1987

Yellowstone National Park| From a tale to an act, 1804--1872

Michele Meyer

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YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK
FROM A TALE TO AN ACT - 1804-1872

By

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Yellowstone National Park tourists today view a preserved wilderness and abundant wildlife with great pleasure. This area was protected because of a few people who, as early as 1865, suggested the area be set aside as a National Park. Some of these prescient people took part in the Washburn-Doane-Langford Expedition of 1870.

Exploration of the area began in 1806. The trappers, like John Colter and Jim Bridger, came first for beaver hides; then came the prospectors who tried to find gold, like Walter W. Delacy; and finally, the explorers. The Washburn-Doane-Langford Expedition's purpose was probing the wilderness while surveying the land. The party entered the Yellowstone plateau from the Montana territory and traveled south toward Yellowstone Lake. They were not the first white men to explore this region but their combined efforts and later surveys led, two years later, in 1872, to the creation of the first National Park in the world. Credit for originating the idea has been bestowed upon many people.

Yellowstone is a myth and a symbol; a myth due to its Garden of Eden and "steam heated by friction" reputation, and a living symbol of the natural world. It is also the first important victory of a new-born conservation movement that started, according to the legend, one evening on September 19, 1870, when Cornelius Hedges declared that the Yellowstone plateau should be "set apart" and reached its goal on March 1, 1872, when President Ulysses S. Grant signed the Yellowstone National Park Act.

The description of sixty-six years of the history of Yellowstone and of the Washburn-Doane-Langford exploration expedition is analysed through the use of primary documents, journals, diaries, letters, reports, newspapers and magazine articles. In this thesis, the main focus is the journal of Nathaniel P. Langford and the reactions and conclusions he drew from his journey into the Yellowstone wilderness.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART I - Early Knowledge and Exploration of the Upper Yellowstone Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography of the Area</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Indians</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Trappers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Prospectors</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Folsom-Cook Peterson Expedition</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART II - The Washburn-Doane Expedition</strong></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation of the Expedition</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyond the Ranges</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians and Guard Duty</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reaching the Wonderland</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellowstone Lake</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everts Is Lost</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Faithful--A Close Encounter with the Land of Geysers</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Down the Madison River to Virginia City and Helena</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART III - Creation of the First National Park - Yellowstone</strong></td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The Dudes . . . were back&quot;</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printed Information on the Yellowstone Region</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hayden Expedition of 1871</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The National Park Idea</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Months of Beehiving</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART IV - Study of Nathaniel P. Langford's Diary</strong></td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FOOTNOTES

Part I .................................................. 84
Part II ................................................... 87
Part III .................................................. 92
Part IV .................................................. 95

APPENDIX A - Maps and Sketches ......................... 97

APPENDIX B - Legislative ............................... 117

BIBLIOGRAPHY ........................................... 120

APPENDIX A

Map 1 - Samuel Lewis Engraving from Clark's map . 97
Map 2 - Clark's manuscript map ......................... 98
Map 3 - Visits of Trappers, 1835-1839 ............... 99
Map 4 - Bridger-De Smet map .......................... 100
Map 5 - Father De Smet's map ......................... 101
Map 6 - DeLacy and Ream Parties ..................... 102
Map 7 - DeLacy's manuscript map, 1865 ............... 103
Map 8 - Route of the Folsom party .................... 104
Map 9 - Revised Delacy's map ......................... 105
Map 10 - Route of the Washburn party ................. 106
Map 11 - Lt. Doane's manuscript map .................. 107
Map 12 - Enlargement of Lt. Doane's map .......... 108
Map 13 - Routes of Hayden parties .................... 109
Map 14 - Route of the Barlow party .................... 110
Map 15 - General Land Office manuscript map ....... 111
Smith's Night Guard .................................. 112
Pvt. Moore Sketch, Tower Fall ....................... 113
Yellowstone Wonder .................................. 114
Castle Geyser cone .................................. 115
Meteorological Observations ......................... 116

APPENDIX B

The Organic Act ....................................... 117
PART I

EARLY KNOWLEDGE AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE UPPER YELLOWSTONE REGION

A fragmentary knowledge of the Yellowstone region was recorded by the explorers, trappers, missionaries, and prospectors of the period from 1805 to 1869. Such information was often discredited, yet provided the enticement for more fruitful exploration.

Aubrey L. Haines

Geography of the Area

Yellowstone National Park encompasses a plateau in the Rocky Mountains between the Gallatin Range, to the north, and the Teton Range, to the south. This geologic formation, situated in the northwest corner of Wyoming, contains beautiful and mysterious curiosities—non-stop volcanic activity and abundant wildlife. The Yellowstone Park Act of March 1, 1872, set aside this area for the pleasure of and use by future generations of visitors. Headwaters of three major rivers—the Snake, the Madison, and the Yellowstone—and of the smaller Gallatin originate from the plateau. The Continental Divide separates the numerous streams of cold
and hot water of the park. Some 5,000 hot springs, hot pools and streams, and 150 geysers occupy three areas of the plateau. John Muir said that Yellowstone was a "big, wholesome wilderness on the broad summit of the Rocky Mountains."

On the south side about midway of the prairie stands a high snowy peak from whence issues a stream of water which, after entering the plain divides equally, one half running west and the other east, thus bidding adieu to each other; one bound for the Pacific and the other for the Atlantic Ocean.¹

The central portion of the plateau is covered by dense forests where numerous lakes shine, united by the streams and rivers mentioned above. These protected curiosities may be regarded as a field for scientific research, a vast laboratory in which one can observe Nature at work. The different areas of the park will be detailed in the second part, during the exploration made by the Washburn party in 1870.

Delimited in 1872, the park covered about 3,344 square miles. On March 30 1891, Congress extended federal protection to the Yellowstone National Park Timber Reserve, and in December, 1897, to the Teton Forest Reserve.

The Indians

The Washburn-Doane Expedition was not the first expedition to explore the Upper Yellowstone area and its wonders. Indians, trappers, traders, Jesuit missionaries,
prospectors and other exploration parties had previously explored the area. The geographer, David Thompson, who traveled on the Missouri River with the Mandan Indians from December 29, 1797, to January 10, 1798, determined from their descriptions the situation of the source of a river he recorded as being called the "Yellow Stone." Later, during the 1804-06 expedition across the American continent, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark mentioned the same name and the existence of a "considerable fall." The report sent to Thomas Jefferson was the first official description of one of the wonders of the river that Clark reported under its French name, "Roche Jaune," and the translation they gave to it: "the Yellow Stone." Clark later crossed out the mention of the fall and wrote a "NO" showing that he did not believe what the Indians had told him about the area they and other tribes had visited.

The Indians had known the Upper Yellowstone valley for centuries. The region was, in fact, more a travel corridor than a place to settle for both the Natives and the early trappers. Snow covered the mountains for three-fourths of the year and the big game—herds of bison and elk—ranged principally outside the actual Park boundaries. Consequently, men and animals usually only migrated through the "Burning Mountains." The geysers and hot springs were really a magic place for the Indians, and the fact that they did not describe
them to the white men does not mean that they were too frightened of the volcanic activities to visit them. Colonel Philetus Norris, second Superintendent of the Park, a man who discovered considerable evidence of the presence of Indians and white men in the Park area, found some old aborigine potteries that originated in the Mississippi Valley.⁵

The Upper Yellowstone was originally occupied by the Crows (Absaroka), the Blackfeet (Siksika), the Bannocks (Panai'hti), the Eastern Shoshones, and the Sheepeaters (Tukuarika). The Shoshones, who had been forced into the mountains by other tribes in the region, were also called "les dignes de pitié" by the French trappers. This tribe lived within what is now Yellowstone Park or close to its actual boundaries. Lieutenant Doane wrote in his report:

Appearances indicate that the basin [of the Yellowstone Lake] had been almost entirely abandoned by the sons of the forest. A few lodges of Sheepeaters, a branch remnant of the Snake tribe, wretched beasts who run from the sight of a white man, or from any other tribe of Indians, are said to inhabit the vastnesses of the mountains around the lakes, poorly armed and dismounted, obtaining a precarious subsistence, and in a defenseless condition. We saw, however, no recent trace of them. The largest tribes never enter the basin, restrained by superstitious ideas in connection with the thermal springs.⁶

The other journals of the Washburn-Doane Expedition also mentioned old Indian trails throughout the area.
Earlier, in 1863, Captain John Mullan, who supervised the construction of the Fort Walla-Fort Benton Road, reported to the War Department on February 14:

I learned from the Indians, and afterwards confirmed by my own explorations, the fact of the existence of an infinite number of hot springs at the headwater of the Missouri, Columbia, and Yellowstone Rivers, and that hot geysers, similar to those of California, exist at the head of the Yellowstone.

The Trappers

The first recorded white man to visit the Yellowstone region was John Colter. He became a legend during his lifetime, but was subsequently forgotten for nearly a hundred years. One of the first civilians to enroll in the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-06, this Virginian—often compared to Daniel Boone—hunted for the benefit of the many men of the expedition. This primary duty gave him the opportunity to explore the country adjacent to the principal route of the expedition.

On the way back to civilization, the Lewis and Clark party met two trappers, Joseph Dixon and Forest Hancock, with whom Colter trapped along the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers.

In the evening [August 14, 1806] we [Clark and Lewis] were applied to by one of our men, Colter, who was desirous of joining the two trappers who had accompanied us, and who now proposed an expedition up the river . . . the example of this man shows how easily men may be
weaned from the habits of civilized life to the ruder but scarcely less fascinating manners of the woods.9

He then spent the winter of 1806-07 alone, exploring the Sunlight Basin.10 While descending the Yellowstone to the Missouri River, Colter encountered the Lisa and Drouillard Expedition with which he stayed until 1810 before he returned to St Louis where he remained some time. There he gave Clark valuable information on the different places he had visited. His travels appeared on Lewis and Clark's map of 1814, under the name of "Colter's route in 1807."11 (See maps 1 and 2, Appendix A.) He finally settled on a farm at the mouth of the Big Boeuf Creek near Charette, Missoula, where he died of jaundice in November, 1813.

William Clark's map presents some valuable information because it shows not only Colter's route and the principle lakes and rivers, but also the Bannock Indian trail that connected the Idaho plains with the Wyoming Basin and the Yellowstone Valley. The precise location and size of the lakes, for example, verify the presence of the trapper in the area during the cited year. Yet Clark did not include on the map the geysers or hot springs Colter must have mentioned to him, perhaps because these were too unbelievable for the American people of the early nineteenth century. Moreover, Clark had no visible proof or documentation to authenticate this part of the terra incognita.
Many people who visited the territory mentioned in letters written to families the Upper Yellowstone area and its incredible features. They also reported stories narrated by hunters, mountain men, trappers, and miners. One example exists in a letter written by Daniel T. Potts to his brother, Robert, on July 8, 1827, from Sweet Water, Utah. This letter is the earliest written description of the Yellowstone Lake and its immediate surroundings:

On the south border of this lake is a number of hot and boiling springs, some of water and others of most beautiful fine clay resembling a mush pot, and throwing particles to the immense height of from 20 to 30 feet. . . There is also a number of places where pure sulphur is sent forth in abundance.  

Warren A. Ferris, a clerk from the American Fur Company, was the first tourist to visit the Yellowstone and the first to use the word "geyser" in his descriptions of the thermal movement of the earth. This special trip encouraged him to satisfy his curiosity resulting from the stories he had heard by "more than twenty men." He camped two days, from May 18 to May 20, 1834, in the Upper Yellowstone. His report remains one of the first factual descriptions of the Yellowstone region.

I immediately proceeded to inspect [the springs], and might have exclaimed with the Queen of Sheba, when their full reality of dimensions and novelty burst upon my view, "the half was not told me." . . .The geysers of Iceland, and the various other European springs, the
waters of which are projected upwards, with violence and uniformity, as well as those seen on the head waters of the Madison, are invariably hot.15

The following year, an easterner from Maine entered the region. This man who spent nine years as a professional trapper in the northern Rocky Mountains with the Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company answered to the name of Osborne Russell.

Russell traveled at least five times into the park area between July 28, 1835 [his first visit to the region] and 1839 (see map 3). He then returned to the plateau in August 1836 under the command of Jim Bridger. This beautiful piece of nature cast a spell on him. He wrote in his journal, during his last trip to the Upper Yellowstone Valley:

[Summer of 1839] At length we came to a boiling lake about 300 ft. in diameter forming nearly a complete circle as we approached on the South side. The steam which arose from it was of three distinct Colors . . . [the Grand Prismatic Spring, in the Midway Geyser Basin] Whether it was something peculiar in the state of the atmosphere the day being cloudy or whether it was some chemical properties contained in the water . . . I am unable to say and shall leave the explanation to some scientific tourist who may have the Curiosity to visit this place at some future period.16

Jim Bridger also visited the head waters of the Yellowstone River many times during the twenty-eight years he spent in the north of the Rocky Mountains.17 It is said
that, as hunter and guide, he had no equals. Born in Richmond, Virginia, March, 1804, "Old Jim" soon left his native state to seek adventure on the frontier where he worked as early as 1822 for the Rocky Mountain Fur Company as a "free" trapper. He was soon recognized as a leader among his fellow companions and a "resident partner" in the Fur Company. One of his nicknames then was "the Old Man of the Mountains" He was not yet thirty.

