[76]

Though it may be possible that Reamer was involved in the design of this building, there is no documentation to support this interesting idea and it remains conjectural.[77]

Fishing Bridge's rising significance as a public accommodation was clear from the 1931 superintendent's annual report, which, under the heading of "Designated Developed Camp Grounds," reported that the Fishing Bridge Public Automobile Camp hosted a total of 16,664 cars (this is presumably car-nights), out of a parkwide total of 40,288 cars. Likewise, 52,825 of parkwide 127,713 campers were recorded at Fishing Bridge.[78] In little more than a decade, Fishing Bridge had grown from virtually no development to the most important camping area in the park, providing more than a third of all parkwide camper nights and car nights in that one location.

The most momentous event in 1931, however, was the opening of the Fishing Bridge Museum, where "the hall of birds and the information desk at the Fishing Bridge Museum were opened on August 1; the geology room is partially prepared."[79]

A variety of other structures were completed or modified in 1931. The Yellowstone Park Lodge & Camps Company, at their Lake Fishing Bridge Housekeeping Camp, "constructed flush toilet building, 16' x 30', inside measurement; erected small building for housing of fire equipment."

C. A. Hamilton "completed new Fishing Bridge store," and Henry Brothers "completed new bath house at Fishing Bridge."[80]

The new Hamilton Store, which apparently replaced the earlier store building constructed in 1924 and enlarged in 1925, is variously reported as constructed between 1929 and 1931, though it may be that construction occupied that entire period. Long thought to have been designed by Robert Reamer, the actual blueprints for the structure state that the drawings were prepared by A. C. Gutterson, working with consulting architect W. R. Plew.[81] According to the NPS Historic Inventory Resource Notebooks, the "building is significant for its use of uncommon building technologies and materials to achieve the rustic design found in Yellowstone NP."[82] Modified or remodeled in 1945, 1955, and 1992, it remains the central commercial attraction of the Fishing Bridge area today. It was described as follows as part of its determination of eligibility for National Register in 1979:



AUTHOR PHOTO, 2007

The second Fishing Bridge gas station was completed in 1930 and opened for its first full season in 1931.



AUTHOR PHOTOS, 2007

The present Hamilton Store at Fishing Bridge was built in the period 1929–1931.

> The H-shaped two-story building, built at an unknown date, has 31 rooms and is approximately 141' by 147' including the H wings which are 40' wide in the back and 33' wide on the front elevation. The store has concrete walls with stone masonry pilasters at the corners and stone masonry pillars used for roof supports for the porch which extends across the front elevation between the wings. Large logs are used as detailing. The building has a gray and red asbestos shingled mansard roof. The sales area utilizes first floor plus the balconies on the wings. A large stone fireplace dominates the two-story space in the central block.[83]

The store was most recently remodeled in about 2006.[84]

But 1931 was a troubled time for the park, as it was for the nation. As the Great Depression deepened, visitation dropped, and in 1932 the decline was precipitous, with 29 percent fewer visitors than in 1931. Some indication of the magnitude of the emergency was provided by the superintendent's comment that, "The reduction of eight and one-third per cent in the salaries and wages of all employees, in accordance with the provisions of the Economy Bill, approved June 30, 1932, resulted in some hard feeling, but most of the men realized the necessity for national economy and accepted the situation as inevitable."[85] Fishing Bridge's huge campground still led in camper statistics, but hosted only 7,896 of parkwide 20,728 cars and 25,267 of parkwide 66,329 campers.[86]

Still, progress was made in the educational program as "the Biology Room in the Fishing Bridge Museum was opened to the public August 1 and the exhibits were completed by August 20." As important, "two open-air theatres were dedicated this year, the one at Fishing Bridge on June 20 and the one at Old Faithful on August 27. The architectural work on these amphitheatres, as well as that on the trailside museums, was done by Mr. Herbert Maier."[87]

The Fishing Bridge Amphitheater was "dedi-



NPS PHOTO, YELL 33648



Two views of the construction of the Fishing Bridge Amphitheater in August 1931.



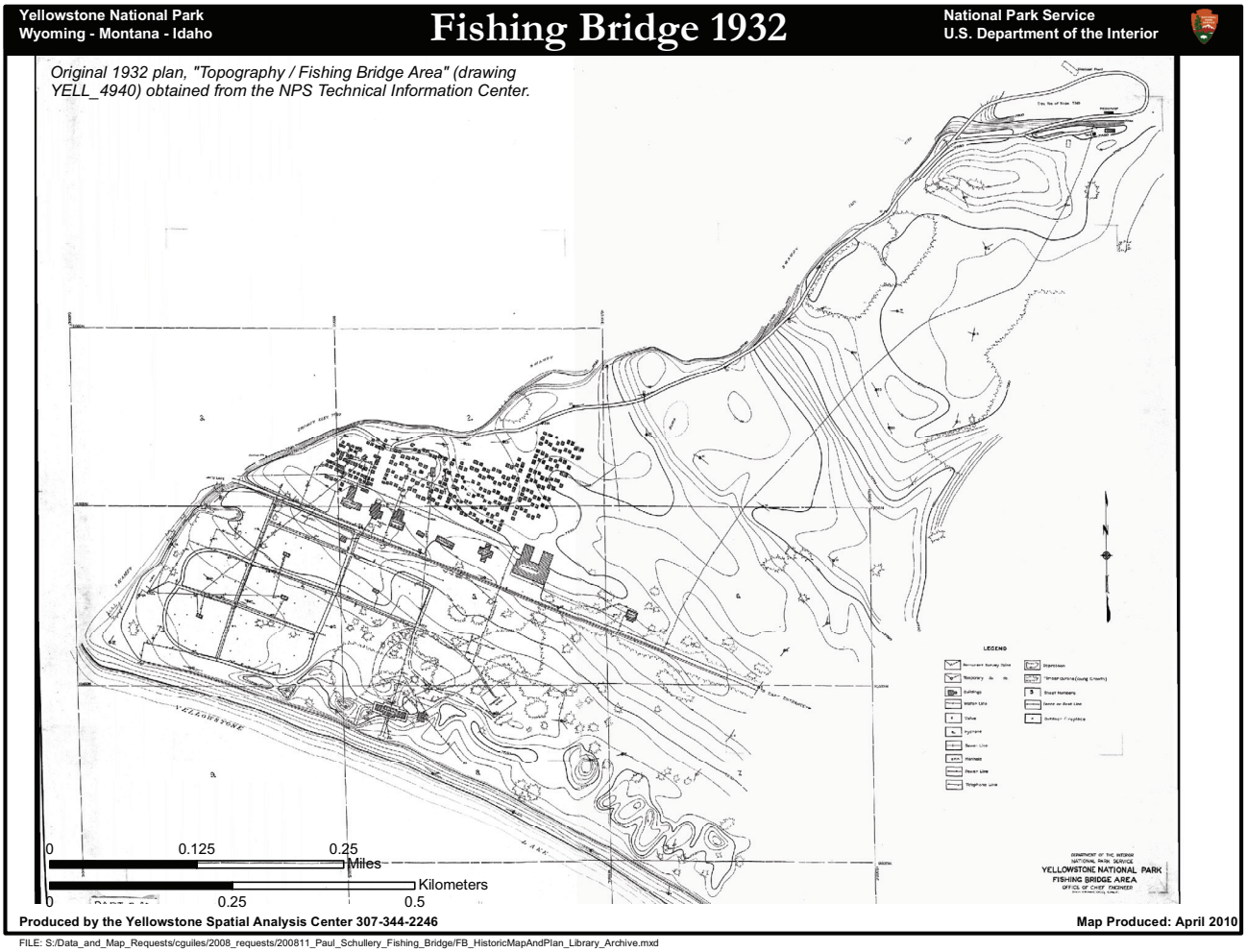
NPS PHOTO BY HARLAN KREDIT, 1971, YELL 11901

The Fishing Bridge Amphitheater designed by Herbert Maier, originally featured log benches that were later replaced by the more comfortable board benches.

cated June 20, 1932. The outdoor theater layout of the amphitheatre is typical of Roman design, with the permanent stage and the backdrop supporting the constructed permanent screen of logs. Originally the seats were large logs, but at some stage replaced with thick wooden planks."[88] The alterations apparently occurred between 1960 and 1965, probably relating to Mission 66 reconstruction programs.[89]

Though Fishing Bridge typically still lagged behind some other park developments in the numbers of people attending outdoor interpretive programs there, a 1932 tally of visitation at the park museums suggests that the Fishing Bridge Museum held the middle ground. In descending order, visitors attended the museums in these numbers: Old Faithful 83,940; Mammoth Hot Springs 36,638; Fishing Bridge 32,302; Norris 30,994; and Madison Junction 6,072.[90]

Though the Fishing Bridge development would continue to expand intermittently for three more decades, the substantial core of the area's facilities was in place by 1932, as were essentially all of the structures that now survive as part of the historic district. As Americans and Yellowstone weathered first the Depression and then World War II, Fishing Bridge's fortunes were in good part dependent upon visitation trends.



Fishing Bridge in Depression and Recovery, 1933–1941

In 1933, expectations of continued poor visitation led Superintendent Roger Toll to close many facilities. In his annual report, Toll said "Due to the poor season last year, it was agreed before the opening of this season that the Lake Hotel, Lake Lodge, Mammoth Hotel and Roosevelt Lodge should remain closed this summer, which left only two hotels, namely Old Faithful and Canyon, and three lodges, Old Faithful, Canyon and Mammoth, operating. At no time during the summer were these hostelries crowded."[91] That same year, in what was apparently quite the commercial novelty for the park, the superintendent reported that C. A. Hamilton "has installed 'Frosted Foods' in his Old Faithful Auto Camp and Fishing Bridge stores. These cases make possible the sale of frosted meats, fruits and vegetables by the package."[92]

Apparently also in 1933, considerable other work was done at Fishing Bridge: "Three comfort stations were erected at the Fishing Bridge area, two being let to contract for the erection of the building proper with the installation of sewer and water facilities performed as force account by the Park Service. The third building was erected entirely by the Park Service."[93] In a possibly redundant report, the superintendent also said that "one comfort station at the Fishing Bridge Auto Camp was completed and installation was started of 8,000 feet of six-inch water main."[94]

For the Haynes Picture Shops, Inc., the superintendent reported that "the inside of the shops at Old Faithful auto camp, Fishing Bridge, Canyon and Thumb auto camps were remodeled."[95]

For the Yellowstone Park Fuel Company, the superintendent reported that at "Old Faithful, Fishing Bridge and Canyon small tents or cabins were erected as sleeping quarters for the attendants, thus enabling many customers to be served after closing hours. New tarpaulin tops were installed on the wood piles at Fishing Bridge and Canyon."[96]

Even more work was completed in 1934:

> Four comfort stations were built in the Fishing Bridge campground area, three of these being built by contract and the fourth constructed by force account. Sewer, water and electrical services to all four buildings were installed by force account.
>
> Campground extension work was carried on at Fishing Bridge[,] Old Faithful and West Thumb, this work consisting of the construction and installation of camp tables, cooking fireplaces, and garbage disposal facilities.
>
> The Fishing Bridge water system was reconstructed to meet the demands of increased automobile campground space and to provide better fire protection for the various utility units. This reconstruction involved the installation of 6300 feet of six-inch water main and 3500 feet of service laterals, varying in size from four inches to three-quarters of an inch in diameter.[97]

Also, "at Fishing Bridge Cafeteria certain improvements were made to meet the fire requirements."[98]

Though a 1934 change in the fiscal year covered in the superintendent's annual reports now complicates our determining the precise timing of some events, the 1936 superintendent's annual report (which covered the fiscal year from July 1, 1935, to June 30, 1936), indicated that the second Fishing Bridge's days were numbered: "Contracts for the construction of eight bridges were let during the period, including the famous old Fishing Bridge near Lake Junction, five of these bridges being completed during the fiscal year."[99]

As travel to the parks increased, extensive adjustment of infrastructure was underway in the Fishing Bridge development at the same time:

> In the Fishing Bridge area a parking area and roadway was constructed at the Fishing Bridge museum. A central driveway, 28 feet in width; two side driveways, each 20 feet wide; four indented parking areas, 255 x 15 feet, fronting planting areas; and 2000 lineal feet of permanent type footpath with rock curb comprised the major construction items.
>
> The Fishing Bridge sewer system was extended to serve four new comfort stations requiring the installation of 600 lineal feet of 6-inch sewer tile and 630 feet of 8-inch tile. In addition to this item a log pumphouse was erected by contract and sludge pumps installed to provide for sewage disposal.[100]



AUTHOR PHOTO 2007

Originally built as a pumphouse in the mid-1930s, this small but distinctive structure has most recently served as a physical sciences laboratory and for storage.



AUTHOR PHOTO 2007

The picnic shelter near the present museum restrooms was built in 1935.

The pumphouse was built in 1934 or 1935 by contractor George Larkin, who "received the contract to build a pumphouse at the Fishing Bridge campground to pump sewage from the four comfort stations to the main sewage system."[101] The pumphouse more recently served as a physical science field laboratory, and though as of 2007 it is still signed as such, apparently it is primarily used for storage.

Also in 1935, a small picnic shelter was built east of the Fishing Bridge Museum parking area. Situated almost directly south of the present museum rest rooms, this building is also referred to as a garage, though its open sides would suggest it might be more accurately described as a car port.[102]

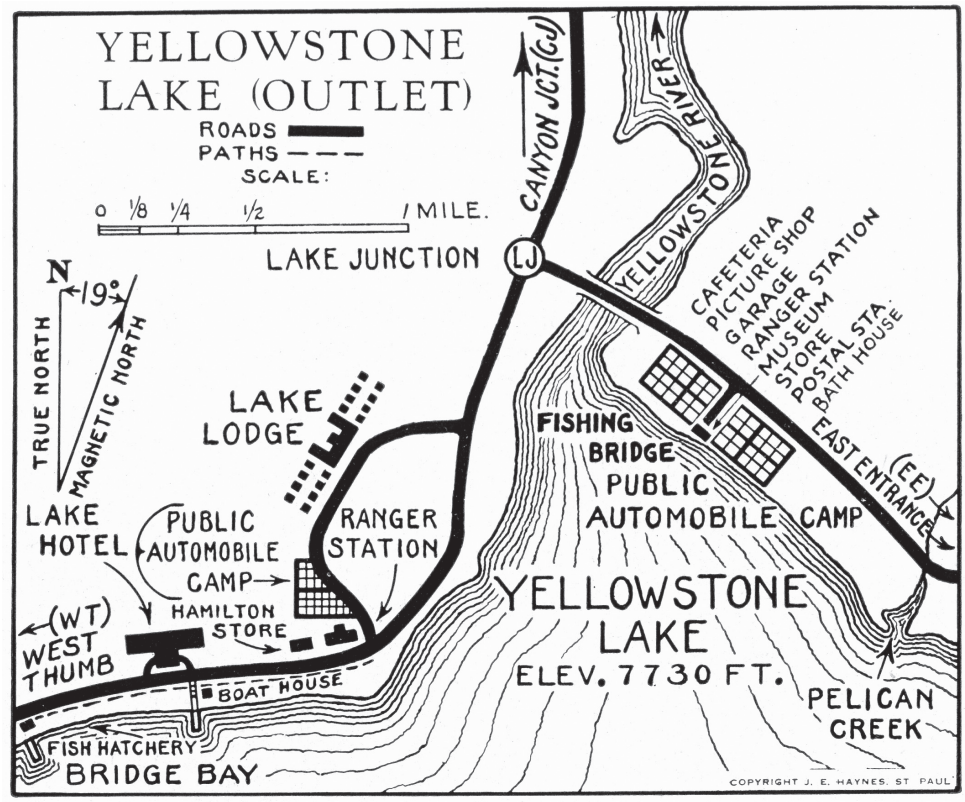
A historic change in park concessioner operations occurred in 1936. The superintendent reported that "before the end of the fiscal year there had been effected a consolidation of the Yellowstone Park Hotel, Transportation, Boat, Lodge and Camps, and Fuel Companies into one organization known as the 'Yellowstone Park Company' with W. M. Nichols as President and Vernon Goodwin as Vice-President."[103] Expansion of facilities continued at Fishing Bridge as "thirty-seven (37) new log and frame cabins were constructed in the Fishing Bridge area and new furnishings and equipment installed therein. Also other renewal and repair work was carried on at this location."[104] This work included the first phase of the construction of a new bridge to replace the structure last rebuilt in 1919.

Probably because the scene was getting too complicated for any sort of even idealized representation of the Fishing Bridge development on a small map, by 1936 the *Haynes Guide* map of the Fishing Bridge area simply listed, eastward from the bridge on the north side of the road, the cafeteria, picture shop, garage, ranger station, museum, store, postal station, and bath house, without any corresponding representational shapes to designate actual buildings. The museum was designated as a rectangle on this map, placed along the lake down a side lane from the road, the lane dividing the campground equally.[105]

The superintendent reported on more expansion and maintenance at Fishing Bridge in 1936: "At Fishing Bridge constructed and installed 35 new camping tables; excavated and laid 50 feet of drainage tile at water intake; changed 480 feet of 4 inch pipe line on Fishing Bridge; and installed new toilet at incinerator bunkhouse."[106] Also, "seventy-six log and frame type cabins and 30 improved type log and frame cabins with sinks and running water were constructed at the Fishing Bridge, two comfort stations were constructed, and furniture and equipment for the new cabins purchased. A new 10 K.W. Kohler electric lighting plant, a new electric salad case, and a new Cold-Bain-Marie were installed at the cafeteria."[107]

That same summer the campground was the scene of a tragedy when a windstorm blew down a number of trees, killing one child and damaging both tent campsites and automobiles.[108]

Fishing continued to be a primary focus of promotion of the Fishing Bridge development, though there was a continuing decline in advertised expectations of angling success. According to the *Haynes Guide* for 1936, Fishing Bridge "over the Yellowstone





NPS PHOTO, YELL 2923-2

Top left:
Haynes Guide *map of Fishing Bridge, 1936.*

Bottom left:
Most construction work on Fishing Bridge was completed in 1936. This view of the construction site is from the east bank of the Yellowstone. Workers have constructed what appears to be a bypass canal to control the flow of water through the main river channel during construction. In the middle distance, a temporary pier has been constructed over the water in the path of the new bridge, which will be constructed starting at the far bank. The old bridge, also visible, crossed the river perpendicular to the current, and thus reached the east bank far upstream from where the new bridge would. The old boathouse was still in place downstream from the bridge and the new boathouse is almost out of view on the right.

river is the favorite fishing place for hundreds of anglers, most of whom are amply rewarded for their efforts. The fish caught here are the native trout also known as the Cutthroat and Redthroat trout."[109] Earlier predictions that the angler would catch a specific number of fish had by 1936 been replaced by a vague assurance of an ample reward.

The 1937 season saw two still-memorable historic events at Fishing Bridge. One was a presidential visit, as Franklin Delano Roosevelt and a large entourage toured the park at the close of the season: "On the first day [September 25, 1937] the President proceeded from Gardiner to Mammoth, thence to Norris, to Canyon and to Fishing Bridge returning to Mammoth for the night via Dunraven Pass."[110]

The presidential visit affected service facility closing dates at Fishing Bridge. The superintendent noted that "the Thumb cafeteria closed on



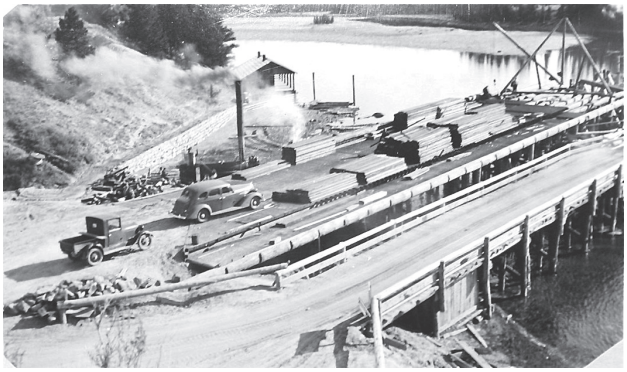
NPS PHOTO, YELL 29321-3



NPS PHOTO, YELL 29321-9



NPS PHOTO, YELL 29321-4



Top: The approach of the East Entrance Road to the east bank is the primary subject of this photograph, but the old bridge, the construction pier, and both boathouses are visible as well. By the time of this photograph, tourist season was underway, as indicated by the presence of the long train of rental boats attached to the old boathouse. The new boathouse is visible on the west bank.

Bottom: Taken from the old bridge near the construction site on the west bank, this photograph shows the long train of rental boats hanging in the current (the old bridge and old boathouse were just out of the picture to the right). The presence of anglers on the construction pier suggests that in those pre-OSHA days visitors were at times welcome around the construction site.

Top: During the construction of the new bridge, the old bridge continued in service. This photograph shows the bridges from the west bank. The old bridge reached the east bank (the far bank) substantially upstream from where the new bridge would. The East Entrance Road can be seen in the trees beyond the far shore; the new bridge was aimed directly at it. Notice also that the west end of the old bridge was temporarily reconstructed at this time, introducing an upstream curve (the curve occurs behind the car, which is just entering the straight new section of the old bridge) so that the old bridge would reach the west bank upstream far enough to be out of the way of the new bridge.

Bottom: Construction seems to have been largely completed during a period of low water. Notice, in this and the previous photograph, the extensive gravel bar along the east bank; we will return to the bank and the small trees on it in a later chapter. Notice also in both photographs the new boathouse, not yet in use. NPS Photo, from Sanford Hill, "Final Narrative Report to Chief Architect by Sanford Hill, Resident Landscape Architect," Branch of Plans and Designs, Summer 1936, Region II, Yellowstone Archives, Box No. D-37, Landscape Architects and Engineers, Reports and Miscellaneous 1933–1938, unpaginated.

September 9, Mammoth cafeteria on the tenth and the other cafeterias, except Fishing Bridge which was kept open until September 25 because of the President's visit, remained open until September 20." [111] It is not clear from this if the Fishing Bridge cafeteria remained open to serve the president, or if it stayed open in anticipation of increased public interest and attendance because of the president's visit.



The new bridge was noticeably broader and more substantial than the old one. Notice also the "skewing" of the pilings, which were angled obliquely across the underside of the bridge. NPS Photo, from Sanford Hill, "Final Narrative Report to Chief Architect by Sanford Hill, Resident Landscape Architect," Branch of Plans and Designs, Summer 1936, Region II, Yellowstone Archives, Box No. D-37, Landscape Architects and Engineers, Reports and Miscellaneous 1933–1938, unpaginated.



AUTHOR PHOTO, 2007

The new bridge's greatest advantage for visiting anglers was the generously wide walkways on both sides, which after the bridge was closed to fishing in 1973 would accommodate fish-watchers.

But the bigger story for Fishing Bridge in 1937 was the new and substantially improved bridge, an event which Superintendent Edmund Rogers celebrated in his annual report the following year:

> The old landmark, Fishing Bridge, passed into oblivion with the completion of the new Fishing Bridge. The new structure opened to permit travel on August 1 and immediately thereafter the razing of the old Fishing Bridge was begun. Within a couple of weeks there was no sign of what was once the famous Fishing Bridge, but the new structure has proven even more popular because of its providing ample room for the angler without interference by the motorist. The new bridge has considerably improved the appearance of the Fishing Bridge area and the improvement of the approaches to the bridge has eliminated a serious traffic hazard.[112]

By any standard, the new bridge was indeed a vast improvement on its predecessor. Superintendent Rogers said so:

> The completion of the Fishing Bridge together with adjacent parking and planting areas marks the improvement of an area which has long been inadequate, congested and hazardous for traffic. The bridge itself is entirely of log construction on a substructure of treated timber piling, and 5-foot sidewalks are provided on each side for fishermen. No particular construction difficulties were encountered other than extreme difficulty in obtaining the required 10-foot penetration in driving the piling. The formation under most of the stream bed consisted of a hard clay shale material which made [word unclear] driving of the 16-inch Port Orford cedar piling very slow, although most of them were provided with metal shoes.
>
> The bridge proper which is 532 feet in length consisting of 19-28 foot spans, cost approximately $100,000 or about $188 per lineal foot. It furnished a 24-foot roadway with the two 5-foot sidewalks and an overall width of 42 feet. The entire contract including the parking areas and supplemental work totaled about $140,000.[113]

Modern visitors to the bridge should make an effort to get a look at one of its most unusual structural features, the substantial "skew" with which its pilings support it. Unlike the previous bridge, the new



AUTHOR PHOTOS, 2007

The new bridge's skewed pilings are especially evident underneath the bridge, in this case photographed from the east end looking across the river.

bridge's sets of pilings were placed perpendicular to the current. The bridge, however, crosses the stream at an angle (downstream from west to east), so each row of pilings runs obliquely across the underside of the bridge. A helpful account of this characteristic of the new bridge, which is readily visible to anyone who walks under the bridge, was published in 1989, as follows.

> The location survey was made in 1931. The selected crossing, which was about 100 feet below the old bridge on the south or east side of the river and on a 45 degree skew and intersecting the old bridge on the north or west side of the river, provided several advantages. Ice damage would be lessened as it had more room to break up and the farther distance from the lake permitted boating sheltered from the frequent and unpredictable storms on the lake.[114]

Among the other work completed at Fishing Bridge this year, "considerable renewal and repair work was done in connection with the tourist cabins and cafeteria, and at the boat house a new floating dock was constructed and there was purchased and installed a sewage pump system, septic tank and sludge bed."[115]

Strangely enough, Fishing Bridge experienced another severe windstorm in 1937, resulting in both injuries and property damage, as reported by the superintendent:





The July 23, 1937, wind storm at Fishing Bridge resulted in many damaged tent cabins and two injuries. NPS Photos, from Edmund B. Rogers, "Superintendent's Monthly Report," July 1937, 2–3.

> A serious windstorm, similar to the one of July 7, 1936, occurred on July 23, 1937 resulting in considerable damage in the Fishing Bridge Area. Two children, Jimmie Lee Harding and Doll Harding of Eden, Idaho were injured and rushed to the hospital at Mammoth. Both received head injuries but recovered sufficiently to be removed to their home within a few days. One automobile, one trailer, and some 17 cabins were badly damaged, while between 150 and 200 trees were uprooted or blown down.[116]

Between 1938 and 1941, a variety of maintenance and repair work continued on various Fishing Bridge facilities.[117] Though work on remodeling

cabins began in 1938, the topic was introduced with considerable fanfare by the superintendent in his 1940 annual report, which reported that following the completion of similar improvements at Old Faithful, comprehensive work would be undertaken at Lake and Fishing Bridge.[118] An annex was added to the Fishing Bridge cafeteria in 1941.[119]

Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Lake Experience

During the 1920s and 1930s, the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company (and perhaps other concessioners) published a series of pamphets entitled, "What to Do at Yellowstone Lake." These occasional publications demonstrated that as far as the concessioners (and probably almost all visitors) were concerned, recreation at Yellowstone Lake was not a matter of enjoying either the Lake Area or Fishing Bridge, but involved the enjoyment of the whole Lake-Fishing Bridge neighborhood. NPS managers still must confront this complicated and somewhat schizophrenic development reality today, occasionally treating Fishing Bridge, the Lake Area, and Bridge Bay as three separate "areas" and at other times having to manage them practically as one extended development. Commerce dictated to concessioners that to some extent they bill Fishing Bridge and the Lake Area as separate destinations, but the reality was one of constant overlap between the two.

Certainly in the 1930s and 1940s, the two neighboring developments were for practical purposes one large facility, and though the pamphlet necessarily emphasized the primacy of the Lake Area, with its hotel, lodge, and grander boating dock, the indivisible relationship is clear. Aside from this, the pamphlet series is worth our attention because it described the key elements of the visitor experience in the heyday of a still-young and vital Fishing Bridge development.

The 1937 edition of the pamphlet, published after the Fishing Bridge development, and especially the historic district, was approaching its maximum size (except for the trailer village added in the 1960s), provides a fair sampling of the opportunities available to recreationists:

Fishing Trips

In five passenger launches, including guide and fishing tackle: $3.50 an hour, $20.00 per day. Row boats 50¢ per hour; $2.50 per day (tackle extra). Boats available at Lake dock, Bridge Bay, and Fishing Bridge. Fishing tackle of all kinds may be rented or purchased at Lake boat dock, Fishing Bridge, Bridge Bay, Lake Store, and Fishing Bridge store.

Fish Hatchery

You are invited to visit the Fish Hatchery near the Lake Hotel at any time during the day-light hours. The attendant will be pleased to explain the work to you.

Haynes Park Views

Photo finishing, supplies, guide books, and pictorial souvenirs.

Dancing

In the lounge of Lake Hotel every evening except Sunday, when a concert will be given.

Buffet

Off main lobby in hotel. Cocktails, soft drinks, sandwiches, salads, light lunches.

Art Shop and News Stand

In main lobby of hotel. Cigars, cigarettes, candy, souvenirs and novelties.

Nature Talks

By Ranger Naturalist on bird and plant life of the area with a brief reference to geological history of Yellowstone Lake. In Lake Hotel lounge Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday evenings at 7:30 p.m.

Museums

The Fishing Bridge Museum offers an interesting interpretation of the geology and natural history of the Yellowstone Lake region. Other museums are located at Mammoth, Norris, Madison, and Old Faithful.

Ranger Station

Located on the lake front within five minutes walk of the hotel. Authentic information, maps, etc., concerning the park may be obtained. [120]

The brochure gave two activities special emphasis. "An Island Picnic," which allowed visitors to "follow your own fish to the frying pan," invited visitors to "hop aboard a Speed Boat for an exciting and exhilarating skim on Yellowstone Lake to Stevenson Island where rowboats and tackle are provided—then you start landing them…here an experienced camp guide will transform your trout into tempting picnic morsels…take your turn at the fire if you like… then feast on your catch…returning to mainland after lunch." (Ellipses present in original.) For this experience, "the price is $3.00 per person. Buy tickets at the Lake dock or Fishing Bridge boat house. Speed Boat leaves Lake dock daily at 9:45 a.m." [121]

The second highlighted attraction was a series of "Speed Boat Thrill Rides," which left the Lake boat dock at scheduled morning and evening times for a "half hour cruise," which cost $1.00. "Moonlight trips, as well as trips to 'the Southeast Arm and the various islands' were available "thru special arrangement with the Transportation Agent."[122]

Naturally the attractions listed favored concessioner activities and were not inclusive of all the NPS offerings. Ranger-naturalist activities at Fishing Bridge that same year included 75 field trips (local nature walks, especially along the lake shore) attended by a total of 1,366 people; 79 "auto caravans" attended by 472 cars holding 1,841 people; and 112 lectures (probably most of these at the Fishing Bridge amphitheater, which seated 900) attended by 37,324 people. Ranger-naturalists tallied 82,101 visits to the Fishing Bridge Museum, and a total of 122,810 public "contacts."[123]

In 1940, in a revealing statement about the continued significance of sport fishing to the park visitor's interests, as well as to the park's commercial interests, the superintendent reported on a failed attempt to initiate user fees for boaters and anglers:

> On February 20 advice was received that the Acting Secretary of the Interior on February 7 had approved a fee of $1 for power boats used on the waters of Yellowstone Lake and a fishing license of $3 per season or $1 per week. Upon the release of a press item on these new fees a storm of protests arose from civic organizations, sportsmen's clubs, dude ranchers and others, and from the Congressional delegations from Montana and Wyoming. Because of the unpopularity of these new fees and the protests sent in to Washington, the Secretary announced on February 22 that the order invoking these fees had been rescinded.[124]

The improvement and refinement of services at Fishing Bridge continued to justify the optimistic pronouncements of the superintendent about this popular development right up to the eve of World War II. Upkeep and enhancement of the development were attended to throughout the first two decades of its existence. Improvements in the electrification of the development was accomplished in good part in 1940 and 1941, at least some of the cabins were plumbed for running water, and the cafeteria was enlarged in 1941.[125] But work essentially stopped at that point. Fishing Bridge, indeed the entire park, would suffer through an extended period of neglect and consequent crisis for more than a decade following the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

Chapter Five

World War II and Mission 66 at Fishing Bridge

At virtually all American national parks, visitation numbers plummeted during the war. Staff sizes were correspondingly reduced, and many NPS employees went off to war. Very little significant maintenance work was possible, and in Yellowstone the Fishing Bridge development, like others, began a decline in condition that would continue well into the 1950s.

In 1942, "the only tourist cabins and cafeterias operated were at Old Faithful and Fishing Bridge."[1] Further, "no hotels, lodges or cafeterias were operated and there was no bus service available. Tourist cabins were opened only at Old Faithful and Fishing Bridge and Mr. C. A. Hamilton served meals and took care of overnight guests at his general stores at Old Faithful and Fishing Bridge."[2]

As there was less demand for interpretive activities, Superintendent Rogers reported that "the museums at Norris, Madison Junction, Fishing Bridge, Old Faithful and Mammoth were open during the 1942 season but for the 1943 season only the Mammoth and Old Faithful museums were operated."[3]

This state of affairs continued throughout the war. Old Faithful and Fishing Bridge, presumably because of their strategic locations on the Grand Loop Road, continued to provide most of the (very few) overnight services available in the park. For the 1944 season, "boats were available at Fishing Bridge beginning June 10, while the tourist cabins at both Old Faithful and Fishing Bridge started operations on June 21, providing both furnished and unfurnished cabins. No hotels, lodges or cafeterias were open and no facilities were available at West Thumb, Lake, Canyon or Tower Falls. There was no bus service available and as in 1943 the railroads did not deliver tourists to the park gateways."[4]

By 1944, the Mammoth Museum was the only park museum to open.[5] In 1945, "no facilities were open at Canyon, Lake, Tower Falls, and West Thumb but general stores and gasoline filling stations were operated at Mammoth, Old Faithful and Fishing Bridge. Rooms at the general stores at the two latter locations helped to provide sleeping accommodations for the overflow from the tourist cabins."[6] It is not clear what rooms in these buildings were used for visitor accommodations; perhaps employee quarters, unoccupied because of reduced staffs, were adapted for the purpose.

War Ends, But No Peace for Parks

Though they probably did not fully understand the scale of the visitation onslaught soon to come, park managers in Yellowstone were well aware that they would face a great increase in visitation following the war, and there was little they could do to prepare. Budgets and staffing were stuck at pre-war levels, and without preventive maintenance park facilities were deteriorating badly.

