ambushed and suffered a loss of its traps. With other threats from Indians to the north, Bonneville retreated over the Owl Creek Mountains to the Wind River valley. In need of a resupply of traps, Bonneville saw the opportunity to attempt a crossing through the heart of the Wind River Mountains, around which he had traveled and been so inspired for almost a year. His idea was to fetch traps for his men from a large cache of supplies that they had established the year prior on the opposite side of the Wind River Mountains at Fort Bonneville, near present-day Daniel, Wyoming. Instead of taking the roundabout route through South Pass at the southern end of the range, he would attempt to take a more direct course to his cache by discovering a low pass across the center of the range.

Accordingly, Bonneville detached three men and followed a northern branch of the Popo Agie River that appeared to offer a route through the range. After passing today's Washakie Hot Springs, they entered the canyon of the south fork of the Little Wind River but "...soon found themselves in the midst of stupendous crags and precipices that barred all progress." After they retraced their steps to the Wind River valley, Irving's account best describes what happened next:

> *They were too close beneath the mountains to scan them generally, but they now recollected having noticed, from the plain, a beautiful slope rising, at an angle of about thirty degrees, and apparently without any break, until it reached the snowy region. Seeking this gentle acclivity, they began to ascend it with alacrity, trusting to find at the top one of those elevated plains which prevail among the Rocky Mountains.*

They began climbing the ridge between Crooked and Trout creeks, but would soon learn that a route to the Wind River crest would not be so easy a task.

> *They attained the summit with some toil, but found, instead of a level, or rather undulating plain, that they were on the brink of a deep and precipitous ravine, from the bottom of which rose a second slope, similar to the one they had just ascended. Down into this profound ravine they made their way by a rugged path, or rather fissure of the rocks, and then labored up the second slope. They gained the summit only to find themselves on another ravine, and now perceived that this vast mountain, which had presented such a sloping and even side to the distant beholder on the plain, was shagged by frightful precipices, and seamed with longitudinal chasms, deep and dangerous.*

That night, they camped in the vicinity of Dickinson Park after which "two days more of arduous climbing and scrambling only served to admit them into the heart of this mountainous and awful solitude; where difficulties increased as they proceeded."

> *Sometimes they scrambled from rock to rock, up the bed of some mountain stream, dashing its bright way down to the plains; sometimes they availed themselves of the paths made by the deer and the mountain sheep, which, however, often took them to the brinks of fearful precipices, or led to rugged defiles, impassable for their horses. At one place, they were obliged to slide their horses down the face of a rock, in which attempt some of the poor animals lost their footing, rolled to the bottom, and came near being dashed to pieces.*

By the afternoon of the second day, they had "ascended to a great height above the level of the plains, yet they beheld huge crags of granite piled one upon another, and beetling like battlements far above them." Presumably, they had dropped into the Popo Agie north fork, which they followed past Sanford Park before ascending to "two bright and beautiful little lakes, set like mirrors in the midst of stern and rocky heights, and surrounded by grassy meadows, inexpressibly refreshing to the eye." It is likely that they had reached Deep Creek Lakes, from which Bonneville and one other "set out to climb a neighboring height, hoping to gain a commanding prospect, and discern some practicable route through this stupendous labyrinth."

> *After much toil, he reached the summit of a lofty cliff, but it was only to behold gigantic peaks rising all around, and towering far into the snowy regions of the atmosphere. Selecting one which appeared*

Captain Benjamin L. E. Bonneville (1796-1878) made the first recorded ascent of a major mountain in Greater Yellowstone. He is pictured here near the end of his long and illustrious military career. *Denver Public Library, Western History Department (M-1174).*

would not consider returning to civilization in search of employment. These diehards chose to continue hunting and trapping for furs to sustain their mountain existence. They must have penetrated the deepest mountain recesses for their game and then traveled long distances to peripheral forts to trade furs for supplies.