A born topographer, Bridger made a lot of discoveries and was able, "with a buffalo skin and piece of charcoal," to map out any region he had explored—from the Great Salt Lake to the wonders of the Yellowstone River. James Gemmell, a trapper who went with Bridger on a trading expedition to the Crows and Sioux in 1846, reported to Wm F. Wheeler, a former United States Marshall for Montana, about their journey in the Three Tetons, the Upper and Lower Geysers Basins, and Mammoth Hot Springs:

In [August] 1846 I started from Fort Bridger in company with old Jim Bridger . . Leaving our main camp, with a small and select party we took the trail by Snake Lake (now called Shoshone Lake) and visited what have a late years become so famous as the Upper and Lower Geysers Basin . . . the Yellowstone Lake . . . the Upper and Lower Falls, and the Mammoth Hot Springs, which appeared as wonderful to us as had the geysers.
Most, if not all, of the reports of the trappers of the first half of the nineteenth century were too unbelievable for their contemporaries, so they carried the name of "trappers' tales." Captain Reynolds, who hired Bridger as a guide during the first Government expedition to the Yellowstone region in 1860, explained this phenomenon of storytelling in his report "showing that it was comprehensible that [such men] should beguile the monotony of camp life by 'spinning yarns' in which each tried to excell all others, and which were repeated so often and insisted upon so strenuously that the narrators came to believe them most religiously."22 Four of the tales about the region in question were most certainly originated by Bridger himself. Reynolds recorded two of them: the story of the petrified forest where "all is stone, . . . and more wonderful still, these petrified bushes bear the most wonderful fruit—diamonds, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, etc., etc., as large as black walnuts are found in abundance"23 and the "steam-heated-by-friction."24

Other travelers profited from Bridger's knowledge. One of them, the Jesuit Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, met him in September, 1851, at Fort Laramie where the great treaty council concluded a treaty ending over thirty years of war parties.25 The experienced trapper provided the missionary with an outstanding map that showed the streams and their headwaters in the Yellowstone vicinity (see map 4). Father
De Smet then later added some names and details to the original map while he was traveling in the region (see map 5). He also described the thermal features in a letter to his superiors:

Near the source of the river Puante [Stinking Water, now called Shoshone River] . . . is a place called Cotler's Hell. . . . This locality is often agitated with subterranean fires . . . Bituminous, sulphurous and boiling springs are very numerous in [the very heart of the Rocky Mountains] . . . between the sources of the Madison and Yellowstone . . . the earth is thrown up very high, and the influence of the elements causes it to take the most varied and the most fantastic shapes. Gas, vapor and smoke are continually escaping by a thousand openings, from the base to the summit of the volcanic pile; the noise at times resembles the steam let off by a boat.²⁶

The Prospectors

A new category of people headed to the area north of "wonderland" starting in the spring of 1863. Thousands of Americans, suddenly taken by a strange fever, had in mind one name—Alder Gulch—and one dream—Gold.²⁷ Soon after their arrival, the miners explored a wide part of the territory including the headwaters of the Madison, Snake, and Yellowstone Rivers. They would often start their journey in large numbers—thirty or more—splitting into smaller groups each heading in different directions. One such group—at least composed of fifteen men—followed the bed of the South Snake River to its headwater (see map 6). Their commander was another Virginian, an engineer and
surveyor, with West Point training, named Walter W. De Lacy (also written DeLacey):

On the 9th [September] we continued our journey . . . we reached the head of a small stream, the water of which was hot, and soon entered a valley or basin, through which the stream meandered, and which was occupied on every side by hot springs. They were so thick and close that we had to dismount and lead our horses, winding in and out between them as best we could. The ground sounded hollow under our feet. . . . There were hundreds of these springs, and in the distance we could see and hear others, which would eject a column of steam with a loud noise. They were probably geysers, and the boys called them "steamboat springs." No one in the company had ever seen or heard of anything like this region, and we were all delighted with what we saw.28

Using his knowledge, De Lacy drew two maps of Montana: the first in 1865 (see map 7), for the creation of the Territory, and the second in 1870 with the help of two men that we shall talk about later.

The Folsom-Cook-Peterson Expedition

This expedition to the headwaters of the Yellowstone River was a consequence of the growing interest in the area and of many articles published in the Helena Daily Herald. It was composed of David Folsom, Charles W. Cook, and William Peterson. To explain this unusual number, it is necessary to go back to 1865 when the Bozeman Trail was reopened to the emigrants willing to settle in Montana Territory. The Sioux Indians tried to prevent the emigrants
from using the trail because of the continuous misbehaviours of the White invaders. The Indians hampered the already settled pioneers' activities—such as mining, trapping, and farming.

Governor Thomas F. Meagher armed "territorial volunteers" starting in 1867 after John Bozeman was killed by Indians. The volunteers patrolled the northern side of the Yellowstone region and secured it relatively well, so another expedition was organized the same year. The following advertisement from the Virginia City newspaper, *Montana Post*, June 29, 1867, announced:

Organized. The expedition to the Yellowstone country mentioned a short time since, is now organized. . . .(It) will be gone some three weeks and will go up the river as far as Yellowstone Lake. As a number of gentlemen have expressed a desire to join the party, we refer those to Gen. Thoroughman who will be at that city on Monday, and will give desired information. Parties here, who have the leisure to make this fascinating jaunt can ascertain particulars from Judge Hosmer or T. C. Everts.

The initiator of the project unfortunately died before the scheduled departure of the expedition and the project died also. The interesting point of the message is the last name given in the advertisement—T. C. Everts—for this man would be one of the members of a later and very important expedition: The Washburn-Doane Expedition that would take place in 1870.
Charles W. Cook had first thought of reaching the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Madison Rivers in 1868. But the season was too advanced into winter and the journey was postponed. The following summer, the Helena Herald published the following article:

A letter from Fort Ellis, dated of the 19th, says that an expedition is organizing, composed of soldiers and citizens, and will start for the upper waters of the Yellowstone the latter part of August, and will hunt and explore a month or so. Among the places of note which they will visit, are the Falls, Coulter's Hell and Lake, and the Mysterious Mounds. The expedition is regarded as a very important one, and the result of their explorations will be looked forward to with unusual interest.30

Following this, Cook and his friends prepared to join the expedition, but after a trip to Helena, Cook found out that nobody was interested when the military escort was cancelled due to the Indian menace and a shortage of troops. Therefore, the three men decided to go alone.

The enterprise was suicidal, according to other friends, but the explorers wanted to see with their own eyes whether or not the numerous rumors of the volcanic activities were true. They left Diamond City, forty miles from Helena, September 6, 1869, over-equipped and over-armed, with the crowd shouting, "Good-bye, boys, look out for your hair," "If you get back at all, you will come on foot," etc.31 All were good shots and knew how to live in
the wilderness, but they might have travelled lighter, for they brought with them a repeating rifle, Colt six-shooters, an axe, five pairs of blankets, pans, 175 pounds of flour, 25 of bacon, a ham, 10 pounds of salt, and many other items on two pack horses. In addition, they drove their three riding horses.

They reached the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River on the 21st (see map 8). Cook reported: "I sat there in amazement, while my companions came up, and after that, it seemed to me it was five minutes before anyone spoke."

Then, they visited the Yellowstone Lake, hot springs, [West Thumb], crossed the Continental Divide, and arrived in the Lower Geyser Basin. They camped on October 1 on White Creek, above the Great Fountain Geyser that astonished them and where they took their hats off, as they marvelled at "the setting sun shining into the spray and steam drifting towards the mountain [which] gave it the appearance of burnishing gold, a wonderful sight" as Cook recalled. After a visit to the Excelsior Geyser in the Middle Geyser Basin, they returned safely to Helena on October 11, 1869. There, they found it difficult, and often impossible, to explain what they had seen.

Nathaniel P. Langford, member of the following expedition, wrote in his diary:

On his return to Helena he [Folsom] related to a few of his intimate friends many of the incidents of this journey, and Mr. Samuel T. Hauser and I invited him to
meet a number of citizens of Helena. . . . There were so many present who were unknown to Mr. Folsom that he was unwilling to risk his reputation for veracity, by a full recital, in the presence of strangers, of the wonders he had seen. . . . But the accounts which he gave to Hauser, Gillette, and myself renewed in us our determination to visit that region during the following year.32

Most of the American magazines, like the New York Tribune and Harper's, refused to publish the account of their adventures. It was finally accepted by the Western Monthly Magazine of Chicago, and published in the issue of July 1870.

The Folsom-Cook-Peterson Expedition did not open the valley to the tourists, nor did it originate the creation of the Park. The three men, although respectable, did not have enough influence or authority to publish their achievements at a national level. Their exploration was very successful because they shared the same desire to overcome any obstacle, natural or human, and their mutual curiosity led them, by chance, to explore almost all the unusual curiosities of the Park. They measured the height of the falls, the depth of the Grand Canyon; they made accurate remarks about the hot springs and pools, among other wonders. If they tried to find gold, they never mentioned the results of their research in their diaries since they understood very early that Yellowstone was a very special place that ought to be preserved from grasping hands. In
that matter, they were the precursors to the Washburn-Doane Expedition that would follow the subsequent summer.
PART II
THE WASHBURN-DOANE EXPEDITION

I think a more confirmed set of skeptics never went out into the wilderness than those who composed our party, and never was a party more completely surprised and captivated with the wonders of nature.

Cornelius Hedges

Until 1869 people only knew Yellowstone from some trappers or explorers' narrations. Only a few westerners displayed real curiosity toward Yellowstone and its vicinity. By 1852, the Expansionism Movement opened the Americans' minds to new visions of the West. After hearing about the Manifest Destiny (1845), they thought they had a particular destiny given by God to expand and occupy the whole continent, a western wilderness that was wrapped up with American identity. The newly-opened territories changed rapidly, due to the always coming settlers—a well-advertised frontier where cheap land and untouched and plentiful resources awaited the first to arrive—men scanning the plains and valleys not in search of gold or silver, but for pastures and fields.
Closely following the expansion of Last Chance Gulch, later named Helena, and other mining camps, ranches and farms increased in number. When the bison disappeared, they were replaced by cattle and sheep. These changes led to the creation of new towns, roads, and irrigation systems. The "taming" of Montana wilderness was on its way. Better knowledge of the territory became quickly necessary to eliminate all "terra incognito" and provide land for everybody.

Shortly after his return from Yellowstone, David Folsom, who had some surveying experience, went to work in the Helena office of the newly appointed surveyor-general of Montana Territory, General Henry D. Washburn. The office assistant was another civil engineer, Walter De Lacy. Together, they revised De Lacy's "Map of the Territory of Montana" in order to show the new towns, routes and trails built since 1865 and also to present the Yellowstone vicinity more precisely, including a tracing of the Cook-Folsom-Peterson Expedition route. "The map," explained Cook's son-in-law, "indicates more accurately than can all the historical writings of the early days the actual knowledge that the outside world had of the Yellowstone Park region prior to the exploration of the Washburn Expedition in 1870."
Preparation of the Expedition

The lucid and articulate reports of Folsom, Cook and Peterson added to the geographical information of De Lacy's map which served to stimulate interest in the heretofore rumored wonderland. In the spring of 1870, two leading citizens of Helena appealed to General Winfield S. Hancock, Commanding Officer, Department of Dakota, for a military escort for a projected Yellowstone exploration party.

One of these men, Nathaniel P. Langford, famous for his part in the vigilante days of 1863 and 1864 in the territory, later wrote that he "indulged, for several years, a great curiosity to see the upper valley of the Yellowstone." As a result of his urging, a group was formed, "determined to make the journey."^3

The revised map (see map 9) came off the press in time for the Washburn party (see map 10). Before the group left Helena, Folsom made the "definite statement to General Washburn that he hoped to see the Government step in and prevent private settlement"^4 in the Yellowstone region, emphasizing Cook's wish to keep the public out of this fascinating country.\(^5\)

The group was composed of General Henry D. Washburn, 38, Surveyor-General of Public Lands for Montana Territory and a former Major General in the Union Army who used his influence to obtain this post in the hope to restore his war-ravaged health; Nathaniel Pitt Langford, 39, unofficial
"Governor of Montana"; Samuel T. Hauser, 37, President of the First National Bank of Helena and a civil engineer by training; Cornelius Hedges, 39, a struggling partner of the law firm of Lawrence & Hedges, and a correspondent for the Helena Herald; Warren C. Gillette, 38, a merchant of the firm, King & Gillette; Truman C. Everts, 54, former assessor of Internal Revenue for Montana Territory; Walter Trumbull, 24, his assistant, and the son of Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois; Benjamin F. Stickney, 32, of the mining and freighting firm of Plant, Stickney & Ellis; and Jacob Smith, 40, "late of the Montana Hide and Fur Co.," last engaged, and whose particular fate would be to excite Langford's animosity, according to the diaries.