That first post-war year, attempts to put the park back in shape were thwarted by funding and staffing problems that would compromise operations in

Yellowstone for years to come. Superintendent Rogers described the magnitude of the challenge faced by park managers:

> Plans were made during the winter to have all operations underway in the park for the 1946 season on a pre-war basis. However, all of the hotels and lodges and a number of other facilities having been closed throughout the war and considerable repair and maintenance work necessary, it was not possible to have all operations opened on schedule because of the scarcity of materials and the general attitude of labor expecting to receive high wages with little work. Positions were difficult to fill and food supplies were hard to obtain. The numerous OPA, building, and other restrictions further prevented the concessioners from getting everything in readiness for the 1946 visitors. The various park concessioners started opening their operations for the summer during the month of May, and by June 20 all facilities which were to become available had been opened. Lake Hotel did not open for the summer and by the end of June the Haynes Picture Shop, cafeteria, and general store in the Mammoth campground were not operated. While Camp Roosevelt was opened on June 20, as scheduled, it was necessary to close it before the end of the month due to a labor shortage.[7]

The desperation of the situation was demonstrated by the visitor response to these problems:

> Many visitors were obliged to seek accommodations outside the park or sleep in their cars. Conditions were very much the same outside. Never before have eating and sleeping establishments, curio shops, grocery stores, and other merchants done such a land-office business. New and inexperienced help greatly retarded the proper handling of visitors, resulting in numerous complaints and dissatisfied tourists. A deluge of requests for reservations (letters, telegrams, and long distance calls) poured into the office of the Yellowstone Park Company, and they found it extremely difficult to meet the situation.[8]

It may be difficult for us today to imagine the extreme poverty of the agency. No part of the NPS tradition seemed exempt from the crisis. The park celebrated its 75th anniversary on March 1, 1947, but because of a shortage of personnel and "extremely heavy travel," managers decided that "no special ceremonies are scheduled to be held in the park to commemorate this outstanding date in Yellowstone history."[9]

It also may not be possible for us to comprehend the intensity of the American public's need for the parks right then. Americans, exhausted by the war and exhilarated by its end, were feeling relieved and released after five pent-up years of concentration on an unprecedented national emergency. The national parks were the perfect outlet for the desperate need to exercise freedom of movement and rediscover the blessings of their own nation. The superintendent's touching description of many visitors who had no firm destination in mind provided a particularly vivid example of the national mood:

> Many visitors included war workers who were "just traveling" with no definite destination in view, some used their trailer houses they had lived in at manufacturing centers. The majority seemed to be "letting off steam" after having been denied tires and gasoline for several years. A good many families, mostly from the farming sections of the country, converted their trucks into small houses on wheels and were moving across the country to see the beauties of the West.[10]

The superintendent's reports in the post-war years consisted of almost unrelieved discussions of shortages, operational handicaps, poorly trained or inadequate staff, deteriorating roads, failures of public protection and safety, equipment shortages, and aging equipment.

The crisis was steadily heightened by the nation's increasing enthusiasm for the parks. In 1948 Yellowstone received one million visitors for the first time.[11]

Gradually, some repair and renovation work took place. In 1947, "considerable work was done on repairing the log barriers at the Fishing Bridge campground and new seat logs were installed in the Old Faithful amphitheater."[12] In 1948, "considerable

repair and rehabilitation work was accomplished in the spring of 1948 on the campgrounds at Old Faithful, Fishing Bridge and West Thumb. Approximately 150 tables and 150 fireplaces were constructed. Twelve new pit toilets were rebuilt and 50 new metal garbage containers were purchased."[13]

But conditions for visitors remained grim. In 1948, described by historian Richard Bartlett as "the worst of the entire post-World War II era," the *Denver Post* dispatched a reporter to investigate the deteriorating facilities and ugly rumors of price gouging. The reporter found that many of the worst rumors were true, Yellowstone was in desperate condition, and Fishing Bridge was outstandingly bad:

> The newsman chose as his first place of inspection possibly the worst facility, Fishing Bridge (or "Syphilis Junction" as the student employees called it). The charge for a room was $3.75. Extra blankets were twenty-five cents each and extra sheets were twenty cents. Since the company furnished one sheet, the city dweller usually paid for a second one, and Yellowstone nights being cool, an extra blanket was often considered worth the quarter. The reporter's family obtained the last blanket available at Fishing Bridge but was less fortunate when it requested a second sheet—the company was fresh out.[14]

In 1950, "in an endeavor to keep pace with the tremendous increase in travel since World War II and to provide additional and more comfortable accommodations for visitors and employees, the Yellowstone Park Company is engaged on a program which will involve the expenditure of over half a million dollars. Some of the projects proposed in connection with this construction program…new bathing facilities and employees quarters at Fishing Bridge, to cost about $40,000; a multiple housing unit at Fishing Bridge, to cost about $50,000."[15]

In 1950, Hamilton Stores moved a dormitory from Canyon to Fishing Bridge. Hamilton "purchased the building, in use as a bathhouse, from concessionaire Henry Brothers in 1933."[16] According to the NPS Historic Resource Inventory Notebooks, the building is therefore "not significantly associated with the Fishing Bridge complex" but it "retains integrity of



AUTHOR PHOTO, 2007

The Hamilton Store dormitory is of historical interest, having been built at Canyon in 1933 and moved to the Fishing Bridge area in 1950, but is not regarded as a significant part of the Fishing Bridge Historic District.

design, workmanship, and materials and remains a significant example of NPS rustic architecture. The building remains in a setting and general environment comparable to those of the historic location and that are compatible with the property's architectural significance as part of a concession complex with Yellowstone National Park." [17]

In 1951, the superintendent reported that "at Fishing Bridge the Old bathhouse was renovated to provide rooms for employees."[18] In 1952, "the Yellowstone Park Company has under construction a public laundry and bath addition to its Fishing Bridge and Old Faithful cabin offices and an addition to the Fishing Bridge girls' dormitory and to the garage building there."[19]

But such modest improvements were only band-aids on wounds already far too serious for such minor treatment. By the early 1950s, in response to the crisis facing the national parks, a campaign was underway to save the parks from such ruinous neglect. Nationally published articles accurately and successfully used terms such as "scandal," "disgrace," and "shame" to mobilize the public—and thereby Congress—to rescue the national parks.

The most famous of these articles—and certainly the one that has come most to represent this period in American national park history—was probably Bernard DeVoto's "Let's Close the National Parks," which appeared in *Harper's* magazine in October 1953. Describing park after park that was still subsisting on pre-war budgets and even smaller staffs, and accurately asserting that "so much of the priceless heritage which the Service must safeguard for the United States is beginning to go to hell," DeVoto offered a tongue-in-cheek solution: "The national park system must be temporarily reduced to a size for which Congress is willing to pay."[20] And when he said that "there are true slum districts in Yellowstone, Rocky Mountain, Yosemite, Mesa Verde, [and] various other parks," there was little question that as far as Yellowstone's "slums," the sprawling and increasingly run-down Fishing Bridge development measured up to this harsh epithet.[21]



NPS PHOTO, YELL 29331

Fishing Bridge and the boathouse in 1951, when the post-World War II recreational boom in America was well underway and Yellowstone was struggling to handle the crowds. Note the scattered boats in the river downstream from the bridge.

The label "slum" stuck. While at several Yellowstone locations over the next decade, older facilities would be upgraded or modern new facilities would be constructed, and Fishing Bridge itself would undergo yet another enlargement and transformation, it remained an unsightly enough combination of neglect and misdevelopment to continue to attract strong criticism. F. Fraser Darling and Noel D. Eichhorn, in their milestone 1967 study of the national parks, *Man & Nature in the National Parks: Reflections on Policy*, caustically referred to "that national park slum called Fishing Bridge."[22]

To appreciate the durability of both Fishing Bridge's public popularity and its disrepute among professional observers and critics, we must turn briefly to the greatest attempt at park improvement in the history of the NPS—Mission 66.

Mission 66 and Fishing Bridge

Mission 66 was the creation, the briefly glorious achievement, and eventually the undoing of Conrad Wirth. Wirth, a lifelong park professional, became director of the NPS in 1951, but it wasn't until the beginning of the first Eisenhower administration that he saw his opportunity to develop a long-range program to bring the parks out of their catastrophic decline, update facilities, and once again serve the public as successfully as they had before the war.

He turned out to be a master at finessing the acceptance of his plans. The scope of his campaign is summarized by an NPS historian:

> The name of the program (Wirth's inspiration) captured the desired sense of a crisis, but it

did so by evoking the wartime urgency of a "mission," not a return to the New Deal social programs. In any case, the name and the image proved effective. Eisenhower personally endorsed Mission 66 after Wirth presented the program at a cabinet meeting in January 1956. That spring Congress indicated a willingness to go along with the request for over $700 million for the ten-year program by increasing the agency's budget for fiscal year 1957 to $68 million, up from $32 million in 1955. Further increases led to annual budgets in excess of $100 million by 1962. The planning and policy initiative of Mission 66 proved to be the most effective means of increasing Park Service appropriations since the New Deal emergency spending legislation of the 1930s.[23]

In some areas of Yellowstone, Mission 66 resulted in extensive new developments, either replacing old developments or, in the case of Grant Village, creating them in previously undeveloped areas.[24] The magnitude of these developments shocked many conservationists, and, right or wrong, the changes wrought in park landscapes by Mission 66 did reshape the NPS's political playing field. Though the relationship between the NPS and its many conservation-oriented advocacy and constituency groups was sometimes uneasy before 1956, Mission 66 may have been the single most influential force in souring that relationship and replacing it with the adversarial mood that often characterizes modern dealings between the NPS and its advocacy groups, especially those concerned with wilderness values.

Fishing Bridge did not experience the kind of broad reconstruction or replacement of older facilities that, for example, the Canyon area did. But the already expansive developed area did continue to grow, and its maintenance and growth were actively celebrated as part of the Mission 66 program. In 1955, 55 cabins from the Lake Lodge were rehabilitated and moved to the Fishing Bridge cabin area.[25]

Also in 1955, under the guidance of the Mission 66 Advisory Committee, "bids were opened September 29 by the Bureau of Public Roads for construction of Yellowstone guardrail on the East and Northeast entrance roads, 12,800 lineal feet, and Fishing Bridge repairs. The low bidder was Charles H. Smith, Thermopolis, Wyoming, in amount $121,000. Award



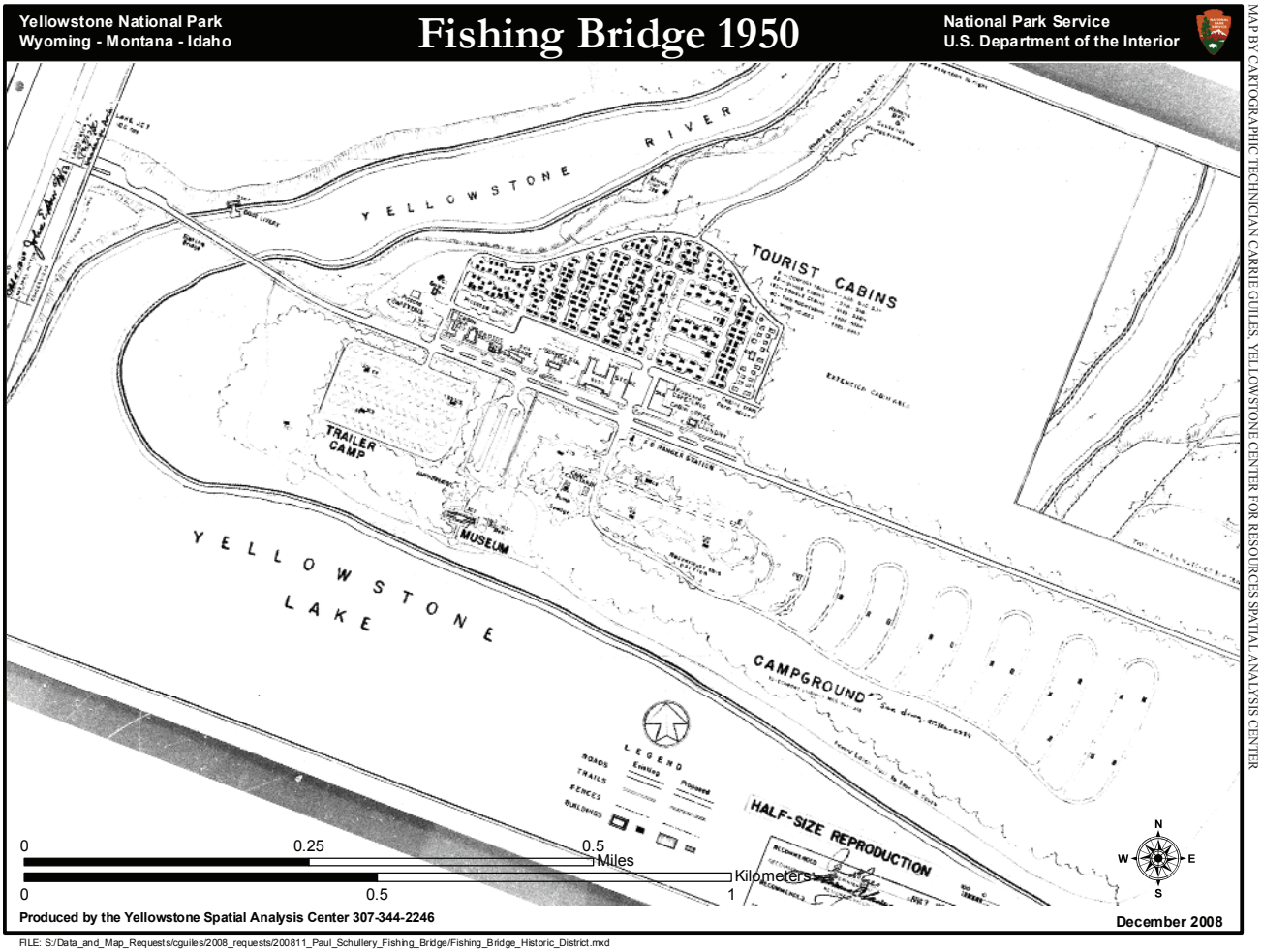
NPS PHOTO, YELL 34676

Visitors fishing from the bridge, 1952.

was made October 14 in the amount of $116,000 following revision."[26] In 1957, unspecified "Mission 66 Improvements….in the Fishing Bridge campground made by the National Park Service proved very popular with the campers and trailerites."[27]

Mission 66 played an important role in the lingering inconsistency of development names at Fishing Bridge. In the authoritative *Haynes Guide* for 1951, a photograph of the Fishing Bridge Museum was captioned "Lake Museum, Fishing Bridge Campground." This name may have been given it to indicate not that it was the museum at the Lake Area, but that it was the museum that interpreted Yellowstone Lake. In the 1952 *Haynes Guide* the name "Fishing Bridge Museum" was restored, but by 1957, as the Mission 66 program and terminology took hold, the Fishing Bridge Museum photograph was again recaptioned as the "Fishing Bridge Visitor Center (museum and information.)"[28]

This change of names is not a trivial footnote in the Fishing Bridge story, or in the story of Yellowstone National Park in the 1950s and 1960s. When Yellowstone "museums" became "visitor centers," they reflected momentous changes in American society and in the way that society's needs were perceived by park managers. Few other apparently slight modifications of traditional management terminology reflect so powerfully the extent to which national parks are shaped by the times of the society they serve. Landscape architecture historian Ethan Carr has recently explained this shaping process as it was demonstrated by the emergence of the NPS "visitor center":



The Fishing Bridge development in 1950 was approaching its peak size, lacking only the RV park that would be added in 1964 to replace the "Trailer Camp" shown immediately to the west of the museum.

The dramatic commercial success of shopping centers and the decision by many corporations to relocate their headquarters to the outer city significantly influenced American architectural and landscape design in the 1950s. Planners, designers, and others in the construction business were inevitably drawn to the place where so much new development was occurring: the suburban edges of metropolitan areas. New commissions, programs, and clients, as well as new construction materials, techniques, and economics were all bound to change architectural and landscape design. At the Park Service, professional staff could not ignore these trends and remain effective or even competent. As in any other design office, they worked within the social, economic, and technical contexts of their day. The proliferation of the automobile, the expansion of suburban cities, and the availability of labor-saving construction technology all affected proposed development in the national parks as much as construction anywhere else. Mission 66 needed to be planned within the limits of what would be acceptable and affordable in the eyes of Congress and the public, with the participation of available architectural consultants and construction contractors. It could hardly be surprising that the centerpiece of Mission 66 would be a major new type of park facility: a large, centralized building, modernist in its architectural inspiration, with easy highway access, generous parking, and "one-stop" convenience. The new concept had many names at first, reflecting its complex, unified program. In 1956 Conrad Wirth personally insisted on

> the designation that he felt best captured its essential purpose and character, and it became known as the "visitor center."[29]

In Yellowstone, the newly constructed Mission 66 visitor centers at Canyon Village and Grant Village (and, less so, the new visitor center at Old Faithful) fulfilled the ideal of this new type of facility, and in fact were seen by some as models of the new type. The Fishing Bridge area did not get one of these new buildings; its old museum was merely renamed. So in that respect, Fishing Bridge appeared to escape the scale of change that Mission 66 brought to several other Yellowstone developments. But the Mission 66 development plan for Fishing Bridge, though it foresaw few changes in existing facilities except for the removal of the boathouse from the river bank, did initiate the addition of one very ambitious new part of the development, a large new "trailer court":

> The development at Fishing Bridge is scheduled to remain with the exception of the boating operation which should be moved to Bridge Bay. In any event, it should be moved away from the immediate vicinity of the bridge so as to eliminate the nuisance caused by fishing off the bridge and boat passages underneath. It is proposed to add a rental trailer court to this area. The present trailer camp area will be replaced with a large picnic area. The cafeteria and cabin office are scheduled to be rebuilt on new sites more centrally located.
>
> The capacity of the area will be as follows: 1,090 in cabin rooms, 1,000 in campground, 500 in Rental Trailer Court and 250 employees; total, 2,840.[30]

"Centrally located," as the above quote from Carr indicates, was a driving theme of Mission 66 planning.

Because of its long history of popularity, its high visibility, and its historic association with architect Robert Reamer, the boathouse just downstream from the west end of Fishing Bridge was a prominent and well-remembered feature of the development. A concession employee has reminisced in print about the boathouse as he experienced working there in the early 1960s:

> A small barge with walkway was tethered to the porch. The barge had a lower level for docking the small boats. A clock house at one end of the barge was used to check times of the guide boats. Twenty dollars an hour, with a minimum of two hours, was the going rate. The smaller dock held the lifejacket rack, fish-cleaning table, and boat cleaning area. Strings of rowboats were fastened to a pipe along the end of the dock. Many of the rowboats had small five horsepower motors.[31]

As this account and many others attest, fishing from and near the bridge was enormously popular. It remains unclear why planners thought that the removal of the boathouse would either stop people from fishing from the bridge or from boating under the bridge, both of which activities continued for some time after the Mission 66 plans for Yellowstone National Park were finalized in the mid-1950s. Obviously, the removal of the boat-rental operation would have an effect and probably reduce the boat traffic, though it is also not clear that the planners initially intended to remove the boat-rental service from the lake outlet area entirely.

Mission 66 plans also summarized several past phases of the government campground at Fishing Bridge:

> The Fishing Bridge Campground has gone through several phases in development from the original block street system laid out about 1927. In 1932, a large parking area was constructed for the museum cutting the campground in two. During the days of C.C.C. help the area to the east of the parking area was developed into individual campground sites and the area to the west put into disuse and a smaller area restricted to picknicking. This latter area was dedicated and modified for trailer use in 1939 but not completed. Extremely heavy use after the war caused the complete breakdown of the individual tent camp sites and crowding forced the spreading of camping beyond the bounds of the original campground. The expansion of the new campground to the east on a side loop system will permit more satisfactory control. This area will provide for 300 cars permitting as many as 1,000 campers to



NPS PHOTO, YELL 5901TC

The Fishing Bridge development about 1960 when the cabin area on the right was being criticized as a "slum." In 1963–1964, the new RV park was constructed to the northeast of the cabins, to replace the trailer court (upper left) west of the visitor center. The sewage treatment lagoon is in the meadow, upper right, across the Yellowstone River.

> use the area. Tree planting is very important since the area was denuded by construction.[32]

At this point, relatively early in Mission 66 planning, planners intended to build a wing onto the Fishing Bridge Museum to replace the small ranger station at the entrance to the campground.[33] This was not done.

But the most notable change in the Fishing Bridge development since the 1930s began in 1963, with the Mission 66-sponsored construction of "roads and utilities for Fishing Bridge Trailer Village," which the superintendent described as "the beginning of a new type of visitor facility in Yellowstone."[34] In 1964, the superintendent announced that "before the F.Y.'s end, it is hoped to award contracts for construction of the Concessioner Sales buildings, the Grant Village Visitor Center and the Fishing Bridge Laundry-Showers, office and quarter building," and that "memorandums of agreement were issued to Yellowstone Park Company to operate the Bridge Bay Marina and to Hamilton Stores, Inc., to operate the Fishing Bridge Trailer Village. Both facilities are Government constructions. The agreements cover a two-year period and will provide for a trial operation of the facilities."[35]

In 1965, reporting on the 1964 season, the superintendent proudly reported that "a highly popular visitor use facility was opened to visitors at Fishing Bridge when the trailer village with laundrymat and shower building became available in mid-June. The trailer village was opened gradually as the season advanced and by mid-July its 358 sites were fully occupied every night."[36] The sites cost $2.00 per night.[37] In 1966, when the Yellowstone Park Company was sold to the Goldfield Corporation, the company's holdings, totaling 1,418 structures parkwide, included 323 at Fishing Bridge: the cafeteria, office, boiler

room, boy's dorm, 3 storage rooms, 9 restrooms, 305 cabins, a recreation building, and an ice vendor.[38]

In some fundamental respects, Fishing Bridge might be said to have escaped many of the worst impulses of Mission 66, excepting only the construction of the new trailer village. Old Faithful's museum, one of the four originally funded by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, was demolished and replaced by a more modern "visitor center." The new Canyon Village, which served as a national model and showcase for the entire Mission 66 program, likewise featured a new modern "visitor center." It must be some consolation for architectural traditionalists that both of these visitor centers, extravagantly praised as a new state of the art in NPS interpretation when they were constructed, were gone by 2008—replaced or soon to be replaced by structures that adhere more closely to the style (though not the size) of the earlier rustic museums like the one at Fishing Bridge.

As many books, articles, and other studies of Mission 66 demonstrate, the program defies simple summary as having been a "good" or "bad" thing for the national parks. Whatever historians and conservationists may ultimately decide about the contributions or complications of the Mission 66 era, by 1964 the NPS and its public were well into the "environmental decade," and the banner of Mission 66 had been replaced by new missions with a different sense of urgency about them. Wirth and his team routinely emphasized, and indeed often practiced, conservation of park resources, but the Mission 66 programs, with their high-visibility fanfare associated with the construction of new facilities (many of which were desperately needed), fell into political disfavor, perhaps as much a victim of changing public mood as anything else.

Yellowstone historian Aubrey Haines wrote that "Mission 66 passed quietly out of the picture with the secretary of the interior's news release of August 3, 1964, detailing the goals of his 'Road to the Future,'" which emphasized protection of wilderness and scenic beauty over facility construction, and heralded a new era of environmental awareness.[39] As historical landscape architect Ethan Carr has noted, it was no coincidence that Mission 66 closed up shop the same year that Congress passed the Wilderness Act, "a signal victory for advocates pressing for the total protection of natural areas from any kind of development, including park development."[40]

By the late 1960s, Fishing Bridge, which for 40 years had intermittently gobbled more and more acreage in one of the world's most famous natural areas, was poised as never before to serve the American public and park managers in two special new ways: first, by providing managers with unexcelled on-the-job training in the evolving ideals of national parks, and second, as a forum for debate in this new era of "total protection." The outcomes of these two great parallel Yellowstone adventures are the subjects, respectively, of chapters six and seven.

Chapter Six

Vaguely Disquieting Scenes: Changing Ideas of Nature at the Outlet of Yellowstone Lake

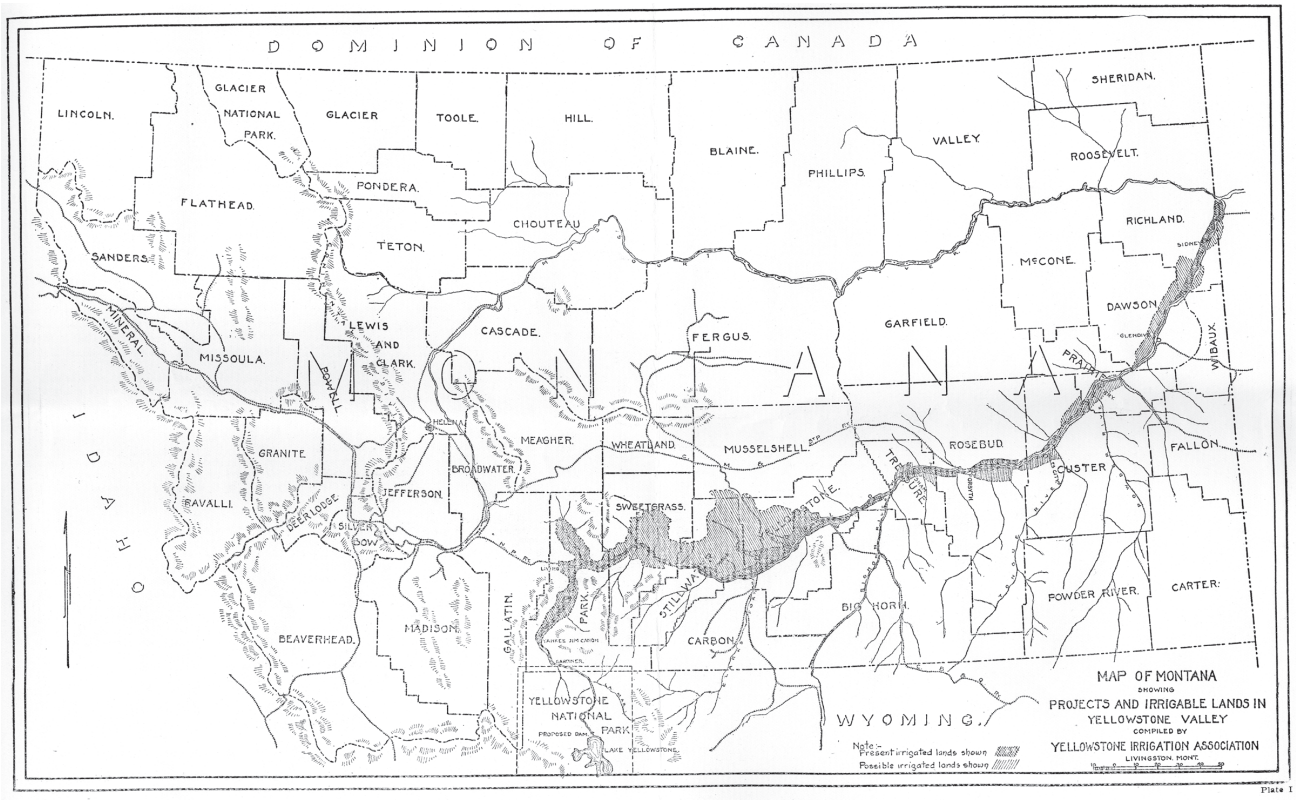
Fishing Bridge is not unique among Yellowstone's developed areas for its capacity to generate controversy, but it does have a remarkably long history of raising controversial issues. When the park was still new, the Fishing Bridge area's future capacity for attracting controversy was suggested in an article written by a correspondent identified only as "D.B," entitled "Scientific Scheme," which appeared in the *Bismarck Tribune* [North Dakota], May 7, 1880:

> The immense water of the Yellowstone Lake is the reservoir already made by natures [sic] hand, and only waits the skill of man to deepen its outlet which professor Hayden in his report says is about three feet deep, and put in flood gates and open them about the 1st of August. That will afford ample water for boating purposes, the balance of the season.
>
> This lake is twenty-five miles long and from three hundred to five hundred feet deep, in my opinion. If Montana and Dakota will agitate this scheme, it will be but a short time before this great and beneficial work will be done.

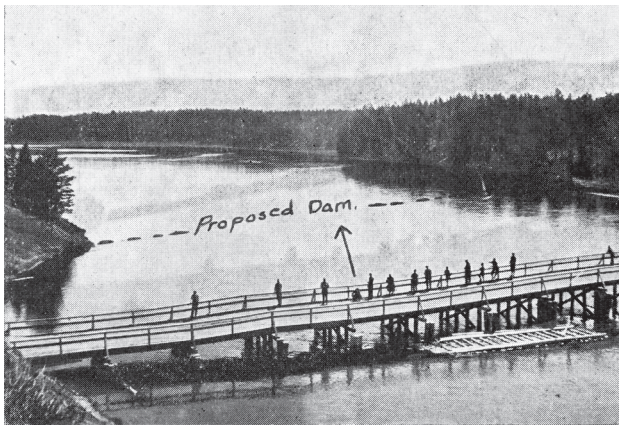
Foremost among the "schemes" that would have dramatically altered (or obliterated) the terrestrial landscape at Fishing Bridge, these occasional calls for dams in the park, and especially a dam at the outlet of Yellowstone Lake, have been a fact of life for the park ever since.[1] As early as 1893, as steam-railroad advocates lost their battle to run tracks through the park, an Idaho U.S. senator failed to pass a bill that would have authorized dams fitted with hydroelectric plants in the park, to power an *electric* railroad line.[2] New dams near the park in Wyoming, such as the Shoshone Dam near Cody (1911) and the Jackson Lake Dam (originally built 1907; failed 1910; fully replaced and enlarged by 1916) in Jackson Hole, established uneasy regional precedents for water development that did not go unnoticed by park managers and conservationists. Defenders of American national parks were painfully aware of the dam-building precedent established by the controversial dam in the Hetch-Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park, approved in 1913.[3]

Only a few years later, the water "reclamation" battle was similarly joined in Yellowstone, as Idaho farmers made a bid for a network of reservoir sites in the Bechler corner, and Montana agricultural interests similarly set their sites on the outlet of Yellowstone Lake. This story is told well elsewhere, and requires only summary here.

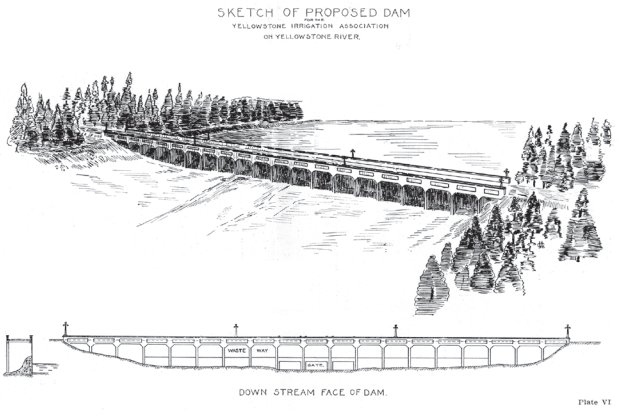
In late 1919, in response to ambitious irrigation plans for the Yellowstone Valley in Montana, and—perhaps more urgently—in fear of any repetition of the disastrous flooding that occurred in the valley in 1918, representatives of concerned Yellowstone Valley counties created the Yellowstone Irrigation Association (YIA). The YIA immediately went to work campaigning for a dam in the park:



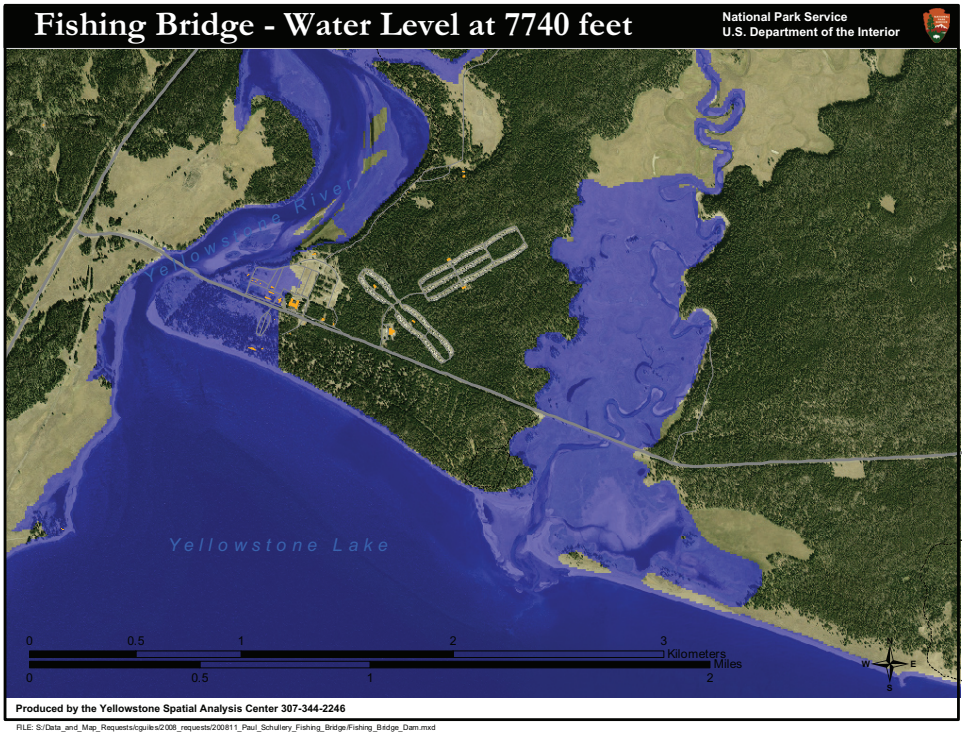
Above: This map, showing the potential irrigation coverage to be provided by a proposed dam at the outlet of Yellowstone Lake, was published by the Yellowstone Irrigation Association, in Livingston, Montana, in 1921. It designated a "proposed dam" at the outlet of Yellowstone Lake. From M. F. M. Galbraith, et al., Report on Proposed Project for Flood Control and Irrigation in the Yellowstone River Valley[,] Wyoming, Montana [and] North Dakota *(Livingston, Montana: Yellowstone Irrigation Association, 1921).*

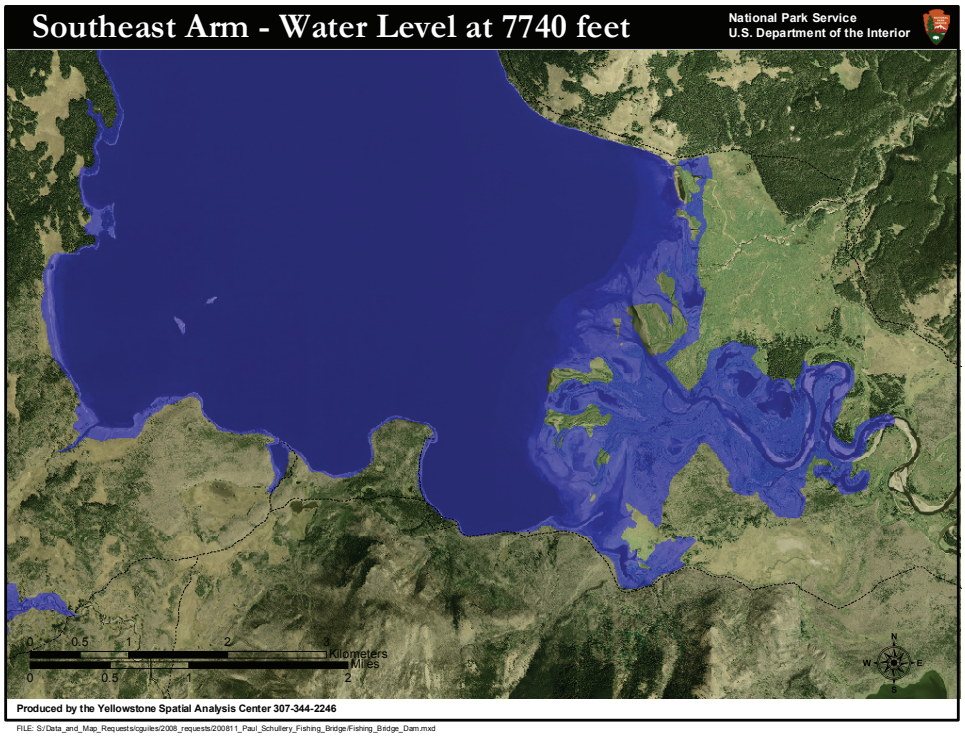


Right: These two images were published in the same report as the above map, depicting the precise location of the proposed dam and providing an artist's conception of the dam in place.