In 1872, illustrious trapper and guide Beaver Dick Leigh reported to the Hayden Survey that he knew of one trapper who had found a unique way to entertain himself during the post fur-trade era. Leigh described a trapper named Michaud LeClaire who, at the age of 45 in 1833, gave up his St. Louis medical practice and traveled west to sample life on the frontier. Michaud trapped with the Hudson's Bay Company for several years in the Pacific Northwest and carried messages on foot between Fort Hall and Montreal! He eventually settled near today's Pocatello, Idaho and during the summer of 1843, supplied himself with "ropes, rope ladders, and other aids" to climb the mountain that for years had loomed over his activities in the Snake River plain—the Grand Teton. It is believed that, with his well-organized party, LeClaire made it as far as the Upper Saddle before becoming blocked by Class-5 terrain. Legends tell of other trappers and Native Americans who made attempts on the Grand Teton. Climbing mountains could have been just the activity fidgety "mountain men" needed to satiate their adventurous spirits.

The most natural post fur-trade extension of trappers' knowledge and skills was to serve as guides for the great influx of both government and private expeditions in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Many Native Americans were pressed into similar service as well. These trailblazing Indians and veteran trappers, whether employed as guides or not, were implored by curious newcomers to disclose their experiences and observations in the wilds of Greater Yellowstone. Though most of these stories were viewed with suspicion, they served the ultimate effect of piquing curiosity and luring further exploration by both private and sanctioned expeditions. Some of those that served as guides were impelled by their employers into logging mountain ascents, which might have passed into oblivion along with earlier mountaineering accomplishments had it not been for meticulous archiving of information.

John Charles Frémont†

Among the most famous of all government exploits in the western frontier were the five expeditions of John Charles Frémont during the 1840s. Frémont was commissioned for his first expedition by the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers to conduct a scientific survey of the country between the Missouri River and Rocky Mountains for the purpose of providing eastern emigrants with an established and relatively secure route to Oregon Territory. Though political rivals often blasted Frémont's conclusions, his reports provided the public much coveted information about travel routes, equipment needed, and details about various Indian tribes. The expedition crossed the Mississippi in May 1842 with a team of about thirty men including veteran trapper Kit Carson as guide, German immigrant Charles Preuss as cartographer, and many French-Canadian veterans of the fur trade.

Frémont's written commission was to explore only as far as the Sweetwater River and to spend any extra time exploring Kansas Territory. But at least one historian has suggested that Frémont had studied Irving's *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, which contains several passages that quote Captain Bonneville's assertions about the prominence of the Wind River Range and that it was home to the "loftiest point of the North American continent." It is likely that Frémont also read Irving's qualification that Bonneville could not verify the true height of such a peak by scientific means. Evidently, the loose end of actually determining this peak's height intrigued John C. Frémont, who conveniently was one of the few Americans at that time trained to measure altitude using a barometer.

John Charles Frémont (1813-1890). *Denver Public Library, Western History Department (F-5736).*

Thus, Frémont dreamed of becoming the first person to survey the Rocky Mountains. With political help from his powerful father-in-law, U.S. Senator Thomas Benton, Frémont secured

† see Notes, p.437

mark next to cross hatches or a triangle containing a dot. The label "VABM" for vertical angle bench mark was used when vertical angles were sighted reciprocally between at least two other stations to establish a precise elevation measurement. Later, these designations were reserved only for those stations that were established with a more precise technique called differential leveling. While many geologists kept excellent notes about their activities, including mountain ascents, the only surviving record of ascents by topographers are the points marked with a "BM" or "VABM" on their maps and their descriptions of their control stations in their annual triangulation reports.

Surveyors usually would report to Washington D.C. in the winter to produce their maps. A great deal of pride was involved in this process, which required certain artistic abilities, good organization, and tolerance for repetitive trigonometric calculations. Before World War I and the advent of photogrammetric mapping techniques, which greatly improved contour detail, "draughtsmen" took certain liberties while scribing contour lines. In their representations of steep mountain flanks and cliff areas, lines invariably were drawn too smoothly and round with an eye for aesthetics rather than detail. After World War II, the U.S. Geological Survey began work on the 7.5- and 15-minute map series in collaboration with the Coast and Geodetic Survey. As the process embroiled more people, high-tech equipment, and specialized steps, individual topographer's names, which graced map marginalia for a half century, were removed along with much of the personal satisfaction of directing a project from beginning to end.

