1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Lake Hotel

Other Name/Site Number: Lake Colonial Hotel; Lake Yellowstone Hotel; 48YE676

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior on February 27, 2015

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Yellowstone Lake Street (north side) Not for publication:

City/Town: Lake Developed Area, Yellowstone National Park (YELL) Vicinity:

State: WY County: Teton Code: 039 Zip Code: 82190

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:		Building(s):	
Public-Local:		District: X	
Public-State:		Site:	
Public-Federal: X		Structure:	
Tribal Lands:		Object:	

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing		Noncontributing	
buildings	4	buildings	0
sites	0	sites	0
structures	2	structures	1
objects	0	objects	0
Total	6	Total	1

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 1

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N\A

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

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

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

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

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

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

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: Domestic Sub: Hotel

Current: Domestic Sub: Hotel

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Late 19th and 20th Century Revivals/Colonial Revival

Materials:
- Foundation: Stone; Concrete
- Walls: Wood/Weatherboard
- Roof: Wood/Shingles
- Other: Brick

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

SUMMARY

Dating from the golden age of America's grand resort hotels, Yellowstone's Lake Hotel is an excellent western representation of a Colonial Revival-style grand resort hotel located in a splendid natural lakefront setting and is the oldest accommodation in the country's first national park. Nationally significant under National Historic Landmark Criterion 4 and the NHL theme "Expressing Cultural Values," the hotel was initially completed in 1891 as a relatively modest frame lodging with fifty-one rooms. Celebrated architect Robert C. Reamer brought the hotel into the mainstream of grand resort architecture through his 1903-04 Colonial Revival redesign and expansion. Subsequent additions in the same architectural idiom produced a building more than seven hundred feet in length overlooking the broad expanse of Yellowstone Lake. As a grand resort hotel, Lake Hotel offered its guests comfort in the wilderness, providing well-appointed rooms, fine food, excellent service, impressive public spaces, and abundant opportunities for relaxation, recreation, and social interaction unavailable in daily life. The period of national significance for the hotel extends from its opening in 1891 to 1940, when it achieved its current footprint. The massive hotel maintains a high degree of overall historic physical integrity, with small additions required for safety, comfort, and efficient operation confined to the rear of the building and guest rooms reconfigured to meet contemporary guest expectations of grand resort hotels.

LOCATION AND SETTING

Lake Hotel stands at 7,757 feet in elevation within a magnificent natural landscape on a gently sloping bench on the forested north shore of Yellowstone Lake, about twenty-seven miles from the national park's East Entrance in northwestern Wyoming. The elevated position of the south-facing hotel (Resource 1) provides extensive views of the lake that are occasionally filtered through a thin veil of trees and unencumbered by manmade structures. The Continental Divide and Absaroka Mountains are seen from the Ionic columned porticoes and porte cochère of the façade, as well as the many windows of the public spaces and guest rooms. Lodgepole pines along the front of the hotel help soften the long expanse of the building, integrating it into the landscape. The land in front of the hotel slopes toward the original route of the historic Grand Loop Road (Resource 6) and the lake beyond. In the early days, guests arrived at the hotel via the road or by boat from the West Thumb area to the southwest. This segment of the Grand Loop Road, built in the same year as the hotel, connected the facility to West Thumb to the southwest and the Fishing Bridge area to the east along the East Entrance Road. From the Grand Loop Road a paved horseshoe-shaped driveway leads visitors to the porte cochère and the lobby entrance. The sloping land in front of the building contains sandy, volcanic soil, which supports scattered mature lodgepole pines, tall thin trees generally found on mountain slopes, as well as native grasses, sedges, and cinquefoil.[1]

The nominated area embraces 12.4 acres containing the hotel and its historic support facilities to the rear and extends south to the shore of Yellowstone Lake. Overlooking the lake is a 1980s wood viewing platform (Resource 7) adjacent to a segment of the 1891 alignment of the Grand Loop Road (Resource 6). Northeast of the hotel, the 1923 Girls' Dormitory/Lake Hotel Annex (Resource 3) provides additional guest rooms. The dormitory is set within a stand of lodgepole pines, partially screening it from the hotel. Farther northeast is a guest cottage complex with buildings dating to 1941 and 1950-52 (not included within the nominated boundary). At the rear (north) of the hotel is a central, paved, guest parking area, from which most guests now enter the hotel through two rear porches.[2] Service buildings lie north of the hotel and west of the parking area,

[1] A&E Architects and Cultural Resource Consulting Services, *Lake Yellowstone Hotel Historic Structure Report* (Missoula, Montana: A&E Architects, March 2009), 41.

[2] Some 20 to 25 percent of overnight guests still arrive at the front entrance facing Yellowstone Lake, as well as all of the concessioners bus tours. Mary Murphy, Branch Chief, Concessions Facility Management, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming,

including the maintenance building/boiler house (Resource 2) and the winterkeeper's quarters (Resource 4). West of the hotel, the site contains a shallow drainage formed by intermittent Hotel Creek, where a concrete root cellar (Resource 5) is built into the west side of the drainage.

CURRENT PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The nominated area contains seven resources: four contributing buildings, two contributing structures, and one noncontributing structure.[3]

Lake Hotel, Resource 1, Building, Contributing, 1891 (additions in 1904, 1910, 1923-24, 1928, 1937, 1984, and 2014)

The massive wood-frame Colonial Revival-style Lake Hotel displays a basically linear plan with an approximately 720-foot east-west frontage above Yellowstone Lake. Like most grand resort hotels, the building exhibits several stages of construction: the original 1891 three-and-a-half-story L-shaped gabled roof hotel designed by architect Nicholas T. Haller of Washington, D.C., toward the west end; 1904 Robert C. Reamer-designed a three-and-a-half-story addition to the east end of the original hotel and three projecting façade porticoes; 1923 three- and four-story, flat roof east wing and connecting structure designed by Reamer; 1924 two-story flat roof dining room and guest room addition on the west and a two-story north kitchen wing designed by Link and Haire of Helena, Montana; 1928 one-story south lounge, a one-story entrance addition enclosure on the middle façade portico, and a one-story north gift shop addition planned by Reamer; and a relocated and expanded porte cochère designed by Reamer with three west bays in 1928 and expanded by three additional bays in 1937.[4]

The original portion of the building has a stone foundation, while the additions display concrete foundation walls; the height of the foundation adjusts to the slope of the land. The exterior walls are clad with horizontal bevel weatherboards (clapboards) with an approximate four-inch exposure. Above the foundation the weatherboards are set on skirt boarding. A continuous molded belt course is at sill level on the third story of the connector and the 1923 wing. Exterior walls are painted a traditional medium yellow, while neoclassical Colonial Revival-style detailing, including door and window trim, porticoes and porches, balconies, eaves and cornices, is painted white.[5] Window openings are predominantly double-hung sash; there are also some casement, fixed, and awning sash windows. Double-hung windows include single-light and multi-light sash. The window frames and wood-frame screens are painted black. Many of the larger windows have transoms and sidelights, as do several of the entrances. Groups of three small pedimented dormers with weatherboard cheeks are centrally located between the three porticoes. The building's gabled and hipped roofs are covered with wood shingles doubled every seventh course; the flat roofs have built-up roofing.

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email to Zehra Osman, Landscape Architect, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, 10 December 2013.

[3] Portions of the hotel description incorporate language from a 2009 draft NHL nomination: Rodd L. Wheaton, Lake Hotel, National Historic Landmark nomination, draft, 9 February 2009.

[4] The expanded porte cochère is shown in a 1937 tourist photo of the front of the hotel, as well as in a 1938 Haynes postcard. Unnamed tourist photo, 22 June 1937 and Haynes, Inc., postcard, number 38340, 1938, in Rodd L. Wheaton, historic postcard and photograph collection, Englewood, Colorado; A&E Architects, *Historic Structure Report*, Figures 16-20 and supplemented by other historical materials.

[5] Paint analysis found the colors displayed by the hotel today are consistent with the original paint scheme dating from Reamer's 1902 expansion of the building. At the turn of the century a popular color choice for exterior walls of Colonial Revival-style buildings was this medium-yellow shade often called "Colonial yellow," which was usually combined on buildings with white-painted trim. The current yellow paint meets federal government requirements designed to improve environmental quality in the park. Sunlight and harsh weather tend to lighten the color as it ages. James McDonald, A&E Architects, Missoula, Montana, email to Thomas H. Simmons, 5 March 2014.

Front (South)

Three monumental three-and-a-half-story projecting tetrastyle porticoes with triangular pediments dominate the front of the building and have defined the style of the hotel since 1904. The western two porticoes are 1904 extensions of original façade pavilions; the east portico was built with a 1904 east wing, creating three evenly spaced pavilions. Four three-story Roman Ionic columns with scamozzi capitals support the pedimented porticoes. The columns display fluted shafts rising from double torus bases on concrete plinths. The full entablatures of the projecting porticoes include three-step architraves crowned by leaf and dart ogee moldings, plain friezes, and cornices elaborated with crown moldings (egg and dart molding and a dentil course); the entablature extends under the eaves and up the rakes of the pediments, minus the architrave. The tympanums feature weatherboards, undersized lunette windows with eight-section fanlight sashes, architrave trim and elongated wood keystones with a cap molding. The soffits and ceilings of the portico pavilions are paneled.

At the west end of the original volume of the hotel is a two-story flat roof polygonal dining room wing projecting slightly beyond the south wall of the west portico. A clipped corner marks the junction of the dining room and hotel wings. The first story of the dining room displays large window openings providing vistas of the setting. The openings have large, central fixed-light windows with five-light leaded glass transoms that open awning fashion, as well as leaded glass casement sidelights; the window of the clipped corner does not have sidelights. The south wall has three of these large windows on the first story. The upper story of the wing contains guest rooms; its paired south windows are flanked by single-light double-hung sash, while the southeast wall displays paired windows. Drip molds are at the heads and architrave trim extends around the openings, including the apron under the projecting sills.

Immediately east of the dining room is the west portico, marking behind it the beginning of the original portion of the hotel. The portico rests atop a raised concrete deck and has a delicate balustrade with slender turned balusters extending between and beyond the columns, terminating with large pedestals with paneled faces at the location of concrete stairs to the east and west. On the first story, the façade fenestration of the west end of the hotel between the dining room and lounge projection includes windows with large central fixed-lights, multi-light leaded glass transoms, and leaded glass casement sash sidelights like those of the dining wing. Two of these windows (the west with a five-light transom and the east with a three-light transom) flank a center entrance within the west portico, which includes a glazed door with a leaded glass transom and sidelights set on paneled kickplates. The upper-story windows generally are evenly aligned, eighteen-over-eighteen-light double-hung sash. The second-story windows display heads with ogee bed moldings, small fascias, and small ogee crown moldings forming hoods with drip caps. The third-story window heads extend to the architrave of the entablature below the roof eaves. Third-story windows facing into the portico have small shallow balconies with balustrades of turned balusters and paneled newel posts supported by scrolled brackets with decorative foliate carving.

Between the west portico and the projecting lounge to the east on the first story are two large windows with central fixed-lights, multi-light transoms, and casement sash sidelights.[6] The second-story windows between the west and center porticoes are identical in design to those described behind the west portico, with the two center third-story windows facing shallow balconies. Three small pedimented dormers with weatherboard cheeks are on the roof above. The dormers have soffits projecting widely beyond their faces, dentil molding under the eaves, and metal ball ridge caps and lightning protectors. Each dormer contains a twelve-light sash.

Immediately west of the center portico is the 1928 one-story, flat roof, projecting polygonal lounge with a concrete foundation that is higher toward the south. The west wall has three large fixed-light windows with

[6] The easternmost window near the lounge, installed during a 1980s project, is slightly shorter and does not have leaded glass.

five-light transoms and casement sidelights, while the east wall contains two such windows. The five south angled bays of the lounge include large fixed-light windows with three-light transoms and no sidelights.

Adjacent on the east is the center portico, of the same design as the west portico, but altered with a 1928 one-story flat-roof lobby addition behind the columns. The lobby is crowned by a full entablature with a cornice engaged with the column shafts. The south wall of the lobby features large windows of similar design to the dining room wing. Within the west intercolumniation are double two-panel doors with glazed upper panels surmounted by a five-light transom and flanked by sidelights set on paneled kickplates. Similar doors, a four-light transom, and wide sidelights on paneled kickplates are located in an entrance on the east wall of the lobby. The windows above the first story are of the same design as those facing into the west portico. In front of the portico, a raised concrete terrace covered by concrete pavers curves along the driveway and along a portion of the east side of the lounge, where there are descending concrete steps with railings.

East of the center portico, the 1891 portion of the hotel extends for a final bay, which on the first story is fronted by an open porch flush with the south wall of the lobby and integrated with the porte cochère, for which it provides an east lobby entrance as above described. A sign above the entrance reads “Lake Yellowstone Hotel.” This final bay of the original hotel contains a single window on each upper story (like those behind the portico). At the east end, the original gabled roof is slightly taller than the roof of the 1904 addition designed by Reamer, which is set back slightly.

The projecting porte cochère (west half built in 1928 and east half in 1937) extends eastward from the open porch and creates covered drive lanes at separate grades for drivers passing through and a walkway to the east lobby entrance. Inside the porte cochère, patterned brick paving is edged with concrete curbing that relates to the structural pattern, edges the walkways, and forms two steps from the pedestrian area down to the drive-through. The porte cochère is supported by seven pairs of square, paneled, Tuscan-style columns with molded bases and caps atop concrete plinths. The columns extend to a full entablature and support a flat roof with a bead-board ceiling, where a stepped architrave forms coffers. Ceiling beams extend north-south from the columns to wall pilasters of similar design. The six-bay south wall of the building between the pilasters includes paired and single one-over-one-light double-hung sash windows, as well as an oculus window in the fourth bay from the west end. The double-hung sash windows have no hoods. The oculus window displays faux-painted ten-light radial sash and architrave trim with exaggerated capped voussoirs centered at the top, bottom, and sides.

Fenestration on the upper stories above the porte cochère includes from the west end: three bays of rectangular windows of the same design as those to the west; one bay of oculus windows with ten-light radial sash and architrave trim with exaggerated capped voussoirs; four bays with third-floor windows facing balconies; and one bay of rectangular windows. Three small pedimented dormers on the roof are of the same design as those to the west. East of the porte cochère, the building displays one bay with rectangular windows on each story (with first-story openings having two windows with decorative hoods at the heads consisting of a dentil course below an ogee bed molding and a projecting fascia with a large ogee crown molding supporting a large canted cap) and one bay with oculus windows like those to the west on each story.

The east portico is of the same Ionic style as the center and west porticoes. However, there is a sloping concrete pedestrian ramp with railings inside the portico and a second ramp leading from the west edge of the portico to the porte cochère. In addition, there are no entrances on the first story of the hotel facing the portico. Instead, there are three evenly spaced windows with decorative hoods at the heads consisting of a dentil course below an ogee bed molding and a projecting fascia with a large ogee crown molding supporting a canted top on the first story. The windows of the upper stories are of the same design as those facing the other porticoes.

The east wing, completed in 1923, extends from the east wall of the 1904 wing, making the transition between the two components with a slightly set back elevator lobby connector. The first story of the four-story connector contains a full-width shed roof porch sheltering the main entrance into the east wing. The porch displays square columns and pilasters supporting an entablature and a balustrade with square balusters atop a raised concrete deck with center concrete stairs flanked by railings. Opening onto the porch are center double doors with glazing in the upper panel flanked by paired windows with single-light sash. Windows of the upper stories consist of bands of five six-over-six-light and eight-over-eight-light windows alternating between narrower and wider windows; the windows have continuous flat board trim with drip caps at the top. A continuous belt course at sill level on the third story continues onto the east wing. A shallow parapet masks the roof surface.

The east wing projects slightly from the connector, is four stories at the west end, and angles slightly to the southeast. The grade gradually rises toward the east, making the eastern third of the building three stories with a crawl space; there is a stepped skirt board with a flat board with a molded cap accommodating the change in grade. The wing contains twenty-five bays on the south wall, with a pattern of one or two large one-over-one-light double-hung sash windows alternating with one smaller bathroom window on each story. Windows of the east wing typically have architrave trim extending fully around the openings. The heads of the top story windows extend to the architrave of the entablature, while the lower windows have drip caps at the heads. A three-story, flat roof, half-round portico slightly east of center displays a full entablature supported by two fluted Tuscan columns and two fluted square pilasters atop concrete plinths set on a concrete stylobate above concrete steps. An entrance with a molded hood opening onto the portico contains a flush panel door with sidelights. Five short rectangular windows light the basement east of the portico; there are no basement windows on the easternmost three bays.

East

The east wall of the east wing is three stories high and has the same skirt board, belt course, and entablature as the south wall. The east wall displays a center bay with entrances on each story flanked by bays with one-over-one-light windows on each story. The flush panel doors open onto a metal fire stair tower with landings at each entrance and a concrete pad base. The windows of the east wall have the same trim as those on the south wall.

North (Rear)

The north wall of the flat roof east wing has similar architectural details and fenestration as the south façade, with alternating larger and smaller double-hung sash windows and adjustments to the change in grade. On the first story, the fourth bay from the east end contains an entrance with a flush panel wood door opening into the crawl space storage area. The wing is four stories beginning with the ninth bay. An entrance with a glazed door flanked by sidelights on the first story of the eleventh bay opens into the wing's central lobby; there is a stepped concrete stoop in front of the entrance. At the west end of the wing are bays featuring paired windows on each story and a bay containing an entrance and a small window on the first story and tripartite windows (with eight-light sidelights flanking six-over-six-light windows) on the upper stories.

Farther west is a one-story projecting, pedimented, 1984 Post Modern-style entrance porch of the elevator lobby, with an open tympanum displaying a semi-circle and radiating mullions supported by two square paneled columns and two pilasters atop concrete plinths on the first story. Opening to the porch is a single two-panel door with sidelights. The porch has a raised concrete floor with concrete steps on the north and a long concrete pedestrian ramp to the east. Wood railings border the steps and ramp. Above the porch are a two-part window on the third story (with one eight-light sidelight and a six-over-six-light window) and an aligned tripartite window (like those to the east) above. Projecting from the roof is a one-story rectangular weatherboard-clad elevator tower with a flat roof and a one-over-one-light double-hung sash window on its south wall.

The east wing intersects the former location of a 1904 north wing, which was removed in 1940 except for a northwest corner remnant. The location of the wing is marked by a nearly flush gabled remnant, set lower than the 1923 east wing. The gable end is infilled with weatherboards. On the first story are a central service entrance and a window to the west. A sloping concrete ramp flanked by metal railings leads from a loading dock farther west to the central entrance. A lattice fence screens the service entrance and ramp area. Windows are eighteen-over-eighteen-light double-hung sash. Three windows are on the second and third stories, and there is a single window above. The openings are trimmed matching the south façade, although they lack aprons under the sills.

The 1904 wing extending west of the former location of the north projecting wing is slightly set back. The north wall of the wing somewhat mirrors the fenestration of the south, with double-hung eighteen-over-eighteen-light sash. The north wall of the wing is blank at the east end of the first story, where the sloped concrete ramp leads from the loading dock to the entrance in the north gable end remnant. Adjacent to the loading dock farther west are a vent and a modified window facing the dock. An entrance with a wood paneled door and a double-hung sash window are immediately to the west, followed by an expanse of blank wall, a paneled door with a rectangular light, and three windows at the west end of the wing on the first story. There are eleven bays of eighteen-over-eighteen-light windows on the second and third stories, with the final bay containing two windows. Single and grouped four-light attic windows are present under eaves; there is no entablature.

West of the 1904 wing is the slightly taller original 1891 portion of the building, which includes the main lobby's 1984 north entrance porch of similar design to the east rear porch. The north lobby porch is at grade and accesses the hotel through a pair of two-light glazed doors with sidelights. The second story contains a four-over-four-light double-hung sash window east of the porch roof, and the third story has two four-over-four-light double-hung sash windows; the third story windows are integrated into the Eastlake-style paneled frieze with vertical bead boarding and are typically shorter than the second story windows, which have a molded cap at the head.[7] West of the lobby porch, between the second and third stories, a small oculus window lights the interior stairway landing. Farther west is a 2014 three-story shed roof elevator tower projection with weatherboard walls, corner boards, and three double-hung sash four-over-four-light windows on the second and third stories. The third story windows are shorter. A common bond red brick rectangular projecting chimney extends full height to where the shed roof intersects the main hotel roof.

To the west lies a projecting three-story 1891 bathroom wing. The wing also has a paneled Eastlake-style frieze and corner boards. The wing's east wall contains single four-over-four-light double-hung sash windows toward the north end of the second and third stories; the north wall is blank. The first story of the wing is surrounded by a 1928 polygonal Robert C. Reamer-designed addition with rectangular shed roof components on the east and west. The east section of the 1928 addition was extended in 2013 to abut the corridor linking the hotel to the boiler house; its north wall features one one-over-one-light double-hung sash window. The polygonal addition contains paired four-over-four-light double-hung sash windows flanking a band of six four-over-four-light double-hung sash windows. The windows have hammered glass. The north wall of the west component contains paired four-over-four-light windows. The west wall of the 1928 addition has paired windows and an entrance opening onto a raised concrete deck. The west wall of the 1891 bathroom wing contains three four-over-four-light double-hung sash windows on the upper stories. Above the west section of the 1928 addition are three four-over-four-light windows on each story.

A narrow one-story, roughly L-shaped, sixty-six-foot enclosed corridor (2014) with a concrete foundation extends from the east side of the 1928 addition to the boiler plant to the north. The long leg of the connector

[7] As Rodd L. Wheaton noted, "During the 1903-04 remodeling of the hotel into a Colonial Revival style building, the west and south Eastlake style entablature was converted to a full neoclassical entablature that continued on the … 1904 wing and the three Ionic porticoes." Wheaton, Lake Hotel, 11.

consists of three distinct levels, which step down to reach the lower floor level of the boiler house. Walls are clad with weatherboard. The east wall contains three four-over-four-light windows and features a paneled pilaster at the north ends of the two southern sections. On the west, the south section of the corridor abuts an existing wall of the hotel. The north half of the center section contains a pedestrian door opening onto a shed roof open porch with a paneled column support at its northwest corner; the south half of the center section has a four-over-four-light window, as does the north section. The short leg of the corridor adjacent to the boiler house has the same wall cladding and a four-over-four-light window in its south wall. The connector has an overhanging shed roof clad with wood shingles. Between the 1928 addition and the kitchen wing, the first story of the 1891 original hotel west wing displays a large central fixed-light window with a five-light transom and sidelights. The upper stories have four-over-four-light windows flanking a projecting three-story steel fire stair providing access to entrances on the second and third stories of the north wall. A two-and-a-half-story kitchen wing extends to the north from this point, and the remainder of the north wall of the main west wing has a four-over-four-light window above the kitchen wing. The main wing has a half-hipped roof at the west end.

Kitchen Wing

The kitchen wing projecting to the north is clad with weatherboards; the wing has several historic additions, including a 1928 connector to the 1924 kitchen building to the north. On the east wall, the south part of the kitchen wing has a shed roof one-story projection with drop siding. The shed roof projection contains two entrances and two windows facing a raised concrete loading dock on the east wall. The second story of the wing contains three windows and two louvered vents on the east wall. Farther north, the wing is set back at the location of the 1924 kitchen addition and has an entrance opening to the concrete deck and an inset covered porch with post supports sheltering an entrance on the first story. There are four one-over-one light double-hung sash windows and one four-over-four-light window on the first story north of the porch; five windows are on the second story. Stairs with metal railings descend to a below grade concrete sidewalk that extends north of the porch. The north wall of the kitchen wing features a projecting, roofed wood staircase accessing entrances on the first and second stories. The staircase is set on a raised concrete pad that has concrete steps with a board railing at the west end.

The west wall of the 1924 kitchen building is blank at the north end, after which the wall projects outward to the west. The north wall of the projection is blank and displays a shed roof overhang sheltering utility boxes on the first story. The west wall contains two one-over-one-light double-hung sash windows and a metal fire stair placed flush against the wall on the first story. Three evenly spaced windows are aligned above. A second two-story projection extends to the west, which on the first story of the north wall has an inset porch with column supports atop a concrete pad toward the east and a small window near the center of the wall further west. The upper story contains the entrance accessed by the above-mentioned fire stairs. Adjacent to the entrance is a one-over-one-light double-hung sash window, and paired four-over-four-light windows are located above the short window of the first story.

On the west wall of the second west projection (part of the 1924 addition and a 1928 connector) the south one-third and the lower part of the northern section is composed of poured concrete, while the upper portion and the second story is clad with weatherboards. The first story contains three one-over-one-light double-hung sash windows. The upper story has two sets of paired four-over-four-light double-hung sash windows. The wall steps out farther south, creating a covered porch with concrete column supports with triangular tops. There are two one-over-one-light windows and a louvered vent on the first story; the upper story displays weatherboards and four sets of paired four-over-four-light double-hung sash windows. A square brick chimney with a metal cap and metal vents is on the roof. The kitchen wing connects with the 1924 two-story dining and guest room wing on the south. On the north wall toward the east end, the upper story of the wing has paired windows flanking a single window. Entrances face a projecting steel fire stairway on the upper and lower stories at the west end.

The entrance on the upper story has a flat panel door; the first story entrance in the center of a bay window has a central door with sidelights and a transom.

West

Due to the slope of the land on the west, the dining room has a high concrete foundation. The northwest, west, and southwest walls of the first story of the polygonal dining room wing display semi-hexagonal bay windows (each with a large center fixed-light, a leaded glass three-light transom, and leaded glass casements). The second story features pairs of one-over-one-light double-hung sash windows aligned above the bay windows. East of the dining room addition, the west wall of the 1891 wing contains single and paired windows on the third story.

Significant Interior Features

The hotel's public spaces significantly add to the building's ability to convey the historic grand resort hotel era. The design of these spaces dates principally from the 1924 and 1928 remodeling planned by Robert C. Reamer. The hotel has a linear plan with a long central hallway providing access to the major public spaces at the west front of the first story, which include the main lobby, gift shop, lounge, and dining room. The lobby, lounge, and dining room feature large windows providing magnificent views of the lake and surrounding landscape.

The long procession of piers in pairs extends through the lobby and into the dining room and exemplifies the work completed in 1928 when the spaces were modified to convey Colonial Revival influence. Although the columns are original to the building, in 1928 they were stripped of their Arts and Crafts-style shelves and slag-light fixtures were installed; each column was completed at the ceiling beams with a molded Tuscan capital and necking. Ceiling beams create a deep coffered effect and are finished with 1984 crown molding. Other modifications from that remodeling include a paneled dado extending around the rooms that also forms pedestals on each column.[8]

The lobby exhibits important historic features, including a 1923 fireplace designed by Reamer with a Batchelder ceramic tile chimney piece. The chimney piece on the north wall measures eighteen feet long and eight feet high. There are green border tiles separated from a field of mottled green tiles by raised tiles with an ivy design, which are repeated around the firebox. Above the firebox is a row of fourteen diamond-shaped tiles, each with a pine tree in relief. The tiled hearth has a border of green tiles and a field of mottled green tiles. The iron framework of the firebox screen displays four sections with wrought iron handles; a decorative wrought iron cutout of a pine tree is applied to the center of the base.

Adjacent to the fireplace on the east is a matching wall-hung drinking fountain added in 1928. The drinking fountain is a vertical rectangular unit with an arched panel forming a backsplash. In relief within the arch is an elk with pine trees. A floral motif at the outer corners matches a floral band around the basin. A matching cylindrical sand jar stands on the tiled hearth. The fountain was designed by Reamer and executed by Batchelder.[9] The registration area (reconfigured in 2013) at the southeast corner of the lobby has a paneled counter incorporating square green tiles and brackets; the casework matches the raised panels of the columns.

The large dining room features a main east-west aisle flanked by square columns supporting ceiling beams that are shallower than those in the main lobby but also trimmed with crown molding. The dining room columns do

[8] A&E Architects, *Historic Structure Report*, 47.
[9] Chester A. Linsley, "The Chronology Yellowstone National Park, 1806-1939," manuscript, Yellowstone National Park Library and Archives, Gardiner, Montana.

not have raised panels. Their molded capitals are identical to those of the lobby columns. The flooring is red oak, and the walls, ceiling, and column shafts are finished with gypsum wallboard. There is a wide chair rail.

The lounge, built in 1928, includes entablature-trimmed openings and paneled dado and features the same coffered ceiling, square columns, and red oak flooring as the lobby. The lounge has a wider center area flanked by columns and narrower areas to the east and west.

North of the lobby, the gift shop in the polygonal 1928 north addition is entered through doors with etched glass framed by a transom and sidelights.[10] The windows into the gift shop are cut and etched with wildlife motifs. The columns in the gift shop match those of the main lobby and support east-west ceiling beams, shallower than the lobby beams but with the same crown molding. The walls, ceiling and column shafts are finished with gypsum wallboard. The woodwork of the display cases and cabinets matches the raised column bases.

During the 1928 remodeling, the lower run of the original lobby staircase was redesigned to include a curved bottom step that received a voluted handrail carried on Colonial Revival-style balusters. At the second floor landing the balustrade is composed of oak millwork, with newel posts, raised stair stringers, and a balustrade dating from the original 1891 construction. Balustrade panels feature a cutout trefoil design with a turned spindle connected by a horizontal molding. The three newel posts have carved and grooved shafts and rounded tops with carved floral motifs and knobbed finials.