The party was completed by Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane, 30, who entered the Civil War in the California Hundred and afterward joined the postwar regular army to become a frontier officer. His detail consisted of Sergeant William Baker and privates John Williamson, George W. McConnell, William Leipler, and Charles Moore, the artist of the party. There were also two packers, Elwyn Bean and Charles Reynolds, two black cooks, "Nute" and "Johnny," and a dog, Booby.

All departed from Fort Ellis on August 22, 1870, to the Yellowstone region. The expedition made an extensive and thorough exploration of the geysers, hot springs, and
towering falls. The unique wonders of the plateau were at last officially reported in detail by men with a solid reputation in Montana. Their connections with the Internal Revenue Department had helped them to establish this reputation, specifically for Langford and Hauser. What must be pointed out is that the 1870 party remained a big, well-publicized operation formed by a group of politicians, tax gatherers, lawyers, merchants, surveyors, bankers, career officers, even by gamblers, and no authentic explorer or mountainman really used to the wilderness of the Rocky Mountains. Perhaps the hint of danger and a possibility of making money and getting national publicity caused them to give up their comforts for six weeks. All knew each other as a friend or through business, and most of them were Masons. 6

One man, Langford, wanted future generations to remember him as the prime mover and defender of Yellowstone. He had registered for the expedition in 1869 but cancelled his participation, like the other members, when the Indians were threatening the area. So, when the three "middle-class citizens" came back safely from the journey he had dropped out, he must have felt piqued. On his own authority, he interviewed Major General Winfield S. Hancock in St. Paul, in the spring of 1870, outlining the exploration expedition. He required a military escort, with the result that the Commander of the Military Department of Dakota "showed great
interest in the plan of exploration" and assured his visitor that when the time would come, he would provide the necessary men "if (they) were needed." 7

The expedition was barely organized when, once again, word was received that the Crow Indians were uneasy, and the old fear of raids on the Upper Yellowstone River and into the Gallatin Valley reduced the group from twenty braves to eight tenacious men. The escort was now essential 8 since James Stuart, the famous mountainman and Indian fighter, who was invited along, was unable to accompany the group.

Beyond the Ranges

The estimated time of the departure was 9:00 a.m., Wednesday, August 17, 1870, from Washburn's office on Rodney Street in Helena; but, according to Hauser's diary, three packs fell off the horses after 300 yards and a second packer had to be found immediately to manage the uncooperative animals. They finally left by 4:00 p.m. At that time, Benjamin Stickney was "right" and a news item in the Helena Herald reported that "several of the party" rode on to Nick Greenish's half-way House for the night and "were 'under the weather' and tarried in the gay Metropolis until 'night drew her sable curtain down,' when they started off in search of the expedition." 9 Already some of the men realized that sitting daily at their desks had not prepared them for the outdoor life. "Didn't sleep at all," Hedges entered in his diary, "dogs bothered."
The weather was cool, and the scenery promising with the mountains in the background covered with snow; but the gentlemen's attention focused mostly on "down to earth" problems. "Dismal day of dust, wind and cold." Hauser identified two of the people who had celebrated their last day in Helena as Benjamin Stickney and Jake Smith. Langford remembered the dexterity of the two packers:

There are but a few of our party who are adept in the art of packing, for verily it is an art acquired by long practice, and we look with admiration upon our packers as they "throw the rope" with such precision... most of them [our ponies] quietly submit to the loading.

Hedges also noted that the pack train, with the experienced packers, had passed them by. He also entered in his diary on many occasions notes like:

Didn't sleep at all... I felt sore and was glad to rest. (Thursday 18th) Very tired—took some whiskey and felt better. (Thursday 25th)... Very tired and hungry. (Tuesday 30th) Woke by water running into our bed—prospects gloomy enough—felt double disgust, feet wet, clothes wet. (Sunday 18th)

The party rode into Bozeman the following day. There, they were invited to a last "civilized" dinner. "All had white collars but self, much embarrassed," Hedges felt. "There were nine pretty rough looking men to come into the presence of three fine ladies," Gillette noticed, but the evening was
a success. Later, the gentlemen met with the officers from Fort Ellis.

On Sunday, August 21, they finally reached the fort. The army furnished them with:

... two extra saddle horses, and five pack mules for the transportation of supplies. A large pavilion tent was carried for the accommodation of the whole party, in case of stormy weather being encountered; also forty days' rations and an abundant supply of ammunition, [for the detachment] ... a saddle horse apiece, and nine pack animals for the whole outfit; they were provided with one aneroid barometer, one thermometer, and several pocket compasses, by means of which observations were to be taken at different points on the route.¹³

Once the limited escort joined the party, it gave a semi-official character to the expedition. The first days, they followed the route the Folsom party had taken the previous year.

The weather was fine; the air invigorating; all were cheerful, and each face betrayed that curiosity and expectation, which almost everyone feels when entering upon a new field of adventure. Our course lay to the east, over Bozeman Pass; which will necessarily be the route of the Northern Pacific Railroad, if it goes anywhere in that vicinity.¹⁴

**Indians and Guard Duty**

The men saw a few Indians, the number of whom varied according to the narrators; three for Trumbull, the 22nd; many Indians for Hedges, observing them as if they wanted to steal the party's horses, the 23rd; several of them for
Doane, the same day; but the acme of imagination came from the journal Langford wrote: "To-day [August 23rd] we saw our first Indians as we descended into the valley of the Yellowstone. . . there were one hundred or more of them watching us from behind a huge butte as our pack-train passed up the valley."15

The members of the expedition quickly organized the pattern of their duties for the days and nights:

A night-watch was established; which was maintained throughout the entire trip, in order to keep the Indians from breaking the Eighth Commandment. . . . During the day the party traveled in detachments. Three hunters kept several miles ahead; next, were two skirmishers in front of the main body; and a half-mile farther back, came the main body itself, together with the pack-train.16

Almost every man had lived in Montana for at least five years, and had mourned friends or relatives killed by Indians. Washburn, for example, had lost all his belongings during his travel up to the territory he was to survey. Therefore, they were very cautious. Smith, on the contrary, did not believe in the night guards—"[he was] disgusted at prospect of standing guard."17 In his defense, this forty-year-old man was a newcomer from the jungle of New York.

Jake Smith has sent the first demoralizing shot into the camp by announcing that he doesn't think there is any necessity for standing guard. Jake is the only one of our party who shows some sign of baldness, and he
probably thinks that his own scalp is not worth the
taking by the Indians. 18

There was obviously a mutual and almost total ill feeling
between Langford and Smith. The first often repeated that
they should not have taken with them the second who, he
said, could "burn more and gather less wood than any man he
ever camped with," while the former New Yorker called the
former vigilante "the Yellowstone Sharp." 19 (See also the
sketch Trumbull made of Smith's night watch in Appendix A.)

The third day on the route, they "followed the old
Indian trail, leading up the left bank of the Yellowstone...
... The view was exceedingly fine ... [and they] camped at
the north of the canon, where the Yellowstone issues from
the mountains. Above that point there is no open country,
until you reach the basin of the great lake." 20 They ate
very well that night, their table supplied them with
gathered and big game, and fish "caught ad libitum in the
afternoon," 21 Doane wrote in his report. The fish, he
added, were always very abundant in the form of trout whose
"flesh is of a bright yellow color on the inside of the body
and of a flavor unsurpassed." 22

Doane, the soldier, had lived most of his life in the
new territories, Oregon, California, and Montana. He
participated in the Civil War and in the Indian Wars. At
Fort Ellis, he had a good relationship with the Crows, but
he knew the value of prudence. He explained the necessity of the night watch in his report:

Guards were established here during the night, as there were signs of a party of Indians on the trail ahead of us, all the members of the party taking their tours of this duty, using, in addition, the various precautions or lariats, hobbies, etc., not to be neglected while traveling through this country.23

The next day, they followed a rough trail high above the river, passed "a singular formation which [they] named 'The Devil's Slide.'" There they discovered recent marks of an Indian camp but didn't see any Indians. However, they saw "numerous specimen of petrified wood, but no trace of fossils."24 They also found remnants of a mining district. A "gentleman got a pan of dirt from one of the holes, and succeeded in panning out two nuggets, evidently from different gulches, their combined value about $8."25

Beforehand, this dangerous statement could have started another gold rush, as it would seem so easy, from this phrase, to dig and make a fortune quickly. The three members of the Folsom party had the necessary tools for prospecting, but none of them mentioned if they used them, which was safer for a future preservation of the area.

Reaching the Wonderland

The nineteen men reached the future boundaries of the actual Park on August 26. Following the south side of the
Yellowstone, they soon emerged upon an "immense, rolling plateau extending as far as the eye could reach," fully supplied with ponds, lakes, groves of pines and aspen. They discovered a canyon, the Black Canyon. "Standing on the brink of the chasm the heavy roaring of the imprisoned river comes to the ear only in a sort of hollow, hungry growl, scarcely audible from the depths, and strongly suggestive of demons in torment below," wrote Doane, "grand, terrible . . . an empire of shadows and turmoil." The "weird and deceptive appearance" of the canyon was only noticed by the travelers through the difficulties of the trail they had to overcome. They soon separated; and Lieutenant Doane, Private Williamson, and Mr. Everts rode ahead of the party to find the second of two trails across the mountain, later called Mount Everts. They were lucky enough to find the Bannock Trail which led them to Tower Falls. The following day, as Doane was scouting the area, he found the first hot springs and a beautiful waterfall.

At the mouth of Hot Spring Creek [Tower Creek] we found a system of sulphurous and mineral springs . . . many of them were highly sulphurous, having in fact more sulphur than they could carry in solution, and depositing it in yellowish beds along their courses. . . . In the basin we found a large petrified log. . . . Nothing can be more chastely beautiful than this lovely cascade, hidden away in the dim light of overshadowing rocks and woods, its very voice hushed to a low murmur unheard at the distance of a few hundred yards.
When the rest of the party joined the camp, they looked exhausted and sore, and all decided to remain one more day in this "Camp Comfort" as Everts called it. They caught four big trout, killed a deer and spent the time as usual, writing and playing cards. Some of them "went down to explore and measure the falls," Langford figured it at 105 feet, Hauser, 115 feet, and Gillette, 113 feet high. Back at the camp, Hedges wrote in his diary: "I thank God for creating such scenery and again for permitting my eyes to behold it."

The eighth day Lieutenant Doane was in no condition to break the camp. Since the departure from Fort Ellis, he had been suffering from a deep-seated inflammation in his right thumb. He had spent the night walking back and forth in front of the campfire, a wet bandage around his arm to subdue the "infernal agonies."

Before the departure, the gentlemen had to take care of another patient, the dog Booby. His feet had become so sore that two pairs of moccasins were cut for his paws. They "took trail in southerly direction right up the mountain," Gillette wrote, following an old Indian trail.

All had heard the tales about the region and were skeptical as to appearances. So, when they saw their first "column of steam, rising from the dense woods to the height of several hundred feet," they thought it was a fire. Doane reported that:
... conviction was forced upon us. It was indeed a
great column of steam, puffing away on the lofty mountain
side, escaping with a roaring sound, audible at a long
distance even through the heavy forest.

A hearty cheer rang out at this discovery and we
pressed onward with renewed enthusiasm.24

They climbed a mountain to their right and named it Mount
Washburn. The view from the summit was "beyond all adequate
description,"30 and Doane needed several pages to report the
variety of the panorama. Washburn used less space: "the
country before us was a vast basin. Far away in the
distance, but plainly to see, was the Yellowstone Lake."
While they were admiring the landscape, they measured the
elevation of Washburn's peak with the aneroid barometer.
The estimation of its height varied according to the
diaries. Doane entered 9,966 feet, Langford, 9,800 feet,
Hauser found 10,700 feet, and Gillette, 10,579 feet. The
summit, in fact, reaches 10,243 feet.

They descended the mountainside and found a mineral hot
springs basin they called Hell-Broth Springs, known today as
the Washburn Hot Springs. These malodorous and boiling
springs inspired Hedges to write an article for the Helena
Daily Herald a year later. Three miles further, the
explorers reached "a dense growth of small timber on the
brink of the Grand Canyon." Then they returned to the camp.

That night, Smith nearly burned everyone out by setting
fire to a dead pine to warm up the night guards. Yet,
Hedges "enjoyed it hugely. Easiest night (he had) had on guard." Of course, this was not Langford's opinion.