The Coast and Geodetic Survey evolved in 1878 from the "U.S. Coast Survey," which President Thomas Jefferson established in 1807 as the "Survey of the Coast." During the late 1800s and early 1900s, this agency conducted extensive transcontinental surveys to provide a framework for the accurate mapping of the interior of the United States. In 1927, the C.G.S. established the North American Datum, which made it possible to connect all surveys and maps on a uniform base. The C.G.S. first penetrated Greater Yellowstone in 1922 while extending triangulation northward from Pocatello, and again visited the region in 1925, 1931, 1933, 1934, 1936, 1946, 1950, and 1955. Surveying mostly at night from high summits, C.G.S. surveys required precise coordination between "lightkeepers" and observers. They climbed over fifty prominent peaks throughout Greater Yellowstone and their work assisted the U.S.G.S. in horizontal control of the 7.5- and 15-minute map quadrangles we use today. Debris found on summits today, such as wooden tripods, wire, cloth, batteries, and lights, is likely attributed to their activities. In 1970, the C.G.S. was renamed the "National Geodetic Survey" under the direction of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). Today, nearly nine hundred 7.5-minute quadrangles cover the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem.

Coast and Geodetic Surveyors Herman Odessey and Walter J. Bilby begin an ascent to a station in Montana in 1926. *Coast and Geodetic Season's Report, Odessey, 1926. Historic Coast and Geodetic Survey Collection (theb3542), NOAA Photo Library.*

Early Hayden Surveys†

Ferdinand Vanderveer Hayden was born in September 1829 in southwestern Massachusetts and was raised on a farm near Rochester, New York. He graduated from Oberlin College in 1850 where he fortuitously was advised by a professor friend to seek a degree in medicine as a means to pursue a passion for geology. (Careers in the sciences were not considered viable in the 1850s.) This led him to Albany Medical School where he earned the title of M.D. in 1853 and gained an education in geology and paleontology from his landlord and leading paleontologist James Hall.

Hayden fell in with the right people and spent the 1850s learning his trade and the outdoor life during annual scientific junkets to the upper Missouri River country. After an inspiring expedition to the gates of Yellowstone country with Raynolds in 1859 and 1860, he served as a doctor in the Union Army from 1862 to 1865, but returned to the West in 1866 to collect fossils in the Badlands. With some political finagling, he was appointed geologist in charge of the Geological Survey of Nebraska in 1867. Each year thereafter for the next twelve seasons, Hayden lobbied successfully for congressional funding to explore much of the mountain West. In 1868 and 1869, Hayden explored much of southeast Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico, all the while anticipating an opportunity to someday explore the mysterious and remote Yellowstone region. He brushed the region in September 1870, when the party crossed South Pass and camped beneath the enchanting Wind River Mountains. In October, they made at least three excursions into the Uinta Mountains and climbed Gilbert's Peak, which they reported as the highest peak in that range.

Ferdinand Vanderveer Hayden (1829-1887) directed surveys throughout Greater Yellowstone in 1871, 1872, 1877, and 1878. *Portraits 9, U.S. Geological Survey.*

In 1871, Hayden's persistence and passion for exploration finally yielded an opportunity to survey Yellowstone country. He and his party of twenty specialists set out from Ogden, Utah in June and trekked north across the Snake River plain and over the continental divide to Fort Ellis near Bozeman, Montana. There the Hayden Survey linked with a military escort commanded by Captain John Whitney Barlow and hired a hunter and a guide who had spent some time wandering the Yellowstone wilderness. Along as guest on the expedition was Thomas Moran whose paintings from the 1871 expedition would capture the great scenes of the area with bright hues and deep shadows. These works motivated the public and Congress to continue supporting Hayden's future explorations. In addition to collecting material samples and considerable scientific data, the 1871 Hayden Survey began an era of climbing peaks to make geologic observations and take topographic and trigonometric measurements.