Guest rooms are located along double-loaded corridors on the upper stories of the building, including the dining room wing; there are also some guest rooms at the west end of the first story of the 1923 east wing. First floor guest rooms of the 1903-04 wing are converted to offices, public restrooms, and a secondary lounge space. Rooms on the south side of the building feature spectacular views of Yellowstone Lake. Rooms in the original volume (1891) tend to be larger than those in other sections of the hotel, and the oldest section contains several two-room suites with larger bathrooms.[11] The second story of the dining room wing holds the presidential suite. Typical guest rooms alternate back-to-back with two private baths. Original closets were converted to second bathrooms.

Walls and ceilings of the guest rooms are finished with sheetrock. Some rooms have original brass fixtures, while others feature period reproductions. Some room entrances in the older sections of the hotel have original casings with grooved sides and corner blocks with circular molding. Original corridor light fixtures are retained in the guest room wings. Stair and elevator lobbies serve as transitional public spaces along the corridors. The two-story elevator lobby connecting the east wing to the hotel includes a shallow balcony with French doors on its west wall.

Alterations

Summary. No major additions to the hotel occurred after the end of the period of significance (1940). The hotel underwent upgrades to meet seismic and safety requirements, replace deteriorated materials, add small rear additions, and complete projects designed to fulfill changing guest expectations. Most changes occurred on the interior of the building, including reconfiguration and changes in the number of guest rooms and successive remodeling of major public spaces. In 1971 the park constructed a bypass road to the north; subsequently, most guests arrived at the rear of the hotel, which received two one-story Post Modern entrance porches in 1984 to

[10] The etched glass reflects a 1983-84 addition.

[11] A 1980s remodeling changed the hotel's guest rooms in the central and east wings, with a group of three rooms reconfigured to two rooms with bathrooms in the center. The east wing corridor contains a series of bump-outs where part of the hallway was taken to obtain space for bathrooms. Historic fabric in the guest rooms includes door and window trim and some baseboards and lighting fixtures. James R. McDonald, A&E Architects, Missoula, Montana, email to Thomas H. Simmons, 17 September 2013.

mark points of entry.[12] This change in access did not result in alterations to the front of the building, and some 20 to 25 percent of guests still arrive via the lakefront entrance. This alteration of the site behind the building was in keeping with the grand resort hotel practice of preserving the façade of the establishment and relegating functions distracting from the desired ambience of relaxation at the rear.

Chronology. After standing closed for the 1942 through 1946 seasons, Lake Hotel had "a substantial maintenance backlog." During 1949-52 the Yellowstone Park Company refurbished the guest rooms, hallways, dining room, and main lobby with new plaster; renovated 133 rooms in the east wing; and remodeled the kitchen and dining room.[13] A horseshoe-shaped parking lot (not included within the nominated area) was added to the rear of the hotel between 1952 and 1960. The kitchen wing received a one-story shed roof projection after 1963, and the dining room foundation was replaced in 1968.

The staff dining room in the kitchen wing was enlarged to meet modern demands in 1973.[14] Exterior fire stairs were added for safety at the east end of the east wing, the north end of the kitchen wing, and the north end of the dining room wing in 1978-80. Fire doors were installed and room doors were altered at that time.[15] On the front, the center portico received a concrete terrace with tinted concrete pavers in the 1980s.[16] Two rear entrance porches, designed by National Park Service Architect Charles Hudson and meeting the Secretary of the Interior's Standards, were added in 1984 to accommodate access from the parking lot. The east wing foundation was stabilized and guest rooms were rehabilitated in 1986-87. The corridors narrow in places where private baths were added to the guest rooms in former closet spaces. Four rotted column shafts on the center portico were replaced with new shafts atop concrete bases in about 2009.

Work undertaken in 2012-14 followed plans prepared by A&E Architects of Missoula, Montana, and reviewed and approved through the Section 106 process by the National Park Service and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office. The project included restoration of the original windows, construction of replacement concrete steps on the east portico, and rehabilitation of original columns and addition of concrete bases on the east wing's semi-circular portico. To meet accessibility requirements a second elevator was added in a three-story elevator tower erected at the rear of the building. Rehabilitation of the interior spaces included replacement of 1980s maple flooring on the first story with red oak of a width similar to the original fir flooring and refinishing the guest rooms and public spaces of the interior. The lobby, dining room, and lounge were refurbished and repainted to better reflect the Colonial Revival style and removing materials added in the 1980s. At the rear, a one-story sixty-six-foot-long enclosed corridor was built to connect the hotel to the maintenance building to the north. The gift shop was expanded by about six feet to tie into the corridor. Four guest rooms in the original wing were converted to suites that open into each other, and the presidential suite above the dining room was reconfigured.[17]

Maintenance Building/Boiler House, Resource 2, Building, Contributing, 1898

The maintenance building lies about twenty-six feet north of the hotel and is connected to it by an enclosed corridor. The tall one-story building (121' by 64'8") features a roughly cross-shaped plan with a flat-roofed addition filling-in the southeast corner and a gabled roof generator projection to the north (2013-14). The long axis is oriented east-west, with shorter intersecting sections to the north and south. A low, gabled roof projection is present on the east wall of the east-west gable toward the north end. The building rests on a raised

[12] A&E Architects, *Historic Structure Report*, 12.
[13] A&E Architects, *Historic Structure Report*, 8.
[14] Wheaton, Lake Hotel, 27.
[15] Ibid., 27.
[16] The front porticoes received concrete decks in 1919.
[17] James R. McDonald, A&R Architects, Interview by Thomas H. and R. Laurie Simmons, 17 October 2012.

concrete and stone foundation. Walls are clad with drop (novelty) siding and include corner boards. Windows are mostly one-over-one light double-hung sash; the wall of the north gable contains paired three-over-three-light awning windows. The roof is wood-shingled (with shingles doubled every sixth course) and has overhanging eaves and exposed rafter tails. Gable ends feature purlins, and small diagonal brackets support the corners of the gable ends on the east-west component. A large metal exhaust stack is adjacent to the south wall near the west end. A small gabled roof cupola is located at the intersection of the roof ridges. The interior contains a boiler room, electrical room, maintenance rooms, and a paint shop. The eastern third of the building includes offices and a training room for the hotel. Most of the interior is open to the roof structure, which has triangular-shaped trusses in the main east-west component.

Alterations. In about 1938 the north wing of the building was shortened in length. The southeast corner was filled in with a shed roof addition after 1963. In 2013-14 the building received a one-story gable roof addition to the north wall, a small gabled roof projection on the east wall was rebuilt, and the building was linked to the hotel with the one-story connecting corridor.

Girls' Dormitory/Lake Hotel Annex/Sandpiper Dormitory, Resource 3, Building, Contributing, 1923

Designed by the firm of Link and Haire, the former dormitory for women employees, now a hotel annex with guest rooms, lies about eighty-seven feet northeast of the hotel. The two-story flat-roof building (153 feet by 35 feet) faces west, with its long axis aligned north-northeast/south-southwest. The plan is rectangular, with a small one-story wing on the east elevation. The building has a concrete foundation, walls clad with lap siding, and double-hung eight-over-one, six-over-one, and eight-over-eight-light windows. The building features an overhanging built-up flat roof.

The front (west wall) is symmetrical in design, with a central two-story entrance pavilion with a shallow front gabled roof that projects slightly from the wall plane. A one-story pedimented porch, containing the main entrance to the building, projects from the pavilion. The porch pediment is supported by narrow paired columns and has wood side railings. The paneled and glazed entry door is flanked by narrow sidelights. Flanking the porch are paired six-over-one-light windows. Above the porch is a smaller pair of six-over-one-light windows flanked by single eight-over-one-light windows. The fenestration on the remainder of the west elevation has four evenly spaced groups of four eight-over-one-light windows.

Both stories of the north wall display center metal doors, and there are wood fire stairs as well as a pedestrian ramp to the first-story door. The rear (east wall) features a center one-story flat roof entrance wing, with eight-over-one-light double-hung sash windows flanking the door. Centered above the wing on the second story is a large eight-over-eight-light window framed by narrow four-light sidelights topped by a multi-light transom. The remainder of the east elevation features four evenly-spaced groups of four double-hung eight-over-one-light windows, two per story. The south wall is identical to the north, except the first-story door exits at grade and has no ramp. Each story contains a full-length north-south corridor bordered by guest rooms. The west entrance opens onto a lounge area, with the original dog-leg stairway to the second level located to the east.

Alterations. The exterior of the building appears little changed. A historic photograph shows a one-story gabled roof porch on the south wall (no longer extant).[18] The building was converted from employee housing to a hotel annex in 1937 when bathrooms were added to each of the rooms. The interior features rooms updated with textured gypsum wallboard, carpeting, and sheet vinyl flooring.

[18] View northeast of the girls' dormitory, YELL 30116, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, Montana.

Winterkeeper's Quarters/Carpenter Shop/Meat House, Resource 4, Building, Contributing, pre-1904

Located about 212 feet north of the hotel at the north end of the maintenance yard is the winterkeeper's quarters, where the hotel caretaker and his family resided during the off-season, clearing snow from the hotel roof, conducting some maintenance, and preventing theft and vandalism. Gerald L. Bateson Jr., son of the winterkeeper who served from 1950 to 1975, believes this building once served as a meat storage house.[19] Newspaper accounts from 1904 reported a meat house at the hotel complex. The building is shown on a 1928 map (labeled carpenter shop) and 1941 and 1963 maps (shown as a winterkeeper's residence).

The one-story, wood-frame building (68 feet by 28 feet) is constructed on a concrete foundation with its long axis oriented east-west. The plan is rectangular with a one-story gabled projection on the west. The exterior walls are finished with sheet metal siding (east; pre-1904) and lap siding (west; 1951) with corner boards. The building features a variety of windows, including fixed, double hung (one-over-one-light and six-over-six-light), and sliding sash. The doors are flush wood and paneled. The roof is clad with wood shingles (doubled every six rows), with overhanging eaves and exposed rafter tails. Three metal chimneys project from the roof. The interior of the building is divided into two main areas: a residence at the east end and an office at the west end. Each area has a separate entrance from the exterior.

Alterations. A gabled roof addition was built on the west in 1951.

Root Cellar, Resource 5, Structure, Contributing, pre-1924

Located on the west side of Hotel Creek (an intermittent drainage) about sixty-six feet west of the hotel building, the root cellar that stored foods for the kitchen and the hotel's winterkeeper appears on a 1924 map of the hotel complex and possibly dates to the 1890s.[20] The one-story structure (26 feet by 24 feet) is built into the slope of the land with its long axis oriented east-west. The root cellar has a concrete foundation, floor, walls and roof. The walls have earth berms, which also cover the roof. The front (east), composed of formed concrete, contains an arched entrance with a wood door covered in metal flanked by battered concrete piers; lower retaining walls are present to the north and south. The roof has a wood vent stack covered with galvanized metal at the center of the mound. Board walkways once extended across the drainage to provide a path accessing the hotel. According to Gerald Bateson Jr., in the 1950s the root cellar had large six-foot by six-foot wood bins filled with sand in which root vegetables such as potatoes, carrots, and rutabagas were stored.[21] The structure is now used to store paint and batteries.

Alterations. There are no apparent alterations.

Grand Loop Road Segment, Resource 6, Structure, Contributing, 1891

A segment of the Grand Loop Road extends across the southern part of the nominated area. Lt. Hiram Chittenden built a road from Old Faithful to the Lake Outlet east of the Lake Hotel in 1891, following the

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[19] A man and a boy reportedly were killed by bears in this location in 1904. Bateson points to the metal cladding on the older part of the building that would have deterred bear access and believes the walls are filled with sawdust for insulation. Current winterkeeper Dale Fowler noted the walls are about 12" thick. Gerald L. Bateson Jr., *Growing Up in Yellowstone* (Gardiner, Montana: Pumice Point Press, 2011), 10; Gerald L. Bateson Jr., Gardiner, Montana, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, 6 August 2013; *Denver Post*, 6 October 1904, 6; Dale Fowler, Lake Hotel, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, telephone interview by Thomas H. Simmons, 21 August 2013; Jeff Henry, *Snowshoes, Coaches, and Cross Country Skis: A Brief History of Yellowstone Winters* (Emigrant, Montana: Roche Jaune Pictures, Inc., 2011), 103; Lee H. Whittlesey, *Death in Yellowstone: Accidents and Foolhardiness in the First National Park*, rev. ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart, 2014), 48-51.

[20] A&E Architects, *Historic Structure Report*, 11.

[21] Bateson Jr., interview.

shoreline between West Thumb and Lake Hotel. The road received an oiled surface in 1928. The two-lane asphalt-paved segment is about 1,002 feet long and 26 feet wide and follows the original alignment. The Grand Loop Road provided access to Yellowstone National Park's attractions and lodgings, including Lake Hotel. The segment is no longer part of the main park road system, with principal access to the hotel provided by a bypass road to the north.[22]

Alterations. The road is now paved with asphalt but follows the original center line alignment.

Yellowstone Lake Overlook Platform, Structure, Resource 7, 1980s, Noncontributing

This wood viewing platform is located at the edge of Yellowstone Lake adjacent to a half-moon shaped paved parking area off the Grand Loop Road. The shore drops sharply to a narrow beach on the level of the lake, and the platform is supported by a center concrete foundation with concrete piers at the east and west ends. The roughly 55' x 8' wood deck platform is open on the north and has a wood railing on its east, west, and south sides composed of vertical posts and horizontal board rails. The resource is assessed as noncontributing due to its construction after the period of significance.

Alterations. There are no apparent alterations.

HISTORIC APPEARANCE OF LAKE HOTEL

Lake Hotel has seen relatively few changes to its exterior appearance since the end of the period of significance in 1940. The building evolved from a rather plain hostelry at the time of its original construction in 1891 into a grand resort hotel by the early twentieth century. Beginning in 1903-04 with completion of an L-shaped addition to the east and redesign of the hotel in the Colonial Revival style, over the next thirty-plus years the concessioner, working almost exclusively with architect Robert C. Reamer, continued to expand and refine the building in the same idiom.

Lake Hotel

The evolution of the hotel's footprint between 1891 and 2014 reveals it is almost unchanged since the end of the period of significance in 1940. Designed by Washington, D.C., architect Nicholas T. Haller and completed in 1891, the original Lake Hotel, a frame three-story L-shaped building, featured a stone rubble foundation, weatherboard walls, two slightly projecting gabled façade pavilions, four-over-four-light double-hung sash windows, a standing seam iron roof with a widow's walk, and a projecting one-story porch with turned spindle supports topped by a balcony. An Eastlake-style entablature ornamented the walls.

In 1903 the Yellowstone Park Association (YPA) engaged Robert C. Reamer to expand and remodel the existing building. The 1903-04 project entailed extending each of the two original gabled pavilions of the façade with a three-story tetrastyle Ionic portico crowned by a pediment. The hotel's horizontal axis was extended eastward, with the new wing containing a third Ionic portico of the same style toward its end. To avoid intruding upon land leased by a boat company concession, a three-story wing projected north rather than continuing farther east. Additional Colonial Revival detailing included classical cornices and window trim, shallow balconies, gabled dormers, and classical moldings. All the classical trim was painted white in contrast to the yellow weatherboarding.[23] In 1910 YPA constructed a one-story dining room extension at the west end of the building, whose west and south walls featured bay windows. In 1919 the wood deck within and connecting

[22] Mary Shivers Culpin, *The History of the Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872-1966*, Historic Resource Study, vol. 1 (Denver: National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region, 1994), 244 and 246.

[23] Henry Flagler employed "Colonial Yellow" with white trim on his chain of Florida resort hotels and YPA may have adopted the color scheme as a familiar Eastern reference for hotel guests.

the porticoes along the front of the hotel was replaced with a concrete one, and a one-story porte cochère was added in front of the center portico.

The next major building episode occurred in 1922-23, when the hotel received its large simplified Colonial Revival-style east guest room wing, also designed by Reamer. The three- and four-story wing included a flat roof, a central half-round portico, one-over-one-light double-hung sash windows, and weatherboard walls. An elevator lobby connected the new wing to the older part of the hotel.[24] At the same time, Helena architects Link and Haire designed a two-story addition to the west end of the original building (completed in 1924) containing an expansion of the dining room on the first story and a presidential suite and other guest rooms on the second story.[25] Also completed in 1924 was a detached kitchen building at the northwest corner of the hotel using plans prepared by Link and Haire. With the 1923-24 additions, Lake Hotel spanned more than seven hundred feet along the north shore of Yellowstone Lake and included 323 rooms. At some point between 1924 and 1940 the short north-south leg of the original 1891 building was removed flush with the north wall of the hotel; part of the kitchen wing now occupies this location.[26]

Reamer's hotel lobby modifications in 1923-24 included the installation of a Batchelder tile Arts and Crafts-style fireplace.[27] In 1928 the YPA again turned to Robert C. Reamer for changes to the hotel, including addition of a one-story lounge to the south; a small one-story north addition (now the gift shop), incorporating the first floor of the 1889-91 public bathroom tower; reconfiguration of the porte cochère; and expansion of the lobby by enclosing the first floor area of the central portico. The three-bay 1919-20 porte cochère in front of the center portico was dismantled, reconstructed to the east, and connected to the central portico entrance by a side doorway.[28] On the interior, Reamer remodeled the lobby using Colonial Revival idiom, eliminating most of the remaining original details of the 1889-91 lobby and the later Arts and Crafts styling, adding a wall-hung drinking fountain, and retaining the tiled fireplace.[29] In 1937 the hotel's porte cochère doubled in size, with three identical bays added to the east end of the existing structure following the same plan and materials as 1928. Between 1928 and 1937, the widow's walk atop the original section of the hotel was removed. The YPA removed the three-story north wing of the hotel in 1940 as part of a plan to construct cottages north of the hotel.

Site and Supporting Buildings

In addition to the main hotel building, the Lake Hotel complex included support buildings used for staff quarters, storage, and mechanical functions.[30] Docks and a boathouse stood on the shore of Yellowstone Lake, and a house, barn, hay sheds, and corrals southeast of the hotel were present by the early 1890s under separate ownership.[31] Initial construction of the hotel included a boiler house to the northwest providing steam heat for

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[24] Old Faithful Inn received simple flat roof wings in 1913-14 and 1927, designed by Reamer, reflecting a design trend for hotel additions of the period.

[25] Based on a historic photograph (YELL 23878), the 1910 dining room design appears identical to the 1924 plan in terms of the west and south walls, which contained bay windows. It is possible the features of the west wall were retained and duplicated on the longer walls created in 1924.

[26] This removal was not noted in the 2009 Historic Structure Report.

[27] Karen Wildung Reinhart and Jeff Henry, *Old Faithful Inn: Crown Jewel of National Park Lodges* (Emigrant, Montana: Roche Jaune Pictures, Inc., 2004), 16.

[28] This porte cochère configuration is seen in a color postcard of the façade postmarked 1930 and in the 1933 *Haynes Guide* to the park.

[29] Reinhart and Henry, *Old Faithful Inn*, 16.

[30] The earliest map showing the layout of the complex dates to 1895 and shows the hotel and the immediate area to the north. Maps for 1924, 1928, the early 1930s, 1941, and 1960 are included in the nomination. A 1952 map of the complex in Bateson is also useful. Bateson, *Growing Up in Yellowstone*, 5.

[31] Park Historian Lee Whittlesey suggests that "given the constant need in the park for employee housing and horse barns and corrals, there must have been other buildings that we simply do not know about." It is unknown how many were associated with the hotel versus various stage companies. Lee H. Whittlesey, "History of the Lake (Village) Area with Maps and Photographs," prepared

the building and a water tank to the north.[32] The present boiler building was erected north of the hotel in 1898. A meat house lay farther north by 1904, and the root cellar to the northwest may also have been an early addition to the complex. Attendant to the 1903-04 expansion of the hotel, construction of a U-shaped driveway in the front of the building improved access from the Grand Loop Road.

In 1922-23 in conjunction with the erection of the hotel's east wing, Reamer and National Park Service staff planned placement of support buildings at the rear of the hotel. Architects Link and Haire designed a two-story frame girls' dormitory in 1923 to house the hotel's waitresses, maids, and kitchen help. A 1924 map of the hotel lease site showed several buildings to the north, most apparently constructed after 1922. A 1928 map identified the buildings as: a men's bunkhouse, a washroom, ice house, and carpenter shop (the former meat house). A 1929 photograph provides a view of the rear of the hotel and some of these buildings.

INTEGRITY

Location

Lake Hotel maintains excellent integrity of location, having never moved from its original site. Likewise, the other remaining resources associated with the historic operation of the hotel are in their original locations.

Design

Lake Hotel displays a high level of integrity of exterior design. As with most grand resort hotels, the Lake Hotel received additions that expanded its guest capacity, amenities, and services during its historic period of development. These additions adhered to the Colonial Revival style chosen for the hotel. The first component of the building, completed in 1891, was expanded and given a Colonial Revival-style appearance in 1903-04 by noted architect Robert C. Reamer. Built during the "golden age" of grand resort hotels, Lake Hotel followed the typical pattern of enlargement with sequential additions through 1937. [33] The Colonial Revival influence developed by Reamer created a unity of expression for the components of several construction eras.[34] The hotel achieved its present footprint in 1940 with the removal of the north wing; changes since then included a small addition to the kitchen wing (post-1963), two small rear porches (1984), and a connecting corridor to the boiler house (2014).

During the first two decades of its life, visitors arrived at the Lake Hotel via stagecoaches dropping passengers at the front door and boats traveling across Yellowstone Lake to the north shore. When motor vehicles began carrying guests to the front entrance, a porte cochère became an important architectural component marking the lobby entrance and sheltering patrons. To respond to the needs of guests arriving by car in the post-World War II period, the hotel added a rear parking lot and small one-story Post Modern-style porches reinterpreting elements of the front porticos leading to rear entrances. However, historic concessioner tour buses still

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for the Lake Charette, 20 February to 1 September 2007, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Gardiner, Montana, 63.

[32] Yellowstone Park Association, Yellowstone Lake Hotel, First Floor, 1895, Box K 18, Folder B, Yellowstone National Park, Archives, Gardiner, Montana.

[33] Research demonstrates the porte cochère was designed by Robert C. Reamer in 1928 as part of his last remodeling project at Lake Hotel. He relocated an earlier porte cochère built across the central Ionic portico farther east and created a three-bay structure with square-section columns. In 1937, the porte cochère received three additional bays to the east following the same design, which is shown in a tourist photograph of Lake Hotel dated 22 June 1937, as well as a 1938 Haynes postcard. , Laura Soullière Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks: National Historic Landmark Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1986), 28-29; Wheaton, Lake Hotel; Rodd L. Wheaton, historic postcard and photograph collection, Englewood, Colorado.

[34] Reamer's additions to his 1903-04 Old Faithful Inn achieved a similar unity of design.

discharge passengers under the porte cochère, and 20 to 25 percent of guests driving private cars stop there for registration and luggage drop off before parking in the rear of the hotel.[35]

The interior of the hotel displays less historic integrity than the exterior. The design of the public rooms of the hotel maintains spatial and functional integrity, but public spaces have experienced a succession of remodelings. The guest rooms exhibit changes in configuration, numbers, dimensions, and finishing as a result of upgrades to meet current grand resort hotel standards. The support buildings of the complex display few design changes. Additions made to the winterkeeper's quarters in 1951 and the boiler house in 2013 are described above.

Materials

In the 1986 *Architecture in the Parks National Historic Landmark Theme Study* author Laura Soullière Harrison found integrity of exterior fabric to be of major importance for historic hotels in the parks.[36] Lake Hotel displays an extremely high level of integrity of materials. Wood frame construction and weatherboard siding, key characteristics common among late nineteenth and early twentieth century grand resort hotels, are displayed by the Lake Hotel. These same characteristics make this a rare building type due to their fragility. Colonial Revival-style designed ornament remains intact throughout the exterior. Most of the building's windows are restored originals. Wood shingles still cover the pitched roofs of the earlier components of the hotel. Portico columns have been rehabilitated and strengthened with some replication of their original exterior materials and addition of concrete plinths. Support buildings also maintain their original materials.

Workmanship

Lake Hotel retains excellent historic integrity of workmanship, as displayed in the hundreds of feet of weatherboard siding on exterior walls, three-story pavilions with Ionic order columns, decorative glass of the south-facing windows and entrances of public rooms, and varied moldings and other architectural ornaments found on exterior walls. Given the massive size of the hotel and the challenges of the area's harsh winters with heavy snow loads, it required a high level of workmanship to quickly and efficiently construct a building whose components merged into a harmonious and dignified unity.

Setting

Lake Hotel displays a high degree of integrity of setting, with the immense natural landscape constituting the primary component. The key elements of the setting, including the building's location on a raised site sloping toward the lake, the surrounding forest, the lake itself, and the mountains beyond, are timeless features little changed since completion of the hotel. A setting overlooking a body of water was historically typical of Colonial Revival-style hotels. Alterations to the setting since the period of significance include: removal of some accessory buildings; creation of a paved parking lot at the rear of the hotel; removal of boathouses and docks; and construction of a viewing platform and half-moon pullout by the lake. These changes enhanced visitor access to the hotel and lake but impacted the immediate setting of the hotel at the rear and the lake front.

[35] Modern busses are too tall to pass through the historic porte cochère. The placement of Lake Hotel's parking lot to the north was dictated by topography and the desire to preserve an uncluttered vista from the hotel to Yellowstone Lake. Such parking areas at grand resort hotels became necessary as the bulk of hotel visitors arrived by private motor vehicle and are found, for example, at the Greenbrier, Homestead, and Mount Washington Hotel. Within Yellowstone National Park, two large parking lots are present at Old Faithful Inn.

[36] Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks*, 29.

Feeling

Lake Hotel retains significant integrity of feeling by continuing to serve as a representative of the historic grand resort hotels of the United States. This feeling is heightened by the massive size of the hotel, the integrity of its materials and design, Colonial Revival expression, and relationship to the setting. The hotel continues to provide an impression of civilization and comfort in its wilderness setting. The hotel still features the excellent service, fine cuisine, comfortable rooms, and opportunities for social interaction that characterized the golden era of grand resort hotels. The continued maintenance and operation of the hotel also supports its integrity of feeling, as activities throughout the summer season maintain its well-established functions. Relocation of boating from the lakeshore in front of the hotel to the Bay Bridge Marina and construction of the Grand Loop Road bypass in 1971 impacted the feeling associated with reaching the grand resort hotel by water. Historic tour busses and cars may still drive to the front of the hotel via the remaining portion of the Grand Loop Road with its dramatic view of Yellowstone Lake, and the massive frontage of the building and its large classical porticos overlooking the lake continue to impress visitors with their grandeur. Retention of the facility's historic support buildings also enhances its integrity of feeling.

Association

Lake Hotel retains exceptionally strong ties with its historic associations, providing a direct link to the past by continuing to operate as it did during its period of significance as one of a series of large hotels offering accommodations for visitors within Yellowstone National Park. The history of the hotel is very much tied to that of the park, including the impacts of growth of National Park Service operations, changing ideas in park design and management, and the challenge of serving visiting guests ranging from presidents and celebrities to average Americans. Lake Hotel has witnessed events such as the arrival of the first stagecoaches and boats carrying overnight visitors, growing presence of motorized vehicles, threat of major earthquakes and forest fires, and threat of heavy winter snows. The hotel strongly retains associations with the golden era of grand resort hotels, when such establishments strived to meet the needs of every guest, allowed visitors to enjoy activities unheard of in their daily lives, and, perhaps most importantly, left a lasting impression of being an exceptionally special place.

LAKE HOTEL
RESOURCES LOCATED WITHIN NOMINATED AREA

Res. No.	Resource Name	Year Built	Designer	Resource Type	Contributing Status
1	Lake Hotel	1891, 1904, 1923, 1924, 1928, 1937	Robert C. Reamer, Link and Haire, Nicholas T. Haller	Building	Contributing
2	Maintenance Building/Boiler House	1898, 2013	Unknown	Building	Contributing
3	Meat House/Carpenter Shop/ Winterkeeper's Quarters	pre-1904, 1951	Unknown	Building	Contributing
4	Girls' Dormitory/Lake Hotel Annex/Sandpiper Dormitory	1923	Link and Haire	Building	Contributing
5	Root Cellar	pre-1924	Unknown	Structure	Contributing
6	Grand Loop Road segment	1891	Lt. Hiram Chittenden	Structure	Contributing
7	Yellowstone Lake Overlook Platform	1980s	National Park Service	Structure	Noncontributing

NOTES: Resource numbers are keyed to the narrative description and the sketch map. Year built indicates original year of construction and those of principal additions.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

Nationally: _X_ Statewide: ___ Locally: ___

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A_X_ B__ C_X_ D __
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A__ B__ C__ D__ E__ F__ G __
NHL Criteria:	4
NHL Criteria Exception:	N/A
NHL Theme(s):	III. Expressing Cultural Values 5. Architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design
Areas of Significance:	Architecture
Period(s) of Significance:	1891-1940
Significant Dates:	1891, 1904, 1923, 1924, 1928, 1937
Significant Person(s):	N/A
Cultural Affiliation:	N/A
Architect/Builder:	Reamer, Robert C. Link, John Gustave and Haire, Charles Sidney Haller, Nicholas T.
Historic Contexts:	Architecture in the Parks National Historic Landmark Theme Study (1986)

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

Lake Hotel in Yellowstone National Park is nationally significant under the National Historic Landmark theme "Expressing Cultural Values" and NHL Criterion 4. The property is significant under Criterion 4 for embodying the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen extremely valuable for study of a period and style: an early twentieth century grand resort hotel displaying Colonial Revival styling as adapted to the context of the western United States. Initially completed in 1891, Lake Hotel is the oldest hotel constructed within the boundary of a national park; after its historic redesign and expansion it became the only Colonial Revival-style grand resort hotel within a national park.[37] Noted architect Robert C. Reamer transformed and increased the size of the hotel in 1903-04 and subsequent years and provided the building with architectural distinction befitting a grand resort hotel through application of a consistent and unifying Colonial Revival design. The building displays important identifying characteristics of the style and building type, which are emblematic of the period when many people began to stay in comfort in settings of natural western grandeur and the national parks became vacation destinations.[38]

Reamer's work between 1903 and 1937 resulted in an immense frame building with more than three hundred rooms, extending roughly 720 feet along the north shore of Yellowstone Lake, that clearly placed the facility in the grand resort hotel category. Lake Hotel's architectural design, materials, and location within a magnificent national park landscape on an elevated spot providing vistas of Yellowstone Lake and distant mountain ranges mirrored qualities prized by eastern grand resort hotels in locations with substantially longer development histories and architectural narratives. For more than a century, Lake Hotel has fulfilled the grand resort hotel goal of bringing civilization to the wilderness with its impressive public spaces, comfortable guest rooms, and a design that endured the challenge of its climate and setting. While a number of Colonial Revival grand resort hotels were built during the golden age of such facilities (beginning as the movement gained momentum and influence in America's 1876 centennial year and ending with a lull in development associated with the country's entrance into World War I in 1917), few representatives of the style and era existed in the West and few remain throughout the country. The period of significance for Lake Hotel is 1891 to 1940, spanning the years from the opening of the hotel to the date it achieved its present footprint. The NHL boundary encompasses 12.4 acres and seven resources, including the hotel and associated historic support facilities characteristic of grand resort hotels.