…the YIA prescribed a low-rise dam at the lake's outlet to be built for no more than $500,000. The YIA would raise the money itself rather than look for federal funds. The plan at first called for raising the lake's water level by fifteen feet in the spring with summertime withdrawals lowering it back to the natural low-water mark, but to calm concerns





MAPS BY CARTOGRAPHIC TECHNICIAN CARRIE GUILES, YCR SPATIAL ANALYSIS CENTER

Dam proposals for the outlet of Yellowstone Lake usually suggested raising the lake level from five to eight feet. These projections show the consequences of an eight-feet increase in lake levels in two key areas. Newly flooded areas are shown in light blue. At Fishing Bridge (above), the western part of the development, including the Visitor Center, would be flooded, as would the lower Pelican Valley. At the mouth of the Yellowstone River in the Southeast Arm of Yellowstone Lake (below), extensive low-lying meadows would be flooded, and the Molly Islands—critical nesting grounds for white pelicans—would be completely inundated.

about environmental damage, such as that which had occurred at Jackson Lake, Wyoming, the group later revised its proposal so that the water level would be raised and lowered by no more than six to eight feet annually to accommodate irrigation of slightly more than 250,000 acres.[4]

In 1920, Montana Senator Walsh had anticipated this proposal when he introduced a bill to build a dam on the Yellowstone River three miles downstream from Fishing Bridge to help irrigate Montana crops.[5] Attempts to establish dams both in the Bechler and at the Yellowstone Lake outlet continued for several years in the 1920s, and included proposals to simply

redraw park boundaries to exclude and thus open up the Bechler to such development.[6]

Another proposal to dam the outlet of the lake was less durably popular in the 1930s, but by then park protectors and related advocates were better organized, and had more friends, including President Franklin Roosevelt, who provided at least the symbolic quashing of these efforts in the late 1930s by announcing that he would oppose any such use of the parks.[7] The national parks were increasingly perceived by the general public as inviolate, which made it easier for the NPS and park defenders to fight off dam proposals.

Of the many comments and opinions expressed at the time about the Montana proposal, the disapproving comments of Dan Greenberg, director, Wyoming State Planning Board, on December 31, 1937, are in some ways the most interesting. Besides making the obligatory bows to the higher values inherent in an undammed Yellowstone Lake and Yellowstone River, and to the political realities (i.e., the park's growing popularity) that would stand in the way of such a project, Greenberg revealed the extent to which interstate rivalries might be a potential factor, and even work in the park's favor, in this issue:

> We are not alone opposed to damming Yellowstone Lake or any portion of the Yellowstone River within Yellowstone National Park, but are likewise opposed to any federal appropriation being provided "ONLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF STUDY" for the reason that no good purpose can be served by expenditure of money on such a project, and for the further reason that possibility, after study, being so remote of fulfillment, that it would be waste of public funds.
>
> It is without prejudice to the State of Montana that Wyoming is opposed to the damming of Yellowstone Lake or a study looking to that end, and at this time we are glad to acknowledge that already Montana has indicated its own recognition of reasons why the beauties of Yellowstone National Park should not be defiled. Like our previous studies in this connection, the entire proposal, after all, is not in the public interest, and, therefore, should fail to receive official consideration.[8]

By 1937, the American public mood would probably not have long supported a serious dialogue over whether a dam might be built at the outlet of Yellowstone Lake, but park administrators knew better than to relax their guard on the matter. Still, it must have been greatly reassuring to Superintendent Edmund Rogers that during President Franklin D. Roosevelt's visit to the Fishing Bridge area in September 1937, the president seemed quite firm on the matter. A few days later, in a letter to NPS Director Arno Cammerer, Rogers described a discussion he had with the president:

> As we were driving along the lake shore after lunch at Fishing Bridge en route to Lake Butte, there was a cold bitter wind off the lake but the President was obviously enjoying it immensely. After the President had expressed himself on the magnificence of the lake I made a remark that he was fortunate to have an opportunity to see it before the Idaho irrigation interests despoiled it. He asked me a few questions about the proposal as if he had never heard of it before but made no comment at the time.
>
> Just after I got back into the car, after a few minutes stop at Lake Butte, during which the President scarcely took his eyes off the lake, the President turned to me and said, "You do not need to worry, Mr. Rogers, no one will ever be permitted to touch that lake." When we were on the lake shore again the President made some remark on the subject again. In the wind I did not hear it. He repeated to me again but I still did not get it all. As I understood it he said something to the effect that if Idaho felt they needed more water they could find it elsewhere.
>
> The subject was not mentioned again.[9]

The relatively few modern Yellowstone enthusiasts who are aware of these dire historic threats to the free-flowing waters of Yellowstone Lake and River may be comforted to think that such behavior occurred only in less enlightened times. But Fishing Bridge has never ceased to attract the attention of water-development interests. In the early 1980s,

perhaps the most far-reaching such scheme surfaced, and was described in the park's draft water resource management plan while it was still under discussion:

> A recent proposal from a Southern California association suggests 1.5 million acre feet of water from Yellowstone Lake be diverted via tunnels originating at the Lake's South Arm. The diverted water would flow through the Snake and Green Rivers on its way ultimately to the Colorado River where it would serve the water needs of the arid Southwest, most notably southern California. In addition, the proposal also seeks to initiate cloud seeding operations to encourage more precipitation within the park.[10]

Another, more regionally focused proposal appeared only a few years later:

> In 1991, the Clear Rock Resources Company of Sheridan, Wyoming, proposed still another dam at Fishing Bridge: an eleven-foot dam that would have raised the level of Yellowstone Lake by five feet. As the reclamationists did sixty years earlier, Clear Rock promoted the dam's benefits, suggesting that its low profile "will make [it] nearly invisible to traffic crossing Fishing Bridge" and that it "would have a stabilizing influence on lake levels with potential benefits for the lake shore environment…"[11]

This proposal was dismissed by the NPS with comparatively little fuss or fanfare, and it seems barely even to have appeared on the scopes of the greater conservation community. But the continued attraction of Yellowstone's free-flowing streams for developers should serve as an indication of the determination and persistence of a significant element of the society of the American West, who still broadly favor water development on public lands regardless of other values those waters and landscapes may have. The iconography of Fishing Bridge may always contain this controversial element. Perhaps the Fishing Bridge area's significance in the West's historic "water wars" should play a more pronounced role in the area's interpretation for park visitors.

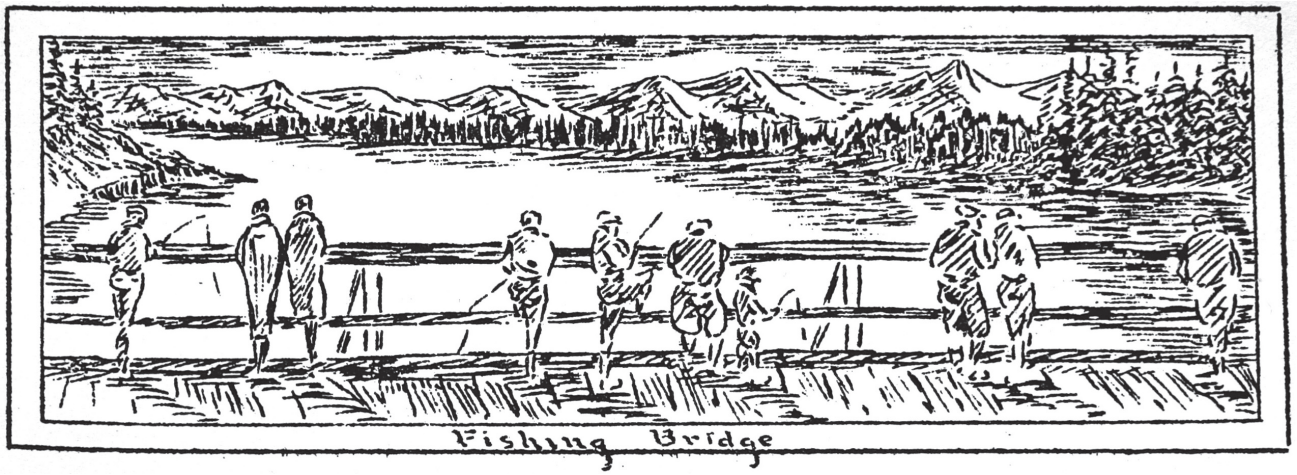
Fishing Bridge and the Rise of Environmental Awareness

The gradual emergence of ecologically sensitive resource-management policies in the NPS is a story told too thoroughly and well elsewhere to require more than the briefest of summaries here.[12] From the earliest days of the NPS, scientific constituents and observers offered guidance and applied pressure for the refinement of policy goals to reflect ecological realities.

Yellowstone National Park was routinely a focus of this attention, and now provides numerous historical examples of how the agency responded to changing scientific knowledge and public interests.[13] The reports on wildlife and related issues published by NPS biologist George Wright and his colleagues in the 1930s, some of which were soon converted into formal policy, eloquently advocated the need for more consistent and analytical thinking about park resources—thinking that was further stimulated and institutionalized by the famous "Leopold Report" and "Robbins Report" in the 1960s.[14]

As the nation's environmental conscience awoke and matured in the postwar decades, public and scientific scrutiny of national park resource management intensified. A snowballing aggregation of factors—including rapidly advancing scientific perspectives on ecosystem processes, a flourishing wilderness movement, growing public demand for change in park management strategies, and long-standing management vexation over intractable resource problems—brought various park management issues, some of which had been simmering for many years, to a crisis state. In the early 1950s, the controversy over the neglect of the parks, mentioned in the discussion of Mission 66 in the previous chapter, was in good part an early warning of increasing public engagement in a variety of park resource issues. Fishing Bridge provides an illuminating case study of these issues.

Fishing continued to be a central concern for managers of the area. The already-mentioned signs of the degradation of the fish population reached crisis proportions in the 1950s and 1960s, as more anglers arrived each year.[15] Visitation increased dramatically just as managers were attempting to wean sportsmen away from the comparatively cheap thrills of fishing in waters whose fish populations were



The camaraderie and excitement of the Fishing Bridge angling experience, though popular with many visitors and celebrated by the NPS and concessioners alike for several decades, raised troubling issues of sportsmanship but fishing was eventually eliminated at the bridge for ecological reasons. Drawing of anglers at Fishing Bridge (the second, or 1919, bridge), by Ranger William "Scotty" Chapman, from the 1931 superintendent's report.

propped up by industrial-scale hatchery production of fish. Especially in the 1960s and 1970s, Fishing Bridge became a focal point for what amounted to a revolution in fisheries management—a revolution that would make Yellowstone even more world-renowned among anglers than it already was. Former Yellowstone Chief of Research John Varley and I summarized this revolution:

> It is such debates and changing public values that Yellowstone responded to with the complete elimination of any stocking in park waters by 1959. Stocking, even of the native species that were the only ones handled [by hatcheries] in Yellowstone by then, was deemed not compatible with park goals because it did not allow unmanipulated ecological processes to take place. Streams that were able to support fish life were allowed to support however much of it they could, but were no longer given any "booster shots" of additional fish for the catching convenience of visitors (it was not until many years later that it was also widely understood that stocking was actually harmful to any preexisting resident trout population).[16]

It is difficult to overstate the extent to which park visitors only half a century ago were conditioned to expect the type of fishing provided by an artificially supplemented aquatic resource. As Varley and I put it, "The heavy stocking and massive hatchery programs that had grown up all over the country since 1900 had generated a conviction that stocking was the salvation of all fishing. The notion that trout could somehow replace themselves in a stream, by the simple reproductive processes that had served so well for thousands of years, was radical in itself."[17]

It may also be difficult for many of us today to imagine the magnitude of the fisheries crisis that finally drove management away from heavy visitor harvests of trout. Since the late 1800s and the initiation of the park's first fishing regulations, progressively lower creel limits had not prevented the decline in fishing success:

> Until 1921 the daily limit of fish was 20; that year it became 10. In 1949 it was reduced to 5. In 1953 it was revised so that 5 fish could still be taken but no more than 10 pounds plus 1 fish, with a minimum size limit of 6 inches.[18]

And still the fish populations declined. The increasing number of anglers, while on average having a poorer and poorer fishing experience, cumulatively killed more and more fish. The hatchery program having failed, the only readily imaginable choice available to managers was to find more aggressive and decisive ways to limit the killing. The timing was right for the application of new thinking.



NPS PHOTO, YELL 40285

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the NPS promoted catch-and-release fishing under an earlier term, "Fishing for Fun." Like several other similar programs in other parts of the United States, park managers attempted to convince anglers to voluntarily limit their harvest of trout in the interests of increasing the catch rate of subsequent anglers and improving the health of the trout population. Results were disappointing, as most anglers were still socially and traditionally conditioned to kill every fish they were allowed to. The boathouse just downstream from Fishing Bridge, now in its final years of service, is visible beyond the sign.

New thinking was available. During the first half of the twentieth century, at least some professional managers and key elements in the sport fishing community had begun to recognize that protection of a relatively robust fish population could be accomplished by the institution of special regulations that emphasized fishing for the fishing experience as opposed to fishing for the killing-and-eating experience.[19] Step by step, this was the course that the NPS adopted in Yellowstone.

In 1960, in describing the park's new "Fishing for Fun" programs that emphasized releasing fish for others to catch again, the superintendent explained both the need and the hoped-for result, especially on Yellowstone Lake. He also revealed the central role played by Fishing Bridge in management deliberations:

> During 1959 it is estimated that 393,467 trout were taken from the Lake. For the first time the annual capacity of the Lake has been exceeded. Moreover, the fishing pressure is known to be increasing, not only on Yellowstone Lake but throughout the Park as a whole. Further investigations have shown that in the Fishing Bridge area alone in a single month, 7,500 fish have been discarded in garbage receptacles. Such factors as the fishing pressure and the wastage of fish give management cause to consider seriously, measures designed to conserve and perpetuate the Park's outstanding natural trout fishery…. [20]
>
> Concessioners handling fishing tackle will be asked to stock barbless hooks as a regular item of tackle. Fishermen will be encouraged to file the barbs from their bait, fly, spinning or trolling gear to make the taking of fish a true

> contest of skill between angler and fish. Anglers will be encouraged to release their fish carefully so that they may spawn or be caught again, thus providing enjoyment to many more anglers.[21]

Additional study and research in the 1960s indicated that these steps, though significant, were still not sufficient. They relied too heavily upon the voluntary cooperation of anglers, many of whom held deeply ingrained habits of killing Yellowstone trout, and many others of whom had just arrived from regions where an older and more harvest-oriented sport fishing tradition prevailed. Socially conditioned for many generations to measure fishing success solely in terms of a full creel, many anglers continued to kill more trout than managers wished they would. Merely that leading figures, or even meaningfully large segments, of the angling population appreciated the need for restraint in the harvest of trout was no assurance that the typical Yellowstone visitor felt the same way. The enthusiastic anglers at Fishing Bridge had, in fact, long been proof that they did not.

Fishing Bridge and the Evolution of Yellowstone Park Sport Fishing

The long recreational angling experience at Fishing Bridge provides an illuminating window into the social complexities of sport fishing in Yellowstone. Just as other visitor activities such as bear-feeding, tree-felling, rock-collecting, geyser-soaping, flower-picking, and even hunting were eventually regulated out of existence because of their proven inappropriateness as park experiences, so has the place and practice of sport fishing in the park been dramatically reshaped by changing ideas of the "proper" park experience. And, as with those other activities, there has rarely been consensus, much less unanimity, about the chosen new direction. Sport fishing society is not monolithic; it is comprised of many different and often quite contentious factions.

Throughout the long written history of sport fishing—in a published English-language literature reaching back to the late fifteenth century, and an unpublished European manuscript literature reaching back centuries further—individual anglers seem to have become progressively more specialized in their interests. At the same time, thanks to advances in technology, the sport of fishing has offered a greater and greater variety of opportunities in terms of species to be angled for and tackle and techniques to choose from. With increasing specialization has come rivalry among anglers based on these many personal preferences, and a widespread perception of a social hierarchy among anglers.[22]

For one historical example of special relevance to the history of Fishing Bridge, as early as the eighteenth century some British fly fishers began to pronounce their method of fishing to be not only the most effective means of catching certain species of fish, but also the most morally upright and aesthetically fulfilling method.[23] It was a natural consequence of such social stratification among these self-consciously "enlightened" sportsmen that they eventually decided that even the fish they chose to pursue with their fly-fishing gear—primarily but not exclusively salmonids—were qualitatively superior to other species. In the nineteenth century, many American anglers, especially the more literate and affluent ones, inherited or adapted many of these discriminatory views while constructing their own sporting society in the New World.[24]

Indeed, even before its establishment as a national park in 1872, Yellowstone was the scene of angling adventures that reflected the social stratification that characterized the greater American sport fishing scene.[25] Once the park was established, and recreational fishing assumed a significant role in the Yellowstone experience, anglers quite predictably sorted themselves out according to their interests, specialties, and biases. Today even a cursory inspection of park waters will reveal many types of specialists, including shallow-water boat fishers, deep-water boat fishers, float tubers, fly fishers who prefer small or large streams or lakes, general-interest bank fishers, and opportunistic generalist anglers galore. Each of these groups contains its own internal spectrum of interests and preferences, not only in their level of expertise but in their devotion to certain types of tackle, to certain theories and techniques, to certain species of fish, or to certain favored fishing waters.

In Yellowstone National Park's first two decades, most accounts of sport fishing dealt almost exclusively with the "fabulous" numbers of fish that could be caught.[26] Published accounts of Yellowstone

fishing in the late 1800s focused on celebrating the capture of large numbers of native trout—fish that seemed to exist in an inexhaustible abundance. Such stories were eagerly employed by concessioners in promoting the park in the tourist trade.

But even in these early days of "hog-heaven" fishing, there were stirrings that revealed other values at work among anglers. One example will serve to illustrate the dawning ambivalence among anglers about the Yellowstone Lake/Fishing Bridge fishing experience. In the mid-1890s, a party of visitor-anglers rented a boat at the Lake Hotel and rowed into the outlet of Yellowstone Lake, near the site of present Fishing Bridge:

> The outlet reached, we anchored our boat in the current, and commenced catching fish on our flies as fast as we could haul them out. We caught two or three at a time, and they all weighed about a pound. In an hour and a half we caught twenty-nine fish that weighed a little over thirty pounds.[27]

This account, which echoed contemporaneous guidebook accounts of the quality of the fishing quoted in an earlier chapter, described a fishing success rate that probably kept virtually all visiting anglers satisfied, if not thrilled. When this writer said that they caught "two or three at a time," he did not mean that party members concurrently caught two or three at a time; he meant that an individual angler, fishing with two, three, or four flies on his line, could simultaneously hook and then land two or three fish at once.[28]

But unlike many others, this writer continued his discussion of this experience, revealing that even then, "successful" fishing was for some Yellowstone anglers a more complicated matter than the easy capture of lots of fish:

> There were so many fish that there was no great pleasure in catching them; it was all too easy, and we still look back upon the fishing in the Firehole as the best fishing we ever had.[29]

Reference to the Firehole River is the key comment here. According to this writer, his party caught brown, rainbow, and cutthroat trout from the Firehole, doing so under more exciting and demanding conditions than the lake outlet provided. The Firehole offered "better" sport than the all-too-easy fishing to be had at the lake outlet. It is an enduring irony of Yellowstone fishing, as famous as it is for its "wild trout fishing" in a wilderness setting, that almost from the beginning, many anglers preferred the nonnative fish, and pursued them in waters that had originally been fishless.[30] For many twentieth-century anglers, especially those who thought of themselves as serious sportsmen, the Fishing Bridge area has never really measured up to their needs.

The factors that contributed to an eventual prejudice against Yellowstone Lake fish included not only the excessive ease of catching them, but also their reputation as poor fighters and their often heavy loads of parasites, especially the tapeworm *Diphyllobothrium*.[31] But there were other things working against the public perception of the Yellowstone cutthroat trout. By the early 1900s, fly fishing in its most "scientific" form—with special emphasis on the precise presentation of an accurate imitation of aquatic insects to a discriminating and wary trout—was becoming more exclusively a stream-oriented sport. It was a sport in which the angler's direct interaction with the stream, either by wading or by stalking the banks, was essential to the complete experience. Standing on a bridge high above the fish, or on a crowded stream bank with dozens of other fishermen, or in one of dozens of boats anchored in a small area near the bridge, with little room to maneuver into an advantageous position for an effective cast, did not enable this complete experience.

No doubt some expert anglers reacted with snobbery to the unruly appetites and picnic-like atmosphere they witnessed among the tourist-anglers at Fishing Bridge, but the fundamental issue was not merely elitism; snob or not, you couldn't practice "serious" trout fishing in its most meaningful terms under those conditions. Indeed, just as the expert fly fishers found the conditions unacceptable at Fishing Bridge, there were undoubtedly dedicated bait- and lure-fishermen who agreed. The Fishing Bridge setting did not allow for the exercise of the hard-earned suite of skills—including sighting fish or identifying the most likely spots where fish might be; stalking fish; casting a fly or lure accurately; manipulating the fly or lure persuasively; hooking a difficult-to-fool fish; bringing the fish gracefully and humanely to hand or net; and so on—that made fishing enjoyable

for these anglers. Everybody could fish at Fishing Bridge, but Fishing Bridge was not for everybody.

From the late 1800s on, all these factors resurfaced frequently in disapproving accounts of the fishing at Fishing Bridge. In 1908, an angling writer described fast fishing for these trout:

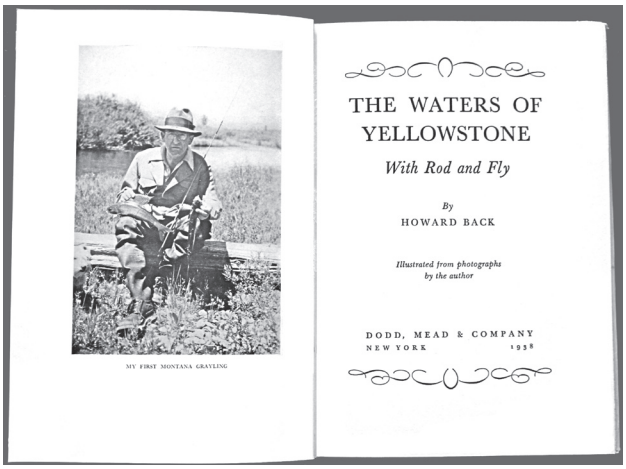
> We have all heard of the Yellowstone Lake trout and would not like to pass through the Park without trying them. Where they are most abundant is in the Yellowstone River Outlet. Here many a regular tourist comes and fishes with great success and enthusiasm and returns to the hotel with fifty or more which he has caught in an hour. He shows them to his friends and probably has a great mess cooked for his dinner.[32]

But again, this admission of the abundance of the fish was followed by an expression of disappointment—mostly because of the ever-present parasites but also because, as became clear later in the article, the angler preferred the more challenging nonnative species of fish found in the Firehole and other rivers, where it was possible to angle under circumstances that this angler found preferable. He wrote dismissively of the trout in Yellowstone Lake, saying, "One catches these Yellowstone Lake fish out of curiosity rather than for sport, and one or two for the purpose of examination is sufficient." [33]

These and other accounts of fishing in Yellowstone also make it clear that the anglers who chose to fish from or near Fishing Bridge were perceived (except perhaps by themselves) as occupying the least discriminating end of the sport fishing spectrum in Yellowstone National Park. They were routinely characterized, as just mentioned, as "tourist" fishermen, content with a carnival atmosphere and fast action from unsophisticated (often called "stupid") trout that were seen as biologically and aesthetically compromised by parasites.

But while the most accomplished anglers of each generation continued to look upon the Fishing Bridge crowd as irrelevant to the meaningful sport fishing opportunities in the park, these advanced anglers still represented only a very small percentage of the total angling public. Managers, then as now, were confronted with the need to address the interests of all these groups. Unlike the sometimes snooty expert fishermen, managers did not have the luxury or inclination to pass quick judgment on any park visitor's quality of experience based on something as obscure and complexly defined as that visitor's angling tastes. In the early 1900s, and especially after the NPS was established in 1916, park managers were inclined to a hospitable, tolerant approach to the needs of visitors. These were, after all, the same managers who in the 1920s seriously considered wiping out Yellowstone Lake's white pelicans to better protect the trout for visiting anglers.[34] In their view, if the Fishing Bridge experience was the American public's self-defined way of enjoying the park's waterways, it probably did not seem necessary to change things.

The first books devoted to fishing in Yellowstone were Kla-How-Ya's *Fly Fishing in Wonderland* (1910) and Howard Back's *The Waters of Yellowstone with Rod and Fly* (1938). These authors passed their harshest judgment on the Fishing Bridge angling scene simply by ignoring it, or at best referring to it as beneath their sporting interest. Kla-How-Ya (the author's real name was apparently Oliver Perry Barnes) had remarkably little to say about Yellowstone Lake's famous trout except to point out that unlike them, all the other trout in the park were "fairly vigorous fighters."[35] Howard Back, in his much more



In the stratified society of American sport fishers, Fishing Bridge provided recreational opportunities for casual tourist-anglers, while other park waters, such as the Firehole and Madison rivers, attracted anglers like Howard Back, for whom a different set of sporting values and challenges were important. Frontis and title from Back's 1938 book The Waters of Yellowstone With Rod and Fly.



NPS PHOTO, YELL 3470

Boat fishers downstream from Fishing Bridge, 1947.

detailed 149-page book, discussed the disappointing size of the Yellowstone Lake trout and briefly pondered possible reasons for this failing (especially, in his opinion, the Yellowstone Lake fish hatchery's aggressive manipulation of fish stocks to make it easy for tourists to catch fish). It was a question of only academic interest to him anyway, because he wasn't one of those tourist anglers:

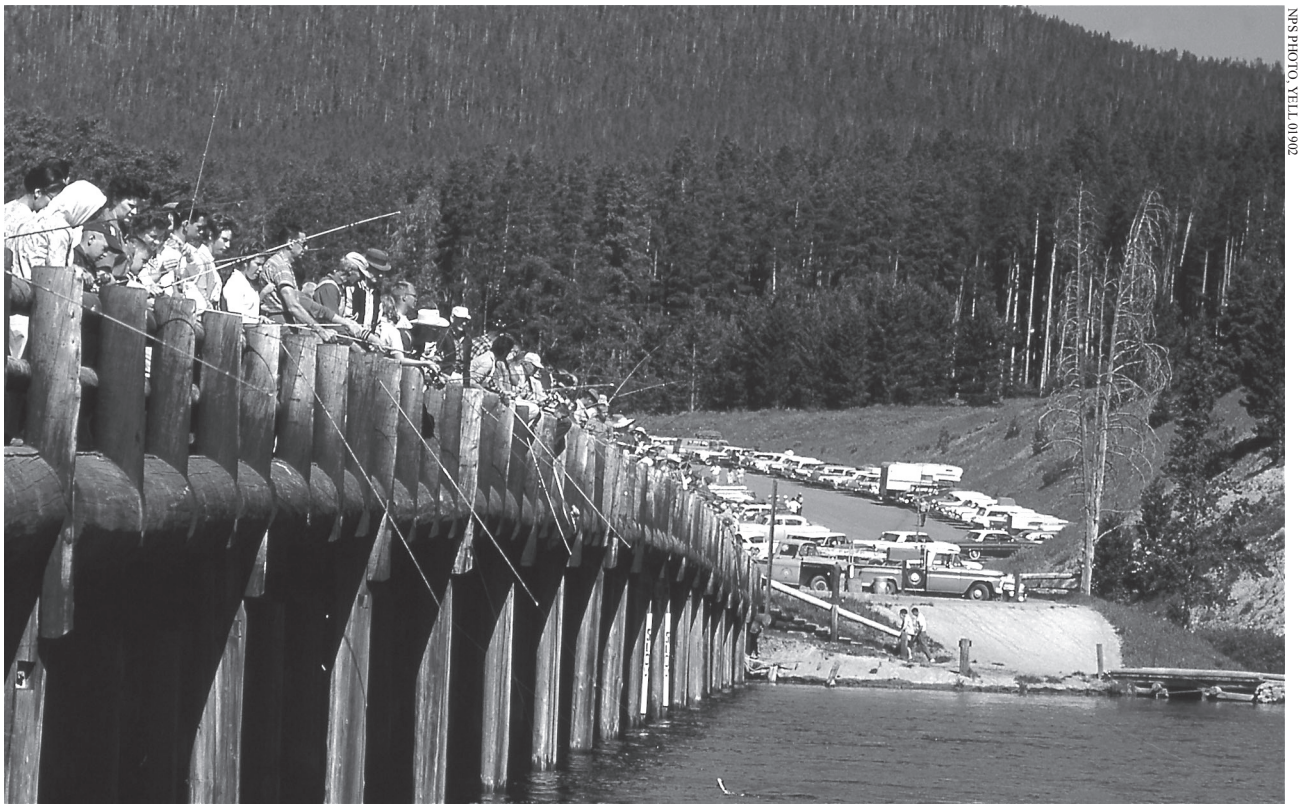
> Again, as regards the river, it may be argued that the tourists come in their thousands to catch fish; that the Yellowstone River is the easiest and most accessible river for them, so it is stuffed full of fish for their amusement and in order that things shall be made easy for them.[36]

Like other "serious" fishing writers before him, Back then quickly left the subject of Yellowstone Lake and River behind him and moved on to the Firehole, Madison, and other more interesting streams on the west side of the park.

The underlying ethical and aesthetic stance of such skeptics as Back was somewhat more forcefully expressed by long-time local fly-shop owner Don Martinez in an essay on Yellowstone fishing in A. J. McClane's popular *The Wise Fisherman's Encyclopedia* (1957):

> From the standpoint of the casual tourist who is only mildly interested in fishing, Yellowstone Lake and River are the chief attractions in the Park. Trout are caught off Fishing Bridge, where the river emerges from the lake, on every conceivable sort of tackle, including cane poles, hand lines, and surf tackle armed with spinners, flies, or worms. A confirmed fisherman will shudder and look the other way—it is vaguely disquieting to see sizable trout hauled out one after another in plain sight of noisy people.[37]

Here again we see further evidence of the complexities of the sport fishing impulse. For Martinez, the problem at Fishing Bridge wasn't only about wormy trout, or trout that didn't fight much, or trout that he couldn't cast to in a conventional stream setting. For Martinez, the crowded and festive conditions—which were probably part of the fun for most fishermen there—violated his idea of good fishing in



NPS PHOTO, YELL 6192

Fishermen crowd the railing at Fishing Bridge, early 1960s.

the traditional, Waltonian sense of the sport as practiced in quiet surroundings, in relative isolation from large numbers of people. For anglers who shared Martinez's ideals, Fishing Bridge was nothing short of an affront to the true meaning of the sport.[38]

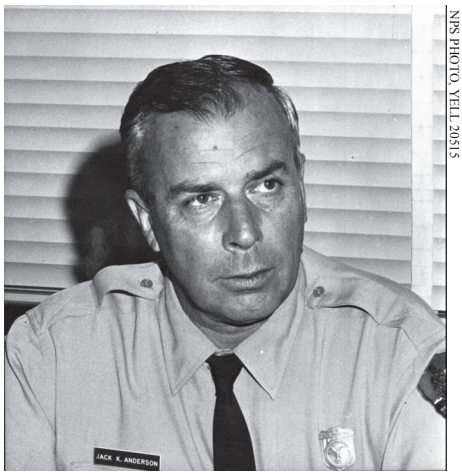
For historians today, Martinez was an especially important voice in this informal dialogue over what constituted "good" fishing in Yellowstone. In the 1930s and 1940s, Martinez became the first West Yellowstone fly-shop owner and guide to earn national recognition for his fly-tying and fly-fishing savvy.[39] He developed a reputation for attracting an exclusive, well-heeled, and highly skilled clientele, and he saw the casual tourist anglers, with whom he preferred not to have to deal in his shop, as "club-footed peasants."[40]

Besides its failure in some minds as a sporting experience, by Martinez's time Fishing Bridge's fishing had also become a poor shadow of those glowing descriptions in popular magazines and guide books 70 years earlier. In the early 1960s, "an average of 49,000 anglers used the bridge every year, and the average time it took to catch a trout was more than seven hours."[41] Even among anglers who enjoyed the festive camaraderie of the scene, there must have been some who were troubled by the compromises that sportsmanship necessarily underwent in those conditions.[42]

It wasn't until the late 1960s and the arrival of Superintendent Jack Anderson that Yellowstone fishing regulations were restructured to sufficiently restrict harvest and redirect the park angler's enthusiasm toward a low- or no-harvest style of angling. Such restrictions were, fortuitously, also being promoted nationwide by a growing number of fishing societies and conservation groups at the same time, and before long Yellowstone National Park was hailed as a model program in the movement to adapt sport fishing to the needs of a growing population of anglers.

