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**United States Department of the Interior  
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**National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form**

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items

X  New Submission   Amended Submission

**A. Name of Multiple Property Listing**

Historic Tourist Accommodations in Teton County, Wyoming

**B. Associated Historic Contexts**

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

The Settlement of Jackson's Hole: the First Tourists and the First Hosts, 1883 to 1907

Last of the Old West: Hotels, Roadhouses, Resorts, and Dude Ranches, 1908 to 1928

Gateway to the National Parks: the Rise of the Roadside Accommodations (Cabin Courts & Motels) and the Decline of the Dude Ranch, 1929 to 1950

Welcome to Jackson Hole: the Modern Motel and Ski Lodge, 1951 to 1969

**C. Form Prepared by**

name/title  Korral Broschinsky

organization  prepared for the Teton County Historic Preservation Board  date  August 20, 2013

street & number  4874 S. Taylors Park Drive  telephone  (801) 913-5634

city or town  Salt Lake City  state  UT  zip code  84123

e-mail  k.broschinsky@att.net

**D. Certification**

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

(  See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature and title of certifying official

Date

State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

**Table of Contents for Written Narrative**

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

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**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

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**E. Statement of Historic Context**

**Introduction**

Teton County, Wyoming is one of a handful of places that lays claim to being “America’s Switzerland” and boasts some of the country’s most beautiful Alpine scenery. Wyoming’s two national parks are completely or partially within Teton County, and the area plays hosts to millions of visitors each year. Tourism in Teton County began soon after the first permanent settlement took place around 1883, when early settlers provided overnight accommodations to big game hunters and those curious and hardy enough to explore Yellowstone, the country’s first national park. Tourism gradually increased as roads and other infrastructure made the trip more comfortable in the early 1900s. The designation of the Grand Teton National Park in 1929 produced a dramatic increase in roadside accommodations. Teton County experienced a motel building boom during the 1950s and 1960s after the Grand Teton National Park expanded to its current boundaries. The historic period of tourist accommodations extends to 1969 when the ski industry had advanced to the point where tourism supported the economy in Teton County year round.

This document provides historical context for the many interconnected themes of tourism in Teton County. The abundant wildlife and spectacular scenery that drew the first explorers and settlers also attracted the first tourists. The agricultural efforts of the settlers were often at odds with the politics of acquisition of the federal government in a county where currently only three percent of the land is privately held. Yet, the residents were also among the earliest and most influential conservationists in the county, preserving both the wildlife and the scenery. The first recreation in Teton County was enjoyed by the elite, but as the ranching culture took hold, a new kind of tourism based on America’s fascination with the “Old West” provided recreational and entertainment opportunities for nearly all socioeconomic classes, as well as commercial opportunities that supported many local residents during difficult times. Advances in transportation, especially paved roads beginning in the 1920s, brought more choices and more dimensions to the economy in the relatively isolated communities of Teton County.

The architectural and other historical resources that best represent more than a century of tourism in Teton County are the lodging properties. While representing a variety of architectural periods, these properties are linked by more than just a common pattern of usage. With very few exceptions, the candidate buildings share a common material: wood. Log construction, whether out of necessity, tradition, or sometimes affectation, was ubiquitous. Wood siding in many of its rougher forms was popularly used to conjure the rugged era of the American West. Stylistically, the majority of architectural resources were influenced by the rustic style of early settlement construction and later by National Park Service building programs. Although many of the later motels conformed to the more modern style of architecture that suggested cleanliness and convenience, many retained lobbies, signage, or other elements that evoked the ambiance of western Americana. At the end of the historic period, the styles of the larger ski lodges evoked both the rustic West and an Alpine elegance.

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One final theme of Teton County's tourist accommodations is the adaptation of buildings or sites over time. For example, the isolated log cabin home of an early settler may have been fitted up for use as a guest house on a dude ranch only later to be moved to the backyard town lot for continued use by out-of-town guests. An example of site adaptation may be a roadside campground with tents that added a few detached cabins to rent, followed by a one or two-story modern motel building, with or without a name change over several decades. Today, many of these salient reminders of Teton County's physical past continue to provide comfortable and convenient accommodations from which a visitor may experience the same spectacular scenery and recreational opportunities that inspired the first tourists.

**Teton County Before the Tourists (Proto-historic Contextual Period)**

Teton County is a roughly rectangular county located near the northwest corner of the state of Wyoming. The county is bordered by Park County to the north and east, Fremont County directly east, Sublette County to the southeast, Lincoln County to the south, and the state of Idaho along the length of the county's western border. The total area of the county is 4,222 square miles of which 214 square miles is primarily water. Rising along the north-south axis of the county is the Teton Range of the Rocky Mountains. The Teton Range is approximately nine miles wide and forty miles long, with eight peaks over 12,000 feet high. Ancient glacial activity formed a string of piedmont lakes at the eastern base of the range. The western slope of the range is mostly inaccessible forest land, currently part of the Caribou-Targhee National Forest. The eastern slope transitions to Jackson Hole, a flat sagebrush and grass-covered valley. Jackson Hole Valley ranges in width from eight to twelve miles and is approximately fifty-five miles long from north to south. It is rimmed by the Bridger-Teton National Forest to the east. The national forests consist of mostly lodgepole pine with several species of spruce and fir.

The Snake River originates in Yellowstone National Park flowing south into Jackson Lake at the north end of Grand Teton National Park. Numerous rivers and streams feed the Snake River as it flows fifty miles south through the Jackson Hole valley before heading west toward Idaho near the south border of Teton County. The Snake River and its tributaries provide habitat for a wide variety of wildlife. Trout, otters, beavers, coyotes, eagles, ospreys, and trumpeter swans inhabit the valley. The ecosystem supports a number of large mammals such as bear, mountain sheep, bison, moose, mule deer, and elk. The Teton mountain range and the Jackson Hole valley are less hospitable to human habitation. The short summer season begins in late June when the frost recedes and ends in September with the first snowfall. Accumulated snowpacks of ten-feet are common in the mountains. The valley is semi-arid with an annual rainfall of ten to fifteen inches. The annual average temperature ranges from a low of 23 degrees Fahrenheit to a high of 54 degrees, although the temperature can drop well below zero in winter and rise to the upper 90s in the summer.

Because of the harsh conditions and rough terrain, the Native American tribes who inhabited the area were mostly seasonal visitors following ripening plants and migrating game herds. Among the tribes that traversed the valley in the summer months were the Shoshoni, Crow, Blackfeet, and Gros Ventre.

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The Native Americans left no evidence of a more permanent habitation. The once abundant beaver population in the rivers, creeks, ponds, and willow thickets drew the first non-natives to the area in the early 1800s. The fur trapper John Colter is believed to have entered the valley in 1807 followed later by trappers for the British North West Company and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. No fur trading cache or post was established in Jackson Hole, but the fur trappers left a legacy of European-American place names, notably Les Trois Tetons (the Three Breasts), Gros Ventre (Big Belly), and Colter's Bay. David Jackson, a fur trapper, spent the winter of 1829 in the area giving his name to the largest lake as well as the "hole" using the mountain man's term for a high valley surrounded by mountains. The name Jackson's Hole was used to refer to the valley until the mid-twentieth century when the shorter Jackson Hole became common.<sup>1</sup> Beginning in the 1840s when silk hats replaced beaver hats in popularity, the fur trapping era slowly drew to a close; however, fur trapping continued in some form into the twentieth century.

Most of the prospectors who headed west for the California gold rush that began in 1849 bypassed the Teton County area. After gold was found in southwest Montana in 1862, an expedition led by Walter W. DeLacy looked for gold along the Snake River in 1863. DeLacy's prescient description of the isolated and uninhabited valley is one of the few reports of the area for the time period: "It is one of the most picturesque basins in the mountains. It is covered with fine grass; the soil is deep in many places and it is capable of settlement, and will, in the future, be covered with bands of cattle and sheep."<sup>2</sup> The prospecting expedition was disbanded after failing to find gold, and the few subsequent attempts to find valuable minerals in Jackson Hole were also unsuccessful.

In 1860, a military expedition led by Captain W. F. Reynolds and guided by Jim Bridger was forced to pass through Jackson Hole. Reynolds concluded that the territory was too mountainous for either a wagon road or railroad. By the time the Homestead Act of 1862 offered free western lands to migrants, the most preferred western routes had already been established. The California, Oregon, and Mormon Trails all circumvented Teton County in favor of more accessible and fertile lands. The route of the Union Pacific Railroad's portion of the first transcontinental railroad mostly followed the wagon trails along through the southern third of Wyoming in 1867-1868. A few years later, the Northern Pacific Railroad began constructing a second transcontinental line across southern Montana. During this time, a series of government sponsored scientific expeditions were the primary source of information about the Tetons and Jackson Hole.

The most influential expeditions took place in early 1870s and were lead by Ferdinand V. Hayden who had traveled with the Reynolds company. In 1871, Hayden secured a \$40,000 appropriation from the United States Congress to fund an expedition to the Yellowstone area. With his legendary flair for publicity, Hayden included in his party pioneering photographer William Henry Jackson, and landscape artist Thomas Moran. Hayden's comprehensive report on Yellowstone was instrumental in convincing the federal government to put protections on the land. On March 1, 1872, President Ulysses S. Grant

<sup>1</sup> In order to provide consistency, this document uses the term Jackson Hole except when quoting historic resources.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in John Daugherty, *A Place Called Jackson Hole: The Historic Resource Study of Grand Teton National Park*, (Moose, Wyoming: Grand Teton National Park, National Park Service, 1999): 84.

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signed the “The Act of Dedication” setting aside Yellowstone National Park as “a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people.” For his second expedition in 1872, Hayden’s well-funded party of 61 included several political appointees, which the packers and guides referred to as “pilgrims;” in other words, sightseers rather than contributing members of the expedition.<sup>3</sup>

While Hayden explored Yellowstone, his second-in-command, James Stevenson led a party south to the Teton Range and Jackson Hole. Stevenson and Nathaniel P. Langford made the first ascent of the largest peak, the Grand Teton, and William H. Jackson took the first photographs of the range. Between September and October 1872, the company completed the first scientific survey of the area, including the mapping and naming of the geological features. For example, Leigh Lake and Jenny Lake were named for the party’s mountain man guide, Richard “Beaver Dick” Leigh and his Shoshoni wife, Jenny. The expedition finished the season by traversing the Teton Pass to Fort Hall in Idaho by October 1872. Orestes St. John, a geologist with the party, believed that the short growing season would discourage agriculture, but that the valley was suitable for grazing. In addition St. John made note of the wildlife, “at seasons the woods are stocked with game; elk, deer, antelope, and bears abound, while in the forest two or three kinds of grouse are found, and the streams afford abundance of delicious trout.” Subsequent Hayden surveys in 1878 and 1879 were less influential, but important in establishing accurate maps and descriptions of the area that would later become Teton County.

### **The Settlement of Jackson’s Hole: the First Tourists and the First Hosts, 1883 to 1907**

Two events that occurred in 1883 marked the beginnings of tourism in Teton County, Wyoming. The first event was an extended tour of northwestern Wyoming headed by President Chester A. Arthur in August of 1883. Accompanied by a large entourage of political cronies and the military, President Arthur’s party entered Jackson Hole along the Gros Ventre River where they made at least four camps before heading north to Yellowstone. President Arthur was the first president to visit Yellowstone National Park, and the primary objective of the expedition was to raise awareness of the attractions along the route and the need for preservation of the park, which was threatened by commercial development, governmental neglect, and vandalism. Described as a “pleasure trip” and “perfectly safe and comfortable” by the military leader Lt. General Philip Sheridan, the expedition differed from previous expeditions in one important aspect: it was primarily recreational.<sup>4</sup> Indeed President Arthur, who had been suffering from ill health, was “quite refreshed” by the time he returned to Washington D.C. The term “dude” (similar to a dandy) had been applied to President Arthur in the eastern press, and was likely in common usage to describe an Easterner traveling in the American West.

The presidential party was not the first group of tourists to visit the area, but nearly all of the early visitors entered Yellowstone National Park from the north rather than along the president’s route from the south. The north entrance had been heavily promoted by investors in the Northern Pacific Railroad.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid: 73.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Hartley, *Saving Yellowstone: The President Arthur Expedition of 1883* (Westminster, CO: Sniktau Publications, 2007).

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Yellowstone's first hotel was a log cabin built in 1871, and by the end of 1883, the 151-room National Hotel had been completed at Mammoth Hot Springs.

The second event occurred when John Holland and John Carnes chose to spend the winter of 1883-1884 in Jackson Hole. The two men had previously trapped in the area, but that winter they filed the first patents for land under the Homestead Act of 1862 and became the valley's first permanent residents. The Homestead Act allowed any adult citizen (or immigrant who had filed papers for citizenship) to claim 160 acres of "un-appropriated public lands." The applicant was required to build a dwelling, make improvements, and cultivate the land for a period of five years prior to filing final "proof papers" to secure title to the land. Two log cabins were built on their land along Flat Creek: one for John Holland and one for John Carnes and his wife, Millie. The two men supplemented their income by taking out hunting parties. One of the hunters, a surgeon from the East, offered to remove a skin cancer from John Carnes. The successful operation took place under the primitive conditions of the Carnes' log cabin.<sup>5</sup>

The initial homestead allotment in most cases was not sufficient for either farming or ranching. Most early homesteaders were forced to either abandon or expand their holdings.<sup>6</sup> In 1885, Robert E. Miller was the first settler to cross the Teton Pass, bringing the first wagon into the valley from this route and later claimed land and an unoccupied cabin.<sup>7</sup> With an average of only sixty frost-free days per year, the valley's elevation and climate restricted the growing season for crops. Between 1886 and 1888, only fifteen additional homesteaders had arrived in the valley. While ranching was more successful, after disastrous cattle losses during the winter of 1886-1887, ranchers stopped the practice of having the cattle fend for themselves all year long. Due to the hard conditions, many of the early settlers continued to outfit and guide hunters to supplement their ranching and trapping incomes. One of the most famous visitors during this period was Owen Wister, an American writer considered the father of western fiction. In 1888, a party of two eastern dudes toured the valley and left an account of the area's settlers.<sup>8</sup> At the time there were twenty men, two women, and one child living in the Jackson Hole area. The family of John Martin Nelson, consisting of his wife Berthe Overlund Nelson, and their four-year-old daughter Cora, was the first family to settle the valley.<sup>9</sup>

The demographics of the valley changed dramatically when five Mormon families entered Jackson Hole from Idaho by way of the Teton Pass in 1889.<sup>10</sup> The arrival of the Wilson-Cheney clan was significant for two reasons. First, the caravan of six wagons established Teton Pass as a viable, if difficult route, to the valley. Second, the Wilson-Cheney wagon train marked the beginning of a decade-long migration of

<sup>5</sup> Fern K. Nelson, *This Was Jackson's Hole: Incidents & Profiles from the Settlement of Jackson Hole*, (Glendo, Wyoming: High Plains Press, 1994): 15-16.

<sup>6</sup> The Timber Culture Act (1873), the Desert Land Act (1877), Timber and Stone Act (1878), and the Stock-Raising Homestead Act (1916) gave some settlers, mostly ranchers, opportunities to claim additional lands.

<sup>7</sup> Nelson: 34.

<sup>8</sup> Daugherty: 91.

<sup>9</sup> Nelson: 31.

<sup>10</sup> Mormon settlers were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church). After the initial settlement of the Salt Lake valley in 1847, LDS Church members were instrumental in establishing communities throughout the Intermountain West.

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Mormon settlers from Utah and Idaho into the Jackson Hole valley. Between 1896 and 1899, fourteen more families crossed the pass into Jackson Hole. Several of the families settled a string of ranches and farms that later became known as Mormon Row, now within the boundaries of the Grand Teton National Park. By 1890, there were an estimated sixty to seventy permanent residents of the valley.

The families had a civilizing influence on the primarily bachelor community of Jackson Hole, which was described by one observer as a “homeless, reckless, straight-shooting and hard drinking set.”<sup>11</sup> In 1894, the first school was held in a donated room in South Park. Two years later, the residents built a dedicated schoolhouse. A second schoolhouse was built in the Flat Creek area in 1899. Jackson Hole residents petitioned the Postal Service for a route over the Teton Pass. Between 1892 and 1894, the post office was located at the White homestead, which was called Marysvale. In 1894, the post office was moved to the ranch of Bill and Maggie Simpson at the mouth of Cache Creek. Maggie Simpson named the new post office Jackson. The Simpsons sold the Jackson Hole Gun Club a plot of land for a clubhouse in 1897, and in 1899, Charles “Pap” Deloney opened the first general merchandise store near the clubhouse. The post office, general store, and clubhouse served the cluster of ranches that would evolve into the town of Jackson. An early subscription school was held in the clubhouse in Jackson. By 1900, there were additional post offices in Elk, South Park, Wilson, and Grovont.<sup>12</sup>

As the settlers put all of their efforts into economic survival and creating a community, the bureaucracy that would guide Teton County in the twentieth century was put into place. The State of Wyoming, which had been a territory since 1868, was admitted into the union on July 10, 1890. That year the director of the U.S. Census declared the end of the American frontier with this statement: “at present the unsettled area [of the country] has been so broken into isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be frontier line.”<sup>13</sup> At the time of statehood, the Jackson Hole area was originally part of Uinta County, Wyoming. Between 1892 and 1893, William Owen surveyed the township lines for the Jackson Hole valley, but since much of the area was still pristine wilderness, he only subdivided section lines for a portion of the valley.

Prior to 1890, there had been few restrictions on land, but with the Forest Reserve Act of 1891, a series of limitations on homesteading in the valley was enacted. The Yellowstone Forest Reserve was created in 1891, and in 1897, the Teton Forest Reserve was created, setting aside 829,440 acres at the north end of the Jackson Hole valley. Charles Deloney served as the first superintendent of the reserve. The creation of the Teton National Forest in 1908 sparked a small-scale land rush as some valley lands were re-opened for settlement while the Teton Range and most of the highlands were reserved.

A number of early settlers who laid claim to particularly picturesque parcels made plans to accommodate visitors along the south road to Yellowstone. In 1889-1890, entrepreneurs John Sargent and Robert Hamilton built a ten-room log cabin near Jackson Lake and freighted-in expensive items to furnish it. They christened the site Merymere with a plan to provide lodging for Yellowstone sightseers

<sup>11</sup> Thomas E. Crawford, quoted in Daugherty: 92.

<sup>12</sup> Because the postal service required a one-word name for each location, Grovont (the local pronunciation of the French Gros Ventre) was used.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in the *Grand Teton National Park MPS*:

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and hunting-fishing parties. Sargent did board a few tourists, but the venture was too early to be successful.<sup>14</sup> In 1896, Herb Whiteman, along with Cora and Edgar Heigho, built several guest cabins and other structures intended to be a resort near the south entrance to Yellowstone. The trio gave up in 1900, but Herb continued to work as a hunting guide and Cora cooked for a trail riding outfit in Yellowstone before marrying a rancher.