As described by leading scholars of this building type, including Jeffrey Limerick, Nancy Ferguson, Richard Oliver, and Bryant F. Tolles Jr., the term "grand resort hotel" applies generally to massive lodgings that provided for two hundred or more overnight guests; displayed "distinctive architectural styles and building forms"; included comfortable, even luxurious interior accommodations, up-to-date technology, and excellent service; offered experiences that contrasted with conventional life; and were located in "highly compelling natural surroundings."[39] Because of their typical size, rural or natural locations, and frame construction, another trait has come to characterize these resources: fragility, as few buildings erected during the 1876-1917 golden

[37] Since the original Lake Hotel was completed in 1891, National Parks extant at that time were researched: Yellowstone; Yosemite; Sequoia and King's Canyon; and Bathhouse Row. The 1876 Wawona in Yosemite is older than Lake Hotel, but it was not located within a national park when it was erected; the park boundary was expanded in 1932. The oldest Bathhouse Row building in Arkansas dates to 1892-93. The 1883 portion of the National Hotel at Mammoth Hot Springs in Yellowstone was demolished in 1936; the oldest part remaining is a 1911 wing. No hotels were present in Sequoia and King's Canyon.

[38] The authors would like to thank anonymous peer reviewers for their thoughtful comments.

[39] See Jeffrey Limerick, Nancy Ferguson, and Richard Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979) and Bryant F. Tolles Jr., *Resort Hotels of the Adirondacks: The Architecture of a Summer Paradise, 1850-1950* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New Hampshire, 2003), *The Grand Resort Hotels of the White Mountains* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1998), and *Summer by the Seaside: The Architecture of New England Coastal Resort Hotels, 1820-1950* (Lebanon, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2008).

age have survived. By examining the remaining representative grand resort hotels, "one can appreciate the impact of new means of transportation and technological innovations; the American attraction to novelty and fashion; the changes in American attitudes toward nature and the landscape; and the connection between architectural styles and cultural aspirations," assert Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver.[40]

Lake Hotel significantly represents the grand resort hotels of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in a number of important ways, including: its immense size resulting from a series of historic expansions; distinctive Colonial Revival expression and horizontal building form; frame construction; comfortable and logically arranged interior with elaborated public spaces; inclusion of modern technology, superior services, and guest activities impossible in daily life; and magnificent setting in one of the crown jewels of the national parks. Unlike many of its contemporaries in the grand resort hotel class, which burned, fell into disrepair, or became economically unfeasible to operate and were demolished, Lake Hotel continues to function as a major tourist destination serving thousands of guests during its operating season each year. Professor Bryant J. Tolles Jr., whose books include studies of grand resort hotels in the White Mountains, Adirondacks, and the New England coast, declares that in terms of existing frame Colonial Revival hotels he cannot "think of any that are comparable in size" and the Lake Hotel is "absolutely" worthy and "very justifiable" for NHL designation.[41]

Lake Hotel importantly displays defining characteristics of the Colonial Revival, identified as "our national architectural idiom" by University of Virginia Professor Richard Guy Wilson, author of the *Colonial Revival House* and other works on the topic.[42] Colonial Revival buildings, whose architecture is derived from aspects of colonial era design, are described as distinctive and immediately recognizable and serve to "invoke a national experience and express national values," according to cultural critic Edward Rothstein.[43] While the colonial prototype may be freely or closely interpreted, the architectural details are often exaggerated.[44] Buildings in this architectural dialect, representatives of which include almost every property type and are found in most communities, may be distinguished by common features such as their "attention to proportion and an overall sense of elegance derived from economy and restraint"; embodiment of comfort and domesticity; inclusion of classical elements such as columns, pilasters, moldings, and pediments; weatherboard or smooth red brick walls; multi-pane double-hung windows, often with shutters; columned porches, porticoes, occasional balconies; elaborated entrances, including features such as pediments, sidelights, fanlights, and pilasters; and a hipped, gabled, or gambrel roof covered with slates or wood shingles.[45] Lake Hotel represents a freely interpreted western example of the style stemming from its construction in a vast undeveloped and isolated landscape, the challenge of an often harsh climate, the demands of its anticipated clientele, and the necessity of incorporating an existing building.

The hotel is embellished with a variety of neoclassical ornamentation and includes a weatherboard exterior painted yellow, with white-painted porticoes, balconies, and trim; double-hung rectangular windows, many with multi-paned sash and architrave trim; paneled and glazed doors with transoms and sidelights, several incorporating leaded glass; and thick neoclassical entablatures with varied moldings. The design theme is

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[40] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 12.

[41] Bryant F. Tolles Jr., Concord, New Hampshire, telephone interview by Thomas H. Simmons, 19 December 2011.

[42] Wilson sees the Colonial Revival as "neither a formal style or a movement," but incorporating "an attitude that looks to the American past for inspiration and selects forms, motifs, and symbols for replication and reuse." Richard Guy Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004), 6.

[43] Donald Albrecht and Thomas Mellins, *The American Style: Colonial Revival and the Modern Metropolis* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2011), 13; Edward Rothstein, "National Design That's Hidden in Plain Sight," *New York Times*, 13 June 2011.

[44] Early Colonial Revival buildings often were freer, less accurate adaptations of colonial architecture than many later, more restrained and academic designs often referred to as the Georgian Revival style.

[45] Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House*, 6; Albrecht and Mellins, *The American Style*, 13; Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 320-326; Cyril M. Harris, *American Architecture: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1998), 68.

continued on the three projecting three-story porticoes of the façade featuring isosceles triangular pediments with weatherboard tympanums displaying center lunette windows holding fanlight sashes and supported by Ionic columns. A half-round portico with Tuscan columns; balconies supported on large, scrolled modillions; oculus and bay windows; small pedimented dormers; and a gabled roof clad with wood shingles also convey the historic style.[46] Architect Harvey H. Kaiser, author of *Landmarks in the Landscape*, concludes Robert C. Reamer produced "an imposing structure of Classical beauty," transforming a "nondescript building into an elegant hotel that displays Colonial styling and neo-Classical elements."[47] Professor Wilson judges the building "significant" and deems Lake Hotel "a very good example of Colonial Revival Hotel design and [it] of course shows another aspect about the tourist industry in the later 19th-early 20th Century, it was not all about 'rustic' as with Reamer's Old Faithful."[48] Christine Barnes, author of several books discussing the great lodges of the public lands of the United States and Canada, judges, "While Reamer's rustic architecture of Old Faithful Inn set the bar for national park rustic 'parkitecture' for decades to come, Lake Hotel's Colonial Revival elegance was the design in keeping with the era."[49]

AMERICAN VACATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRAND RESORT HOTEL

Lake Hotel and other historic grand resort hotels represent a movement associated with the evolution of American vacations, as well as changing cultural traditions, social mores, and economic issues relating to leisure time. Americans sought the comforts and benefits of travel long before construction of the first grand hotels by continuing the Native American and European practice of visiting mineral springs.[50] As Tolles observed, "Since the pre-Revolutionary War era, Americans have embraced travel and the ritual of vacation to provide aesthetic and intellectual stimulation, religious enlightenment, improved physical and mental well-being, social interaction, recreational involvement and change from routine life habits."[51] The nation's citizens prioritized these reasons for taking vacations and the destinations of their leisure travel differently over time while also adopting new expectations for the accommodations.

Hotels developed as a new type of building in American cities in the late eighteenth century and at first were designed as larger versions of traditional inns or taverns.[52] The buildings soon played important roles as centers of community life. As travel increased and business expanded, the size and services of hotels grew. The finer versions of the property type incorporated new technologies and functional spaces such as lobbies, dining halls, and ballrooms, as well as the customary areas for lodging, food, and drink.[53] Boston's 1829 Tremont House in the Greek Revival style represented something new, featuring expensive construction, massive size encompassing four stories and 170 rooms, gracious public spaces, indoor plumbing, fine cuisine, and "every luxury and convenience" architect Isaiah Rogers could include.[54] During his first visit to the United States in 1842, Charles Dickens stayed at the Tremont and commented, "It has more galleries, colonnades, piazzas, and passages than I can remember, or the reader would believe."[55] Tolles asserted the United States first surpassed

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[46] The ratio of base of the pediment to each side is about 1.45 to 1. Reamer's pediment design was constrained by the shape of the gable faces on the existing building.

[47] Harvey H. Kaiser, *Landmarks in the Landscape: Historic Architecture in the National Parks of the West* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1997), 145.

[48] Wilson adds he does not "care too much for the [1923] wing added to it," although he believes the Lake "deserves" NHL listing. Richard Guy Wilson, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, email to Thomas H. Simmons, 2 December 2011.

[49] Christine Barnes, *Great Lodges of the National Parks* (Portland, Oregon: Graphic Arts Books, 2008), 2:21.

[50] Jeffrey W. Limerick, "The Grand Resort Hotels of America," *Perspecta: The Yale Architectural Journal* 15 (1975): 88.

[51] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 14.

[52] Limerick, "The Grand Resort Hotels of America," 87.

[53] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 17.

[54] Limerick, "The Grand Resort Hotels of America," 87.

[55] Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation*, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/675/675-h/675-h.htm#page22

Europe in the development of the modern hotel with construction of Tremont House.[56] Other American hotel developers found the Tremont's innovations, luxuriousness, size, and physical organization a winning combination.[57]

In the early nineteenth century, improved means of transportation and changing attitudes toward nature and physical well-being encouraged city dwellers to take a respite from their busy daily lives by visiting rural areas with appealing natural surroundings. The fiftieth anniversary of the country's independence contributed to the growing movement by increasing patriotic expression and appreciation of the bountiful natural landscape. Three major categories of early vacation accommodations developed: hotels promising an opportunity for better health, such as those located near therapeutic springs; hotels found at the seashore; and hotels located near scenic attractions.[58]

The most popular early nineteenth century spa in the country emerged at Saratoga Springs, New York, a resort area with medicinal springs that became a model for other watering places.[59] Development at Saratoga began in the late 1700s with a three-story tavern and guesthouse, followed by construction of the Congress Hall hotel in 1812 and the subsequent opening of a number of other hotels, including the United States and the Union, each with more than five hundred rooms. During the early 1800s the time-consuming journey to the resort might require travel aboard a boat, followed by a horse-drawn carriage. Although guests initially came for the mineral springs, by about 1820 billiards, dancing, and private gambling enhanced Saratoga's popularity; it was a "featured stop on the Northern summer tour," noted Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver.[60] Writing in 1838, British traveler James S. Buckingham described the location's prime appeal as a social scene: "Saratoga affords perhaps the best opportunity that a stranger can enjoy for seeing American society on the largest scale, and embracing the greatest variety of classes at the same time; for except the small shopkeeper and mere labourer, every other class has its representative here."[61]

In the South, White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, boasted medicinal springs that attracted Native Americans and early settlers before James Caldwell began development of the site as a resort in 1816. By the 1830s the property, consisting of rows of cottages, a dining room and kitchen, and a ballroom with lodgings above, rose to prominence as its mostly southern patrons came during the summer to escape the heat and humidity. A large "Grand Central Hotel," later known as "Old White," secured its popularity in 1858. Up to the Civil War it was one of the country's most fashionable resorts, attracting five presidents and the nation's most influential and powerful families. Under the guidance of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, a new hotel, the 1913 Greenbrier, "filled with every convenience and luxury of modern civilization," reestablished the position of White Sulphur Springs as a favorite of high society.[62]

During the early days of vacationing, the social aspect of resort hotel stays developed as a primary attraction, bringing together persons of varied backgrounds (although all with enough time and money to take a respite from their normal lives) who ate, strolled, lounged, and danced together. Social interactions frequently occurred on the large porches that became key architectural features of the resort hotels, allowing patrons to enjoy a range of independent or group activities from a sheltered location. In time, individual establishments and even

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[56] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 18.
[57] Limerick, "The Grand Resort Hotels of America," 87.
[58] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 30-31.
[59] Robert Joki, *Saratoga Lost: Images of Victorian America* (Hensonville, New York: Black Dome Press Corp., 1998), xii.
[60] Joki, *Saratoga Lost*, xii and 3; Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 24.
[61] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 26.
[62] William Alexander MacCorkle, *The White Sulphur Springs: The Tradition, History and Social Life of the Greenbrier* (New York: The Neale Publishing Co., 1916), 53, 59, 67; Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 34; "The Greenbrier History," accessed 13 September 2013, https://www.greenbrier.com/.

entire resort communities developed reputations for catering to specific kinds of people.[63] For example, by 1850 Saratoga Springs was known for attracting "the fast crowd" and as a center of horse racing and gambling.[64] Bar Harbor, Maine, and Newport, Rhode Island, ultimately grew into summer residential communities for the very wealthy. Emulating Newport, other historic towns and villages of New England, in particular, attracted summer visitors and resort hotels commensurate with the historic settings that catered to a wider range of vacationers and summer guests.

Time at the seashore appealed to many Americans eager to leave the confines of the city during the summer months. Cape Island, New Jersey, began attracting summer visitors in the mid-eighteenth century, and the town of Cape May became the most popular seaside resort in the country by 1840, luring wealthy residents and distinguished politicians of the South and mid-Atlantic to its seaside, gambling, and fancy balls.[65] Like many seashore communities, Cape May, reached by steamship, grew exponentially before the Civil War. Its Italianate-style Mount Vernon Hotel opened in 1853, calling itself "the world's largest resort hotel." The four-story building featured a six-story front tower, verandas and balconies, a bathroom attached to each of six hundred bedrooms, gas lighting, and a dining room seating three thousand. Three years after its opening a fire destroyed the building, illustrating Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver's observation that "the world of the resort hotel was indeed a fragile one."[66] In 1878, a large portion of the town, including nine of the large frame hotels, succumbed to a fire that contributed to Cape May's economic decline.[67] Ultimately, rail connections from Philadelphia to Atlantic City, New Jersey, led to the eclipse of Cape May

A third type of vacationer wanted to explore the scenic wonders of the nation. As Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver described:

> …once nature began to be tamed, its wild state came to have a strong romantic appeal, especially to the city dweller. Americans began to see the wilderness, not as a wasteland, but as the unspoiled handiwork of God. It was only a short step from that attitude to the new awareness of beauty and a source of moral inspiration in natural scenery, which became fashionable in the early nineteenth century and has remained so to the present day. An increasing number of people sought out especially scenic places within easy reach that offered comfortable accommodations. By 1820, the scenic resort was firmly established.[68]

The Greek Revival-style Catskill Mountain House near Catskill, New York, represented one of the first resort hotels built for the adventurous of spirit.[69] A group of local businessmen erected the hostelry to take advantage of Hudson River tourism. Located on a cliff 2,500 feet above the river valley, the frame facility grew significantly after its opening as a ten-room cabin in 1823. Eventually, it included approximately 189 rooms along double-loaded corridors and displayed a unified façade featuring a colonnade overlooking the valley that became the center of the hotel's social life. Encompassed within the massive building were a large dining room and lounge on the ground floor and a second-floor ballroom; the detached kitchen reduced the risk of disastrous fire. Catskill Mountain House served as a landmark for travelers conditioned by first class urban hotels such as

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[63] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 26.

[64] Limerick, "The Grand Resort Hotels of America," 89.

[65] Jeffery M. Dorwart, *Cape May County, New Jersey: The Making of an American Resort Community* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 70; Limerick, "The Grand Resort Hotels of America," 89; Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 28.

[66] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 30.

[67] Dorwart, *Cape May County*, 120.

[68] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 31.

[69] The hotel was demolished in 1962. Roland Van Zandt, *The Catskill Mountain House* (Hendersonville, NY: Black Dome Press Corporation, 1997), 28.

the Tremont House in Boston and New York's 360-room Astor House (1836), also designed by Isaiah Rogers.[70] Visitors enjoyed fine cuisine and encountered a variety of opportunities for active participation, including a bowling alley, billiard hall, and system of hiking and riding trails leading to overlooks, lakes, and waterfalls.[71]

Although the Civil War temporarily ended construction of large resort hotels, the postwar era witnessed new enthusiasm for such places.[72] With expanded and improved systems of transportation, travel to formerly isolated areas increased. Soon, opportunities abounded to "summer" in the mountains from the Poconos, Catskills, Adirondacks, and the White Mountains to the Rockies, or on the seashore from the rugged Maine coast to Florida, the Gulf of Mexico, and sunny Southern California.

In her study of American vacations, historian Cindy S. Aron found railroads served as a primary element in the expansion of vacation opportunities and "contributed, as well, to the democratization of vacationing."[73] She indicated the arrival of railroads made travel "quicker, easier, more comfortable, and cheaper" and brought "seashore, mountains, and countryside closer to the population of American towns and cities."[74] Encouraged by what architect Robert A.M. Stern described as the national "passion for spending 'seasons' anywhere but at home," rail companies found they could double their investment by building hotels along and at the end of their routes.[75] The lines constructed rails to existing resort towns, motivated communities to market themselves as summer vacation spots, developed their own resorts at locations near the tracks, and promoted vacationing through advertisements, guides, and colorful promotional brochures.[76]

In the decades after the Civil War, Americans became concerned with the negative aspects of urbanization and industrialization, often romanticized the simplicity of earlier times, and emphasized the benefits of outdoor life. Athletic endeavors moved outside, and resorts responded with a myriad of fresh air activities, including hiking, boating, hunting, and golf. These pursuits gained the approval of spiritual leaders such as William H.H. "Adirondack" Murray, whose 1869 *Adventures in the Wilderness* described the health-restoring value of fresh air and the landscape, encouraging retreats to undisturbed natural settings. In 1871 the Adirondacks became one of the first wilderness areas accessed by railroads, and hotels began to proliferate on the area's lakes. Adirondack lodges, while often modest on the exterior, featured charming and comfortable interiors where guests escaped the worries of everyday life. "The combination of wilderness and comfort pioneered in the Adirondacks reached its culmination in the resort hotels built in government-maintained national parks," observed Stern.[77]

In the years after the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, the American West became a more accessible, although still expensive, destination for travelers.[78] The history of tourism and development in Yellowstone National Park reflects the significant involvement and impact of railroads. Jay Cooke & Company, agents for the Northern Pacific Railway, became major supporters in the effort to create the first national park, recognizing the great commercial benefits that such a designation would engender.[79] The Northern Pacific

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[70] Talbot Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America: Being an Account of Important Trends in American Architecture and American Life Prior to the War Between the States* (New York: Dover Publications: 1944 and 1964), 112, 114.

[71] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 32.

[72] Cindy Sondik Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 49.

[73] Aron, *Working at Play*, 49.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Robert A.M. Stern, *Pride of Place: Building the American Dream* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986), 174; Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 47.

[76] Aron, *Working at Play*, 49.

[77] Stern, *Pride of Place*, 177.

[78] Aron notes a trip to Yellowstone in the 1870s represented a substantial investment similar to a European tour. Aron, *Working at Play*, 142.

[79] Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* (Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming: Yellowstone Library and Museum

Railway provided funds for artist Thomas Moran to accompany Ferdinand V. Hayden's 1871 government exploration party of the Yellowstone area, and the resulting paintings were used to publicize the wonders of the region and build political support for creating the park. The railroads realized a variety of facilities would be needed to serve tourists arriving by railroad to view the wonders of the new reservation. In her theme study of national park architecture, Laura Soullière Harrison judged: "Much of the outstanding architectural heritage of the western national parks was due to the railroads, whose economic interests inspired a fascinating architectural legacy of resort architecture…."[80]

The 1872 designation of Yellowstone as the country's first national park focused attention on the West. American explorers, artists, and others had extolled the wonders of the western setting for several decades, increasing public interest. With its awe-inspiring landscape and exotic geothermal features, Yellowstone's two million-acre reservation represented a part of the country's heritage that instilled pride and a sense of a distinct national identity.[81] Visiting the new national park provided citizens with an opportunity to view first-hand natural landmarks rivaling those of Europe and also gave them an appreciation for the value of preserving wild and scenic areas.[82] To provide services for tourists, buildings of varied architecture and function were created. Visitors wrote articles and filled books with their personal observations and discoveries about the park and encouraged others to make the journey. Yellowstone remained the nation's only national park until 1890, when Yosemite was designated.

The western railroads became the greatest advertisers of the national parks in newspapers and periodicals.[83] Historian Patricia Nelson Limerick suggested the railroads found success by reassuring vacationers, "repeating the promise that the West was safe now, with tame hotels, parlors, and verandas from which the wild scenery could be calmly viewed."[84] In the 1870s, a few hundred tourists per year visited the park, mostly from states nearby. As people learned more about Yellowstone and access improved, the numbers steadily rose.[85] Taking advantage of national and international interest regarding the splendors and curiosities within Yellowstone, private companies also offered lengthy guided tours.

The 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia also bolstered the concept of a unique American identity by presenting exhibits from the individual states, impressing visitors with the breadth and diversity of the country's resources, as well as its colonial history. The fair increased interest among citizens, especially those from the East, for seeing the little-known parts of the nation. Hotel scholar A.K. Sandoval-Strausz concluded the Philadelphia exhibition "heralded the dawn of mass tourism in the United States."[86] The desire to visit and understand the heritage, resources, and promise of America accelerated in the years after the centennial, as the country experienced broad changes accompanying industrial expansion, development of new technologies, increasing mobility, and creation of new wealth.[87] Tourism became a way to experience the nation's natural legacy. Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver described the continuing personal impact of making a journey to one of the national parks: "Although much of the North American continent already had been tamed by pioneers and

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Association, 1977) 1:108-109.

[80] Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks*, 18.

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

[82] Runte, *National Parks*, xxii and 1.

[83] Peter Blodgett, "Selling the Scenery: Advertising and the National Parks, 1916-1933," in *Seeing and Being Seen*, eds. Wrobel and Long, 285.

[84] Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West," in *Seeing and Being Seen*, eds. Wrobel and Long, 45.

[85] Paul Schullery, "Privations and Inconveniences: Early Tourism in Yellowstone National Park," in *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*, eds. David M. Wrobel and Patrick T. Long (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 227.

[86] A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2007), 110.

[87] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 45.

frontiersmen, and by the railroad itself, travelers from the East fancied themselves explorers of a virgin land. Even today, one's first view of the Grand Canyon, Old Faithful, or Yosemite is a moment of personal discovery."[88]

The years from the centennial up to the country's entrance into World War I constituted what scholars refer to as the "golden age" of America's grand resort hotels, a period when many were built, the buildings grew larger, and they displayed new architectural styles while serving as "stages for Americans' social aspirations and desire for retreat from the industrialized city," according to Tolles.[89] Massive new hotels appeared all over the nation, and older establishments received additions making them more comfortable and economically competitive during this era. The buildings boasted technological innovations including elevators, telephones, private toilets, gas and electric lights, superior water and sanitation systems, box spring mattresses, and steam heat.[90] Many people first experienced these modern conveniences while staying at hotels.[91]

Completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad to the Pacific Northwest in 1883 led to a dramatic boom in tourism along the route.[92] Chester A. Arthur, an avid outdoorsman, made the first presidential visit to Yellowstone that year and newspapers provided extensive coverage of his experiences.[93] Arthur's trip is viewed as a milestone in the process of publicizing the attractions of the park.[94] By the 1890s, what Roderick Nash called "the wilderness cult," with its appreciation of wild, undeveloped landscapes and the people who inhabited them, constituted a significant and growing cultural phenomenon.[95] The creation of the national parks and accompanying publicity efforts of the railroads had resulted in "a great migration for pleasure" in the nation.[96]

Aside from a slowdown in hotel construction during World War I that marked the end of the golden era for grand resort hotels, the first three decades of the twentieth century saw a steady increase in the numbers and diversity of American vacationers.[97] This growth in vacationing resulted from the continued development of tourist facilities, extension of transportation systems, and increasing expectations of Americans in terms of salary and time off from work. Simultaneously, the tourist industry became more effective in organizing, supporting, and publicizing travel. Americans also continued their heightened interest in physical activity and desire for meaningful new experiences. A Yellowstone vacation offered many people what they were seeking.

The automobile's presence became widespread by 1915, providing Americans with greater independence from railroad routes and flexibility in their travel decisions. Many grand resort hotels found their livelihoods threatened as people increasingly traveled by auto and changed the patterns of their vacations. Whereas in earlier days many guests stayed for weeks or even an entire season at one hotel, the ease of travel by car meant vacationers often checked-in for shorter periods before moving to different locations. Railroads lost customers to those who favored driving their own vehicle to vacation spots of their choosing, and the rail companies reduced their resort service accordingly.

The operation of hotels in Yellowstone was less affected by the arrival of cars than those in other parts of the country. The park's early visitors generally spent only one or a few days at each lodging establishment before

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[88] Ibid., 47.
[89] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 20.
[90] Ibid., 143; and Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 13.
[91] Limerick, "The Grand Resort Hotels of America," 92.
[92] Carlos A. Schwantes, "No Aid and No Comfort: Early Transportation and the Origins of Tourism in the Northern West," in *Seeing and Being Seen*, eds. Wrobel and Long, 131.
[93] Wrobel and Long, eds., *Seeing and Being Seen*, 212.
[94] Schullery, "Privations and Inconveniences," 227.
[95] Blodgett, "Selling the Scenery," 288.
[96] Ibid., 292.
[97] Aron, *Working at Play*, 207.

moving on to the next attraction in their quest to complete what was known as "the grand tour" of scenic areas and park hotels.[98] Grand Loop Road, whose present form was "essentially complete" by 1905 according to Yellowstone naturalist-historian Paul Schullery, established the standard itinerary of the typical Yellowstone visitor; that itinerary stayed largely the same after the park allowed the first cars to enter in 1915 and remains unchanged today.[99] However, the arrival of cars coincided with requests for improved roads through scenic areas and to accommodations, and the National Park Service focused on meeting the requirements of the auto age as quickly as possible.

As early as 1906 the Northern Pacific Railway published advertisements in popular magazines urging the public to "See America First" with the proviso "but first of all see Yellowstone National Park."[100] The transportation and hospitality industries promoted the American West and its national parks as travel destinations comparable to the Alps or other European sights. A more intensive effort to drive home the concept took place in the late 1910s, when NPS Director Stephen Mather used his own funds to engage journalist Robert Sterling Yard in production of a torrent of articles promoting the national parks. Between 1915 and 1919, what became known as the "See America First" campaign placed more than one thousand articles about the national parks in magazines and newspapers.[101]

New prosperity in the 1920s resulted in the rehabilitation, expansion, or replacement of some grand resort hotels. A growing interest in year-round outdoor sports encouraged some facilities to stay open longer. The Ahwahnee, designed by Gilbert Stanley Underwood and erected in 1925 in Yosemite National Park, California, took advantage of this increased enthusiasm for winter activity. However, Lake Hotel's isolated location and challenging winter climate ensured that it maintained its historic seasonal operation. The number of visitors to Yellowstone climbed steadily, reaching a record 260,694 people in 1929.