Though the new special regulations aimed at celebrating (or, failing that, simply enforcing) this new "fishing ethic" were put in place throughout the park by the early 1970s, one extraordinary event at Fishing Bridge may best have symbolized the entire trend, as described by the superintendent in 1973:

> One of the more significant changes in the Fishing Bridge area this year was the



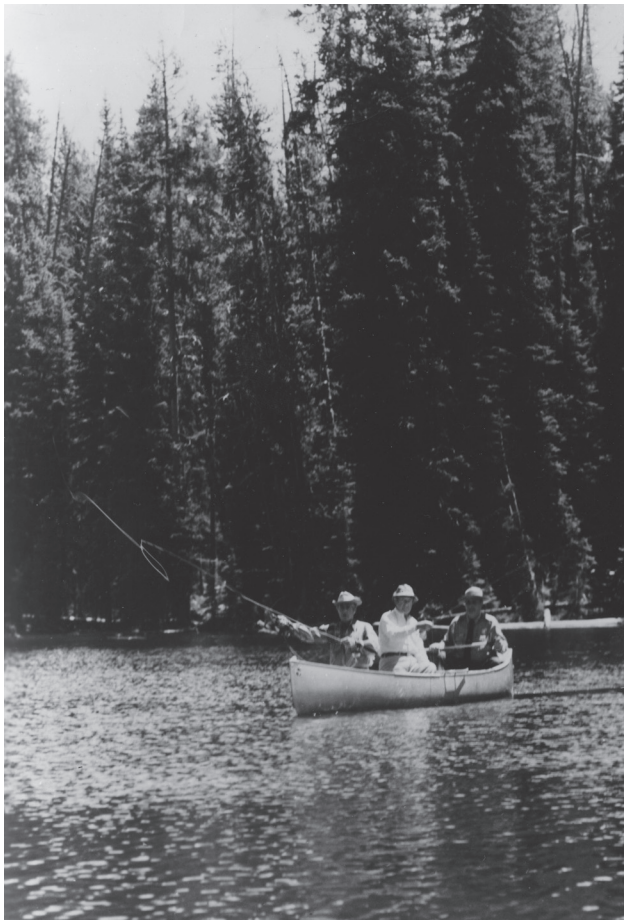
NPS PHOTO, YELL 20515

Jack Anderson, an avid sport fisherman, became superintendent of Yellowstone National Park in 1966 and led successful and widely acclaimed efforts to reshape fishery management programs on a more ecologically sound basis.

> closing of the first mile of the Yellowstone River below the lake outlet to fishing.[43]

Social factors always weigh to some extent in a change like this. There is no doubt that management sympathies with the style of angling going on at Fishing Bridge had declined from earlier times; Yellowstone's superintendent, Jack Anderson, was himself a serious fly fisher. Still, the decision to close the bridge area to fishing was based on ecological necessities. There seems to be little or no direct documentation to suggest that managers regarded sportsmanship issues raised by Fishing Bridge as important in their decision. Fishing from the bridge was eliminated, "to protect spawning trout and to restore naturally occurring levels of trout in the area; other similarly-motivated regulations were instituted elsewhere in the area."[44] The closure, after all, included a mile of the river in the critical spawning areas near the bridge, and not just the bridge itself. Though the goal was to protect the trout near Fishing Bridge, a primary reason for doing so was to improve the fishing experience (which meant primarily the catch rate) both upstream and downstream of the closed area.

On the other hand, the closure of the Fishing Bridge fishing spectacle echoes many similar changes in national park management that tended to induce a more respectful mood among visitors enjoying a given park feature. The historical tendency among



NPS PHOTO, YELL 124207

Superintendent Jack Anderson hosting sportscaster Curt Gowdy (casting) and restauranteur Peter Kriendler on a fishing trip on Yellowstone Lake.

national park policy makers to reduce the physical impacts of visitors on park features was almost invariably accompanied by the promotion of activities that favored a lighter hand on the landscape and, if only implicitly, a more educated sensibility about the larger values associated with that landscape. Managers may not have articulated these tendencies in their rationale for closing of the bridge to fishing, but they certainly demonstrated their awareness of them. Fishing Bridge, rather like the hunting seasons that prevailed in the park's first 11 years, was in that sense part of the great long Yellowstone experiment in park appreciation.

Closing the bridge to fishing was thus a momentous decision. After three-quarters of a century, the bridge that served as both the namesake of a large park development and the focus of a grand recreational enthusiasm in the park was abruptly transformed into a kind of living historical artifact.

Fishing Bridge's New Mission

The ironies evident in an important park structure whose very name suddenly became untrue were not lost on many observers. Acquainting anglers with the closure of the bridge to fishing, with catch-and-release regulations, and other alterations of their beloved former Yellowstone experiences, was an uphill battle. Park interpreters from that era recall vividly the astonished reaction of park visitors to these new regulations, as encapsulated thousands of times in exclamations like, "You mean we gotta throw'em back?! What's the point of *that*?!" There was a serious information gap in effect.[45]

Needing to bring the visiting public up to speed on what was not only an essential change in park fishing regulations but also a growing national trend in fisheries management, NPS managers seized the opportunity provided by Fishing Bridge. Pedestrian traffic was still heavy on the bridge, even if some of the pedestrians were peeved that they could no longer cast to all those beautiful trout. Thus managers reimagined a visit to the bridge as an experience in "fish watching." From 1973 on, interpretive programs about the bridge (and the lake) would routinely emphasize the inherent worth and beauty of fish as wild animals rather than as sporting quarry. The superintendent described the 1973 program:

> Naturalists were on the bridge daily interpreting the life history of the fish and their role in the total aquatic ecosystem. A series of three new exhibits were mounted on the bridge to aid in telling this story. Most revolutionary, however, was the installation of a cassette television system. A color movie of the life history of the Yellowstone cutthroat trout was transcribed to color video-tape. Technical difficulties were experienced in obtaining a quality picture, which will be corrected.[46]



NPS PHOTO, YELL 123303

In 1973, closed-circuit television monitors were mounted on the north railing of Fishing Bridge to help interpret trout behavior and ecology, but the technology was not up to the demanding conditions.

Unfortunately, the technical difficulties continued to prove too challenging for the technology of the time, and the film was shown in the Fishing Bridge visitor center in subsequent years.[47] However, the visitor center was also an essential communications center for explaining the new look in park fishing regulations to a generation of baffled and sometimes indignant visiting anglers.

Though it is difficult to equate qualitatively such different experiences as fishing and fish-watching, Fishing Bridge has since 1973 still provided a significant and far-reaching experience to large numbers of visitors:

> In 1994, an estimated 167,000 people used Fishing Bridge for fish watching; they spent about 31,300 hours there. Even more people, about 176,400, visited the LeHardys Rapids fish-watching area, most for brief minutes averaging about seven minutes. These numbers indicate that more park visitors participate in fish watching than in fishing, which suggests one of the ways in which our appreciation and use of Yellowstone have changed over the years. Of course, the fishermen put in a



AUTHOR PHOTO

> much larger [parkwide] total number of hours fishing, so their use of the resource is perhaps more intense, but they are no longer the only constituency these fish have.[48]

Many in the NPS and in the conservation community have celebrated this remarkable and forward-looking step in fisheries management in Yellowstone. Rather than treat every foot of river bank and lakeshore as if it must be managed for the optimum possible presence of anglers and the maximum harvest of trout, Yellowstone managers recognized that the Fishing Bridge stretch of the Yellowstone River was extraordinarily important to the health of the trout population for many miles downstream, and for many miles into Yellowstone Lake itself. Since 1973, the partitioning of portions of the park into special management areas that would best benefit the park and visitors as a whole—whether for the sake of fish, bears, birds, wolves, or any other need—has been an important, occasionally controversial, and usually unheralded achievement of managers striving for greater sensitivity to the ecological imperatives of the whole natural setting.

Chapter Seven

"If we had it all to do over again"—Fishing Bridge in the Environmental Age

In the 1960s and 1970s, while trout may have been on the minds of more Fishing Bridge visitors than most other park resources, this popular area attracted growing public, scientific, and management attention. As Mission 66 collapsed under its own weight and NPS managers confronted the agency's and the nation's heightened environmental conscience, the issues of concern at Fishing Bridge were in some ways representative of the crises national park managers faced in many places.

Despite the upgrades of park facilities accomplished by Mission 66, inadequate or aging sewage treatment systems occasionally failed, and the Lake–Fishing Bridge area was known for its contribution of pollutants to the famously "pristine" waters of Yellowstone Lake and the river.

The greater historical context of water quality in Yellowstone National Park might not seem to some to justify the alarm felt about the locations where pollution was in fact occurring. In 1969 and 1970, the Missouri Basin Region of the Federal Water Quality Administration surveyed many park waters, concluding that "the evaluation of water quality has shown that the quality is generally excellent, and that human activity in the Park has not caused degradation to any discernible degree, except in some limited areas."[1]

But those limited areas were significant, and seemed even more so in a world-famous national park approaching its very visible centennial. In the early 1970s, as federal land managers faced increasing public demand and legislative compulsion to pay attention to such matters, the pollution problem was the subject of repeated study, as revealed in the remarks from a 1973 study of the river downstream from the lake:

> That portion of the Yellowstone River from Fishing Bridge to LeHardy's Rapids received the greatest sampling effort during this investigation. This part of the river receives directly surface discharge of partially treated sewage from overflowing filter beds located on the west side of the river just north of Fishing Bridge. In 1968 the engineering firm of Metcalf and Eddy observed that these beds were badly overloaded, clogged and overflowing into adjacent meadow areas. They estimated that less than 50 percent of the septic tank effluent passed through the filter bed to the underdrainage systems, the rest being dispersed through ponding and overflow. No change in this condition was apparent in 1972 or 1973. The overflow from these ponds was diluted somewhat by a small stream before entering a large bay along the Yellowstone River…. In addition, the sewage treatment facility servicing the Fishing Bridge area is located approximately 650 feet east of the river. This facility consists of a septic tank, sludge bed and filter beds. Although some surface drainage was evident immediately adjacent to the filter beds, none was noted entering the river. It

was suspected, however, that some subsurface flow may have been reaching the river. This assumption was supported by coliform bacteria counts made by Metcalf and Eddy during 1968.[2]

In the mid-1970s, sewage treatment operations in Yellowstone National Park underwent a major overhaul, summarized by NPS staff in about 1981:

> A four-year program in Yellowstone to upgrade facilities was undertaken from 1972 to 1976 which included three major treatment plants constructed, improvements to two others, and a regional treatment facility constructed at Gardiner, Montana. This included major improvements to collection systems, combining areas by adding lift stations, and eliminating discharge of inadequately treated sewage.[3]

Fishing Bridge's sewage treatment improvements reflected these changes. In 1975, the new Fishing Bridge sewage treatment plant went into operation, handling sewage from the Bridge Bay Marina, Lake, and Fishing Bridge.[4] Like many national park developments, Fishing Bridge exemplified the urgent need to sustain the behind-the-scenes aspects of park operations that enabled public enjoyment and resource protection.

Even the bridge itself, which today is viewed by most people as a positive and benign presence on the landscape, was not without a role in affecting the hydrological and ecological setting. NPS staff, writing in 1984 about the unimagined consequences of bridge construction at such a dynamic setting as the outlet of a large lake, reviewed evidence of the bridge's unintended influences reaching several miles downstream:

> The Fishing Bridge developed area has influenced the neighboring aquatic settings in many ways, some quite subtle and still not widely appreciated. Perhaps the most instructive as an example of unanticipated long-term effects of development involves the bridge itself.
>
> The present bridge was completed in 1937. Since that time its pilings have had a measurable effect on the river downstream because they act to break up ice as it leaves the lake. Prior to the construction of a bridge at the lake outlet, ice-out provided an uninhibited scouring, by large pieces of ice, of the river bottom. The bridge pilings reduce the size of the ice chunks and slow and curl the flow. This reduces the extent of the flushing, which has resulted in a buildup of sediment downstream from the bridge (Skinner 1977). An increase in sedimentation has significant impact on the natural setting.
>
> For example, the island downstream from the bridge was barren of tree life until 1937; it is now forested by trees dated to 1938.[5]



NPS JIM PEACO PHOTO, YELL 17337

Fishing Bridge Sewage Treatment Plant and lagoons north of the Fishing Bridge development, 2001.



AUTHOR PHOTO, 2007

A portion of the Fishing Bridge sewage treatment operation.

At the time these statements were written, 1984, Fishing Bridge was already in the midst of its greatest and most public controversy (thus the existence



AUTHOR PHOTO, 2007

The low islands near the east bank of the Yellowstone River downstream from Fishing Bridge now host stands of trees whose appearance there was probably enabled by the bridge. By breaking up the ice as it flows from the lake every spring, the bridge has complex effects on the river channel for some miles downstream.

of the report being quoted). It is not surprising that park staff also felt at liberty to suggest a change in the river crossing:

> It is also noteworthy that the present pilings are given a life expectancy of no more than 50 years (T. Hudson, pers. comm.), an age they are quickly approaching. The need for a major renovation may provide an opportunity for improvement of a sort that would correct past damages. A simple one-span bridge would permit the river to clean itself out and restore the normal scouring processes. It would also solve the problems of ice jams that occasionally form upstream of the bridge and require removal with dynamite.[6]

The present bridge continues to serve. It was rehabilitated in 2001 and given a "useful life of approximately 20–25 years" assuming that "current loading conditions" do not change.[7] But, as should probably be expected among alert and forward-looking managers, informal comments and conversations among managers have continued regarding either its replacement or its relocation to another crossing point downstream.[8]

Though perhaps somewhat out of historical sequence here, it is worth noting at this point that managers, researchers, and the public have continued to recognize previously unappreciated effects that the Fishing Bridge development has had on the wildland setting surrounding it. A small and still largely unknown endemic plant provides an excellent and representative example of this process.

In 1885, botanist Frank Tweedy collected a specimen of Yellowstone sand verbena (*Abronia ammophilia*), a small Yellowstone endemic whose entire distribution is "restricted to stabilized sand sites that principally lie just above the maximum splash zone along the shoreline of Yellowstone Lake."[9] This

rare plant has survived the intervening century-plus, but because of the development of the shoreline in and near the Fishing Bridge area, and now especially because of the popular shoreline trail from Pelican Creek to Fishing Bridge, the plant is no longer found in its previous known sites on the beach adjacent to the Fishing Bridge development. And yet these north shore locations are essential for the survival of the species:

> Yellowstone sand verbena has been extirpated from a significant portion of its original range along the shoreline of the lake due largely to human influences. The north shore site is the key to the survival of this Yellowstone endemic, as it is the location of 96% of the species' entire population.[10]

Public awareness of the complexities of managing a large development in a national park advances on a variety of levels. Sewage pollution of Yellowstone Lake and the Yellowstone River is a spectacularly obvious problem, just the sort of newsworthy disaster that all members of the public can easily absorb and find alarming. Recognition of the hydrological and ecological influences of the bridge on the river basin downstream, though also important, probably would be of interest only to a narrower audience. And concern over the continued well-being of Yellowstone sand verbena is a classic example of the most subtle type of natural resource issue—a type routinely faced by today's managers throughout the national parks, but probably barely registering in the public consciousness (or conscience) no matter how strongly managers and conservation advocates might feel about them.

It would be yet another issue, with its own unique mix of the subtle and the spectacular, that would bring Fishing Bridge to unprecedented national prominence as a pivotal Yellowstone issue. And the focus of that prominence would be on another Yellowstone icon, at once subtle and spectacular itself—the grizzly bear.

Planning Fantasies and Ecological Realities, 1965–1974

The Fishing Bridge development grew significantly in the Mission 66 era, but it largely escaped the aggressive re-imaginings of park facilities that resulted in such dramatic changes elsewhere, such as at Canyon Village and Grant Village. Despite the persistence of the core historic Fishing Bridge development in relatively unchanged condition in the 1950s and 1960s, it is still worth considering the breadth of change proposed in the freewheeling and even futuristic planning deliberations set off by Mission 66, the environmental movement, and related social trends.

Perhaps the most startling of these alternative futures for Yellowstone was proposed in 1966, by Bob Randolph O'Brien, assistant professor of geography, Montana State University, in "A Report to the Western Office of Design and Construction, National Park Service, on A Dual Circulation Road System for Yellowstone National Park." In his cover letter for this officially funded study, O'Brien stated flatly that "only a little research was necessary before it became evident that without dual circulation the future of the Yellowstone road system would be pretty bleak."[11] Invoking Superintendent John McLaughlin's 1964 prediction that by the



NPS PHOTO BY JENNIFER WHIPPLE, YELL 16600

Yellowstone sand verbena (Abronia ammophila) *is a Yellowstone National Park endemic that depends largely on limited habitats along the shore of Yellowstone Lake for survival.*

year 2000 Yellowstone would receive four million visitors, O'Brien stated that "a dual circulation road over the heaviest traveled portion of the Grand Loop, from Madison Junction to Canyon via Lake, will solve the problem of Yellowstone's traffic to well beyond the turn of the century. By accommodating approximately four times the traffic of today, it should represent a maximum effort on the part of the Park Service to make the Park available to the public. The capacity of the Park will then rest, not on the capacity of the road system, but on the amount of physical abuse which can be suffered by the main scenic sections of the Park."[12]

O'Brien's accompanying map showed his proposed dual-system road (each road would handle traffic in one direction) in the area around the Fishing Bridge area, where the system would require a second road that roughly paralleled the existing East Entrance Road. This second road would have swung about half a mile north of the present road as it entered Pelican Meadows from the east, crossed Pelican Creek on a new bridge, continued across the meadows, staying a few hundred yards to the north of the present road until it crossed the Yellowstone River on a new bridge perhaps a quarter mile downstream from the present Fishing Bridge.[13]

Reaction to O'Brien's proposal from park staff was essentially what it would be from most managers and conservationists today. There was no noticeable support for it, and there probably wouldn't have been even without his presumption that the maximum allowable abuse of the developed areas was in a sense the goal of management. In the Fishing Bridge area alone, the ecological intrusion of a second crossing of both Pelican Creek and the Yellowstone River, as well as of a second road across Pelican Meadows, would have been sufficient proof that this was a singularly problematic proposal.

By the time of O'Brien's writing, the Fishing Bridge development had peaked in size, and, even without the further roadway expansion being championed by O'Brien, was under intense scrutiny for its impacts on the natural processes of the area, as summarized in an official NPS report in 1984:

> In 1963–1964, the present trailer court was constructed, bringing the camping capacity of the area to present levels (National Park Service 1965). It was at this time that, partly as an independent response to visitor use of national parks in general, the Fishing Bridge development began to receive reconsideration.
>
> In the early 1960's a combination of forces increased both management and public interest in preservation of pristine wild settings in Yellowstone Park. Significant evaluations of policy direction (Leopold et al. 1963; Robbins et al. 1963) by government appointed committees redirected or reconsidered past actions and priorities, with the result that the welfare of natural settings in parks was given more attention. This redirection was followed by intensified research efforts aimed at determining levels of impact and degree of departure from natural conditions in many parks. Fishing Bridge quickly attracted attention, both from Park Service researchers and from independent observers, as a troubling presence in Yellowstone Park.[14]

In 1968, NPS biologist William Barmore, as part of a dialogue over the possibility of building a bypass around Fishing Bridge (the O'Brien proposal mentioned above would also have been a part of this dialogue), captured the essence of the Fishing Bridge dilemma, where an important park development had been unknowingly built on a site of remarkable ecological and scientific distinction—an area whose significance was heightened by the values of neighboring areas. Here are Barmore's conclusions:

> Lower Pelican Valley between Mary Bay and Lake and as far north as LeHardys Rapids on the Yellowstone River has unique ecological value for the following reasons:
>
> 1. The merging of lake, river, and terrestrial ecosystems creates a complex of environmental conditions and habitats that supports a great diversity of plant and animal life. (The "edge effect" in ecological parlance.)
>
> 2. Areas with the ecological diversity of the lower Pelican Valley are uncommon in or out of the park (compared, for example, with the abundance of representative areas of lodgepole pine or subalpine forest). In areas other than



The Fishing Bridge development had reached its maximum extent by 1969. The earlier trailer village directly west of the visitor center was gone but the land remained open and bare; the cabin area north of the road had reached its greatest extent; the NPS campground occupied much of the space between the road and the lake east of the visitor center; and the new RV park reached to the northeast in two elongated sections. Also visible, along the edge of the forest near the river, is the service road from the cabin area to the Sewage Treatment Plant.

parks such attractive and productive areas are usually developed for ranching or as townsites (the original location of the Fishing Bridge development where it is may reflect this latter tendency).

3. The likelihood that the Yellowstone River and Pelican Creek valleys provide important corridors for animal movement (bison, elk, grizzly bear, moose) between Hayden Valley and Pelican Valley.[15]

Barmore revealed the striking breadth of opinion in play among park professionals at the time. Writing at almost the same time that O'Brien was proposing the dual road system, with its further development of Pelican Valley and the area north of Fishing Bridge, Barmore reached very different conclusions about how managers should respond to increasing visitation, at least at Fishing Bridge. He recommended that the NPS should "eliminate all concessioner facilities at Fishing Bridge, the trailer court, and the Fishing Bridge and Pelican Creek campgrounds. Limit facilities to those necessary for day use and visitor enjoyment and understanding of the area (visitor center, nature trails, scenic overlooks, perhaps a picnic area or two, etc.)."[16]

Barmore justified this dramatic departure from the general pro-development direction of the Mission



NPS PHOTO BY JIM PEACO, YELL 17339

The ecological inseparability of landscape elements near Fishing Bridge has vexed generations of managers and park constituents seeking simple and yet unified approaches to managing this area. The Fishing Bridge development is just to the east (right) of the bridge in this 2001 photograph. The large open area in the center of the photograph is the site of the former cabin area, and several miles of the Pelican Valley are visible across the top of the photograph.

66 era in language that was becoming common in natural-resource dialogues and controversies. Wildland managers, informed by increasingly sophisticated public and scientific scrutiny of the ecological consequences of past approaches, now took a longer view. Barmore observed:

> If we had it all to do over again, it seems unlikely that we would create an extensive and heavily used development at Fishing Bridge. Thus it seems reasonable from a *long term* standpoint to eliminate these facilities and to restore the natural integrity of the area.
>
> The facilities at Fishing Bridge are old, shoddy, and will either have to be replaced or eliminated in the not too distant future. We should use this opportunity to eliminate the facilities.
>
> In this modern day and in the future, overnight facilities, including campgrounds, are not needed at Fishing Bridge for enjoyment and understanding of the area's values.[17]

It is also worth keeping in mind that Barmore wrote these recommendations at the beginning of Yellowstone's now-venerable grizzly bear management controversy. Responding to similar pressures for environmental cleanup and ecological restoration, NPS managers were just then beginning to close backcountry garbage dumps, one of which was annually visited by scores of grizzly bears.[18]

NPS plans were opposed by the Craighead research team, who were nearing the completion of a 10-year study of the ecology of Yellowstone grizzly bears and were the acknowledged world authorities on the species. The Craighead team disagreed—as did, eventually, many in the public and various conservation groups—with both NPS policy and the agency's chosen approach for separating the bears from human food sources. This controversy has been described in countless articles and several books, and need not be described in detail here.[19] However, the Fishing Bridge development quickly became a key feature of debates over grizzly bear management, and other NPS staff were among the first to comment on various aspects of Fishing Bridge's role in the future of grizzly bears in Yellowstone.

In fact, the Fishing Bridge development had been attracting the special attention of Yellowstone bear managers for decades. As early as 1932, Yellowstone Superintendent Roger Toll "had received a



NPS PHOTO, YELL 116781766

By the late 1960s a significant portion of the Yellowstone grizzly bear population subsisted in good part on garbage fed to them at backcountry garbage dumps. These bears were at the large Trout Creek dump in Hayden Valley. As the NPS sought to restore grizzly and black bear populations to a closer semblance to wild habits, attention to developments that occupied key habitats was heightened among all concerned parties including the bears.

petition signed by eighty-seven campers at the Fishing Bridge campground asking him to either dispose of the bears raiding the campground" or fence the whole campground off so bears could not get in.[20] From then until the late 1940s, NPS staff up to the Director's office discussed, planned, and even occasionally formally designed a variety of fences and other barriers (including a dry moat) to exclude this large development from the nightly bear incursions that were a regular feature of park campgrounds.

In 1944, at the completion of the first scientific investigation ever undertaken of Yellowstone bears, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service ecologist Olaus Murie not only reiterated the call for fencing at Fishing Bridge, but experimented with, among other things, methods for electrifying Fishing Bridge area garbage cans to shock marauding bears. (One reason the experiment was abandoned was that the electrified cans did not distinguish between bears and visitors, indiscriminately shocking all comers.)[21]

By the 1960s, as the Craighead research team was undertaking their pioneering study of the grizzly bears, Yellowstone's "bear problem" was growing bigger and more troublesome than ever. More bear-adoring visitors arrived every year and the park's black and grizzly bears were thoroughly entrenched in their respective addictions to human food.

The various earlier proposals for fencing Fishing Bridge had gone nowhere (more for lack of money than for other objections, it appears), and bear problems in the area continued to attract special management attention. In August 1971, Glen Cole, NPS supervisory research biologist for Yellowstone, reinforced Barmore's earlier insights on the potential ecological significance of the Fishing Bridge area by emphasizing that significance as it applied to grizzly bears:

> Something in addition to the occasional camper's icechest appears to be attracting grizzlies into the Lake Outlet's Fishing Bridge and



NPS PHOTO, YELL 118823

Black bears seeking snacks in the garbage cans in the Fishing Bridge camp, 1935, with camper Gertrude Markley looking on. The wooden framework around the cans did not prevent the bears from getting the garbage, but limited the extent to which the bears could spread the garbage around.

> Pelican areas. This is suggested to be an abundance of natural food in the form of spawning fish and fish carrion which drifts back downstream, or is swept into the lake's north beach by prevailing winds. Studies will be expanded to document actual relationships, but it should be anticipated that these could show that substitute overnight facilities should be provided away from what is apparently prime grizzly habitat.[22]

In July 1972, Don Despain, plant ecologist for the NPS in Yellowstone, added more details to Cole's statement:

> For the period 1943–1959, of the total 48 grizzly bears killed (including accidental as well as control kills), 24 came from Fishing Bridge and Pelican Creek and 3 from Lake. For the same period a total of 328 black bears were killed, with 37 from Fishing Bridge and 28 from Lake.
>
> As indicated by Mr. Cole, there is more involved here than the attraction of grizzly bears to a campground.[23]

Other reliable observers concurred with Barmore, Cole, and Despain about the special ecological situation of Fishing Bridge.[24]

We see through these comments into the heart of an extraordinary era in Yellowstone resource management history. Perhaps it was a subtle and unappreciated side effect of Mission 66 that park staff felt liberated to express such bold new visions for parks. Certainly the hopeful mood of the new environmental movement, bolstered by the Leopold and Robbins reports' exhortations to managers to embrace a more scientifically credible approach to management, must have emboldened park staff to speak out. And surely the accumulated frustrations of dealing with an apparently irresolvable conflict between bears and humans at the Fishing Bridge development, decade after decade, must have played a role. But whatever the exact combination and proportion of causes, in less than 10 years the official mood among NPS planners toward Fishing Bridge was precisely reversed. As late as 1965, NPS leadership had welcomed and celebrated the extensive enlargement of the Fishing Bridge development through the construction of the trailer village. But by 1974, the entire Fishing Bridge development—everything from the bridge itself to virtually all the buildings and campsites—was regarded as a big mistake. Fishing Bridge was on the block and all but scheduled for demolition.[25] It is doubtful that such a dramatic changing of minds, on such a grand scale, had ever before occurred in an American national park.

Bears and the Bridge: The "5-year bloodbath" and Beyond

In their observations on the problems at Fishing Bridge, William Barmore and his scientific colleagues were in fact reflecting the mood of park planners who, starting in the 1960s, sought to incorporate dramatic changes at Fishing Bridge into a forthcoming iteration of Yellowstone's ever-evolving long-term institutional direction. In 1972, Yellowstone's new draft "Master Plan," which would be approved in 1974, called for the staged removal of the development. As stated in the *Environmental Statement, Yellowstone Master Plan*, dated June 11, 1974, the intention was as follows:

> Current planning proposes to ultimately relieve congestion and eliminate accommodations and service from this existing developed area. This action is proposed to facilitate

> restoration of critical wildlife habitats at the Lake Yellowstone outlet. The existing campground, trailer village, store, and service station will, however, be retained for an interim period.[26]

The approved *Master Plan* elaborated on what the new Fishing Bridge area would become, and further explained why it needed to change:

> Because of the proximity to choice grizzly bear habitats in the Pelican Valley and in the lake outlet area, as well as the outstanding environmental education opportunities, overnight facilities will be phased out of the Fishing Bridge area. The area from the mouth of the Yellowstone River at Lake to one mile downstream is superb ecological environment and should be restored to natural conditions. Consideration should be given to the development of an interpretation and information facility for visitor enjoyment of the stream wildlife. A system of walking paths and overlooks would be developed in conjunction with the proposed visitor wildlife information center on the north shore of the lake. Lake would continue to serve as a concessioner-operated overnight facility, and Bridge Bay, an overnight accommodation center, would be the site of the major campground in this area.[27]

This forceful redefinition of one of Yellowstone's most popular visitor accommodation areas received a significant boost in the apparent urgency of its intent on September 1, 1975, when the grizzly bear was classified as a threatened species south of the Canadian border under provisions of the Endangered Species Act.[28] This would further solidify the perceptual link between grizzly bear conservation and Fishing Bridge, and further heighten the urgency of conservationist and management concerns over the removal of the development.

The plan to remove the development must have still seemed possible well into the 1980s. In the years following the appearance of the *Master Plan*, substantial reductions in the size of the Fishing Bridge area, and in the kinds of camping offered, were in fact accomplished:

> In 1975, visitor use of the aging visitor cabins in the Fishing Bridge development was discontinued and the cabins were scheduled for removal. Removal proceeded as follows: 1980 – 138 cabins; 1981 – 52 cabins, cafeteria and dorm; 1982 – 22 cabins; 1984 – remaining 44 cabins scheduled for removal.
>
> By 1977, the growing scientific evidence coupled with management experience, resulted in the restriction of the Fishing Bridge campground to hard-sided vehicles only because of the known presence of grizzly bears in this area.[29]

Disapproval of the cabins expressed in the 1950s by DeVoto and in the 1960s by Darling and Eichhorn haunted the Fishing Bridge cabin development to the end of its days. In his milestone 1985 history of Yellowstone's administration, historian Richard Bartlett reflected on the enduring slum-like reputation of the Fishing Bridge cabins. Even as scholarly and staid a commentator as Bartlett succumbed to the outrage that had long prevailed in some circles:

> Today it is doubtful if even the most placid visitors would tolerate the facilities offered auto tourists in the 1920s. Some of the cabins, though no longer in use, were still standing at Fishing Bridge in 1981. One would think the Park Service would destroy them out of shame. There they were, down narrow little streets dusty in dry weather and muddy in wet, interspersed occasionally with an ugly bathhouse and here and there an outside water hydrant. They are now, and were when they were built, as ugly, cheap, and unaesthetic as miner's cabins in a nineteenth-century gold camp. No soiled dove on maiden lane would have tolerated such housing. Yet, with incredible lack of taste, the Park Service allowed a company earning more than one-quarter of its invested capital every year to build these cheapest of cheap hovels, charge for occupancy at $4.50 a night per person, and *continue using them well into the 1970s!*[30]

We might best jump ahead of the chronological sequence here, for the sake of describing the eventual extent of reduction of facilities at Fishing Bridge.

Removal of the last 44 cabins, scheduled for 1984 as noted above, lagged but was completed by 1991, as was the removal of the photo shop, cabin offices, and some related outbuildings.[31] As well, the NPS campground at Fishing Bridge was finally closed at the conclusion of the 1989 season.[32] But considerable additional local staff volunteerism was eventually necessary to complete even these stages of the removal. Geographer Michael Yochim described this process:

> In 1989, the NPS Campground at Fishing Bridge saw its last season. Throughout 1990, it stood empty, still with picnic tables and firepits ready for use. Rehabilitation of it as called for in the Final EIS languished, suffering as many park mandates do from a lack of funding. By late 1990, lack of action began to bother park personnel. Still without a specific rehabilitation appropriation, Service personnel from throughout the park began to hold annual work days at Fishing Bridge in 1991 to rehabilitate the area. In this manner, they had removed all campground structures and by 1997 had revegetated the campground.[33]

However, for all the fanfare and optimism of the 1974 *Master Plan's* ambitious vision for a restored Fishing Bridge area, that is essentially as far as the hoped-for removal of the Fishing Bridge development would proceed during the subsequent 34 years. By the 1990s, NPS attempts to honor the high goals of the *Master Plan* had become an extraordinarily involved saga that included what retiring Yellowstone Superintendent Bob Barbee, speaking in 1995, referred to as the "5-year bloodbath in the political arena."[34] The saga continues in muted form even today. The following is only a brief summary of what became Fishing Bridge's highest-visibility role yet in a Yellowstone controversy.[35]

Just as, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Fishing Bridge originated and grew as an extension of other lakeshore developments to its south, so was its fate 70 years later tied closely to them—both to older and younger facilities. Of these facilities, the Grant Village development, on the lake shore just south of West Thumb Junction, has been the development most closely associated with Fishing Bridge in the controversy over the removal of the latter facility. Grant Village (which at various early stages in its planning had also been known as "Thumbay"



AUTHOR PHOTO, 2007

As of 2007, only a few cabins remain of the once sprawling and long controversial cabin development north of the Fishing Bridge commercial strip.

or "Grant Bay") was "originally conceived in 1936 as a replacement for the antiquated facilities at West Thumb. During the days of Mission 66, Yellowstone completed Canyon Village in 1957, then turned its attention to its second planned development at Grant Village….The 1973 master plan for Yellowstone envisioned Grant Village as a staging place where people would leave their cars behind to sample the great outdoors."[36]

By the late 1970s, the NPS was beginning to put its master plan into effect at Fishing Bridge. Grant Village already had a visitor center, a marina, and a campground, but its planned growth was intended to replace accommodations removed or about to be removed from West Thumb and Fishing Bridge. Ultimately, the NPS intended an ambitiously large development at Grant Village, including "the construction of approximately 700 motel-type lodging units, a restaurant complex, associated concessioner and NPS support and maintenance facilities, utility improvements including a new sewage treatment plant and a standby power system, and associated landscaping and site work."[37]

Under the provisions of section 7 of the Endangered Species Act, the NPS was required to engage in formal consultation with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service prior to proceeding with this new stage in the completion of the Grant Village development, to determine that the development would not "constitute jeopardy to the grizzly bear in the Yellowstone ecosystem."[38] This consultation, which occurred from 1979 to 1981, resulted in what amounted to a formal go-ahead from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service on condition that the NPS proceed with its planned removal of the Fishing Bridge development.