The 1900 census enumeration listed 638 individuals living in the Jackson Hole area. Not one of the 239 adult males and 118 adult females gave an occupation related to tourism, but many of the men who listed agriculture as their primary occupation also worked as hunting guides or outfitters. Albert Nelson, who had a homestead near Kelly, was one of two men offering their services as taxidermist to hunters six months out of the year.<sup>15</sup> Stephen N. Leek, who is listed as a farmer on the census, was one of the most successful hunting guides in Jackson Hole. In 1886, Stephen Leek was one of a number of bachelor-trappers that made a permanent home in the valley. He married Etta Wilson in 1896. Only a few bachelors were lucky enough to marry a local resident, most men had to recruit a bride from outside of the valley. Like most Jackson Hole farmers, Stephen Leek raised cattle and hay, the only viable crop that had a ready market. In the 1890s, Leek established a fishing/hunting camp on the west side of Jackson Lake, in addition to his ranch three miles south of Jackson. He outfitted and guided groups each year, primarily in the fall. Emile Woolff and Ben Sheffield were also professional outfitters and guides in the 1880s and 1890s.

Travel was very difficult and time consuming in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Each wagon team over the Teton Pass contributed to leveling and widening the road, as well as “corduroying” the swampy places with cut poles. By 1905, the road was used enough to remain “broke-out” over the winter, but a single snow slide could close the pass for weeks at a time.<sup>16</sup> Near present-day Moose, the only ferry over the Snake River for forty miles was operated by Bill Menor. Menor charged twenty-five cents a crossing for a horse and rider, and fifty cents for a team and wagon. Foot traffic could cross for free, but had to wait for a paying customer to make the trip.<sup>17</sup>

Most visitors to the valley depended on the hospitality of the early settlers who opened their homes for free. With an increase in travelers, both freighters and tourists, several Jackson Hole residents built commercial hotels. Ed “Cap” and Clara Smith, who homesteaded near Moran in the 1890s, found themselves catering to tourists on the road to Yellowstone. The Smith Hotel was a two-story log house that enjoyed modest success until it was destroyed by fire in November 1900. After the fire, the Smiths’ neighbors, Maria and Charles Allan, built the Elk Horn Hotel. The Elk Horn building also served as the post office and a general store, stocked with supplies from “Pap” Deloney in Jackson. An adjacent building held a supply of liquor. Nick Wilson, and his son-in-law Abe Ward, built a two-story log hotel at the eastern base of the Teton Pass in 1898. The Wilson Hotel, which also housed the post office, store, and saloon, was the first of a number of businesses that anchored the community that would

<sup>14</sup> Daugherty: 96.

<sup>15</sup> *Grand Teton National Park MPS*: Section E, 8.

<sup>16</sup> Nelson: 163-165.

<sup>17</sup> Nelson: 252.

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become Wilson. The Wilson Hotel operated into the early twentieth century before being converted to a residence. It was later abandoned and succumbed to fire in 1976.

Mary Anderson was another homesteader turned host. The Anderson family homesteaded the north Spring Gulch area in 1895. In order to be closer to the school in South Park, Mary asked her husband, John, to build a house at Antelope Pass where a confluence of roads met in the south part of the valley. Because there were so few accommodations, Mary was constantly asked to put people up in her two-bedroom house. As a result, she began offering lodging and meals for a fee. When the town of Jackson was platted and lots became available in 1901, John Anderson purchased property across from the northwest corner of the town square. He had the Antelope Pass house “jacked onto skids and, dragged by horses, rolled along on log rollers” to the town lot.<sup>18</sup> The house was remodeled into a two-story hotel and a rear wing was added around 1904. The building featured a large veranda with a sign for the Hotel Jackson.<sup>19</sup>

In 1903, Ben Sheffield purchased the Smith and Lovell properties at the outlet of Jackson Lake in Moran and began building the first hunting lodge for visitors. He would work on the lodge in the summer, lead hunting parties in the fall, and spend winters in Chicago getting contracts for his hunting and outfitting businesses.<sup>20</sup> Over the next twenty-five years, Sheffield added to his holdings, operated a toll bridge over the Snake River, built several cabins, and later operated a gas station. With the growth of Sheffield’s Teton Lodge Resort, Moran became the first tourist town in the valley. The scenic setting was somewhat marred in 1907 when the federal Reclamation Service built a log crib dam at the outlet to Jackson Lake, particularly after being rebuilt as a concrete gravity dam between 1910 and 1916. Many area residents benefited financially from the dam. Si Ferrin sold beef to the workers and James May opened a roadhouse in his home on Mormon Row. A large number of residents and visitors were appalled by the concrete structure and wasteland of dead trees left by the rising water, including Owen Wister who declared: “And here let me pause to lay my ineffectual but heartfelt curse upon the commercial vandals who desecrated the outlet of Jackson’s Lake with an ugly dam to irrigate some desert land away off in Idaho.”<sup>21</sup>

Into the early twentieth century, the Jackson Hole valley maintained a distinctly frontier atmosphere. The vast majority of buildings were constructed of log. Even after the first sawmills were established in the late 1890s, the romance of the rugged individual cabin builder was a lingering reality. The 1900 census lists only four men in buildings trades: three carpenters and one stone mason.<sup>22</sup> All had been unemployed for a time in the previous year, probably during the winter months. The isolation of the Jackson Hole valley meant that most builders had limited construction technology. Buildings and structures were constructed from whatever tools and materials were available at the time. The log architecture of the Jackson Hole valley during this period was not characterized by any regional patterns

<sup>18</sup> Nelson: 205.

<sup>19</sup> The name of the hotel appears as Jackson Hotel in some accounts.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid: 221.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Daugherty: 172.

<sup>22</sup> The carpenters were Abe F. Sherman, Ely Bradley, and James Schofield, all from the Midwest. The stone mason, George M. Matson, was a Swedish immigrant.

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or variations, but by the expediency and skills brought to each individual project. Many property owners relied on their own building skills or those of a close neighbor.

As with most settlement communities, Jackson Hole's homesteaders looked forward to moving from a rudimentary log cabin to a more substantial home. In many cases that meant moving from a log cabin to a log house. A log cabin was small, typically only one room with a loft. A cabin was constructed of round logs using the simplest types of corner notching: the saddle notch and the square notch. In contrast, a log house could be much larger, with multiple rooms and sometimes a partially finished upper floor. The log house was more likely to be constructed of hewn logs. A more sophisticated notch technique would be coupled with sawn-off corners to create a finished appearance. The transition to more permanent dwellings was also significant in that a number of the older log cabins were repurposed as outbuildings, moved to another location for another family, and in a few cases used as guest cabins.

By the early 1900s, all the elements were in place to make the Teton Range and the Jackson Hole valley into a superlative tourist destination. The United States had made history when it designated the Yellowstone National Park in 1872. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the federal government recognized the need to protect wildlife ranges and the scenic views in the areas surrounding the park. Beginning in 1901, the Forest Service began restricting land use and requiring grazing permits. Three years later the first timber permits were authorized.

The valley was scattered with homesteaders, most of whom were ready at a moment's notice to offer hospitality to the weary traveler. A few entrepreneurial souls had begun to see the possibility of a steady income from the tourist trade. The tourists would soon be coming in droves. Most would be inspired by narratives such as those written by William A. Baillie-Grohman, a big-game hunter, who wrote one of the first travel narratives of the area: "We saw the curves of the Snake River—in waters of a beautiful beryl green . . . Beyond the river the eye spied several little lakes, nestling in forest-girt seclusion under the beckling cliffs of the boldest-shaped mountain I am acquainted with, i.e. the Grand Teton Peak, rising in one great sweep . . . It was the most sublime scenery I have ever seen."<sup>23</sup> The settlers who would play hosts were a little more practical, as in the words of homesteader, Maggie McBride: "We are now camped near the foot of the mountain, in Jackson Hole. It is a nice valley. Lots of timber."<sup>24</sup>

### **Last of the Old West: Hotels, the Roadhouses, Resorts, and Dude Ranches, 1908 to 1928**

Two important trends informed Teton County's tourist accommodations during this twenty year period. The first was a growing recognition by residents that the value of their land went beyond its traditional uses for growing food, raising livestock, or mining minerals. Adaptation was crucial to the successful settlement of the West. Settlers took advantage of whatever opportunities to make a living or a profit their situation allowed. As more and more tourists came for the scenery and a taste of the "Old West,"

<sup>23</sup> William A. Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882): 208-209.

<sup>24</sup> Diary of Maggie McBride quoted in Nelson: 63.

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the residents produced a range of accommodations to suit the visitors' comfort levels and interest. The second important trend was the transition from horse and wagon era to the automobile era. As the "tin-can" tourists entered the Jackson Hole valley by the thousands, the demand for better roads and roadside accommodations increased dramatically. With better accessibility and more room to grow than other valley settlements, the community of Jackson emerged as the economic center of the valley.

In 1894, when Maggie Simpson began serving as postmaster from her two-story log cabin home at the mouth of the Cache Creek Canyon, she renamed the post office Jackson. Maggie Simpson sold a ten-acre parcel to Grace Miller in 1900. On July 8, 1901, Grace Miller filed the first plat for the town of Jackson, setting aside a portion of the plat as a "children's park." At the time there were only a few structures clustered along a couple of roads. The main attractions of the town were Charles Deloney's store at the corner of Cache and First Street (now Gill Street) and the cruciform-shaped log clubhouse sitting at the southeast corner of what would become the town square. As Grace Miller began selling her lots, a modest building boom commenced. By the time a photograph of the town was taken in 1907, the small commercial district included the Jackson Mercantile, Wort's livery barn, and the Lloyd & Tuttle saloon. Around 1906, the LDS Church built the first all-brick institutional building, a chapel at the west edge of town. The brickyard and lime kiln were operated by Henry Parker and Arthur Mullen, who built many of the early brick buildings in the town.

Sometime between 1904 and 1906, the Hotel Jackson was faced with brick and given a new brick wing. The proprietor, J. Peter Nelson, who had purchased the property from the Andersons, advertised the hotel as a "Fine New Brick Building, located at Jackson, Wyo. in the heart of the big game region. Trout fishing and hunting both large and small game. Easily Accessible, Good Accommodations, Reasonable Rates."<sup>25</sup> In the winter of 1908-1909, Nelson swapped the hotel property for the homestead ranch of John Pierce Cunningham, at which time John and Margaret Cunningham took over management of the hotel. The Hotel Jackson must have been quite sophisticated in its day. The 1910 census records that the Cunninghams employed a live-in cook, laundress, waitress, and stable hand. A second hotel was established in Jackson when the frame house/infirmary built for Dr. Louis Palmer was sold to Claude and Nettie Maud Reed. According to the 1910 census, two boarders are listed with the Reed family. "Ma" Reed managed the hotel with an eye for decorum. It was said she kept a set of brass knuckles in her apron pocket and didn't "hold any truck with drunken cowboys."<sup>26</sup> In 1917, Ma Reed disappeared for seven years, leaving her employees, Henry and Roselyn Crabtree in charge. Rose Crabtree managed the hotel several years. When Ma Reed returned to Jackson, she deeded the property to the Crabtrees, who promptly changed the name. Ma Reed started a café nearby.

The first telephone in the valley was installed in 1905. This Jackson Telephone Exchange connected the Hotel Jackson to the Giltner Ranch. In 1907, the Forest Service extended telephone lines from the Hoback Junction to Yellowstone National Park, eventually connecting to Victor, Idaho. The first issue

<sup>25</sup> Jackson Hole Historical Society Research, Vertical Files, Hotels.

<sup>26</sup> Nelson: 120.

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of the *Jackson's Hole Courier* reported that the Jackson Valley Telephone Company would bring "the scattered localities of the valley . . . near to one another and to the outside world."<sup>27</sup>

As the population of the town grew from 59 persons in 1900 to 264 in 1910, the streets of the first plats were extended. The Simpsons platted more of their property as the Cache Creek Addition to the town plat in 1905. In 1913, the Club House Addition was platted northeast of the town square while the Wort Addition was platted to the southwest. By the 1920s, the town had a cluster of false-front businesses around the town square. All of the five men listed in the 1910 census in the building trades were employed.<sup>28</sup>

Jackson continued to grow with the addition of an Episcopal Church mission in 1912, brick school and bank in 1914, and St. John's hospital in 1916. The town was incorporated in 1914. In 1920, Jackson made history with the first all-female town government, with Grace Miller as mayor and the four female town councilors who promptly appointed the "winsome" Pearl Williams as town marshal.<sup>29</sup> The Jackson Hole valley was made part of Lincoln County (carved from Uinta County) on February 21, 1911. A decade later, Teton County was created from Lincoln County on February 15, 1921, though not fully organized until December 1922. Jackson, with the largest population of over 300, was declared the county seat. At the time, cattle in the valley outnumbered people 5 to 1.<sup>30</sup>

While Jackson boasted two hotels during this period, a number of roadhouses operated on the roads in and out of the valley. In the 1910s and 1920s, the roads through the Jackson Hole valley had to handle many types of transportation needs. During the summer and fall months, wagonloads of visitors arrived for elaborate hunting trips, which increased the demand for food and other materials to be freighted into the valley. In the winter months, despite the danger of slides, sleighs were frequently used to haul mail and other products over the pass. As the most frequently trafficked, the Teton Pass was the first year-round road into the valley. To aid travelers on the pass road, three roadhouses were established. John Bircher operated a roadhouse, livery, and sawmill at the west end; Blanche Scott operated a roadhouse, later called a hotel, at the summit of the pass while her husband Harry carried the mail; and at the east end of the pass, the roadhouse at the ranch of John Lockwood had five different managers during this period.<sup>31</sup> Fanny K. Wister, the daughter of Owen Wister, while on a trip with her father, was less than impressed with the accommodations over the pass in 1912, noting the "guests sat on uncomfortable benches, dining off tin plates and cups in dirty surroundings."<sup>32</sup>

Sometime in the first part of September 1911, Charles Caughlin drove the first automobile over the Teton Pass loaded with soda pop and souvenirs to sell at Jackson's Frontier Days celebration. John Blanchard drove a horse and buggy behind the car just in case. While Caughlin did well selling his

<sup>27</sup> Quoted in Daugherty: 192.

<sup>28</sup> Arthur Cole, John Rutherford, Willard Miner, Claude Reed, were all listed as carpenters. William Cowan was plasterer.

<sup>29</sup> Nelson: 284.

<sup>30</sup> Jackson Hole cattle ranchers had generally discouraged those who tried to raise sheep in the valley, so by the 1900s the cattle industry dominated the livestock economy.

<sup>31</sup> Nelson: 166.

<sup>32</sup> Quoted in Daugherty: 192.

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items, he was disappointed to learn that four other automobiles had entered Jackson from the north.<sup>33</sup> The road over the Teton Pass was graded for automobile traffic between 1913 and 1917. In August 1916, Payson W. Spaulding drove an automobile over the Hoback Road, a journey he described as “rugged, but scenic.”<sup>34</sup> By 1919, there were two car dealerships in Jackson and one in Kelly. At first car owners stored the gasoline in barrels at their home or business, but by the early 1920s gasoline pumps had been installed at Jackson and Wilson. Ironically, early automobile tourists to Teton County could glimpse the Teton Range while on the road, but were not allowed to enter Yellowstone National Park with their vehicles until 1915.

In the early 1920s, the nation was filled with automobile clubs and business owners clamoring to have more and better roads. By 1926, three graded roads, the Teton Pass Road, the Hoback Road, and the Togwotee Pass Road, provided automobile access to the Jackson Hole valley.<sup>35</sup> The routes were chosen for improvements primarily because they connected to the railroad towns of Victor in Idaho, and Rock Springs and Lander in Wyoming respectively. Two other roads, the Gros Ventre Road, a well-used wagon trail notorious for landslides, and the Ashton-Moran freight road, which had been built in 1910 as a supply route for the second Jackson Lake dam project, were not improved and fell into disuse in the 1920s.

With better roads came more tourists. The Wyoming business directories published in the 1920s provide a look at the tourist accommodations in each community. In Jackson, Rose Crabtree dutifully maintained the Reed Hotel, while the Hotel Jackson had a new manager nearly every year through the 1920s. In Moran, Ben Sheffield’s Teton Lodge was destroyed by fire in 1916, but he quickly rebuilt and continued to improve and expand the facilities, which were described as a summer resort in the directories. Kelly had two hotels in the 1920s, the S.K. Ranch Hotel and the Riverside Hotel. Neither enterprise survived when on May 28, 1927, flood waters from a broken landslide-dam on the Gros Ventre River killed six people and destroyed all but three buildings in Kelly. The Hoback area boasted the Counts Hot Springs Summer Resort in the early 1920s. Wilson had the most tourist accommodations listed in the business directories. A.A. Bean managed a roadhouse, while hotels under names of McCoy and Yokel were listed. Summer resorts were operated by Hammond & Bispham, JUD Ranch, C.H. Stewart, and M.S. Burt. What is remarkable about the Wilson entries is that the summer resorts listed were actually operating as dude ranches, and were probably only a few of the ranches in the area taking in tourists at the time.

While old timers like John Sargent, Stephen Leek, and Ben Sheffield were no doubt guiding and housing dudes, their facilities would not be considered dude ranches because they did not meet criteria later defined by the Dude Ranchers’ Association as organized in 1926. Specifically, dude ranches evolved from or continued to operate as cattle ranches; take paying guests for extended stays with reservations, and occasionally references; located at a remote picturesque site “composed of little groups of cabins,

<sup>33</sup> Nelson: 234-235.

<sup>34</sup> Quoted in Daugherty: 193.

<sup>35</sup> The Teton Pass Road is WYO Highway 22; the Hoback Road is part of the following US Highways : US Highways 26, 89, 189 & 191; and the Togwotee Pass Road is a small section of US Highway 287.

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corrals, and bunkhouses, all of which are familiar to the native westerner of the cattle country.”<sup>36</sup> Teton County differed from other dude ranching centers in Wyoming, in the fact that many Jackson Hole ranches were established with the intent to wrangle dudes, cattle simply being a requisite part of the western atmosphere. The dude wranglers themselves were uncertain about the term. While filing proof papers for homestead claims, applicants were asked if the claim is used for business. Many ranchers responded with statements similar to the following: “I am engaged in the summer tourist business” or “I have two cabins which I rent in summer.”<sup>37</sup> Ben Sheffield, who operated his resort close to the south gate of Yellowstone, considered himself a “hotel operator” on the 1920 census.