Lieutenant Doane's journal presents a most complete factual description of the vicinity they explored and of the many measures the members of the expedition took. Langford's diary, in contrast, emphasizes the human side of the expedition and often dramatizes the area as if it were a bit of hell:

Toiling on our course down this creek to the river, we came suddenly upon a basin of boiling sulphur springs exhibiting signs of activity. . . . We were impressed with the idea that this was a most perfect realization of Shakespeare's image in MacBeth . . . and at an imminent risk of sinking in the internal mixture . . . I hurriedly secured the coveted prize of black sulphur, and rolled back to a place of safety.31

The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone

During the two last days of August, they returned many times to the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone to admire it and measure its falls. Langford measured the Upper and Lower Falls and found 115 feet for the first, and 320 feet for the second. Lieutenant Doane at the same time descended the canyon to some hot springs along the river. This nine-hour-long exercise increased his pain, and he had to gallop from one spring to another to find moisture for the bandage on his arm. "Following this canon kept me away from water so long that the pain became insupportable," he reported.
I abandoned my horse, and have no distinct recollection of how I got to the water's edge, but presently found myself with my arm up to the elbow in the Yellowstone a few yards below the foot of a graceful cascade. In a few minutes, the pain becoming allayed, I proceeded to explore the locality.32

All the diarists described the canyon and the falls. Even Hauser, who never presented the Nature lover's character, wrote that the Upper Falls were "probably the prettiest in the world." Only Smith quickly announced that he had seen everything, and went hunting, obviously blind when the others were "all overwhelmed with astonishment and wonder at what (they had) seen, and (they felt) that they (had) been near the very presence of the Almighty."33

On September 1, they left the Cascade ravine, followed the river and passed over Alum Creek, which they named. The early trappers reported anecdotes about it. Bridger liked to tell that one day he had found the creek, and, on his way back to the camp a small distance away, he noticed that his horse's feet had shrunk and the animal could scarcely hobble along. He then found out that the cause was the alum-saturated water.34

Looking for a place with good grass for the night camp, they arrived in the Hayden Valley surrounded by low hills with thermal activity two or three miles above the Mud Volcano which was revealed by the Folsom party. In the evening, the gentlemen discovered that their silver watches
were no longer silver but presented a "greasy pinch back yellow" aspect, due to the gasses in the atmosphere of the spring, reported the always curious and watchful Lieutenant Doane. He also wrote that "occasionally an explosion was heard like the bursting of heavy guns behind an embankment, and causing the earth to tremble for a mile around."34*

They remained there one more day.

The Mud Volcano was hyperactive when Cook, Folsom and Peterson saw it; but nowadays it has lost its strength. Langford pointed out this fact in his journal. He called the geyser "the greatest marvel we have yet met with."

General Washburn and I again visited the mud volcano [sic] to-day [September 3]. I especially desired to see it again for the one especial purpose . . . of assuring myself that the notes made in my diary a few days ago are not exaggerated. No! They are not!35

Later, Langford could not understand why F. V. Hayden, an eminent geologist had not mentioned it in his survey the following year; then Langford returned there in 1872 and the omission was explained:

. . . I saw the volcano in its changed condition. The loud detonations which resembled the discharges of a gun-board mortar were no longer heard, . . . and the upper part of the crater and cone had in a great measure disappeared, leaving a shapeless and unsightly hole much larger than the former crater . . .36

This excursion nearly ended up in a tragedy. Langford was walking on the margin of a spring when General Washburn
noticed a sudden cracking under his companion's feet. His shout of alarm saved Langford from a dive into a boiling alum spring.

Yellowstone Lake

Meanwhile, the main party moved up the east bank of the Yellowstone River and reached the shore of Yellowstone Lake. Lieutenant Doane was in a worse physical condition each day from his infected thumb. Consultation was held, which resulted in Langford operating on the felon. He used the pommel of his saddle to sharpen his pocketknife. Doane wanted to be chloroformed, but Langford, not familiar with it, was afraid to assume the responsibility of giving it. Hedges and Beam held the arm and the surgeon of a night plunged the blade, "thrusting down to the bone, and had ripped it out to the end of the thumb." The lieutenant reported that "Mr. Langford performed the operation in a masterly manner, dividing thumb bone and all; an explosion ensued followed by immediate relief." They applied on the wound a poultice of bread and water, and the lieutenant took a nap of thirty-six hours, from which he awoke much recovered.

Since the camp could not be moved, everybody welcomed the rest. Gillette built a raft to explore an island, but the wind blew all day, and the raft did not survive one hour in the waves. Walter Trumbull apparently was the first
person to describe Yellowstone Lake as a human hand.

Its shape resembles a broad hand of an honest German, who has had his forefinger and the two adjoining shot off at the second joint, while fighting for glory and Emperor William.39

On September 5, the party left the camp and resumed their trip. They decided to go around the lake by its east side, with only Hauser and Smith voting against that direction. By evening of the following day, they camped in a grove of pines. Hedges mentioned in his journal that this was the poorest camp they had yet had, and that the food was only composed of salt meat. Doane explained the lack of fresh food when all the diaries attest that tracks were numerous and game plentiful. "Our party kept up such a racket of yelling and firing as to drive off all game for miles ahead of us."

The expedition was now entering the most difficult part of the journey. For two days now, they had been walking their way into swamps and cul-de-sac. Only Lieutenant Doane enjoyed the wildness of the area.

The ground was trodden by thousands of elk and sheep. Bear tracks and beaver trails were also numerous and occasionally was seen the footprint of a California lion. . . .During the night we were several times disturbed by the dismal screaming of California lions, and in the morning found their huge tracks close around the camp.40
On the Seventh, he and Langford climbed the highest nearby peak to get a better view of the region south of the lake. There, Langford sketched a map of the panorama with the lakes, rivers, and mountains he was facing. Then they returned to the valley, following the trail of the party. After traveling some distance in the darkness, Doane discovered that they had been following a herd of elk; they built a fire and spent the night looking for the right direction. They finally arrived in camp at 10:00 p.m. to the relief of their companions.

On September 8, several members of the expedition lost their ways. The trail was scattered by fallen tree trunks and the men had to dismount often to help the horses. Everts, Stickney and Hedges climbed a very steep mountain. In descending they separated; Everts found a shortcut to the camp, and Hedges could not find his way back but managed to go back to the trail. In the evening, the tempers were short, and the situation tense with some disputing and wrangling, when Washburn and Hauser came back from a ride telling the others that they had run across a she-grizzly and her two cubs.

Six of the party decorated themselves as walking armories, and at once started in pursuit. Each individual was sandwiched between two revolvers and a knife, was supported around the middle by a belt of cartridges, and carried in his hand a needle carbine. . . . An hour was passed in vain search for the sneaking animal.
The hunt lightened the atmosphere and the "invincibles" took a deserved rest.

**Everts Is Lost**

September 9 was the day of the disaster. Hedges recorded that they "had an awful time floundering through timber--packs off, torn open--men swearing. . . Everybody finding fault and [having] all sorts of opinions where we were." They decided to camp early at the fountain head of the Snake River. Events chose to take a different path to go back to the camp. They discovered that a packhorse was missing. In the confusion, no one noticed the Everts had not come in with the rest of the group. The animal, a small cayuse, was found a few miles back firmly immobilized.

On this particular occasion, he had proven himself the acrobat of the pack-train by turning a number of somersaults backward, down the hill, pack and all; and when found, was astride a log lengthwise, his feet just touching on either side, but either unable to extricate himself, or too proud and patient to make an effort to do so. . . . He was dubbed the "Yellowstone Wonder." (See Appendix A.)

The hours slipped by; the packers came back with the horse. They fired signal guns and kept watchfires all night long. Gillette recalled that Everts had no coat or blanket. He carried a gun but was notoriously nearsighted.
In the morning, the party moved to the head of Flat Mountain Arm, and began a systematic search of the area, which lasted until the 16th.

Nothing was going well for Everts who lost his horse and his spectacles; later, he would lose his two knives and one shoe. It snowed 15 to 18 inches deep on the night of the 11th and the following day. After four days of searching, Washburn decided to move the camp. Only Gillette and two soldiers, Moore and Williamson, remained behind to try again to find the missing man. On the 20th, they came very close to his shelter, but Everts' destiny was to suffer a few more weeks in the wilderness, nourishing his weak body on thistle roots and one lost bird he ate without even roasting it.

**Old Faithful - A Close Encounter with the Geysers Land**

The main party had not forgotten its goal and resumed its exploration of the Yellowstone region, measuring distances, temperatures, and elevations, among other things, but the gentlemen were turned off by Everts' loss. On Saturday, September 17, thirty days after they left Helena, they headed back northwest through Thumb Bay and the Firehole River. "Much doubt as to where we are and where we should go," wrote Hedges at the evening camp. In his journal Doane made a geographical mistake when he attributed the headwater of a lake to the Madison River, while Langford and Hauser linked it correctly to the Snake River side of
the Continental Divide. They camped that night four miles from the great geysers basin.

Sunday 18, Hedges woke up under the rain at 3:00 in the morning. "Prospect gloomy enough--felt double disgust, feet wet, clothes wet . . . Started off nearly north through awful timber, snow, rain and mud." All but Langford felt wet and discouraged. Only five or six days of riding would bring them back to civilization. Langford, according to his diary, was "in the best of spirits." He possessed dry clothes and the conviction that they were traveling the right course. He added,

It is a matter of surprise to me that I am the only member of our party who has a rubber coat, or a pair of oil-tanned water-proof boots, or who has brought with him any medicines, tools, screws, etc.; and, except myself, there is but one member of our party (whom I will not "give away" by here recording his name) who had the foresight to bring with him a flask of whiskey.

Two hours later, they were riding along the right bank of the Firehole River when they noticed, on entering the Upper Geyser Basin, "an immense body of sparkling water, projected suddenly and with terrific force into the air to the height of over one hundred feet." They were facing their first geyser, the Old Faithful, as General Washburn named it for its regularity. All rushed up the basin and crossed the river carelessly. Hedges' packhorse, certainly Yellowstone Wonder, went down.
They decided to establish camp in the center of the geyser district and found a little grove of pines. Then they split in groups to examine the "most wonderful geyser yet discovered in any country." Hedges, although wet but from no snow or rain, forgot all his bad feelings of the morning and paired with Samuel Hauser.

The party remained in the area until the 20th, and examined meticulously six first-class geyser, three of them playing only scarcely now, and gave them the most adequate names to illustrate their peculiarities—the "Old Faithful," the "Fantail," the "Grotto," the "Castle," the "Giant," the "Giantess," and the "Beehive," which names remained unchanged ever since. They also described beautiful colored springs they visited the day after.

The water in some of the springs presents to the eye the color of all the precious gems known to commerce . . . and the suggestion has been made that the names of these jewels may very probably be given to many of these springs.49

Surrounded by these hot springs is a beautiful cold spring of tolerable fair water . . . a border of pure white, carved as if by the hand of a master workman, the water pure . . . down, down, until the eye tires in penetrating.50

Looking into the steam and vapors of the Giantess, with the sun and shadows surrounding them, myriads of rainbows over their heads, the fifteen men "threw up their hats and shouted with ecstasy at the sight."51
They thought they had encountered all the wonders and curiosities of Yellowstone, but still more was to come. They visited the Midway Geyser Basin and the Grand Prismatic Spring, and the Lower Geyser Basin and its extinct and broken craters. Langford also described a natural phenomenon he noticed while fording the Firehole River with Hedges.

When I reached the middle of the stream . . . I discovered from the sensation of warmth under my feet that I was standing upon an incrustation formed over a hot spring that had its vent in the bed of the stream. I exclaimed to Hedges: "Here is the river which Bridger said was hot at the bottom."52

Down the Madison River to Virginia City and Helena

The party camped at the Madison Junction where the Firehole and Gibbon Rivers combine to form the Madison.

Langford mentions in his diary a campfire discussion of the wonderland they were leaving. According to him, on the evening of the 19th and the morning of the 20th, the entire party talked very seriously of the creation of a National Park protecting the Yellowstone region.

The proposition was made by some member that we utilize the result of our exploration by taking up quarter sections of land at the most prominent points of interest, and a general discussion followed. . . . Mr. Hedges then said that he did not approve of any of these plans--that there ought to be no private ownership of any portion of that region, but that the whole of it ought to be set apart as a great National Park. . . . His
suggestion met with an instantaneous and favorable response from all—except one—of the members of our party.53

But no other diary mentioned that important discussion.

The Washburn expedition traveled down the Madison River through the Upper Madison Valley, fell in with the Bannock Trail that crosses the valley from west to east and camped in a district that had a bad reputation as a rendezvous for horse thieves and lawless men who could hide in its dense forests. According to Hedges, Doane and Langford caught three loose horses they used during the rest of the journey. They supposed the animals belonged to the Murphy-Edmonson gang of outlaws.

On September 21 and 22, they continued down the river and reached a ranch where they got butter and newspapers. On the 23rd, the party split; some rode in advance to Virginia City, others stopped at Farley's, "the frontier rancho on the Madison River," where they enjoyed milk and cake, and Hedges read that "Napoleon was a prisoner and republic proclaimed in France." The animals showed signs of fatigue, but they made their way back. Some of the men went to Virginia City, and on Saturday, September 2, ten miles below Virginia City, Lieutenant Doane and the escort started for Fort Ellis, thirty-four days after their departure. Privates Moore and Williamson returned to the fort on October 2. They had not found Mr. Everts. Langford arrived
in Helena on the 25th, "enjoyed a good square meal" and spent the day after in "describing the many wonders which (they) found on (their) trip." Washburn and Hauser came in on the 26th at 11:00 a.m.; and Hedges, Smith, and the pack train on the 27th.