However, in offering a "no-jeopardy" opinion, officials of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service expressed substantive ambivalence about the growth of the Grant Village development despite the concurrent removal of the Fishing Bridge development:

> It is our biological opinion that the proposed development within Grant Village is not likely to jeopardize the continued existence of the grizzly bear. However, we question the need and justification for such extensive commercial development within occupied grizzly habitat and believe that adverse impacts to the bear will result, although they may be at a level that does not constitute jeopardy to the species. We also believe the project will negate many of the benefits acquired through the phaseout of facilities at Fishing Bridge and view such a "trade-off" as an unfavorable solution to a wildlife conflict that, with development of Grant Village, will likely be duplicated rather than eliminated.[39]

With this lukewarm yet legally sufficient endorsement, the NPS continued to remove facilities at Fishing Bridge. As already mentioned, the cabins were mostly removed by 1982. In January 1981, Yellowstone Superintendent John Townsley informed the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service that the NPS campground would be closed "prior to 1985," and the trailer village (hereinafter referred to as the RV park) the following year.[40]

In the early 1980s, as the NPS worked to prepare a "development concept plan" (DCP) and environmental assessment for Fishing Bridge, the controversy flourished and quickly intensified. At a series of public meetings in and around the park in late summer of 1983, park staff sought to explain the rationale for removing Fishing Bridge to a public that apparently had until this point either not read the park's *Master Plan*—or had just not understood that the authors of the *Master Plan* meant what they said. NPS planners Sue Consolo Murphy and Beth Kaeding described this stage of the controversy:

> During public meetings about the development plan, park representatives faced public outrage and anger about the Fishing Bridge part of the proposal. For the first time, people seemed to understand that NPS truly meant to remove this long-established development. The plan for Fishing Bridge, Lake, and Bridge Bay stalled while NPS resource managers summarized the scientific evidence of the ecological importance of the area, particularly to grizzly bears, for the NPS Director.[41]

The report, *Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Ecosystem: A Report to the Director*, was published in November 1984. It compiled and reinforced previous NPS statements that the Fishing Bridge area was of exceptional value to grizzly bears. Though the report represented a scientific milestone in the controversy,

and was certainly the most thorough review of the ecological issues to that date, both park critics and subsequent NPS staff criticized the report's findings. Among several other things, these people criticized the authors' attempt to separate the ecological issues at Fishing Bridge from those at the nearby Lake Area and Bridge Bay developments by presuming that bear problems near the outlet of the lake could be largely solved simply by removing the Fishing Bridge development.[42]

Even recognizing the arguable failings of the report, with hindsight it also seems safe to conclude that the report's actual scientific findings barely mattered in the public controversy. Among the people who were susceptible to scientific argument the report's perceived weaknesses did work to the disadvantage of the agency's attempts to remove the development. But the ecological realities of Fishing Bridge—however well or poorly they may have been represented by the report—were insignificant in subsequent events compared to the absolute disapproval of any change in the status quo at Fishing Bridge, for any reason, expressed by regional businesspeople who were backed by their powerful congressional delegation. There was simply no interest among these people in accommodating further limitation of park developments on the basis of what they saw as a remote chance that any such limitation would be of meaningful advantage to the grizzly bear population. From the perspective of park managers, the best science in the world would not have changed the minds that most needed changing.

Even before the appearance of the report, the park's two largest concessioners, TWA Services and Hamilton Stores, had expressed the strongest possible opposition to the removal of the development, and other regional businesses and commercial interest groups unleashed a formidable campaign against the NPS plan. Michael Yochim described the intensity of the opposition.

> Meanwhile, RV advocacy groups including the Good Sam Club and Trailer Life began urging their members to write [Yellowstone superintendent] Barbee opposing the closure. The Fishing Bridge RV Park was one of the few campgrounds in any national park offering full hookups (which include electricity, water, and sewer services), and RVers did not want to lose access to a place with such special status. In the first half of 1984, Barbee received a "firestorm" of letters against closure. Representatives of the groups also met with Wyoming's U.S. Senators Alan Simpson and Malcom Wallop to insist that the Park Service replace any RV sites with others elsewhere in Yellowstone.[43]

As the debate and controversy continued, according to Consolo Murphy and Kaeding, "Discussions among park managers, the NPS Director, and the Wyoming congressional delegation resulted in another delay while NPS assessed the socio-economic effect of removing the Fishing Bridge development. The NPS also agreed to consider specific alternatives in an environmental impact statement, including relocating the Fishing Bridge campground to a comparable area nearby along the northwestern lakeshore."[44]

Because of this new work and the mounting public attention to the controversy, the NPS could not meet the deadline of closing Fishing Bridge campgrounds by 1986. This delay necessitated the production by park staff of an *Interim Management Plan for Operations at Fishing Bridge and Grant Village*, intended to govern management operations only until the resolution of the scientific and other issues that were delaying fulfillment of the *Master Plan's* objectives (this interim plan appeared in 1986). The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service remained firm on the elimination of the Fishing Bridge development. In their history of the controversy, Consolo-Murphy and Kaeding explained that for NPS managers, confronted with an appalling political controversy and an intensely divided public, no previously imagined future for Fishing Bridge seemed certain:

> In retrospect, it is clear that park managers were caught between user groups wishing to retain the Fishing Bridge facilities and grizzly bear advocates wishing to see the facilities removed. While the managers likely felt it prudent and reasonable to modify their original proposal of total facility removal, biologists and conservation groups pressured NPS to stick to the original plans and commitments.[45]

Increasingly after about 1985, environmental organizations engaged the Fishing Bridge issue, though according to the most thorough published history

of the controversy, it "never got the national interest" that other Yellowstone controversies achieved. Nevertheless, the greater grizzly bear controversy certainly maintained national attention for many years.[46] The interest that Fishing Bridge did generate was highly visible, however. It included the famous Earth First! demonstrations at Fishing Bridge and Grant Village in the mid- to late-1980s, and a 1986 lawsuit filed by the National Wildlife Federation and the Wyoming Wildlife Federation.[47] The suit, invoking the 1984 NPS scientific report mentioned earlier, asserted that the NPS was violating the Endangered Species Act and other legislation and putting the grizzly bear at risk. Other organizations, large and small—and including at least one and possibly two that were created for the occasion—weighed in, each in its own way, so that by the late 1980s both pro- and anti-removal forces had relatively long scorecards.

In the midst of the turmoil, position-taking, and spectacular rhetorical flourishes by various position holders, the NPS, unable to make substantial progress in removing the Fishing Bridge development, continued with its procedural duties. The NPS's *Interim Plan* for management of Fishing Bridge summarized the agency's only practically available course of action:

> The Fishing Bridge Development Concept Plan/Environmental Impact Statement was initiated in February 1985. In May of 1985 a newsletter was prepared and released to the public explaining the Fishing Bridge project issues, conceptual alternatives, and potential impacts. In July the National Park Service received and analyzed nearly 300 responses to the 1,200 newsletters that were mailed out. During August and September the University of Wyoming conducted surveys of park visitors to determine regional travel patterns and predict economic impacts on gateway communities due to proposed relocation of facilities from Fishing Bridge.
>
> During the summer of 1985, a concentrated effort was underway to evaluate a variety of relocation sites for the campground and RV park. In September preliminary relocation alternatives were developed in preparation for a meeting between the Wyoming Congressional Delegation, the Director of the National Park Service (now William Penn Mott, Jr.), the Assistant Secretary [of the Interior] (William Horn), and the Park Superintendent (Robert Barbee). This meeting was called by the Assistant Secretary to entertain the thought of shortening the environmental impact statement (EIS) process and move out of Fishing Bridge in a fashion agreeable to all concerned. Following the delegation's forthright expression of concern to Assistant Secretary Horn and Director Mott, it was agreed that the National Park Service would continue, as previously agreed, with a comprehensive EIS addressing a full range of alternatives.[48]



NPS PHOTO BY CAROLINE EVANS, YELL 13558

Earth First! demonstrators at Fishing Bridge in 1988, objecting to the stalled removal of the Fishing Bridge development.

Though the complications, finer points, and indeed the controversy continued to grind along for many years, our narrative need not belabor the story further because, though the sound and the fury were often interesting, their effects did indeed signify nothing, or at least very little, in terms of what happened to the remaining development at Fishing Bridge. The last significant change in the actual Fishing Bridge development area has already been mentioned: the 1989 closing of the NPS campground and the subsequent staff/vigilante cleanup of the campground area in the 1990s. The recent history of Fishing Bridge otherwise has been the history of the administrative processes initiated during the controversy up until 1986, the year in which the *Interim Management Plan for Operations at Fishing Bridge and Grant Village* was completed. In 1987, the NPS published the *Draft Environmental Impact Statement, Development Concept*

Plan, Fishing Bridge Developed Area, followed by the final version of the same document in 1988. Complementing documents for other lakeshore developments appeared in 1992 and 1993. Finally, in 1994, the draft *Environmental Impact Statement, Fishing Bridge Campsite Replacement* appeared. According to Consolo Muprhy and Kaeding, the plan "attempted to finalize the remaining restoration goals at Fishing Bridge and to replace campsites." Updated bear data were used to refine the proposals to enhance grizzly bear habitat effectiveness at Fishing Bridge and Pelican Valley. The plan reiterated the commitment to relocate the Fishing Bridge service station and employee housing to Lake and to monitor the effects of the facilities remaining at Fishing Bridge. In many cases, actions were already underway or tied to specific funding sources, enhancing their likelihood of happening.[49]

But Fishing Bridge had by this time dropped from the active attention of most interest groups; or at least it had become too low a priority for sufficient attention to keep the process moving. Without the impetus of further public demand and controversy, the draft never advanced beyond that stage and was never finalized. Consolo Murphy and Kaeding, writing in 1998 after many years of direct involvement in the Fishing Bridge campground controversy, were realistic about this state of affairs in discussing the reaction to the 1994 draft campsite replacement EIS:

> Public comment on the plan was minimal, and controversy was nearly non-existent. While we would like to believe that a rational and adaptive approach, incorporating up-to-date information with political and economic realities, resulted in the lack of controversy, we doubt that this was the case. In the intervening years the Yellowstone grizzly population had increased in numbers…., and ecosystem managers began discussing delisting the grizzly bear. New and more pressing controversies—limiting visitor use, wolf (*Canis lupus*) reintroduction, bison (*Bison bison*) management, and a proposed gold mine on the park's border—dominated Yellowstone issues.[50]

To this list of changes could be added the disappearance of Wyoming Senator Alan Simpson from the playing field. Simpson's retirement may have been the single most important factor in the decline of political attention to Fishing Bridge. Since 1998 Yellowstone National Park has continued to enjoy more than enough other urgent issues to prevent either the further removal of Fishing Bridge facilities or the continuation of the campground replacement work. "Still," Consolo Murphy and Kaeding concluded, "some park and USFWS staff and others in the environmental community continue to express dismay that park managers have strayed from the original proposal to remove all facilities from Fishing Bridge."[51]

Changing management of Fishing Bridge since the controversy stalled out has featured an irony not lost on many local observers. The irony involves the treatment of the area that was so highly praised during the controversy as a rare ecological jewel in Yellowstone National Park. Long-time NPS interpreter Harlan Kredit worked at Fishing Bridge for many years, observing the way the changing political climate affected management there:

> After the cabins were gone, ball fields were "built" in the area where the cabins stood. Then on several occasions, a large fire camp was set up there with the helicopter base being one mile downstream past the old incinerator building. Then, it became the stockpile for gravel and construction materials for the east entrance road project. Those actions were the subject of numerous conversations by various park service people in the Lake area. I am not sure what my personal feelings are on those actions—it was already disturbed so isn't it better to put fire camps, gravel dumps, etc. there rather than in a new area? Or is it being two-faced for the park service to declare it so special and then not treat it as such?[52]

Such are the continuing vagaries of management of Fishing Bridge. Complications arise, priorities shift, and needs change, but long-time observers remember and watch with a combination of amusement and bewilderment as older obligations seem to be neglected or forgotten. As former Yellowstone Superintendent Bob Barbee was known to say when these complex and seemingly irresolvable situations would come to his attention, "Never let it be said that the cold clammy hand of consistency rests heavy on *our* shoulders!"[53]

Conclusion: Nature and Culture at Fishing Bridge

The extended growth and the more abrupt contraction of the Fishing Bridge development during the twentieth century reflected similar trends in the recreational development along the entire shoreline of Yellowstone Lake. The era during which developments expanded spanned the first six decades of the century, after which changes in public interest, political advocacy, and management policy tended to favor reduction or elimination of formerly expansive developments. Geographer Yolanda Youngs, writing in 2004, was perhaps the first to summarize this process:

> Striking examples of these landscape alterations are at the former sites of the West Thumb Developed Area and Fishing Bridge Developed Area. As of 2004, the West Thumb Developed Area is all but removed. A ranger station and boardwalk around the geothermal pools is all that remains. Only thirty-eight years before, this location buzzed with activity as park visitors stayed at the cabins or auto campground, rented a fishing boat at the docks, or launched their own personal boat on the shore. Visitors could also stop at a cafeteria for lunch, fill up their gas tanks at the service station, stop by the ranger station for park information, or buy souvenirs at the Hamilton store. The Fishing Bridge area has also changed since the late 1960's. The site of one of the earliest developments at Yellowstone Lake, now this area offers a recreational vehicle campground, a service station, general store, museum, and amphitheatre. The large auto campground and cabin complex was removed from this site. So too, the boat rental hut at the Fishing Bridge was removed.

Yellowstone Lake visitors in 2004 have far fewer opportunities to recreate and stay at the lake than tourists in previous eras. There are fewer boat docks at the lake now. From five boat docks in 1966, now there are only two marinas at the lake and one of them—the Grant Village Marina—is unusable because of lake erosion. A visitor to Yellowstone Lake today has far fewer options for where to stay at the lake. Instead of a selection of cabins and auto campgrounds around the lake's five major developed areas, the lake now has overnight accommodations at Grant Village and the Lake Developed Area in the form of lodges and a hotel. At Fishing Bridge, only hard-sided recreational vehicles may stay, and Bridge Bay and Grant Village offer the lone auto campgrounds available at the lake. In the middle of July—the peak of the tourist season for Yellowstone—the campground and lodges at Grant Village are often vacant and it resembles more of a ghost town than a thriving visitor service area.[1]

Youngs wondered why this has happened and what now makes Grant Village relatively unpopular—whether its design, placement, or lack of boating facilities. More important, she mourned the loss of the other facilities, apparently even the Fishing Bridge cabins that so many other commentators have regarded as awful eyesores. Seeing the 1960s as the peak of lake-area development, she was disturbed by the decline since that decade:

> From that point to the present the pendulum has swung back to less concentrated development at the lake and more of an emphasis on wilderness recreation. Perhaps the future will bring a balance between these two extremes. If Yellowstone Lake is to become that "pleasure ground for the future" that Gustavus Doane spoke of in 1889, it will take a balanced view on the park from park administration, concessionaires, and visitors to make that happen.[2]

It is necessary to point out that some of Youngs's observations, however heartfelt, were in error. Every knowledgeable observer I consulted agreed that it is simply incorrect to regard Grant Village's lodging or campground as under used by visitors, much less resembling a ghost town. Former Yellowstone interpreter Roger Anderson's comments are representative of several others:

> I managed Grant's interpretive operations from 1987 through 1994. Throughout this period, its lodging sold out regularly (lots of tours) and the campground (the largest or second largest after Bridge Bay, depending upon which numbers you believe) was easily filled by early afternoon most of the summer. Visitor Center visitation averaged 3000+ daily with annual totals about 300,000 to 400,000, and at the peak of the summer season we'd see 500+ people at the amphitheater's evening program. Mission 66, yes, an eyesore, yes, a biological blight, sure, but a ghost town…hardly.[3]

It does appear that Youngs may have confused the sight of a relatively vacant mid-day campground with evidence of an unused campground. Grant Village remains a consistently popular and thriving center of visitor accommodations.

Still, Youngs's interpretations of the Yellowstone Lake scene were those of an informed scholar who conducted the first comprehensive study of Yellowstone Lake as a significant part of the visitor experience of Yellowstone National Park, and one of her points especially deserves consideration. As quoted above, Youngs asserted that the peak in lakeshore development that occurred in 1965 and the lower level of such development that occurred in 2004 represent two "extremes" in such development, and that some "balance" must be found between them. It seems probable that Youngs is correct, and that for many years now any changes that occur in the level of development at Fishing Bridge will be within the 1965–2004 realm. But the historical experience of Fishing Bridge teaches us caution in such expectations.

The true extremes of development of the shoreline of Yellowstone Lake are, on the one hand, no development whatsoever, and, on the other hand, an entirely paved and built-over shoreline (including the shorelines of the islands). For the first 30 years of the park's existence, until the bridge was built, the Fishing Bridge area actually lived up to the no-development-whatsoever "extreme." And though we have never approached the other "extreme," we have considered it seriously; some early twentieth-century park enthusiasts had every hope that the roads that now skirt the west and north sides of the lake would eventually be extended to include the entire east side of the lake as well, all the way to the Thorofare and beyond. The range of options that has been considered—and no doubt will be considered in the future—is nothing short of spectacular.

Thus, to conclude that conditions between 1965 and 2004 will adequately bracket the future options for use of the Fishing Bridge area is to miss the lessons the lake's history has already offered, and perhaps to succumb to a narrower vision of the park's future than is necessary or prudent. Such a narrower vision fails the "if we had it to do all over again" test that has in recent decades empowered many visions of a dramatically different future for Yellowstone. Some of those visions, such as the dual-circulation roadway proposed in the 1960s, were doomed from the start, and for good reason. But other tradition-breaking thinking paid off handsomely. After all, it was our capacity for just such idealized thinking, reaching far beyond historical parameters, that enabled grizzly bear recovery, wolf recovery, cutthroat

trout recovery, the restoration of natural fire, and other previously unimaginable changes in Yellowstone management.[4]

Fishing Bridge, perhaps more than most other locations in Yellowstone National Park, has illustrated the extent to which the national park idea has always been and will always be a work in progress. The parks, for all their reputation as sacrosanct bastions of high ideals, only maintain that status through a painful and controversial process of growth and change that rarely satisfies any single constituency. Considering the brief interval since the peak of development in the Fishing Bridge area in 1965, we are repeatedly surprised, sometimes disappointed, and occasionally exhilarated by the responsiveness of the park as an institution to its swiftly changing social context.

In 1965, few NPS staff and even fewer among the park's public constituencies would have imagined that in only seven years it would become official NPS policy to demolish the massive and enormously popular Fishing Bridge development. On the other hand, quite a few staff and even more political professionals might have foreseen the public furor and eventual political shortstopping of such an ambitious goal.

In 1965, the elimination of all fishing not only from the bridge but from the entire lake outlet area—which for most of the park's history was celebrated as the best place in the whole park to fish—in only eight years would likewise have been unimaginable. In 1965, the simultaneous conversion, in less than a decade, of the bridge into the foremost site for non-angling fish interpretation in the Northern Rockies would have seemed like an intuitively good idea to only a few interpreters and ecologists. And in 1965, few observers from any interest group would have foreseen some of the other remarkable turns the Fishing Bridge saga would take before the century was out. This history concludes with just two of these turns, each illuminating in its own way.

The Strip

On November 30, 1987, as it was becoming clear that the Fishing Bridge development would only be partially removed, the controversy over the future of the area was broadened to include a historic preservation dimension unfamiliar in previous Yellowstone natural resource issues. Geographer Michael Yochim discussed this dimension in his recent chronicle of the Fishing Bridge controversy. It was necessary for park management to go through the Section 106 process of the National Historic Preservation Act with Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer Dave Kathka and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Yochim wrote:

> The National Historic Preservation Act [1966] requires federal land managers to preserve historic structures when and where possible and to consult with the State Historic Preservation Officers when contemplating changes to them. Yellowstone has many historic buildings, including some at Fishing Bridge. [Yellowstone Superintendent Robert] Barbee's staff had been corresponding with Kathka since 1985 regarding their proposals for the area. Their plans to demolish the service station, remaining cabins, cabin office, and photo shop meant that much of the historic district there would disappear.[5]

Cultural resource preservation, though long a carefully legislated mandate of the NPS, has routinely lagged behind natural resource management, whose higher-profile issues often entirely consume or exceed available staff time. The March 1993 creation, in the administrative structure of the NPS in Yellowstone, of the Yellowstone Center for Resources, with its formally constituted Branch of Cultural Resources, began a process to achieve parity between the two resource management realms, but it is safe to say that institutionally the NPS, especially in the larger natural-areas parks, may always regard natural resource issues as first priority. Indeed, most of the parks' constituencies probably feel the same way.

But in the 1980s Fishing Bridge revealed what would become an increasingly visible and intriguing tension between the cultural and natural resource protection mandates. I have elsewhere described this tension, which is still evolving as sensitivity to cultural resource preservation improves in the culture of the NPS:

> A popular arguing point among historic preservationists in recent years has been that Yellowstone National Park is really just a very large cultural site; proponents of this view usually pronounce it with smugness, even

> defiance, as if they would like nothing better than to fight about it. This argument has it that we humans decided to set Yellowstone apart because it was valuable to our culture; we would establish human boundaries on it and manage it for our benefit and enjoyment. There is a sound principle here—only recently, for example, have park managers recognized the extent to which North American landscapes were affected by humans prior to 1492—but this fundamentally sound argument represents a crossroads in the search for Yellowstone…. The buildings in Yellowstone are both interesting and historic, but they were a side effect of the park's purpose. Now they have become a purpose in themselves, and one of the great challenges facing future managers will be coming to terms with that purpose.[6]

At Fishing Bridge in the late 1980s, the complications resulting from that purpose were startlingly revealed. At Fishing Bridge, the concern for historic preservationists was not merely the relative worth of preserving a few historic structures versus improving grizzly bear habitat—though such a direct confrontation between cultural and natural resource advocates was significant in itself. The issue was also a matter of what made the structures uniquely historic for both Yellowstone National Park and the state of Wyoming.

In a November 30, 1987, letter from Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) Deputy Thomas Marceau to NPS Acting Regional Director Richard Strait (Rocky Mountain Regional Office), Marceau explained the cumulative historic and cultural worth of the Fishing Bridge development:

> The drafting of a State Historic Preservation Plan fulfills a requirement set forth by the National Park Service for each state's preservation program. The purpose of this plan is to identify, evaluate, register, document and *protect* historic resources. Through our research this last year on transportation in Wyoming, we have determined that there is a lack of historic resources available that represent the early automobile era. Fortunately, due to the nature of the National Park system, Yellowstone has so far preserved the Fishing Bridge Historic District; this is the only historic strip commercial district directly related to tourism with true physical and environmental integrity left in the state. The development of transportation within Yellowstone Park is one of the most significant themes in its history and we are thankful that your conservation philosophy has retained this district.[7]

While this rationale no doubt seemed eminently logical to historic preservationists, it could be described as nearly revolutionary when compared with traditional ideas of the mission of the natural-area national parks. (Some readers of the first draft of this manuscript told me that they laughed out loud when they read Marceau's statement about a "historic strip commercial district" as something deserving of preservation.) But cultural resource preservation mandates are no less carefully articulated and legislated than natural resource ones, and must be taken seriously.

As Marceau interpreted the legislative mandate to the SHPO office and to individual park units, Yellowstone was responsible for assisting in historic preservation not only within the context of the park, but also on behalf of the historic preservation goals of the entire state of Wyoming.

In the minds of some modern observers, a term like "strip commercial district" equates almost precisely with the term "suburban blight." Recall the comments of Bernard DeVoto, Darling and Eichhorn, and Richard Bartlett, quoted in previous chapters, on the ugliness of park developments like Fishing Bridge. That after decades of such heated criticisms and complaints, managers of Yellowstone—a park long viewed and promoted as providing an opportunity to escape from just such blight—should now be legislatively obligated to protect and celebrate the blight as a significant cultural resource indicated just how far the national park idea has come in our society, and how challenging its future might be. At Fishing Bridge, it seemed, one man's slum was another man's treasured architectural landmark.

Of course it wasn't that simple. By 1987, the most universally objectionable feature of the Fishing Bridge development—the huge and decrepit cabin village—was almost entirely gone. And even if the remaining strip development, which included the almost universally beloved Fishing Bridge Visitor

Center, was in the opinion of some people a blight, it was a relatively modest one by either Yellowstone or Wyoming standards (the SHPO was apparently not especially concerned with the fate of the relatively new and nonhistoric RV park).[8]

Still, the language and values of historic preservation could hardly have seemed more directly at odds with the preferences of natural resource managers. And, as we have already seen, this tension between conflicting missions was never officially resolved; it was simply displaced by other more pressing issues elsewhere in the park. As described in the previous chapter, the fires of 1988, a changing political landscape, scientific evidence of a gradually increasing grizzly bear population, doubts about the reliability of scientific opinions regarding Fishing Bridge's effect on grizzly bears, and urgent management attention to other park issues caused longer-term plans for Fishing Bridge to stall. In the late 1980s, Barbee, NPS Director Mott, and SHPO staff continued to discuss and debate this issue, but historic preservation interests won out rather by default than by force of argument simply because the issue was no longer a high enough priority for NPS staff to act upon. The strip would stay.

In his study of the Fishing Bridge controversy, Yochim concluded that historic preservation ranked lower than the other major forces driving the debate, and that historic preservation has not "become an issue in any other recent controversy."[9] This is true, and Yochim also noted that historic preservation advocacy can be a significant force in NPS cultural sites. Even in Yellowstone, historic preservation is necessarily a daily presence in management deliberations now, and just because it does not often operate at the headline level does not mean it is irrelevant to the conversation by which we decide Yellowstone's future. Other major Yellowstone developments, Canyon Village and Grant Village—certainly the two park developments most publicly regarded as tacky, junky, or otherwise inappropriate in Yellowstone—are already recognized by at least some architectural historians as representative of important periods in park architecture, and as such worthy of permanent preservation in the park's cultural and natural landscape.[10] There are likely to be more debates over historic resources in Yellowstone's future.

But the question of what to preserve at Fishing Bridge—or at any other park development—is much more than a struggle between competing legal mandates for the protection of cultural versus natural resources.[11] Certainly, the value of a building or other structure in Yellowstone National Park can be legally defined by existing preservation policy and legislation, in terms of the building's integrity of location, distinctiveness or significance of its design, the materials and workmanship of its construction, and a variety of factors related to its association with other historically meritorious structures. But it is important to remember that those terms exist to capture some broader essence, and that essence is derived in good part from the public's affection for and devotion to the building.

The best example of this diffuse but powerful factor of public appreciation was, by many accounts, perfectly demonstrated by the public mood surrounding the removal of the cabin development at Fishing Bridge. While much of the formal resistance to removal of the cabins was led by politicians concerned with commercial implications of removal, it seems apparent that the public still loved the ramshackle old cabins with happy disregard for what the politicians, managers, historic preservationists, and cultural tastemakers may have thought. Many national park developments enjoy a rich multigenerational relationship with visitors. Whether a top-end hotel or a flimsy cabin village, visitors amass a huge collective memory and a powerful nostalgia for these places; it is impossible to overestimate the force of such associations in shaping the visitor experience of a national park. Few changes in such beloved personal and family traditions are welcome, or will seem necessary to those most deeply involved in enjoying things as they are. Removing the Fishing Bridge cabins reached deep into the lives of many people besides those with a commercial stake.

An Appalling Act of Environmental Vandalism

In the first two decades after Fishing Bridge was closed to fishing, Yellowstone Lake and the Yellowstone River from the lake downstream to the Upper Falls became world-famous not just for excellent sport fishing but as a model of a successfully restored and largely intact native aquatic ecosystem. Yellowstone Lake was energetically celebrated as the last major inland stronghold of cutthroat trout. At least

here, it was believed, this beautiful native fish was safe for the foreseeable future.

But if the history of Fishing Bridge demonstrates anything conclusively, it is that the future cannot be foreseen. NPS fisheries staff described how suddenly ecological conditions can change:

> The perception of Yellowstone Lake as a secure refuge for Yellowstone cutthroat trout changed abruptly on July 30, 1994, when a lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*) was caught from the lake by an angler on a guided fishing trip. The fishing guide, aware that lake trout were not known to occur in Yellowstone Lake, immediately contacted the National Park Service rangers. The angler and guide were interviewed, and the fish, 43 cm long, was given to park authorities. On August 5, a second lake trout (42 cm long) was caught under similar circumstances and given to park authorities.[12]

It was eventually established that the lake trout were the result of a determined series of clandestine illegal introductions of lake trout into Yellowstone Lake in the 1980s and 1990s, accomplished by transplanting lake trout from nearby Lewis Lake, where they had been placed early in the park's history.[13] Though credible anecdotal reports have been made of earlier captures of lake trout in the lake, genetics studies leave no doubt that the population irruption of lake trout that occurred in Yellowstone Lake in the 1990s and since is the result of this more recent series of clandestine introductions. Yellowstone Superintendent Robert Barbee described the introductions as "an appalling act of environmental vandalism."[14]

While in no way implying sympathy for the so-called "nameless bastards" who perpetrated this outrage, their behavior can be best understood in a historical, and national, context.[15] As with the relatively benign differences among park anglers who did or did not approve of the fishing experience provided by Fishing Bridge, the criminal act of introducing lake trout into Yellowstone Lake revealed the profound divides that can occur within a recreational interest group in a national park setting. European and North American sportsmen and their management agencies have a long history of what now seem to have been thoughtless if not mindless introductions of nonnative fishes into new waters.[16] Even in the most remote parts of the Rocky Mountain West, there are few drainages still occupied by only native fish species. This "Johnny Appleseed" mentality is deeply entrenched not only in sporting culture but in agriculture in most of its modern forms. With that powerful tradition behind them, it seems most likely that the people who committed this crime believed they were in some important way "improving" Yellowstone Lake. Whether or not they were ignorant of the consequences for native fish—and for the host of people who appreciated those native fish and their predators—it seems likely that by the lights of their particular value system they believed they were doing a good thing. In that sense, the introduction of lake trout into Yellowstone Lake wasn't quite vandalism, a term usually associated with harmful acts in which harm is the primary intention. But regardless of the motivations behind the introduction, it was in actual effect a catastrophically wrong thing.

The appearance of lake trout in Yellowstone Lake represented a nightmare scenario for the lake's future. A panel of authoritative fisheries scientists and managers, assembled at Gardiner, Montana, in February 1995, predicted a catastrophic decline in the cutthroat trout population due to lake trout predation; their analysis of the situation led to the mobilization of a large and expensive program to control the lake trout population.[17] This program had, by 2006, removed more than 139,000 lake trout from the lake, and was showing the first promising signs of enabling vulnerable juvenile cutthroat trout to rebound in numbers in the face of lake trout predation.[18]

But the feared wholesale declines in the native trout numbers were not prevented. Counts of spawning fish at Clear Creek, an east-side tributary of Yellowstone Lake, revealed 917 cutthroat trout, down from 6,613 in 2002 and the lowest count in 60 years.[19] By 2006, visitors to Fishing Bridge, who in previous years would have seen dozens of large cutthroat trout on most summer days, might see none.[20]

The ecological consequences of the destruction of the cutthroat trout population in Yellowstone Lake are many and still incompletely understood, but in their long-term effects they may swamp the admittedly tremendous loss to visiting anglers deprived of experiencing the historic Yellowstone Lake and River fisheries, and concurrent economic losses in the regional business community deprived of the visits of these anglers.[21] A preliminary attempt to predict the

nature and extent of the ecological shock waves initiated by the loss of the cutthroat trout identified 42 species of mammals and birds "known or suspected to depend on the Yellowstone cutthroat trout to some extent."[22] Many of these species are popular and ecologically significant, including the white pelican, bald eagle, osprey, river otter, and grizzly bear. Some were heavily dependent upon the trout, and may be seriously affected by the loss.

Then, in 1998, in a parallel development that is no less tragic if somewhat more localized, salmonid whirling disease was first documented in Yellowstone Lake, with the most dramatic infection rates appearing in and near Pelican Creek, and lower rates in the Yellowstone River downstream from Fishing Bridge.[23] In Pelican Creek, the decimation of the trout population was heartbreakingly swift and thorough. By 2004, fisheries researchers studying Pelican Creek reported that "the spawning cutthroat trout population in this tributary, which in 1981 was nearly 30,000 fish, has been essentially lost."[24]

The combined impacts of lake trout and whirling disease are still incomprehensible for many of us. For thousands of years, and through the first century and a quarter of the life of Yellowstone National Park, the Fishing Bridge Peninsula was bordered on three sides by waters in which the numbers of beautiful native trout were "perfectly fabulous." Those waters are now essentially bereft of those fabulous fish, and this has happened entirely because of the human agency of exotic species transmissions. Nature and culture have often had an uneasy time sharing Fishing Bridge, but their confrontation has never before been as violent as this. Our ceaseless debates over Yellowstone Lake development—over how best to enjoy or exploit this or that particular piece of shoreline—dwindle to triviality in the face of such blind malice and inconsolable loss. It is both ironic and humbling that at the dawn of the twenty-first century, when the NPS and the entire American conservation community have not only awakened to the unthinking abuses visited upon Yellowstone's aquatic resources in earlier times, but have also come so far in repairing the damage done by those abuses, that we are the generation who must preside over the abrupt and far-reaching demise of such a magnificent species.