The first bona fide dude ranch in Jackson Hole was established in 1908 when Louise Joy and Struthers Burt began boarding dudes at the JY Ranch near Phelps Lake. Burt broke off the partnership and organized a new ranch, the Bar BC, with Dr. Horace Carncross in 1912. On the 1920 census, Burt and Carncross listed their occupation as rancher/tourist resort. In 1913, a wrangler, Harold Hammond and a dude, George Bispham, homesteaded adjacent parcels to create the White Grass Ranch. In the years between the end of World War I and the start of the Great Depression, fifteen additional dude ranches were established in Jackson Hole. A few were working ranches. Jack Woodman described his Flying V as a “production horse and cattle ranch.”<sup>38</sup> Others were established by former dudes or wranglers. For example, Frances Mears, a socialite from Philadelphia, met a wrangler at the Bar BC, Buster Estes, in 1918. By the early 1920s, she had married him and the two established the STS, a small dude ranch on the Snake River. The dude ranches of Jackson Hole varied in size and sophistication. Some large ranches, such as the Crescent Lazy H, offered their guests the modern conveniences of electricity and indoor plumbing, while others relied on kerosene lamps and pit toilets into the 1930s. At the Bar BC, “all the necessary comforts are provided, but luxuries are neither expected nor desired.”<sup>39</sup> Dude ranches were an important part of the economy of the Jackson Hole valley in the 1920s. They provided construction jobs, particularly for Charles Fox, a prolific builder based in Jackson. Dude ranches also purchased large amounts of hay, produce, and dairy products from local farmers. The 1920s were the heyday of dude ranching in Jackson Hole. On March 5, 1925, the *Jackson's Hole Courier* reported that a total of 600 dudes had vacationed in the valley in 1924.

Railroads and dude ranches had a symbiotic relationship in the first half of the twentieth century. The Union Pacific, specifically, was instrumental in bringing many dudes to the Jackson Hole area from rail termini in Victor, Rock Springs, and West Yellowstone, Montana. A Union Pacific promotional brochure produced around 1927 elaborated on the myth of the “Wild West” in its description of the valley as: “Once reported to be the secluded refuge of outlaws and cattle rustlers [Jackson Hole] is one of the most beautiful scenically,” hunting and fishing regions in the country. Furthermore, the brochure noted that the town of Jackson retained “much of its frontier atmosphere” yet was equipped with all the essential conveniences of civilization.”<sup>40</sup> The railroad’s advertising appealed to America’s fascination with the West. The Northern Pacific’s *Ranch Vacation* guide asserted that “one vacation is typically

<sup>36</sup> Daugherty: 223.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid: 222.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid: 226.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid: 228.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted in Daugherty: 226.

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American. It is carefree days spent on a Western ranch, living the life of the open range, reveling in scenic beauty, tasting the glamour and romance of the region.” The Union Pacific agreed stating that on a dude ranch “hospitality is far more genuine, spontaneous and personal than that of an ordinary summer resort.”<sup>41</sup> In 1928, the Union Pacific produced a map of Jackson Hole showing the principal dude ranches. Nearly three-quarters of the twenty-nine ranches shown on the map were within the current boundaries of the Grand Teton National Park.

With the dramatic increase in visitors coming to the Jackson Hole valley in the first quarter of the twentieth century, the objectives of tourism promoters and conservationists became inextricably linked. Even while the pristine beauty of the landscape and the abundance of large game lured hunters, tourists, and dudes, the decision of many of them to stay in the valley threatened both. A few affluent dudes eagerly purchased property after a visit to Jackson Hole. Owen Wister bought a ranch as a personal retreat, as did Cissy “Countess” Patterson who fulfilled a dream of owning a western ranch where she could entertain guests.<sup>42</sup> The few dudes who actually raised cattle were known as “hobby” ranchers. Others like, Geraldine Lucas, who filed a homestead claim in 1912, worked hard to improve her property, but was more interested living in solitude on her teacher’s pension than in ranching.

The most immediate consequence of increased human presence in Jackson Hole was a dramatic decrease in the elk population. A large number of homesteaders had laid claim to the valley, which had previously been winter range for an estimated 25,000 elk. The other challenge was an increase in poachers, particularly those after hides and teeth. At the time, wearing elk teeth as a badge was popular with members of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks lodges, until the organization banned the practice after discovering it encouraged the wanton slaughtering of thousands of animals. The local residents, for whom elk meat was a source of sustenance and guiding hunters a source of income, organized vigilante parties to scare off the “tuskers.” Stephen Leek, who had taken up photography after being presented a camera by one of his clients, took pictures of starving elk attempting to raid haystacks in the winter. Stephen Leek gave photographic lectures and as a state representative in 1907 helped draft legislation to protect Wyoming’s game animals. Beginning in 1911, when the elk population in the valley had decreased to about 5,000, the U.S. Congress appropriated money to feed the elk and purchased land to create a wildlife refuge.<sup>43</sup> One of the first purchases was the Robert and Grace Miller homestead north of Jackson, which became the headquarters of the National Elk Refuge.

One of the first promoters of a national park along the Teton Range was Joe R. Jones, a gambler turned homesteader, guide, and merchant. In the summer of 1909, while sitting around the campfire during a hunting trip, Jones was asked: “What would you do with a million dollars?” Jones’ response was: “I’d buy up all of Jackson Hole and make a park and game preserve out of it, and stop this killing of elk for their teeth, and find some way to keep them from starving.”<sup>44</sup> When Horace Albright, the superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, visited Jackson Hole to drum up support for extending the park’s boundaries to the Tetons, Joe R. Jones was the only enthusiastic supporter.

<sup>41</sup> Quoted in *Grand Teton MPS*: Section E, 66-67.

<sup>42</sup> Cissy Patterson’s Flat Creek Ranch was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2001 (NRIS #01001428).

<sup>43</sup> Nelson: 44-46.

<sup>44</sup> Nelson: 143.

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By the early 1920s, prompted by depressed cattle prices and proposals for more dams, Albright and the National Park Service, which had been established in 1916, had gained allies among the local stake holders. In 1923, Albright met with dude ranchers, Struthers Burt and Horace Carncross, rancher Jack Eynon, *Jackson's Hole Courier* owner Dick Winger, and Joe R. Jones at Maud Noble's cabin at Menor's Ferry. The meeting was the beginning of what came to be known as the Jackson Hole Plan. By 1925, a number of farmers and ranchers signed a petition endorsing the plan to create a "recreation area" in Jackson Hole. The petition stated "We have tried ranching, stock-raising, and from our experience have become of the firm belief that this region will find its highest use as a playground."<sup>45</sup> The petition called for the "creation of a preserve to maintain the scenic and western character of the valley." Ninety-seven landowners were willing to sell more than 27,000 acres at a fair market price.

Joe R. Jones did not have a million dollars to fund the project, but Horace Albright knew someone who did. In 1926, Albright accompanied Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr. on a tour of the valley. Rockefeller was dismayed by the "tawdry" commercialism along the glacial lakes. After hearing of the Jackson Hole Plan, Rockefeller agreed to finance the project. Rockefeller's Snake River Land Company (SRLC) was organized in 1927 and his agents began making purchases. Ostensibly to protect the elk refuge, but also in response to a request by the SRLC to prevent land speculation, President Calvin Coolidge signed Executive Order No. 4685, on July 7, 1927, effectively closing all public land in the Jackson Hole valley to homestead entry.

By 1928, a sufficient number of prominent Jackson Hole residents supported the plan for a new national park, but limited to the portions of the Teton Range already within the Teton National Forest. Most conservationists felt this "stingy, skimpy" half-a-park was not sufficient because "the mountain summits were naturally protected from development by their rugged topography—and so little of the moraine-lake shoreline [was protected] as to invite private development along the park boundary."<sup>46</sup> Because the park did not include an encompassing landscape, supporters of the Jackson Hole Plan continued to pursue the acquisition of private lands.

In late 1920s, one of the earliest promotional brochures of the area noted resorts or hotels in over half of the valley's communities, including a municipal campground in Jackson. The publication not only suggested that "nowhere in the world [is the valley] surpassed for scenic and recreational attractions," but also noted the "rapidly increasing tourist business affords splendid opportunities for summer resorts." But above all, the title block proclaimed "Jackson's Hole The Last of the Old West," a theme that would come to define the tourist industry in Teton County's Jackson Hole in the twentieth century.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Quoted in Daugherty: 9.

<sup>46</sup> *Grand Teton National Park MPS*: Section E, 45.

<sup>47</sup> "Jackson's Hole The Last of the Old West" circa 1927, promotion brochure, Teton County History Research Center, vertical files.

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**Gateway to the National Parks: the Rise of the Roadside Accommodations (Cabin Courts & Motels) and the Decline of the Dude Ranch, 1929 to 1950**

On February 26, 1929, President Calvin Coolidge signed a bill setting aside 96,000 acres as the Grand Teton National Park. The following June, the first superintendent of the nascent park, Sam T. Woodring, set up headquarters at the former Elbo Ranch. In addition to managing the park's natural resources, Woodring also manage the needs of former and adjacent landowners in terms of leases, permits, and contracts for concessionaries. A number of homestead and ranch structures were co-opted into much needed park facilities. The task of repairing and constructing park infrastructure was boosted by the establishment of three Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps in 1933. The depression-era CCC program employed men to make improvements to the nation's national parks and other public lands. Another New Deal program, the Public Works Administration (PWA) reduced local unemployment by putting men to work on the roads and trails within Grand Teton National Park.

As the Grand Teton National Park took shape, the Snake River Land Development Company continued its purchase of private lands. When Rockefeller's connection to the company and his intent to turn over the lands to the National Park Service became public knowledge in 1930, it started a twenty-year controversy that nearly tore the Teton County community apart. Area ranchers were concerned about the loss of rangeland. Businessmen predicted devastation of the local economy on the heels of the predicted demise of the ranching industry. County officials worried about the loss of taxable private lands. Even potential allies were wary of the park expansion. The Forest Service feared losing its managerial powers. The National Park Association (NPA), a private conservation watchdog, objected on the philosophical grounds that the natural beauty of Jackson Lake, which was outside the boundaries of the original park, had been compromised by earlier Bureau of Reclamation dam projects. The NPS countered the NPA attacks by having the CCC clean up the Jackson Lake shoreline, while the NPS director, Arno Cammerer argued that the frontier era of pristine wilderness was over and "some parks must now be carved out of developed areas."<sup>48</sup>

On the other side, supporters of the NPS and the SRLC plans stressed the importance of the growing tourism industry to the economy of Jackson Hole. Struthers Burt argued that three quarters of the land purchased by the SRLC was not "worth one cent to its owners, the county, or the state" and that the preservation of the scenery and the valley's western heritage would bring tourist dollars.<sup>49</sup> Meanwhile, after purchasing and holding approximately 35,000 acres for fifteen years, John D. Rockefeller became impatient with the stalemate. In a letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Rockefeller wrote that if the federal government did not want his generous gift, he would consider selling it "in the market to any satisfactory buyers."<sup>50</sup> The letter prompted President Roosevelt to bypass congress and the Wyoming state legislature and proclaim 221,000 acres (consisting of donated private, unclaimed public, and forest service lands) as the Jackson Hole National Monument on March 15, 1943.

<sup>48</sup> Quoted in *Grand Teton MPS*: Section E, 47.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Jackie Skaggs, "The Creation of Grand Teton National Park" National Park Service, TMs, 2000: 4.

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Although the monument designation intensified the battle between the two sides, by the end of World War II, it became clear that tourism was the future of the valley and fewer residents actively opposed the idea of expanding the park. A local poll taken in Jackson Hole after the war showed the following result: 182 residents opposed the monument, 142 supported it, and a majority of 234 offered no opinion.<sup>51</sup> President Roosevelt's prediction "that the resumption of tourist travel will result in a great deal more money flowing into Teton County and the State of Wyoming" proved to be more accurate than the opposition's forecasts of doom.<sup>52</sup> Final compromises were worked out in 1949, and on September 14, 1950, President Harry S. Truman signed a bill merging the 1929 park with the 1943 monument to form the current 310,000-acre Grand Teton National Park. Preservation of the Teton Range, the glacial lakes, Jackson Lake, and much of the valley was finally entrusted to the National Park Service as a single unit.

The proposed expansion of the Grand Teton National Park in the 1930s and 1940s was not responsible for the decline of the dude ranch industry in Jackson Hole, but it was a contributing factor. After the onset of the depression, dude wranglers found it more difficult to find paying guests, but because the industry drew its clientele from the affluent, there was not a rapid decline. Far fewer new dude ranches were started in the 1930s than in the previous decade. The exclusive Bear Paw Ranch was established in 1935 when Coulter Huyler, a former dude from Connecticut, turned his family retreat into a dude ranch. The Bear Paw was sold to the Jackson Hole Preserve in 1949. In 1937, Fred and Eva Topping turn their fox and mink farm into a business after they discovered hunters camping on their property.<sup>53</sup> Several ranches, such as the Double Diamond and the White Grass, housed adolescent boys believed to be in need of fresh air and manual labor. The Half Moon operated as a girls' ranch.

The Rockefeller buyout directly reduced the number of dude ranches in Jackson Hole in the 1930s and 1940s. Many of the owners just left, although half-a-dozen continued to operate within the park under short-term leases or lifetime estate agreements.<sup>54</sup> By 1950, the expanded Grand Teton National Park had absorbed twenty-two out of thirty properties on the 1928 Union Pacific map of dude ranches. A few later ranches were also included in the expanded park acreage. Along with the ranches, the park also enveloped the homesteading communities of Moran, Elk, Grovont, Zenith, and Moose (formerly Menor's Ferry). Portions of the still recovering Kelly and the Teton ranching community north of Wilson were also included in the 1950 park.

The historic buildings and other resources at these sites suffered many different fates during the buyout and expansion period. Some were converted to park facilities. Many were removed to another location. One observer recalled "watching buildings being moved tortoise-like down Jenny Lake Road in the late 1920s and 1930s."<sup>55</sup> Others were salvaged or sold in pieces. There are accounts of logs and other materials being recycled, but most demolitions were complete. Many other resources were left to

<sup>51</sup> Daugherty: 317.

<sup>52</sup> Quoted in Daugherty: 317-318.

<sup>53</sup> Daugherty: 244.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid: 231.

<sup>55</sup> Daugherty: 310.

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deteriorate according to park service policies. Jack Huyler, the son of Coulter Huyer, remembers attending the dispersal auctions of the Bar BC and the White Grass after two of the longest operating ranches were closed in the 1980s. He described the auctions as “sad affairs” where out-of-town antique dealers competed with locals anxious to preserve a memento of the ranches.<sup>56</sup> Over the years, only a small percentage of historic properties within the park have been preserved and restored as interpretive sites.<sup>57</sup>

Outside of the boundary of the Grand Teton National Park, dude ranching continued in the 1930s and 1940s, although the industry was less robust. The north valley ranches included Flagg, Turpin Meadows, Hatchet, and Three Rivers. Jimmy Simpson and Lester Leek acquired the Dutch Henry property with a store, gas pump, and a couple of cabins at the foot of the Togwotee Pass. Unfortunately in the summer of 1932, Simpson and Leek’s Turpin Meadows Ranch lost everything when a con artist absconded with the cash and left them with a large group of dudes to entertain.<sup>58</sup> A number of new ranches were established in the Wilson area. The business directories of the 1940s list several enterprises, although it is unclear how many met all of the criteria for an authentic dude ranch. After selling the R Lazy S Ranch to the Jackson Hole Preserve in 1947, the owners continued to lease from the park, but also started the Aspen Ranch north of Wilson. Others advertised as dude ranches in Wilson included the Crescent Lazy H Ranch, Tepee Lodge, Teton Pass Ranch, Rocking H Ranch, Holiday Ranch, Old Trail Ranch, McNeely Boy’s Ranch, Crystal Springs Girl’s Ranch, and the Hewitt-Lawler Ranch. On the east side of the valley were the Hansen, Castle Rock, Teton Valley, and Red Rock ranches.<sup>59</sup>

One of the most successful late-comers to dude ranching was Elizabeth “Betty” Woolsey. Betty Woolsey was the captain of the U.S. women’s Olympic ski team in 1936. In 1942 while skiing near the Teton Pass, she encountered the former Lockwood property and roadhouse. She bought the property in 1943 and started building cabins, including moving a magnificent log barn built by Wilson area contractor Wesley Bircher from a neighboring property. The Trail Creek Ranch was operational by 1946 and included a large number of female staffers; however, the property is mostly significant as one of the first dude ranches open during the winter for skiing guests. Betty Woolsey was “responsible for bringing world class skiers who otherwise would not have discovered the valley” and contributing to Jackson Hole’s emergence as a preeminent ski destination in the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>60</sup>

Early residents of the valley had used mostly homemade skis and snowshoes to get around during the winter, but it wasn’t until the 1930s that skiing became a recreational activity. Jack Huyler recalled the ski tow ropes at the Teton Pass and Kelly’s Hill in Jackson. Rudimentary ski jumps were built on Jackson’s Town hill in 1926 and 1932, and in 1936, the CCC constructed a series of horse and hiking

<sup>56</sup> Huyler: 130.

<sup>57</sup> These sites are discussed in the *Grand Teton MPS*.

<sup>58</sup> Nelson: 331.

<sup>59</sup> The Crescent Lazy H appears as the Crescent Lazy 8 in some records. The V Bar B, Triangle F, DC Bar, the Green River P-Tree ranches are also shown on the 1928 map, but are outside of the boundaries of Teton County.

<sup>60</sup> Michael Cassity, “Trail Creek Ranch” Teton County Historic Site Survey Form, 2005. The name Trail Creek Ranch does not appear in the business directories in the 1940s or 1950s, but may have been advertised as the Old Trail Ranch.

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trails to the top of the hill. After the Jackson Ski Club was organized in 1937, the ski area was renamed the Snow King as a result of a naming contest. Between the late 1930s and early 1940s, the town purchased land, installed a tow cable, and built a ski shelter at the base of the hill. A refurbished chairlift from Colorado was installed in 1947 and during the 1948-1949 ski season 8,500 riders were carried to the top of the Snow King.<sup>61</sup>

The need for passable roads was one of the great challenges to Jackson Hole tourism in the early twentieth century. Spurred by highway committees and automobile clubs, the Federal Highway Act provided for an interstate highway system in 1921. In 1929, gasoline was taxed in order to fund highway improvements. Between 1921 and 1940, the miles of paved highway in the United States quadrupled. As the automobile ownership spread, more and more members of the middle and lower classes could take vacations. However, unlike their wealthy counterparts, the new tourists had limited time and money, tended to keep schedules, “cramming in as many attractions as possible” into a single vacation. The vacation miles per day increased steadily from 125 miles on average in 1916 to 400 miles per day in 1936.<sup>62</sup>

Within Wyoming, the grading of several “named” highways added a tourist component to the many small communities along its route. The Lincoln Highway, completed in 1913, was the first transcontinental automobile road in the nation. The road passed through the south third of Wyoming. The Lincoln Highway provided the much needed link between local businesses (gasoline pumps, repair shops, restaurants, etc.) and the long-distance traveler. In particular the Lincoln Highway set a precedent for the need of roadside sleeping accommodations for automobile travelers. In 1915, the Yellowstone Highway through southern Montana was linked directly to the park. Although intended as a transcontinental highway, the highway’s name implied an association with the volume of park-bound tourist traffic on the route. The highway was also known as the Black and Yellow Trail, connecting the Black Hills of South Dakota to Yellowstone National Park. When the U.S. Highways were numbered in 1926, the highway names remained in use as promotional tools. In 1939, U.S. Highway 287 was commissioned to bring travelers from central Wyoming through Moran to the south entrance of Yellowstone. The southern road through the Hoback Junction into Jackson Hole (today’s U.S. 89/189/191) was paved in the 1930s after the postal service began routing Teton County’s mail through Rock Springs.