Ferdinand V. Hayden would become one of the greatest explorers and mountaineers of his time. Not only was he a great leader, he also had a keen sense and appreciation for the natural world in both its grand and diminutive realms. While geothermal areas entranced others in his party, Hayden was more inspired by following watercourses and climbing high points to obtain commanding views of the topography. Yet, while Hayden raved incessantly in his reports about the scenery he witnessed from summits, he never once advocated mountain climbing to his readers. Instead, he effervesced about the mountains as an endless studio for artists. Moving quickly over rugged terrain, Hayden would stop to sample rocks with the hope of finding some small piece of the gigantic geologic puzzle of the Rocky Mountains. For this quest that so absorbed him, he was bestowed an endearing name by a party of Indians: "man-who-picks-up-stones-running." After surrounding Hayden, the braves dumped the contents of his bag onto the ground. Expecting something either incriminating or valuable, they were befuddled to see it contained only rocks. They let him go thinking him a lunatic.

The survey party crossed into Paradise Valley and stopped at Bottler's Ranch near today's Emigrant, Montana to rest and resupply for the adventure ahead. They followed the Yellowstone River and traveled over Mount Washburn to the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone and the

† see Notes, p.440

Stinkingwater Peak by Francis King. On September 20, Jaggar might have climbed Dike Mountain and on the 21st he climbed Black Mountain, a massive scree hulk near the head of Sunlight Basin, about which he wrote, "Adventurous climb. Wonderful dikes. Studied a complex. Physics of climbing slide rock—lean out and balance with hammer—handle against mountain. Slide rock as a means of descent. Sheep track wherever I decide to go. Snow flurry and rain and thunder—fine view from the 2 summits." A hasty trek via Cooke City and Mammoth to Bozeman by the end of September ended this spectacular summer of achievement.

Thomas Jaggar's work in the Northern Absaroka was memorialized by the application of his name to a rugged peak and creek between Dead Indian and Sunlight peaks. He would continue his enterprise in volcanism as a professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology between 1904 and 1917, and later as a volcanologist at Hawaii Volcanoes National Park. Arnold Hague, on the other hand, who was perpetually absorbed by Greater Yellowstone, continued exploring and studying the area until his death in 1917. Hague not only was a stalwart adventurer and scientist, but he also was one of the earliest champions of forest and wildlife conservation interjecting numerous influential comments throughout his letters, publications, and monographs in the U.S.G.S. annual reports.

Tweedy and Douglas†

In early September 1893, Thomas Jaggar reported meeting topographer Frank Tweedy as he descended with his party through the upper Shoshone south fork from the high Absaroka crest. Tweedy was only halfway through an arduous season of surveying that did not conclude until late October. According to the *Red Lodge Picket* newspaper, Tweedy was "at the mines taking the height of all the principal mountain peaks of that region." In addition to completing work on a quadrangle in southeast Wyoming, Tweedy was in the process of surveying two other 30-minute quadrangles in some of Wyoming's most rugged and complex terrain—the Absaroka. But for Frank Tweedy, surveying the high mountains was a labor of love. He spent fifty years in that line of work, retiring at age 71 in 1925.

Frank Tweedy was born in New York City on June 12, 1854 and received a Civil Engineering degree from Union College in Schenectady, New York in 1875. After cutting his teeth as an engineer with the New York State Adirondack Survey between 1875 and 1879, he went west in 1882 to work as an assistant topographer for the Northern Trans-Continental Survey. He began his forty-one-year career with the U.S.G.S. in 1884 with a starting salary of $900/year. Tweedy spent the summers of 1884 and 1885 as a topographer mapping the Canyon, Gallatin, and Shoshone quadrangles in Yellowstone Park under John H. Renshawe, during which time he pursued a passion as an amateur botanist and collected 605 species of plants. Along with co-scribing three of the first four topographic maps of the Park for their first printing in 1886, he also published *Flora of the Yellowstone National Park* that same year.