Today's interpreters roving on Fishing Bridge have perhaps the most difficult job of all. After 1973, as the trout numbers rebounded from the long era of overfishing and visitors got their first educated look at all those freely rising fish, Fishing Bridge made a happy kind of sense even if you couldn't actually fish there. There is still hope—modern technology shows promise of being up to the task of suppressing the lake trout population through selective netting and other techniques—but hope is a tough sell, even for Yellowstone's excellent interpreters.

For now, the most powerful new lesson of our Fishing Bridge experience is a much darker one. It is a story of the enormous harm that misguided human intentions can achieve even in a place as beloved and closely watch-dogged as Yellowstone National Park. Of all the lessons we have learned in the long history of Fishing Bridge, that may be the smallest and least surprising, but it is also the most painful.

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This report builds in part on several previous Fishing Bridge related writing projects I have been involved in, either as an employee of the NPS or as an independent writer. The most notable of these are: the NPS study of which I was compiler and co-author, *Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Ecosystem: A Report to the Director* (1984); Paul Schullery, *The Bears of Yellowstone* (1980, revised editions 1986 and 1992); *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* (1997, revised edition 2004); and John D. Varley and Paul Schullery, *Freshwater Wilderness: Yellowstone Fishes and Their World* (1983, revised and republished as *Yellowstone Fishes: Ecology, History, and Angling in the Park*, 1998).

Among my other publications relating to the Fishing Bridge area, none seems so sadly poignant now as *The Rise: Streamside Observations on Trout, Flies, and Fly Fishing* (2006), which contained an extended photographic natural history study of the feeding behavior of Yellowstone cutthroat trout I conducted at Fishing Bridge between 2001 and 2005. In the short time since the publication of that book, the trout so easily photographed for it have virtually vanished. The book would not be possible today.

In my narrative and especially in the endnotes I gratefully acknowledge the many past and present Yellowstone authorities and enthusiasts whose writings form much of the basis for this study. I likewise acknowledge receipt of specific significant documents and other information in the endnotes, and make an effort to acknowledge important unpublished research findings that were shared with me. I would still like to further single out a number of people here. Yellowstone National Park is blessed with many remarkably dedicated employees and friends.

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In 2006–2008, I served on the graduate committee of Diane Papineau in the Geography Department at Montana State University. Diane's extraordinary master's thesis on the history of the development at the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River is an outstanding contribution to our understanding of the nature and dynamics of park developments, and my participation in her project significantly advantaged my work on Fishing Bridge.

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Appendix

Chronology of the Fishing Bridge Developed Area Yellowstone National Park

1872 Yellowstone National Park established by Act of Congress.

1879 First primitive road reached the outlet of Yellowstone Lake.

1879–1881 Superintendent Philetus Norris conducted first preliminary surveys of possible locations for bridges across the Yellowstone River in the park (not including the lake outlet as a desirable choice).

1880 First known published proposal for a dam at the outlet of Yellowstone Lake appeared in a Bismarck, North Dakota, newspaper.

1881 Superintendent Norris identified and published the travel route that would later become known as Sylvan Pass.

1885 Botanist Frank Tweedy identified a Yellowstone National Park endemic plant species, Yellowstone sand verbena, along the shore of Yellowstone Lake.

1886 Civilian administration largely displaced by U.S. Army.

1890–1900 Lake outlet achieved wide recognition as a fishing destination.

1902 Hiram Chittenden designed and constructed the first Fishing Bridge.

1903 East Entrance Road opened to general travel.

1914 The bridge across the outlet of Yellowstone Lake was first officially referred to as "the Fishing Bridge."

1915 Automobiles allowed to enter the park.

1916 National Park Service created, but NPS administration of Yellowstone National Park was delayed almost entirely for two years by Congressional maneuvering that shortstopped funding for NPS operations (U.S. Army continued to manage the park).

1919 The bridge was rebuilt in part to repair damages caused by flooding and ice. This is considered the "second" Fishing Bridge. Commercial fishing on Yellowstone Lake prohibited.

1919–1920 Automobile camp established near the lake shore on the south side of the road, east of the bridge. Permanent commercial development of the Fishing Bridge area began, to provide visitors with provisions, gasoline, and related tourist services.

1919–1920s Aggressive campaign launched by Montana agricultural and flood-control interests to construct a dam at the outlet of Yellowstone Lake.

1924 C. A. Hamilton built his first store and "filling station" north of the road.

1924–1925 After a decade during which a variety of names were applied to the development east of the bridge, "Fishing Bridge" was generally settled upon as its name.

1925 Yellowstone Park Camps Company established a lunch counter and delicatessen to serve campers, adding 39 canvas-and-frame cabins that were brought from the Lake Area.

1926 Fishing Bridge boasted the Hamilton Store, garage, filling station, "housekeeping cabins," Haynes photo shop, and automobile campground.

1927 Though a plain "floating dock" had been in use at least intermittently by the bridge since at least the 'teens, this year a more formal dock with boat-and-tackle-rental office and sleeping quarters was built.

1928 A new log-cabin ranger station built; survives today as a warming hut (date is contested by some sources that place its construction as early as 1923). Yellowstone

Park Company constructed the present automobile repair garage to replace a smaller original. Haynes built photo shop (possibly replacing an earlier structure) that was in place until 1990.

1929 Yellowstone Park Company expanded its housekeeping cabins, adding an office building and dormitory, 36 new tents, and beginning construction on 60 permanent cabins (not tent cabins). A "classified postal station" was in place by this year.

1930 Incinerator and related cabin constructed on the service road to the north. Fishing Bridge now advertised as the second largest automobile camp in the park.

1931 Fishing Bridge led all other developments in camping visitation. After some controversy over the choice of location, the Fishing Bridge Museum was completed, honored ever since as a model of the NPS rustic design style for park buildings. Naturalist's residence was constructed to the immediate northeast of the museum. Present Hamilton (now Delaware North) Store was completed after apparent two-year construction period. Henry Brothers opened a new bath house. Present service station was constructed.

1932 Fishing Bridge amphitheatre was dedicated and opened. Bear problems led to a public petition to dispose of campground-raiding bears or build a fence around the campground; similar proposals surfaced repeatedly in later decades.

1935 A new boathouse, designed by the prominent architect Robert Reamer, replaced the original, located on the west shore downstream of the bridge.

1937 Present Fishing Bridge replaced bridge built in 1919.

1941 Chief Park Naturalist David Condon collected and studied human burial remains discovered during sewer line construction in the Fishing Bridge area.

1941–1945 World War II caused dramatic visitation declines as infrastructure condition likewise declined. Many facilities were closed while others were only lightly used.

1946 Post-war recreation boom found the national parks unprepared with many facilities in dire condition. The situation worsened into a famous national scandal in the early 1950s. Facilities such as Fishing Bridge were referred to as "slums" as conditions worsened in the parks.

1948 Smithsonian Institution Missouri River Basin Survey formally designated portion of the Fishing Bridge area as site 48YE1, one of the first two such identified archeological sites in Yellowstone National Park (site's size would increase repeatedly in subsequent re-analyses). The site eventually became one of the park's most significant, with evidence of almost continual occupation for 10,000 years. Annual visitation to Yellowstone National Park first exceeded one million

1950 Hamilton Stores moved dormitory from Canyon to Fishing Bridge, where its location and use remain the same.

1956 Mission 66 launched to revitalize NPS developments throughout national park system and better protect wild portions of parks, but the program became almost solely identified with the growth of commercial facilities. Remains of two native humans found in the Fishing Bridge Campground during sewer line construction.

1957 Fishing Bridge Museum renamed about this time as Fishing Bridge Visitor Center, in keeping with the centralizing ("centerizing," as it were) of services that was a guiding principle of Mission 66 programs.

1959 Stocking of fish in Yellowstone National Park eliminated to promote wild fish reproduction.

1960s "Fishing-for-Fun" philosophy was more aggressively promoted, likewise to foster natural fish population maintenance in park waters.

1963 Two milestone studies, the Leopold Report and the Robbins Report, emphasized the NPS's shortcomings in ecological management and research throughout the national park system.

1964 Fishing Bridge Trailer Village opened, with 358 sites in lodgepole forest northeast of the Fishing Bridge development; Fishing Bridge thus reached its historic peak in capacity and extent. A changing national mood favored wilderness protection over development in parks, and Mission 66 programs and goals were quietly abandoned by NPS management.

1965 Annual visitation to Yellowstone National Park first exceeded two million.

1968 NPS biologist William Barmore became the first of several Yellowstone scientific staff to question the wisdom of the placement of the Fishing Bridge development, leading to calls for its removal in the succeeding years.

1967–1980 The grizzly bear management controversy, pitting the Craighead research team and many conservation advocates against the NPS, brought heightened attention to ecosystem issues and the effects of park developed areas.

1973 Fishing Bridge closed to all fishing to restore and enhance native fish populations. Fishing Bridge became a key interpretive site for new ecologically oriented management policies.

1974 Yellowstone National Park *Master Plan* approved, calling for the complete removal of the Fishing Bridge development to restore and protect important wildlife habitat.

1975 Grizzly bear classified as threatened under the Endangered Species Act, adding further momentum to concerns over the inappropriateness of the Fishing Bridge development.

1980–1991 NPS campground and entire cabin development removed as Fishing Bridge was partially reduced in a storm of controversy characterized by Superintendent Bob Barbee as a "blood bath." Plans to replace campsite elsewhere in the park and to complete the removal of the facility both stalled out by the mid-1990s.

1984 *Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Ecosystem: A Report to the Director,* published by Yellowstone National Park, employed a variety of ecological analyses to advocate removal of the Fishing Bridge development.

1987 Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office Deputy Thomas Marceau urged the preservation of the Fishing Bridge development for its values as a "historic strip commercial district."

1988 The Yellowstone fires burned the area chosen as the leading candidate for replacement of Fishing Bridge's removed campsites. The fires and other issues, including wolf recovery, displaced Fishing Bridge as generators of controversy and attention, thus bringing change at Fishing Bridge to a stop by the early 1990s.

1990 Passage of Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) requiring identification and repatriation of grave materials on federal lands.

1991 A Wyoming resource development firm proposed a dam at Fishing Bridge.

1992 Archeological site 48YE1 placed on the National Register of Historic Places. Annual Yellowstone National Park visitation first exceeded three million.

1994 Nonnative lake trout scientifically documented in Yellowstone Lake. Subsequent research would reveal they were the result of a series of illegal clandestine introduction dating back to the 1980s. Superintendent Bob Barbee called the introductions "an appalling act of environmental vandalism" and the native cutthroat trout population soon declined dramatically as the NPS launched an aggressive program to suppress lake trout numbers.

1998 Whirling disease identified in Yellowstone Lake. By 2004, because of the combination of lake trout predation and whirling disease, the spawning run of cutthroat trout in Pelican Creek, once numbering nearly 30,000 fish, had vanished.

2006 Human remains from Fishing Bridge burial sites (discovered in 1941 and 1956) repatriated to designated tribes.

Notes

Preface

1. Janet A. McDonnell, "National Park Service Administrative History: A Guide," (Washington, D.C., National Park Service, 2004), 5.

2. Ibid., 4.

Chapter 1

1. Relevant recent publications on Yellowstone area geology include Robert L. Christiansen, *Geology of Yellowstone National Park, The Quaternary and Pliocene Yellowstone Plateau Volcanic Field of Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana*, Professional Paper 729-G (Menlo Park, California: Western Region, U.S. Geological Survey, 2001); Robert O. Fournier, Robert L. Christiansen, Roderick A. Hutchinson, and Ken L. Pierce, *A Field-Trip Guide to Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho—Volcanic, Hydrothermal, and Glacial Activity in the Region*, U.S. Geological Survey Bulletin 2099 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1994); John M. Good and Kenneth L. Pierce, *Interpreting the Landscape: Recent and Ongoing Geology of Grand Teton & Yellowstone National Parks* (Moose, Wyoming: Grand Teton Natural History Association, 1996); and Robert B. Smith and Lee J. Siegel, *Windows into the Earth: The Geologic Story of Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

2. This definition follows J. Jacob Hoffman, "A Preliminary Archaeological Survey of Yellowstone National Park" (M.A. thesis, Montana State University, Missoula, Montana, 1961), 31–35; and Kenneth P. Cannon, George M. Crothers, and Kenneth L. Pierce, "Archeological Investigations along the Fishing Bridge Peninsula, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming: The Archeology, Geology, and Paleoenvironment" (Lincoln, Nebraska: National Park Service Midwest Archeological Center, 1994), i–iv; and Kenneth L. Pierce, Kenneth P. Cannon, and George M. Crothers, "Archeological Implications of Changing Levels of Yellowstone Lake, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming," *Current Research in the Pleistocene* 11, 1994, 106–108, especially figure 1 (107).

3. See Pierce, Cannon, and Crothers, "Archeological Implications," for summary of results of these actions on the Fishing Bridge Peninsula.

4. Smith and Siegel, *Windows into the Earth*, 208.

5. Ibid., 87; see also Daniel Dzurisin, James C. Savage, and Robert O. Fournier, "Recent crustal subsidence at Yellowstone Caldera, Wyoming," *Bulletin of Volcanology* 52 (1990): 247–270.

6. Cannon, Crothers, and Pierce, "Archeological Investigations," 24–25. A "strandline" is in this context an earlier shoreline, indicating a higher water level at the time of its creation.

7. Pierce, Cannon, and Crothers, "Archeological Implications," 107.

8. Ibid., 107–108.

9. For one particularly notable example of the comparative harshness of the Fishing-Bridge winter environment, see Mary Meagher, "Winter Weather as a Population-Regulating Influence on Free-Ranging Bison in Yellowstone National Park," in Robert M. Linn, editor, *Research in the Parks, Transactions of the National Park Centennial Symposium*, Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 28 and 29 December, 1971, National Park Service Symposium Series, Number One, 1976, 29–38.

10. James F. Wirshhorn, *Climate of Yellowstone Park, A Visitor's Guide to Yellowstone Seasons* (Fort Collins, Colorado: Mountain State Weather Service, 1978). Information is from a table entitled "Lake Yellowstone, WY (Ranger Station), #ID 485345," provided in an unpaginated addendum, apparently prepared in 1992, to an apparently photocopied rendition of the original publication.

11. Wirshhorn, *Climate of Yellowstone Park*, "Lake Yellowstone, WY (Ranger Station), #ID 485345." See also Richard A. Dirks, *The Climate of Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Parks*, National Park Service Occasional Paper Number Six (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), 16–20.

12. "Lake Yellowstone," table on loose sheet of weather tables in Wirshhorn, *Climate of Yellowstone Park*.

13. Phillip E. Farnes, "Natural Variability in Annual Maximum Water Level and Outflow of Yellowstone Lake," in Anderson and Harmon, editors, *Yellowstone Lake: Hotbed of Chaos or Reservoir of Resilience?* Proceedings of the 6th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, October 8–10, 2001, Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel, Yellowstone National Park (Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, and Hancock, Michigan: Yellowstone Center for Resources and the George Wright Society, 2002), 69–74.

See also Wirshhorn, *Climate of Yellowstone*, 9.

14. Kenneth P. Cannon, with contributions by Patrick Phillips, "Site Testing along the North Shore of Yellowstone Lake, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming," draft manuscript (Lincoln, Nebraska: Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, April 1991), 13.

15. Don Despain, *Yellowstone Vegetation: Consequences of Environment and History in a Natural Setting* (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1990), 22, 30.

16. For birds, see Terry McEneaney, *The Birds of Yellowstone* (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart, 1988), and Terry McEneaney, "Piscivorous Birds of Yellowstone Lake: Their History, Ecology, and Status," in Anderson and Harmon, editors, *Yellowstone Lake: Hotbed of Chaos or Reservoir of Resilience?* Proceedings of the 6th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, 121–134. For representative and sometimes specifically lake-related studies of Yellowstone mammals, see Tim W. Clark, A. Peyton Curlee, Steven C. Minta, and Peter M. Kareiva, editors, *Carnivores in Ecosystems: The Yellowstone Experience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Donald Streubel, *Small Mammals of the Yellowstone Ecosystem* (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1989); Sue Consolo Murphy and Douglas W. Smith, "Documenting Trends in Yellowstone's Beaver Population: A Comparison of Aerial and Ground Surveys in the Yellowstone Lake Basin," in Anderson and Harmon, editors, *Yellowstone Lake: Hotbed of Chaos or Reservoir of Resilience?* Proceedings of the 6th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, 172–178; Mary Meagher, Mark L. Taper, and Christopher L. Jerde, "Recent Changes in Population Distribution: The Pelican Bison and the Domino Effect," in Anderson and Harmon, editors, *Yellowstone Lake: Hotbed of Chaos or Reservoir of Resilience?* Proceedings of the 6th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, 135–147. For reptiles and amphibians, see Debra A. Patla and Charles R. Peterson, "Amphibian Diversity, Distribution, and Habitat Use in the Yellowstone Lake Basin," in Anderson and Harmon, editors, *Yellowstone Lake: Hotbed of Chaos or Reservoir of Resilience?* Proceedings of the 6th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, 179–191.

17. Robert E. Gresswell and John D. Varley, "Effects of a Century of Human Influence on the Cutthroat Trout of Yellowstone Lake," *American Fisheries Society Symposium* (1988) 4:46; John D. Varley and Paul Schullery, *Yellowstone Fishes: Ecology, History, and Angling in the Park* (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 1998). The native fish are the Yellowstone cutthroat trout and the longnose dace. The introduced fish are the redside shiner, lake chub, longnose sucker, and lake trout.

Chapter 2

1. The publications and reports that were of particular use in preparing this chapter were: Stuart A. Reeve, "Prehistoric Settlement of the Yellowstone Lake Outlet—Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming" (Lincoln, Nebraska: National Park Service Midwest Archeological Center, 1989); Cannon, Crothers, and Pierce, "Archeological Investigations"; Ann Johnson, "Archeology Around Yellowstone Lake," in Anderson and Harmon, editors, *Yellowstone Lake: Hotbed of Chaos or Reservoir of Resilience?* Proceedings of the 6th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, 80–88; Paul H. Sanders, "Prehistoric Land-Use Patterns within the Yellowstone Lake Basin and Hayden Valley Region, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming," in Anderson and Harmon, editors, *Yellowstone Lake: Hotbed of Chaos or Reservoir of Resilience?* Proceedings of the 6th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, 213–231; and Elaine Skinner Hale, "A Culture History of the Yellowstone River and Yellowstone Lake, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming and Montana" (M.A. thesis, University of Montana, Missoula, Montana, July 2003).

For broader studies of Native American habitation and use of the Yellowstone National Park area, see Joel Janetski, *Indians in Yellowstone National Park* (Salt Lake City: Utah State University, 2002); Peter Nabokov and Lawrence Loendorf, *Restoring a Presence: American Indians and Yellowstone National Park* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004); and Lawrence Loendorf and Nancy Medaris Stone, *Mountain Spirit: The Sheepeater Indians of Yellowstone* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2006).

2. Cannon, Crothers, and Pierce, "Archeological Investigations," iii. In keeping with recent trends regarding the scholarly discussion of Native American archeology, this report abandons traditional terminology that opposes "prehistoric" (native) against "historic" (Euroamerican). Anthropologist Elaine Hale has summarized this new approach and its rationale as follows: "Some contemporary native people believe that the use of terms such as 'archaic' and 'prehistoric' are offensive and devalue the quality of their ancestors' lifeways….With respect for those concerns, contemporary archeologists have adopted a geologic timeframe, and use 'precontact' to indicate time prior to the arrival of Europeans (around 500 years ago)." Hale, "A Culture History of the Yellowstone River and Yellowstone Lake," 1.

The term "precontact" will thus be used here, but it is important to recognize that it, too, has limitations. Some Fishing Bridge precontact sites may in fact be more recent than 500 years of age, and may thus postdate the arrival of Euroamericans in North America. Even more vexing for interpreters of the regional Yellowstone scene, some of these sites may well predate local or

regional contact between Native Americans and Euroamericans, but may actually postdate the arrival of Euroamerican *influences* on the local scene. Even before their arrival in any given portion of the American West, Euroamericans often exercised considerable influences on the political dynamics and even the population distribution of Native Americans. Trade incentives, horses, diseases, and Euroamerican weapons and technologies all demonstrated the capacity of Euroamerican influences to geographically race ahead of the Euroamericans themselves. "Contact" becomes a matter of more subtle definitions in this context, but the term "precontact" is still generally the most useful available for the following discussions, at least until we all become accustomed to thinking of human history as one unified process and recognize all human activities in North America, no matter when they happened, as historical. For an overview of how Euroamerican influences may have predated the arrival of Euroamerican people in Yellowstone National Park, see Paul Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 17–30.

3. Johnson, "Archeology Around Yellowstone Lake," in Anderson and Harmon, editors, *Yellowstone Lake: Hotbed of Chaos or Reservoir of Resilience?* Proceedings of the 6th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, 87.

4. Ibid., 80.

5. Ibid., 80.

6. Ibid., 85. The term "hearth contents" refers to the material that survives in hearth sites, where people prepared and cooked food. Despite the effects of cooking and burning, often very fine fragments of such materials survive and can be identified by archeologists.

7. David Condon, "American Indian Burial Giving Evidence of Antiquity Discovered in Yellowstone National Park," *Yellowstone Nature Notes*, 1948, 22(4), 37. Condon's original report was at least twice reprinted, in *Plains Archaeological Newsletter* in 1948 and in *Plains Anthropologist* in 1961. See also Yellowstone National Park Museum Catalogue Number 7779, Accession Number 326, "Archeology, Human Remains, Inhumations," for list of finds.

8. Condon, "American Indian Burial," 37.

9. Ibid., 38.

10. Ibid., 41.

11. Ibid., 41.

12. Ibid., 41.

13. Lemuel A. Garrison, Subject 22, "Indian Skeleton Discovered," in "United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, Annual Report, 1957" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1957), unpaginated. It is worth noting that even in the most respected institutional memory of Yellowstone National Park, there is some uncertainty about the location of the 1956 site. In a 1993 conversation between former Yellowstone National Park Historian Aubrey Haines and then-Yellowstone National Park Historian Tom Tankersley, there was discussion of the 1956 site having been at Bridge Bay. See National Park Service, "Transcript of Aubrey L. Haines Forty-Hour Tour of Yellowstone National Park, August 9–13, 1993," tour conducted by NPS staff and filmed by NPS interpretive division, Yellowstone National Park Research Library, 114.

14. Gary A. Wright, Robert Proulx, and Thomas Koenig, "A Native American Burial from 48YE1, Fishing Bridge Peninsula, Yellowstone National Park," manuscript report, in Accession file 447 (Cat (none)) FBC, Yellowstone Museum collections. Report was later published in *Wyoming Archaeologist*, 1982.

15. P. Willey and Patrick Key, "Analysis of Human Skeletons from Yellowstone National Park," (University Foundation, California State University, Chico, performed for the National Park Service Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska, Order No. PX-61159-0012), 1992. Willey and Key did not attempt to assign any ethnic affiliation to these remains. Loendorf and Stone, *Mountain Spirit*, 92, believed that both the location of the burials and the presence of dogs in the burials supported "the claim that these are Sheep Eater burials." Nabokov and Loendorf, *Restoring a Presence*, 151, agreed. See also Cannon, Crothers, and Pierce, "Archeological Investigations," 138–139. Thanks especially to Wendy Despain for her research on this topic during her 1994 internship in the publications office of the Yellowstone Center for Resources.

16. Sherry Hutt, "Notice of Inventory Completion: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, Mammoth Hot Springs, WY," Federal Register 70(236), Friday, December 9, 2005, 73263. Thanks to National Park Service archeologist Ann Johnson and National Park Service anthropologist and archeologist Elaine Hale for alerting me to the continuing conversation and disagreements over interpretation of the Fishing Bridge human remains. Hale has noted that Hutt's assumption, that all 105 objects in the 1941 site were funerary, may not be correct. Elaine Hale, personal communication with the author, May 29, 2008.

17. Hutt, "Notice of Inventory Completion," 73263-73264.

18. Ibid., 73264.

19. Ibid., 73264. Repatriation was completed, followed by reburial; personal communication, Yellowstone National Park Cultural Anthropologist Rosemary Sucec to the author, October 6, 2007.

20. Cannon, Crothers, and Pierce, "Archeological Investigations," i; Reeve, "Prehistoric Settlement of the Yellowstone Lake Outlet," 18. The field notes of Shippee and Hughes are apparently

on file with the National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska; if copies of these notes do not exist in Yellowstone National Park files, they ought to be acquired.

21. Hoffman, "A Preliminary Archaeological Survey of Yellowstone National Park," 31–35.

22. Thanks to Yellowstone National Park Archeologist Ann Johnson for clarifying this early history of archeological study in the park. An administrative history of Yellowstone archeological research would be a worthy subject for a professional paper, journal article, or perhaps even an M.S. thesis.

23. Elaine Hale, personal communication with the author, May 29, 2008.

24. Hoffman, "A Preliminary Archaeological Survey of Yellowstone National Park," 32.

25. Ibid.

26. Dee C. Taylor, "Preliminary Archaeological Investigations in Yellowstone National Park," Contract No. 14-10-232-320, National Park Service and Montana State University, 1964, appendix of site reports, unpaginated.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. F. A. Calabrese, Chief, National Park Service Midwest Archeological Center, letter to Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region, November 20, 1989, accompanying copy of Reeve, "Prehistoric Settlement of the Yellowstone Lake Outlet," Yellowstone National Park Research Library restricted files.

32. Ibid.

33. Reeve, "Prehistoric Settlement of the Yellowstone Lake Outlet," 34.

34. Ibid., 28–31.

35. Ibid., 32.

36. Elaine Hale, National Park Service, personal communication with the author, May 29, 2008.

37. Cannon, Crothers, and Pierce, "Archeological Investigations," i.

38. Ibid., ii.

39. Ibid., iii.

40. Ibid., iii.

41. Cultural Anthropologist Elaine Hale, Yellowstone National Park, personal communication to the author, September 19, 2007, stated: "From 1994 until the removal of the material in 2001, excess excavated material was stockpiled on top of protective, tough construction fabric. The material came from the various segments of reconstruction of the East Entrance Road. When the excavated material was removed it was hauled to the Natural Bridge pit to begin the reclamation of that eyesore which was created in the early 1970s when the Lake interchanges were 'modernized.' The Wyoming DEQ assisted with funds for the removal haul as part of their reclamation program. The use of the Fishing Bridge area was a negotiated consultation with the Wyoming Historic Preservation Office and entailed an annual report to them (including soil ph tests) until which time the material was removed." See also Elaine Hale, "2001 Annual Report for Principal Park Road System Improvement Program Agreement Yellowstone National Park" (Yellowstone National Park, Cultural Anthropologist files, Yellowstone Center for Resources, January 2002).

42. Cannon, Crothers, and Pierce, "Archeological Investigations," 145.

Chapter 3

1. The evolution of park management in Yellowstone is the subject of Aubrey Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park*, 2 volumes (Boulder, Colorado: Colorado Associated University Press, 1977); and Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*. Early complexities of public and management attitudes about the experience of nature in Yellowstone are studied in Judith Meyer, *The Spirit of Yellowstone* (Lanham, Maryland: Roberts Rinehart, 2003). Of special value for the history of management of the ecological setting is James Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions: Science and the Perception of Nature* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

2. Yolanda Youngs, "Pleasure Ground for the Future: The Evolving Cultural Landscape of Yellowstone Lake, Yellowstone National Park 1870–1966" (M.S. thesis, Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana, May 2004), 106. As Youngs later elaborated (107), even after the army administration began more formal work on the roads, the process was slow: "First trails were scouted, then the trails were cleared, and finally the roads were built along the same routes in a piecemeal fashion within the framework of limited finances, short construction seasons, and few road crews."

Other important secondary sources on the history of human use and development at Yellowstone Lake include Lee Whittlesey, "History of the Lake Area Prepared for the Lake Charette, February 20 to June 1, 2007" (draft manuscript, Yellowstone National Park, National Park Service, provided by the author); Barbara Dittl and Joanne Mallmann, *Plain to Fancy, The Story of the Lake Hotel* (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart, Inc., 1987); Lee Hale Whittlesey and Leslie J. Quinn, "A Short History of the Fishing Bridge–Lake–Bridge Bay Area," in Leslie Quinn, compiler, *Commentary Handbook and Mile-By-Mile Guide to Yellowstone National Park* (Yellowstone National Park:

Xanterra Parks and Resorts, 2003), III-43; "Time Line for the Lake-Fishing Bridge–Bridge Bay Area" (manuscript provided by the author, 2007); and Lee H. Whittlesey, "Of Fairies' Wings and Fish: Fishery Operations and the Lake Fish Hatchery in Yellowstone" (January 18, 2004, updated February 2006, unpublished manuscript provided by the author). Of more general interest, but with much Yellowstone Lake material, is Chester A. Lindsley, "The Chronology of Yellowstone National Park," Yellowstone National Park, National Park Service, mimeography, 1938, Yellowstone National Park Research Library. Whittlesey, "History of the Lake Area Prepared for the Lake Charette, February 20 to June 1, 2007," provided an especially good review of pre-1872 Euroamerican activities around the lake.

3. Reeve, "Prehistoric Settlement of the Yellowstone Lake Outlet," 16, reviewed some early fording attempts. Lee Whittlesey, *Death in Yellowstone: Accidents and Foolhardiness in the First National Park* (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart, 1995), 105, recounted the most powerfully illustrative instance of the risks of fording the lake at the present Fishing Bridge site; in August 1883, two men drowned while attempting the crossing, from east to west, on horseback.

4. Philetus W. Norris, *Report of the Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880), 19.

5. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* I, 144–145.

6. Philetus Norris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), 71.

7. Dan C. Kingman, "Report of Operations," 1883 (the report is not formally titled), 48th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Ex. Doc. No. 47, Part 3, 5. Certainly the definitive historical study of the construction of Yellowstone National Park's road system, and a key background document for the present work, is Mary Shivers Culpin, *The History of the Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966, Historic Resource Study Volume 1* (Denver: Rocky Mountain Region, National Park Service, 1994).

8. Kingman, "Report of Operations," 1883, 11.

9. Charles J. Allen, "Construction and Improvement of Roads and Bridges in the Yellowstone National Park," Appendix BBB in *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1889* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), 2895.

10. A. B. Guptill, *Practical Guide to Yellowstone National Park* (St. Paul: F. J. Haynes & Bros., 1890), 94. The wording remained the same in subsequent editions, including 1894, 1899, and 1900.

11. A. B. Guptill, *Haynes Guide to Yellowstone Park* (St. Paul: F. J. Haynes, 1896), 83.

12. Varley and Schullery, *Yellowstone Fishes*, 94. See also John Byorth, "Trout Shangri-La: Remaking the Fishing in Yellowstone National Park," *Montana The Magazine of Western History*, Summer, 2002, 52(2): 38–47. There exists no thorough bibliographical collation of early accounts of fishing in the Yellowstone National Park area, though there are hundreds of such accounts dating from prior to 1900.

13. Guptill, *Haynes Guide*, 1896, 137. Mary Shivers Culpin, "For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People", A History of Concession Development in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966 (Yellowstone National Park: Yellowstone Center for Resources, National Park Service, 2003), 127, says that the Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company build a "tent hotel" at Fishing Bridge in 1887, but I have not been able to find any other mention of this facility in the record. I wonder if the location might have been closer to the Lake development.

14. Bill Barnhart, *The Northfork Trail, Guide and Pictorial History, Cody, Wyoming—Yellowstone Park* (Wapiti, Wyoming: Elkhorn Publishing, 1982), 42. A similar story is told in Lucille Nichols Patrick, *The Best Little Town by a Dam Site* (Cody, Wyoming: Flintlock Publishing Company, 1968), 19.

15. Robert E. Bonner, *William F. Cody's Wyoming Empire: The Buffalo Bill Nobody Knows* (Norman, Oklahoma, 2007), 5. Bonner added (same page) that "the trail Cody claimed to remember taking into the Basin was Bridger's, which might mean he had planned to travel that way forty years earlier. It seems clear that he knew something and learned some more about the Basin in the early 1870s, but almost certainly he did not enter it at that time."

16. According to historian Aubrey Haines, the trapper Osborne Russell used the Sylvan Pass route as early as 1837; see Osborne Russell, *Osborne Russell's Journal of a Trapper*, Aubrey Haines editor (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 66.

Bonner, *William F. Cody's Wyoming Empire*, 243, offered another early path-finding pioneer's name as the person who deserved more credit for the route from Cody to the East Entrance:

> Buffalo Bill also took the lead in establishing the general tourist trade that has characterized the town of Cody in the years since his death. It was been seen that, from the earliest days, the proximity of Cody to the eastern border of Yellowstone National Park was on the minds of the founders. Once again, however, Bill Cody has assumed more credit than he deserved. He liked to boast of how he had blazed the trail to Yellowstone, and Theodore Roosevelt cited that as a reason for the federal government to build a road to the eastern entrance. In fact, it was George Beck who marked out a route for a wagon

road to the Park, just as it was Beck who first took a Burlington Northern agent up that road, in 1896.

17. Philetus Norris, *Annual Report*, 1881, 15.

18. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, 1, 249, for Haines' statement. Lee Whittlesey, personal communication with the author, June 20, 2008. The pass was named for Sylvan Lake, in about 1889; see Lee Whittlesey, *Yellowstone Place Names* (Yellowstone Park: Wonderland Publishing Company, 2006), 244–245.

19. Hiram M Chittenden, "Improvement of the Yellowstone National Park, Including the Construction, Repair, and Maintenance of Roads and Bridges," Appendix FFF in *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1901* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 3780.