In the 1920s, the railroads had declared the dude ranch experience was the quintessential American vacation, but by the 1930s, the nation was making way for a more universal recreational experience: the great American road trip. For years, the ranchers preferred the dudes who came by rail for an extended stay. The automobile campers, dismissively called “sagebrushers” and “tin can tourists” by the ranchers, were inclined to drive on the next day.<sup>63</sup> In 1929, Grand Teton National Park had an estimated 10,000 visitors. Although that number pales in comparison to the over 200,000 visitors to Yellowstone

<sup>61</sup> Huyler: 177. Mary Humstone, “Jackson’s Town Hill: Snow King Ski Area” January 2012: 3.

<sup>62</sup> Daugherty: 259.

<sup>63</sup> *Grand Teton MPS*: Section E, 66.

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in the same time period, what is significant is that the majority of visitors arrived by personal automobiles driving across Wyoming rather than being shuttled from rail stations in Idaho and Montana.

The earliest automobile tourists were often campers, arriving with their own tents and supplies, but gasoline was more difficult to transport. The early operators of filling stations quickly seized on a business opportunity when it became apparent that many tourists were camping near the pumps for convenience. The first auto camps provided tents, but the traveling public preferred the privacy of a more solid structure. A study of leisure travelers conducted during the 1930s reported that more than 85 percent preferred cabins as overnight accommodations.<sup>64</sup> In response, pump operators and store owners along the highways built cabins or cottages to cater to the growing demand for lodging.

By the late 1920s, a cluster of development at the south end of Jenny Lake catered to automobile tourists on the Teton Park Road, and was one of the “unsightly” areas visited by the Horace Albright and the Rockefellers. J. D. and Laura Kimmel, who operated a large store, cabins, and a gas station at Jenny Lake, held out against the buyout for many years. They eventually sold in their property in 1944, but continued to operate Kimmel Cabins under a lease until 1962. Homer and Eliza Richards, who built a gas station and seven rental cabins on their Jenny Lake homestead in the mid-1920s, sold to the SRLC in 1929 for \$25,000. The Richards family, who had lived in town during the winters, took the opportunity to buy property in Jackson for a new tourist camp. Homer C. Richards’ Ideal Lodge was located on the main highway at west entrance to Jackson. The Ideal Lodge was designed “For Ideal Comfort and Service” with heated rooms and a service station.

Several other tourist camps were established within a year of the park opening. In 1930, Henry and Hazel Francis took over Lew Gill’s gas pump and Rainbow Cabins on Cache Street, which had become the main north-south road through Jackson. Hazel Francis recalled that they started with “tiny little shacks [built by Gill] . . . we went to the main house to the bathroom and showers.” The Francis Camp included a service station and a restaurant. After purchasing the property, the family added log cabins until they had thirty-nine units. On the 1930 census, their household included Marnie Schultz, the café cook, and Arthur Van Winkle, the tourist camp guide. Another operator, Ruby Spicer transferred from managing the Hotel Jackson in 1929 to owning an “Auto Cabins” camp, likely on Cache Street two blocks west of her husband Walter’s auto repair shop. The Spicer Camp, the Palace Auto Camp, and a camp managed by Patrick and Grace Smith were examples that only operated a few years in Jackson during the 1930s.<sup>65</sup>

There were many more successes than failures. The Log Cabin Camp was established in 1931 on the highway four blocks west of the town center where Jim Deloney and John Crisp had built a campground. Ray T. Black was the owner and operator. The camp featured log cabins arranged around a shady green space. In the 1950s, Black’s Log Cabin Camp became the Meadowbrook Lodge. Cora Nelson Barber, who had been brought as a child to Jackson Hole in 1888, started an auto camp after the

<sup>64</sup> Betsy Bradley, “Historic Motor Courts and Motels in Wyoming,” National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, prepared for the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, December 10, 2010: Section E, 14.

<sup>65</sup> The Smith Hotel appears in the 1937 business directory, but it is not known if there is a connection.

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death of her second husband in 1935. The Barber site two blocks west of the town center was taken over by the Utopia Lodge after Cora retired in the late 1940s. The John “Jack” James Auto Camp was established in 1932 on five acres between Cache Street and the Flat Creek. The complex originally had about twenty single and duplex cabins, but was expanded into the Wagon Wheel Lodge after Jack and Maud James sold the property in 1944.

Joseph Kudar first fell in love with Jackson Hole as a visiting player on the Rock Springs baseball team in the early 1920s. During baseball season, the two hotels were usually full, so the visiting team slept in homes of Jackson players or at the Baptist Church. After losing his coal-mining job during the depression and remembering the difficulty of finding accommodations in Jackson, Joe Kudar persuaded his brother Max to invest their savings in a camp. Kudar’s Auto Tourist Camp was built between 1934 and 1938 just north of the Francis property. Max and Joe straightened Cache Creek and built a bridge over it. The camp featured two rows of log cabins facing a stretch of green space lined with poplar trees. The Nelson Brothers (Neals, Charles, Otto and Albert Jr.) “were hired for the expert log and carpenter work, but Joe and Max, performing as carpenter’s helpers, did all the rest of the construction work.”<sup>66</sup> The Kudar brothers also built the furniture for the rooms. An existing log house was used for an office and later moved to the rear of the property as a residence when a new office was constructed in 1962. Later called the Kudar Log Cabin Lodge and currently the Kudar Motel, the property has the distinction of being the only auto tourist camp to retain its original family name.

The above examples illustrate an important trend in roadside accommodations in the 1930s. The auto camp had evolved from a few rental cabins behind the owner’s business to a carefully planned arrangement around a landscaped courtyard with a centrally located separate building for an office. These accommodations were known by various names such as tourist court, auto court, motor court, cottage court, and cabin court. By the 1930s, there were an estimated 20,000 of these overnight courts in the United States. The American Automobile Association (AAA) issued state-by-state directories of auto courts and camps (excluding hotels), listings that suggest the organization promoted this type of lodging as what motorists were seeking. In Wyoming, there were twenty-two AAA-affiliated tourist courts, not including those within the boundaries of the national parks. A more complete listing of 170 accommodations in Wyoming was included in the Conoco Travel Bureau’s Cottage Camp Manual issued during the mid-1930s. Seven of the businesses were located in Jackson.<sup>67</sup>

The biggest draw to the auto court was the ability to park next to each unit, so access and landscaping were carefully planned. Many of the courts offered showers, coal or gas stoves for cooking, and bedding for “hire.” Typical rental rates ranged from 35 cents to \$2.50 a night. A service station, store, and sometimes a restaurant or laundry might be located on site. The average size was between ten and twenty units. The AAA listings were noted as modern or semi-modern, while not defined, the terms most likely referred to the presence or absence of indoor plumbing. In 1942, A. E. Kendrew, a consultant hired by the Jackson Hole Preserve (formerly SRLC) spent the summer observing the “attitude and demands of the tourist.” He concluded:

<sup>66</sup> Fern Nelson, “A Long Road Winding—From Campgrounds to Motels” *Jackson Hole Guide*, September 5, 1974.

<sup>67</sup> *Wyoming Historic Hotels and Motel MPS*: Section E, 14-15.

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Mr. Average American Tourist is beginning to prefer rooms with bath [in contrast to area dude ranches and early tourist camps] . . . Throughout the West the fact that the development of the 'Autocourt' or 'Motel' has reached such a high standard, with rates very little above that of the former typical tourist cabins, may be the main reason for this demand for better facilities.<sup>68</sup>

A.E. Kendrew's use of the term motel in 1942 was just a few years early for Teton County. The term motel carried a higher charge of modernism than camp or cabins and was a direct reference to the motor car. Prior to World War II, even the term motor court, from which the word motel is believed to be derived, was not used to describe any of the camps, cabins, or lodges in Teton County.

After the war, when tourism began to pick up, many of the former tourist courts in Jackson Hole expanded their facilities and adopted the term. Like many owners, Henry and Hazel closed their doors during the war years, but reopened after in 1946. Hazel Francis recalled the second expansion to their complex: "the log cabins were more like a dude ranch, then set quite a little ways apart and they each had a bath and some of them had a shower-bath, [with] 2 big rooms on each side."<sup>69</sup> This modernization took place around the time the name was changed to the Francis Home Ranch Motel. The Kudar Auto Camp/Lodge had also added bathrooms to the cabins and was called the Kudar Motel by 1950.

In trend unique to Teton County, at least half of the auto tourist camps continued to use the term lodge into the 1950s. These include the Ideal, Utopia, Meadowbrook, and the Wagon Wheel Lodge. During one of its expansions, the Wagon Wheel Lodge added a new feature to some of the cabins, an attached shared carport, between units.

The D & W Motel built by Dean Driskell and Glenn Wiley was likely the first motel not evolved from a camp. The D & W Motel was typical of the first motel buildings: a one-story building with a linear array of units including private bathroom covered by one continuous roof. The most common motel forms include a single row of rooms, or frequently, two or three rows arranged in an L or U-shape. Each rentable unit typically featured a single door and window alternating on the street-facing side. Motels are usually distinguished from hotels by exterior access and adjacent parking for each unit. Motel patrons preferred to carry their own bags. The U-shape of the D & W Motel was typical for the period, as was the prominent colorful neon sign, which at the D & W announced "You're a stranger here but once!"

In his recommendations for improvements to the lodging facilities at the Grand Teton National Park in the 1940s, A.E. Kendrew stressed two important aspects, a range of pricing and a continuity of design:

<sup>68</sup> A.E. Kendrew, "Suggestions for Future Tourist Accommodations, Jackson Hole, Wyoming," August, 1942: 1-4. Quoted in *Grand Teton MPS*: Section E, 69.

<sup>69</sup> Cassity, *Home Ranch Motel* Teton County Historic Site Survey Form.

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Quite a wide range of individual cabin sizes and arrangements should be planned so that the diversified requirements of the visitor may be fulfilled . . . and to provide for a variety of rates . . . The design of the group should embody some of the characteristics of the early log buildings in this section . . . A conventional style of log construction should be developed, and every attempt should be made to make them attractive and inviting.<sup>70</sup>

Outside of the national parks, in Jackson Hole, the range of tourist accommodations in the 1930s and 1940s was more diverse than anytime in the valley's history. A traveler could chose from a dude ranch in a remote location, or a campground or tourist court along one of the highways. In the town of Jackson, along with the numerous tourist camps, a visitor may have been directed to a "tourist room" typically a large house in which the bedrooms were rented. The business directories of the late 1930s list three women operating boarding houses in Jackson: Florence Cannon, Ida B. Wilson, and Margaret Knutson. The exact nature of these operations is unclear, but there is a strong possibility that the women played hosts to tourists at least some of the time. The 1930 and 1940 census enumerations list at least seven men making a living as hunting guides, but not tied to a specific camp. It is possible that clients were housed in private residences in town before setting out on hunting or fishing expeditions. Tourists were probably housed in any number of the many reportedly relocated cabins and cottages from the Rockefeller buyout period.

There were four businesses in Jackson that provided the more formal hotel experience: the Hotel Jackson, the Crabtree Hotel, the Commercial Hotel, and the Wort Hotel.<sup>71</sup> The Commercial Hotel, later called the Richmond Hotel, was established in a converted home in the 1930s one block south of the town square on Cache Street. Richmond's printed advertisements featured a line drawing of a bellboy suggesting an urban experience for the patron. The Wort Hotel was constructed in 1941 in Jackson at the corner of Broadway and Glenwood. Charles and Luella Wort, earlier settlers in Jackson Hole, owned the Wort Livery, a boating concession on Jenny Lake, the Wort Hunting Camp, and the Wort Lodge Resort on Jackson Lake. With a goal to build an elegant hotel in Jackson, Charles purchased four lots in the heart of the commercial district. He did not live to see the dream realized, but in 1940, his sons Jess and John, sold the Wort Lodge property and began building the Wort Hotel. The brothers hired Lorenzo "Ren" Grimmett, a builder and amateur architect from Idaho Falls, Idaho, to design the building. The design for the two-story building featured a brick and stone base with English Tudor-style faux half-timbering. In addition to a large lobby with a grand staircase and floor-to-ceiling fireplace, the Alpine Café operated on the main floor. In 1950, the hotel was expanded and the famous undulating Silver Dollar Bar counter top with its embedded collection of over 2,000 mint-condition 1921 silver dollars was installed. With nightly entertainment, and for a short time gambling, the Wort Hotel became a popular gathering place for locals and visitors alike.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Kendrew, quoted in *Grand Teton MPS*: Section E, 69.

<sup>71</sup> The Richmond Hotel was moved in the 1970s and unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1985. There is an entry for the Hotel Childs in the 1932 business directory, but no further information is known.

<sup>72</sup> The Wort Hotel was extensively damaged by a fire in 1980, but rebuilt in the same style. It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1999 (NRIS #99001507).

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Architecturally, the European-inspired Wort Hotel was the exception rather than the rule for tourist accommodations in Teton County. The majority of property owners and builders were inspired by local materials and local building traditions. The use of log as a building material extended decades beyond the necessities of nineteenth-century pioneer life. In early twentieth century, residents were just as likely to build a new house or barn with logs as any another material. Several important buildings in Jackson were constructed of log during this period: American Legion Post (1929), the St. John's Episcopal Church expansion (1935), and the Huff Teton County Library (1940).<sup>73</sup> Cabin designs for first automobile tourist camps evolved from the simple hunting and dude ranch cabins used throughout the county. The Kudar cabins are prime examples of this influence. Each is a simple gable-roofed building constructed of round logs with conventional saddle-notch corners. The log purlins extend the eaves to provide a sheltered entrance at one of the cabin's narrow ends. The log crowns on the façade are sawed to form an arc at the bottom third of the structure.

Another influence on property owners and local builders came from their experience with the National Park Service's construction projects within Grand Teton National Park during this period. By the 1930s, the NPS was actively promoting the use of natural materials collected on site for building projects. This back-to-nature concept was first executed in the camp architecture of Adirondack Mountains to both integrate the building with its landscape and to avoid the cost of shipping materials to a remote site. An early example in the West is the 1904 construction of the Old Faithful Inn in Yellowstone National Park, which was important in the development of guidelines for architecture within national parks. Though exaggerated in scale, the Old Faithful Inn alluded to pioneer construction methods using native log as a primary material. Both inside and outside the boundaries of the Grand Teton National Park, the National Park Rustic style, or "parkitecture" as it has been nicknamed, remains an important architectural influence on the style of tourist accommodations in Teton County.

Two different examples of the influence of the National Park Rustic, both in the use of log and the term lodge, are the Parks Lodge and the Jackson Hole Lodge. The Parks Lodge was built in 1940 and later moved to a quiet neighborhood on east Pearl Avenue in Jackson around 1970. The simple gable building has a footprint of 28 by 47 feet with the narrow end facing the street. The building features round logs from the foundation to the gable apex with contrasting rows of visible chinking. The Parks Lodge is currently used as a private residence. In contrast, when the Jackson Hole Lodge was built in 1942, the owner selected a prominent site at the point where the highway enters Jackson from the west. The two-story building is clad in log planks and features a series of three steep gables along the façade. Both the later *porte cochere* and an associated 1987 two-story motel building feature twisted tree trunks as support columns. The design of the Jackson Hole Lodge was envisioned as a cross between an in-town hotel and a wilderness lodge. It was advertised as a more luxurious option for Jackson visitors: "Designed for the Discriminating — It's a Place of Rare Charm."<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Two other large buildings of the period were built of volcanic rock quarried near Victor, Idaho: the Jackson Drug Company (1937) and the Teton Theater (1941).

<sup>74</sup> Cassity, *Jackson Hole Lodge*, Teton County Historic Site Form.

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Outside of Jackson, along the highways to and from the national parks, the more casual tourist camps thrived. Wilson area had the Bennhoff Cabin Camp, R. C. Lundy's Fish Creek Camp, Bob Yokel's Sportman's Lodge, and a camp managed by Norman and Illa Tanner. Karl M. Johnson had a gas station and tourist court on the county road. Ralph and Lula Hall managed a camp in the same area. Jack Dornan Jr. operated a camp on his mother Evelyn Dornan's homestead site, on the east side of the Snake River. Along the Hoback Road south of Jackson were Camp Creek and Cottonwoods Tourist Court. The Warm Springs Ranch was north of Jackson. On Highway 287 in the north were the Millcrest Cabin Camp, Turpin Meadows Lodge, and Guy Gettings' Moranview Lodge. In Kelly, there was a general store and tourist court at Kent's corner. Also in Kelly, Medsker's Cabins was a tourist court that was occasionally listed as a dude ranch in the business directories. A 1948 advertisement for Medsker's Cabins in the local newspaper illustrates how the lines between tourist court and the dude ranch were occasionally blurred. Medsker's provided "fishing and boats" as well as a "modern bath house" and "light housekeeping." But most telling is that the business offered "Daily, Weekly, and Monthly Rates."<sup>75</sup>

The expansion of the Grand Teton National Park in 1950 came on the heels of a dramatic increase in tourism following World War II. A Wyoming Department of Commerce and Industry report noted that "Wyoming enjoyed its greatest tourist business in 1946, but not as a result of activities of the Department of Commerce and Industry. You could not have kept the tourists and visitors out of Wyoming this past year with a stone wall."<sup>76</sup> A study of tourism in this period noted that sixty-two percent of Americans took a vacation trip in 1949, the average length of which was ten and one-half days.<sup>77</sup> In Wyoming, tourism had become the third most important sector of the economy with a large percentage of visitors making a beeline through Teton County to the national parks.<sup>78</sup> Dude rancher Struthers Burt understood what this meant to the area better than anybody when in 1948, he wrote:

I've watched [this country] grow, sensibly, without boom or bust . . . from a wild, sparsely-settled, poverty-stricken valley, into without doubt one of the most prosperous, one of the richest valleys per capita under the sun. A valley zoned by man, and by nature millions of years ago. A valley magnificently endowed with scenery, game, forest, stream and good green grass . . . A valley where almost everyone is profitably engaged in business of some kind from cattle-ranching and dude-ranching to guiding, out-fitting, merchandising of every description, hotel keeping, the running of tourist accommodations, and so on down the line. A valley famous all over the world and loved by millions of Americans and Europeans who come thousands of miles to see what we have.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *Jackson Hole Courier*, July 15, 1948.