As at many other vacation destinations, visitation figures in the national parks declined in response to the economic crisis of the 1930s. Park officials approved the mid-summer closure of three Yellowstone hotels, including Lake Hotel, in 1932. In 1933 the park received fewer than 162,000 visitors.[102] During the Great Depression, many of the grand resort hotels faced declining profits as Americans cut back on vacation travel. The establishments continued their efforts to attract visitors, with some resorts lowering their rates and eliminating services in order to entice a wider range of patrons. A number of large hotels failed financially or lacked enough guests to continue in operation. Some were demolished, while others became victims of deferred maintenance and required costly renovations. During World War II some of the large historic hotels continued to operate on a reduced scale, others were pressed into service as facilities associated with the war effort, and several stood unused and waiting a return to life after the conflict ended.[103]

CHARACTERISTICS OF GRAND RESORT HOTELS

Studies of the nation's grand resort hotels detail a number of common characteristics identifying the building type. For example, in *Resort Hotels of the Adirondacks,* Professor Tolles noted Catskill Mountain House displayed "characteristics that were destined to become commonplace in the majority of large-scale hotel enterprises—partially and sometimes completely self-contained operations; partnership or stock-holding corporate ownership; imposing physical size and architectural pretense; wooden construction; and functionally

[98] However, some guests did stay for longer periods, and some arrived at Lake Hotel during the same period of time each year.
[99] Schullery, "Privations and Inconveniences," 237.
[100] These advertisements appeared in newspapers and magazines such as *Atlantic Monthly*, *Life*, *Country Life in America*, and *Trave*l in 1906.
[101] Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 284.
[102] Aron, *Working at Play*, 238.
[103] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, America's *Grand Resort Hotels*, 169.

and systematically arranged interiors."[104] In nominating the Grand Hotel of Mackinac Island, Michigan, as a National Historic Landmark, Carolyn Pitts focused on the hotel offerings important to guests, opining a summer hotel of the "grand" class referred to "a sizable hotel that was stylish with beautiful appointments, fine food, and excellent service, all in a lovely setting…."[105] As Elizabeth Durfee Hengen in her National Register nomination for Mountain View House, in Whitefield, New Hampshire observed, "The core hotel illustrates the evolving nature of the grand hotel, beginning with a modest building and expanding into a full-blown seasonal resort capable of accommodating several hundred guests and providing for their myriad needs on-site." Another aspect of the grand resort hotel also was mentioned: "As a building type, the grand resort hotel was an immense building equipped to provide modern conveniences and up-to-date technology—often before they were generally available in private houses—as well as varied recreational activities in an insular, spectacular natural setting."[106]

Clientele

A predominantly well-to-do clientele patronized grand resort hotels, especially during the pre-railroad era when many establishments could only be reached by long, difficult, and expensive journeys. Tolles described the hotels as greatly appealing to "the wealthy and career accomplished," who found them a public stage for "display of wealth, social standing and fashion" and in some cases, "social one-upmanship."[107] Still, a few of the lodgings, such as Eagle Mountain House in Jackson, New Hampshire, served those of middle class means. The spread of the rail system throughout the country, as well as the expansion of paid time off, increased the range of patron income levels in some of the hotels, including those located in America's national parks.

The national parks were viewed as a shared legacy, and diversification of tourism in places such as Yellowstone further increased during the auto age. The nightly rate for Yellowstone Park Association (YPA) hotels was set in the lease agreement between the Park Service and the concessioner; the charge was the same at each YPA hotel.[108] Even so, the cost of staying at the Lake Hotel and other park grand resort hotels was never modest enough to reasonably allow those on the lower end of the economic scale to enjoy their hospitality. Although Lake Hotel served some vacationers who came at the same time every year and could afford to stay for a week or more, as at some of the more exclusive resorts in the country, the typical Yellowstone tourist wanted to see as many of the varied wonders as possible and stay in the different hotels associated with each part of the park. Unlike many other grand resort hotels that "priced themselves out of existence," those in Yellowstone continued to appeal to wealthy and upper-middle-class guests who came principally for the outdoor attractions.[109] However, within the park Lake Hotel was known for attracting a slightly larger number of guests who enjoyed longer stays than the other hotels.[110]

Size

A principal characteristic of the grand resort hotel was its massive size; such hotels typically accommodated hundreds of guests. As transportation systems made it increasingly easier to reach vacation destinations, many

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[104] Tolles Jr., *Resort Hotels of the Adirondacks*, 6.

[105] Carolyn Pitts, Grand Hotel, Mackinac Island, Michigan, National Register of Historic Places nomination form [revised for National Historic Landmark nomination], NRIS 72000637, 1989, 8:1.

[106] Elizabeth Durfee Hengen, Mountain View House, Whitefield, New Hampshire, National Register of Historic Places nomination form, NRIS 04000588, 2004, 8:1.

[107] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 14 and 20.

[108] In 1936 the YPA consolidated with other park concessions, such as those providing transportation, becoming the Yellowstone Park Company.

[109] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 22.

[110] Northern Pacific Railway, *The Hotels of Yellowstone Park* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Northern Pacific Railway, ca. 1914), no pagination.

of the enterprises added successive wings of new rooms and other needed hotel facilities to meet growing demand. Multiple periods of expansion characterized most of the buildings. According to Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver: "Because of their freedom from restricted urban sites, and because their purpose is to delight, hotels have had license to exaggerate, both in scale and image. Aside from their other unique features, their tremendous size was enough to set them off from everyday experience."[111] Since historic grand resort hotels originally operated only during the temperate "season" for their location, housing as many people as possible each day made economic sense.[112]

Vacationers soon expected the grand resort hotels to be grand in size. Tolles observed, "When times were prosperous and profits generous, such buildings, or major additions to existing complexes, were often erected in extraordinarily brief periods to capitalize on the propitious economic climate, and to develop or further increase guest patronage."[113] Among the largest of the hotels in this class was Mackinac Island's Grand Hotel, an NHL-designated building, which grew to encompass a 900-foot front and 286 rooms.[114] In Palm Beach, Florida, Henry Flagler's 1894 Royal Poinciana (demolished) billed itself as the largest wood building in the world, a six-story Colonial Revival-style building accommodating more than 1,200 guests.[115] Hotel Del Coronado (NHL 1977), a Queen Anne-style grand hotel in San Diego dating to 1888, contained 399 rooms; Robert A.M. Stern judged it "a high point in the history of American resort architecture."[116] Lake Hotel stood solidly in the grand class as a result of several additions, with a frontage extending 720 feet and 323 rooms after addition of its 1923 wing.

Building Materials and Form, Spatial Arrangement and Room Functions

During their golden era in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many grand resort hotels were of frame construction, most displayed weatherboard siding, and all featured countless windows and multiple entrances. They were typically long, horizontal forms, rather than a single vertical block, and included wings adding guest capacity and services that intersected the main wing containing the major public rooms. Building façades received the most exterior architectural elaboration, creating stylistic themes unifying subsequent expansions. The large size of the buildings was mitigated by these overall themes; exterior features creating places to linger, socialize, and absorb the surroundings; and logical and efficient interior layouts. In its horizontal form, construction materials, façade ornamentation, unifying style, numbers of windows, porticoes and porte cochère, and interior layout, Lake Hotel is a nationally significant example of the grand resort hotel type.

Verandas, Balconies, and Porte Cochères. An essential architectural component of many grand resort hotels was a prominent veranda or classical portico accommodating the "seeing and being seen" that developed in early inns and hotels in resort areas. Hotel porches and balconies became extensions of the interior rooms for social activities such as meeting and greeting other guests, promenading, taking in the view from the comfort of a rocking chair, indulging in naps, enjoying entertainment, and other pastimes. One of the winners of the veranda competition was Mackinac Island's Grand Hotel, featuring "the longest porch in the world" at more than six hundred feet.

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[111] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 16.

[112] The "season" varied from hotel to hotel, based on the local climate. Lake Hotel's season was determined by the amount of snow on the ground and varied from year to year, beginning sometime in mid-June and ending in early September during the historic period.

[113] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 17.

[114] Pitts, Grand Hotel, 7:1; Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 71.

[115] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 95 and 97.

[116] Robert C. Reamer worked on projects at Hotel Del Coronado in the 1890s before being hired to work at Yellowstone. Stern, *Pride of Place*, 171.

Many of the stately porticoes and large verandas facilitated the connection between the hotel and the setting. These components were given much consideration as features of architectural embellishment and often displayed giant order columns supporting classical pediments. Balconies provided guests with an opportunity to study the landscape from an elevated position. Large windows in guest rooms afforded glimpses of the splendid scenery and provided fresh air, while immense plate glass windows in public areas of the hotels made spaces such as lobbies and dining rooms exceptionally attractive places to gather for conversation or sit in quiet contemplation. Also common were porte cochères, sheltered areas that allowed vehicles to drive to hotel entrances and release or pickup passengers. Lake Hotel encompasses four large façade porticoes and a substantial porte cochère, hundreds of windows, and multiple entrances.

Interiors. Grand resort hotels commonly displayed a standard division of interior spaces designed to efficiently provide services and amenities guests expected. The size and services of the buildings grew, but their traditional interior layouts were logical and easily understood by visitors.[117] Typically, ground floors were divided into several public rooms for indoor activities, including: a lobby with a registration desk and seating area; a parlor or sitting room; a very large dining room; and smaller special purpose rooms for activities such as playing billiards, reading, or writing correspondence. Administrative and service rooms also occupied the first floor, including hotel offices. Kitchen facilities were logically located near the dining room, although many kitchens were in detached buildings to mitigate the danger of a fire. Some of the largest hotels included ballrooms; Del Coronado boasted a grand space accommodating 1,200 dancers.

Public rooms also received special design attention and elaboration, which conveyed the grand resort ambience and a chosen architectural style. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Arts and Crafts movement influenced the interior design of many hotels. Lake Hotel's original nondescript interior received an Arts and Crafts makeover in 1903-04, followed by a Colonial Revival redesign in 1928. The hotel's largest public spaces (the lobby, lounge, and dining room) featured immense windows facing the best views and were beautifully designed interior areas with polished wood floors, paneled columns, and ceilings coffered with cased beams. Large fireplaces became popular features of grand resort hotel lobbies, especially those in natural settings, and the massive one at Lake Hotel featured green tiles and a fireplace screen ornamented with ivy and pine trees.

Guest rooms and bathrooms generally occupied the upper stories of grand hotels along long, wide, double-loaded corridors. The arrangement of rooms provided views, light, and air for every patron.[118] Guest bedrooms ranged from comfortable to luxurious in size and furnishings. Some of the hotels featured private bathrooms connected to each guest room. Others offered grouped bathrooms and lavatories shared by guests; originally, Lake Hotel included a central bathroom wing containing most of these facilities.[119]

Support Facilities. The rural and often isolated locations of grand resort hotels required them to be large, complex, and self-sufficient operations. To support their extensive services and activities, the facilities generally consisted of a massive main building and several smaller specific-purpose facilities, such as workers' housing, kitchens, storage structures, power and heating plants, barns and stables, and other subsidiary buildings.[120] These facilities were placed behind the main building so as not to diminish the front view of the hotel. Jeffrey Limerick observed that, by the 1920s, hotels attempted to create "believable and consistent fantasy settings," where the public areas were designed as centers of action and the areas constituting "functional necessities"

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[117] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 49.
[118] Ibid., 49.
[119] In his 1903 redesign of the hotel, Reamer added some semi-private bathrooms. In 1923 the new east wing included private bathrooms and bathrooms shared by two adjoining rooms.
[120] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 22.

served as seamless components or were hidden from sight.[121] New Hampshire's Mountain View House required various detached buildings, including chauffeurs' quarters and a dormitory, behind the hotel where the drivers lived, sometimes with their families.[122] Lake Hotel's auxiliary buildings included housing for staff, a detached kitchen (now connected to the main wing), and storage and power facilities.

Guest Activities

Each grand resort hotel, through its setting, location, facilities, available staff, and local resources, offered its own slate of activities, from dining, promenading, reading, visiting therapeutic springs, sunbathing, billiards, and concerts, to more active pursuits, such as dancing, horseback riding, hiking, hunting, fishing, tennis, golf, swimming, boating, and archery. As automobiles gained popularity, driving on improved roads to view splendid scenery became a favorite activity.[123] While most enterprises specified several possible leisure pursuits, the Royal Poinciana of Palm Beach boasted it offered "every possible pastime and amusement." One guest described hotel life there as consisting of going to the beach, rocking on the porch, sightseeing, or for the "really energetic" such activities as fishing, hunting, and playing golf or tennis, followed by dressing, eating dinner, and dancing.[124]

The hotels in Yellowstone National Park did not depend greatly on construction of amusement and sporting facilities to attract visitors.[125] The scenic, geologic, and wildlife wonders of Yellowstone served as the draw for the park's hotels, providing entertainment, recreation, and relaxation for guests. Lake Hotel's location dictated that hiking, observing nature in all its forms, enjoying the lake, and viewing the scenery were obvious activities to be enjoyed by stepping outdoors. With its proximity to Yellowstone Lake, fishing constituted a major pastime of the hotel's guests, and the activity was supported by a fish hatchery in the park.[126] One guidebook indicated, "You may fish till you are tired catching them, not waiting for them to bite: … you just put a fly on a hook and the hook on a string, drop it on the water, not in it, and there's your fish." [127] Other water-related activities included rowing, sailing, floating on the lake, walking along the shore, or just sitting in a chair and telling fish stories.

While the hotel offered traditional pleasures, such as enjoying fine cuisine and scheduled concerts, guests wrote most frequently and at greatest length about viewing bears around the hotel, and newspapers across the nation contained dozens of stories about the ursine inhabitants. As a 1912 guidebook described: "… a great colony of bears is often seen and at evening they congregate in nearby open space in the woods to await the hotel garbage wagon."[128] After its creation in 1916, the Park Service continued the "bear shows," wherein the public watched the animals feed from hotel trash dumps. Bleachers were built to provide good views of the creatures, and

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[121] Limerick, "The Grand Resort Hotels of America," 105.

[122] "Mountain View Grand Resort & Spa," https://www.mountainviewgrand.com, accessed 11 April 2013.

[123] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 49.

[124] *Palm Beach Daily News*, 28 November 2010; Limerick, "The Grand Resort Hotels of America," 96; Palm Beach County Online, "The Flagler Era-Hotel Life: Seasonal Amusements."

[125] In 1905 the Yellowstone Park Association had proposed a golf course and tennis courts in the Lake Hotel vicinity that never materialized. A limited number of recreational facilities created for guests existed within the park: tennis courts at Mammoth; swimming pools at Mammoth and Old Faithful; and horseback riding at Canyon, Mammoth, and Old Faithful. Ruth Quinn, "Overcoming Obscurity: The Yellowstone Architecture of Robert C. Reamer," *Yellowstone Science* 12 (Spring 2004): 26 and 39, citing a 1905 Yellowstone Park Association brochure; Lee H. Whittlesey, Park Historian, Yellowstone National Park, emails to Thomas H. Simmons, 3 and 4 December 2013.

[126] Dwight T. Pitcaithley, "A Dignified Exploitation: The Growth of Tourism in the National Parks," in eds. Wrobel and Long, *Seeing and Being Seen*, 304.

[127] Reau Campbell, *Campbell's Complete Guide and Descriptive Book of the Yellowstone Park* (Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming: H. E. Klamer, 1909), 158.

[128] Thomas D. Murphy, *Three Wonderlands of the American West* (Boston: L.C. Page & Co., 1912), 15.

rangers protected the tourists from them.[129] With the arrival of cars scenic drives attracted many visitors, and the park strove to build and maintain roads accessing the most notable spots. People-watching from the first-floor public rooms and the verandas was always available to those tired of outdoor activity, and some people viewed Lake Hotel as a calm respite from their other Yellowstone adventures.

During the early twentieth century the amenities at Lake Hotel compared quite favorably with those of other accommodations in the park. The same concessioner, YPA, operated all the hotels and contracted with the same businesses to secure their supplies, so it is not surprising that the menus of their dining rooms were similar, providing guests with three hearty meals per day to fuel their outdoor activities. The hotels offered excellent service and attempted to accommodate all the needs of their guests. Patrons could drink fine wines, make telephone calls and send telegrams, read the latest news, purchase photographic supplies, and shop for souvenirs and gifts at park establishments. Each hotel provided scheduled entertainment in the evenings, including music and dancing. Each hotel's setting contained a significant natural feature that played an important role in the daytime activities of guests: Yellowstone Lake at Lake Hotel, Old Faithful at its namesake building, Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone at Canyon Hotel, and Mammoth Hot Springs at the National Hotel.[130]

Setting

Grand resort hotels of the golden era featured "compelling settings" that fell into three categories based on the type of specific attraction leading to their construction: health-restoring waters, the seashore, or scenic natural features.[131] As Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver argued in their study of the typology, in some cases the associated landscape influenced the appearance of hotels, while in others landscape was the reason for their existence.[132] An expansive view overlooking water constituted a commonality for many grand resort hotels, as at the Lake Hotel. The Homestead at Hot Springs, Virginia, publicized its four thermal springs sheltered by gazebos, as well as "beautiful scenery," while Grand Hotel on Mackinac Island, Michigan, featured an imposing location on a bluff overlooking the Straits of Mackinac.[133] Eagle Mountain House, in Jackson, New Hampshire, lured visitors with "splendid scenery, clear mountain air and social conviviality."[134] A grand resort hotel's natural setting, enhanced with designed landscape elements, was of immense importance in attracting patrons.[135] "At many hotel sites, therefore, there existed a fascinating and occasionally awkward relationship between the natural and the man-made, where the 'tourist's experience of nature [was always] tempered by the comfort and luxury of the resort hotel itself," according to Tolles.[136]

Many grand resort hotels of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including Lake Hotel, sought to embody an atmosphere of "civilization in the wilderness."[137] Lake Hotel demonstrated the importance of setting through its location in a national park and careful placement on a forested, sloping site facing Yellowstone Lake and more distant views of the Absaroka Mountains and Continental Divide. As a 1909 guidebook described: "The view from the Colonial [Lake Hotel], is simply superb, looking over the Lake to the bluer mountains beyond all capped in snowy white, with the camel backs against the sky, a never-ending caravan that never

[129] Pitcaithley, "A Dignified Exploitation," 304.
[130] Reinhart and Henry, *Old Faithful Inn*, 53-61; Robert C. Reamer, "Alterations and Additions to Lake Hotel," 19 June 1928, Collection K18, folder E, Yellowstone National Park Archives, Heritage & Research Center, Gardner, Montana.
[131] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 12 and 31.
[132] After its creation in 1916 the National Park Service adopted a philosophy of designing buildings that harmonized with their natural setting. Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, 13 and 47.
[133] Pitts, "Grand Hotel," 7.1.
[134] Elizabeth Durfee Hengen, Eagle Mountain House, Jackson, New Hampshire, National Register of Historic Places nomination Form, NRIS 90001848, 1990, 8:2.
[135] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 13 and 16.
[136] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 16.
[137] Barnes, *Great Lodges of the National Parks*, 2:17.

passes by."[138] The hotel and its surrounding landscape represented a highly successful resolution of the difficult task of designing an eye-catching building also compatible with the important natural surroundings. Robert C. Reamer's work in Yellowstone as embodied in the Lake Hotel "reflected quite clearly a desire not to alter landscapes but to frame nature for visitors, to present it as they expected it to be," according to historian Mark Daniel Barringer.[139] The architect's slight angling of the 1923 east wing of Lake Hotel to avoid a rocky obstruction reflected a solution to the challenge of constructing such a large building without undertaking major alteration of the site.

GRAND RESORT HOTEL STYLES AND THE COLONIAL REVIVAL INFLUENCE

Each grand resort hotel displayed elements in common with other buildings in their class while also being remarkable for their individual characteristics, with many distinguished by their architectural styles reflecting specific times, places, and clienteles. Tolles concluded: "As specimens of architecture, grand resort hotels were like insular worlds unto themselves, conceived to offer all that their patrons desired in a physical setting that emphasized comfort, diversity of experience, aesthetic allure and efficiency."[140] Hotel design often was not in "the vanguard of architectural style," but generally followed residential patterns of the time, conveying an appearance guests understood and felt at home with while also living up to the expectation of the hotel as a "special place," concluded Limerick, Ferguson and Oliver.[141] They found such enterprises concentrated on incorporating high quality workmanship, remarkable detailing, and layouts supporting a logical and relaxed lifestyle. Attempting to stay relevant to the traveling public and reflecting changes in American tastes and culture, grand resort hotels adopted "evolving architectural fashions."[142]

During the nineteenth century neoclassical hotels providing associative images of past cultures of Greece and Rome gave way to Italianate, Second Empire, and Queen Anne styles that progressed through construction and enlargement or destruction by fire and rebuilding. Architectural styles were viewed as conveying a variety of messages, including a country's ideology, accomplishments, and taste. This belief led to debates in many countries about which style or styles best exemplified their origin and outlook.[143] The American version of Queen Anne "became *the* dominant picturesque style of the late nineteenth century," according to Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver.[144] Many grand resort hotels built in the western United States relied on the patronage of eastern visitors who previously had stayed at first class hotels and were looking for new experiences. Despite the mostly unfamiliar settings of the lodgings, guests were reassured to encounter accommodations with styles, layouts, and amenities well known back home.[145]

While adopting popular styles of architecture, grand resort hotels typically were designed with respect for their immediate surroundings and local traditions; no one particular style was favored. [146] Tolles found that as competition among the establishments increased they departed from the Queen Anne and other older styles, seeking "differentiation through distinctive new architectural styling."[147] He noted the buildings continued to retain "their traditional low-rise, horizontal massing, and conventional interior arrangement, with the ground-

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[138] Campbell, *Campbell's Complete Guide and Descriptive Book of the Yellowstone Park*, 158.
[139] Mark Daniel Barringer, *Selling Yellowstone: Capitalism and the Construction of Nature* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 44.
[140] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 14-15.
[141] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 16, 91-92.
[142] Ibid., 16.
[143] Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House*, 14-15.
[144] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 49.
[145] The Colonial Revival style of the Lake Hotel, frequently seen on the eastern seaboard, was not as often chosen for establishments in the West. Limerick, "The Grand Resort Hotels of America," 98.
[146] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 36-37 and 49.
[147] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 20.

floor space devoted to public areas, and the floors above to sleeping rooms *en suites* along double-loaded corridors."[148] A focus on regional character and local history became one trend, with a variety of influences among the traditions acknowledged, including Colonial, English, Swiss, Spanish, and Mission Revival styles acknowledged.[149] The Arts and Crafts movement gained acceptance in hotel designs at the same time in response to its emphasis on craftsmanship, harmony with nature, and human scale.[150] As Limerick, Ferguson and Oliver asserted: "The most spectacular examples of hotels in these styles were built in the national parks of the West."[151] Paul Schullery found each of the grand resort hotels within Yellowstone was erected in an important natural area and displayed a "distinctive architectural style."[152]

Colonial Revival Grand Resort Hotels

"As individuals, as a country, and as a culture, Americans have many histories; yet the dominating view of the United States' past, and by far the most popular view, revolves around the colonial era," observed Professor Richard Guy Wilson.[153] The Colonial Revival idiom adopted for Lake Hotel in its remodeling and expansion in 1903-04 represented one of several available choices for hotel design in the early twentieth century. The Colonial Revival, described by Wilson as the nation's "most popular and characteristic" expression, provided Lake Hotel with an unexpected, yet reassuring and familiar architectural image of comfort and ease within the rugged grandeur of the outdoor setting.[154] Travelers tested by the remote, wild, and exotic landscape during the day returned happily to the hotel's solid domestic offerings at night.

Concessioners in the national parks, such as the Yellowstone Park Association, selected architects who designed buildings that emphasized each locale's special sense of place and "left images as memorable as the natural spectacles themselves," judged Laura Soullière Harrison.[155] In his plans for the 1903-04 remodeling and expansion of Lake Hotel, Robert C. Reamer crafted a unifying exterior design whose image conveyed certain symbolism tied to American pride in the nation's past and a sense of appealing domestic comforts and safety within the western landscape of the national park. This supports Limerick, Ferguson and Oliver's view that grand resort hotels "constitute an architectural genre that both mirrors American culture and embodies many American values."[156] Struck by the elegant new appearance of the hostelry, some suggested renaming it Lake House or the Lake Colonial Hotel.[157] A 1909 guide to Yellowstone National Park captured the essence of the grand resort ideal manifested by the hotel: "[It is] a splendid, modern hotel with the woods on each side of it, and the most beautiful lake in front of it, and within its doors every comfort to be desired and good living withal."[158]

A number of Lake Hotel's southern and eastern contemporaries in the grand resort business were designed or remodeled in the Colonial Revival, many by combining it with one or more other stylistic influences.[159] For example, Henry Flagler's remarkable 1894 Hotel Royal Poinciana in Palm Beach, Florida, was described as

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[148] Ibid., 20-21.
[149] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 49.
[150] The interior of the Lake Hotel was redesigned in 1903-04 to display an Arts and Crafts influence. Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 49.
[151] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 52.
[152] Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, 178.
[153] Richard Guy Wilson, "Introduction: What is the Colonial Revival?" in *Re-creating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival,* eds. Richard Guy Wilson, Shawn Eyring, and Kenny Marotta (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 1.
[154] Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House*, 6.
[155] Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks*, 18.
[156] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 12 and 16.
[157] Barbara H. Dittl and Joanne Mallmann, "Plain to Fancy: The Lake Hotel 1889-1929," 34 *Montana Magazine* (1984):38.
[158] Campbell, *New Revised Complete Guide and Descriptive Book of the Yellowstone Park*, 158.
[159] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 21.

"the most spectacular of his wooden Colonial Revival hotels." The enormous six-story grand resort hotel with weatherboard walls, classical porticoes, rows of dormers, a coat of Colonial yellow paint and white trim "did much to create the legend of Palm Beach as a winter playground for the leisure class" and represented one of the largest and finest hotels in the style, with almost five hundred guest rooms, the latest in technology, and a "staff-to-guest ratio of almost one to one," according to Susan R. Braden's study of Flagler's hotels.[160] Changing tastes and difficult economic times led to its demolition in 1935.

In his two-volume work on the Colonial Revival, William B. Rhoads described McKim, Mead, and White's Garden City Hotel on Long Island as "the first important example of a full-fledged Georgian Revival hotel."[161] Erected in 1901 after a predecessor hotel burned, the building included a tower inspired by that of Independence Hall and eventually encompassed four hundred rooms. It fell to the wrecking ball in 1973.[162] Other examples of Colonial Revival design included the 1904 Colonial Arms, a frame hotel accommodating more than four hundred guests at Gloucester, Massachusetts, that Tolles judged "a superb blend of Shingle and Colonial Revival styles."[163] The Colonial Arms burned in 1908. Rebuilt after a fire and still standing is the 1902 Homestead at Hot Springs, Virginia, an NHL-designated enterprise, which Tolles evaluated as a "Neo-Federal, Neo-Greco version of the Colonial Revival style" built primarily of brick.[164]

Many Colonial Revival grand resort hotels faced demolition in the twentieth century. The four-hundred-room Griswold, a seaside resort hotel near New London, Connecticut, built in six months in 1906, featured a Colonial Revival appearance, large porches, and a substantial porte cochère. Before it was demolished in 1968, the hotel offered orchestras on the piazza, fresh local food, nightly dancing, and the Harvard-Yale regatta each spring.[165] The Waumbek Hotel in Jefferson, New Hampshire, known as one of the five largest grand hotels in the White Mountains, was completely rebuilt between 1888 and 1901 in Colonial Revival style; a large portion of the hotel burned in 1928 and the remainder was torn down in the 1970s. Rockmere, with a reputation as the grandest hotel in Marblehead, was described as one of the "most superlative examples of Colonial Revival resort architecture on the Massachusetts seaboard." The hotel was demolished in 1965. Mount Pleasant House in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, grew from a simple building with forty rooms in 1876 to one of "the largest and finest" of the White Mountain hostelries with expansions. The Colonial Revival-style building (demolished in 1939) included an elevator, bowling alley, and private baths with every room.[166]

Lake Hotel is one of a very small number of the Colonial Revival-style grand resort hotels erected during the golden era that remain today, and the only example of such construction in a national park. As a group, the

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[160] Susan R. Braden, *The Architecture of Leisure: The Florida Resort Hotels of Henry Flagler and Henry Plant* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2002), 208-222.

[161] Georgian Revival buildings, included in this discussion under the broader term "Colonial Revival," represent the movement's transition into more historically and academically correct design based on eighteenth century American architecture. As Dale Allen Gyure discussed in his introduction to the University of Virginia's "Colonial Revival in America: Annotated Bibliography," the definition of the colonial era and what is encompassed by the term "Colonial Revival" have varied over time. He noted: "Into the 1920s, however, the term "colonial" often described anything pre-Victorian. As researchers looked closer at older American design, a new nomenclature developed that differentiated style by ethnic group ('Spanish Colonial,' or 'Dutch Colonial," etc.) and put more emphasis on the differences between early work and the Georgian or Federal (or 'Adam') styles that followed." Dale Allen Gyure, "The Colonial Revival: A Review of the Literature," in "Colonial Revival in America: Annotated Bibliography," 2000, revised 2003, https://colonialrevival.lib.virginia.edu/ (accessed 5 December 2013; William B. Rhoads, *The Colonial Revival* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), 1:292.

[162] Rhoads, *The Colonial Revival*, 1:293; "The Garden City Hotel," https://www.gardencityhotel.com (accessed 29 September 2013).

[163] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 22.

[164] Ibid.

[165] Rhoads, *The Colonial Revival* 1:293; Juli Mancini, "Remembering The Illustrious Griswold Hotel," *Groton Patch*, 19 February 2011.