Frank Tweedy (1854-1937) surveyed territory and climbed mountains throughout Wyoming and Montana to produce twenty-two topographic quadrangles for the U.S.G.S. *Portraits 3716, U.S. Geological Survey.*

In 1886, Edward M. Douglas was appointed Geographer in Charge of the U.S.G.S. Survey of Montana, with Frank Tweedy as one of his topographers. With Renshawe's 1883 base line near Bozeman as starting point, Douglas spent 1886 through 1889 reascending several of the peaks Renshawe and Chase climbed during their Yellowstone triangulation in the early 1880s, as well as extending the system farther westward, eastward, and southward. In total, Douglas probably climbed Gallatin Peak, Mount Jefferson, Bridger Peak, Mount Blackmore, Emigrant Peak, Monument Peak, Mount Washburn, Electric Peak, and Livingston Peak. He also sighted to Granite Peak, Pilot Peak, Hilgard Peak, and Sawtelle Peak. Although he was unsuccessful, Douglas made the first recorded attempt to climb Granite Peak in 1889.

Edward M. Douglas directed triangulation and topographic surveys in northern Greater Yellowstone with many peak ascents between 1886 and 1890. *Portraits 3599, U.S. Geological Survey*

While Douglas was busy with triangulation, Tweedy spent 1886 and 1887 surveying 3,000 square miles of topog-

† see Notes, p.445

tain from the Lower Saddle or Black Dike at the sheer-looking profile of the mountain's west side and concluded that it would be too difficult despite the obviously easy terrain leading most of the way up. The theory is that he then climbed today's Beckey Couloir with the fortuitous assistance of a snow ramp to bypass a difficult rock band and followed the Ford Couloir to the summit. To Kieffer's credit, after trying unsuccessfully to contact his two partners to substantiate his claim, he humbly admitted that he could not prove that he climbed the Grand Teton and thus "…made no claims whatever." There is little reason to refute that Kieffer, Rhyon, and Newell reached the top of the Grand Teton in 1893.

Another Yellowstone soldier would play a major role in mountaineering in the Tetons. John "Jack" Shive was stationed in Yellowstone between 1885 and 1889 and moved to Buffalo Valley on the east side of Jackson Hole in 1891. Not only did Shive make one of the earliest attempts to climb Mount Moran, he also was one of four men to reach the top of the Grand Teton in 1898 under the leadership of William Owen.

William O. Owen†

No figure in the history of Greater Yellowstone mountaineering has received so much praise and condemnation as William Octavius Owen. For his self-serving, petty, rancorous, and exhaustive efforts to promote his 1898 ascent of the Grand Teton and to disprove Nathaniel Langford's claims of an 1872 ascent, Owen repulsed many in the mountaineering community. Such sentiment was amplified in modern times after the appearance of Dr. Charles Kieffer's 1899 letter that matter-of-factly notified William Owen of his 1893 ascent of the Grand Teton. Owen never revealed the existence of this letter, which no doubt imperiled his coveted status as the first to have climbed the Grand. Either Leigh Ortenburger or Orrin Bonney first discovered the letter in Owen's volumes of papers during the late 1950s. Bonney subsequently published the letter in full in the early 1960s.

During the 1890s, peak climbing captivated William Owen, pictured here circa 1895. In 1898, he claimed to have made the first ascent of the Grand Teton despite prior claims by at least two other parties. *American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming (28580).*

Despite Owen's shortcomings, he was both passionate for mountaineering and sincerely interested in truth if the truth served his purpose. His widely published articles about his adventures and his successful ascent of the Grand Teton in 1898 brought him much praise throughout the West. In his professional life as a surveyor, he was respected for thoroughness and precision and in private as very friendly, generous, and approachable. Billy Owen was born in Pleasant Grove, Utah in 1859 and moved with his family to Laramie, Wyoming in 1868. By all measures a young genius, Owen had passion for astronomy, mathematics, and other sciences, and at age 14 began studying land surveying, a field he felt would best allow him to apply his primary interests. At age 19, he received qualification as an engineer and began a sixteen-year surveying career with the General Land Office surveys of county, range, and township lines in southeast Wyoming. The General Land Office was a predecessor of today's Bureau of Land Management, and was responsible for subdividing U.S. Government lands into salable parcels.