<sup>76</sup> Wyoming Department of Commerce and Industry, *Report of Activities, 1945-1946*, p. 6.

<sup>77</sup> *Wyoming Hotels and Motels MPS*, Section E, 4.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*: Section E, 2 & 7.

<sup>79</sup> Struthers Burt, "A Brief for Cooperation," *Jackson Hole Courier*, February 19, 1948. Available in the Vertical File of the Teton County Historical Society Research Center, Jackson, Wyoming.

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**Welcome to Jackson Hole: the Modern Motel and Ski Lodge, 1951 to 1969**

Within the first decade after the expansion of the Grand Teton National Park, there was a subtle shift in the way Teton County marketed itself as a tourist destination. There was less emphasis on the national parks and more emphasis on the range of recreational activities available within the surrounding communities. The first change was the almost universal adoption of the straight forward “Jackson Hole” name, not only as a geographic name for the valley, but as a signature element of promotional materials. By the time the *Jackson’s Hole Courier* newspaper ended publication in 1961, it was competing with *The Jackson Hole Guide*, a newspaper with a strong editorial bent toward promoting tourism within the community. “Dude Tips” an annual brochure promoting Jackson Hole attractions and businesses in the 1960s, typically devoted only one short paragraph to the national parks.

In the 1950s, more than half of the members of the Jackson Hole Chamber of Commerce were engaged in the tourism industry and forty percent operated some type of overnight accommodations. The businesses surrounding Jackson’s town square became more tourist-oriented with the addition of cafés, gifts shops, and art galleries. The city leaders encouraged new construction and the remodeling of existing commercial buildings that exhibited the characteristics of a frontier town, including false fronts, wood siding, and covered wooden boardwalks. In an act of civic boosterism, Jackson’s picture-postcard elk antler arches at the four corners of the town square were assembled by the Rotary Club members between 1953 and 1969.<sup>80</sup>

The construction of Interstate 80 (I-80) in the 1960s was important in shortening travel time across southern Wyoming and funneling a growing number of automobile tourists through Teton County. The transcontinental I-80 was the most heavily traveled route in Wyoming with even larger numbers than the US 30/Lincoln Highway it replaced. Highway 191 from I-80 to Yellowstone was improved to support the increased traffic. Visitation to Yellowstone National Park increased from 1,300,000 in 1956 to over two million in 1966. Traffic on the highway between Jackson and the south entrance to Yellowstone was heavier than that on the highway between Cody and the east entrance to the park, reflecting a growing number of visitors to Grand Teton National Park.<sup>81</sup> In the 1960s, nearly 65 percent of the visitors to Wyoming spent at least one night in Yellowstone; close to 40 percent also spent the night in Grand Teton. In the year 1958, for first time, Yellowstone admitted more visitors at the south entrance than at the west gate in Montana.<sup>82</sup> The Teton Pass road was widened and modernized in 1961.<sup>83</sup> In the late 1960s, the Moose-Wilson Road (WY 390) was also improved, although it remained closed during the winter.

<sup>80</sup> “Historic Downtown Jackson: Self-Guided Walking Tour” brochure prepared by the Jackson Hole Historical Society and Museum: [13]. Antlers shed on the Elk Refuge were gathered by boy scouts and sold as a fund raiser.

<sup>81</sup> *Twenty-first Biennial Report of the State Highway Commission of the State of Wyoming for the period July 1, 1956 to June 30, 1958* (Cheyenne,1958), pp. 50-51; *Twenty-fifth Biennial Report of the State Highway Commission of the State of Wyoming for the period July 1, 1964 to June 30, 1966* (Cheyenne,1966), pp. 69-69.

<sup>82</sup> *Wyoming Hotels and Motels MPS*: Section E, 6-7.

<sup>83</sup> Nelson: 167.

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During this period there was also a dramatic increase in the number of tourists who arrived in Jackson Hole by airplane. In the 1930s, the town physician Dr. Charles W. Huff led the effort to construct an airport in the valley. A small “unimproved” airstrip was built near the rodeo grounds in Jackson that served the community for a number of years. By 1940, the town government and citizen groups had begun lobbying for a full service commercial airport. After much wrangling over a site, the Jackson Hole Airport opened seven miles north of Jackson in 1942. Originally within the Jackson Hole National Monument, the airport currently operates under a lease agreement within Grand Teton National Park. Western Air Express began service in 1946.<sup>84</sup> In the 1950s, a company called Jackson Hole Scenic Flights began operating out of the airport. Frontier Airlines began summer and winter service to Jackson in June 1959.<sup>85</sup> United Airlines began operating in the 1960s and increased the number of out-of-state visitors, particularly skiers, boosting the demand for year-round accommodations.

The development of accommodations in Jackson Hole was concomitant with the expansion and development of visitor services in the Grand Teton National Park in the 1950s and 1960s. Directly after World War II, there were a dozen tourist courts and motels in Jackson. That number jumped to 31 motels in 1954, 38 in 1958, and 43 in 1969. In the spring of 1964, an article in the *Wyoming Motel News* reported that many motels in Jackson were enlarging and upgrading their premises.<sup>86</sup> On January 20, 1966, the front page of *The Jackson Hole Guide* announced that for the year 1965 the Town of Jackson had issued \$1,077,800 in building permits, the first time on record the total had been over a million dollars. The article noted the amount was more than double the \$495,000 in permits issued in 1964 and quadruple the amount of \$257,000 ten years earlier. After a single permit for a new high school in 1965 and the combined residential total, the motel industry came in third with \$200,000 in construction permits.<sup>87</sup>

This construction boom coincided with the popularity of a new building form for motels. By the mid-1950s, the separate cabins in a court had been abandoned in favor of a row of rooms under a continuous roof. In Jackson, the one-story motel building dominated the landscape until the early 1960s when the two-story form became more popular as motel properties expanded and adequately large building lots became more scarce. Both the one and two-story forms featured a pattern of alternating windows and doors, and exterior entrances for each unit. There was also a transition from the separate office building (often doubling as a communal lodge or the owner’s residence) to the attached dedicated office near the street frontage. Signage became more important and visually dominant in order to attract attention to the establishment in an increasingly competitive landscape. By the 1960s, motel patrons expected amenities such as swimming pools, playgrounds, and televisions.

Whereas Teton County had been somewhat isolated from the nationwide architectural trends in the first half of the twentieth century, the motels constructed in the 1950s and 1960s were not very different from their counterparts in other parts of the western United States. In the early 1950s, several Jackson Hole

<sup>84</sup> Daugherty: 198. It is the only commercial airport within a national park and operates under tight restrictions for noise abatement and architectural design.

<sup>85</sup> *The Jackson Hole Guide*: June 11, 1959.

<sup>86</sup> *Wyoming Hotel News* 3 (May 1964): 11.

<sup>87</sup> *The Jackson Hole Guide*: January 20, 1966.

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area motels were built with flat roofs in a decidedly Modern-style of architecture. The flat-roof motel became particularly popular in the area after the 1955 construction of the Jackson Lake Lodge, an International Style interpretation of the wilderness lodge in wood and glass. The Jackson Lake Lodge marked a NPS-sanctioned break from the National Park Rustic style within Grand Teton National Park. By the 1960s, the flat-roof was *de rigueur* as the two-story motel form evolved, although several examples have been subsequently remodeled to include a slope due to the heavy snow loads in the winter.

Despite national trends, the log cabin form was remarkably resilient in Teton County. Most of the Jackson Hole cabin courts that weathered the downturn in tourism during World War II continued in business, simply by changing their name from camp to motel; for example, the Bennett Auto Camp at the junction of US 22 and Broadway became the Bennett Motel and Service Station. Many name changes coincided with upgrades and expansions. The Karns Rooms & Cabins became the Pines Motel when Dale and Edith Karns added a motel building with integrated carports to the complex. Even the area hotels were not immune to the cabin court/motel trend. In the 1950s, both the newly renamed Richmond Hotel Motel and Crabtree Inn added a few cabins in the rear. The Crabtree building was later converted to retail shops in the late 1960s. The Wort Hotel advertised as the New Wort Motor Hotel in the 1960s.

Although the Hitching Post Lodge at the outskirts of town (460 E. Broadway) was a late cabin court entry in the business directories, the complex was a collection of older buildings including a 1925 lodge, a log barn, and several duplex log cabins. The Hitching Post Lodge was owned by the St. Jean family and later the Moyer family. The facility offered dude ranch activities such as horseback riding with “Hoss” Moyer, but also a swimming pool, picnic pavilion, and commodious bathroom additions to the log cabins. Cabin courts remained popular along the highways, for example Cottonwood Cabins and Y Bar B Lodge south of Jackson, Roger’s Point near the Hoback Junction, Kent’s and Medsker’s in Kelly, Holiday Ranch and Sportman’s Lodge in Wilson, and Gettings Cabins near Moran.

The themes of Teton County’s motel industry boom are apparent in the names of the various motels. Most early motels were named for their owners, for example Al’s, Anne’s, Huff’s, Lumley, Rogers, Wilson and Veneta Village. There was also suggestion of the branding conventions of the cattle ranchers: D & W (Driskell and Wiley), J & L (Joe and Laura Tomich), Circle A (Amshel family), Lazy G (Gunther/Greene families), and the 6 Bar K (Cleyo and Betsy Karns). In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the most common names for a new or remodeled (and re-branded) motel evoked the themes of the Old West: Antler, Anvil, Horseshoe, Outlaw, Pony Express, Rawhide, Sagebrush, Stagecoach, and the Western. References to the Native American culture were rarer: the Sleeping Indian in Wilson and the Hatchet Motel in the Buffalo Valley (both log architecture examples influenced by nearby dude ranches). The Red Rock, Green Mountain, Hillside and Buckrail preferred to use the term “lodge” although there was very little difference between them and the motels of the same time period. A few motel names acknowledged the growing importance of the ski industry, for example, the Snow King, the Alpine Lodge and the Skier’s Rest Motel. Others were geographical: Teton Motel and Cache Creek Inn in Jackson, and Togwotee Motel at the pass. Toward the late 1960s, the names became less “western”

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and more generally travel related: the Americana, the Grand Vu, the Vacationer, the Turquoise, and the Four Winds.

The first wave of motel construction in the early 1950s provided an aesthetic linked closely to the cabin court. The long low motel buildings had gable roofs and domestic-size multi-light windows. Most were frame buildings featuring combinations of log plank, board & batten, or other types of wood siding. The Rogers Motel had a base of log plank with a shingled top. The J & L Motel featured simple buildings, sheathed only in drop-novelty siding; however, Joseph Tomich’s adjacent service station was a modern stucco-covered block. The Lazy G Motel also had drop-novelty siding, but the office was embellished with log. The Circle A Motel, built in 1954, near the town square emulated false-front architecture. The use of brick as the primary material at the 6 Bar K Motel and Huff’s Motel was less common. The addition of a one-story building to an existing cabin court was also popular. Between 1955 and 1962, the Kudars moved the residence/office to the rear of the property and built a one-story motel building with an attached office sheathed in flagstone. The Gettings Motel located one mile west of Jackson on Highway 22 is another example of the evolution of form. In 1949, Guy Gettings, built a 1½-story lodge on the property, followed quickly by a one-story 16-unit motel building and a small service station. An L-shaped two-story motel building was added in 1971.

One of the first modern-style motels in Jackson was the Flame Motel, built in 1953 by Homer Richards on his Ideal Lodge property. The one-story building featured all the units integrated under one roof, with two rows of rooms placed back-to-back. The front office was two-stories tall with a manager’s residence on the second floor. The Flame Motel was completely clad in a random ashlar pattern of stone. The office portion featured the curved walls and flat roof of the Art Moderne-style. When the Flame Motel was built, Richards sold several of the cabins to the owners of the Snow King tourist/trailer court, and the moved cabins were reconfigured to form the Snow King Motel.

The Western Motel, built in 1955, two blocks south of the town center may have been the first completely two-story motel with the office on the main floor below a second floor unit.<sup>88</sup> Although two-stories in height, the L-shape building retains the cottage court appearance with a simple-gable roof. The motel originally featured stained plank siding on the primary elevations and painted wood siding on secondary elevations. In documenting the Western Motel, Michael Cassity made a distinction between the Motor Court (single story building) and the Motor Inn (two or more stories). Few facilities in Teton County used either term, probably reflecting the almost instantaneous adoption of the term motel after World War II.

With its strong local theme of the Old West, Teton County did not see the upswept roofs and geometric shapes that defined motel construction in many parts of the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. Commonly known as “googie” architecture, the futuristic style was influenced by the automobile culture, jets, and space flight. Modern touches in architectural style were relatively subtle in Jackson Hole; for example, the second D & W Motel built on Cache Street in 1955 was a one-story flat roof building with a modern roof fin to distinguish the office from the motel rooms. The “googie” style did

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find its way into some of the signage in the community, such as the Flame Motel's rotating sunburst or the stylized arrow pointing to the Getting's Motel; although most signage was much simpler, for example, the red ball at the Al's Motel or the Rawhide's longhorn. Michael Cassity used the term "populuxe" (popular luxury) to describe the dramatic flying gables of the late 1950s remodeling of the Wagon Wheel Village Motel office, restaurant and curio shop.<sup>89</sup> The two-story Parkway Inn, as built in 1965, featured a prominent A-shaped façade element, but the architecture was described as "attractive Swiss Alpine" rather than expression of modernism.<sup>90</sup>

The architecture of Jackson Hole's two-story motels built in the 1960s lacked elements of any particular style. Most were essentially rectangular blocks with open stairs to the balcony on the upper floor. The arrangement of rooms remained the same as the one-story motels, but large plate-glass picture windows became more common. The individual hotels were easily distinguished by signage, the shape of the attached office, lobbies (typically wood paneling with a stone fireplace), and a central lawn or swimming pool. Examples include the Rawhide (1964), Americana (1966), and the Vacationer (1966). The Stagecoach (1959) was an L-shaped wood-sided motel with both a one-story and two-story section. The one-story and two-story portions of the U-shaped Grand Vu Motel were built in two phases in the 1960s, but featured an integrated modern design with a prominent flagstone fireplace. The Turquoise (1965) was built with an unusual volcanic rock base, while its neighbor, the Four Winds (1966) was a concrete block building with a board & batten clad façade.

The story of George and Dorothy B. Wilson, owners of the Four Winds Motel, was representative of the family-owned motel business. Dorothy Bertganolli was born in Salt Lake City. As a young woman, she worked as a "cabin girl" for the E Bar B (later Camp Creek) dude ranch on the Hoback. There she met and married George Wilson, a hunting guide and lifelong resident of the valley. After working at Camp Creek for a time, the couple moved to Jackson and started the Four Winds Motel on Wilson family property. The strength of the Mom-and-Pop business model was so successful in Teton County that most motel operators in the area had no need to use referral chain services such as AAA. Even fewer belonged to franchise groups. In the 1960s, that changed somewhat when the Flame, the Grand Vu, and the Parkway were all Best Western operators. The Lazy G, which became the Prospector, was reportedly a member of the Motel 6 chain for a few years.

One of the exceptional motel projects of the period was the Virginian Lodge at 750 W. Broadway. The sprawling Virginian was built on over seven acres of open land on the west side of town in 1965. The owner Glen Napierskie named the motel for his wife Virginia, with a nod to the popular western television series loosely based on Owen Wister's 1902 novel. The original motel complex included 101 back-to-back units arranged in an O-shape around a courtyard pool with an opening at the northwest corner. At the time, the Virginian had double the capacity of the Wort Hotel. A series of additions in the early 1970s closed the northwest corner with a saloon, liquor store, and convention center. The fiberglass elk on the roof of the Virginian has been a landmark in Jackson for decades. The Virginian's iconic sign has been refurbished in the original style.

<sup>89</sup> Cassity, *Wagon Wheel Lodge*, Teton County Historic Site Form, 2005.

<sup>90</sup> *Jackson Hole Guide*, June 10, 1965.

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In 1965, the Virginian joined the Wort and the Flame on a short list of motels advertised as open during the winter in Teton County. By 1969, the list of “open all year” motels had expanded to include the Anvil, Jackson Hole Lodge, 6 Bar K, Antler, Sagebrush, and Americana Lodge.<sup>91</sup> Teton County’s increase in year round accommodations in the late 1960s coincided with the emergence of the area as a world-class ski destination. The Snow King Hill in Jackson had been attracting skiers for several decades, but with the exception of the modest Alp Horn Lodge “at the foot of the Snow King chair lift” few accommodations had been built specifically for the ski season tourist. That changed quickly after the Ramada Inn built a large complex in 1971. Meanwhile in the ranching community of Teton, renamed Teton Village, on the Moose-Wilson Road, the Jackson Hole Mountain Resort opened at Rendezvous Mountain in 1965. An aerial tram with a 100-foot clock tower/loading station was in use the following year, and by 1969 four multi-story ski lodges had been built: the Alpenhof, the Holton Inn, the Rendezvous, and the Sojourner Inn. The architecture of the Alpenhof was suggestive of a Swiss mountain lodge, while the Rendezvous skipped the architectural details in favor of advertising its amenities on the façade: “Rooms/Dorms, Restaurant, Beer Bar, Package Beer, General Store, and Art Gallery.” These Teton Village ski lodges were later joined within a few years by the Hostel, the Heidelberg, the Seven Levels Inn, Crystal Springs, and the Inn at Jackson Hole.

Although the motel as a form dominated the landscape of Teton County in the 1950s and 1960s, various publications suggest alternative, if rarer, options were available. The Cedar Lodge was an “11-bedroom tourist home” in the mid-1960s, perhaps a precursor to the Bed & Breakfast.<sup>92</sup> Teton County also had a number of campgrounds and trailer courts, such as the one affiliated with the Virginian and the B & B Trailer Village adjacent to the Six Bar K Motel. After 1950 the National Park Service was busy “clearing out” unused cabins and other structures from the expanded park. Throughout the history of the American West, log cabins had been frequently recycled as chicken coops, saddle houses, and tool sheds, but “in the case of lands purchased during the Rockefeller buyout, perhaps the most practical and profitable re-use was as tourist cabins.”<sup>93</sup> An unknown number of cabins were removed from the park and installed at other locations in the 1950s and 1960s, but it is unclear whether the cabins were converted to outbuildings, guest houses, vacation homes, or private residences. An example from Moran is currently located on east Kelly Avenue in Jackson. The log cabin is was one of several circa 1916 hunting-fishing tourist cabins moved from Moran when the resort was dismantled in the 1950s. Another example is the former Rustic Inn managed by Jack and Marge Kranenberg, which was moved from the Timbered Island area within the park to Aspen Drive in Jackson. It is interesting to note that the Kranenberg Construction Company was responsible for building many Jackson Hole area motels in the 1950s and 1960s.