[166] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 22.

buildings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were fragile resources. The same qualities that made the hotels notable also led to the demise of many in the category, namely their frame construction, massive size, and rural locations. A surprising number of the buildings succumbed to fire, while others became economically obsolete for a variety of reasons. Alterations or new development are other factors that impacted grand resort hotels.[167] In his 1998 study of grand resort hotels of the White Mountains, Tolles found only four of the original thirty such lodgings still standing and open to the public.[168] As he observed:

> Not surprisingly, grand resort hotels, many of which were hastily erected for quick profit, were highly vulnerable, both financially and physically, to several hard realities—swings in the national economic cycle, the ever-changing tastes and preferences of their patrons, competition from other hotels or attractions such as international expositions, and the great scourge of fire that destroyed so many. Those few that have survived to our time have done so by successfully adjusting to social, cultural and economic change, by retaining the flavor and physical trappings of tradition and history, and by plain good fortune.[169]

Although few of the huge frame resort hotels of the golden era remain today, Lake Hotel and others standing represent what Jeffrey Limerick called the "notable exceptions which manage to retain something of the fascination and exuberance of the old resorts."[170] Former National Park Service Historical Architect Rodd L. Wheaton evaluates Lake Hotel as "a major survivor" of the Colonial Revival style in a wilderness setting.[171]

General Development of the Colonial Revival Style[172]

The nation's colonial era encompassed varied cultures and architectural forms reflecting the diverse histories woven together as the story of America, from the colonial villages of New England to the stone and adobe Spanish missions of the Southwest.[173] In architectural discussion, the term Colonial Revival is commonly applied to buildings intended to reference the design and construction traditions found along the eastern seaboard from the period of European settlement up to American independence (1607-1783). "One might claim that the Colonial Revival is the most popular, long-lasting, and widespread expression of identity that has yet developed in the United States," observed Wilson.[174]

That America's interest in its own past ensued at an early stage in the country's history is evidenced in such actions as Thomas Jefferson's recording the dates of important events and supporting preservation of the Philadelphia house where he wrote the Declaration of Independence.[175] A general revival of interest in colonial architecture came in the nineteenth century, which Wilson argued was part of a worldwide trend stemming from the development of the modern nation state and the concept of patriotism in the late eighteenth century.[176] As a

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[167] For example, the Hotel Breakers (1905, NHL 1987) in Sandusky, Ohio, originally featured eight three-story wings and a five-story rotunda facing Lake Erie. In the 1990s the hotel experienced significant alterations, including demolition of some original wings, application of synthetic stucco panels to exterior walls, replacement of windows and addition of faux balconies, and construction of a massive ten-story Breakers Towers in the middle of the complex. The changes so affected the hotel's historic physical integrity its NHL designation was withdrawn in 2001. National Park Service, National Historic Landmarks Program, Withdrawal of National Historic Landmark Designation, Hotel Breakers, Sandusky, Erie County, Ohio, ca. 2001.

[168] The remaining four hotels are: The Balsams, Mount Washington Hotel, Wentworth Hall and Cottages (Wentworth Hall Resorts), and Eagle Mountain House, Jackson, New Hampshire. Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 7.

[169] Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels*, 15.

[170] Limerick, "The Grand Resort Hotels of America," 108.

[171] Wheaton quoted in Barnes, *Great Lodges of the National Parks*, 2:21.

[172] This discussion of Colonial Revival is indebted to the work of architectural historian Richard Guy Wilson.

[173] Wilson, "Introduction," 2 and 4.

[174] Ibid., 3.

[175] Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House*, 7 and 13.

[176] Wilson, "Introduction," 8.

result, "all nations went through a search for a past and looked for, or in some cases created, national traditions and images for their arts, music, literature, and architecture."[177] This self-examination occurred in the United States, which studied its own early years and found worthy architectural forms and traditions later incorporated in its revival styles.[178]

In the 1820s the fiftieth anniversary of the nation's founding witnessed an expansion and improvement of the Independence Hall steeple, a project undertaken by Philadelphia architect William Strickland that Wilson analyzed as "perhaps the first example of Colonial Revival architecture." The Independence Hall project established some of the style's themes, including "overelaboration, enlargement, and improvement on the past" and stimulated commercial interest in the revival of buildings associated with American history as both a commemorative gesture and a means of attracting tourists.[179] In the 1850s buildings associated with George Washington captured the nation's interest, especially Mount Vernon with its substantial columned veranda, which became an iconic and widely copied architectural attribute. Before the Civil War the United States, "both individually and collectively, began to re-create the past"; after the conflict the Colonial Revival "burst into full flower," according to Wilson.[180]

As the country's role on the world stage expanded, immigrants diversified the population, and the agrarian past was threatened by urbanization, emphasis increased on understanding and preserving the nation's history. Wilson found "Americans identified architecture of the colonial era as a national image between the Civil War and the first decade of the twentieth century."[181] The architectural trend significantly impacted resort architecture of the period, according to Jeffrey Limerick, who added that "the romantization of the colonial past and its simple silver-shingled architecture became something of a craze as the centennial approached."[182]

American interest in nature and the wilderness deepened with the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872. Concurrently, the country increasingly appreciated the architecture of old colonial villages, revered places associated with its founders, and collected arts and crafts of earlier times. With a century behind it, America judged its early architecture to be something of importance, possessing values worth treasuring and preserving. Distinguished architectural historian Vincent J. Scully asserted the revival of interest in colonial architecture in the early 1870s was inspired by "the rise of the summer resort and the approach of the Centennial year."[183] He theorized the growth of vacationing after the Civil War led to more attention paid to the resort towns of the colonial era and concluded that "in 1872 this growing colonial revival, centering in the watering places, first took architectural form."[184] Four years later, the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition supported this trend by incorporating patriotic themes and featuring three exhibition pavilions representing aspects of colonial design.[185]

Adding to revived interest in the country's early architecture, *American Architect and Building News* praised the design traditions of the colonial era and included contemporary examples illustrating their adaptation beginning in 1876. Architects such as Charles F. McKim, Robert S. Peabody, and John Hubbard Sturgis, among others, studied colonial buildings, promoted the aesthetic, and incorporated architectural features of colonial houses in

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[177] Ibid.

[178] Wilson calls the Colonial Revival obsession with the country's early arts, many of which were rooted in foreign cultures, "uniquely American." Wilson, "Introduction," 8.

[179] Wilson, "Introduction," 4.

[180] Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House*, 33.

[181] Ibid., 35.

[182] Limerick, "The Grand Resort Hotels of America," 90.

[183] Vincent J. Scully Jr., *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Downing to the Origins of Wright*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1971), 24.

[184] Scully Jr., *The Shingle Style*, 25.

[185] Rhoads, *The Colonial Revival*, 1:56; Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House*, 39.

their work.[186] In 1877, McKim toured New England with William Mead, William Bigelow, and Stanford White, documenting colonial period houses. As early as 1880, American Institute of Architects members supported preservation of buildings from the colonial era.[187] The architectural firm of McKim, Mead and White completed what a recent survey of the style called a "pioneering example of the Colonial Revival" with the H. A. C. Taylor House in Newport in 1886.[188]

During the late nineteenth century organizations focused on preserving early American history and its associated buildings were founded, including the Daughters of the American Revolution, National Society of Colonial Dames, and Association for Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.[189] Not only did the developing Colonial Revival idiom speak to the design aesthetic of the period, it seemed to embody an elevated set of appealing patriotic and moral principles. In Wilson's view the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition "heralded the ascendancy of the various colonial styles as expressions of American identity," as several state pavilions recreated or borrowed elements from colonial designs.[190]

Wilson determined the Colonial Revival's peak of influence came between 1880 and 1940, when "the colonial image became all-pervasive."[191] Thus, the popularity of Colonial Revival architecture and the golden era of grand resort hotels overlapped. By the turn of the century, hotel design became a "professionalized and standardized" architectural specialty.[192] The Colonial Revival style found favor for its successful adaptation to buildings of varied scale and function requiring efficient construction.[193]

Cultural critic Edward Rothstein elaborated on the style's ability to convey two impressions at once, an aspect perfectly suited to the needs of resort hotels. Namely, the Colonial Revival "elevate[s] a building, invoking the classical past that the founding fathers had also looked to for inspiration; the place is meant to be imposing, worthy of allegiance and devotion. In another respect, it humbles that same building; it is not meant to overwhelm but to welcome. It turns something grand into something comfortable."[194] Additionally, to many contemporaries, the Colonial Revival comprised a style as "modern" as other new design approaches of the area. Its relatively clean lines were appealing and contrasted with the eclectic, cluttered, and fussy Victorian aesthetics of preceding Queen Anne designs.

Robert C. Reamer's adaptation of the Colonial Revival for Lake Hotel's redesign in 1903-04 (at the same time he drew plans for the groundbreaking Old Faithful Inn) illustrates the fact that Rustic style was far from the only choice for grand resort hotel architecture within the national parks. The Lake Hotel design came thirteen years before the creation of the National Park Service (NPS) and fifteen years before that agency's announced preference for "harmonizing" park improvements in the landscape.[195] Former NPS historical architect Rodd L. Wheaton found the practice of building grand resort hotels in the natural environment in styles derived from

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[186] Annie Robinson, "A 'Portrait of a Nation': The Role of the Historic American Buildings Survey in the Colonial Revival," in *Recreating the American Past,* eds. Wilson, Eyring, and Marotta, 100; Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House*, 36-38; Scully Jr., *The Shingle Style*, 42-46.
[187] Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House*, 39-40.
[188] Albrecht and Mellins, *The American Style*, 14.
[189] Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House*, 41.
[190] Ibid., 48-49.
[191] Wilson, "Introduction," 5.
[192] Limerick, "The Grand Resort Hotels of America," 101.
[193] Wilson, "Introduction," 5.
[194] Rothstein, "National Design That's Hidden in Plain Sight," *New York Times*, 13 June 2011.
[195] Kaiser, *Landmarks in the Landscape*, 19.

American residential construction "the norm" throughout most of the country, with Old Faithful Inn representing one of the early departures from accepted practice.[196]

Reamer, with guidance from the concessioner, freely adapted an idiom derived from colonial era architecture of the Atlantic seaboard, rather than adopting the Mission Revival or Spanish Colonial styles of the Southwest.[197] This choice reflected knowledge of the successful application of Colonial Revival design for grand resort hotels in the older and more populous East, which would supply a disproportionate number of Lake Hotel's early patrons. The establishment's well-heeled guests would find a grand resort hotel in this elegant style on a lakeshore very familiar, enhancing its marketability as a vacation destination with an implicit promise of serenity and ease. The exterior color scheme and architectural ornament, which also mirrored those developed by earlier Colonial Revival-style grand resort hotels, enhanced the feeling of safety and civility. Each of the hotels along the park's Grand Loop represented a distinctive design and setting, propelling visitors onward in their efforts to experience the wonderland known as Yellowstone. For travelers who invested in the costly and arduous trip and exerted themselves while viewing the geologic oddities and wildlife, the unexpected grandeur of Lake Hotel offered a welcome respite from braving the challenges of the wilderness.

During the twentieth century the Colonial Revival was challenged by modernism. In the 1920s it fell out of favor with arts media critics, who advocated a modernist approach to design that incorporated bold original work and abstract forms without reference to the past. Particular scorn fell upon buildings embodying what was seen as the outdated imitation of earlier times.[198] Nonetheless, the style continued to remain popular with the American public, especially for residential design, and Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver found, architects working on hotels in the period after World War I employed "simple, modern, and much more economical building forms without discarding connections with the past altogether."[199] Reamer's 1923 Lake Hotel east wing represented this trend, as did his 1913-14 and 1927 wings added to Old Faithful Inn. For new construction, fireproof buildings erected with steel and concrete became the standard.[200] The resort hotels expanded "outward rather than upward," with service areas "conveniently hidden from the guests' view so that the character of the site and the mood of the interior spaces would not be marred," observed Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver.[201] Wilson found the Colonial Revival aesthetic represented "the image of choice for all types of buildings" until 1940. [202]

HISTORY OF LAKE HOTEL

Initial Planning and Construction of Lake Hotel and Its Operation in the 1890s

Federal legislation created Yellowstone as the nation's first national park in 1872, but adequate roads and basic facilities for visitors developed slowly. The early years saw ineffectual and underfunded civilian administration of the park and were marked by vandalism to geologic sites and large-scale slaughter of wildlife. Prior to the arrival of the railroad in 1883, a visit to Yellowstone proved time-consuming, expensive, and arduous. Railroad

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[196] Wheaton quoted in Barnes, *Great Lodges of the National Parks*, 2:21. Historian Richard A. Bartlett's 1989 assertion that "the beautiful but architecturally misplaced Lake Hotel" was "so out of place in its wilderness setting" reflects hindsight and a lack of recognition of the grand hotel building type, occurring after nearly 90 years of Rustic design ascendancy in the national parks. Richard A. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1985), opposite 177 and 179.

[197] The construction of hotels reflecting the nation's eclectic heritage in the Southwest is also represented by the Swiss Chalet and Norwegian Villa influences exhibited by El Tovar, a designated National Historic Landmark built on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon during 1902-05.

[198] Wilson, "Introduction," 6 and *The Colonial Revival House,* 90.

[199] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 166.

[200] Ibid., 164.

[201] Ibid.

[202] Wilson, *The Colonial Revival House*, 89-90.

historian Thornton Waite observed that none of the routes were easy, and "the first tourists to the park had to be determined travelers."[203] Significant enhancements to internal park access began in 1883 when Congress placed the Army Corps of Engineers in charge of road and bridge improvements. Lt. Dan C. Kingman planned a 223-mile network of roads enabling tourists "to visit the principal points of interest in the Park without retracing their steps; and to take a long or short trip, according to the time and the means at their disposal."[204] The system became known as the Grand Loop Road. The U.S. Army assumed administration of the park in 1886 and brought a measure of order to the reservation.

The Northern Pacific Railroad and its financier and promoter, Jay Cooke, strongly supported creation of the park and saw Yellowstone as a destination capable of generating tourist traffic for the company. Chartered by Congress in 1864, the Northern Pacific aimed at building a railroad across the northern tier of the country from Lake Superior to Puget Sound. Construction did not begin until 1870 and was slowed by the Panic of 1873. The railroad built through Montana in 1883 and opened a mainline to Seattle. During the same year the enterprise extended a branch line to Cinnabar, Montana, three miles from the north boundary of the park, greatly facilitating access to Yellowstone.[205] The Northern Pacific played a key role in publicizing travel and accommodations to Yellowstone National Park and in organizing and funding construction of its principal hotels. As historian Alfred Runte observed: "Among all the publicists of the region, the railroads were without rivals in their ability to bring the West into the living rooms of the American people with special attention given to its cultural and topographical significance. The development of the national parks coincided perfectly with the lines' marketing strategy."[206]

Anticipating an increase in visitation with the arrival of the railroad, in 1882 the Department of the Interior accepted a proposal from a group of investors from Minnesota and Dakota Territory to erect hotels and operate stagelines and steamboats within the park. The *New York Times* described the investors as "intimately connected with the Northern Pacific."[207] The group's Yellowstone Park Improvement Company (YPIC) began construction in late 1882 of the Queen Anne-style National Hotel at Mammoth Hot Springs. The following year the business completed the main portion of the hotel, as well as opening several tent camps. Congress approved a modified concession lease with YPIC in the same year. Recognizing the need for hotels in other park locations, the agreement gave the company a one-acre lease at Yellowstone Lake. The railroad sought to extend its line into the park and deliver visitors to the major tourism venues, but the proposals never won acceptance.

President Chester A. Arthur became the first sitting President to visit Yellowstone National Park in August 1883. His party entered the park from the south via Shoshone Lake. Arthur's trip received extensive national and international press coverage, which described the park's features and stimulated widespread interest in the area.[208] His party traveled by horseback and camped at the future location of Lake Hotel, as described in the *New York Times*: "The camp is in one of the most attractive spots that has greeted the party's eyes since they began their tour through the wilderness, and affords a view across the widest sheet of water in the known world

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[203] Thornton Waite, *Yellowstone by Train: A History of Rail Travel to America's First National Park* (Missoula, Montana: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 2006), 3.

[204] Kenneth H. Baldwin, *Enchanted Enclosure: The Army Engineers and Yellowstone National Park, A Documentary History* (Washington: Office of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, 1976), 85, quoting 1887 report by Capt. Clinton B. Sears which incorporated Kingman's notes.

[205] The line did not build to Gardiner, Montana, at the North Entrance until 1902. Charles R. Wood, *The Northern Pacific: Main Street of the Northwest* (Seattle, Washington: Superior Publishing Company, 1968), 15, 20, 29, and 40; Alfred Runte, *Trains of Discovery: Western Railroads and the National Parks* (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart, 1998), 11.

[206] Alfred Runte quoted in Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 16 and 13.

[207] *New York Times*, 16 January 1882.

[208] Frank H. Goodyear III, *A President in Yellowstone: The F. Jay Haynes Photographic Album of Chester Arthur's 1883 Expedition* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 30.

at this altitude."[209] During his trip the President attended the dedication of the branch railroad line to Cinnabar, Montana, which provided a connection to the Northern Pacific Railway mainline and enhanced the park's accessibility.

An October 1883 *New York Times* article noted increasing numbers of visitors to Yellowstone despite bad or unbuilt roads within the park. The newspaper estimated a cost of $300 per person for a trip from New York City, including roundtrip rail travel via St. Paul and transfers, lodging, and meals within the park for a six- to seven-day stay. The article suggested visitation would steadily increase as people shared what they had seen and experienced in the park with family and friends back home.[210] Naturalist John Muir, visiting the park in 1885, asserted: "The Park is easy of access. Locomotives drag you to its northern boundary at Cinnabar, and horses and guides do the rest."[211]

The YPIC found itself in financial difficulties in 1884 and filed for bankruptcy. The Yellowstone Park Association (YPA) formed in 1885 and acquired the YPIC's properties and leases.[212] YPA's plans included erection of a hotel on the shore of Yellowstone Lake. Early travelers who encountered the water body rhapsodized over its beauty, including Professor Ferdinand V. Hayden who remarked that "such a vision is worth a lifetime ...."[213] Nathaniel P. Langford's 1870 description was often quoted:

> There lay the silvery bosom of the lake, reflecting the beams of the setting sun, and stretching away for miles, until lost in the dark foliage of the interminable wilderness of pines surrounding it. Secluded amid the loftiest peaks of the Rocky Mountains, [thousands of feet] above the level of the ocean, possessing strange peculiarities of form and beauty, this watery solitude is one of the most attractive natural objects in the world.[214]

As soon as the park opened, the high bluff on the lake's north shore found universal favor as an ideal location for a hotel.[215] However, Superintendent Frazier A. Boutelle, writing in 1890, worried "a single fire would destroy the beauty of what bids fair to be one of the most delightful summer-hotel sites in the world."[216]

The YPA operated a tent hotel at its Yellowstone Lake lease site in 1887-90. A correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun* assessed the appeal of the setting, judging "for quiet beauty and charm it has not its equal in the park, and perhaps in few places elsewhere."[217] In the spring of 1889 the company erected a sawmill and workers began producing lumber for a permanent building. The company engaged architect Nicholas T. Haller of Washington, D.C., to prepare plans for the Lake Hotel and construction began.[218] Some revision to Haller's drawings proved necessary in order to take advantage of the materials already assembled on the site. R.R. Cummins, YPA's

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[209] Whittlesey, "History of the Lake (Village) Area"; *New York Times*, 29 August 1883.

[210] This is the equivalent of approximately $7,090 in 2012 dollars. *New York Times*, 7 October 1883.

[211] Quoted in Paul Schullery, *Old Yellowstone Days* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 54.

[212] Mary Shivers Culpin, "For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People:" A History of the Concession Development in Yellowstone National Park, 1872-1966 (Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, Yellowstone Center for Resources: 2003), 25-26 and 33.

[213] The lake measures 20 miles by 14 miles in extent, with 110 miles of shoreline and a maximum depth of 430'. It is subject to high winds and waves and freezes in winter, due to its northern location and elevation of 7,733 feet.

[214] N. P. Langford, "The Wonders of the Yellowstone," *Scribner's Monthly* 2 (June 1871):113-14.

[215] Ruth Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams: The Life and Architecture of Robert C. Reamer* (Gardiner, Montana: Leslie and Ruth Quinn, Publishers, 2004), 43.

[216] Frazier A. Boutelle, *Report of the Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior, 1890* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), 353.

[217] *Baltimore Sun*, 15 August 1887, Supplement 1.

[218] Haller apparently became involved on these projects due to prior work with the Northern Pacific. Haller's Fountain Hotel (no longer extant) followed an almost identical plan as Lake. Lee H. Whittlesey, "'Music, Song, and Laughter': Yellowstone National Park's Fountain Hotel, 1891-1916," *Montana Magazine* 53 (Winter 2003):24.

construction superintendent, oversaw the project. Work on the Lake and Fountain Hotels extended through the 1890 season and proved so expensive the Northern Pacific had to advance another $60,000 to cover costs.[219] The remoteness of the locations hampered delivery of building materials and made recruiting and retaining reliable construction workers difficult. In June 1890 the YPA's assistant general manager telegraphed a plea to its treasurer: "Please send us as soon as possible good plasterers wages $3.50 per day and board to take place of dissatisfied whiskey fiends."[220]

Lake Hotel, a frame three-story L-shaped building, opened in 1891 with fifty-one guest rooms, electric lighting, and steam heat. Rates were $4 per night, but after six nights the cost dropped to $3 per night. Reamer biographer Ruth Quinn described the original Eastlake design as "spartan in appearance" and Rodd L. Wheaton deemed it "a study in simplicity."[221] The first story of the hotel held the lobby and registration area and the west end the dining room, with a bar and writing room in between. Floors were mostly pine with oak staircases. Upon its completion, Park Superintendent George Anderson assessed the new hotel, noting it "has one wing completed, and this is all that will be needed until the tide of travel sets more in that direction. It is one of the pleasantest, best kept hotels in the Park, and deserves better patronage than it has yet received. I regard it as the most desirable place in the Park for a prolonged stay."[222] Newspaperman Charles W. Bowron, visiting the area in August 1891, noted "comparatively few tourists go there as yet, unless they intend to spend some time in the park, as the lake is now off the main line of travel and sight seeing through the park."[223]

In late 1891 Lt. Hiram Chittenden, chief of the U.S. Army Engineers for Yellowstone, completed the segment of the Grand Loop Road from Old Faithful via West Thumb to the hotel, greatly facilitating access.[224] Starting in that year, visitors could also shorten the stagecoach trip and arrive at the hotel from West Thumb aboard the steamboat *Zillah* operated by Ela S. Waters, who maintained a dock and boathouse on the lake shore in front of the hotel. An 1896 newspaper account estimated four out of five visitors opted to take the steamer.[225] Writing in 1893, Northern Pacific Advertising Director Olin Dunbar Wheeler described the "Yellowstone Lake Hotel" as "large, new, cheerful," noting its "commanding position" above the body of water: "The hotel faces the lake, and the view afforded across its waters of the finest mountain scenery of the park would please an enthusiast. It is a scene of rare beauty."[226] At times in its early years Lake Hotel accommodated six hundred people for lunch and two hundred overnight.

The package tours promoted by the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company and Yellowstone Park Transportation Company encouraged visitors to successively lodge in each of the park's large hotels as they viewed geologic, scenic, and wildlife attractions while progressing along the Grand Loop Road. The all-inclusive-price for transportation, lodging, and meals and associated convenience appealed to many visitors. In the 1890s, travelers came from the railhead to the park by stagecoach, enduring a dusty trip over rough, primitive roads, but Yellowstone's vast number of large and rare geysers (more than half of the world's total) made a trip worth the

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[219] Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams*, 43-44; Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* (Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming: Yellowstone Library and Museum Association, 1977), 2:47.

[220] Dittl and Mallmann, "Plain to Fancy," 35.

[221] Barbara Dittl and Joanne Mallmann, *Plain to Fancy, the Story of Lake Hotel* (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart Inc., 1987), 6.

[222] Plans had called for a symmetrical east wing which was not built due to exorbitant construction costs. George S. Anderson, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone Park*, 1891, 52 Congress, 1st Session, House Executive Document, 1, v (Serial 2935), 642-43.

[223] Charles W. Bowron, "By Way of Closing [Our Trip]-Pointers from Yellowstone," *Daily Northwestern* (Oshkosh, Wisconsin), 4 August 1891, 1, quoted in Whittlesey, "History of the Lake (Village) Area," 35.

[224] Whittlesey, "History of the Lake (Village) Area," 34.

[225] *Kansas City Star*, 13 September 1896, 9.

[226] Whittlesey, "History of the Lake (Village) Area," 37; Olin Dunbar Wheeler, *6,000 Miles through Wonderland* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Northern Pacific Railroad, 1893), 79.

effort.[227] As Muir remarked on his 1885 visit: "Geysers, however, are the main objects, and as soon as they come in sight all other wonders are forgotten."[228] Naturalist-historian Paul Schullery explained the nature of a typical tour:

> The visit, whether it took five days, seven days, or several weeks, contained the same elements. Depending upon where a visitor entered the park, the starting and ending points varied, but the classic 'grand tour' began with the geyser basins and concluded with the canyon, the scenic finale. The loop road, essentially complete in its present form in 1905, has dictated the terms of the average visit ever since.[229]

The Northern Pacific drew visitors to the park through effective marketing campaigns, and, once there, operators structured and organized an "industrial tourism" experience to accommodate the movement of large numbers of people through Yellowstone and provide them with the opportunity to see first-hand its wonders.[230] Between 1907 and 1922 the east, west, and south entrances to the park also received rail connections, further improving access.[231]

The Grand Loop Road, with connecting links to entrances at each edge of the park, conveyed travelers to a series of hostelries near the principal tourist attractions a day's ride apart. While smaller hotels opened and closed at various locations, Schullery argues "the park became known for its grand structures," with each hotel located near an important natural feature in the park.[232] Major hotels were erected at or near: Mammoth Hot Springs (the 1883 National Hotel, later redesigned by Reamer as the Art Deco-style Mammoth Hotel); Lower Geyser Basin (Fountain Hotel, Lake Hotel's sister facility, 1891); Upper Geyser Basin (Old Faithful Inn, 1904); Yellowstone Lake (Lake Hotel, 1891); and Upper and Lower Falls of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone (Canyon Hotel, 1890).[233] The wilderness experience for visitors was enhanced by accommodations supplying such civilizing comforts as beds and bathrooms, electricity, steam heat, drinking and dining areas, gift shops, newsstands, telegraph and mail communication facilities, and barber and beauty shops.

Given the severe Yellowstone winters, with deep snows and freezing temperatures, park hotels only operated during summer months, generally from mid-June to early September. The relative isolation of the hotels and short operating season contributed to difficulties securing and retaining the large numbers of staff needed to run the facilities. With some exceptions, foodstuffs and supplies were freighted in from outside the park.[234] A storage cellar erected on the west slope of Hotel Creek northwest of Lake Hotel and a meat house to the north appear to have been early buildings constructed to stockpile supplies.[235]

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[227] Lee H. Whittlesey, Park Historian, Yellowstone National Park, Gardiner, Montana, interview by R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, 18 October 2012.

[228] Quoted in Schullery, *Old Yellowstone Days*, 56.

[229] Paul Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), 101.

[230] Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, 101.

[231] Waite, *Yellowstone by Train*, iv.

[232] Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, 178.

[233] The dates provided represent the year a hotel initially opened at the indicated location. Of the major hotels, the Fountain had a shorter existence, operating from 1891 to 1916 before its demolition in 1927; it became redundant after the construction of Old Faithful Inn in 1904.

[234] Culpin, *A History of Concession Development in Yellowstone National Park*, 44.

[235] A 1904 newspaper account concerning the reported killing of a man and boy by bears mentioned the presence of a "meat house" at the hotel (now used as the winterkeeper's quarters). The concrete storage cellar is pre-1928 but is probably earlier. *Denver Post*, 6 October 1904, 6.

Historian Mark Daniel Barringer concluded park hotel "menus were not extensive . . . but chefs offered diners ample choices."[236] The YPA maintained milk cows within the park to supply dairy products, as well as herds of cattle and sheep and a slaughterhouse for fresh beef and mutton.[237] Area fish also supplemented the hotel cuisine. YPA workers harvested trout from Yellowstone Lake for its hotels, but depletion of the fish halted the practice. Fish caught by guests were prepared by hotel staff for the following morning's breakfast.[238] Available documentation reveals the company tailored its fare to meet the tastes of anticipated visitors. In 1893, expecting an influx of European guests, the YPA made sure its hotels stocked a good supply of wines from that continent, noting "we must be prepared to take advantage of their taste for wines and to make some money out of it."[239]

Cost overruns limited Lake Hotel's original construction to one wing. An 1895 floorplan shows an unbuilt L-shaped east wing (labeled "proposed"), which duplicated the section west of the original projecting porch, as well as a new detached engine room/boiler house to the north.[240] Following the close of the 1897 season, YPA manager J.H. Dean recommended $36,700 in improvements to the hotel, reflecting those shown in the 1895 drawing and including fifty-nine additional guest rooms, a new boiler house and dynamo, and steam fixtures. Aside from erection of a new boiler house in 1898 and steam lines to the hotel, the suggested expansion did not take place. In 1900 workers recalcimined the interior and repainted the exterior weatherboards a soft yellow color. Reconfiguration of the interior in 1901 added seventeen guest rooms.[241]

Expansion and Transformation of the Hotel, 1901-04

In April 1901, Harry W. Child, Edward W. Bach, and Silas S. Huntley acquired the Yellowstone Park Association from the Northern Pacific.[242] Under the leadership of President and General Manager Child the YPA took serious steps to substantially expand and modernize Lake Hotel with financing provided by the railroad. Given the presence of the Hotel Creek drainage to the west, plans called for extension of the building to the east, projecting its footprint into the Yellowstone Lake Boat Company's leasehold. The YPA viewed the boat company facility, which held barns, corrals, and stables, as a nuisance that annoyed guests with odors, noises, and an unsightly collection of buildings. Confident he could reach a quick agreement with the boating company to move, in 1901 Child executed a lease agreement with the government, promising to add one hundred hotel rooms to Lake Hotel within two years. The YPA kept the park roads open with freight wagons during the winter of 1902-03 to assemble construction materials at the site.[243] However, Capt. Ela Collins Waters, president of the boat company, proved intractable. In March 1903, he wrote a lengthy letter to the Secretary of the Interior, alleging his operation would be harmed by the cost and inconvenience of the planned building and suggesting the erection of a hotel wing northward to avoid his leasehold.[244] Reaching an agreement with Captain Waters proved impossible.