20. Hiram M. Chittenden, "Improvement Yellowstone National Park," Appendix A in George W. Goode, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 10.

21. Hiram M. Chittenden, "Work Accomplished During Season of 1901," un-numbered appendix in John Pitcher, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park* (Washington, D.C., 1901), 11.

22. Chittenden, "Improvement of the Yellowstone National Park," 1901, 3781.

23. Ibid., 3782.

24. Ibid., 3783.

25. Ibid., 3782; 3786.

26. Hiram M. Chittenden, "Improvement Yellowstone National Park," unnumbered appendix in John Pitcher, Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 14.

27. Hiram M. Chittenden, "Improvement of the Yellowstone National Park, Including the Construction, Repair, and Maintenance of Roads and Bridges," Appendix FFF in *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1902* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 3035.

28. A. B. Guptill, *Haynes Guide to Yellowstone Park* (St. Paul: F. J. Haynes, 1902), 86.

29. John Pitcher, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 15.

30. Samuel B. M. Young, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior, 1907* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907), 10.

31. See the next chapter for an account of the disjointed transfer of authority from the U.S. Army to the National Park Service in the period 1916–1918.

32. Samuel B. M. Young, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior, 1908* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), 6.

33. Harry C. Benson, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior, 1909* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909), 6.

34. A. B. Guptill, *Haynes Official Guide Yellowstone National Park* (St. Paul: F. J. Haynes, 1910), 81; Varley and Schullery, *Yellowstone Fishes*, 94–101, track the steady decline in the quality of the fishing in the first seventy years of the twentieth century; see also Robert E. Gresswell and John D. Varley, "Effects of a Century of Human Influence on the Cutthroat Trout of Yellowstone Lake," *American Fisheries Society Symposium* (1988) 4:46, and Mary Ann Franke, "A Grand Experiment: 100 Years of Fisheries Management in Yellowstone: Part I," *Yellowstone Science*, Fall 1996, 2–7.

35. Ruth Quinn, personal communication with the author, February 2008; Culpin, *"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People"*, 53; and Lindsley, "Chronology of Yellowstone National Park," 206.

36. Lloyd M. Brett, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior, 1912* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), 7.

37. Brett, *Report of the Acting Superintendent*, 1912, 7–8.

38. Jack E. Haynes, *Haynes Guide Handbook of Yellowstone National Park* (Bozeman, Montana: Haynes Studio, Inc., 1957), 122; Newell F. Joyner, "Yellowstone History, Pictures–Charts–Diagrams, with sources," mimeograph, Yellowstone National Park, National Park Service, July 8, 1929, Yellowstone National Park Research Library, heading 18.

39. Lloyd M. Brett, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior, 1914* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1914), 7.

40. Brett, *Report of the Acting Superintendent*, 1914, 9.

41. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* II, 267. It is assumed that the "Outlet of Yellowstone Lake" means somewhere in the present Lake Area, not the Fishing Bridge area.

42. Chester A. Lindsley, "Annual Report 1916" (Yellowstone National Park, National Park Service, 1916), 3.

43. Lindsley, "Annual Report 1916," 44. The term "main circle road" used at the end of the first paragraph of this quotation meant the grand loop, also sometimes referred to as a "figure eight." Apparently Lindsley also meant more or less the same thing at the conclusion of the following paragraph when he used the term "regular route."

44. Jack E. Haynes, *Haynes Guide The Complete Handbook Yellowstone National Park* (St. Paul: F. J. Haynes, 1916), 88–90.

Chapter 4

1. The specialized publications that bear most directly on the discussions in this chapter are: Culpin, *The History of the Construction of the Road System*; Culpin, *"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People"*; and Kiki Leigh Rydell and Mary Shivers Culpin, *A History of Administrative Development in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1965* (Yellowstone National Park: Yellowstone Center for Resources, 2003, YCR-2006-03).

Other more general secondary sources on this era in Yellowstone history are Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* II; Richard A. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1985); and Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*.

2. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* II, 290.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Chester A. Lindsley, "Annual Report, 1917" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1917), 19–20.

6. Amos A. Fries, "Report Upon the Construction, Repair, and Maintenance of Roads and Bridges in the Yellowstone National Park," extract from *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, 1917* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 1947.

7. Lindsley, "Annual Report, 1917," 20.

8. G. E. Verrill, "Report Upon the Construction, Repair, and Maintenance of Roads and Bridges in the Yellowstone National Park," extract from *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, 1918* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 1979.

9. Ibid. Note on the other hand that Lindsley, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1918" (Yellowstone National Park, National Park Service), 20, disagreed with this assessment and said that though the bridge had been affected, "its use is not impaired." There had been for some years contention between the Army engineers and the park's administration over control of appropriations; this disagreement was probably part of that tension. Note also that the construction year for the bridge given by Verrill was one year off.

10. Horace M. Albright, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1919" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service), 80.

11. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* II, 228. Though we are in the habit of calling the present bridge the "third" one, uncertainty lingers over the extent of this 1919 rebuilding. For one example, in the 1950s and 1960s, Jack Ellis Haynes, in the *Haynes Guide Handbook of Yellowstone National Park*, said that the original bridge built by Hiram Chittenden "served up to midseason 1937, when the new one was completed" (Bozeman, Montana: Haynes Studios, Inc., 1966), 116–117. Haynes was a life-long resident of the park and in a position to have first-hand knowledge of important construction projects, so his statement seems to indicate that perhaps the 1919 reconstruction of the bridge was not at the time regarded as a complete replacement but just a major repair. Judging from the fanfare accompanying the construction of both the original 1902 bridge and the 1937 bridge, it seems odd that a complete bridge replacement in 1919 would have received so perfunctory an official report. My best guess is that the bridge was substantially overhauled in 1919, which probably included the replacement of many structural elements damaged by flood waters and ice.

12. Horace M. Albright, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1920" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service), 72.

13. Albright, "Annual Report, 1919," 50. See also Edward H. Moorman, "Journal of Years of Work Spent in Yellowstone National Park, 1899–1948," 1954, History Manuscript Files, "History–YNP–Employees [Moorman]," Yellowstone National Park Research Library, 17. Moorman claimed that it was the famous outdoor writer and novelist Emerson Hough, for many years an energetic defender of the park, who "was instrumental in having what he termed, 'commercial fishing' to supply the hotels stopped. Shoshone Lake, he claimed, was about fished out on this account."

14. Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, 68–88.

15. Albright, "Annual Report, 1919," 50.

16. Mary Shivers Culpin, "Determination of Eligibility Notification," National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, "Historic Resources of Yellowstone National Park: Partial Inventory Fishing Bridge Historic District" (Rocky Mountain Regional Office, National Park Service, September 22, 1981), unpaginated second sheet immediately preceding first continuation page.

17. Varley and Schullery, *Yellowstone Fishes*, 7.

18. The completion of the relatively low-cost accommodations at the Lake Lodge might seem to argue against any sort of social stratification between Lake and Fishing Bridge, but it must be remembered that Fishing Bridge remained in good part a camper's development even after the large cabin area was in place, while Lake had no campground. And the Lake Lodge development seems never to have suffered from the slum-image that eventually settled upon the Fishing Bridge cabin development, which further indicates a social distinction between the two developments.

19. Albright, "Annual Report, 1919," 100. Culpin, *"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People"*; and Rydell and Culpin, *A History of Administrative Development,* provide the most detailed account of the year-to-year changes in concessioner and National Park Service operations and facilities in Yellowstone

National Park, including substantially more detail about Fishing Bridge than is presented here.

20. Albright, "Annual Report, 1919," 100–101.

21. Ibid., 80.

22. Jack E. Haynes, *Haynes New Guide and Motorist's Complete Road Log of Yellowstone National Park* (St. Paul: J. E. Haynes, 1919).

23. Albright, "Annual Report, 1919," 80.

24. Albright, "Annual Report, 1920," 124.

25. Moorman, "Journal of Years of Work Spent in Yellowstone National Park," 18.

26. Jack. E. Haynes, *Haynes New Guide and Motorist's Complete Road Log of Yellowstone National Park* (St. Paul: J. E. Haynes, 1921), 30; Jack E. Haynes, *Haynes New Guide and Motorist's Complete Road Log of Yellowstone National Park* (St. Paul: J. E. Haynes, 1922), 91; Jack E. Haynes, *Haynes New Guide and Motorist's Complete Road Log of Yellowstone National Park* (St. Paul: J. E. Haynes, 1926), 98.

27. Horace M. Albright, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1924" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service), 12.

28. Horace M. Albright, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1925" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service), 12. Note the identical numbers of flush toilets, urinals, and picnic tables installed in 1924 and 1925; it is uncertain if these are duplicate reports of the same work or indicate completely new work, but if taken at face value they represent additional work rather than redundant reporting.

29. Albright, "Annual Report, 1925," 31. Thanks to Leslie Quinn for suggesting that the "main camp" was probably at Lake and pointing out to me that "post cards from this era show the disappearance of tent tops in favor of solid cabins." Leslie Quinn, personal communication with the author, February 2008.

30. Horace M. Albright, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1926" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service), 12.

31. Horace M. Albright, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1927" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service), 24.

32. Albright, "Annual Report, 1924," 29.

33. Ibid., 30–31.

34. Albright, "Annual Report, 1925," 34.

35. Ibid., 49.

36. Moorman, "Journal of Years of Work Spent in Yellowstone National Park," 20.

37. Culpin, *"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People"*, 131, dates the Haynes photo shop construction to 1927, but according to the National Park Service, LCS Historic Resource Inventory Notebooks, Yellowstone National Park Fishing Bridge Historic Resource Notebook, Shadow LCS ID 050510 ("shadow" refers to structures that no longer exist), the photo shop was built in 1928. In either case, considering that the *Haynes Guide* listed a photo shop as open for the 1926 season, it appears that there may have been an earlier structure on or near the same site serving the same purpose.

LCS notebooks filed at Yellowstone Center for Resources, Yellowstone National Park. The LCS notebooks, having a variety of original sources and authors, and steadily being updated, and having no clear formal title, are somewhat intractable as objects of citation. They are also referred to as "Park Structure Notebooks" or "Building Resource Notebooks." "LCS" stands for "List of Classified Structures." The designation—in this case LCS ID 050510—is the LCS Identification number. Thanks to Ann Rodman, NPS, Yellowstone National Park, for introducing me to this information source, and to Carrie Guiles, NPS, Yellowstone National Park, for providing me with digital versions of the appropriate files and explaining how to use them. Thanks as well to Herb Dawson, NPS, Yellowstone National Park, and Sayre Hutchinson, NPS, Intermountain Regional Office, Denver, for providing guidance through the organizational labyrinths associated with these remarkably valuable documents.

38. Haynes, *Haynes New Guide and Motorist's Complete Road Log,* 1926, 84–85.

39. Albright, "Annual Report, 1927," 26.

40. Karen Reinhart, personal communication with the author, October 3, 2007; perhaps if it was a floating structure, it might have been possible to transfer from one side to the other.

41. Leslie Quinn, personal communication with the author, November 22, 2007. Quinn's research was conducted at the Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana. He located the information in an oversized folder, MC 86 ovfd 25/Miscellaneous Haynes, which contained the blueprint for many structures, including the Fishing Bridge boathouse. The text boxes on the boathouse blueprint contained the following notations.

First box:
"Boat Houses for Fishing Creek Bridge (sic) and
Thumb Junction Yellowstone Park Boat Company
Recommended by Dan R. Hull Landscape Engineer
NPS
[signed] Horace M. Albright Superintendent
[signed] Genot Bauernere [spelling uncertain] Actg
Director National Park Service
Approved 4/9/27"
Second Box:
"Serial 2705 Fred F. Willson Archt/Bozeman, Montana Date 3/12/27"

42. Edmund B. Rogers, "Annual Report for Yellowstone

National Park, 1936" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1936), 33.

43. Lee Whittlesey and Yellowstone Staff/Marsha Karle, editor, *A Yellowstone Album: A Photographic Celebration of the First National Park* (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart, 1997), 78.

44. Ruth Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams: The Life and Architecture of Robert C. Reamer* (Gardiner, Montana: Leslie & Ruth Quinn, Publishers, 2004), 165.

45. Ibid.

46. Jack E. Haynes, *Haynes New Guide and Motorist's Complete Road Log of Yellowstone National Park* (St. Paul: J. E. Haynes, 1927), 94; Jack E. Haynes, *Haynes New Guide and Motorist's Complete Road Log of Yellowstone National Park* (St. Paul: J. E. Haynes, 1930), 79.

47. Most sources agree that the building was constructed in about 1928. However, Rodd Wheaton, "Architecture of Yellowstone: A Microcosm of American Design," *Yellowstone Science* 8(4), 2000, 17, dates the building to 1923 without documentation. Wheaton was at the time Assistant Regional Director for Cultural Resources and Partnerships for the Intermountain Region of the National Park Service and a recognized authority on park architectural history.

48. National Park Service, LCS Notebooks, Fishing Bridge Notebook, LCS ID 050495. According to Lindsley, "The Chronology of Yellowstone National Park," 265, "A combined community center and ranger station was built at Yellowstone Lake outlet" in 1922. Considering that Lindsley elsewhere used the term "Lake Outlet" to refer to the Lake Area and not the Fishing Bridge development, it seems likely that this was the case in this statement, too (see endnote 66). It is almost certain that the building was the Lake Ranger Station, which has a handsome if only lightly used community room.

49. Culpin, "Determination of Eligibility Notification," 7-1.

50. According to the "History Card Files, Buildings, Historical Notes," Yellowstone National Park Research Library, the building was known as a "Summer Ranger station and snowshoe cabin built in early summer."

51. National Park Service, LCS Notebooks, Fishing Bridge Notebook, LCS ID 050495.

52. Culpin, "Determination of Eligibility Notification," unpaginated second sheet immediately preceding first continuation page.

53. Horace M. Albright, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1928," (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service), 19; Culpin, *"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People"*, 131, says this happened in 1927.

54. National Park Service, LCS Notebooks, Fishing Bridge Notebook, Shadow LCS ID 050510. "Shadow" refers to structures that no longer exist.

55. Rydell and Culpin, *A History of Administrative Development*, 97–106, tell this story in detail and provide the basis for this paragraph.

56. Karen Reinhart, "The History of the Fishing Bridge Museum and Visitor Center" (manuscript history provided by the author, November 27, 2007).

57. In his very helpful reading of the manuscript of this book, Leslie Quinn offered an alternative explanation: "This is being too kind. It's probably as likely they were developed to *combat* what people learned from their 'guides' of early years—a far smaller percentage than nowadays were really competent, at least [based on the evidence] from visitor journals." Leslie Quinn, personal communication with the author, February 2008.

58. Rydell and Culpin, *A History of Administrative Development*, 103.

59. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* II, 310.

60. Rydell and Culpin, *A History of Administrative Development*, 127. For the purposes of quotation, Rydell and Culpin's footnote numbers have been deleted from their text.

61. Ibid., 127–128. For the purposes of quotation, Rydell and Culpin's footnote numbers have been deleted from their text.

62. National Park Service, LCS Notebooks, Fishing Bridge Notebook, LCS ID 050573.

63. Reinhart, "The History of the Fishing Bridge Museum and Visitor Center."

64. Information on the standing grizzly bear mount that was such a famous feature of the Fishing Bridge Museum from 1932 to 1968 was provided to me by Matt Johnson in several pages of forms and clippings relating to the animal. What follows is based on that material, especially the National Park Service/Yellowstone National Park Catalog Record, Catalog No. 7307, Accession No. A-167, August 12, 1932. The bear was collected in the park in May 1931 by Allyn Hanks. It was skinned by National Park Service staff and mounted by James L. Clark. It was displayed briefly at a theatre in New York City and then in the Interior Department building in Washington, D.C., before returning to Yellowstone. Its exact ownership during this period is not clear in the material, but it was said to have been donated to the park by the National Park Service and Mr. Clark. The catalog record states that Mr. Clark donated it as a gift, valued at the time at $600. It apparently reached the park in August 1932 and was then exhibited at Fishing Bridge until 1968.

Fishing Bridge Visitor Center staff keep this information on file to help answer questions from visitors who still remember the bear when it was on exhibit.

65. Reinhart, "The History of the Fishing Bridge Museum and Visitor Center."

66. National Park Service, National Historic Landmarks Survey, National Park Service, Washington, DC 20240, Listing of National Historic Landmarks by state, http://www.nps.gov/nhl/designations/Lists/WY01.pdf.

According to Laura S. Harrison, "Architecture in the Parks, A National Historic Landmark Theme Study, Norris, Madison, and Fishing Bridge Museums," National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 1986, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/harrison/harrison20.ht, the boundaries of the Fishing Bridge Museum National Landmark are as follows:

> Fishing Bridge Museum and Naturalist's Residence. The boundary is a square, approximately 315' on each side, beginning at a point on the south curb of the parking lot edge 210' northeast of the northeast corner of the Museum, then proceeding south-southwest 315' to the shoreline of Yellowstone Lake, then 315' west-northwest along the shore, then 315' north-northeast to a point 210' northwest of the northwest corner of the museum, then east-southeast along the curb to the starting point.

The Harrison publication cited here appears to be the source of the running commentary in the LCS notebooks, cited frequently in this chapter.

67. Rydell and Culpin, *A History of Administrative Development*, 128.

68. Roger W. Toll, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1929" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1929), 43–44.

69. Culpin, *"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People"*, 129.

70. Roger W. Toll, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1930" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1930), 24. Apparently, the changeover to a formal postal service system occurred in 1928. As described by long time Yellowstone employee and chronicler Chester Lindsley, "The Chronology of Yellowstone National Park," 289:

> The experimental carrier service in connection with the postal system in the park was abandoned [in 1928], and in its place was substituted a system of postal stations. Five summer contract stations, to be under the main post office at Mammoth and connected with it by daily star route service, were installed. These were located in Hamilton's store in Old Faithful auto camp, in Hamilton's store at Lake Outlet, in Hamilton's store at Fishing Bridge, in Pryor's store at Grand Canyon, and in Haynes' store at Tower Falls.

Notice that Lindsley, a local and a long-time park administrator, still made the distinction between "Lake Outlet" and "Fishing Bridge." By this time, "Fishing Bridge" was the common and official name almost always applied to the development on the Fishing Bridge Peninsula. "Lake Outlet" had most often been an earlier name for that same development, while here Lindsley was obviously referring to the Lake Area as we now know it.

71. Haynes, *Haynes New Guide and Motorist's Complete Road Log*, 1930, 74.

72. National Park Service, LCS Notebooks, Fishing Bridge Notebook, LCS ID 050497. According to former Yellowstone National Park Historian Aubrey Haines, the Fishing Bridge incinerator and other similar units elsewhere in the park "had the open ramada, you could tend the fires. You opened the hopper where things went down, bad bears, garbage, everything." National Park Service, "Transcript of Aubrey L. Haines," 139.

73. It is thought by some that the area of the incinerator, perhaps the meadow to its north, may once have been the site of a bear feeding grounds, and that the name "naturalist's cabin" may have been given the bunkhouse for some reason connected to the bear to feeding. Additional research and canvassing of former residents may reveal more about this. In 1993, Aubrey Haines, who first worked in Yellowstone in the late 1930s, when asked if the cabin was seasonal quarters, said, "It was as long as I can remember, and storage after that. After it was storage, it was a plumbing barn by the time I got here. And it always had an interpreter in it." National Park Service, "Transcript of Aubrey L. Haines," 139. Haines and Ranger John Lounsbury agreed that it was given the informal name of "naturalist's cabin" because it served as seasonal naturalists' quarters.

74. Thanks to Ruth Quinn for this information. Ruth provided excerpts from the relevant correspondence between Hamilton Stores and Yellowstone National Park requesting and approving construction of the gas station. The exchange included revealing information about the source of the proposed station's design. First, the request:

> "Believing that the new filling station at Old Faithful is satisfactory to all parties concerned I am asking permission to use the same plans and construct a similar station in connection with my new store at Fishing Bridge." Letter from Fred M. Brown to K. C. McCarter, Landscape Engineer, Yellowstone National Park, July 31, 1930.
>
> This letter was answered as follows.
>
> "Assistant Landscape Architect K. C. McCarter has referred to this office your letter of

> July 31, requesting permission to use the same plans for the new filling station at Fishing Bridge as were used at Old Faithful. It will be satisfactory for you to use the same plans and to construct a similar building in connection with your new Fishing Bridge Store." Letter from Roger W. Toll, Supt., to C. A. Hamilton, September 4, 1930.

Both documents are from Yellowstone Archives, Box C-28, Correspondence regarding building projects by Hamilton Stores, 1928–1953, file "Building Construction, C. A. Hamilton, F.Y. 1929-30-31."

75. Culpin, "Determination of Eligibility Notification," 7-1.

76. National Park Service, LCS Notebooks, Fishing Bridge Notebook, LCS ID 050508.

77. Ruth Quinn informs the issue of Reamer's involvement in these buildings as follows. "I have a copy of NP-YEL-555 from the Techn. Inf. Center's blueprint files titled 'Proposed Plans for Old Faithful Tourist Camp Service Station' submitted by C. A. Hamilton, Sept. 1929. They are unsigned." Ruth Quinn, personal communication with the author, February 2008. Considering that Reamer's name is not known to be associated with the plans for either the Old Faithful or the Fishing Bridge stations, it seems incautious to attribute the structures to him.

78. Roger W. Toll, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1931" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1931), 4.

79. Ibid., 8.

80. Ibid., 15.

81. Again, thanks to Ruth Quinn for her research on the architectural history of this building. See Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana, Burlingame Special Collections, Collection No. 1130, Drawing Set No 27, which contains 11 blueprints for the final structure, signed by Gutterson. See also, Yellowstone National Park Archives, "Report of Kenneth C. McCarter, Junior Landscape Architect, week of September 1–7, 1929," in Folder 8: Landscape Division Matters, F.Y. 1930, Box D-38; Landscape Architects & Engineers, which likewise refers to Gutterman and Plew in relation to this project.

82. National Park Service, LCS Notebooks, Yellowstone Fishing Bridge Notebook, LCS ID 050507.

83. Culpin, "Determination of Eligibility Notification," unpaginated second sheet immediately preceding first continuation page.

84. Roger Anderson, personal communication with the author, May 23, 2008.

85. Roger W. Toll, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1932" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1932), 2.

86. Ibid., 5–6.

87. Ibid., 7.

88. Culpin, "Determination of Eligibility Notification," 7-2.

89. National Park Service, LCS Notebooks, Fishing Bridge Notebook, LCS ID 051059.

90. Toll, "Annual Report, 1932," 7.

91. Roger W. Toll, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1933" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1933), 2.

92. Ibid., 23.

93. Roger W. Toll, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1934" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1934), 17. Yellowstone National Park Chief of Administrative Joanne Timmins suggested the following definition of "force account." "I believe 'force account' means contracting out for work and paying the contractor for actual costs rather than a fixed price contract. It appears to occur when the contractor and contractee cannot agree on a negotiated price for the work, so the contractor keeps detailed records of labor, supplies and materials, and gets paid on that basis." Joanne Timmins, personal communication with the author, November 13, 2008.

94. Toll, "Annual Report, 1934," 18.

95. Ibid., 23.

96. Ibid.

97. Roger W. Toll, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1935" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1935), 17.

98. Ibid., 23.

99. Rogers, "Annual Report, 1936," 24. Here is the explanation of the change in reporting dates, from Toll, "Annual Report, 1935," 1:

> Up to 1934 the reports of the Superintendent of Yellowstone Park have covered the construction season and included the period from October 1 to September 30. The 1934 report covered the period from October 1, 1933 to June 30, 1934 and succeeding reports are to cover the fiscal year periods. This report, therefore, for 1935 covers the fiscal year, July 1, 1934 to June 30, 1935.

100. Rogers, "Annual Report, 1936," 26.

101. National Park Service, LCS Notebooks, Fishing Bridge Notebook, LCS ID 050498.

102. National Park Service, LCS Notebooks, Fishing Bridge Notebook, LCS ID 234853.

103. Rogers, "Annual Report, 1936," 32.

104. Ibid., 33.

105. Jack E. Haynes, *Haynes New Guide, The Complete Handbook of Yellowstone National Park* (St. Paul: Haynes Pictures Shops, 1936), 80; Jack E. Haynes, *Haynes Road Log of Yellowstone National Park*, brochure (St. Paul: Haynes Picture Shops, 1936), 17.

106. Edmund B. Rogers, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1937" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1937), 36.

107. Ibid., 42. The term "Cold-Bain-Marie" is applied to a variety of compartmented serving counters, such as one whose separate pots held sandwich ingredients.

108. According to Whittlesey, *Death in Yellowstone*, 88:

> Robert R. Walker, 6, his parents, and two sisters of Billings, Montana, were staying in the Fishing Bridge cabins on the evening of July 7, 1936, when one of the park's windstorms struck. Robert was playing outside of their cabin when the first gusts hit about 8:00 p.m. Deafening thunder and dazzling lightning accompanied the winds, which uprooted at least 176 lodgepole pines in the nearby campground. Nineteen tents, trailers, and cartop outfits were damaged and three persons were injured.
>
> The Walker family became alarmed at the storm and ran from their cabin only to find Robert lying outside. He had been instantly killed when a large tree came crashing to the ground and pinned him beneath it.

See also Rydell and Culpin, *A History of Administrative Development*, 154.

109. Haynes, *Haynes New Guide*, 1936, 94.

110. Edmund B. Rogers, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1938" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1938), 3.

111. Ibid., 4. The quoted passage is awkward. It would read more clearly if the clause set aside with commas were instead set aside in parentheses, as follows:

> the Thumb cafeteria closed on September 9, Mammoth cafeteria on the tenth and the other cafeterias (except Fishing Bridge which was kept open until September 25 because of the President's visit) remained open until September 20.

112. Rogers, "Annual Report, 1938," 9.

113. Ibid., 39. Port Orford is in Oregon.

114. Julie E. Pearson and Laura E. Salarano, "Fishing Bridge • 1936, Yellowstone River Near Lake, Yellowstone National Park," Historic American Engineering Record, National Park Service, Historic American Engineering Record WY-9, 1989, Sheet 1.

115. Rogers, "Annual Report, 1938," 35.

116. Ibid., 9.

117. Edmund B. Rogers, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1939" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1939), 32.

118. Edmund B. Rogers, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1940" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1940), 1; Culpin, *"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People"*, 129.

119. Culpin, *A History of Concession Development*, 129.

120. Yellowstone Park Transportation Company, *What to Do at Yellowstone Lake*, brochure (Yellowstone Park Transportation Company: Yellowstone Park, Wyoming, 1937).

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid.

123. Rogers, "Annual Report, 1938," 18. Seating capacity of the Fishing Bridge amphitheatre today is said to be 600, probably due to alterations in the seating since it was constructed. Roger Anderson and Carol Shively, personal communication with the author, May 23, 2008.

124. Rogers, "Annual Report, 1940," 3.

125. Culpin, *"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People"*, 84.

Chapter 5

1. Edmund B. Rogers, "Department of Interior, National Park Service, Annual Report, 1943, Yellowstone National Park" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1943), 2.

2. Ibid., 3.

3. Ibid., 15.

4. Edmund B. Rogers, "Department of Interior, National Park Service, Annual Report, 1944, Yellowstone National Park" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1944), 3.

5. Edmund B. Rogers, "Department of Interior, National Park Service, Annual Report, 1945, Yellowstone National Park" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1945), 6.

6. Edmund B. Rogers, "Department of Interior, National Park Service, Annual Report, 1946, Yellowstone National Park" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1946), 3.

7. Ibid., 3–4. The "OPA" was the Office of Price Administration, created by President Roosevelt during World War II to monitor a variety of consumer costs.

8. Ibid., 4.

9. Edmund B. Rogers, "Department of Interior, National

Park Service, Annual Report, 1947, Yellowstone National Park" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1947), 1.

10. Ibid., 2.

11. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, II, 479.

12. Edmund B. Rogers, "Department of Interior, National Park Service, Annual Report, 1948, Yellowstone National Park" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1948), 12.

13. Edmund B. Rogers, "Department of Interior, National Park Service, Annual Report, 1949, Yellowstone National Park" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1949), 17.

14. Bartlett, *Yellowstone, A Wilderness Besieged*, 368.

15. Edmund B. Rogers, "Department of Interior, National Park Service, Annual Report, 1951, Yellowstone National Park" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1951), 8.

16. National Park Service, LCS Notebooks, Fishing Bridge Notebook, LCS ID 050505.

17. Ibid. The complication in this statement is that the structure was not a National Park Service facility; it was built by a concessioner. To refer to it as an example of "NPS Rustic architecture" is a little misleading. It may have been authentically rustic, and may have mimicked NPS rustic architecture, but the NPS did not construct it, so it was not their architecture in the first place.

18. Warren F. Hamilton, acting superintendent. "(15) Concession Improvements," in "United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, Annual Report, 1952" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1952) unpaginated.

19. Edmund B. Rogers, "(14) Concession Improvements," in "United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, Annual Report, 1953" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1953SAR1953), unpaginated.

20. Bernard DeVoto, "Let's Close the National Parks," *Harper's Magazine*, October 1953, 51, 52.

21. Ibid., 52.

22. F. Fraser Darling and Noel D. Eichhorn, *Man & Nature in the National Parks* (Washington, D.C.: The Conservation Foundation, 1969), 38.

23. Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press in association with the Library of American Landscape History, 2007), 10. Carr's book promises to be the definitive treatment of the Mission 66 era for the foreseeable future. The Yellowstone National Park Archives house extensive records relating Mission 66; see for example, "NPS, Mission 66, A Look Ahead, Yellowstone National Park," Yellowstone Archives D-20, Mission 66 – No. 1, Folder 4, "Mission 66 Report for Yellowstone;" and "Mission 66, The Development Program, A part of the Project Construction Program," Yellowstone Archives D-21, Mission 66 – No. 2, Folder 3, 1955. An especially helpful summary of the results of Mission 66 in Yellowstone is Rydell and Culpin, *A History of Administrative Development*, 141–155.

24. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story,* II, 373–383.

25. Culpin, *"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People"*, 102.

26. Edmund B. Rogers, "(18) Government Construction Contracts," in "United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, Annual Report, 1956" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1956), unpaginated.

27. Lemuel A. Garrison, "(1) Mission 66 Improvements," in "United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, Annual Report, 1958" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1958), unpaginated.

28. Haynes, *Haynes Guide Handbook of Yellowstone National Park*, 1957, 117.

29. Carr, *Mission 66*, 50; see also Rydell and Culpin, *A History of Administrative Development*, 148–154, for more background on Yellowstone visitor centers in Mission 66.

30. National Park Service, "Mission 66, A Look Ahead," Yellowstone Archives, D-20, Mission 66–No. 1, Folder 4, "Final Mission 66 Report for Yellowstone," 94.

31. James O. Wolfe, *A Yellowstone Savage from Fishing Bridge: Adventures of a fishing guide on Yellowstone Lake* (Bloomington, Indiana: The Author, 2003), 4.

32. National Park Service, Yellowstone Archives, "Mission 66 Statement Book," D-22, "Bridge Bay" file divider, "Master Plan Studies & Mission 66," folder 1, "Lake-Fishing Bridge Projects 10–11, page 5," also paginated 189 (lower right-hand corner) of entire document.

33. Ibid.

34. John S. McLaughlin, "Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1964" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, June 4, 1964), 7.

35. Ibid., 7, 10. "F.Y." is short for "Fiscal Year."

36. John S. McLaughlin, "Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1965" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, May 28, 1965), 2.

37. Ibid., 12.

38. Culpin, *"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People"*, 115.

39. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, II, 383.

40. Carr, *Mission 66*, 15.

Chapter 6

1. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, II, 337–346, reports on early dam attempts in various portions of Yellowstone National Park. Michael J. Yochim, "Conservationists and the Battles to Keep Dams Out of Yellowstone: Hetch-Hetchy Overturned," in Anderson and Harmon, editors, *Yellowstone Lake: Hotbed of Chaos or Reservoir of Resilience?* Proceedings of the 6th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, 280–307, which paper was revised and republished as "Beauty and the Beet, The Dam Battles of Yellowstone National Park," *Montana The Magazine of Western History* 53(1), 14–27, describing more recent attempts to build dams in the park.

2. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, II, 337–338.

3. Thorough recent accounts of the Hetch-Hetchy controversy and its consequences are Robert Righter, *The Battle over Hetch-Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), and John W. Simpson, *Dam!: Water, Power Politics, and Preservation in Hetch-Hetchy and Yosemite National Park* (New York: Pantheon, 2005).

4. Hugh Lovin, "The Damming of Yellowstone National Park, A Crusade for Irrigation in the Upper Yellowstone River Valley," *Montana The Magazine of Western History* 52(1), Spring, 2002, 16. Lovin's article is a good overview of the political and economic aspects of what was, literally, a crusade to penetrate the park's fragile resistance against development intrusions from the north. However, for readers who find the construction of a dam in Yellowstone National Park a terrifying concept, there is no substitute for the original 1921 publication by M. M. Galbraith, Henry Gerharz, B. C. Lillis, Charles Tabor, and R. H. Fifield, *Report on Proposed Project for Flood Control and Irrigation in the Yellowstone River Valley[,] Wyoming, Montana [and] North Dakota* (Livingston, Montana: Yellowstone Irrigation Association, 1921). For a chilling reality check on how diverse were (and no doubt are) the American public's views of appropriate uses of Yellowstone National Park, this document has few equals.

5. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, II, 343. Besides Haines and Lovins, "The Damming of Yellowstone National Park," see Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 350–358.

6. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, II, 343–346.

7. Bartlett, *Yellowstone, A Wilderness Besieged*, 358.

8. Dan W. Greenburg, "Proposed Damming of Yellowstone Lake," December 31, 1937, Montana State University, Special Collections, Haynes Collection, HD1695.Y4888; See also, Greenburg, "Yellowstone Lake Diversion, Report No. 2," November 1937, Montana State University, Special Collections, Haynes Collection, HD1695.Y2Y24.

9. Edmund Rogers to the Director [Arno Cammerer], Oct. 5, 1937, file "Yellowstone National Park, Sept. 15, 1937 thru Dec. 31, 1939," Box 13, Records of Arno B. Cammerer, 1922-40, Record Group 79, National Archives, College Park, MD. Thanks to Mike Yochim for alerting me to this wonderful historical episode

10. Roger Anderson, "Draft Water Resource Management Plan for Yellowstone National Park" (M.A. thesis, University of California Los Angeles, 1983), 22.