In 1890, Owen contracted with the General Land Office to survey the 8th standard parallel line, which was the only such line surveyed across the Wind River high country. His crew surveyed lands near Union Pass and made a thorough exploration of the southern Winds, which Owen later described in a letter to the great Wind River scribe Kenneth Henderson:

> *This country was so rough that we could not even get packs over it, so I sent my teams, wagons, and equipment across the south end of the mountains,…and carried enough food on our backs to last through the survey. On this line, I encountered canyons and gorges of a depth, width and ruggedness that I can't describe.… There was one six miles of this line on which not half a mile was chained; we triangulated the remainder.*

During the time of that survey, Owen read an article in the *Laramie Republican* about the controversial 1842 ascent of Frémont Peak by John Charles Frémont. Owen's subsequent inquiries about the subject were met with assurances from locals that Frémont had most certainly climbed Temple Peak, not Fremont Peak. However, Owen noticed

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noted that he wrote to Owen on May 5, 1897 stating that he changed his position and now believed that Langford and Stevenson had in fact reached the summit. In conclusion, Gannett chided, "Mr. Owen, in quoting me, should have told not only the truth, but the whole truth. He should not have quoted the first letter and omitted the second."

To each of Owen's attacks, Langford responded with remarkable composure in four of his own letters, which quelled all reasonable doubt that his 1872 Grand Teton foray was successful. Langford's rebuttals even convinced Franklin Spalding, who wrote in November 5 and December 6 letters to Langford:

> *If you say you reached the summit of the Grand Teton there is no reason why I should not believe you. The real reason I think you reached the top is because you say that you did…and because the difficulties of the ascent were not great enough to have prevented any good climber from having successfully scaled the peak. Whether I was first or thousandth, the climb was worthwhile. I think, if you will permit me to say so, you are in fault, as is also Mr. Owen, in exaggerating the difficulties of the ascent.… If you did not reach the top when you started out to do it, you are a mighty poor mountain climber in my humble judgement; and I cannot understand why Mr. Owen failed so many times before he succeeded.*

When Owen later read Spalding's words, he privately was aghast, but publicly responded sensibly that mountaineers build on the experience of their predecessors. Owen argued that Spalding benefited from Owen's thorough knowledge of the mountain below the Upper Saddle, just as hundreds of less-skilled climbers who achieve success on the Matterhorn benefit from Edward Whymper's numerous experiences on that mountain. But, Owen would not relent on the issue of the first ascent of the Grand Teton. Although his trivial arguments in *Forest and Stream* persuaded few if any in the national mountaineering community to support his position, Owen would spend the rest of his life convincing the residents of Jackson Hole and Wyoming that his ascent was indeed the first. To this end, his politicking nature would bring him success and fame. For the time being, however, Owen laid the controversy to rest until subsequent parties could climb the mountain and corroborate Owen's arguments. This day would not come for another twenty-five years. In the meantime, two more key players in the Grand controversy would die, including Langford in 1909 and Spalding in 1914. Unaware of frivolous controversy, a handful of local mountaineers throughout Greater Yellowstone pursued their passion in mountains that they had mostly to themselves.

"In winter the wilderness moves down, gradually encroaching on civilization."
–Elers Koch

Elers Koch†

Perhaps the most prolific local mountaineer of the early 1900s was Bozeman native Elers Koch (pronounced "eelers kotch"). Born in 1880, the son of an adventurous Danish immigrant and contributive Montana resident named Peter Gyllembourg Koch, Elers spent his youth exploring many mountain ranges of central and southern Montana. Peter Koch, an expert amateur botanist, would devote a month each summer to spend in the mountains with his two sons. According to Elers, "Our favorite camping spot was on the Gallatin River, after a wagon road was finally built through the canyon. We usually made three camps during the month, and fished, rode, hunted, and climbed mountains." Peter Koch did most of his plant collecting in the Madison and Gallatin ranges and on one outing with his sons made an early ascent of today's Koch Peak. With his father's early instruction and encouragement in the outdoors, Elers was destined for a rigorous mountain life.