To develop a design for the hotel expansion, Child turned in early 1903 to Robert C. Reamer, a twenty-nine-year-old San Diego architect recommended to him by Elisha S. Babcock, manager of Hotel Del Coronado.

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[236] Barringer, *Selling Yellowstone*, 47.
[237] Ibid., 46.
[238] *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago), 9 September 1896, 3:36.
[239] Culpin, *A History of Concession Development in Yellowstone National Park*, 40.
[240] William S. Bement, the YPA's Superintendent of Buildings and Machinery, apparently drew this plan. Quinn, Weaver of Dreams, 44; Yellowstone Park Association, Yellowstone Lake Hotel, Second Floor, 1895, Box K 18, Folder B, Yellowstone National Park, Archives, Gardiner, Montana.
[241] The 1895 drawing of the hotel showed steam heating pipes "put in Fall 1898 from new boiler house." Yellowstone Park Association, Yellowstone Lake Hotel, Second Floor, 1895, Box K 18, Folder B, Yellowstone National Park, Archives, Gardiner, Montana; Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams*, 44.
[242] Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, 2:49-50.
[243] Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams*, 5 and 44-45.
[244] E.C. Waters, president, Yellowstone Lake Boat Company to Secretary of the Interior, 23 March 1903, Yellowstone National Park Archives, Gardiner, Montana, pre-1916 Records, microfilm reel 31, vol. IV, letters received.

Reamer gained experience with hotel design through projects at Del Coronado, and Child became impressed with the architect's work while vacationing there. In addition to the Lake Hotel work in 1903, the YPA also tasked Reamer with designing another large hotel at the Upper Geyser Basin (the Old Faithful Inn) and several smaller projects in the park. The Northern Pacific Railroad also selected Reamer to design its Gardiner Depot.[245] Reamer's involvement with Lake Hotel, YPA, and the park would continue until his death in 1938.

Reamer's concurrent designs for Lake Hotel and Old Faithful Inn were a study in contrasts, reflecting the concept of completing architecturally distinctive buildings at major natural areas. His plans for Old Faithful Inn called for an innovative Rustic-style building of log and stone, while those for the remodeling and expansion of Lake Hotel produced an elegant Colonial Revival-style hostelry with traditional yellow weatherboard walls and white trim.[246] As Lake Hotel historians Dittl and Mallmann commented, Reamer approached each project "as a new challenge, and each of his park buildings was very different."[247] This viewpoint harmonized with grand resort hotel design of the era, which sought to create a special character for each enterprise. An 1895 floorplan drawing of the hotel, presumably available to Reamer, showed a proposed east wing containing a third slightly projecting pavilion and perhaps provided a template for the general scale and shape of the east addition.[248]

The decision to retain and expand the existing hotel, erected just twelve years earlier at considerable effort and cost, and to incorporate and reconfigure the building's gables strongly influenced Reamer's planning. The master architect produced a western expression of the Colonial Revival style that paid homage to the older building, the expansive national park setting, and grand hotel traditions and functional requirements. The existing gabled pavilions of the façade inspired Reamer to create Colonial Revival pediments crowning the massive porticoes essential for accommodating the social life of hotel guests. In a remarkable feat of construction given the necessity of transporting all the materials to the isolated site, the heavy winter snows, and the difficulty in finding skilled laborers, a building took shape embodying the large size, familiar elements of the Colonial Revival style, and functional areas necessary to provide the services demanded by patrons familiar with similar establishments in Europe and the eastern United States. Reamer saw the Colonial Revival style as appropriate for the lakeside setting with its expansive views. The eclectic architect designed buildings in a variety of styles, including Moorish, Chinese, Art Deco, Arts and Crafts, and Rustic, but no other known work of Reamer's employed the Colonial Revival style.

The YPA unveiled Reamer's Lake Hotel plans in May 1903, estimating a total project cost of $60,000 to $75,000.[249] In a letter to the Secretary of the Interior, President Child stated the project would produce "the finest hotel we have in the park and the largest," with the changes aimed at making "the structure a colonial building throughout."[250] Reamer's efforts updated the original building, put Lake Hotel in the national mainstream of grand resort hotel design, and enhanced the facility's architectural significance vis-à-vis other hotels in the park, including Old Faithful Inn.

Construction began in the summer of 1903, with $52,651 expended on the project by October. The wood portico columns were fabricated in Chicago and transported by wagon from the rail terminus at Gardiner. The

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[245] Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams*, 39.

[246] A 2009 Historic Structure Report for the hotel stated: "The source of the inspiration for the change to Colonial Revival styling is not evident in documentation from the period." A&E Architects, *Historic Structure Report*, 5.

[247] Dittl and Mallmann, "Plan to Fancy," 38.

[248] Yellowstone Park Association, Yellowstone Lake Hotel, Second Floor, 1895, Box K 18, Folder B, Yellowstone National Park, Archives, Gardiner, Montana.

[249] In 2012 dollars these estimates ranged from $1.25 to $1.57 million. Reamer's ten sheets of construction drawings, "Alterations & Additions to Lake Hotel, Yellowstone Park," are part of the Haynes Foundation Collection, Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana. Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams,* 46; Dittl and Mallmann, *Plain to Fancy*, *the Story of Lake Hotel*, endpapers.

[250] H.W. Child, president, Yellowstone Park Association to Secretary of the Interior, 5 May 1903, Yellowstone National Park Archives, Gardiner, Montana, pre-1916 Records, microfilm reel 31, vol. IV, letters received.

remodeling and expansion reached completion during the summer of 1904 at a total cost of $79,202. The project produced a hotel with a guest capacity of 466 persons and 210 rooms, most of which were in the new ell added onto the east end of the original building. Improvements also included a new U-shaped driveway from the Grand Loop Road to the center portico of the hotel.[251] Completion of a road to the East Entrance of the park in 1901-02 facilitated access to the newly expanded hotel.

The locations of the dining room and lobby did not change during the 1903-04 remodeling, although the latter area increased in size. A small bar remained between those rooms, and a lounge was added behind the east portico. A 1910 promotional brochure reported the large lobby of the hotel as being finished in California redwood paneling, describing it as "a place where one feels wonderfully at home from the start."[252] Dittl and Mallmann elaborated on the interior: "On the way to the registration desk, guests passed Mission style, square-shaped, solid oak furniture. There were a number of round library tables and rocking chairs, upholstered in black leatherette fastened with decorative black studs. Victorian wall sconces, with bell-shaped glass shades on double gooseneck brackets, illuminated the room's dark paneling. Sheer curtains filtered the sunlight that fell on the woolen area rugs."[253] Reamer's redesign proved so transformative and readily recognizable the hostelry was referred to as the "Colonial Lake Hotel," "Colonial Hotel," or "Lake Colonial Hotel" for some years afterwards.[254] One South Carolina visitor wrote that "the hotel is built in the colonial style and reminded me strongly of some of our old mansions at home."[255]

The expanded Colonial Revival-style hotel provided a recognizable and familiar architectural landmark for visitors to Yellowstone. The 1905 *Haynes Guide* to Yellowstone Park asserted that "this spacious and elegantly appointed hotel tends greatly toward making Yellowstone Lake the resort par excellence of the Park. Here everything is so arranged that guests can spend the entire season, making short, easy trips of sight-seeing or explorations to all points of the great reserve."[256] A 1905 Northern Pacific promotional publication noted the lake, hotel, and mountains formed "a delightful combination and one can, with most pleasurable sensations, while away a dream, *dolce far niente* sort of life for a day or a week or a month, as one's inclination prompts."[257]

"The Ideal Place to Stay": Operation and Amenities of Lake Hotel in the 1900s and 1910s

In 1909 travel writer Reau Campbell reported the Lake Hotel "has come to be called the 'Colonial,' though the old name hangs on to it."[258] He noted the contrast between the log construction of Old Faithful Inn and "the sleek and shiny façade" of Lake Hotel and suggested "you will think you have awakened from a dream of olden days to find the spick and span of the modern."[259] Campbell extolled Lake Hotel's virtues in his guide to Yellowstone:

> Here is the ideal place to stay until you have recuperated from your travels, from sickness, or enervating influences.

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[251] A&E Architects, *Historic Structure Report*, 11.
[252] A. M. Cleland, *Through Wonderland* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Northern Pacific Railway, 1910), 22.
[253] Dittl and Mallmann, "Plain to Fancy," 38.
[254] Another source referred to it as the Colonial Lake Hotel. Union Pacific Railroad, *Ticket Agents' Text Book of Yellowstone National Park Season 1911*, 22, quoted in Whittlesey, "History of the Lake (Village) Area," 40; Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams*, 44-47.
[255] *Charleston News and Courier* (Charleston, South Carolina), 29 September 1912, 18.
[256] A.B. Guptill, *Haynes Guide: Yellowstone Park Illustrated, 1904* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Pioneer Press, 1904), 83.
[257] A phrase meaning, literally, sweet doing nothing or pleasant idleness. Olin D. Wheeler, *Wonderland* (St. Paul, Minnesota, Northern Pacific Railroad, 1905).
[258] Campbell, *Campbell's Complete Guide and Descriptive Book of the Yellowstone Park*, 158.
[259] Ibid.

> "How long would you stay at the Lake Hotel?" asks one. As long as you enjoy the restful ease, rest and recreation in good living. Until you get tired of resting, till you tire of a bracing atmosphere, till the beauty of landscape palls on your tired vision.
>
> Stay at the Lake until you are tired of catching fish. Here is the only place in the world where you can catch fish, whether you are a fisherman or not. No previous experience is required.[260]

In 1906 the Northern Pacific adopted the slogan "Yellowstone Park Line" in its advertising, but other railroads competing for visitor traffic also joined in boosting the tourism potential of the reserve and its amenities. In 1910 a one-story polygonal addition at the west end of the hotel expanded the dining room. Possibly designed by Reamer, the projection's walls featured bay windows providing views to the west and south.[261] A 1911 Union Pacific Railroad promotional publication for Yellowstone reported Lake Hotel had "more than 250 rooms, many with private bath" and asserted: "A more restful place cannot be found in the park. Launches and row boats are ever at command, and the best of fishing is found in the lake outlet. Those having time usually stop an extra day at this hotel, while many remain here the greater part of the season." [262]

Visitor Activities

Visitor activities at Lake Hotel described by Campbell in 1909 included drives along the lake shore, walks on the beach and in the adjacent forest, rowing and sailing, fishing, and excursions to islands in Yellowstone Lake. Accounts often rhapsodized over the excellent fishing prospects. Visiting Yellowstone in 1904, Alfred H.H. Bell noted the deep blue appearance but clear waters of Yellowstone Lake and reported the fishing success of his companions for rainbow and mountain trout: "Some of our party went out on the lake after reaching the hotel and spent a couple of hours fishing. One party caught 10, another 14, and another 16, each weighing 1 to 1 ½ pounds."[263]

Hotel patrons enjoyed boating on the lake, but the water could prove hazardous. In July 1907, Lena Wallace, a waitress at the hotel, fell into the lake while disembarking from a rowboat at the pier. She was pulled from the water and hotel guest Vice President Charles W. Fairbanks reportedly aided in her resuscitation.[264] Park Historian Lee H. Whittlesey, in his account of fatalities in Yellowstone, noted the lake's cold water temperatures, high wind-swept waves, and lightning and concluded: "All things considered, no body of water in Yellowstone Park and probably in all of the United States is more potentially dangerous."[265]

As at other hotels in the park, guests enjoyed watching the feeding of resident bears, an activity extensively covered in contemporary newspaper articles, visitor accounts, and travel guides. A 1905 article in the *Boston Herald* judged "perhaps the finest exhibition of these wild beasts is given at the Lake Hotel," noting the bears fed at a dump about six hundred feet north of the hotel.[266] The *Grand Forks Herald* reported "bear crowds" of fifty to one hundred guests nightly lined a wire fence at the dump overseen by cavalry troopers tasked with keeping the spectators at a safe distance and opined bears have become "about as attractive features of the

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[260] Ibid., 117.

[261] Hotel historians Barbara Dittl and Joanne Mallmann indicated their research identified Reamer as the architect. Barbara Dittl and Joanne Mallmann, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, text to Thomas H. Simmons, 25 October 2013.

[262] Counts of rooms varied over the years, possibly due to interior reconfigurations. Union Pacific Railroad, *Ticket Agents' Text Book of Yellowstone National Park Season 1911*, 22, quoted in Whittlesey, "History of the Lake (Village) Area," 40.

[263] Alfred H. H. Bell, "A Wedding Trip to Yellowstone: Summer of 1904," *Tonica News* (Illinois), vertical file collection, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Gardiner, Montana.

[264] *Seattle Daily Times*, 8 July 1907, 5.

[265] Lee H. Whittlesey, *Death in Yellowstone: Accidents and Foolhardiness in the First National Park* (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart, 1995), 117.

[266] *Boston Herald*, 26 November 1905, 45.

Wonderland trip" as the park's natural features.[267] Guests gathered with field glasses and Kodak cameras to record their encounter "in order to give a thrilling flavor to their experience when recited to friends at home."[268]

Lee Whittlesey concluded Lake Hotel visitors "generally engaged in quiet activities." A ca. 1914 Northern Pacific publication described the hotel's atmosphere as "the remain-with-us-a-while-and-rest sort, and certainly no better, more restful place can be found in the park."[269] Chairs stretched across the front of the hotel affording a tranquil spot for guests to enjoy the view of the lake. Schullery reported each of Yellowstone's grand hotels "developed its own constituency of visitors who would return again and again and who complained bitterly if their beloved hotel was modified, much less removed. … [T]heir devotees are as avid as those who focus their passion on the geysers or the wildlife."[270] Reau Campbell reported one well-traveled "prominent Eastern man, high in the financial world" brought his family to the Lake Hotel every year.[271] Park historian Aubrey Haines summarized:

> Guests at Lake Hotel found a serenity absent elsewhere in Wonderland. After a good dinner, well served by waitresses instead of by waiters, as at other large hotels in the Park, there were only quiet things to do. Whether one slipped through dim woods behind the hotel, hopeful of seeing bears feeding at the dump, walked the lakeshore, or merely sat and watched the backdrop of wooded hills and rugged peaks far across the water dissolve into the night, the mood was one of restfulness. What a blessing after four days of staging—of sun, wind, dust, and mosquitoes![272]

Access to the park and Lake Hotel improved in the mid-1910s. Private motor vehicles were permitted within the boundary beginning in 1915, under regulations controlling and scheduling their movements. In 1917 the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company acquired one hundred White brand ten-passenger touring cars and a similar number of smaller vehicles. The larger vehicles replaced horse-drawn stages and were expected to "alleviate much of the hardship of travel from one resort to another which characterized the old stage trips."[273] Motorization cut the complete tour of the park from five days to three, with stopovers of any length possible at the park hotels. The smaller touring cars served chartered side-trips to desired attractions.

Lake Hotel managers made an effort to provide a variety of choices for guest meals. Examples of daily printed breakfast and supper menus in the Yellowstone archives from 1916 and 1917 display views of park wildlife, the Yellowstone Lake dock and boats, and a stagecoach and provide glimpses of the cuisine enjoyed by guests. Breakfast offerings included broiled local trout, eggs, chipped beef on toast, potatoes, bacon or ham, griddle cakes, rolls and toast, and coffee, milk, tea, or cocoa. Supper included hot and cold meat dishes, such as broiled trout or sirloin steak or cold ham, roast beef, and mutton; mashed or baked potatoes; salad and side dishes of vegetables; and ice cream, cakes, or griddle cakes for dessert.[274]

The National Park Service, created in 1916, took over administration of Yellowstone National Park two years later. Due to the difficulty of securing staff during World War I, Lake Hotel did not open for the 1918 and 1919 seasons. To prepare for re-opening after the war, repairs and improvements began in 1919, including "a porte cochère in front of the central entrance of the hotel, built with faithful adherence to the colonial architecture of

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[267] *Grand Forks Herald* (Grand Forks, North Dakota), 21 July 1906, 2:8.
[268] *Boston Herald*, 26 November 1905, 45.
[269] Northern Pacific Railway, "The Hotels of Yellowstone Park" (St. Paul, Minnesota: Northern Pacific Railway, ca. 1914).
[270] Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, 178.
[271] Campbell, *Campbell's Complete Guide and Descriptive Book of the Yellowstone Park*, 117.
[272] Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, 2:127.
[273] *Denver Post*, 21 January 1917, 36.
[274] The hotel also offered lunch. Lake Hotel Breakfast and Dinner Menus, Yellowstone Park Company Collection, Series III-C, Box 1, Folder 7, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Gardiner, Montana.

the hotel itself."[275] Architect C.H. Kirk of Helena may have designed the structure.[276] The need for the porte cochère, which shielded arriving guests from the elements, perhaps was prompted by the decision to allow private vehicles in the park. Other improvements included replacing the wood porch decks with concrete and planting the grounds in front of the hotel.

"One of the Leading Resort Hotels": Expansion and Improvement of the Building and Visitor Activities, 1920-41

General prosperity, good railroad access, and the growing availability of automobiles led to increasing visitation in Yellowstone, with nearly 80,000 visitors recorded during 1920.[277] In that year, Lake Hotel re-opened for the season. The *Twin Falls News* judged "new equipment installed has made it one of the leading resort hotels in the United States."[278] More than 150 hotel employees saw to the needs of guests.

Park Superintendent Horace Albright provided his analysis of changes needed at Lake Hotel at the end of the 1920 season, including the addition of more rooms (with and without baths) in an annex, planting and improvement of the grounds, and painting of the hotel building.[279] A November 1921 meeting of National Park Service and railroad officials in Chicago discussed and supported expansion of the hotel.[280] YPA management directed architect Robert C. Reamer to prepare plans, which were accepted by the Park Service in April 1922. The following month NPS landscape engineer D.R. Hull paid a site visit to Lake Hotel and, accompanied by Reamer, "laid out the new hotel [wing] and completely revised the approach roads…."[281] With the boat company concession no longer a concern, Reamer's new three- and four-story wing extended eastward, but angled three degrees south of the axis of the existing building, reportedly to avoid an underground rock obstruction.[282] Unlike the older portion of the hotel, the new wing featured a flat roof, which Reamer believed was most practical to prevent leaks given the region's heavy snowload. The architect had favored a flat-roof for Old Faithful Inn's south wing in 1913-14, as Park Superintendent Horace M. Albright reported in 1927: "In recent years the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company has been using flat roof construction with a great deal more satisfaction. A flat roof can be absolutely tight and the trussing of the roof can be so constructed as to hold the snow load."[283] YPA broke ground on the expansion in June 1922, and by the following summer the rooms were ready for guests. The cost of the new Colonial Revival-style wing totaled an impressive $227,969.[284]

Other improvements followed. In 1923, workers rewired the older portions of the hotel and installed new plumbing in the 1903-04 portion of the building. Architects John Gustave Link and Charles Sidney Haire of

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[275] Director of the National Park Service, "Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service, 15 October 1919," 1077, in *Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Year ended 30 June 1919* (Washington: General Printing Office, 1919); A & E Architects, *Historic Structure Report*, 15.

[276] Reamer was not in Yellowstone between 1917 and 1920. Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams*, 150.

[277] *New York Times*, 20 February 1921.

[278] *Twin Falls News* (Twin Falls, Idaho), 19 June 1920, 3.

[279] Culpin, *A History of Concession Development in Yellowstone National Park*, 66-67.

[280] *Salt Lake Telegram* (Salt Lake City, Utah), 20 November 1921, 3.

[281] Horace Albright, Superintendent Monthly Report, May 1922, 13, Yellowstone National Park Library, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, Montana.

[282] Culpin, *A History of Concession Development in Yellowstone National Park*, 70; Dittl and Mallmann, "Plain to Fancy," 14.

[283] Reamer used this rationale and the earlier precedents to successfully argue for a flat roof on a 1927 addition to Old Faithful Inn. The flat roof also was safer for removal of snow by the winterkeeper. Horace M. Albright, letter to the Director of the National Park Service, 1 June 1927, Box C-14, Yellowstone National Park Library, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, Montana; R. C. Reamer to H. W. Child, telegram, 25 June 1927, Commercial Visitor Services, Series 7, Box 27, Folder 4, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Gardiner, Montana.

[284] This amounts to roughly $2.4 million in 2012 dollars. Yellowstone Park Hotel Company, Report of Gross Receipts Up to and Including July 31, 1932, Commercial Visitor Services Records, (1917-present), Series 3, Box 10, Folder 1, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Gardiner, Montana.

Helena, Montana, designed an expansion of the one-story polygonal west dining room addition. The plan retained the polygonal shape and bay windows, roughly doubled the east-west extent of the projection, and added a second story. The new space, completed in 1924, accommodated an expansion of the first-story dining room that doubled the seating capacity to four hundred and the creation of a second-story presidential suite. North of the dining room Link and Haire also expanded and remodeled the kitchen wing, which then included a large kitchen space; bakery; butcher shop; storage areas for meat, vegetables, and dairy; and dining rooms for officers and staff.[285] The capacity added to the hotel by the 1923 east wing probably prompted the need for more dining and food preparation space. On the hotel interior, Reamer installed a large Arts and Crafts-style fireplace featuring Batchelder tile on the north wall. The fireplace included a mesh wrought iron spark screen with a pine tree design in the center. Other lobby changes included painting the redwood paneling (which extended nearly to the ceiling) and the columns white; creating areas for the sale of photographic supplies and postcards and telegram transmission; and installing art-reed furniture supplied by H. von Briesen of San Francisco. Adjacent to the lobby were the Haynes photo stand and a telegraph room, while a dispensary and grille were located off the main hall to the east. The sleeping rooms received glass tumblers, glasses, and trays, but remained fairly modest.[286]

With completion of the 1923-24 improvements, the hotel spanned more than seven hundred feet along the north shore of Yellowstone Lake and included 323 rooms, solidifying its status in the grand hotel class. One account of a trip through the park in 1923 deemed the expanded hotel "a most attractive stopping place for those who wish to enjoy the lake, as its wide colonial veranda fronts on the full view of this blue sea."[287] Grand resort hotels throughout the country typically grew through construction of wings or detached annexes over the years. Old Faithful Inn also received large, somewhat simplified wings with flat roofs in the early twentieth century.[288]

In addition to expansion of Lake's main hotel building, the operation added other support buildings in the 1920s. During the May 1922 visit concerning the east wing, NPS landscape engineer D.R. Hull "also considered plan and sites for new mess houses, bunkhouses, etc., to be built in the rear of the Lake Hotel" for employees of the hotel and transportation companies.[289] The largest of these buildings was the 1923 two-story "girls' dormitory," built a short distance northeast of the hotel to house women employees. The hotel's remote location necessitated on-site accommodations for workers. According to Gerald L. Bateson Jr., the son of a longtime winterkeeper of the hotel, maids and waitresses previously lodged in the attics of the center and north wing of the hotel.[290] Architects Link and Haire prepared plans for the roughly $33,172 dormitory. By 1924 four other support buildings were present, including an ice house and carpenter shop to the north and a men's bunk house and wash room to the northwest.[291]

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[285] The inclusion of a meat storage room within the hotel possibly permitted converting the meat house in the rear of the hotel to other purposes. Link and Haire, Architects, Helena, Montana, Kitchen Addition, Lake Hotel, Yellowstone National Park, 28 September 1923, Box K 18, Folder D, Yellowstone National Park, Archives, Gardiner, Montana.

[286] Horace Albright noted the fireplace and lobby changes in his 1923 report. Dittl and Mallmann, "Plain to Fancy," 43-44.

[287] *Morning Star* (Rockford, Illinois), 1 April 1923.

[288] In 1913-14, Reamer added a one hundred-room, flat-roof, three-story wing to Old Faithful Inn, which Reamer's biographer, Ruth Quinn, argued departed from "the original rustic character so distinctive of the Old House [original wing]." The same hotel gained a flat roof 150-room west wing in 1927. Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams*, 154-55; Reinhart and Henry, *Old Faithful Inn*, 65-67.

[289] Horace Albright, Superintendent Monthly Report, May 1922, 13, Yellowstone National Park Library, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, Montana.

[290] Bateson Jr., *Growing Up in Yellowstone*, 10.

[291] The 1924 map of the hotel lease site shows all of the buildings depicted on the 1928 fire insurance map with the exception of the ice house and, curiously, the girls' dormitory (which was present in 1924). The 28 August 1928 map does not show all of the additions to the hotel which should have been completed by that date. The carpenter shop appears to have been a pre-1904 building earlier used as the hotel meat house. Map of Lake Hotel Lease Site, 1924, 1924 Leases, Box C-34, NARA, Yellowstone; Ray C. Culver, Yellowstone Park Hotel Company, Lake Hotel Group, fire insurance map, Fireman's Fund Insurance Company, 29 August 1928, Box K 18, Folder A, Yellowstone National Park, Archives, Gardiner, Montana.

Visitors continued to enjoy the attractions of the hotel and the setting. President Warren G. Harding traveled through Yellowstone National Park in July 1923. Near Lake Hotel he fed gingerbread and molasses to a mother bear and her cub, which had been treed by park rangers. Motion picture cameras captured the encounter, described by the Portland *Oregonian* as "one of the most interesting events of the chief executive's trip."[292] Visitor Adrienne Bush also toured Yellowstone in the same month and kept a careful scrapbook of her trip. She observed an osprey nest on Yellowstone Lake and preserved daily printed menu cards, which detailed guest choices for breakfast and supper and were illustrated with views of the hotel and a bear. One Bush postcard still referred to the building as "Lake Hotel Colonial."[293] A 1924 visitor from New Jersey wrote about seeing her "first snow-capped mountain and a truly heavenly sunset from the lake hotel [*sic*]" and reported attending a dance and eating popcorn from huge pans.[294] Speedboats on Yellowstone Lake were popular with visitors during the 1920s, and Crown Prince Gustav Adolph of Sweden piloted one from West Thumb to the Lake Hotel in July 1926.[295]

Calvin Coolidge vacationed in the park and became the first sitting President to stay at Lake Hotel in August 1927. After lunching in the dining room, Coolidge, wearing his brown felt fishing hat and using tackle given to him by the governor of Montana, set off by boat on Yellowstone Lake.[296] The President and First Lady occupied the presidential suite at the west end of the hotel, as reported by the *New York Times*: "The lake waves break within 200 feet of their quarters and their windows give a panaroma [*sic*] that is unrivaled."[297] Talking with Park Superintendent Horace Albright during his visit, the President broke a "lengthy silence" during their meeting to announce he had reached a decision, but not one on a matter of park policy: "Coolidge stated that he wanted to change the itinerary to stay one more day at Lake Hotel so he could take in a new fishing area that sounded good."[298] Members of the presidential party also enjoyed performances staged by hotel employees and participated in nightly dances.

The Yellowstone Park Company again turned to Robert C. Reamer for modifications to the hotel in the late 1920s. In 1928 the architect prepared plans for a one-story lounge extending perpendicular from the south façade; a small one-story north addition (now the gift shop) incorporating the first floor of the 1889-91 guest bathroom tower; reconfiguration of the porte cochère; and expansion of the lobby by enclosing the first floor area of the central portico. Reamer employed large windows in the lounge, providing "tranquil yet dynamic views, east toward Sylvan Pass, south across the lake to the Teton Range, and southeast toward the Heart Lake-Mount Sheridan area."[299] The three-bay 1919 porte cochère in front of the center portico was disassembled, reconstructed to the east, and connected to the central portico entrance by a covered porch and a side doorway.[300] The second and third stories at the west end of the hotel (above the kitchen) were also removed about this time.[301] On the interior, Reamer remodeled the lobby in the Colonial Revival style, eliminating the remaining original details of the 1889-91 lobby and most of the later Arts and Crafts styling. He retained the

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[292] *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), 2 July 1923, 1.

[293] Adrienne Bush Scrapbook, 1923, YELL 194590, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Gardiner, Montana.

[294] *Trenton Evening Times* (Trenton, New Jersey), 16 September 1924, 1.

[295] *Seattle Daily Times*, 5 July 1926, 3.

[296] *Greensboro Daily News* (Greensboro, North Carolina), 25 August 1927, 16.

[297] *New York Times*, 25 August 1927.

[298] Horace Albright, "The Coolidges in Wonderland," *American West*, 23 (July-August 1986): 22.

[299] Dittl and Mallmann, "Plain to Fancy," 44-45.

[300] Reamer's construction drawing instructed workers to "use mill work from existing porte cochère if possible." The resulting porte cochère configuration is seen in a color postcard of the façade postmarked 1930 and in the 1933 *Haynes Guide* to the park. R.C. Reamer, Architect, Seattle, Alterations and Additions to Lake Hotel, Yellowstone Park Hotel Company, Yellowstone Park [*sic*], Wyoming, 28 August 1928, Box K 18, Folder E, Yellowstone National Park, Archives, Gardiner, Montana.