Everts was found on October 10. He had spent 37 days in the wilderness.
Wilderness is a resource which can shrink but not grow. Invasions can be arrested or modified in a manner to keep an area usable either for recreation, or for science, or for wildlife, but the creation of new wilderness in the full sense of the word is impossible.

Aldo Leopold
A _Sand County Almanac_

"The Dudes . . . Were Back.”¹

The Washburn-Doane exploration expedition into the Upper Yellowstone valley marked the end of misinformation and speculation that had spread since the first white man crossed the Rocky Mountains in the early 1800's. All came back; not at the same moment or in the best physical shape, but, after a night in a real bed and home-cooked food, the sore muscles were promptly forgotten, as was the animosity and discomfort resulting from not so important problems
scattered along the trail. The businessmen could return to their buggy and to their leather armchairs.

Prior to October 1, the Helena Daily Herald published descriptive articles on Yellowstone and Washburn's and Langford's narrations of the trip. These articles and Hedges,' which appeared two weeks later, were soon nationally reproduced.

Printed Information on the Yellowstone Region

These articles furnished by the members of the expedition can be classified in four categories—(1) narrations for publication in newspapers or magazines by Washburn, Hedges, Trumbull, and Langford, and about the whole journey or specific areas of the actual Park; (2) one article by Everts, "Thirty-seven Days in Peril," relating his adventure in the wilderness; (3) the report Lieutenant Doane presented on December 15, 1870, to General Hancock, a truly masterpiece of accuracy and conciseness (after reading it, Hayden would praise it and maintain "that for graphic descriptions and thrilling interest, it has not been surpassed by any official report made to our Government since the time of Lewis and Clark"2); and (4) two printings made in 1904 and 1905 by Hedges and Langford, each publishing his diary.

General Washburn died before he could write a full official report from his notes. His diary was probably destroyed by a fire, thus preventing publication. He left
two articles he wrote for the Helena Herald on September 17 and 28. One was entitled, "The Yellowstone Expedition, Exploration in a New and Wonderful Country--Volcanic Eruptions, Spouting Geysers, etc." The paper described with eloquence and directness the scenery and curiosities.

Crossing above the Upper Falls of the Yellowstone, you find the river 100 yards in width, flowing peacefully and quiet. A little lower down it becomes a frightful torrent, pouring through a narrow gorge over loose boulders and fixed rocks, leaping from ledge to ledge, until, narrowed by the mountains and confined to a space of about 80 feet, it takes a sudden leap, breaking into white spray in its descent 115 feet.³

Washburn left one indication of a possible future use of the vicinity of Yellowstone Lake.

The lake is 8,000 feet above the level of the sea, a beautiful sheet of water with numerous islands and bays, and will in time be a great summer resort,⁴ for its various inlets, surrounded by the finest mountain scenery, cannot fail to be very popular to the seeker of pleasure while its high elevation and numerous medicinal springs will attract the invalid.⁵

He did not leave any indication of a talk dealing with the preservation of Yellowstone.

Walter Trumbull, like Stickney, was rarely mentioned in his companions' diaries or articles. He published a two-part narration in the Overland Monthly in January and June 1871, in which he presented, in a journalistic style, the expedition in its whole, with its anecdotes and incidents.
Again this narration was descriptive; he outlined the different landscapes or compared them or contrasted them to other known areas in the United States, or by making references to the Bible.

The Falls [Lower Falls of the Yellowstone] are exactly the same in height as the Vernal Falls in the Yosemite Valley, but the volume of water is at least five times as great. 6

He did not often mention the dates or the names of the springs, pools and geysers. He displayed only the essentials of the trip. The party members were referred to as "we," or "a gentleman," but once, for "Mr. Everts' disappearance."

Here we found our two lost friends, who had preceded us . . . a short distance below our camp, one of the gentlemen had discovered some very picturesque falls, on Warm Spring Creek. 7

Trumbull concluded his narration with the following statement:

As an agricultural country, I was not favorably impressed with the Great Yellowstone basin, but its brimstone resources are ample for all the match-makers of the world. A snow-storm in September, two feet deep, is hardly conductive to any kind of agricultural enterprise of stock raising; still, I think sheep would do well in the country, if some shelter were erected for them in winter. When, however, by means of the Northern Pacific Railroads, the falls of the Yellowstone and the geyser basin are rendered easy of access, probably no portion of America will be more popular as a watering-place or
summer resort than that which we had the pleasure of viewing, in all the glory and grandeur of its primeval solitude. 8

The young man recommended the area for sheep raising or a summer resort; never did he mention a possible preservation of Yellowstone, but he made a reference to the Northern Pacific Railroad whose interests in the region will be explained later.

Truman C. Everts, the oldest man of the group was not the wisest. He singularly lacked common sense and presented a stubborn character and strong prejudices. When reading between the lines of the different diaries, it is palpable that disputes occasionally started when the going got rough and the party, although under Washburn's leadership, apparently split sometimes and groups went their own ways. Only one man, temporarily, got lost during the trip. Besides, this loss helped the expedition by providing it with a touch of drama which added to the public interest and did much to publicize the exploration and its results throughout the country. After his recovery, Everts described his wanderings in the Scribner's Magazine of November, 1871. Of the rest of the expedition, he made no mention, as if the Grand Canyon and the falls had never existed. He never had the chance to see the geysers.

I engaged in the entreprise with enthusiasm, feeling that all the hardships and exposures of a month's horseback
travel through an unexplored region would be more than compensated by the grandeur and novelty of the natural objects with which it was crowded. Of course, the idea of being lost in it, without any of the ordinary means of subsistence, and the wandering for days and weeks, in a famished condition, alone, in an unfrequented wilderness, formed no part of my contemplation.

Whether his narration related the truth or pure fiction presents no real interest here, but an anecdotic one, such as the horse question—did it run away, or did Everts eat it? 9

Cornelius Hedges, certainly the finest man of the party, had always written diaries. This mason, Master of the Lodge in Montana between 1865 and 1866, 10 was one of the leaders in the new territory for the cultural, social, and religious development of Montana. He significantly contributed to the expedition; and because he was no outdoorsman, he often felt sick or disgusted during most of the trip. His diary was written for a private use as a rough material without expectation of a future publication. He composed some articles for the Helena Herald from these notes—"Mount Everts," on October 8, 1870, "The Great Falls of the Yellowstone," on October 15, where he prefaced to the editor, "With the view in a measure, to meet the general interests of this community, by giving more fully some of the results of our recent expedition. . . ." During the trip, Hedges was deeply impressed by the numerous sceneries,
and his narrations gave evidence of his will to share the
natural beauty.

Here we could look up into the foaming, furious jaws of
the cataract, from whence would shoot out fierce, crested
tongues, as if in wrath aimed to consume the beholder.
The view at first is almost terrifying, and makes one's
knees knock together in conscious impotence. . . . I will
conclude this imperfect notice of what I am satisfied is
in many respects the grandest waterfall in the world, and
surely destined at no distant day to become a shrine for
a world-wide pilgrimage.11

Although Langford said in his diary that Hedges
suggested the edification of a national park, the latter
never wrote a line about that idea before August 1904, when
he published his diary, adding a footnote to the non-edited
original copy:

Th only justification for publishing the foregoing diary
is in the fact that the entries were made each day of the
trip and thus provide a more faithful record of
experiences, than could be furnished from the memory of
any one member of the party. It was never intended for
the public eye and this must excuse the intrusion of
personality. . . . It was at the first camp after leaving
the lower Geyser basin when all were speculating which
point in the region we had been through, would become
most notable that I first suggested the uniting all our
efforts to get it made a National Park, little dreaming
that such a thing were possible.12

Langford specified that the whole party talked all night
long of the project; but, once again, no diary recorded that
conversation, not even Hedges': "Didn't sleep well last
night--got to thinking of home and business, seems as if we were almost there," and the written articles were also mute on the subject. However, Hedges mentioned a close idea in one of his articles, "Yellowstone Lake," in the Helena Herald of November 9, 1870.

This beautiful body of water [Yellowstone Lake] is situated in the extreme northwest corner of Wyoming, and, with its tributaries and sister lakes of similar dimensions, is entirely cut off from all access from any portion of that Territory by the impassable and eternally snowclad range of the Wind River Range of mountains. Hence the propriety that the Territorial lines be so re-adjusted that Montana should embrace all that lake region west of the Wind River Range, a matter in which we hope our citizens will soon move to accomplish, as well as to secure its future appropriation to the public use.¹³

Montana was a dry country and the idea of "securing" so much water might have led Hedges to emphasize a reservation controlled by the state, as the area was cut off from Wyoming by "impassible and eternally snow-clad" mountains. At that time, neither Montana nor Wyoming were states and the author seemed to question the boundaries between the two territories more than the reservation matter itself.

Nathaniel P. Langford also provided the newspapers with articles. The first one was published from his notes in the Helena Herald, September 26, 1870, and the two others in the Scribner's Monthly of May and June, 1871, where he added illustrations made by Thomas Moore from Trumbull's sketches.
(see Appendix A) and the narrator's descriptions. These articles, again, were purely descriptive. He also published his diary but some thirty-five years after the return of the expedition, in 1905. The book was called *The Discovery of Yellowstone Park: Diary of the Washburn Expedition to the Yellowstone and Firehole Rivers in the Year 1870*. More than a diary, this work was an account drawn from his notes and other sources gathered during the years. Langford's title presented the expedition as a "discovery" where the party had, in fact, explored already visited areas beside the southern rim of Yellowstone Lake. His contributions then could not be appraised when he said his journal "was the story of a sober, matter-of-fact observer who tells what he has seen with his own eyes, and exaggerates nothing."  

The disappearance of both his personal notes and original diary soon after the publication of the journal rendered its accuracy suspect. After all restrictions done, Langford's journal presented the most complete work of the expedition and a good historical tool. After his return to Helena, he dedicated his time to revealing the beauties of Yellowstone to the Montana and American people. Langford enjoyed talking in public and his exploration adventure provided him material for his lectures. Although he was the "veni, vidi, vici" character type—proud, ironic, introspected, stubborn, and imaginative—Langford really became immediately attached to Yellowstone.
Wednesday, August 31—This has been a "red-letter" day with me, and one which I shall not soon forget, for my mind is clogged and my memory confused. . . . I thought how utterly impossible it would be to describe to another the sensations inspired by such a presence. . . . As the view grew upon us, and we comprehended the power, majesty and beauty of the scene, we became insensible to danger and gave ourselves up to the full enjoyment of it [the Lower Falls].

Langford also wanted to bring more immigrants to Montana Territory. He had met Jay Cooke on June 4 and 5, 1870, and was hired by this financier of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Cooke used public men to promote the territories through which the Northern Pacific would travel. Langford gave his first lecture to open the Helena Library Association Lecture Course, November 18, 1870; it was entitled "Recent Explorations on the Yellowstone." Then he lectured in front of a selected public in Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, and New York, in January 1871. Among the people who attended the lecture in Washington, was Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden, head of the U. S. Geological Survey of the Territories.

While Langford's notes led to lectures, Lieutenant Doane's report showed a slightly different view. He said that a journal should be:

... a faithful delineation. Such a report one likes to travel by--truthful, plain, and unembellished; a simple narrative of facts observed. It gives evidence of a
correct eye and a sound judgment; of capacity for the work undertaken.17

He wrote a factual report of 25,000 words, presenting the geology, fauna, flora, and meteorology of Yellowstone, with accurate observations. He submitted it to General Hancock on December 5, 1870.18 It was then transmitted to General Sherman, to the Secretary of War, and to the Senate which ordered it printed. Doane had the capacity to observe carefully a specific scene and to write down powerful descriptions and give scientific judgments of what he had noticed. His keen observations led him to write:

Still further on is a basin of perhaps four acres containing from twenty to thirty mud springs, varying from two to twenty feet in diameter and of depths below the surface, from three to eight feet. The mud ejected is of different degrees of consistency, but generally about the thickness of common mortar, and mostly of an iron brown color.19

Always curious and willing to learn, this frontier-raised man had prepared himself for this kind of expedition by reading a lot of scientific books prior to 1870. His report was designed for military use and, therefore, lacked the humor and anecdotes Langford enjoyed so much to narrate. It was accessible to the common reader and presented accurate descriptions that would help in the finding of one's way in the wilderness of Yellowstone. To that extent, Lieutenant Doane gave the finest account of the expedition. He never
lost his "correct eye" or "sound judgment," and used them to observe the country with the view of future possible settlements. At the beginning of the trip, on August 24, he wrote:

The soil here is very fertile and lies favorably for irrigation. Timber is convenient, water everywhere abundant, and the climate for this region remarkably mild. . . . Excepting the Judith Basin, I have seen no district in the western territories so eligible for settlement as the upper valley of the Yellowstone.20

Doane's conclusion on the expedition deserved some attention. Like Trumbull, the Lieutenant did not think that the region could be used as an agricultural country, but he mentioned several other important facts.