Despite the rise of the motel, the dude ranch industry continued to exert an influence over tourism in Jackson Hole in the 1950s and 1960s. The Buckrail Lodge built in 1966 across the street from the Snow King Motel was close to the center of town, but the design hearkened back to the ranch era. The log

<sup>91</sup> “Dude Tips” brochure for 1963, 1967, and 1969. Teton County Research Center Vertical Files.

<sup>92</sup> “Wyoming Motels, Hotels, Dude Ranches, Outfitters, and Resorts, 1964,” Brochure, Teton County History Research Center. The five-unit Taylor Manor listed in the directory may have also been a tourist home.

<sup>93</sup> *Grand Teton MPS*: Section E, 40.

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plank motel building featured a wood boardwalk under the extended eave and faux log crowns visually dividing the units. The mature pines trees shelter a picnic area and most of the original buck & rail log fence. The Buckrail Lodge operates today as a base camp for tourist excursions.

The Wyoming tourism industry benefited from an abundance of western-themed programs on television and movie westerns in local theaters. Events such as the annual Dude Ranch Rodeo and the filming of the movies such as *Shane* in Teton County reinforced ranching in pop culture and lured many tourists to the area in the 1950s and 1960s. A list of members of the Jackson Hole Chamber of Commerce produced in 1958 listed 36 motels, 4 hotels, and 26 dude ranches.<sup>94</sup> It appears from other sources that only a handful of these operations would be classified as authentic dude ranches, but most offered some if not all of the elements of the dude ranch experience. In the 1950s, the appearance of the Dude-for-a-Day Ranch in the 1950s speaks volumes about the changing attitudes of the industry. The few new dude ranches chose western themed names such as Broken Arrow and Spotted Horse. In the 1964 statewide directory, many of the Teton County area ranches appear under the resort or outfitter headings, rather than as a dude ranch. As western-themed entertainment declined in popularity in the late 1960s, so did the dude ranch phenomenon. In Jackson Hole, the dude ranch industry did not disappear entirely, but the substitution of the term “guest” for “dude” in advertising marked a significant cultural shift.

In 1972, the federal government designated 24,000 acres of land between Yellowstone and Grand Teton as the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Memorial Parkway in honor of Rockefeller’s contributions to the national park system. The highway between Yellowstone and Jackson currently appears on road maps as the Rockefeller Parkway, which is an indication that as the tourism industry boomed in the Teton County, the old controversies and animosities surrounding the expansion of the Grand Teton National Park were forgiven. By the early 1970s, Teton County and Jackson Hole had been permanently enshrined as Wyoming’s premiere “Summer Paradise and Winter Wonderland.”<sup>95</sup>

### **Teton County Today (Post-Historic Context)**

During the past four decades, the tourism industry in Teton County has been supported by many mutually beneficial relationships between members of a remarkably diverse constituency: residents, business owners, ranchers, civic leaders, and government agencies. The county has a history going back more than a century of compromise and cooperation on nearly all issues related to the tourism industry and the opportunities and challenges it creates. Between 1970 and 1980, the population of Teton County nearly doubled from 4,823 to 9,355. The most recent census population of the county was 21,295 in 2010. Half of the growth has centered in the Town of Jackson, which grew from a population of 2,688 in 1970 to 9,577 in 2010. The 2010 census was taken in April during the off-season. It has been estimated that the population of Teton County increases by “52,000 in the summer months and by 5,000

<sup>94</sup> *Jackson Hole Guide*. February 13, 1958.

<sup>95</sup> “Wort Motor Hotel” promotional brochure circa 1965, Teton County History Research Center files.

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in the winter months” with part-time residents, seasonal workers, and visitors.<sup>96</sup> Many part-time residents have vacation homes in the area, but most are used as private retreats rather than promoting tourism. The most significant numeric fact is that each year Teton County plays host to between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 patrons to Grand Teton and Yellowstone National Parks.

Accommodation-related building activity in the 1970s and 1980s was driven by many factors: changes in ownership, expansion and remodeling, and the construction of new motels. The D & W Motel became the El Rancho and was taken over by the owners of the neighboring Anvil Motel. The Flame Motel became the Sundance Inn with little outward change, but after all but one of the old cabins had been removed. After some legal wrangling, the Ramada Corporation received the rights to the “Americana” name for the Americana Snow King Resort, which resulted in a rechristening of the family-owned motel on east Broadway to Golden Eagle Motor Inn with only minor changes to the motel’s iconic sign. After thirty years of ownership, the Tomich family sold the J & L Motel property. The new owners added a two-story building in 1989 and changed the name to Pioneer Hotel. The Pines Motel was replaced by the Painted Buffalo Inn in 1989. Its neighbor, the Jackson Hole Lodge was remodeled, and added new buildings and an indoor swimming pool between 1979 and 1988. The Parkway Inn expanded and remodeled in 1990s, swapping its Alpine-inspired A-frame for a Victorian cupola and an indoor pool.

The majority of new motels in the 1970s and 1980s were similar, though somewhat larger in scale than their predecessors. Examples near the Jackson town center include the Executive Inn (1972), Ranch Inn (1974), 49’er Inn (1980), and the Cache Creek Motel (1982). The Elk Refuge Inn was built on Cache Street in 1982 facing the Elk Refuge.<sup>97</sup> The Motel 6, built in 1979, on the west highway out of town, included four buildings surrounding a pool with a décor that was decidedly not western.

The saga of the Pony Express Motel is an illustration of the time-share concept in Teton County. The first Pony Express Motel was a one-story courtyard pool motel built in the 1960s on the corner of Millward Street and Pearl Avenue. In 1977, a two-story motel building was constructed across the street to the north and advertised as the new Pony Express Motel. By the late 1990s, the old Pony Express had been replaced by a bank and the new Pony Express had been converted to a timeshare now called Jackson Pines Resort. Meanwhile, at the west end of town, the Vacationer Motel was built in 1966 at the site of the Bennett’s auto camp at 1075 W. Broadway. The two-story Vacationer was a typical family-owned hotel of the period. Soon after the addition of a swimming pool and employee housing in 1979, the motel was converted to a timeshare by the Sweetwater Park Corporation in Utah. The conversion included adding kitchens to create two-bedroom condos. After the timeshare was dissolved, the subsequent owners have operated the property as a motel using the Pony Express name. The current Pony Express Motel has had success marketing its two-bedroom with kitchen units to families and other small groups.

<sup>96</sup> Jackson Hole Wyoming Chamber of Commerce website, accessed July 2013.

<sup>97</sup> A two-story commercial building built in 1966 on the same property has similar exterior access and room arrangements to a mid-century motel. Another motel-like commercial building is located at 35 W. Deloney (built in 1976).

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The popularity of condominiums has impacted a number of former motel properties. Sweetwater was also involved in the conversion of the Grand Vu Motel into the Town Center Resort. The office and stone chimney is still recognizable, but a second floor was added to the west building and both rows have been completely sheathed in new materials. In the late 1970s, the creek side Meadowbrook Lodge property was subdivided. The cabin court was replaced by condominiums. The current status of the Hitching Post Lodge on east Broadway is unique. The Hitching Post property was acquired by the Teton County Hospital District in 2001. The former cabin court now serves as an “employee and patient/family housing complex” for the St. John’s Medical Center down the street. Seven new two-story log cabins were added to the rear of the property. Although the swimming pool was filled-in, the lodge, the pavilion and the cabins have not been altered.

Many motel owners worked very hard to preserve the integrity of their property over the years. When the second floor of the Wort Hotel was destroyed by fire in 1980, the hotel was rehabilitated the following year using the same design and materials, although somewhat altered at the street level. The silver dollar bar top was salvaged and refurbished, and most of the interior finishes were reproduced. Around the time of the fire, the Wort Hotel stopped using the “motor hotel” phrase in their advertising. In 1988, the owners of the Anvil Motel experimented with having a youth hostel-type accommodation, called the Bunkhouse, in the basement of the motel. A fire nearly destroyed the Anvil in October 1990. The owners chose to rebuild in the same style and even in the same color, Navajo red. They kept the hostel in the basement, but reduced the number of main and second floor units by one to make each unit larger and add a Jacuzzi suite. The new décor was predictably “Western with pine furniture. Photographs of wildlife, cowboys and mountains will complement the theme.”<sup>98</sup>

During the past two decades, Teton County has been in the process of transforming itself from a handful of busy tourist towns into a glamorous resort destination. The metamorphosis is most readily apparent in the promotional materials produced by business groups. Although the Jackson Hole name is still prominent, the information is no longer printed on brown paper mimicking a nineteenth century newspapers, but now appears in glossy magazines featuring dining recommendations and gallery strolls. Civic leaders have worked to provide infrastructure and amenities to support tourism as the driver of Teton County’s economy. An example is the site of the Home Ranch Motel, which was transformed into a parking lot and Welcome Center in the early 1990s. The number of tourist accommodation facilities in Jackson Hole doubled between 1980 and 2010. The largest increase has appeared as franchise motel chains on the west highway and ski lodges at the two resort locations. Teton Village, in particular, has experienced tremendous growth. Half of the Bed & Breakfasts established in the past two decades have been in the Teton Village area. Despite what would appear to be a glut of new facilities, demand remains high, particularly during the summer when the nightly rates may be double the amount of the off-season.

In response to increased competition, Teton County’s historic motels have followed many alternative paths. A few have faded into obscurity. The Wilson Motel is now a private property, although with extant signage. The former Circle A Motel, in the heart of downtown Jackson now houses shops and a

<sup>98</sup> *Jackson Hole News*, July 7, 1988; May 1, 1991.

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Thai restaurant. Several motels have changed very little, but appear to have been adapted to long-term rentals, possible for seasonal workers, rather than overnight accommodations. Examples include the Pioneer, the Four Winds, and the Western. Another example is the Stagecoach Motel, which narrowly avoided the wrecking ball in 2007, likely due to the recent nationwide recession.<sup>99</sup> Others have not been so lucky. The list of demolitions in the past five years includes the Sagebrush, the Teton, the Flame (Sundance), the D & W #2, and Wood's (Huff's).

The remaining historic motels appear to be evenly divided between those that have changed very little and those that have experienced a complete makeover. The Kudar, Snow King, Rawhide, and the Buckrail Lodge, are a few examples in the first category. The historic portions of the Virginian Lodge have changed very little, but the facility added a second two-story building, a new restaurant, an RV park, and still has enough room on the property for tour buses. For others, the transformation has been more complete. For example, the Antler and the Six Bar 6 have new names and have been expanded and enveloped into a conglomerate of adjoining properties, one of which is the Cowboy Village, a representative of the resurgence of the cabin court. A smaller example is the Prospector Motel, which built a second floor addition in 1993, and is now the Miller Park Lodge. The Outlaw Inn demolished most of the old motel in 1987, and now operates as the Angler's Inn, although the Rogers old home is still in the rear.<sup>100</sup>

On north Cache Street, two historic motels have not only expanded their facilities, but lengthened their names as well. The Trapper Motel, a two-story motel block originally built in 1977, expanded once in 1990, and again in 2006. With the second expansion, the Trapper became the Lexington at Jackson, with new modernistic buildings and remodeling the old with a sheathing of wood, cobblestone, and corrugated metal. Further north, the site of the Wagon Wheel Village is still a cabin court, but a multi-phase upgrade that began in 2007, has transformed the motel into the Rustic Inn at Jackson Hole Creekside Resort and Spa, with amenities that John James and his first "tin-can" tourists could never have imagined. The last of the Wagon Wheel's historic cabins, which had been used for employee housing were demolished in 2012.

In Jackson, the recent development pressure on historic motel properties, is perhaps best encapsulated by the Teton Gables Motel, formerly known as the Gettings Motel on Highway 22. The motel is still accepting reservations, but the 1.40-acre parcel with three historic buildings is for sale. The asking price as of 2013: nearly 7 million dollars. Outside of Jackson, after a decade of decline, the A-frame cabins of the Camp Creek Inn were refurbished in 2004 and continue one of the few accommodation properties south of Jackson.<sup>101</sup> The Sleeping Indian in Wilson hasn't been a motel in forty years, but the Hatchet Motel on Highway 287 has been expanded as the Hatchet Resort. The most recent directories list ten guest ranches. Four names of historic dude ranches are on the list, including the Triangle X, Gros Ventre, Turpin Meadows, Trail Creek Ranch, which also advertises as a Bed & Breakfast. The Crescent Lazy H is now a subdivision, but a subdivision that won the respect of historian Jack Huyler because

<sup>99</sup> *Jackson Hole News & Guide*, April 25, 2007.

<sup>100</sup> *Jackson Hole News & Guide*, July 1, 1987.

<sup>101</sup> *Jackson Hole News & Guide*, July 14, 2004.

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“every dwelling must be log construction.” In the same breath, Huyler also laments: “Our valley is full to overflowing. Every additional home, no matter what style, in some way destroys what drew its owner here in the first place.”<sup>102</sup>

### Summary

Geology and climate created the landscape of Wyoming’s Teton County, but it took the human experience to endow it with “unspeakable grandeur.” Even while forced to eat horseflesh seasoned with gunpowder in the fall of 1876, the explorer G. C. Doane could admire “the great expanse of the valley, the winding silvery river and the resplendent deeply carved mountain walls.”<sup>103</sup> The homesteaders and ranchers struggled to make a living off the land, but most appreciated the beauty surrounding their endeavors. Over the years, countless residents learned they could make a living by sharing their love of the land with big game hunters, dudes, sightseers, campers, family vacationers, and jet-set skiers. They adapted their circumstances to provide accommodations for every kind of tourist in every way imaginable. Even today the community leaders are keen to attract new tourists. Events such as the Old West Days and the Jackson Hole Arts Festival have begun chipping away at the traditionally slow spring and autumn shoulder seasons.

The history of Teton County is a story of compromise between competing interests: agriculture, ranching, transportation, commerce, recreation, conservation, and the politics of land acquisition. In the 1920s, at the start of the tourism boom, Teton County was promoted as the “Last of the Old West” and exemplified by “a comfortable ranch or scattered settlements [and] mountain scenery of unspoiled beauty.” Because of the success tourist industry in Teton County, the human imprint on the landscape is much greater. The emerging challenge is to balance the interests of development and historic preservation. When the beloved Reed/Crabtree Hotel was too deteriorated to save in 1992, the building was reconstructed and continues to function as a commercial boutique. Twenty years later the iconic Flame Motel was razed and replaced by a parking lot. In Teton County’s continuing evolution from Old West to New West, the area’s historic tourist accommodations have played a key role.

<sup>102</sup> Huyler: 130, 133.

<sup>103</sup> Quoted in Daugherty: 41.

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## F. Associated Property Types

### Introduction

The task of defining property types for Teton County's various tourist accommodations can be daunting. The names used to self-describe a property may change over time and may not necessarily coincide with easily defined architectural categories. For example, an auto camp in the 1920s may use the term cabin court, but later use the term motel or lodge, with or without an accompanying remodel or expansion. A single property may include several associated types. For example, a motel-use property may contain an owner's residence used as an office or house guests, individual cabins, a modern motel building, signage, and a swimming pool. There are many similarities and crossovers between the different categories. A homestead-era log cabin may have been converted to a tourist hunting lodge and later housed vacationers visiting the national parks.

The following property types are grouped using common associative attributes and physical characteristics. The overarching associative attribute is usage. All of the resource property types are associated with a specific domestic use: buildings that provided overnight lodging to tourists. All property types will be defined by three sections: Description, Significance, and Registration Requirements. Descriptions of property types may also include buildings, structures, and objects that supported this function (e.g. motel offices, swimming pools, signage, dude ranch infrastructure, etc). Historic sites associated with this function have also been designated as a property type. This document does not specifically address building types that were tourist-related, but did not provide overnight accommodations (e.g. restaurants, gas stations, souvenir shops, etc.). However, these resources may be considered contributing as part of a multi-resource nomination under this Multiple Property Listing.<sup>104</sup>

The property types are presented loosely in chronological order, but the categories may span two or more historic contexts. Most of the property types have been grouped together based on characteristics of scale, spatial arrangement or plan, and setting. Many will share characteristics based on style, materials, or method of construction. For each property type, the common physical attributes are noted in the Description section. Because architectural context is linked with historic context, the description summaries may refer to associated historic contextual period where appropriate. The description section will also note which NRHP resource category is applicable (i.e. buildings, structures, objects, sites or districts, sites). Examples of each property type can be found within the appropriate historic context in Section E above.

Following the description summaries, a discussion of the potential Significance for each property type will be presented, based on the NRHP Criteria for Evaluation for the quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture:

<sup>104</sup> If additional survey work suggests that a sufficient number of these resources are extant, they may be considered in a future amendment to this form.

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- A.** That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B.** That are associated with the lives of significant persons in our past; or
- C.** That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D.** That have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.<sup>105</sup>

The majority of properties will be eligible for the NRHP under Criterion A for broad patterns of history and/or Criterion C for architectural significance. In some cases, research on individual properties may suggest eligibility for a tourist accommodation property that is also associated with a person who made significant contributions in Teton County, but this will likely be rare. Criterion D is most often used for archeological sites and will also rare under this Multiple Property Listing.

The section will also suggest a level of significance and areas of significance as defined by the NRHP. The significance of the majority of properties will be at the local, rather than the state or federal, level; however, research on individual properties may yield information about the property suggesting a broader level of significance. It is anticipated that all of the property types will fall within the NRHP area of significance for Entertainment/Recreation, defined as "The development and practice of leisure activities for refreshment, diversion, amusement, or sport."<sup>106</sup> The areas of Architecture and Commerce will also be widely used. Secondary areas of significance may include Agriculture, Community Planning and Development, Conservation, Exploration/Settlement, Politics/Government, and Transportation.

Possible periods of significance within the associated historic contexts will also be discussed. The period of significance for most properties will begin with the construction of the resource or when the resource was converted to a tourism use. The period of significance will most likely extend to the end of the historical period as defined by the NRHP or until the resource no longer functioned as a tourist accommodation.

The final section will outline the Registration Requirements for each associated property type. The requirements provide information that is helpful when comparing historic properties to understand how well a specific property illustrates the property type, how it relates to the associated historic contexts, and how it represents the areas of significance. The registration requirements will discuss the

<sup>105</sup> National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991): 35.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid: 40.

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anticipated qualities of historic integrity for each property type in terms of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The NRHP provides seven Criteria Considerations for properties typically not eligible for the NRHP.<sup>107</sup> Three of the consideration categories (B, E, and G) may be applicable to certain property types under this Multiple Property Listing and are discussed in the registration requirements where appropriate:

- B.** A building or structure removed from its original location but which is primarily significant for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
- E.** A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or
- G.** A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

Criteria Consideration B deals with the removal of a building or structure from its original location. Due to the systematic removal and relocation of tourist-related accommodations from within the boundaries of the national parks during the historic period, there is a very high likelihood that relocated resources are extant throughout Teton County. Criterion Consideration B may be used when considering a rare resource or one that continued a tourist-accommodation use after removal or relocation. Each candidate property will need to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. The *Grand Teton National Park Multiple Property Submission* documentation is an important source for the historic context of property types relocated from within the park's boundaries.