[301] The exact date of the removal could not be determined. Rodd L. Wheaton suggested the guest rooms at this end of the hotel became less desirable after expansion of the kitchen wing in 1924. Rodd L. Wheaton, Englewood, Colorado, email to Thomas H. Simmons, 28 October 2013.

recently installed Batchelder tile fireplace (1923) and added a wall-hung Batchelder tile drinking fountain to its east.[302]

By September 1928, the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company reported the value of its Lake Hotel complex at $561,950, including the hotel, support buildings, and utility infrastructure.[303] Historic maps show the layout of the hotel complex in 1928 and the early 1930s. The 1928 map included a men's bunkhouse, wash room, and root cellar to the northwest of the hotel; power laundry (the boiler building), ice house, and carpenter shop to the north; and the girls' dormitory to the northeast. The rear of the hotel and some outbuildings appear in a historic photograph. Between 1928 and 1938 the YPA converted the carpenter shop to a winterkeeper's quarters, added an oil house north of the power house, removed the wash room, relocated the bunk house to the northeast, and added a mess house at the latter location.[304]

During the early years of the Great Depression, all four of Yellowstone National Park's large hotels saw steep drops in guest receipts, with total revenue falling 53 percent between the 1931 and 1932 seasons. Lake Hotel experienced an even greater 69 percent decline, and management determined it would not open in 1933.[305] The hotel remained closed during the 1934 through 1936 seasons. In 1936, the Yellowstone Park Association and the principal transportation, boating, and camping companies were consolidated as the Yellowstone Park Company (YPC).

In preparation for Lake Hotel's re-opening for the 1937 season and in anticipation of increased visitation, the porte cochère was doubled in size, with three identical bays added to the east end of the existing structure following the same plan and materials as 1928.[306] The hotel also received a new wood shingle roof, repainted walls, and the conversion of the boilers in the power house from coal to oil. The girls' dormitory became a hotel annex housing guests.[307] Hotel menus for 1937 listed activities available for visitors, including "Daily Speed Boat trips on the Lake. Row boats, motor boats, fishing tackle for rent."[308] In 1939 rates for meals and lodging at the hotel were $7 nightly for single occupancy and $13 for double occupancy. Adding a private bath pushed the cost to $8 or $9 and $15 or $16, respectively.[309]

In the late 1930s the YPC began exploring options for the future of Lake Hotel that would dramatically reconfigure the complex. An undated (pre-1938) drawing by Robert C. Reamer illustrated a plan for removing the center 139 feet of the hotel to permit construction of an access driveway to a new group of ninety single and

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[302] Simple economics may have dictated the retention of the fireplace. The addition of the fountain in 1928 suggests Reamer deliberately adopted a more eclectic approach for the lobby. Reinhart and Henry, *Old Faithful Inn*, 16.

[303] This represented about $5.98 million in 2012 dollars. Yellowstone Park Hotel Company, Annual Report for Year ending September 30, 1928, Commercial Visitor Services Records, 1917-present, Series 3, Box 10, Folder 1, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Gardiner, Montana.

[304] Haines refers to the presence of a winterkeeper at Lake Hotel in 1897-98, and current winterkeeper Dale Fowler believes the hotel had a winterkeeper from the beginning. It is not known where they were housed prior to the conversion of the meat house. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, 2:195 and Dale Fowler, Yellowstone National Park, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, 21 August 2013.

[305] Yellowstone Park Hotel Company, Annual Report for Year ending September 30, 1928, Commercial Visitor Services Records, 1917-present, Series 3, Box 10, Folder 1, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Gardiner, Montana.

[306] It is unclear if Reamer was actively involved in the 1937 porte cochère expansion but the project duplicated his 1928 design. A tourist photograph taken in 1937 and a 1938 Haynes postcard establish that the expanded porte cochère dates to 1937. Unnamed tourist photo, 22 June 1937 and Haynes, Inc., postcard, number 38340, 1938, in Rodd L. Wheaton, historic postcard and photograph collection, Englewood, Colorado.

[307] A&E Architects, *Historic Structure Report*, 32.

[308] Yellowstone Park Company Collection, Series III-C, Box 1, Folder 7, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Gardiner, Montana.

[309] The $16 rate is roughly equivalent to $264 in 2012 dollars. "Accommodations and Services at the Disposal of Visitors to Yellowstone Park, 1939," pamphlet, in Marie M. Augspurger, Yellowstone Notes Scrapbook, Rare Book Room, courtesy of Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, Montana.

duplex "lodges" (cottages) to the north. The plan retained the west lobby, dining room, and lounge and the 1923 east wing.[310] In 1940 the YPC demolished the north wing of the hotel, added in the 1903-04 expansion, as the first step in executing a lodge-cottage plan.[311] Drawings prepared in 1941 by Bozeman architect Fred F. Willson proposed retaining the hotel but placing a first story drive-through just east of the east portico to access the cottage group. In 1941 the concessioner began building a group of cottages north of the hotel, similar to those at Mammoth Hot Springs, but World War II intervened and stopped nonessential construction. Proposals to radically alter the main hotel building did not re-emerge after the end of the conflict, and the building's footprint saw no significant changes after the 1937 porte cochère expansion and 1940 removal of the north wing.

Rehabilitation and Improvements After World War II and Later Enhancements, 1942-2014

During World War II the nation's workers turned to military service or focused on war-related jobs and rationing limited travel. While the Park Service insisted the national parks were open, Lake Hotel closed for the 1942 through 1946 seasons. The establishment reopened in 1947, but a 1948 investigative article by the *Denver Post* on Yellowstone facilities reported Lake Hotel was known as "Bat Alley" by local residents for its generally dilapidated condition.[312] Yellowstone Historian Lee Whittlesey reported YPC considered demolishing the hotel in the 1950s, but instead renovated rooms in the west wing and remodeled the kitchen and dining room. The building's first-story public spaces were refurbished in a modern light birch décor.[313] Other early postwar upgrades included gift shop remodeling (1965-66) and replacement of the dining room foundation (1968). In 1969, John A. Ronscavage, a National Park Service landscape architect, prepared plans recommending "the hotel should ultimately be removed;" until that could be achieved, he advocated painting the hotel in "a more light-absorptive scheme."[314] Park officials never acted on this suggestion.

The early postwar period also saw changes to the hotel's support facilities. The winterkeeper's quarters received a frame addition on the west in 1951. By 1952 the men's bunkhouse and wash room were gone. Between 1952 and 1960, a large horseshoe-shaped parking lot was constructed north of the hotel between the boiler house and the girls' dormitory.[315] After 1963 the ice house, oil house, and docks and boat houses were removed.

Shifts in hotel concessioners also occurred in the latter part of the twentieth century. The Yellowstone Park Company, owned by the Nichols family, sold its Yellowstone interests in 1966 to Goldfield Corporation, which then sold to General Baking Company later that year. General Baking Company became General Host, Inc., in 1967. The new owner was unable to meet its contractual commitments, and in November 1979 the Park Service contracted with TWA Services, Inc. (then a subsidiary of the Canteen Corporation and now known as Xanterra,

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[310] Reamer died in early January 1938; he prepared the plan in 1937 or earlier. R.C. Reamer, architect, "Plot Plan Lake Hotel and Lodges, Yellowstone National Park," no date, L3, Folder E, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Gardiner, Montana.

[311] The gable end outline of the north wing is still visible on the north elevation of the hotel. Reinhart and Henry, *Old Faithful Inn,* 10; W.M. Nichols, president, Yellowstone Park Company, to Edmund B. Rogers, superintendent, Yellowstone National Park, 16 July 1941, Commercial Visitor Services Records, 1917-present, Record Group 5, YELL 123369, Series VII, Records of Buildings and Facilities, Folder 6, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, Montana.

[312] Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 368.

[313] Whittlesey, "History of the Lake (Village) Area," 45.

[314] A member of the Wyoming State Review Board recently suggested "a more light-absorptive scheme" meant "NPS brown." John A. Ronscavage, Landscape Architect, "Developed Area Narrative to Accompany Drawing No. NP-YEL-2277-H, Lake-Fishing Bridge Region, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming," March 1969; Clayton B. Fraser, Loveland, Colorado, email to Thomas H. Simmons, 6 March 2014.

[315] Master plan maps, 1952 and 1960, Yellowstone National Park, Archives, Gardiner, Montana; Liz Sargent HLA in association with Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc. "Lake Historic District Cultural Landscape, Yellowstone National Park," Draft Cultural Landscapes Inventory, prepared for National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming (Northbrook, Illinois: Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates, Inc., July 2012), 93.

Inc.) to operate Lake Hotel and other visitor facilities in the park. In 1979-80 the concessioner began a major program to upgrade the hotel and meet health-life-safety standards, including stabilization of the building with steel reinforcement of the porticoes and foundations, reroofing, and construction of fire stair towers and installation of fire doors.[316] A 1983-84 rehabilitation of the hotel's public spaces encompassed remodeling work in the lobby, dining room, and lounge. The kitchen received health-life-safety requirement upgrades. West wing room work begun in 1985-86 included installing private bathrooms for all rooms, narrowing the corridors, removing closets between guest rooms for additional bathrooms, and rehabilitating original bathrooms. In 1986-87 the east wing foundation was stabilized and east wing rooms were rehabilitated.[317]

In 1971, principal visitor access to the hotel was rerouted from the Grand Loop Road along the shore of the lake to a bypass road located north of the hotel as a Mission 66 project. Most guests thereafter arrived at the rear of the hotel, parking in the large U-shaped lot.[318] In 1983-84, to facilitate guest access to the rear of the hotel, two one-story Post-Modern style north porches were constructed providing access to the main lobby and the elevator lobby of the east wing.[319]

In 1991 the hotel celebrated its hundredth anniversary with listing of the building in the National Register of Historic Places. A&E Architects of Missoula prepared a historic structure report for the hotel in 2009, and, based on its recommendations, the National Park Service and the concessioner, Xanterra, completed further upgrades to the hotel to meet visitor expectations while maintaining its historic character. Work undertaken in 2012-14 included seismic upgrades; remodeling of the lobby, dining room, and lounge echoing the Colonial Revival-style exterior; remodeling guest rooms in the original portion of the building (west end); and construction of a connecting corridor between the hotel and the power house.[320]

CONCLUSION

Over several decades, the Yellowstone Park Company and architect Robert C. Reamer transformed Lake Hotel from a modest 1891 lodging into a grand resort hotel. Reamer's 1903-04 remodeling produced a building with more than two hundred rooms displaying a unified Colonial Revival-style exterior that placed Lake Hotel within the mainstream of grand resort hotel design. With this and subsequent expansions that continued to reflect the Colonial Revival idiom, Lake Hotel's development followed the typical growth pattern of the grand resort hotels in their effort to meet increasing demand and the needs and expectations of guests. Unlike many of its contemporaries, Lake Hotel did not succumb to fire, abandonment, or changing market conditions, and it continues to hold a key place in Yellowstone's roster of tourist accommodations as a rare surviving example of a frame grand resort hotel of the early twentieth century representing the Colonial Revival style.

While some resort hotels manufactured diversions to entertain travelers, Lake Hotel's location near the center of the country's first national park guaranteed ample activities lay right outside its threshold, including one of America's largest mountain lakes. Visitors came to the park for the geysers, wildlife, geologic curiosities, splendid scenery, fishing, boating, hiking, and quiet relaxation. Lake Hotel, the oldest lodging establishment in Yellowstone National Park, approaches its 125th anniversary in 2016, continuing to welcome guests to its gracious facility with the same characteristics that attracted visitors during the golden years of grand resort hotels. As travel writer Janet Chapple noted in 2009, Lake Hotel "is the most carefully planned and comfortable of any in Yellowstone…. Few people have the time or the inclination to spend 'the entire season' these days, but the hotel has not changed much. Even in a short stay, we can appreciate its resort-like ambience and its

[316] Douglas Gordon and Stephanie Stubbs, "On Yellowstone Lake," *Preservation News* (May-June 1993): 22.
[317] Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 370-77.
[318] Whittlesey, "History of the Lake (Village) Area," 22.
[319] Architect Charles Hudson of the NPS Denver Service Center designed the porches.
[320] The last interior designed by Reamer within the period of significance was in the Colonial Revival style.

outstanding setting."[321] Jeffrey Limerick summarized the importance of such buildings: "Long after intellectual notions become meaningless or seem downright silly and not worth their pretensions, architecture's mood, character and delight live on. This gives a special significance to the grand resort hotels whose essence was an attempt to create fantasy and delight so often missing from our lives."[322]

ARCHITECTS

This section contains brief profiles of the architects involved in designing the original construction and major additions/remodelings to Lake Hotel.

Robert C. Reamer

Robert Chambers Reamer, born in 1873 in Oberlin, Ohio, received no formal academic training in architecture, but gained experience and skill working for eight years as a draftsman in architectural offices beginning at age twelve. He also designed furniture in Chicago before establishing an architectural firm with Samuel B. Zimmer in San Diego, California, in 1895.[323] Historian Richard A. Bartlett argued that when Reamer left Chicago he "emerged into manhood as a self-made architect."[324]

Yellowstone Park Transportation Company co-founder and Yellowstone Park Association President Harry Child secured Reamer's services after the architect completed remodeling projects at the celebrated Hotel Del Coronado and other design work in the San Diego area. Reamer prepared plans for the initial 1903-04 transformation of the Lake Hotel and designed subsequent additions and alterations until his death. He worked on more than twenty-five buildings and structures in the Yellowstone area, including Old Faithful Inn (1903 and later additions, NHL), considered his most influential work; Northern Pacific Railroad Station at Gardiner, Montana (1903; demolished 1954); H.W. Child House/Executive House (1908, NR); Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel (1913 addition; 1936-38 new construction, NR); and Canyon Hotel (1910-11; burned 1960).[325]

In 1911, as word spread of the architect's talent, the Reamer family left the Yellowstone area, living briefly in California and Cleveland before moving to Boston. There, the architect completed considerable work for the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad and subsidiary lines.[326] He continued to design projects in Yellowstone, including additions to Lake, Mammoth, and Old Faithful hotels. Rejected from service with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers during World War I, he gained employment at the Bremerton, Washington, naval shipyard.

Following the war Reamer became chief architect with the Metropolitan Building Company of Seattle and lived in the Northwest until his death in 1938. Reamer's versatility continued to be reflected in designs in Washington, which included: the atmospheric Fifth Avenue Theater (1926) in Seattle displaying Chinese timber architecture; the Mount Baker Theater (1927) in Bellingham, a Spanish/Moorish movie palace; 1411 Fourth Avenue (1929) in Seattle, a modernistic commercial building with Celtic and Art Deco motifs; the Seattle Times Building (1932), which the architect described as "of simple 'modern' type with emphasis on mass and proportions, rather than ornament;" the Art Deco Edmond Meany Hotel (1931) in Seattle; and the Fox Theater

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[321] Janet Chapple, *Yellowstone Treasures: The Traveler's Companion to the National Park* (Menlo Park, California: Granite Peak Publications, 2009), 143

[322] Limerick, "Resort Hotels of America," 108.

[323] Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams*.

[324] Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 180.

[325] David Leavengood, "A Sense of Shelter: Robert C. Reamer in Yellowstone National Park," *Pacific Historical Review*, 54 (November 1985): 511.

[326] Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams*, 88-89.

(1931) in Spokane, a work described as "so exuberant, so beautiful, so enormous, that not even the Great Depression could diminish the community's enthusiasm for the building."[327]

Architect David L. Leavengood assessed Reamer as a significant contributor to Seattle's architecture, who "adapted national design trends to suit the local architectural style of the emerging city. Reamer distinguished himself from others, however, in his unique ability to express both style and function in his designs, and in his mastery of a wide range of architectural idioms."[328] Architectural historian Sally B. Woodridge and urban designer Roger Montgomery concluded Reamer was among the city's individual practitioners who "contributed importantly during the late twenties and thirties . . ."[329] Reamer's daughter later reported, "Nothing seemed to supersede the needs in Yellowstone Park, however. Hardly a summer went by that he didn't make one or two trips there on work of some kind."[330] Seattle architect Leavengood judged, "Nowhere…are Reamer's talents more apparent than in the techniques he developed of designing sheltering buildings as exemplified by his hotel architecture in Yellowstone National Park."[331] Professor Richard Guy Wilson visited the Lake Hotel and later remarked he "was impressed as I have always been with Reamer's work."[332]

Link and Haire

John Gustave Link, born in Germany where he studied architecture at the Royal Academy at Lindau, immigrated to Denver at age nineteen when he began work as an architectural draftsman for six years. He moved to St. Louis before settling in Butte, Montana, in 1896, where he entered an architectural partnership with William L. Donovan. In 1900 Link partnered with Joseph T. Carter and designed the 1904 Montana State Building at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1905 he established a partnership with Charles Sidney Haire. They were best known for their 1909 design work for the wings to the Montana State Capitol in Helena, in collaboration with Frank Mills Andrews of New York.

Charles S. Haire was born in 1857 near Cincinnati and worked as a draftsman for seven years in Ohio. He subsequently received employment as a draftsman for the Union Pacific Railroad in Idaho and for the Great Northern in Butte, Montana, where he settled. He is known for the design of buildings at Montana State Agricultural College at Bozeman, the State Normal School at Dillon, and for a school for the deaf and blind at Boulder, Montana. Haire was a supervising architect for the State of Montana on the State Capitol additions project in Helena and was known for his mediating role with the Montana Board of Examiners regarding architectural issues.[333] At the time of the projects for the Lake Hotel Girls' Dormitory (1923) and dining room extension (1924), Link and Haire was a well-established architectural firm in Helena. The partners worked in 1924-25 on several buildings in Gardiner, Montana, for the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company.[334]

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[327] David L. Leavengood, "Robert C. Reamer," in Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, ed., *Shaping Seattle Architecture: A Historical Guide to the Architects* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 186-191; Elizabeth McNamara, "Fox Theater," *Preservation* (January/February 2011): 34; Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams*, 123-131 and 144-145.

[328] Leavengood, "Robert C. Reamer," 186.

[329] Sally B. Woodridge and Roger Montgomery, *A Guide to Architecture in Washington State* (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1980), 21.

[330] Jane R. White, correspondence quoted in Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams*, 149.

[331] Leavengood, "A Sense of Shelter," 498.

[332] Richard Guy Wilson, University of Virginia, email to Thomas H. Simmons, 2 December 2011.

[333] James R. McDonald, Architects, *Historic Structure Report, Montana State Capitol* (Unpublished report for State of Montana, 1981) 23-27.

[334] Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams,* 51, 163.

Nicholas T. Haller

Nicholas T. Haller of Washington, D.C., designer of the original 1891 Lake Hotel building, was born in Frederick, Maryland, in 1850.[335] He appears not to have received any formal education or training in architecture. The 1870 Census identified him as an apprentice to a carpenter in Frederick, while the 1874 Washington city directory listed him as a carpenter. Haller identified himself as a builder in the 1884 city directory, and by 1886 he claimed the title of architect. Two of his Washington works are listed in the National Register of Historic Places: the Luzon Apartment Building and the Warder Building (now the International Spy Museum). Architectural historian Eve Lydia Barsoum, preparer of the Luzon nomination, reported Haller designed more than one hundred commercial and residential buildings in the nation's capital, primarily "two- and three-story rowhouse flats and dwellings" but also including eighteen apartment buildings and several office buildings. Upon his death in 1917, the Washington *Evening Star* called Haller "the well known architect, whose work covers some of the most important buildings erected in Washington in the last thirty years." Ms. Barsoum concluded: "Haller made significant contributions to Washington's built environment. While Haller is not representative of the city's most skilled architects, his work exemplifies much of the local architectural character and the nature of small architectural practices at the turn-of-the-century."[336]

COMPARATIVE PROPERTIES

The 1986 *Architecture in the Parks National Historic Landmark Theme Study* listed Lake Hotel among a group of resources "found to be of less than national significance."[337] The author, Laura Soullière Harrison, provided no narrative discussion of the hotel and no rationale for this assessment. Although not discussed, Lake Hotel falls into the theme study's category of early hotels designed within the mainstream of American architecture.[338] The only hotel reflecting mainstream architecture Harrison assessed as nationally significant was Yosemite's Wawona Hotel, which she judged "for the most part possessed architecture built without strong concern for the surrounding natural resources" and retained a high level of integrity.[339] She found the presence of historic exterior fabric to be of major importance in determining integrity for historic hotels in the parks.[340] The theme study focused primarily on buildings designed to harmonize with their environment.

It is reasonable to assume Lake Hotel was identified as "less than nationally significant" because of its extensive historic alterations and additions when compared with Wawona. It is worthwhile pointing out that some of the non-mainstream hotels judged to be of national significance, such as Old Faithful Inn, also experienced more alterations than Wawona. This NHL nomination broadens the context for assessing Lake Hotel beyond architecture in the national parks to examining its significance within the context of grand resort hotels throughout the nation, specifically those designed in the Colonial Revival idiom. Lake Hotel is nationally significant as an outstanding western expression of Colonial Revival grand resort hotel representing mainstream American hotel architecture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its alterations and additions, all designed with a consistent Colonial Revival aesthetic and nearly all designed by Robert C. Reamer, reflect the

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[335] It could not be determined how a Washington, D.C., architect came to design a hotel in Yellowstone National Park. Haller may have had a tie to the Northern Pacific Railroad.

[336] U.S. Census of Population, manuscript returns, Maryland, 1870 and Washington, DC, 1880 and 1900; Washington, DC, city directories, 1874-1886; Eve Lydia Barsoum, Luzon Apartment Building, Washington, DC, National Register of Historic Places, nomination form, 30 June 1994; *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), 12 September 1912, 11.

[337] Laura Soullière Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks*, National Historic Landmark Theme Study (Washington: National Park Service, November 1986), 17.

[338] Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks*, 2.

[339] Ibid., 1.

[340] Ibid., 29.

manner in which many grand resort hotels grew and responded to changing guest expectations during the period.

Although construction of large-scale resort hotels in natural settings was widespread during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, especially in areas of the East and South, examination of properties comparable to the Lake Hotel reveals very few Colonial Revival grand resort hotels remain intact. Most of the era's large-scale resort hotels in natural surroundings no longer stand, with the survivors representing a "vanishing architectural legacy," as Professor Tolles wrote of the hotels of the White Mountains.[341] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver characterized the world of these grand resort hotels as "extremely fragile," vulnerable as they were to fires, financial disaster and the "whims of a fickle fashion-conscious patronage."[342]

For these reasons, the universe of early twentieth century Colonial Revival grand resort hotels possessing historic physical integrity is quite limited, suggesting that Lake Hotel is a rare surviving example of the resource type. Of currently designated NHLs, only twenty-one might be called grand resort hotels and only three of those reflect aspects of the Colonial Revival style: the Greenbrier, the Homestead, and the Grand Hotel. None of the three is located in the western United States. The Greenbrier and the Homestead were designated for their architecture and history (development of resort hotels), while the Grand Hotel was recognized only for its architecture. Two other NHLs are also discussed: the Wawona, a comparable in the West listed for its architectural significance) and the Mount Washington Hotel (listed for architecture and history). Five National Register-listed hotels are also included as the best examples of comparable properties, including one western example, the Stanley Hotel in Colorado.

National Historic Landmarks

Wawona Hotel, Yosemite National Park, California, 1876, NHL 1987, additional documentation and boundary expansion 2011

Constructed over a forty-year period, the Wawona Hotel includes a main hotel building, annex, cottages, Thomas Hill Studio, support buildings, and a tennis court and golf course. Development at the site, southwest of Yosemite Valley in Yosemite National Park, began as a stage stop in the 1850s. An 1878 fire destroyed most of the facility with the 1876 "Long White" or Clark Cottage surviving. The buildings added after the fire produced a Victorian hotel complex that "suggest[s] an architectural unity" through formal placement on the landscape; the repetition of materials, form, and massing; and architectural details, such as porches and connecting verandas.[343] By the early twentieth century the Wawona developed a reputation as "a mountain resort, located in a stunning location with recreational activities, good food, and proximity to some of the nation's finest scenery."[344] In 1932 the Wawona area became part of Yosemite National Park, with operation and ownership of the facility passing to the National Park Service.

Discussion. The individual buildings of the Wawona complex possess excellent historic physical integrity. The facility represents a hotel complex that grew through erection of additional buildings rather than expansion of a central hotel building. Unlike Lake Hotel, the Wawona Hotel does not reflect the Colonial Revival style or any specific formal architectural style, however, it is located in a national park in the West. The principal guest

[341] Tolles, *Grand Resort Hotels*, 13.
[342] Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels*, 13.
[343] Daniel Schaible, Wawona Hotel Historic District, Yosemite National Park, draft National Historic Landmark Nomination update, 7 September 2011, 19.
[344] Schaible, Wawona Hotel Historic District, 22.

accommodation buildings are arranged in a backwards L measuring about 470 feet by 310 feet and contain only 104 rooms, much less capacity than the Lake Hotel.

The Greenbrier, White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, 1913, NHL 1990

Development of resort buildings at the White Sulphur Springs mineral spa dates to the early 1800s. The Chesapeake and Ohio Railway engaged New York architect Frederick J. Sterner to prepare plans for a new hotel, The Greenbrier, which opened in 1913. The seven-story, 250-room Colonial Revival-style hostelry featured masonry construction (painted white) with a flat roof. The sprawling hotel (roughly 954 feet by 883 feet) received several interconnected additions in the same style over the decades and grew to more than six hundred guest rooms: the Bath Wing; the North, South, and Virginia Wings (1931); West Wing (1954); Old White Club (1957); and West Virginia Wing (1962). The hotel complex now contains numerous cottages, tennis courts, golf courses, a swimming pool, and formal gardens. Golfing has been the resort's principal draw since the early twentieth century. During World War II, the hotel served as an army hospital.[345]

Discussion. The Greenbrier reflects the Colonial Revival style and grand resort hotel scale but is not a western establishment. Its construction extended over forty-nine years and produced a complex of interconnected buildings much larger than the Lake Hotel but including three wings erected after the period of significance in the 1950s and 1960s, as well as a 1962 porte cochère. The hotel's interior was redesigned following its World War II service as an army hospital.

Grand Hotel, Mackinac Island, Michigan, 1887, NHL 1989

Located on a bluff overlooking the Straits of Mackinac, the wood frame Grand Hotel is five stories tall, nine hundred feet long, and contains 286 rooms. The National Register nomination characterized the hotel as "basically a plain Queen Anne style" with "some Colonial Revival details, especially on the enormous deep veranda, which is 628 feet long."[346] The hotel's most impressive public space was its enormous 213 feet by 80 feet "Salle a Manger" (dining room) with a twenty-seven-foot ceiling. Support buildings included a dormitory, maintenance building, superintendent's residence, servants' quarters, powerhouse, stable, and carpenter shop.[347] George Mason of Mason and Rice (Detroit) designed the hotel, with Charles W. Caskey as builder.[348] The hotel received major additions in 1897 and 1912. Guests enjoyed tennis, bicycling, horseback riding, yachting, concerts and lectures on the veranda, the lake's beach, and the annual Field Day, which included "rugby, foot races, boxing, swimming and horse racing."[349]

Discussion. The Grand Hotel is an excellent example of an early grand resort hotel with several support facilities and no major nonhistoric additions. The building is larger than the Lake Hotel, but less clearly classifiable as Colonial Revival and is not in the West. While the hostelry incorporates neoclassical elements, its nomination deemed the building Queen Anne in style, perhaps due to its rounded corner elements and tower. The Grand Hotel experienced major refurbishing in 1976-77 when the front of the hotel and the porch were tilting, requiring addition of trusses anchored to a six-foot concrete footing under the porch. The porch columns were cut in half and placed around steel supports. At the same time some interior remodeling occurred.[350]

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[345] West Virginia Antiquities Commission, The Greenbrier, White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, National Register of Historic Places nomination, 17 January 1990; David B. Wolinski, ed., *Historic Hotels of America* (Washington: The Preservation Press, 1994), 150-51.

[346] Rodd L. Wheaton argues the Grand Hotel is more reflective of the Italianate style than Queen Anne. Wheaton, Lake Hotel.

[347] Pitts, Grand Hotel.

[348] Kathryn Bishop Eckert, *Buildings of Michigan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 551.

[349] John McCabe, *Grand Hotel, Mackinac Island* (Mackinac Island, Michigan: The Unicorn Press, 1987), 66.

[350] Pitts, Grand Hotel, 8.1.

The Homestead, Hot Springs, Virginia, 1903, NHL 1991

An earlier hotel at this mineral springs burned in 1901, and a new building rose the following year, with design work by Alfred O. Elzner and George M. Anderson of Cincinnati in the Colonial Revival style. The new hotel featured red brick walls with white trim, a three-story center section with a six-bay Ionic portico with a double row of tall columns, and four-story north and south wings. Colonial Revival detailing continued on the interior, including a two hundred-foot-long great hall, with columns, a coffered ceiling, dentil frieze, two fireplaces, and a balustrade gallery, as well as lounges, a ballroom, and theater. The hotel gained several additions over the years, including a west wing (1903), east wing (1914), and a number of additions in the 1920s. In 1929 a ten-and-a-half-story Colonial Revival-style tower was erected from plans drawn by Charles D. Wetmore of New York. A conference center and guest wing was added to the south in 1973, with the complex now extending roughly 1,280 feet by 862 feet. Other buildings within the complex include a bathhouse, dining hall, a second hotel, and a number of cottages. The NHL nomination states "during the early twentieth century the Homestead enjoyed a national reputation as an outstanding year-round resort to which national political figures, business giants, and the wealthy upper class elite flocked to take the waters and enjoy the social life."[351]

Discussion. The Homestead is an impressive example of Colonial Revival hotel architecture. Its massive tower and red brick construction contrast markedly with the more horizontal frame designs employed in most late nineteenth and early twentieth century grand resort hotels, including Lake Hotel. The hostelry is larger than Lake Hotel through erection of a number of additions over a long time period, including a large convention wing added in 1973. The Homestead represents a different region of the country than the Lake Hotel.