As a country for sight seers, it is without parallel. As a field for scientific research, it promises great results, in the branches of Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, Zoology and Ornithology. It is probably the greatest laboratory that nature furnishes on the surface of the globe. In one special and important particular a thorough survey of this region would be of use. It is the apex of the greatest water shed in the northwest territories, and such a survey would locate correctly the sources of a large number of streams, including the Missouri, Yellowstone, Big Horn, and Snake rivers. The existing maps are all far from correct in the bearings of all these rivers near their sources, the Upper Missouri being located several miles west of its true position, and too much space being left between the heads of all these great streams, thereby shortening all their channels. By correctly locating their sources the labor of tracing their channels would be greatly simplified, as the
successive trends of the streams could then be worked up from either of two known points—the head or the mouth. 21

He reiterated the touristic and scientific value of this huge natural "laboratory," and pointed out the importance of the water in Yellowstone from where many rivers had their sources. He emphasized the necessity of a surveying exploration of the region in order to determine the exact location of the streams and sources. Like Cornelius Hedges, Lieutenant Doane stressed the natural water reservoir that was Yellowstone, but he saw in it a way of transportation between different rivers rather than a political issue: like Trumbull and Hedges, Doane never mentioned a national park idea or a possible protection of the region they had visited.

Along the route, he took also some measurements of altitude, temperature, and humidity: "August 30, Bar[ometer,] 22,60; ther[mometer,] 40°; elevation 7,697 feet." Doane attached to his report a table of Meteorological Observations (see p. 116, Appendix A), a geological profile, and a map of the district (see maps 11 and 12, Appendix A).

All these diaries, journals and reports dealt with the wonderland called Yellowstone. The gentlemen observed and told what they had seen. All but Everts described day-to-day information, or events—Indians they never met, height of a fall or a geyser, worries, sickness and laughter.
Trumbull, Langford and Hedges added to their narrations a touch of humor and subjectivity. Washburn and Doane wrote for surveying and military reports; thus their notes were more valuable for Congress than for the general public. They also provided more scientific explanations. Finally, all omitted aspects of the trip they thought were of no real importance according to their sensibility and background. Washburn, for example, mapped out the land in his mind and gathered data that would have helped him to prepare a reliable map, had he not died. Everts told his thoughts and emotions which were, in a way, entertaining, but he never mentioned the days and nights he spent with his companions before his loss. Langford omitted to tell that during the expedition, he was working for a railroad company, corrected his journal after thirty-five years, embellished or wiped out events. Doane, however, gave clear, factual scientific and geographic observations but, because of the clarity, he did not give way to his feelings and let the sublime explode between the lines he wrote. All realized the economical value of the region, but no conservation movement had resulted from their conversations. The immediate result of the Washburn-Doane Expedition was the organization the following year of two governmental expeditions.

The Hayden Expedition of 1871

For years, the Rocky Mountains possessed protected pockets of land from the immigrants rushing to the West
Coast. Now, in 1871, Congress was watching one of these pockets with great interest. So, when Ferdinand Hayden proposed a scientific survey in Yellowstone, he received immediately $40,000 by the Sundry Civil Act of March 3, 1871, to be expended "under direction of the Secretary of Interior." The Army furnished mounts and equipment, and the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads provided low-rate or free tickets where the newly constituted group could gather at Fort Russell in the Wyoming Territory. The Hayden Party included technical experts in geology, botany, zoology, topography and artists. They left the fort on June 11, 1871, and headed north to Yellowstone. At the same time, General Sheridan, who was very impressed by Lieutenant Doane's report, decided to send two officers of the Corps of Engineers with their assistants to the same region. Civilization had finally invaded the Yellowstone wilderness. The two parties—a real crowd of over fifty people often traveling together—secured valuable information. The Hayden Expedition canvassed the region for the Interior Department until August 30, and the Barlow-Heap Expedition explored the sources of the Yellowstone River for the Army until September 1. Both parties had photographers and were able to bring back remarkable pictures. Artist Thomas Moran accompanied the Hayden Party, and he brought back the first paintings of Yellowstone Park scenery. (See maps 13 and 14.)
The combined results of the four exploration expeditions between 1869 and 1871 led to the establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872.

The National Park Idea

Different names could be linked to the creation of Yellowstone National Park. Langford advanced Hedges' who said in 1904 that he had had the idea of the park. But he never mentioned that he had taken part in an earlier discussion back in 1865 on the national park when he met with Acting Governor Thomas F. Meagher of Montana and a young Belgium priest, Father Francis Kuppens, who had just visited the area. This conversation took place a year after the creation of the reservation of Yosemite Valley was granted to the state of California "for public use, resort and recreation."23

In 1869, Folsom and Cooke had publicly suggested the creation of a park, but the mention of their idea in the manuscript of their article was cut, among other parts, by the editors.24 Folsom also mentioned it to General Washburn, but the surveyor-general never even talked about it.

When Dr. Hayden came back to Washington, he found at his office an important letter--important because it was a dated document from "Jay Cooke & Co., Bankers, Financial Agents, Northern Pacific Railroad Company." The date was
October 27, 1871, and the content signed by A. B. Nettleton, Cooke's publicity man:

Dear Doctor:

Judge Kelley has made a suggestion which strikes me as being an excellent one, viz.: Let Congress pass a bill reserving the Great Geyser Basin as a public park forever—just as it has reserved that far inferior wonder, the Yosemite Valley and big trees. If you approved this would such a recommendation be appropriate in your official report? 25

Hayden agreed to the suggestion and shortly after, he united his action with the Northern Pacific Railroad Company's. The Northern Pacific asked the Montana Group (Langford, Hedges and Hauser, who were in Washington, D. C.) to promote the project. Only then did Langford start to mention and defend the establishment of Yellowstone National Park. Dr. Hampton presented the meeting differently:

When he returned to Washington, Hayden was met by Nathaniel Langford, Cornelius Hedges, and Samuel Hauser. . . . This small group feared that if some action were not taken to preserve the Yellowstone area, it would soon be claimed by homesteaders. 26

During his survey, Hayden had already met a few claimants interested in Yellowstone in view of making a good future profit. For example, Jack Baronett, who saved Everts, built a toll ninety-foot stringer bridge suitable for pack train traffic at the only place where the Yellowstone River could be crossed near the mouth of Lamar River. Langford later
admitted that his interest in the park started during the summer of 1871, when Hedges "communicated his enthusiasm to (him)." So, it seems that agents of the Northern Pacific Railroad really began the whole project.

Five Months of Beehiving

A precedent had been established with the Yosemite Grant in California, but the same approach could not be applied for the Yellowstone region because, though the valley had been opened by Montanans, it lay in three territories, mostly in Wyoming. So the only possible preservation of the area was "to place it directly under Federal control."28

Two different groups of men worked actively on the passage of the act. The first group was composed of the gentlemen who had visited Yellowstone and could testify to its exceptional interest. But these gentlemen, with all their credibilities, could not make such an important and unusual bill pass. They were helped by Congressmen and Senators interested in the West, among whom were Walter Trumbull's father, the Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, and Representative Harry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and whose son had taken part in the Hayden Expedition. Dawes took credit for writing the bill, and his experience helped choose influential Congressmen to support the project. Another supporter of Hayden's, Senator Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas, Chairman of
the Committee of Public Lands, introduced the bill to the Senate as S. 392 on December 18, 1871. The same day it was also introduced in the second House of Congress, as H.R. 764 by Delegate William H. Clagett, of Montana. It passed the Senate on January 30, 1872, after a campaign in its support arranged by Hayden and Langford and a series of minor delays. Senator Cornelius Cole of California, chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, represented the only real obstacle to the bill.

I have grave doubts about the propriety of passing this bill. The natural curiosities there cannot be interfered with by anything that man can do. The geysers will remain, no matter where the ownership of the land may be, and I do not know why settlers should be excluded from a tract of land forty miles square... in the Rocky Mountains or any other place... There are some places, perhaps this is one, where persons can and would go and settle and improve and cultivate the grounds, if there be ground fit for cultivation.²⁹

Senator Cole represented the past when the West was considered as a garden to be tamed.

The Senate Bill was later adopted by the House, 115 ayes, 65 nays, and 60 abstaining, on February 27.

President Grant signed the Yellowstone National Park Act on March 1, 1872.³⁰

Often called the Enabling Act, it pioneered a new field of preservation of Nature. Eight years, between Yosemite Grant and Yellowstone Park, had prepared the American mind
to this Act. It was also, and mostly, backed by powerful men in Congress, and financial tycoon Jay Cooke, and the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. Moreover, it was remarkably well publicized by those who had last explored its curiosities.
PART IV
STUDY OF NATHANIEL PITT LANGFORD'S DIARY

Nathaniel Pitt Langford published his diary in 1905. He presented it as follows: a first part written in 1905 where he documented the events related to the Montana and Wyoming territories between the years 1820 and 1905. He also added information about himself and his comrades and concluded by describing the repercussions the expedition had on the political and cultural life of the time. The second part of his book consists of the diary itself. The entries begin on Wednesday, August 17, 1870, and end on Tuesday, September 27, 1870. Although the first part of the book illustrates and authenticates the diary, two distinctions must be made: the problems of memory and objectivity.

In the first part of the book, he introduced events that occurred before and after the expedition of 1870. He omitted or attenuated some facts or sentences written in the excitement of the moment. He added illustrations, pictures and various quotations from official reports of some of the later expeditions. He also added passages of the diary Cornelius Hedges had written during the journey.
One finds a few mistakes in this book, the first being the title. The Washburn-Doane expedition was the first official expedition and Langford, its official secretary. But, as we already pointed out, the first written mention of the creation of a national park came from George Catlin in 1832.

In the introduction, Langford's style shows the pride of the author for the work he accomplished during his life, and especially while he was the superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park between May 2, 1872, and April 18, 1877.

Nathaniel P. Langford lived between 1864 and 1876 in the Montana territory near the northern Wyoming territory that "was at that time inhabited only by wild beasts and roving bands of hostile Indians." He was most sensitive about the Indian menace and frequently returned to it in the book. His fears, or the wish to increase the suspense, made him exaggerate what he had witnessed.

Most of the expedition gentlemen were in their thirties, with different experiences of the West: Smith, for example, lived all his life in New York City and had just arrived in Montana. He seemed generous, impetuous, and very realistic. Cornelius Hedges, who often took guard with him, found in his companion none of the faults Langford kept writing about. Hedges was more introspective, prouder, and imaginative. He was very aware of the adventure and of the
solitude they would face for a month. He had already faced the wilderness in 1862:

There we camped for the winter in the midst of the wilderness, 400 miles from the nearest settlement or post office, from which we were separated by a region of mountainous country, rendered nearly impassable in the winter by deep snows, and beset for the entire distance by hostile Indians.\(^3\)

Many repetitions in the diary reveal some of the obsessions of the author. They vary between the Indians, the night guards, and his fellow Smith:

We are now fairly launched upon our expedition without the possibility of obtaining outside assistance in case we need it, and means for our protection have been fully considered since we camped, and our plans for guard duty throughout the trip have been arranged... I am not entirely free from anxiety. Our safety will depend upon our vigilance. (August 22)

Langford's main concern would soon be for him to describe most accurately the many beauties of nature they faced. The revision testifies to his growing attachment to the many wonders into which the party traveled. However, not every day presented the same interest to the narrator. Sometimes, he would only write three lines:

Rode over to the East Gallatin River with Lieutenant Batchelor and Wright, crossing at Blakeley's bridge and reaching Bozeman at 7 o'clock p.m. (August 19)
At different occasions the descriptions would go on for eight pages. The many anecdotes make a very lively report of the expedition: Memories about a dinner: "His wife is a charming musician." He also worried about a companion's sickness or about Mr. Everts' loss. Langford reported the evening discussions on how to describe the different landscapes observed or simply the satisfaction of a real homemade warm meal and a bed after a month spent in the wilderness: "I have enjoyed a good square meal . . . and put on some of my old flesh."  

We grouped some of these themes in categories:

A - Organization

The environmental influences caused different reactions in the travelers: some wished they had never left the safety of their town; others discovered an urge for adventure. They were transformed into nomads during the expedition. The members of the Washburn-Doane expedition left civilization for various reasons, but most of them were far from prepared for outdoor life. Langford, in fact, was the only member of the party, according to his diary, to own water-proof equipment.  