Examples of Criteria Considerations E and G would be extremely rare under this Multiple Property Listing. Criteria E may be considered in tandem with Criteria B for a property that may have been partially reconstructed in the process of relocation. Criteria G would likely be used only in the case of exceptional architectural significance. However, it is important to note that the draft *Historic Motor Courts and Motels in Wyoming* Multiple Property Documentation Form defines period of historic significance for automobile-related tourism that spans 1915 to 1975, more than ten years beyond the current 50-year cut-off for eligibility, and an acknowledgment of the continuing significance of tourist related accommodations in Wyoming's history.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid: 37. To see the full list of Criteria Considerations (A to G), please see page 37 of National Register Bulletin 16A.

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**Tourist Cabin**

Description

The tourist cabin is the property type that most closely embodies that ideal of tourist accommodations in Teton County and the earliest examples inspired many subsequent property types such as dude ranch cabins and roadside cabin courts. The physical attributes that define this property type are size, scale, method of construction, materials, style, and setting. The tourist cabin property type refers primarily to a single cabin in an isolated setting, rather than planned groups of identical cabins. The most important physical attribute is size. The majority of tourist cabins will be one-story, with only one or two rooms. These may include homestead/settlement dwellings for a single individual or small family, hunting lodges for small groups, or if an original tourist accommodation, cabins designed for single families or small groups sharing a room. Most will have simple gable roof, but the footprint may vary from square to rectangular with the door on either the narrow or wide end. It is anticipated that nearly all of the eligible resources under this property type will be built of log, but the method of construction will vary depending on original use, builder skills, and available materials. Round logs with simple notching will characterize the earliest examples, particularly those built originally as homestead dwellings or subsistence hunting cabins. Example of hewn or sawed logs may be found, but the tourist cabin type should be distinguished from larger, multi-room log resources such as roadhouses or lodges. Log planks or other types of wood siding may be found on later examples, but these resources will be similar to cabins in scale and plan.

Although these resources may be found throughout Teton County, the spatial relationship to the environment may be important to the setting of individual properties. Converted homestead properties may be in agricultural settings and have associated agricultural outbuildings. Hunting lodges will be in more mountainous areas and be isolated from other resources. Cabins originally designed for tourism may have been originally sited for scenic views and/or convenience. An eligible isolated tourist cabin may have been constructed primarily during the first three associated historic contextual periods presented in Section E. Relocations may have occurred within any of the four contextual periods.

Significance

Criteria for Evaluation: A, C  
 Level of Significance: Local  
 Areas of Significance: Entertainment/Recreation, Architecture, Commerce, Agriculture, Exploration/Settlement, Politics/Government, Community Planning and Development  
 Period of Significance: Based on the period the property offered tourist accommodations within the associated historic contexts: *The Settlement of Jackson’s Hole: the First Tourists and the First Hosts, 1883 to 1907; Last of the Old West: Hotels, Roadhouses, Resorts, and Dude Ranches, 1908 to 1928; Gateway to the National Parks: the Rise of the Roadside Accommodations (Cabin*

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*Courts & Motels) and the Decline of the Dude Ranch, 1929 to 1950;*  
*Welcome to Jackson Hole: the Modern Motel and Ski Lodge, 1951 to 1969*

The majority of tourist cabins in Teton County will qualify for listing at the local level of significance under NRHP Criteria A and/or C. The tourism usage will qualify under Entertainment/Recreation. Properties associated with homesteads may qualify under Exploration/Settlement and Agriculture. Cabins that had a hunting lodge usage may also qualify under Exploration/Settlement, if originally used by the owner at a subsistence level. Hunting cabins that were built as part of a more commercial hunting guide service may qualify under the Commerce area. The construction of tourist cabins may have a direct relationship to critical events such as droughts or depressions that forced homesteaders to offer tourist accommodations for economic stability. The establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 had an underlying influence on this trend through the historic period, but the 1929 designation and later the 1950 expansion of the Grand Teton National Park were pivotal events that had a direct influence on the significance of the tourist cabin property type.

With regard to eligibility under Criterion C, the tourist cabin is a building resource that will reflect vernacular architectural trends in form and materials for the historic periods they represent. Because of a high amount of individual variations, many eligible properties may be rare examples of a particular method of construction. The properties may be stylistic precursors to or examples of the Rustic-style of architecture.

### Registration Requirements

The history of Teton County suggests that this property type was common both inside and outside the boundaries of the national parks. Age, harsh climates, and federal policies encouraging the abandonment or removal of these resources have contributed to the scarcity of the tourist cabin property type in Teton County. The registration requirements for this property type should take into account the scarcity of this resource when determining eligibility. The property should be constructed within one of the associated historic contexts. The property should have an association with tourism in Teton County and have provided overnight accommodations within one of the contextual periods. Because this small-scale resource may lack distinctive component of a particular style, the property should retain the qualities of design, workmanship, and materials. Modifications to the building should maintain the feeling of the overall form and massing of the original building. Additions to the property, particularly those made in the historic period and/or to support the tourism usage (e.g. private bathrooms), should be evaluated on an individual basis.

Because it was common to relocate this property type throughout the historic period, leniency and flexibility with regard to integrity of location and setting may be considered. Individual properties will need to be evaluated to see if they qualify under Criterion Consideration B (e.g. a removal necessitated by the event of the expansion of the Grand Teton National Park). Properties relocated during the historic period and that continued use as an accommodation property represent important patterns of the history of tourism in Teton County.

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**Dude Ranch/Hobby Ranch**

Description

This property type differs from other tourist accommodation property types in two areas: setting and associated non-accommodation resources related to ranching. Ranching properties originally had substantially larger acreage than other tourist-related property types. Horseback riding, hunting, fishing, and other recreational opportunities may have occurred either on the ranch property or adjacent public lands. A location within a scenic area was central to the development of this resource. It is anticipated that eligible properties will include multiple resources. The tourist accommodation resources are typically present in a cluster or array of guest cabins. The cabins may be similar to the isolated tourist cabins, although the Rustic-style architecture will be deliberate, rather than produced by necessity. Log bearing cabins with simple corner joinery (e.g. saddle notching or false notching/box corners) are the most common type of buildings found at Teton County dude ranches. In contrast to vernacular buildings, the interior finishes and furniture were designed to create a “western” atmosphere. Other buildings that supported the functions of the dude ranch include a central lodge with a lounge (usually near a fireplace), a dining hall (either in the lodge or a separate building), large kitchen, and a bunkhouse for staff. In some cases, guests may have been housed in a lodge or a bunkhouse, rather than individual cabins. Outbuildings and other structures, such as barns, stables, and corrals, particularly for trail-riding horses, may also be present. Specialty structures such as swimming pools and picnic/dance pavilions could occasionally be found at more elaborate dude ranches. Large acreage properties may include elements typically associated with agriculture: hay derricks, silos, meadows, irrigation systems, fencing, etc.

A hobby ranch that has guest facilities may be considered a related resource within this property type category. The hobby ranch shared many of the physical attributes of the dude ranch, a scenic setting and ranching infrastructure. The architecture of a hobby ranch, mostly built for wealthy land owners, is typically a more exaggerated form of the Rustic-style and may be architect-designed. Overnight lodging for guests could be found either in a central lodge or in cabins.

Significance

Criteria for Evaluation: A, C  
 Level of Significance: Local, State, or National  
 Areas of Significance: Entertainment/Recreation, Agriculture, Commerce, Conservation, and Architecture  
 Period of Significance: Based on the period the property offered tourist accommodations within the associated historic contexts: *Last of the Old West: Hotels, Roadhouses, Resorts, and Dude Ranches, 1908 to 1928; Gateway to the National Parks: the Rise of the Roadside Accommodations (Cabin Courts & Motels) and the Decline of the Dude Ranch, 1929 to 1950; Welcome to Jackson Hole: the Modern Motel and Ski Lodge, 1951 to 1969*

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Dude ranches, also historically called tourist resorts, will qualify for listing at the local level of significance under Criteria A and/or C as representatives of the dude ranching industry in Teton County. Under Criterion C, a property may have architectural significance if the extant resources represent the dude-ranch rustic style. Examples will be eligible within the Entertainment/Recreation area of significance under Criterion A. Working ranches will also have Agriculture as an area of significance. Commerce may be included if the history of the property indicates “dude wrangling” was the primary business of the ranch. The dude ranch industry played an important role in the development of tourism in the American west. In Teton County and Jackson Hole, the dude ranch began as a response to the difficulties of making a living dependent on ranching in extremely harsh conditions. From modest beginnings, the industry evolved to cater to the expectations of wealthy, mostly eastern clients, who were “enamored with the western experience, expected rustic accommodations without the sacrifice of entertainment and some creature comforts.”<sup>108</sup> A few dude ranchers were heavily involved in promoting conservation efforts in Teton County.

The Grand Teton National Park MPDF separates hobby ranches and dude ranches by context. Hobby ranches are eligible within the Settlement context and dude ranches are eligible within the Tourism context. This document recognizes the possibility of overlap between these property types within a tourism context. Each included a ranching component, but while the dude ranch was primarily a commercial enterprise, hobby ranches were built for the enjoyment of the owners and non-paying family and guests. Anecdotal evidence suggests that a few ranches evolved from hobby ranch to dude ranch (and vice versa), sometimes, but not always, with a change in ownership. More importantly, wealthy hobby ranchers who offered hospitality and views of the Teton Range to their influential guests contributed to perception of Teton County and Jackson Hole as a desirable vacation destination.

### Registration Requirements

Examples of dude and hobby ranch property must date within the historic period and retain integrity of location, setting, materials, workmanship, design, feeling and association. It is not necessary for a property to include the original acreage, but a sense of the intended scenic setting is critical to the eligibility of representatives of the property type. As a ranching complex, some buildings and structures may have been demolished or altered, but these alterations would not eliminate a property from eligibility if the spatial layout of the guest facilities (accommodations and support resources) is discernable. The presence of extant buildings and structures that represent the ranching component would strengthen the significance and integrity of candidate properties. Hobby ranches would only be eligible if the history of the property suggests a pattern of providing guest accommodations, rather than only as a personal retreat. Criterion Consideration B may apply to relocated resources that continued an accommodation usage. The resource may be eligible if moved to another dude ranch, but if the relocated resource has been isolated from associated resources, but continued a tourism use, it may be more appropriate to consider the resource as a later example of the tourist cabin property type.

<sup>108</sup> *Grand Teton National Park*, MPDF: Section F, 83.

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**Auto Camp/Cabin Court**

Description

This property type category includes two related resources: the Auto Camp and the Cabin Court. Both are defined by the unifying attributes of a group of small cabins for rent located near the highway. The Auto Camp first appeared in the 1910s and was also commonly known as a tourist camp. The Auto Camp was typically a small informal arrangement of tents or cabins associated with a gas pump or general store. The Cabin Court evolved from the Auto Camp in the late 1920s and early 1930s as a more formal arrangement of cabins around a park-like space. Other historic names for this property type include tourist court, auto court, cottage court, or motor court. Many of the rental cabins in the Jackson Hole area were based on the vernacular log cabin and were similar to early tourist cabins; however, the architecture of the cabins became more codified as a rectangular simple-gable roof building with a sheltered entrance at the gable end. Although a few examples of frame cottage courts existed, the rustic log cabin court was more popular in Teton County. Builders used a variety of method to produce the desired effect: round logs, milled logs flattened at the top and bottom, and half-log siding. Extending the logs beyond the corners was a common way to create a picturesque silhouette. The duplex cabin was a variation on the architectural theme. One of the most important attributes of the Auto Camp or Cabin Court was the proximity of parking to each unit. The office (a converted residence or dedicated building) was typically located near the highway. Cabin Courts were frequently associated with gas stations and occasionally with cafés or restaurants. While the term “lodge” appears attached to this property type, only a few had buildings (mostly offices/residences) that were lodge-like. The majority of Teton County’s Auto Camps and Cabin Courts adopted the name “motel” in the later 1940s. Distinctive signage was an important landscape feature of this property type (contributing objects).

Significance

Criteria for Evaluation: A, C  
 Level of Significance: Local  
 Areas of Significance: Entertainment/Recreation, Commerce, Transportation, and Architecture  
 Period of Significance: Based on the period the property offered tourist accommodations within the associated historic contexts: *Last of the Old West: Hotels, Roadhouses, Resorts, and Dude Ranches, 1908 to 1928; Gateway to the National Parks: the Rise of the Roadside Accommodations (Cabin Courts & Motels) and the Decline of the Dude Ranch, 1929 to 1950; Welcome to Jackson Hole: the Modern Motel and Ski Lodge, 1951 to 1969*

The significance of this property type is closely related to the increase of automobile tourism in the first half of the twentieth century. In Teton County, the establishment of Auto Camps and Cabin Courts along major transportation corridors to the national parks may suggest significance beyond the local level. The areas of significance for this property type will include Entertainment/Recreation, Commerce, Transportation, and Architecture. The Auto Camps appeared primarily during the second associated historic context of this MPDF. The Cabin Court was popular through the third and fourth

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historic contextual periods. Candidate properties which have historic integrity and represent the essential physical and associative attributes of roadside accommodations (e.g. picturesque or rustic architecture, park-like landscaping and distinctive signage) are likely to have architecture merit under Criterion C. Auto Camps and Cabin Courts eligible under this Multiple Property Listing would likely also be eligible within the draft *Historic Motor Courts and Motels of Wyoming* MPDF.

Registration Requirements

While eligible property types in this category should retain as many qualities of historic integrity as possible, the qualities of location, setting, and design are most important. For example, a few camps and courts were similar to dude ranches in offering fishing, hunting, and horseback riding as amenities they can be distinguished from dude ranches by their locations along highways and lack of ranch infrastructure. Design and spatial arrangement was particularly critical to the Cabin Court, which sought to distinguish itself from the more informal Auto Camp. Modifications needed to maintain modern standards for the tourism industry, such as the installation of private bathrooms or a remodeled office, would not necessarily disqualify a property, as long as the essential attributes of the design and feeling are retained. A property where cabins have been replaced or augmented by a modern motel building would be representative of the later historic contexts only. Because there are known examples of cabin courts being disassembled and dispersed, Criterion Consideration B may be taken into account, particularly if the relocated cabins continued a tourist accommodation use within the historic period.

**Motel**

Description

The motel property type is the most ubiquitous and salient of the tourist accommodation resources in Jackson Hole and Teton County. It is anticipated that most of the eligible properties within this property type will be multi-resource properties that include a complex of one-story and/or two-story motel buildings, office, accessory structures, landscaping, and signage. The motel buildings will be the most prominent resources on the property. The motel building form evolved from cabins connected by garages or carports into a linear arrangement of rooms under a continuous roof. One-story examples can be found as a single row of rooms or in U or L-shaped configurations. A character defining feature of a motel will be a façade with a repeating pattern of doors and windows. There is typically a single door and window for each unit. The two-story examples are similar with the addition of covered balconies for exterior access and open staircases at the ends of buildings or sometimes centrally located. Structurally, the Teton County models are fairly evenly divided between frame, brick, and concrete block examples. Many are sheathed in a variety of contrasting materials, including brick, stone, and different types of wood siding. It is common to see more elaborate materials on the primary elevations. On the interior, the unit space is usually divided between a large sleeping area and a bathroom in the rear. Stylistically, there is a great amount of variety between the domestic-cottage aesthetic of the

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earlier examples and the more modern-style architecture of the later examples. The western atmosphere was usually evoked by names, signage, and interior finishes in the rooms and lobbies.

The majority of motel properties share specific physical attributes of location and spatial arrangement. Similar to the camps and courts from which they evolved, motel properties are typically along major transportation routes. The Town of Jackson has a few notable exceptions to this rule, but even the smaller motels tucked into the town's neighborhoods are only two or three blocks off the main highway. Office buildings and signage are prominently displayed near the street access. Early examples have a separate office building (sometimes incorporating the owner's residence or a lodge-like gathering place for patrons). The later examples are more likely to have office/lobby space incorporated into the original design at the end of one building. Parking was generally provided directly in front of the units. Motel properties may incorporate more urban landscape elements (benches, lighting, etc.) with areas clearly delineated for parking and recreation. For large properties, sidewalks are typically provided to direct circulation of foot traffic. Playgrounds, picnic areas, and swimming pools are part of the amenities associated with many historic motel properties. One of the most integral landscape features for a motel property is distinctive signage (object) that conveys a sense of the historic period.

Significance

Criteria for Evaluation: A, C  
 Level of Significance: Local  
 Areas of Significance: Entertainment/Recreation, Commerce, Transportation, and Architecture  
 Period of Significance: Based on the period the property offered tourist accommodations within the associated historic contexts: *Gateway to the National Parks: the Rise of the Roadside Accommodations (Cabin Courts & Motels) and the Decline of the Dude Ranch, 1929 to 1950; Welcome to Jackson Hole: the Modern Motel and Ski Lodge, 1951 to 1969*

The significance of this property type is closely related to the dramatic increase of automobile tourism in the middle portion of the twentieth century. More than any other accommodation resource in Teton County, the proliferation of motels along major highways coincides with increased visitation to the nearby national parks in the same period. This may suggest significance beyond the local level for some resources. Under Criterion A, the areas of significance for this property type will include Entertainment/Recreation, Commerce, Transportation, and Architecture. Motel properties were established in the third and fourth associated historic contextual periods for this Multiple Property Listing. With regard to Criterion C, while many motels were not designed to be architecturally distinctive, the combination of elements on the property (building style, office, landscaping, amenities, signage, etc.) was designed to catch a motorist's attention and convey "a sense of convenience, modernity, or luxury."<sup>109</sup> Properties that possess a distinctive and overall sense of the historic period in which they operated may have architectural significance. Motel properties eligible under this Multiple Property Listing would likely also be eligible under the draft *Historic Motor Courts and Motels of Wyoming* MPDF.

<sup>109</sup> *Historic Motor Courts and Motels in Wyoming*, MPDF: Section F, 31.

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Registration Requirements

In order for a property to be considered eligible under the motel property type, the resource must be built within one of the associated historic contextual periods and include one or more buildings that fit the traditional motel form as described above. As with the camps and courts property type, historic integrity in terms of a location with easy automobile access to main transportation corridors is important. Integrity of setting is important to the spatial arrangement of the resources within a motel property complex. Support buildings and landscape features are not necessary, but may strengthen the overall historic integrity of the property. Motel owners were encouraged to update their properties to keep up with industry standards; therefore modifications over time, particularly within the historic period, may reflect the development of the motel industry and would not necessarily disqualify a property. For this reason, integrity of materials and workmanship may be less important than other aspects of integrity.

Because the motel is an almost universally recognizable representative of type, the property should convey the feeling and associative attributes of a roadside motel. One or more extant historic signs (i.e. contributing objects) may contribute to the integrity of feeling and association for the property type, even when modifications have been made to the buildings. There may be late twentieth century examples of motel properties that meet Criterion Consideration G for exceptional significance, but the context for these properties has not yet been developed.