Forest Supervisor Elers Koch (1880-1954) in 1912. Koch made hundreds of mountain ascents in southwestern Montana, including the first ascent of Granite Peak in 1923.
Courtesy of the Koch Archives, Private Collection.

Elers wrote of his teenage years, "...my brother and I, with a few of our friends, used to take long trips by ourselves with our saddle horses and a pack horse or two, exploring the wonderful country around the Gallatin Valley. We had the greatest of freedom, and our parents never objected to any sort of an expedition we wanted to undertake." His most extensive trip was in August 1897 with his father, brother Stanley, and several of Peter's associates from Montana State College to "explore

† see Notes, p.448

article, "Our American Matterhorn," included accounts of his two ascents and his appraisal of its early history, in which he validated Langford and Stevenson's 1872 ascent. Although Albright and Ellingwood would now be the unfortunate new victims of Owen's wrath, they may be remembered, along with LeRoy Jeffers and Eleanor Davis, for being the first of a new generation of mountaineers with the skills, equipment, attitudes, and experience to climb in Greater Yellowstone's alpine environment. Ellingwood died unexpectedly in 1934 at age 46, but his closing paragraph bestowed an accurate prophecy for the latter half of the twentieth century:

> *For the thirty-third-degree mountaineer, the whole region is an unspoiled seventh heaven. For the camper who is content to look at superb mountain scenery from below, it is equally attractive. If it is incorporated into the Yellowstone, as the late President Harding wished and as the conservationists have been trying to bring about for several years, it will give to that part a variety of scenic attractions possessed by no other in the United States and make it our premier national playground.*

The term "mountaineer" would come to exclusively mean "mountain climber," while the great skills of wilderness survival with primitive tools of former mountaineers were soon to be lost. Ellingwood also unwittingly expressed the premonition that many visitors, new residents, and land managers would value the mountains of Greater Yellowstone primarily as a "playground" for personal pleasure rather than simply respecting them for their wild perfection. The first major group of pleasure seekers came just two years later.

Norman Clyde†

In 1926, Horace Albright's invitation to the Sierra Club included a lengthy article in the *Sierra Club Bulletin*. Albright not only touted many of the Park's features as if marketing a new gadget, he formulated an elaborate itinerary for Club members to visit them. His sales pitch for summit hikes out of Mammoth read as follows:

> *Many trails radiate from headquarters—to Mount Everts, Bunsen Peak, to Sepulcher Mountain, and to Electric Peak (11,155 feet), the park's highest mountain. By all means, the Sierra Club party must climb Electric Peak, because it is a peak with character and interest and from its summit the entire Gallatin Range can be seen and studied. If time permitted, a knapsack trip along the backbone of this range, with trips to the summits of Joseph, Gray, Bannock, Antlers, Three Rivers, and Holmes would be a fitting conclusion to a mountaineering sojourn in Yellowstone.*

The response was staggering. On July 10, 1926, some 250 Sierra Club hikers and climbers arrived at Old Faithful. After sightseeing in the geyser basins for a few days, the massive party set off on a two-week packhorse-supported backpacking trip. A party consisting of Norman Clyde, Ernest Dawson, Julie de C. Mortimer, Alice Carter, and J. C. Downing detached

Born in Philadelphia, the son of Irish immigrants, Norman Clyde (1885-1972) logged over one thousand peak ascents in the Sierra Nevada and Rocky Mountains. He concluded a long teaching career in 1927 as high school principal in Independence, California, and then devoted the remainder of his life to the study of mountains. *Photograph courtesy of the John Moynier Collection.*

† see Notes, p.448