Mount Washington Hotel, Carroll, New Hampshire, 1902, NHL 1986

Located in New Hampshire's White Mountains with a superb view of Crawford Notch, the Mount Washington Hotel consists of a 1902 stucco frame four-story Y-shaped main hotel building (496 feet by 314 feet) with two five-story octagonal towers, a raised basement, and long two-story porches. The 1985 National Register nomination reported the hotel contained 236 guest rooms (206 with private baths). It could accommodate six hundred guests nightly. New York architect Charles Alling Gifford designed the building in the Spanish Renaissance Revival style, unexpected in its New Hampshire location. Support facilities include a garage, canteen (the Bretton Arms), tennis courts, golf course, and a cross-country center and trails. In 1944 the hotel hosted an important event, the Bretton Woods Conference at which Allied policymakers reached agreement for creation of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank), and a system of fixed currency exchange rates. Bryant Tolles stated most critics considered the Mount Washington Hotel "the most ambitiously conceived, elaborately appointed and conspicuously palatial" of the thirty grand resort hotels built in the White Mountains between 1850 and 1930.[352]

Discussion. The Mount Washington Hotel is an excellent example of a grand resort hotel that possesses additional historical significance for hosting the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference. While the hotel displays some Colonial Revival elements, particularly in its long porches, it principally represents the Spanish Renaissance Revival style and is located in the East.

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[351] Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission Staff, The Homestead, Hot Springs, Virginia, National Historic Landmark nomination, NRIS 84003494, 20 December 1990.

[352] Carolyn Pitts, Mount Washington Hotel, Carroll, New Hampshire, National Register of Historic Places nomination, June 1985; Tolles Jr., *The Grand Resort Hotels of the White Mountains*, 213.

National Register Properties

Stanley Hotel, Estes Park, Colorado, 1909, NRHP

The 1909 Stanley Hotel, designed by Denver architect T. Robert Wieger for automobile manufacturer F. O. Stanley, is located in the town of Estes Park near Rocky Mountain National Park. The 103-room symmetrical Colonial Revival-style building is embellished with extensive detailing conveying the style, including a center cupola, hipped roof with dormers, veranda with double sets of Doric columns, Palladian windows, and weatherboard walls (originally painted yellow with white trim). The hotel complex embraced several other buildings: a Manor House with additional guest rooms; Stanley Hall for entertainment; carriage house; two dormitories; laundry building; boiler house; manager's cottage; gatekeeper's house; maintenance building; swimming pool; tennis courts; ice house; stables; and a 1950s cabana, as well as a hydroelectric power plant and operators cottages a few miles to the northwest. According to the National Register nomination, guest activities included billiards, bowling, tennis, croquet, golf, gourmet dining, horseback riding, dancing, amateur theatricals, concerts, and "simply promenading the grounds."[353]

Discussion. The Stanley Hotel is a well-preserved example of a Colonial Revival-style resort hotel of the Mountain West, although the main hotel building is much smaller than the Lake Hotel. Additional guest rooms were gained through erection of an annex rather than building onto the original hotel as at most grand resort hotels. A projecting rooftop elevator cupola detracts from the building's symmetrical plan. The hotel is situated within the resort town of Estes Park and is surrounded by nonhistoric development.

Mountain View House, Whitefield, New Hampshire, 1872-1927, NRHP

The Mountain View House evolved from a rural farmhouse into a Colonial Revival-style resort hotel as the result of eight separate building episodes between 1872 and 1927, which produced a peak capacity of three hundred guests. Despite the long evolution, the National Register nomination for the property asserts the entire building possesses "a high degree of uniformity," due to such common features as frame construction, yellow-painted weatherboards, heights of three to four stories, and hipped roofs with hipped roof dormers. A seven-story Italianate observation tower on the façade is the focal point of the roughly 510 feet x 252 feet hotel. The interior includes an oval dining room with an octagonal roof that seats 450 diners. The roughly twenty-four-acre grounds also contain three dormitories, two cottages, a garage, barn, engineer's shop, maintenance building, golf clubhouse, gazebo, water towers, and a conference center, as well as a swimming pool, tennis courts, fountain, ponds, and golf course. Guest activities and entertainment included tennis, croquet, baseball, golf, dancing, and taking in vistas of the surrounding mountain ranges.[354]

Discussion. The National Register nomination for the Mountain View House categorizes the hotel as Colonial Revival, although it includes a prominent seven-tower Italianate tower. The hotel is described as "a rare surviving example of a grand resort hotel in New Hampshire's White Mountains." The building is much smaller than the Lake Hotel and received three one-story additions between 1973 and 2002. A large conference center was added to the grounds in 1965.

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[353] Kathleen Hoeft, Stanley Hotel District, Estes Park, Colorado, National Register of Historic Places nomination, 21 January 1985; Ron Lasky, *A Concise History of the Stanley Hotel* (Estes Park, Colorado: Write On Publications, 2001).

[354] Elizabeth Durfee Hengen, Mountain View House, National Register of Historic Places nomination, 22 January 2004 (NRIS 040001588); Tolles, *Grand Resort Hotels*, 202-07.

Hotel Randall/Eastern Slope Inn, North Conway, New Hampshire, 1926, NRHP

The current 1926 Hotel Randall, located within the town of North Conway, replaced two earlier hotels that burned. Henry Harrison Randall built the facility from plans prepared by architect H.E. Mason. The three-story, T-shaped building is frame and measures only 190 feet by 125 feet with a guest capacity of about three hundred. The center tetrastyle portico has Corinthian columns and a stucco tympanum with an elliptical window. The National Register nomination describes the Eastern Slope Inn as being "clearly inspired in a general sense by Mount Vernon" and Tolles noted the building's Colonial Revival stylistic origins. The interior features a lobby with columns and a fireplace, with guest rooms on the second and third stories accessed by a Colonial staircase and an Otis elevator. Along with the hotel, the grounds included a dormitory, sheds, tennis courts, and a swimming pool. The hotel originally drew summer visitors to the White Mountains. As the winter ski industry developed in the area, the hostelry was renamed the Eastern Slope Inn in 1937 and welcomed skiers. The inn's new owner, Harvey Dow Gibson, "augmented the hotel's regular summer programming with horse shows, tennis and golf tournaments, swimming meets, and civic, social, and cultural gatherings." The hotel closed in 1976 and housed the retail functions of Eastern Mountain Sports until 1980. The building again became a hotel with about fifty rooms in 1981.[355]

Discussion. The Hotel Randall is an excellent example of a small frame Colonial Revival-style resort hotel of the 1920s, somewhat past the golden age of grand resort hotels. The building is much smaller in scale than Lake Hotel and does not display the expansion through additions that characterized many of those in the grand resort class. The Hotel Randall sits within the bustling village of North Conway, New Hampshire, and does not reflect the rural or natural setting common to most grand resort hotels.

Eagle Mountain House, Jackson, New Hampshire, 1915-16, NRHP

Arthur P. Gale designed and built the second Eagle Mountain House in 1915-16, replacing an earlier building lost to fire. The frame three-and-a-half-story building initially contained ninety guest rooms; in 1928-29, Gale's son doubled the size of the hostelry and added sixty rooms, producing a roughly 230 feet by 105 feet building and raising the guest capacity to 225 persons. Tolles noted the hotel has "a vernacular residential quality," although "traces of the Colonial Revival appear in the corner boarding, diamond-pane windows, the modillioned blocks in the main roof, dormer and gable eaves, and the splayed square posts of the veranda that has square-balustered railings running between them." The National Register nomination categorized the hotel's style as Colonial Revival. The interior features a lobby with fireplace, ladies' parlor, writing room, and a dining room with square posts and cased beams and large plate glass windows for views. The complex also included a barn, repair garage, and storage garage. The hotel notably attracted mostly middle-class guests rather than the extremely wealthy. Activities enjoyed by guests included concerts, weekly dances, golf, tennis, shuffleboard, croquet, swimming, wildlife viewing, hiking in the White Mountains, and fishing in the nearby Wildcat River.[356]

Discussion. The Eagle Mountain House is a good early twentieth-century example of a relatively small-scale, less embellished frame Colonial Revival grand resort hotel that catered mostly to middle class patrons rather than the well-to-do who frequented most establishments in the category. The building is less than half the size of the Lake Hotel. The National Register nomination describes the property as "virtually unaltered."

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[355] Tolles, *Grand Resort Hotels*, 148-50; Robert B. Kantack, Hotel Randall, North Conway, New Hampshire, National Register of Historic Places nomination, NRIS 82004994, 24 September 1981.

[356] Hengen, Eagle Mountain House; Tolles, *Grand Resort Hotels*, 151-54 and 242.

Sagamore Hotel, Bolton Landing, New York, 1921, NRHP

The Sagamore Hotel on Lake George, the third hotel on the site, dates to 1922 and is associated with resort development in the Adirondacks. In 1930 the owners enlarged the existing thirty-room frame hostelry under plans prepared by Harold Field Kellogg of Boston. The resulting Colonial Revival-style two-hundred-room hotel included four wings extending from a center section; a tall, square tower with cupola at the front; and a half-round portico on the rear. The three-story X-shaped building measures about 404 feet by 332 feet. The hotel featured electric lights, steam-powered elevators, private baths, a billiard room, and bowling alleys. In addition to the main hotel, the complex embraced several cottages, an annex, stable, icehouse, garages, storage building, staff residence, golf course, and theater. Sagamore guests could enjoy tennis, golf, horseback riding, swimming, boating, horse and dog shows, athletic competitions, and "Good Old Days" weekend house parties. The National Register nomination stated "the Sagamore Hotel Complex remained the focus of seasonal resort life on Lake George into the 1950's, providing dining, recreation, and entertainment facilities for hotel patrons, members of the Green Island summer colony, and families of the social elite whose large summer 'cottages' dotted the western shore of the lake."[357]

Discussion. The Sagamore reflects a smaller version of Colonial Revival style than the Lake Hotel and its original construction is of a slightly later era. Its X-shaped footprint is an unusual departure from the typical grand resort hotel layout. Bryant F. Tolles Jr. deemed it "the last functioning large hotel survivor" in the Adirondacks. A motion picture theater was added to the complex in 1954, and the hotel received dinner theater and swimming pool additions in 1960.

[357] Raymond W. Smith, Sagamore Hotel Complex, Bolton Landing, New York, National Register of Historic Places nomination, NRIS 83001824, May 1983.

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Wrobel, David M. and Patrick T. Long, eds. *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2001.

Youngs, Yolanda L. "Pleasure Ground for the Future: The Evolving Cultural Landscape of Yellowstone Lake, Yellowstone National Park 1870-1966." Master's thesis. Montana State University, 2004.

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register. NR#91000637, May 16, 1991
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
_X_ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record

Primary Location of Additional Data:

_X_ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
_X_ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
__ University
_X_ Other (Specify Repository): Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 12.4 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	12	547596	4933000
B	12	547675	4933018
C	12	547870	4933013
D	12	547873	4932818
E	12	547717	4932789
F	12	547545	4932801
G	12	547551	4932929

Verbal Boundary Description

The boundary of the nominated area, shown on the included to-scale sketch map, encompasses approximately 12.4 acres and is described as follows: beginning at the intersection of the south edge of the concrete sidewalk north of Resource 4 (winterkeeper's quarters) and the west edge of the concrete sidewalk east of Resource 5 (root cellar); thence southerly, easterly, and northerly for approximately 733 feet along the west, south, and east edges of the U-shaped concrete sidewalk bordering the Lake Hotel parking lot and extending to the intersection of the south pavement edge of the east-west access road south of the Lake Cottage area; thence easterly along the south pavement edge of the access road approximately 238 feet; thence due south approximately 582 feet to the high water line of Yellowstone Lake; thence westerly along the high water line of Yellowstone Lake approximately 1,012 feet to the intersection of the east edge of the pavement (extended) of the north-south access road lying west of Hotel Creek and the Lake Hotel; thence northerly along the east pavement edge of the access road for approximately 602 feet to the intersection of the south edge of the unpaved east-west road accessing the maintenance yard of the hotel; thence east approximately 193 feet along the south edge of the road; thence east-northeast for approximately 81 feet to the south edge of the west end of the concrete sidewalk north of Resource 4; and thence east approximately 107 feet along the south edge of the sidewalk to the point of beginning. The boundary is wholly contained within the bounding polygon on the included location map.

Boundary Justification

The boundary above includes the Lake Hotel building and supporting secondary resources historically associated with the hotel during the period of significance, while excluding areas no longer possessing historic physical integrity, such as the U-shaped parking lot. The boundary extends from the hotel to the shore of Yellowstone Lake, an important area where hotel guests arrived, accessed the lake for fishing and other activities, and enjoyed the hostelry's incomparable view. The boundary on the west and north follows major visible features. On the east the boundary follows an arbitrary north-south line passing fifty feet from the east edge of the hotel; there are no historic resources associated with the hotel in this area and no visible feature exists which the boundary may follow.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

Name/Title: R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, historians

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Denver, Colorado 80211

Telephone: 303-477-7597

Date: 10 March 2014

NOTE: The present nomination built upon and included portions of a February 2009 draft nomination prepared by Rodd L. Wheaton, Historical Architect, Englewood, Colorado.

Edited by: James A. Jacobs, Historian
National Park Service
National Historic Landmarks Program
Historic American Buildings Survey
1201 Eye St. NW, 2270
Washington, DC 20005

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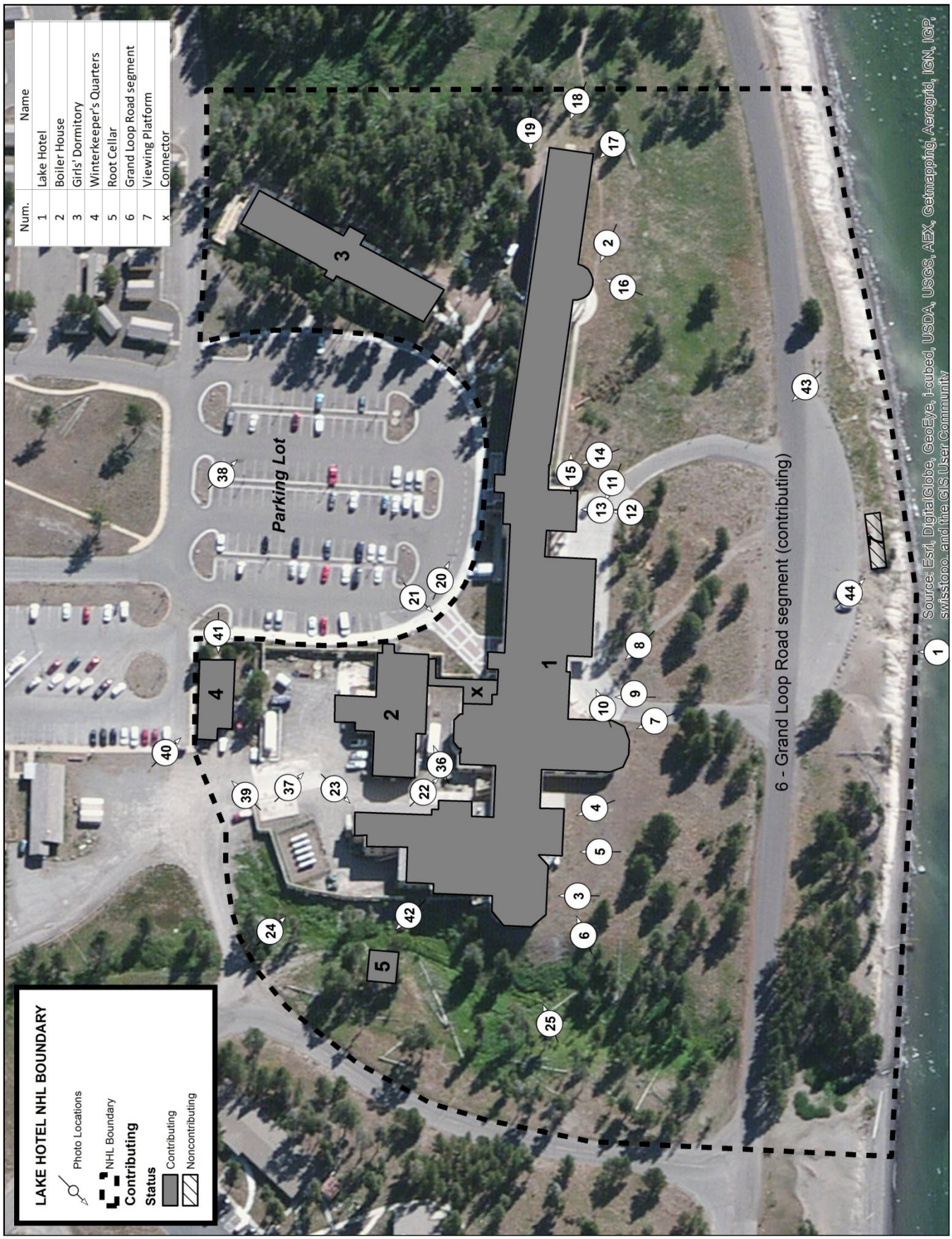
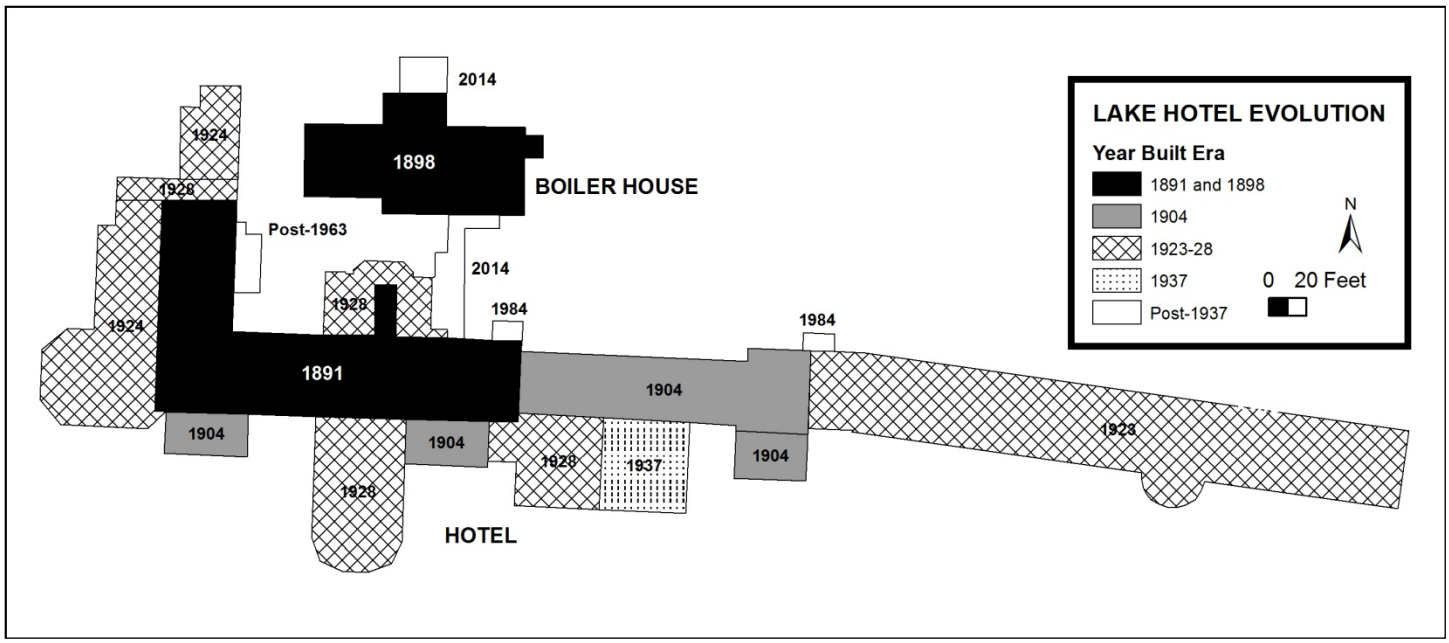
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM

Location Map for the Lake Hotel, Datum WGS84. The satellite image is dated July 12, 2010 and was obtained through Google Earth imagery.
The vertices of the bounding polygon are labeled with letters A through G. The nominated boundary is shown within the bounding polygon.

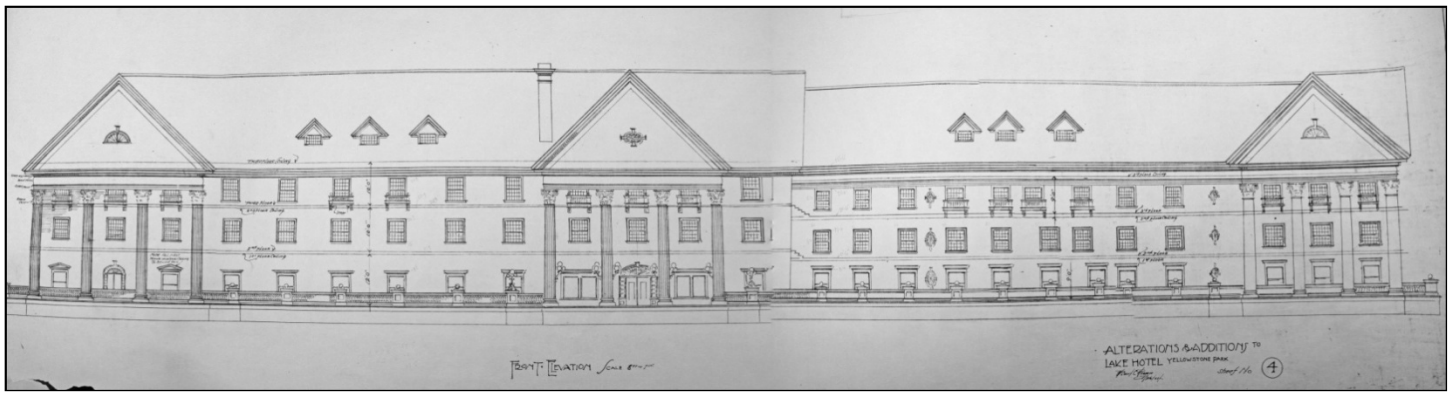
UTM COORDINATES	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	12	547534	4933210
B	12	547612	4933228
C	12	547807	4933224
D	12	547811	4933029
E	12	547654	4933000
F	12	547483	4933011
G	12	547489	4933139


LAKE HOTEL NHL BOUNDARY
Photo Locations
NHL Boundary
Contributing
Status
Contributing
Noncontributing
Num.
Name
1 Lake Hotel
2 Boiler House
3 Girls' Dormitory
4 Winterkeeper's Quarters
5 Root Cellar
6 Grand Loop Road segment
7 Viewing Platform
x Connector
Parking Lot
6 - Grand Loop Road segment (contributing)
Source: Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, i-cubed, USDA, USGS, AEX, Getmapping, Aerogrid, IGN, IGP, swisstopo, and the GIS User Community



Evolution of the Lake Hotel, 1891-2014. The presence of an underground stone ledge necessitated the slight angle of the east wing. Compiled from historic maps, drawings, and photographs, and A&E Architects, *Lake Yellowstone Hotel, Yellowstone National Park, Historic Structure Report* (2009).

The hotel's widow's walk (top right) is visible in this ca. 1891 view (north-northeast) of the front and part of the west wall of the recently completed building. Photographic collection, Image 128122, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, Montana.



Architect Robert C. Reamer proposed a dramatic remodeling and expansion of Lake Hotel, including construction of three massive porticoes. The original building is the slightly taller half to the left. The final design differed somewhat in detailing. Robert C. Reamer, Alterations and Additions to Lake Hotel, Yellowstone Park, 1923, Box L 1, Folder A, Yellowstone National Park, Archives, Gardiner, Montana.

The 1910 one-story dining room addition at the west end of the hotel is visible through the trees at the left in this northeast view taken between 1910 and 1919. This dining room was considerably expanded in 1924. Photograph YELL 23878, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, Montana.

The 720-foot front of the Lake Hotel (aerial view from above Yellowstone Lake), with the Grand Loop Road segment paralleling the shore of the lake, looking north. National Park Service, June 2008.

The front's three gabled porticoes to the west and
the half-round portico of the east wing, looking west-northwest
Thomas H. Simmons, October 2012

The west portico, looking north-northwest
Rodd L. Wheaton, May 2006.

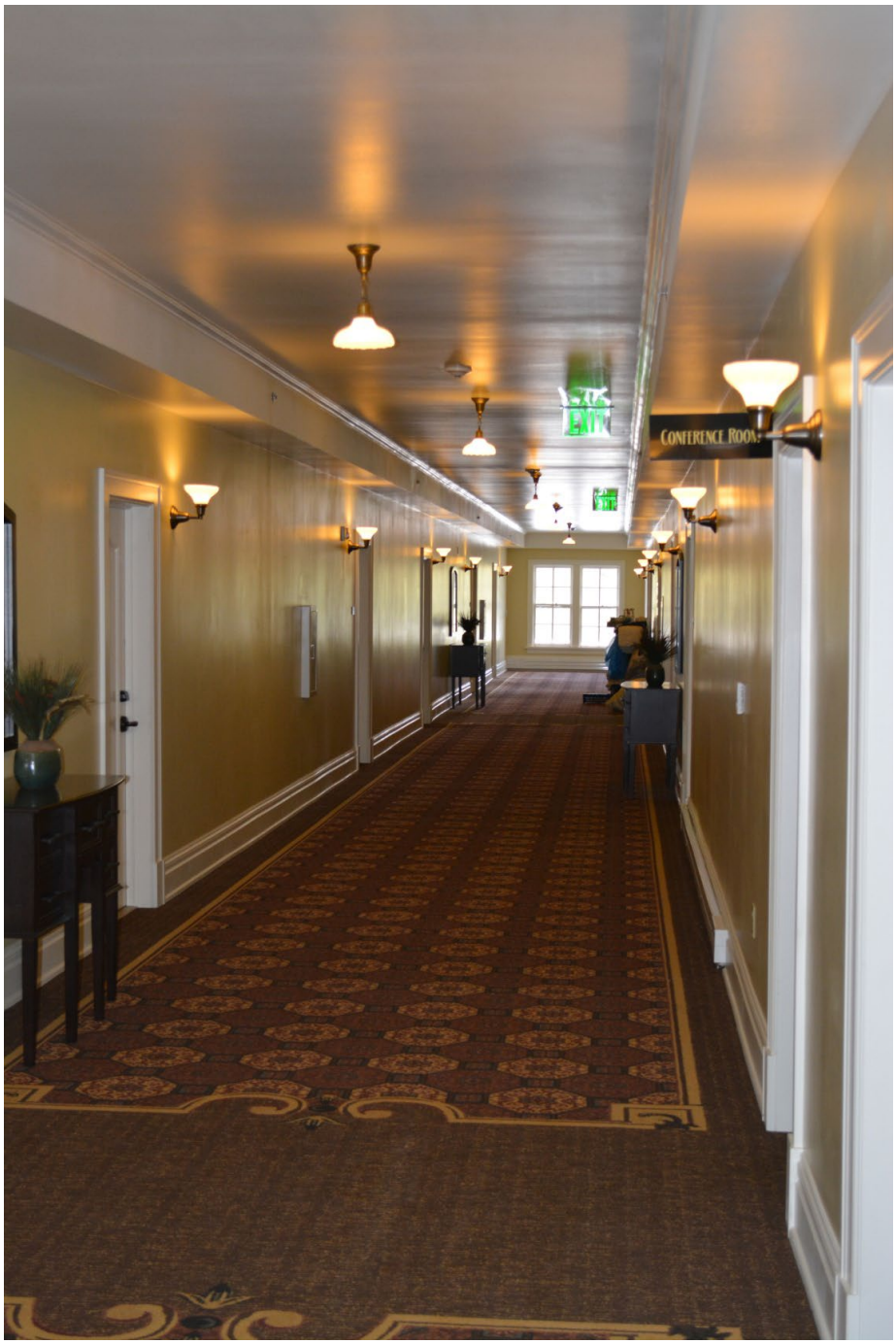
Above: West portico (foreground), west wall of lounge, and center portico (in distance), looking east-northeast
Below: West and south walls of the porte cochère with the east portico in the distance, looking northeast
Both Rodd L. Wheaton, May 2006.

Above: East end of 1904 wing (right) and rear of east wing, looking east-southeast.
Below: West end of the rear of the 1904 wing (left) and the rear of the original 1891 component. The three-story shed-roof section is an elevator tower added in 2013, looking southwest.
Both A&E Architects, June 2013.

West and south walls of the dining room, looking east-northeast.
A&E Architects, June 2013.

Above: Lobby with the Batchelder tile fireplace and
Colonial Revival stair in the background, looking northeast.
Below: Dining room from lobby, looking west.
Both A&E Architects, May 2013.

Left: Colonial Revival stair from the lobby to the second story.
Right: Stairs from second to third story of 1891 component, showing original stair construction.
Both: A&E Architects, September 2013.



Corridor on the second story of 1891 component with original door surrounds.
A&E Architects, September 2013.

Girls' Dormitory/Hotel Annex, west wall from parking lot.
A&E Architects, May 2013.

Above: Winterkeeper's Quarters, west wall and part of south wall.
Below: Boiler House/Maintenance Building, south wall.
A&E Architects, November 2006.