**Hotel**

Description

Because examples of the historic hotel property type in Teton County are extremely rare, it may be the most difficult property to describe using commonly understood physical characteristics and associative attributes. The first self-defined hotels in Teton County appeared during the settlement period, predating the automobile era by nearly a quarter of a century. Several of the earliest hotels were converted dwellings and overlap with the Residence/Roadhouse/Boardinghouse property type (see below). The most important physical characteristics of the hotel property type are those that distinguish it from the motel property type: interior corridors, integrated lobby and/or dining-lounge areas, lack of per-unit parking, etc. The European-inspired Wort Hotel and the rustic-style Jackson Hole Lodge provide rare examples of these physical characteristics from the mid-twentieth century.

In the late 1960s, the large-scale ski lodges built in Teton County would generally be considered hotels by modern standards, but because the ski lodge has its own set of associative attributes, for the purposes of this MPDF, the ski lodge has been described as a separate property type (see below). Historic sources, such as business directories and census records, indicate that the term "hotel" was used for a number of as yet unidentified resources; therefore, more research is needed in Teton County for this particular property type.

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Significance

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 Level of Significance: Local  
 Areas of Significance: Entertainment/Recreation, Commerce, Exploration/Settlement, and Architecture  
 Period of Significance: Based on the period the property offered tourist accommodations within the associated historic contexts: *The Settlement of Jackson’s Hole: the First Tourists and the First Hosts, 1883 to 1907; Last of the Old West: Hotels, Roadhouses, Resorts, and Dude Ranches, 1908 to 1928; Gateway to the National Parks: the Rise of the Roadside Accommodations (Cabin Courts & Motels) and the Decline of the Dude Ranch, 1929 to 1950; Welcome to Jackson Hole: the Modern Motel and Ski Lodge, 1951 to 1969*

The significance of eligible resources within the hotel property type will be highly individualized based on the associated historic contexts in which they operated. The areas of significance include Entertainment/Recreation, Commerce, and possibly Exploration/Settlement. Eligible candidates will likely be self-defined by the name “hotel” during the historic period, but may have physical characteristics that overlap with other property types. Architectural significance will need to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

Registration Requirements

Because of the lack of properties that share a set of common characteristics for the hotel property, the qualities of historic integrity as defined by the NRHP (location, setting, design, workmanship, materials, feeling, and association) will need to be evaluated individually for each candidate property. However, evidence of ties to the tourism industry within the historic period will be necessary for eligibility under this Multiple Property Listing.

**Rustic Lodge**

Description

The rustic lodge property type is a catch-all category designed to describe a number of properties that share common physical characteristics. The term rustic lodge is used in this MPDF for buildings that are larger than tourist cabins, but smaller than modern ski lodges. Rustic lodges were built primarily in the first half of the twentieth century. Natural building materials, such as log and stone, were commonly used and the style was either a vernacular rustic or influenced by the National Park rustic style. Depending on the scale, design, and method of construction, the lodge property type may have stylistically domestic architectural features and materials. A rustic lodge is typically only one, 1½, or two stories tall, but has more rooms than a cabin. The setting of a rustic lodge may be as a stand alone building, or as a contributing resource with another property type, such as a dude ranch, cabin court, or

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motel complex. In some cases, the rustic lodge did not have guest rooms, but was a support building, such as an office or dining hall.

Significance

Criteria for Evaluation: A, C  
 Level of Significance: Local  
 Areas of Significance: Entertainment/Recreation, Commerce, and Architecture  
 Period of Significance: Based on the period the property offered tourist accommodations within the associated historic contexts: *The Settlement of Jackson’s Hole: the First Tourists and the First Hosts, 1883 to 1907; Last of the Old West: Hotels, Roadhouses, Resorts, and Dude Ranches, 1908 to 1928; Gateway to the National Parks: the Rise of the Roadside Accommodations (Cabin Courts & Motels) and the decline of the Dude Ranch, 1929 to 1950*

The majority of rustic lodges will qualify for listing at the local level of significance under NRHP Criteria A and/or C. The tourism usage will qualify under Entertainment/Recreation and Commerce. With regard to eligibility the area of Architecture, under Criterion C, the rustic lodge is a building resource that will reflect vernacular architectural trends in form and materials for the historic periods they represent. Because of a high amount of individual variations, many eligible properties may be rare examples of a particular method of construction. Under Criterion C, the rustic lodge may also qualify as an example of the influence of the National Park Rustic style outside of the national park system. The 1929 designation and later 1950 expansion of the Grand Teton National Park were pivotal events that had a direct influence on the significance of the rustic lodge property type.

Registration Requirements

The registration requirements for this property type should take into account the scarcity of this resource when determining eligibility. The property should have an association with tourism in Teton County and have provided overnight accommodation or a support function within one of the contextual periods. The property should retain the qualities of design, workmanship, and materials. Modifications to the building should maintain the feeling of the overall form and massing of the original building. Additions to the property, particularly those made in the historic period and/or supporting the tourism usage should be evaluated on an individual basis.

There is evidence that smaller examples of this property type were relocated during the expansion of the Grand Teton National Park, so there may be some leniency with regard to integrity of location and setting. Individual properties will need to be evaluated to see if they qualify under Criterion Consideration B. Properties relocated during the historic period and that continued use as an accommodation property represent important patterns of the history of tourism in Teton County.

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**Ski Lodge**

Description

The Ski Lodge property type is a very specific building type that was constructed in Teton County in the late 1960s. Examples were built within the historic period in Teton Village (Jackson Hole Mountain Resort) with later examples at the Snow King area in Jackson. Although there are a few examples of motels and lodges near the ski areas, the ski lodge property type is characterized by a location near the ski lifts and a direct relationship to the ski industry. Size and scale are important physical characteristics since most ski lodges resemble large hotel or resort buildings (i.e. between three to seven stories in height). The ski lodges were built in the fourth historic contextual period. Stylistically, the buildings are distinct in the deliberate use of an Alpine style or Modern aesthetic (only subtly suggestive of a western theme) in architectural design. Materials were typically stucco or concrete with wood accents, in contrast to more recent examples of the resurgence of the rustic use of log and stone. Although many examples feature balcony areas, all of the guest rooms and support spaces are on the interior of the buildings. The spatial layout of a ski lodge is carefully planned to allow skiers and equipment convenient access to the slopes. In the Teton Village area, the buildings and landscape were part of a master plan design.

Significance

Criteria for Evaluation: A, C  
 Level of Significance: Local  
 Areas of Significance: Entertainment/Recreation, Commerce, Community Planning and Development, and Architecture  
 Period of Significance: Based on the period the property offered tourist accommodations within the associated historic contexts: *Welcome to Jackson Hole: the Modern Motel and Ski Lodge, 1951 to 1969*

The significance of this property type is closely related to the ski industry boom in Teton County in the 1960s. The primary area of significance will be Entertainment/Recreation. Eligible properties will have direct ties to the ski industry in Jackson Hole and the development of the ski resort areas. The ski resort areas include a number of historic resources related to the ski industry, but not accommodation related. A study and survey of Jackson's Snow King Ski Area was conducted in 2011 and determined that the area was eligible for the NRHP as a cultural landscape. It is recommended that a similar survey be prepared for the Teton Village area. The surveys would be useful in comparing and evaluating individual examples of the ski lodge property type for architectural significance.

Registration Requirements

Because the ski lodge is a newly eligible property type, it is reasonable to expect candidate properties to have a high degree of integrity in all seven of the NRHP qualities. A proximity to the ski areas is crucial

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to location and setting, but also contributes to the qualities of feeling and association. Integrity of design is important in not only providing access to the ski slopes, but to convey an association with winter sports in general (e.g. Alpine-inspired architecture). Modifications to the original design will have occurred outside of the historic period and must be evaluated carefully. Factors such as conversion to condominiums and off-season usage are common for this property type and will likely not impact eligibility.

**Residence/Roadhouse/Boardinghouse**

Description

The influence of the tourism industry in Teton County throughout the historic period can not be understated. The history of the area suggests that the seasonal influx of visitors was so large that residences were often converted to both short-term and long-term guest accommodations. No comprehensive study of this phenomenon has been conducted, so it is difficult to codify common physical characteristics for the various representatives of this property type. One example may be a settlement-era log dwelling converted to a roadhouse that sheltered tourists traveling by wagon along the Teton Pass. While another example may be a 1920s bungalow in the Town of Jackson converted in the 1930s to a boarding house to serve summer visitors to the national parks. The unifying attributes of this property type is associative based on usage and scale. This property type includes originally domestic buildings that were wholly or partially converted to tourist accommodations within the historic period. It is anticipated that the buildings eligible under this property type are larger than the one to two-room cabins described in the tourist cabin property type.

Significance

- Criteria for Evaluation: A, C
- Level of Significance: Local
- Areas of Significance: Entertainment/Recreation, Commerce, Transportation, Community Planning and Development, and Architecture
- Period of Significance: Based on the period the property offered tourist accommodations within the associated historic contexts: *The Settlement of Jackson’s Hole: the First Tourists and the First Hosts, 1883 to 1907; Last of the Old West: Hotels, Roadhouses, Resorts, and Dude Ranches, 1908 to 1928; Gateway to the National Parks: the Rise of the Roadside Accommodations (Cabin Courts & Motels) and the Decline of the Dude Ranch, 1929 to 1950; Welcome to Jackson Hole: the Modern Motel and Ski Lodge, 1951 to 1969*

The history of Teton County suggests that this property type was common yet it is difficult to identify due to the dual domestic usage of occupant and guest. The significance of eligible properties will be at the local level under Criterion A for an association with the pattern of Teton County residents supplementing their household income by taking in tourists seasonally, or in some cases, as a full-time

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business. The areas of significance may include Entertainment/Recreation, Commerce, Transportation, and, because most domestic buildings are part of larger land-use pattern, Community Planning and Development. The significance of the vacation home as a personal retreat has not been considered under the MPDF, but similar to the hobby ranch, if the use of a vacation home property was commercial in nature or promoted tourism beyond a personal retreat it may be considered. With regard to Criterion C, this property type was not originally designed for tourist accommodations, so while some resources may have architectural merit, the significance of the architecture would likely be evaluated outside of the context of this MPDF. It should be noted that properties in this category may be named within a broad spectrum of historic names, including but not limited to house, roadhouse, hotel, inn, lodge, tourist home, boarding house, and expedition base camp.

Registration Requirements

The following criteria must be met in order for a property to be considered eligible under the Residence/Roadhouse/Boarding house property type: linked to the tourism industry in Teton County, constructed and converted to tourist accommodation use within an associated historic period, and have historic integrity for the period of tourist accommodation use. Integrity in location and setting will be important in establishing patterns of need for accommodations in the development of Teton County. In order to convey a sense of domesticity, the property should have integrity of design, workmanship, and materials for the historic period of accommodation use. Modifications made to enhance or support the accommodation use may be acceptable if the alterations were made during the historic period or are compatible with the historic dwelling. Character defining features that contribute to the domestic feeling such as porches should be maintained.

Based on the history of the community, properties may be identified that fall under Criterion Consideration B for relocations, but unlike the tourist cabin property type, instances would be rare. The Reed/Crabtree Hotel is the only known example that may qualify under Criterion Consideration E. During the 1950s and 1960s motel building boom, the need for domestic accommodations fell dramatically; however, there may be exceptional examples that are early precursors to the bed & breakfast vogue of the late twentieth century that may be eligible under Criterion Consideration G.

**Site**

Description

The contexts developed for this MPDF recognize that tourist accommodation properties may be identified in Teton County for which there are no extant buildings, structures, or objects. A site may have no surface evidence of usage (e.g. expedition or auto camp) or may have ruins of historic buildings or structure (e.g. roadhouse or dude ranch infrastructure). Historic tourist campgrounds may also qualify as sites.

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Significance

Criteria for Evaluation: A, D  
 Level of Significance: Local  
 Areas of Significance: Entertainment/Recreation, Conservation, and Archeology–Historic  
 Period of Significance: Based on the period the property offered tourist accommodations within the associated historic contexts: *The Settlement of Jackson’s Hole: the First Tourists and the First Hosts, 1883 to 1907; Last of the Old West: Hotels, Roadhouses, Resorts, and Dude Ranches, 1908 to 1928; Gateway to the National Parks: the Rise of the Roadside Accommodations (Cabin Courts & Motels) and the Decline of the Dude Ranch, 1929 to 1950; Welcome to Jackson Hole: the Modern Motel and Ski Lodge, 1951 to 1969*

Sites present a potential resource group that may yield important information about the development of Teton County’s tourism industry. Although site properties associated with events or patterns of history may be identified in the areas of Entertainment/Recreation and Conservation (representing camping as a less environmentally intrusive form of accommodation), it is likely that most sites will be considered under Criterion D for significance in the area of historic (non-aboriginal) archeology.

Registration Requirements

Candidates for listing within this property type should be associated with tourism and related leisure activities within the historic period. In general, to qualify for registration, a site property should retain integrity of location, setting, feeling and association. Integrity of design may be considered, but materials and workmanship will likely not be an issue.

**Historic District**

During research for this MPDF, no potential historic districts were identified. However, it is important to note that a potential historic district, particularly within the Town of Jackson, would likely include at least one historic tourist accommodation property type as described above.

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## G. Geographical Information

The geographical area of this Multiple Property Listing/Multiple Property Submission (MPL/MPS) encompasses eligible properties within the boundaries of Teton County, Wyoming. The Town of Jackson is the county seat. Jackson is the largest and only incorporated community in Teton County. Smaller unincorporated historic communities within the county include Alta, Hoback, South Park, Teton Village, and Wilson. The historic community of Kelly is partially within the boundaries of the Grand Teton National Park.

This MPS excludes resources within the current boundaries of the Grand Teton and Yellowstone National Parks. These resources are covered by the *Grand Teton National Park* MPS (NRIS #64500738) and the *Yellowstone National Park* MPS (NRIS #6400741). A few resources moved from or otherwise loosely associated with historic communities currently within the park boundaries (e.g. Jackson Lake, Jenny Lake, Moose, Moran, etc.) may be eligible under certain criteria considerations. Approximately 97 percent of land within Teton County is publicly owned, but some private resources (e.g. summer cabins on leased forest service land) may be listed on the NRHP in partnership with public entities).

## H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

This Multiple Property Documentation Form was prepared at the request of the Teton County Historic Preservation Board (TCHPB). Because of development pressures on a number of historic motel sites, particularly within the town of Jackson, the TCHPB also requested an inventory of historic motels be conducted as part of the overall project objectives. Cultural resource forms were created for eligible properties that had not been included in previous documentation.

The Multiple Property Documentation Form was designed to fill a gap between the coverage between the *Grand Teton National Park* MPS and the *Historic Motor Courts and Motels in Wyoming* MPS (currently in draft form). The *Grand Teton National Park* MPS addresses many of the same contextual history and property types as this document, but is limited to the boundaries of the park. The *Historic Motor Courts and Motels in Wyoming* MPS provides a statewide context for "Automobile Related Travel Accommodations in Wyoming, 1915-1975," but includes only two property types: motor courts and motels.

This document is designed to be as inclusive as possible within the theme of tourist accommodations in Teton County. The period of significance extends from the original settlement in 1883, which includes pre-automobile tourism, to 1969 by which time the tourism industry had become a nearly full time activity with the firm establishment of the ski industry. The majority of resources eligible under this Multiple Property Listing will be associated with the rise of automobile tourism associated with the

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National Parks between the 1920s and the 1950s. The historic contexts were based on recreational travel and activity patterns, and changes in the lodging industry throughout the period of significance.

The field documentation and archival research portions of this project were conducted in the spring of 2013. Research for this document was conducted primarily at the Jackson Hole Historical Society Research Center in Jackson, and the Wyoming State Archives in Cheyenne, Wyoming. Other repositories consulted included the Teton County Library, the Wyoming State Library, the Wyoming Historic Preservation Office, and the University of Wyoming’s American Heritage Center in Laramie, Wyoming. The primary historical records for identifying historic tourist accommodations in Teton County were the Wyoming state business directories, telephone books, and promotional travel brochures. Historic photographs, postcards, and land records were also used. Several good local histories of Jackson Hole have been produced that span the late nineteenth and early twentieth century development of the area.

No comprehensive survey of historic resources has been completed in Teton County. The TCHPB provided the surveyor with a list of 116 historic sites deemed historically or architecturally significant within the county boundaries. The property types identified in this document were culled from previous survey work within the county, primarily the fourteen properties currently listed on the NRHP and the survey work of Michael Cassity. The NRHP properties were listed between 1979 and 2003, and represent a wide range of property types. Of this number, two listings, the Wort Hotel (NRIS #99001507) and Flat Creek Ranch (NRIS #01001428), are property types included in this MPDF.<sup>110</sup> Three others have more indirect ties to the tourism. Between 1997 and 2005, Michael Cassity documented and evaluated seventy-eight properties within Teton County, which included an excellent representative sample of property types. Nineteen of the properties surveyed could be categorized as motel or cabin court property types. Another eight properties were associated with the hunting cabin and dude ranching industries. The methods of identification, evaluation, and documentation for this project were similar to previous surveys. Resources included land ownership and tax records, directories, promotional materials and postcards, historic photographs, census enumerations, newspaper articles, interviews, and local histories.

Because the scope and budget of this project was limited, the objectives of the individual survey portion focused on identifying and evaluating examples of “roadside” tourist accommodations, which tend to have more development pressures than the other more isolated property types. The first step was to produce a master list of roadside tourist accommodation sites from directories and other historical records. This list was instrumental in identifying sites that had changed names, remodeled, or had been demolished over the years. From this list, extant properties were selected for individual research and field documentation. This list included cabin courts, motel courts, rustic lodges, and a few early examples of modern motels. Information on other property types, such as residences, boarding houses,

<sup>110</sup> There are currently fifty-seven NRHP listings in Teton County. There are thirty-seven listings within the Grand Teton National Park and six in the south half of Yellowstone National Park. The Jackson Lake Lodge in Grand Teton National Park is also listed as National Historic Landmark, as are the Madison Museum and Old Faithful Inn in Yellowstone. NRIS refers to the National Register Information System.

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hotels, isolated tourist cabins, dude and guest ranches, and modern ski lodges, was gleaned from previous surveys and other anecdotal sources. It is assumed that future survey work will concentrate on more comprehensive identification and evaluation of these property types.

The registration requirements for significance and historic integrity in this document were developed using the existing *Grand Teton National Park* MPS and the *Historic Motor Courts and Motels in Wyoming* MPS documents as a guideline. The criteria for eligibility are based on guidelines developed by the NRHP, the WYSHPO, and the recommendations of the Teton County Historic Preservation Board (see Introduction to Section F above). The historic context and period of significance for each candidate property will be defined based on the particular history of the property.

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