Nathaniel P. Langford showed pride in his work, and never hesitated to report what other comrades thought of his abilities:

Mr. Hauser says that he thinks that I have a more correct idea of mountain heights, distances and directions . . .
than any man he knows, except James Stuart—a compliment which I accept most graciously. (September 16)

He seldom lacked ideas. One night, when the group bivouacked in the woods, Langford showed ingenuity by setting a large ridge-pole, erecting a "wickiup" above his head and, therefore, could welcome his companions when a sudden violent storm woke them up. The following day, his mood, like his humor, lightened:

It may be that my cheerfulness is owing, in some degree, to my having dry clothing and a dry skin, which few of my comrades have. (September 18)

He also reported, among others, the time he made his partners laugh by producing a "goodly-sized cake" of maple sugar. Langford added to his diary an abstract of a letter Stickney wrote him in May 1905:

You did so many quaint things, that it was quite in accordance with them that you should produce maple sugar in a sulphurous region.7

The reader gets the feeling that Langford was a resourceful man, appreciated by his companions, making them laugh and easing their wounds, but lacking in modesty. He very seldom narrated other people's good words or adventures; so one finds it then very difficult to separate fact from fiction, as the other diaries and reports lacked all fantasy. We think that Nathaniel P. Langford presented the
aspects of an intelligent, imaginative, and resourceful man, but so too did some of his comrades.

**B - Scientific Interest**

Langford described the fish and game caught along the journey:

A hunter . . . could bring down swans, geese, ducks, pelicans, and even the furred animals that made their homes along the river banks. (September 3)

He also mentioned the plants and berries they found but failed to explain how to identify them:

He will find an abundance of the camas root, which is most nutritive, (in the Snake river valley), . . . if he has sufficient knowledge to distinguish the edible from the poisonous plant. (September 12)

The geology, of course, is present in most of the pages. Langford reported and described rocks, water falls, cliffs, ponds, thermal pools, and geysers. The party spent many days in different locations where natural wonders were plentiful. The gentlemen could enjoy and describe carefully the geological formations and their specificities. Langford explained to the reader how he could determine the height of the falls, mountains, or geysers and which tools he and his companions used.

A column of water shot from [the geyser] which by quite accurate triangular measurement proved to be two hundred
and nineteen feet in height. Our method of triangulation
was as follows: . . . (September 19)

One sees on September 17 how the explorers looked for
their road with a compass and the mistakes they made due to
the magnetism of some areas.

Some of the men being sick or wounded, Langford,
nominated the doctor of the group, described the problems,
the progression of the diseases and the remedies used to
ease the pain. In Lieutenant Doane's case, Langford
"insisted that he submit to an operation, and have the felon
opened." (September 4)

One discovers through the reading a difficult but
interesting life. Langford described every landscape and
wonder he saw, but we lack information on their precise
location or the direction of the trails. For these details,
we must turn to Lieutenant Doane's report. No one could
find his way in the Yellowstone wilderness with Langford's
diary.

We also noticed that the day-to-day life of the group
does not appear in the book— who built the camp, organized
the meals or the guard duty, in what measure the soldiers
participated in the social life of the party— these facts
seemed to have been reported only when Langford took part in
them. One evening on guard, he ate a chicken prepared for
the following morning; there, he faced the dilemma of the
writer's objectivity:
Last night there occurred an incident which I would gladly blot from these pages, but a faithful record of all the events of camp life in connection with this expedition demands that I omit nothing of interest, nor set down "aught in malice..." (September 9)

Langford, by relating this story involving himself as the naughty character, showed that he was sincere and objective; anyway, this diary was not conceived as a journalistic approach of the expedition, and therefore, cannot include every single event of the journey. Langford did not seem to show interest in anecdotes he had no part in, and related too few of these events in which he had no role.

C - Nature

This was, of course, the most important part of the journal. We could not report all the descriptions and commentaries Langford wrote, so we took off some of the most representative phrases and grouped them in three parts:

1 - Picturesque: The descriptions, as we already pointed out, were many, long and detailed. Each day was reported and its interesting aspects pointed out. Of course, man lacks words while facing so many different natural landscapes, and often repeats himself:

   The scene from this point is excelled in grandeur only by extent and variety. (August 22)

   The scene was full of majesty. (September 7)
Langford often detailed their location with topography, mileage, the specific interest of the area: mountain, geyser, spring, falls... and the influences a phenomenon could have on another.

A considerable portion of the slope of the mountain was covered with a hollow incrustation of sulphur and lime, or silica, from which issued in many places hot steam, and we found many small craters from six to twelve inches in diameter, from which issued the sound of the boiling sulphur or mud, and in many instances we could see the mud or sulphur water. (September 12)

2 - Sublime: These simple visions of Nature were often sublimated before the wonders revealed to the observers, and the writing became lyrical. August 31 was nicknamed a "red-letter" day; Langford made the following description:

..one which I shall not soon forget, for my mind is glogged and my memory confused by what I have to-day seen... for these two great cataracts are but one feature in a scene composed of so many of the elements of grandeur and sublimity.

The gentlemen explorers received their first shock in front of the Lower Falls and the Upper Falls of the Yellowstone River. Langford described very carefully the canyon, the rock, the forests around. He pointed out in addition the absence of noise, "the oppression of absolute silence."8

A new element comes into sight during these pages of description. We found three passages directly related to
We are all overwhelmed with astonishment and wonder at what we have seen, and we feel that we have been near the very presence of the Almighty. General Washburn has just quoted from the Psalm: "When I behold the work of Thy hands what is man that Thou art mindful of him!"9

He wrote, facing the Lower Falls:

. . . and with a grateful heart, you would thank God that he had permitted you to gaze unharmed upon this majestic display of his handiwork.10

Langford went back to this theory in his conclusion of the day:

I can scarcely realize that in the unbroken solitude of this majestic range of rocks, away from civilization and almost inaccessible to human approach, the Almighty has placed so many of the most wonderful and magnificent objects of His creation, and that I am to be one of the few first to bring them to the notice of the world.11

We find again this notion of pride Langford shows on many occasions. He communicates with God and Nature, and rejoins the trends of the nineteenth century in which Nature is sublime: "I love not man less, but nature more." (Lord Byron)

We did not find anywhere else this idealism and gratitude towards God. Here, Nature is raw, and sublime in
its simplicity, whereas the hot pools, geysers, and fountain paint pots are scientific curiosities one can touch and explain. However, the members of the expedition felt their second shock in front of these last phenomena and called the geysers "the greatest wonders of the continent."

Judge, then, of our astonishment on entering this basin, to see at no great distance before us an immense body of sparkling water, projected suddenly and with terrific force into the air to the height of over one hundred feet. We had found a real geyser. (September 18)

Langford was so impatient, so anxious to report everything he saw that he became worried, not knowing if his prose would correspond to the reality.

I especially desired to see it again for the one especial purpose, among others of a general nature, of assuring myself that the notes made in my diary a few days ago are not exaggerated. No! They are not! (September 3)

3 - Rejuvenation: Langford's intellectual behavior evolved. Each day, he was in ecstasy as he faced the magnificence of Nature, and regretted the inevitable advance of civilization:

...not many years can elapse before the march of civil improvement will reclaim this delightful solitude, and garnish it with all the attractions of cultivated taste and refinement. (September 16)

I do not know of any portion of our country where a national park can be established furnishing to visitors more wonderful attractions than here. These wonders are
so different from anything we have seen before.
(September 20)

We can think that Nathaniel P. Langford found his ideal during this trip. This immensity to reveal and protect presented a challenge. Since Jefferson, wilderness was linked to adventure, romance and beauty. Richard Bartlett noted that, "the trend in the nineteenth century was toward a concept of wilderness as a place for moral and spiritual rejuvenation."12 This rejuvenation is palpable. During a storm, Langford felt very strong impressions:

These magnificent changes in mountain scenery occasioned by light and shade during one of these terrific tempests, with all the incidental accompaniments of thunder, lightning, rain, snow and hail afford the most awe-inspiring exhibition in nature. (August 23)

But the real spell fell on him on August 31, when the party arrived at the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River, as we already mentioned:

As the view grew upon us, and we comprehended the power, majesty and beauty of the scene, we became insensible to danger and gave ourselves up to the full enjoyment of it.

We felt the need to point out three interesting aspects of the narration:
A - Opposition between Nature and Civilization

The presence of civilization is present in many passages of the book, more specifically in the first and last parts of the narration. In the central part of his diary, Langford seemed to have forgotten his fears about the Indian menace that took all his attention in the earlier days. He could then concentrate all his attention only on the wonderland. All his inner feelings tended toward one direction: not miss any scenery, see all landscape and every possible geologic curiosity. Soon, it seems that civilization became an enemy to him, instead of an ally.

B - Problem of Credibility of Such a Narration

Jim Bridger, one of Langford's predecessors, was never taken seriously when he narrated what he saw in the Yellowstone area. His epitaph testifies for him: "Here LIES Jim Bridger." One must remember that the gentlemen of the Washburn-Doane expedition were at first very skeptical about this region, and they never expected what they faced. Even Lieutenant Doane's route order was very vague, giving only an overall idea of the destination of the journey "to the falls and lakes of the Yellowstone" and did not mention any geysers or thermal activity to survey. Nobody wanted to come back empty-handed and face the smiles and laughs of the crowd.

The wonders they found reversed their judgment. But Langford and his companions started to wonder what would
differentiate them from the others who had encountered the same adventure and were never believed. Langford related on September 21 a conversation he had with Jake Smith:

He said that he had kept no diary for the reason that our discoveries had been of such a novel character, that if he were to write an account of them he would not be believed by those who read his record.

Langford started to doubt, too, when he went back to the civilized world. The many wonders and their abundance and variety were as many negative factors for the skeptics who could not understand this profusion and think it was exaggerated.

... in the midst of my narrations, I find myself almost as ready to doubt the reality of the scenes I have attempted to describe as the most skeptical of my listeners. (September 27)

One can regret, like Langford did, that no photographer agreed to join the party to catch the "fresh exhibition of the handiwork of the Great Architect."14

C - Denomination of the Vicinity

The official object of the expedition was to study and name the country the party visited. "... our route was over a narrow trail from which the stream, Tail Creek, takes its name."15 The work of cartography is rather complete and the majority of the curiosities of the actual park figures in the diaries and maps. The explorers met in the evening
to name the different parts of the country they traveled through. We assume they drew sketches along the trail to which they referred. Sometimes, they named a place right away: "[the spring's] appearance has suggested the name, which Hedges has given, of 'Hell-Broth Springs'; . . . a most perfect realization of Shakespeare's image in Macbeth." 16 Not all places were given names: "We passed on a very narrow trail running over a high spur of the mountain overlooking the river." Other times, the sites are presented as follows: "the water of Antelope Creek from those of ______ Creek." 17

Only four summits got explorer's names—Mounts Washburn, Doane, Langford, and Everts—the first three for duty, the fourth in memory of the lost one. All members of the party had agreed not to propose a name they would be linked to, although some did. A great discussion happened on the evening of August 28 about a waterfall that was first called "Minaret Falls" by Walter Trumbull; but it was soon found out that Trumbull's girl friend was a certain Minnie Rhett. Hauser, who gave the deceit, proposed to name the fall "Tower Fall." Langford told the reader that after the party came back to Montana, they discovered that Hauser's own girlfriend answered to the name of Miss Tower.

Almost all the places designated during the expedition kept their names; some were moved by the expedition of 1871.
As the official journal of the Washburn-Doane-Langford expedition of 1870, Nathaniel P. Langford's diary presents a very interesting testimony of a part of the history of the conquest of the American West. It was the confidence and witness of a traveler who discovered an untamed nature always different. This diary provided, in its time, information about the West and its wonders.
CONCLUSION

The purpose of our study was to present Yellowstone National Park as it was before the first tourists started to visit it in the 1870s. The sixty-six years covered by this survey describe people—hunters, prospectors, mountainmen and gentlemen—who lived close to nature, who knew that they depended upon this land. They were all surprised and astonished by the many geological curiosities the plateau provides. They did not wander in the same areas but all understood that this region was unique, not because of its abundant game—the wild life would be brought to the park in later years—or because of its climate—winters were early and cold. There was not enough grass for cattle and the access to Yellowstone was difficult, but they understood the greater value of the geysers, the falls, the canyons, the cliffs, and the forests.

Yellowstone became a myth when Colter and Bridger started narrating what they saw in this plateau of the Rocky Mountains. Too many wonders were set by Nature in too small an area.

Gold was found in 1848 in California, trails created and the wilderness became territories. More settlers went to the West, and, as they grew in number, their attitude
changed toward the wilderness. It became a place to tame and exploit. In the late 1850s, conservation and preservation had no meaning. This was a land of plenty. The Washburn-Doane-Langford expedition's purpose was to survey the Yellowstone plateau, and not to search the geological curiosities of the region. The party members were looking for new areas for possible settlement and called themselves "skeptics" but all but Everts who was lost at that time returned to civilization fully convinced by Wonderland.

The two following expeditions came back with sketches by Thomas Moran and photographs; and influential tycoons, senators and different members of these three expeditions fought for the preservation—for the enjoyment of all--of Yellowstone. They asked Congress to set aside parts of the public domain not for the homesteads, but for the exclusion of any settlement in the protected areas.