11. Yochim, "Conservationists and the Battles to Keep Dams Out of Yellowstone," 301.

12. See especially R. Gerald Wright, *Wildlife Research and Management in the National Parks* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions*; and Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*.

13. Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions*.

14. Ibid., 207–218.

15. Varley and Schullery, *Yellowstone Fishes*, 94–95.

16. Ibid., 98–99.

17. Ibid., 99. Among the many other essential publications relating to the change in management are Robert E. Gresswell, "Yellowstone Lake–A Lesson in Fishery Management," Willis King, editor, Proceedings of Wild Trout II, Yellowstone National Park, September 24–25, 1979 (Washington, D.C., Trout Unlimited and the Federation of Fly Fishermen, 1980), 143–147; and John D. Varley, "A History of Fish Stocking Activities in Yellowstone National Park Between 1881 and 1980" (Yellowstone National Park Information Paper No. 35, Yellowstone National Park, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, January 1, 1980).

18. National Park Service, *Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Ecosystem: A Report to the Director, November, 1984* (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1984), 48.

19. Paul Schullery, *American Fly Fishing: A History* (New York: The Lyons Press, 1999), 249.

20. Lemuel A. Garrison, "Yellowstone Lake Studies," in "United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, Annual Report, 1960" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1960), unpaginated.

21. Lemuel A. Garrison, "Fishing For Fun," in "United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, Annual Report, 1960" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1960). The H*aynes Guide* for 1966 echoed these sentiments, implying a social enhancement or stature for the angler involved in releasing fish:

> Fishing for Fun—a gentleman's sport—was intitiated in the park in 1960 to popularize the use of barbless hooks so fishermen can return to the water without injury all the fish not desired for food.

> It is not intended to catch the legal limit and then continue fishing, but rather to release catches uninjured keeping only the occasional fish hooked severely in gills or eyes.
>
> By releasing uninjured fish it is hoped good fishing may be perpetuated in the park without artificial planting of fish.

Haynes, *Haynes Guide: Handbook of Yellowstone National Park* ,1966.

22. Among the standard sources on the history and evolution of sport fishing practice are: William Radcliffe, *Fishing from Earliest Times* (London: Murray, 1921); John Waller Hills, *A History of Fly Fishing for Trout*. (London: Allan, 1921); McDonald, John. *The Origins of Angling* (New York: Doubleday, 1963); Charles C. Trench, *A History of Angling* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1974); Schullery, *American Fly Fishing*; Richard C. Hoffmann, *Fisher's Craft and Lettered Art: Tracts on Fishing from the End of the Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); and Andrew Herd, *The Fly* (Ellesmere, Shropshire: Medlar Press, 2001).

23. The rise of an elitist tone in fly-fishing writing is traced by Paul Schullery, *If Fish Could Scream* (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2008), 140–168.

24. Schullery, *American Fly Fishing*, 7–42.

25. Paul Schullery, *Cowboy Trout: Western Fly Fishing As If It Matters* (Helena, Montana: Montana Historical Society, 2006), 51–94, provides several examples of awareness of sport fishing's "class structure" among a group of educated travelers visiting the Yellowstone National Park area in 1870.

26. Anon., "Their Numbers Are Perfectly Fabulous: Yellowstone Angling Excursions, 1867–1925," *The American Fly Fisher* 7(2), Spring, 1980, 14–19, provides extended texts of several early fishing accounts.

27. Frank King, "In Nature's Laboratory: Driving and Fishing in Yellowstone Park," *Overland Monthly*, June 1897, 602.

28. Varley and Schullery, *Yellowstone Fishes*, 94–95, suggested that even by the 1890s there appears to have been a decline in the average size of the fish reported by angling writers compared to the fish of the 1870s, so the fish populations were probably already experiencing the effects of heavy fishing pressure even when the number of visitors was only a few thousand.

29. King, "In Nature's Laboratory," 602.

30. Varley and Schullery, *Yellowstone Fishes*, 104–108, divided their discussion of instructional advice for visiting anglers into different types of fishing based on the skill level of anglers.

31. Varley and Schullery, *Yellowstone Fishes*, 17.

32. Ralph E. Clark, "Wyoming Summer Fishing and the Yellowstone Park," *The Outing Magazine*, July, 1908, 509.

33. Ibid.

34. Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions*, 93–100.

35. Kla-How-Ya, *Fly Fishing in Wonderland* (Chicago: O. P. Barnes, 1910), 2. O. P. Barnes is listed in the book's front matter in a location that makes it unclear if the name applies to the publisher, the printer, or the author. However, Orange Perry Barnes is credited as the author in the exhaustive reference on angling by Henry P. Bruns, *Angling Books of the Americas* (Atlanta, Georgia: The Angler's Press, 1975).

36. Howard Back, *The Waters of Yellowstone with Rod and Fly* (New York Dodd, Mead and Company, 1938), 26–27.

37. Don Martinez, "Yellowstone Park," in A. J. McClaine, editor, *The Wise Fisherman's Encyclopedia* (New York: Wm. H. Wise & Co., Inc., 1957), 1333.

38. Schullery, *If Fish Could Scream*, discusses several elements of the complex evolution of these sporting principles and the long history of sportsmen attempting to define the "true" definition of sport.

39. Jack Berryman, *Fly-Fishing Pioneers & Legends of the Northwest* (Seattle: Northwest Fly Fishing LLC, 2006), 94–99.

40. Schullery, *Cowboy Trout*, 144.

41. Varley and Schullery, *Yellowstone Fishes*, 116. For a more affirmative view of the fishing and the spectacle of the trout at this time, see Ted Hughes, *Birthday Letters* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1998). Apparently, Hughes visited the park in the late 1950s; the poem "Fishing Bridge" (87–88) celebrated the bizarre combination of the wonder of the natural setting and the madness of the angling experienced by many at Fishing Bridge, few of whom were such literate observers as Hughes, later poet laureate to Queen Elizabeth II.

42. Though no thorough statistics were kept on injuries, in the early 1960s an average of four people per day were reportedly treated at the Lake clinic for fish-hook related injuries; presumably many more than that suffered some misadventure but did not seek treatment (Matt Johnson, NPS interpreter, personal communication with the author, July 24, 2007. Information on hook injuries in the 1960s provided by Matt Johnson, who received it from Tom Roberts). These injuries would have been the result of fishing activity generally in the Lake Area, rather than just from Fishing Bridge. Fishing Bridge interpreter Harlan Kredit recalls that relatively few such injuries were reported to the visitor center or observed by interpretive staff at the bridge: "I was working at the VC for several years while fishing was happening on the bridge and only ever saw two people with impaled fish hooks and since we had regular staff meetings and social

times together, I do not recall it being a significant issue (but makes a great story). If they did request medical help, it would be assumed they would come to the visitor center and ask for directions." Harlan Kredit, personal communication with the author, April 3, 2008.

43. Jack Anderson, "Annual Report of the Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park, 1973" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1973), 5.

44. National Park Service, *Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Ecosystem*, 15. It is worth noting that as early as 1963, a U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service fishery management biologist in Yellowstone recommended a July 15, rather than a July 1, opening day for fishing on and near the bridge to better protect spawning trout. See F. Phillip Sharpe, "Effect of the Fishing Bridge Fishery on the 1963 Spawning Run of Cutthroat Trout, Yellowstone River" (USDI Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Branch of Fishery Management Services, Albuquerque, New Mexico, September 17, 1963).

45. According to U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service personnel who dealt with many anglers in the first years of these dramatic changes in fishing regulations, the public was generally accepting of the changes, perhaps because the cutthroat trout were so easily caught and the average catch-rate of visiting anglers increased so rapidly under the new regulations. See U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Division of Planning and Assistance, "Annual Project Report, Yellowstone Fishery Investigations, Yellowstone National Park, Calendar Year 1973," June 10, 1974, 42.

46. Anderson, "Annual Report of the Superintendent, 1973" 5.

47. Jack Anderson, "Annual Report of the Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park, 1974" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1974), 8. Long-time interpretive supervisor Harlan Kredit, who worked at Fishing Bridge when the video monitors were introduced, notes that "the TV sets were installed on the north side of the bridge so the glare of the sun which was always coming from a southern angle prevented anyone from seeing clearly. Doors were installed which if closed almost all of the way made the screen darker but then only one or two people could view it at the same time. They also had to be locked each night and the locks did not fit that well—it was a huge pain to say the least." Harlan Kredit, personal communication with the author, April 3, 2008.

48. Varley and Schullery, *Yellowstone Fishes*, 118. See also Lynn R. Kaeding, Daniel G. Carty, Daniel L. Mahony, Glenn Boltz, and Sonya M. Anderson, "Annual Project Technnical Report for 1994, Fishery and Aquatic Management Program, Yellowstone National Park" (Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, March 1995), especially "Nonangling Uses of Aquatic Resources of the Yellowstone River," 26–32. This appears to be the final year in which annual estimates of fishing-watching visitor totals were made and reported by any park office, though interpretive staff did continue to keep track of numbers of visitors seen or contacted during roving time at Fishing Bridge, apparently without extrapolating to an estimate of yearly total.

Chapter 7

1. William J. Keffer, "Yellowstone National Park, Baseline Water Quality Survey Report" (Denver, Colorado: Environmental Protection Agency, 1972), vi. The essential overview source on water quality and water management issues in Yellowstone National Park is Roger Anderson, "Draft Water Resource Management Plan," which informs the rest of this discussion.

2. Eric P. Bergersen and William J. McConnell, "Pollution Investigations on the Yellowstone River, Yellowstone National Park Wyoming" (Fort Collins, Colorado: Colorado State University, Colorado Cooperative Fishery Unit, November, 1973), 2. See also Anderson, "Draft Water Resource Management Plan"; and M. M. Skinner, "Sedimentation and Meandering of the Yellowstone River from the Yellowstone Lake outlet to the Upper Falls" (Fort Collins, Colorado, Final Report to the National Park Service, CER76-77MMS60, Colorado State University, June, 1977); and National Park Service, "Utility Systems Operation & Upgrading History," unpublished typescript dated tentatively 1981, in "Environment" file, Yellowstone National Park Research Library. For more on the state of sewage treatment in the 1960s and 1970s, see also National Park Service, "Transcript of Aubrey L. Haines," 135. The following statement from the superintendent in 1979 may be representative of the intensive maintenance attention required by the area: "Numerous repairs and minor construction tasks were completed during the year including rehabilitating the sprinkler system at Lake Hospital, replacing certain defective fire hydrants at Lake, repairing water main joints at Lake, installing septic tanks at East Entrance, repairing the Fishing Bridge sewage pond line, connecting the new transfer stations up to water and installing septic tanks,…" John Townsley, "1979 Annual Report of the Superintendent Yellowstone National Park" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, February 26, 1980), 31.

3. National Park Service, "Utility Systems Operation & Upgrading History," 1.

4. Anderson, "Draft Water Resource Management Plan," 106. According to R. Edward Cox, "Wastewater Movement Near Four Treatment and Disposal Sites in Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming" (U.S. Geological Survey, Water-Resources Investigations Report 84-4356, Cheyenne, Wyoming, 1986),"two lagoons (the east lagoon and the west lagoon in this report) were used for disposal of effluent beginning in mid-May

1976. An additional lagoon (the north lagoon) was built north of the west lagoon in September and October, 1976."

5. National Park Service, *Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Ecosystem*, 47–48.

6. National Park Service, *Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Ecosystem*, 48.

7. Clay Hare, Marcus Miller, and John Thiel, Federal Highway Administration, "Fishing Bridge Inspection Report, Fishing Bridge, East Entrance Road of Yellowstone River, Yellowstone National Park," Inspection date September 11, 2006. Federal Highway Administration, Federal Lands Bridge Office, Sterling, Virginia, January 9, 2007. The "Structure Evaluation Summary" for this 2006 inspection is helpful (from page 1 of the report):

> This historic timber bridge was rehabilitated in 2001 and is in fair condition overall. There have been no significant changes in the structural condition since the last inspection. Rehabilitation included replacement of the wearing surface and installation of a waterproof membrane, replacement of various timber members on the bridge superstructure, replacement of timber pile cross bracing, installation of timber pile protection, and reconstruction of the timber stairs at each end of the structure. Approach surfaces adjacent to the structure were also repaved. Of special concern at this time is the performance of the historic wearing surface system. A waterproofing sealant has been applied since the previous inspection with good results; however, there are still widespread cracks and potholes in the wearing surface.
>
> Other problems noted include moderate to severe decay of the curbs in several locations; decay of exterior face logs in a few locations; several cracking of west abutment concrete; missing or moderate to severe deterioration of the lower timber brace between the exterior and first interior bent piles in several locations; and moderate settlement, rutting, and potholes at both approaches. Corrective measures should be taken as outlined in this report. With corrective action and regular maintenance, a useful life of approximately 20–25 years can be expected for this structure under current loading conditions.

8. Elaine Hale, NPS, Yellowstone National Park, personal communication with the author, September 2007.

9. Jennifer Whipple, "Yellowstone Sand Verbena (*Abronia ammophila*): A Yellowstone Lake Endemic," in Anderson and Harmon, editors, *Yellowstone Lake: Hotbed of Chaos or Reservoir of Resilience?* Proceedings of the 6th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, 256.

10. Whipple, "Yellowstone Sand Verbena," 267.

11. Bob R. O'Brien, Montana State University, cover letter to Sanford Hill, Chief, Western Office of Design and Construction, NPS, San Francisco, California, n.d.,1, accompanying the report, Bob Randolph O'Brien, Montana State University. "A Report to the Western Office of Design and Construction, National Park Service, on A Dual Circulation Road System for Yellowstone National Park, January, 1966," Yellowstone National Park Research Library. It is perhaps incautious to describe O'Brien's proposal as the "most startling" of the alternative futures imagined for Yellowstone, considering the continued interest among some groups in damming large portions of park watersheds. There was also a proposal in the 1980s to replace or augment the park's road system with a monorail; this proposal probably would have received little attention if it had not come from the Wyoming congressional delegation. In fact, one recent historian, Chris J. Magoc, *Yellowstone: The Creation and Selling of an American Landscape, 1870–1903* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 189, seems to have favored the monorail idea, though he did so on grounds as narrow as those stated by O'Brien on behalf of his dual circulation road.

12. O'Brien, "A Report to the Western Office of Design and Construction," 6–7.

13. O'Brien, "A Report to the Western Office of Design and Construction," park map with hand-inked road routes, accompanying report.

14. National Park Service, *Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Ecosystem*, 10–12.

15. Ibid., 12.

16. Ibid., 12–14.

17. Ibid., 14.

18. For contrasting if equally interesting viewpoints on this period in Yellowstone bear management history, see Paul Schullery, *The Bears of Yellowstone* (Worland, Wyoming: High Plains Publishing Company, 1992), 102–132; and John J. Craighead, Jay S. Sumner, and John A. Mitchell, *The Grizzly Bears of Yellowstone, Their Ecology in the Yellowstone Ecoystem*, 1959–1992 (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1995); relevant material scattered throughout the book.

19. Schullery, *The Bears of Yellowstone*; Craighead, Sumner, and Mitchell, *The Grizzly Bears of Yellowstone*; Richard R. Knight, Bonnie M. Blanchard, and Paul Schullery, "Yellowstone Bears," in Tim W. Clark, A. Peyton Curlee, Steven C. Minta, and Peter M. Kareiva, *Carnivores in Ecosystems: The Yellowstone Experience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 50–75; and Alice Wondrak Biel, *Do (Not) Feed the Bears: The Fitful*

History of Wildlife and Tourists in Yellowstone (Laurence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 2006), provide an abundance of citations to other descriptions, research, and commentary on the bear management controversy in Yellowstone National Park. Especially important scientific papers for understanding the context of the Fishing Bridge controversy in the 1980s and 1990s are Richard R. Knight and L.L. Eberhardt, "Projected Future Abundance of the Yellowstone Grizzly Bear," *Journal of Wildlife Management* 48(4), 1984, 1434–1438; and David J. Mattson, Richard R. Knight, and Bonnie M. Blanchard, "The Effects of Development and Primary Roads on Grizzly Bear Habitat Use in Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming," *International Conference on Bear Research and Management (Ursus)* 7, 1987, 259–273; and L. L. Eberhardt, Bonnie M. Blanchard, and Richard R. Knight, "Population Trend of the Yellowstone Grizzly Bear as Estimated from Reproductive and Survival Rates," *Canadian Journal of Zoology* 72, 1994, 147–150.

20. Biel, *Do (Not) Feed the Bears*, 44.

21. Olaus J. Murie, "Progress Report on the Yellowstone Bear Study," 1944, Yellowstone Park Research Library files.

22 National Park Service, *Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Ecosystem*, 15. For the full context of Cole's remarks, see Glen Cole, "Interim Progress on 1971 Bear Management Program," memorandum from supervisory research biologist to park superintendent, August 23, 1971, park files.

23. National Park Service, *Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Ecosystem*, 14.

24. Ibid., 15.

25. Bob Barbee (interview), "'A Bee in Every Bouquet,' The Administration of Science in Yellowstone," *Yellowstone Science* 3(1), Winter, 1995, 14, pointed out the momentous nature of the removal of parts of the Fishing Fishing Bridge development, even though the removal effort was a failure in terms of the agency's original intent.

26. National Park Service, *Final Environmental Statement, Yellowstone Master Plan, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming* (Omaha, Nebraska: Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, June 11, 1974), 7. This wording was slightly altered from the 1972 draft of the master plan, but without meaningful differences.

27. National Park Service, *Master Plan*, Yellowstone National Park/Wyoming–Montana–Idaho (Denver, Colorado: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1973), 31.

28. Interagency Grizzly Bear Committee and National Wildlife Federation, *Grizzly Bear Compendium* (Washington, D.C.: Interagency Grizzly Bear Committee and National Wildlife Federation, 1987), 1.

29. National Park Service, *Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Ecosystem*, 15. Some observers have attempted to minimize or discount the removal of the cabins as a meaningless accomplishment because the cabins were old and in terrible condition and would have to be removed anyway. But, as Yellowstone National Park has often demonstrated, national parks have a long tradition of getting by with deteriorating buildings for many years longer than should have been necessary. More important, when the removal of the cabins is viewed from the longer historical perspective of the inexorable increase in concession operations in many parks, it still seems like a near-miracle that they have never been replaced by new cabins.

Ruth Quinn, personal communication with the author, February 2008, reviewed the declining presence of concessioner employees in the cabin area:

> I have confirmed today (2/4) with Beth Casey, Director of Human Resources for Xanterra, that the hotel concession employees continued to live in the abandoned cabin area through the summer of 1984. After that the shower building was removed. Some employees continued to live there (in cabins with private bath) at least through 86, maybe longer.

An interesting and complex after-effect of the removal of the cabins from Fishing Bridge was the relocation, in 1981, of some of them to the "Buffalo Ranch" area in the Lamar Valley to house students attending the Yellowstone Institute. According to then-Institute Director Rick Reese, the intention was to provide temporary housing in the Lamar Valley only until space became available in another government building at Lake. Instead, the Institute became thoroughly institutionalized at Lamar, and eventually the cabins were replaced by permanent and far sturdier and more hospitable cabins, as the Yellowstone Institute facility at Lamar took on a village- or lodge-like aspect. Rick Reese, personal communication with the author, December 19, 2007. According to the "History Card File, Buildings, Historical Notes," Yellowstone National Park Research Library, in the fall of 1981, "19 cabins moved by NPS at expense of YLMA [Yellowstone Library and Museum Association] to Lamar Buffalo Ranch for use by people attending Yellowstone Institute classes. National Park Foundation contributed $6500 towards rehabilitating these and converting bunkhouse into a classroom bldg with a larger kitchen and more bathrooms. 7/82 TRM." "TRM" was, presumably, Timothy R. Manns, then park historian.

Reese's recollection of the original plan for eventually housing the Institute in existing government buildings is reinforced by my own recollections as a seasonal interpreter at Mammoth Hot Springs in the 1970s. Some of the interpreters expressed concern to our supervisors about creeping development of park land if the Institute established its own new facilities in the park. We were

assured, without equivocation, that the Institute would not become that kind of facility, and that it would be permanently housed in existing government facilities, including perhaps the Mammoth School, which would have been available in the summer. The move of Fishing Bridge cabins to the Lamar Valley was apparently the next step after the original intention, of creating no new development in the park, had been abandoned or forgotten.

30. Bartlett, *Yellowstone, A Wilderness Besieged*, 96.

31. National Park Service, "Environmental Impact Statement, Fishing Bridge Campsite Replacement, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming/Montana/Idaho" (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1994), 40.

32. Sue Consolo Murphy and Beth Kaeding, "Fishing Bridge: 25 Years of Controversy Regarding Grizzly Bear Management in Yellowstone National Park," *Ursus* (1998), 389. See also Roy A. Renkin and Kerry A. Gunther, "Predicting Grizzly Bear Mortality in Developed Areas of Yellowstone Park," in A. Peyton Curlee, Anne-Marie Gillesberg, and Denise Casey, editors, *Greater Yellowstone Predators: Ecology and Conservation in a Changing Landscape*, Proceedings of the Third Biennial Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, September 24–27, 1995, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming (Jackson, Wyoming and Yellowstone National Park: Northern Rockies Conservation Cooperative and National Park Service, 1996), 171–176. Some loops of the NPS campground had been closed prior to 1989. Roger Anderson, personal communication with the author, May 23, 2008.

33. Michael J. Yochim, "Compromising Yellowstone: The Interest Group-National Park Service Relationship in Modern Policy Making" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2004), 129–130. For the plan for restoration of the developed area, see especially Steven C. Smith, draft Fishing Bridge Developed Area Restoration Plan, Division of Maintenance, Landscape Architecture Department, Yellowstone National Park, 1988. Thanks to Chief of Comprehensive Planning and Design Eleanor Clark for providing this report from NPS Maintenance Division files. For more details and information on the restoration process, see especially Sue Consolo Murphy and D. P. Reinhart, "Restoring Fishing Bridge Campground: The Challenges of 'Unevelopment' in America's Oldest National Park," in D. Harmon, editor, *On the Frontiers of Conservation,* Proceedings of the 10th Conference on Research and Resource Management in Parks and Public Lands, George Wright Society Biennial Conference, March 22–26, 1999 (Asheville, North Carolina, 1999), 210–214.

Another complication of attempting to deal with the Fishing Bridge development's history while acknowledging its inextricability from surrounding developments involves two small formal campgrounds east of Fishing Bridge. The small public campground at Pelican Creek (along the east bank north of the road) was certainly part of the same human-caused set of intrusions that concerned grizzly bear managers and conservationists. Like other very small outlying campgrounds that had historically been favored by some Yellowstone visitors, Pelican Creek came into existence quietly and served only a few visitors. According to the National Park Service, *Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Ecosystem*, 15, the Pelican Creek Campground was closed in 1972 "because of persistent and heavy use of the area by grizzly bears." It was apparently in the 1990s that the final physical traces of the Pelican Creek Campground, especially the remaining road pavement, were removed. A second small campground, whose use was limited to special groups, had been developed at Indian Pond, about 3 miles east of Fishing Bridge; this was closed in 1983 for the same reasons (National Park Service, *Fishing Bridge and the Yellowstone Ecosystem*, 17).

34. Barbee, "A Bee in Every Bouquet," 14.

35. For more detailed history and analysis of planning stages, political processes, and ecological issues associated with this story, see especially Yochim, "Compromising Yellowstone," 94–152, and Consolo Murphy and Kaeding, "Fishing Bridge: 25 Years of Controversy."

36. Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions*, 262.

37. National Park Service, "Environmental Assessment for the Development Concept Plan for Grant Village, Yellowstone National Park, Montana–Wyoming–Idaho" (Denver, Colorado: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, June 1979), 54.

38. National Park Service, "Environmental Impact Statement, Fishing Bridge Campsite Replacement," 7.

39. Acting Regional Director, Region 6, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, memorandum to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, National Park Service, October 1979, reprinted in National Park Service, *Interim Management Plan for Operations at Fishing Bridge and Grant Village* (Yellowstone National Park, National Park Service, May 1986), Appendix B, 16.

40. Yellowstone Superintendent John Townsley, letter to Wally Steuke, Area Manager, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Billings, Montana, January 26, 1981, reprinted in National Park Service, "Interim Management Plan for Operations," Appendix B, 27.

41. Consolo Murphy and Kaeding, "Fishing Bridge: 25 Years of Controversy," 388.

42. Consolo Murphy and Kaeding, "Fishing Bridge: 25 Years of Controversy," 388–392.

43. Yochim, "Compromising Yellowstone," 104.

44. Consolo Murphy and Kaeding, "Fishing Bridge: 25 Years of Controversy," 388.

45. Ibid.

46. Yochim, "Compromising Yellowstone," 109.

47. Ibid., 94, provided a vivid description of an Earth First! demonstration at Fishing Bridge:

> The protesters swarmed onto the bridge's walkways, chanting and holding placards. Law enforcement officers watched from nearby positions, ready to make arrests should the protest get out of control. Other officers wore plainclothes, circulating among the tie-died crowd and ready to move if conditions demanded quick action. Although the protesters behaved themselves initially, they soon moved to block traffic. At that point the officers moved in, broke up the blockade and carried several people off for booking. Expecting the protest, the law enforcement agency had organized "Operation 'Earthmover'", with dozens of officers and support staff, to respond.
>
> This scene, a typical one in late 20th century San Francisco or New York, took place in summer 1986 at Yellowstone's Fishing Bridge. Radical environmental group Earth First! staged the protest. Participants, some dressed in animal costumes, were concerned for the continued welfare of the park's famous grizzly bears. As they blocked traffic, they chanted:
>
> Habitat, habitat, have to have a habitat,
> Habitat, habitat, have to have a habitat,
> Habitat, habitat, have to have a habitat,
> Have to have a habitat to carry on.

This was only one of the demonstrations brought on by the Grant Village–Fishing Bridge development impasse. As Yochim also describes, in 1985, NPS rangers had arrested nine Earth First! members at Grant Village during another demonstration. Other groups, including the Great Bear Foundation, the Madison Gallatin Alliance, and a park employee group known as the Yellowstone Park Preservation Council, all contributed to the advocacy chorus against the continued existence of the Fishing Bridge development, and by the end of 1986 numerous special-interest groups, pro and con, were vocal in the Fishing Bridge debate. Yochim provides a detailed and lively account of this entire episode in Yellowstone history.

48. National Park Service, "Interim Management Plan for Operations," 13.

49. Consolo Murphy and Kaeding, "Fishing Bridge: 25 Years of Controversy," 390. This publication is also an excellent source of full citations of all the relevant management and planning documents involved in this complicated controversy. For a more recent study of grizzly bear–trout interactions along the Yellowstone Lake shore, see Daniel P. Reinhart, S. Thomas Olliff, and Kerry A. Gunther, "Managing Bears and Developments on Cutthroat Spawning Streams in Yellowstone National Park," in Curlee, Gillesberg, and Casey, editors, *Greater Yellowstone Predators: Ecology and Conservation in a Changing Landscape*, Proceedings of the Third Biennial Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, 161–169.

50. Consolo Murphy and Kaeding, "Fishing Bridge: 25 Years of Controversy," 391. The most helpful account of the removal of the Fishing Bridge NPS campground and its restoration, and an extremely helpful summary of NPS management thinking and challenges during the entire restoration stage at Fishing Bridge, is Consolo Murphy and Reinhart, "Restoring Fishing Bridge Camground," 210–214.

51. Consolo Murphy and Kaeding, "Fishing Bridge: 25 Years of Controversy," 391.

52. Harlan Kredit, personal communication with the author, April 3, 2008.

53. I cannot provide a specific date or location for this statement by Superintendent Barbee, but I heard him say it repeatedly during his administration of Yellowstone in the 1980s and early 1990s.

Chapter 8

1. Youngs, "Pleasure Ground for the Future," 339–340.

2. Ibid., 341.

3. Roger Anderson, personal communication with the author, May 23, 2008.

4. It should also be kept in mind that advocates of all levels of human use would certainly reject the prediction that their range of options for Fishing Bridge will be limited to those in existence in the narrow historical window provided between 1965 and 2004. Whether pro-development, pro-wilderness, or pro-status quo, some of these advocates would suggest that "balance" is just a euphemism for "compromise."

5. Yochim, "Compromising Yellowstone," 128.

6. Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, 186–187.

7. Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office Deputy Thomas Marceau, letter to NPS Regional Director Richard Strait, November 30, 1987, Yellowstone Center for Resources, Branch of Cultural Resources files. A handwritten note attached to the letter, dated 7-13-98 and signed "C.H." or "C.S.L." indicated that Fishing Bridge may not have been the earliest example of such commercial strip development in the state of Wyoming after all.

8. The future status of and plan for the Fishing Bridge Museum was outlined in National Park Service, *Long-Range Interpretive Plan, Yellowstone National Park, Executive Summary of Major Recommendations* (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, May 2000), 13:

> Retain original Fishing Bridge museum exhibits, with minor rehabilitation as needed, and focus the interpretive message on the building and media as an example of early national park museum exhibits and architecture. Restore one or both wings to the original appearance (windows along both sides of the wing). Convert one wing of the museum into an information and visitor services center (possibly with a walk-around horizontal relief map of the lake bottom) and retain the other as a Yellowstone Association sales area.

These goals have largely been achieved, in a simple yet impressive interpretive blending of the original celebration of the lake wildlife and the now venerable NPS tradition of interpreting that wildlife.

9. Yochim, "Compromising Yellowstone," 129.

10. For a succinct and thoughtful account of the stages of architectural history in Yellowstone National Park, and an eloquent description of the park's search for an enduring architectural identity and why the resulting structures are worth preserving, see Rodd L. Wheaton, "Architecture of Yellowstone: A Microcosm of American Design," in Paul Schullery and Sarah Stevenson, editors, *People and Place: The Human Experience in Greater Yellowstone,* Proceedings, 4th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, October 12–15, 1997, Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming (Yellowstone National Park: Yellowstone Center for Resources, National Park Service, 2004), 107–116.

11. I am especially grateful to Roger Anderson, former chief of cultural resources in Yellowstone National Park, for insights and direction in the following discussion.

12. Lynn R. Kaeding, Glenn D. Boltz, and Daniel G. Carty, "Lake Trout Discovered in Yellowstone Lake," in John D. Varley and Paul Schullery, editors, *The Yellowstone Lake Crisis: Confronting a Lake Trout Invasion, A Report to the Director of the National Park Service* (Yellowstone National Park: Yellowstone Center for Resources, National Park Service, 1995), 4.

13. Andrew R. Munro, Thomas E. McMahon, and James R. Ruzycki, "Where Did Those Lake Trout Come From, Identification of the Source Population of Lake Trout in Yellowstone Lake Using Otolith Microchemistry," in Todd M. Koel, Jeffrey L. Arnold, Patricia E. Bigelow, Brian D. Ertel, and Daniel L. Mahony, *Yellowstone Fisheries & Aquatic Sciences Annual Report 2002* (Yellowstone National Park: Yellowstone Center for Resources, National Park Service, 2003), 10–11.

14. Varley and Schullery, *Yellowstone Fishes*, 18.

15. This is among the kinder labels I have heard applied to the criminals (whether singular or plural), in conversations I have had with regional anglers and conservationists.

16. For a summary of these introductions and their effects in the American West, see Schullery, *Cowboy Trout*, 187–216.

17. John D. McIntyre, "Review and Assessment of Possibilities for Protecting the Cutthroat Trout of Yellowstone Lake from Introduced Lake Trout," in Varley and Schullery, editors, *The Yellowstone Lake Crisis*, 28–33; Tom Olliff, "A Draft Plan of Action for Controlling Expansion of the Lake Trout Population in Yellowstone Lake," in Varley and Schullery, editors, *The Yellowstone Lake Crisis*, 34–35.

18. Todd M. Koel, Jeffrey L. Arnold, Patricia E. Bigelow, Philip D. Doepke, Brian D. Ertel, Daniel L. Mahony, and Michael E. Ruhl, *Yellowstone Fisheries & Aquatic Sciences Annual Report 2005* (Yellowstone National Park: Yellowstone Center for Resources, National Park Service, 2006), 4.

19. Koel et al., *Yellowstone Fisheries & Aquatic Sciences Annual Report 2005*, 4.

20. I tracked this decline personally in the early 2000s, when I regularly visited Fishing Bridge to photograph the trout for a series of publications culminating in Paul Schullery, *The Rise: Streamside Observations on Trout, Flies, and Fly Fishing* (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2006). On 2007 visits during times traditionally associated with high densities of trout visible from the bridge, I saw no fish at all.

21. John D. Varley and Paul Schullery, "Socioeconomic Values Associated with the Yellowstone Lake Cutthroat Trout," in Varley and Schullery, editors, *The Yellowstone Lake Crisis*, 22–27.

22. Paul Schullery and John D. Varley, "Cutthroat Trout and the Yellowstone Ecosystem," in Varley and Schullery, editors, *The Yellowstone Lake Crisis*, 19.

23. Koel et al., *Yellowstone Fisheries & Aquatic Sciences Annual Report 2005*, 44.

24. Todd M. Koel, Jeffrey L. Arnold, Patricia E. Bigelow, Philip D. Doepke, Brian D. Ertel, and Daniel L. Mahony, *Yellowstone Fisheries & Aquatic Sciences Annual Report 2004* (Yellowstone National Park: Yellowstone Center for Resources, National Park Service, 2005), 44.

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At Yellowstone National Park, the Yellowstone Archives and Yellowstone Research Library, both housed in the Heritage and Research Center, are the primary source of material used in this volume. The Yellowstone Archives is the administrative record of the management of Yellowstone National Park. It contains a wealth of material, including countless in-house reports, correspondence and memoranda, and an almost unbelievable richness of other documents that trace the ongoing process of caring for, managing, and perpetually refining the mission of Yellowstone National Park. Archival materials employed in this volume are cited specifically in the endnotes.

The Research Library is likewise a documentary treasure, and most of the publications and official reports listed in the following bibliography are located there.

At Montana State University, the Special Collections, especially the unique Haynes Collection, was valuable for providing information on changing concession facilities, directions, and plans.

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