Previously, timber exploiters were deprived of Yosemite and its sequoias and redwoods. The example of the Niagara Falls provided a good argument to prevent housing around the geysers. The Yosemite Grant was signed during the Civil War when Congress had other preoccupations than fighting over a few trees, but Yellowstone benefited by the right moment and the backing of upper class Americans, powerful and influential men. Finally, Congress appeared receptive to conservation measures.
In 1894, Congress passed the "Lacey Act," later provided an appropriation to buy bison for Yellowstone National Park, and also created bird Reserves in America. Previously the painter George Catlin, as early as 1832, suggested that parts of the wilderness be set apart as a "Nation's Park, containing man and beast, in all the wild freshness of their nature's beauty." By 1908, while still concerned with the economic terms of conservation, Congress accepted preservation as a part of conservation. Ultimately, the American conservation movement produced some three hundred and fifty National Parks units including parks, battlefields, cemeteries, seashores, parkways, and historic sites.

The double purpose of the Act of March 1, 1872, was to "set [the Yellowstone area] apart as a public park or pleasing-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people," and, at the same time require "the preservation, from injury or spoilation, of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonders within said park, and their retention in their natural condition." Whether Cornelius Hedges was the initiator of the idea of preserving Yellowstone as a National Park or not has no real importance nowadays. Every one of the cited men was in fact important for the preservation of the Park as were all their stories and narrations initiating the official expeditions, and later, the creation of the Yellowstone National Park.
FOOTNOTES - Part I


Thomson estimated it to be: Latitude, 43° 39' 45" north
Longitude, 109° 43' 17" west
(The U.S.G.S. quadrangle sheets give the latitude as: 43° 59' N. and the longitude as 109° 52' W. ed.), p. 4.

3 Chittenden, Yellowstone, p. 3.

4 Chittenden, Yellowstone, p. 14.


See also P. W. Norris, Annual Report of the Superintendent, for the years 1878-1881.


7 Underlined by me; questionable statement.
8 U. S., Congress, Senate, Exec. Doc. 43, Captain John Mullan, "Report on the construction of a Military Road."

9 Chittenden, Yellowstone, pp. 20-21.
William Clark and Manuel Lisa also spell his name: "Coulter." The term "Colter's Hell" appeared in 1835 when Washington Irving published The Rocky Mountains (The Adventures of Captain Bonneville). There is no other written proof that Colter effectively saw the Yellowstone area, only oral "tales."

10 Burton Harris, John Colter, His Years in the Rockies, (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1952).

11 Also written "Coulter's Rout."


13 Bonney, Battle Drums and Geysers, p. 174.

14 Underlined by me.

15 Haines, Yellowstone Story, pp. 46-47.


17 Cramton, Early History, p. 6.

18 Chittenden, Yellowstone, p. 172.

19 Cramton, Early History, p. 6.

21 Haines, Yellowstone National Park, p. 18.


23 Haines, Yellowstone Story, p. 56.

24 Haines, Yellowstone National Park, p. 21.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid, p. 23; Chittenden and Richardson, De Smit 2, pp. 660-62. Letter IV and V, Second Series, Western Missions and Missionaries, covering the trip from Fort Union to Fort Laramie, July to September 1851.


28 Cramton, Early History, p. 9.

29 Haines, Yellowstone National Park, p. 33.

30 Ibid, p. 46.

31 Ibid, p. 47.

FOOTNOTES - PART II


5Haines, Yellowstone Story, p. 103.

6Langford, Discovery, pp. 3-4.

7Ibid, p. xxxv.


Sheridan says: "While journeying between Corinne and Helena I had gained some vague knowledge of these geysers from an old mountaineer named Atkinson, but this information was very indefinite, mostly second hand; and there was such general uncertainty as to the character of this wonderland that I authorized an escort of soldiers to go that season from Fort Ellis with a small party to make such superficial explorations as to justify my sending an engineer officer with a well-equipped expedition there next summer to scientifically examine and report upon the strange country."
August 18, 1870; "Departure of the Expedition," Helena Herald.


Langford, Discovery, p. 1.


Bonney, Battle Drums and Geysers, pp. 216-17.


Langford, Discovery, p. 9.


Langford, Discovery, p. 11.


Bonney, Battle Drums and Geysers, p. 233.


26 Bonney, Battle Drums and Geysers, pp. 244-45.

27 Ibid, pp. 249-54.

28 All were wrong; the falls are 132 feet high according the Haines Guide.

29 Bonney, Battle Drums and Geysers, p. 260.


31 Langford, Discovery, p. 24.

32 Bonney, Battle Drums and Geysers, pp. 269-70.

33 Langford, Discovery, p. 29.

34 Chittenden, Yellowstone, p. 49. "The headwaters of this stream are so strong with alum that one swallow is sufficient to draw one's face into such shape that it is almost impossible to get it straightened out again for one hour or so." Andrew J. Weikert, "Journal of a Tour through Yellowstone, 1877," August 26, Historical Society of Montana, Contributions, III.

35 Bonney, Battle Drums and Geysers, p. 292.

36 Langford, Discovery, p. 47.


38 Bonney, Battle Drums and Geysers, p. 303.

40 Bonney, Battle Drums and Geysers, p. 307. The California Lion is known today as the Mountain Lion, or puma, or cougar. Doane was raised in California and probably used this name in his childhood.

41 Langford, Discovery, p. 68.


44 The party was depressed at the thought of abandoning the search for Everts. Hauser, encouraging Gillette, told him: "I think that I should be willing to take the risk of spending ten days more in this wilderness, if by so doing I could find a father-in-law."

All knew that Gillette was courting Everts' daughter, Bessie, and laughed (Langford, Discovery, p. 100).


46 Langford, Discovery, p. 105.


49 Langford, Discovery, p. 114.

Ibid, p. 96.

Langford, Discovery, p. 113.

Ibid, p. 117. Also see Haines' discussion, Yellowstone National Park, p.

Ibid, p. 120. According to Langford's diary, he reached Helena on the 26th, but the Helena Daily Herald of September 26, 1870, announced on page 3 that "Hon. N. P. Langford of the Yellowstone Expedition arrived last night. He came from Virginia City on the coach." So, it seems that the diary is wrong and that Langford really arrived on the 25th, or vice versa.


4 Underlined by me.

5 Cramton, *Early History*, p. 95.


9 Bartlett, *Nature's Yellowstone*, pp. 185-86. "The stories that appeared in the local press after Everts' rescue are amusing... and an item of considerable interest in the press throughout the country, and it impressed Yellowstone's mysteries upon the American mind... A year after the expedition, (some the Hayden Party's) packers found, near where Mr. Everts was lost, 'a brush wickiup and the remains of a camp fire that apparently been used for ten or twelve days. Around this were the partly burnt ribs and other bones of a horse, and it is believed that here he killed his horse, and lay, waiting for a rescue party, until he had eaten it.'"
November 2, 1870, Hedges was elected Most Worshipful Grande Master of Montana Masons and the next day, he was installed and received the gavel from the retiring Grand Master, Nathaniel P. Langford.


Underlined by me.


Langford, *Discovery*, p. lx.

Ibid, pp. 29-34.

Doane also mentioned the Northern Pacific in his conclusion on p. 337: "The district will be in easy reach of travel if the N.P. Rail Road comes by way of the Lower Yellowstone Valley." The Northern Pacific followed this route more than a decade later.


The delay was certainly due to the Indian menace and perhaps also to his thumb that had to be taken care of.


Judge Kelley was a congressman from Pennsylvania deeply involved in the Northern Pacific and the Northwest.

H. Duane Hampton, How the U. S. Cavalry Saved our National Parks, Fitzhenry & Whiteside Limited, Don Mills, Ontario (Indiana University Press, 1972), p. 27. Also, see note 26, p. 212.

Haines, Yellowstone Story, p. 165.

Hampton, How the U. S. Cavalry Saved our National Parks, p. 27.

Haines, Yellowstone Story, pp. 169-70.

See text of the Yellowstone National Park Act in Appendix B.
FOOTNOTES - PART IV

1Langford, Discovery, p. xxvi.


3Ibid, p. xxv.


5Ibid, p. 120; at the end of the expedition, Langford lost thirty-five pounds.


7Ibid, p. 116.

8Ibid, p. 31. "The stillness is horrible, and the solemn grandeur of the scene surpasses conception. You feel the absence of sound—the oppression of absolute silence."

9Ibid, p. 29.

10Ibid, p. 32.


13Langford, Discovery, pp. 4-5.


15Ibid, p. 11.

Samuel Lewis' engraving from Clark's map, 1814.
The National Archives.
Map 2

William Clark's manuscript map, 1806-11.

Yale University.
Visits of Trappers to the Yellowstone region as recorded by Osborne Russell, 1835, 1837, and 1839.
The Bridger-De Smet manuscript map, 1851.

St. Louis University
Father De Smet's manuscript map, 1851.

St. Louis University
Prospecting trip of the DeLacy and Ream parties in the Yellowstone region, 1863.
Walter W. DeLacy's manuscript map, 1865.

Montana Historical Society.
Route of the Cook-Folsom party, 1869.
The revised Delacy Map, ed. of 1870.

The Library of Congress.
Route of the Washburn party, 1870.
Lieutenant Gustavus Doane's Manuscript map, 1870.

The National Archives.
Enlargement of Lt. Doane's map 1870.
Map 13

Routes of the Hayden Survey parties, 1871 and 1872.
Route of the Barlow-Heap expedition, 1371.
General Land Office manuscript map (Blaines), 1871.

The National Archives.
Trumbull sketched Jake Smith during his night guard.

This woodcut, used for Langford's second *Scribner's* article, was captioned, "Jake Smith guarding the camp from hostile Indian attack. 'Requiescat in pace.'"
Pvt. Moore's Sketch

Tower Fall, as sketched by Pvt. Charles Moore, 1870. First pictorial representation of a Yellowstone feature.

Yellowstone Park Museum collection.
The "Yellowstone Wonder," woodcut illustration for Langford's second article in *Scribner's*, June 1871.
Castle Geyser cone

Castle Geyser cone, sketched by Trumbull during the 1870 expedition.

Castle Geyser cone. Moran woodcut modeled on Trumbull's sketch; used to illustrate Langford's second Scribner's article, June 1871.
## METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS OF THE YELLOWSTONE EXPEDITION

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* Altitudes calculated from an ocean-level barometer, 30 inches; thermometer, 60°.

1 Fort Ellis, Montana Territory, Latitude, 44° 47'; Longitude, 110° 35' west.

2 Mean of 15 observations. Altitude.

These altitudes all fall short, as the Aneroid barometer does not indicate with accuracy above 3,000 feet.

G. C. DOANE,
Second Lieutenant Second Cavalry.
APPENDIX B - LEGISLATIVE

(U. S., Statutes at Large, vol. 17, chap. 24, pp. 32-33)

ORGANIC ACT, or the Yellowstone National Park Act

CHAP XXIV.-An Act to set apart a certain Tract of Land lying near the Head-waters of the Yellowstone River as a public Park.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Represent¬atives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the tract of land in the Territories of Montana and Wyoming, lying near the head-waters of the Yellowstone river, and described as follows, to wit, commencing at the junction of Gardiner's river with the Yellowstone river, and running east to the meridian passing ten miles to the eastward of the most eastern point of Yellowstone lake; thence south along said meridian to the parallel to latitude passing ten miles south of the most southern point of Yellowstone lake; thence west along said parallel to the meridian passing fifteen miles west of the most western point of Madison lake; thence north along said meridian to the latitude of the junction of the Yellowstone and Gardiner's rivers; thence east to the place of beginning, is hereby reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale under the laws of the United States, and dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasureing-
ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people; and all persons who shall locate or settle upon or occupy the same, or any part thereof, except as hereinafter provided, shall be considered trespassers and removed therefrom.

SEC. 2. That said public park shall be under the exclusive control of the Secretary of the Interior, whose duty it shall be, as soon as practicable, to make and publish such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary or proper for the care and management of the same. Such regulations shall provide for the preservation, from injury or spoilation, of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonders within said park, and their retention in their natural condition. The Secretary may in his discretion, grant leases for building purposes for terms not exceeding ten years, of small parcels of ground, at such places in said park as shall require the erection of buildings for the accommodation of visitors; all of the proceeds of said leases, and all other revenues that may be derived from any source connected with said park, to be expended under his direction in the management of the same, and the construction of roads and bridle-paths therein. He shall provide against the wanton destruction of the fish and game found within said Park, and against their capture or destruction for the purposes of merchandise or profit. He shall also cause all persons trespassing upon the same after
the passage of this act to be removed therefrom, and
generally shall be authorized to take all such measures as
shall be necessary or proper to fully carry out the objects
and purposes of this act.

Approved, March 1, 1872.

Signed by:

James G. Blaine, Speaker of the House

Schuyler Colfax, Vice-President of the United States
and President of the Senate

Ulysses S. Grant, President of the United States.


**NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES**


*Helena Herald*, Summer 1869.

*Helena Daily Herald*, August to October 1870.

*Overland Monthly*.

*Scribner's Monthly*. 