

GLACIER PARK VILLAS
Glacier National Park
Lake McDonald Lodge Loop Road
Lake McDonald vicinity
Flathead County
Montana

HABS MT-117
MT-117

HABS
MT-117

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

FIELD RECORDS

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY
INTERMOUNTAIN REGIONAL OFFICE
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
12795 West Alameda Parkway
Denver, CO 80228

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

GLACIER PARK VILLA SITES

HABS No. MT-117

I. INTRODUCTION

Location: The Glacier Park Villa Sites subdivision is located on the shore of Lake McDonald in Glacier National Park, Flathead County, Montana. The subdivision is just south of Lake McDonald Lodge on the Lake McDonald Lodge Loop Road. The buildings occupy Lots 1 through 4 in Block 17 and Lot 23 in Block 16 of the Glacier Park Villa Sites subdivision.

Quad: Lake McDonald West

UTM: Zone 12: 287719 Easting, 5388563 Northing, NAD 83

Date of Construction: c.1920 to c.1950

Present Owner and Occupant: U.S. National Park Service, Glacier National Park

Present Use: Seasonal Housing/Vacant

Significance: The Glacier Park Villa Sites subdivision is a representative example of recreational camp development on Lake McDonald in Glacier National Park, Flathead County, Montana. The subdivision exemplifies one type of property division and camp development that occurred around Lake McDonald in the first half of the twentieth century, from before the formation of the park in 1910 until just after World War II. Like all recreational properties around the lake, the subdivision originated with a homestead claim made in the 1890s and patented before the park was set aside. George Snyder acquired the patent in this area and established a hotel on the point in 1895. When he sold the 168.65-acre homestead property to John and Olive Lewis in 1906, they devised several schemes to develop the property, including constructing a grand, new rustic style hotel and selling cabin lots. In 1916, the Lewises formed the Glacier Park Land Company with other partners as an intermediate company for selling land in the Glacier Park Villa Sites subdivision. They platted and filed a formal subdivision with Flathead County in 1916. Only four cabins have been documented as being built on lots in that subdivision.

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II. HISTORY OF RECREATIONAL CAMP DEVELOPMENT ON LAKE McDONALD

A. Introduction

Recreational camp properties developed around Lake McDonald in Glacier National Park on six homesteads claimed in the period 1891 to 1895 and patented between 1905 and 1917. These homesteads were established following construction of the Great Northern Railway on its push from Minneapolis to Seattle. Almost as soon as the railway passed through Belton, near the confluence of the Middle and North forks of the Flathead River, wilderness recreationists, conservationists, and geologists discovered and publicized the region's plentiful and largely untapped hunting and fishing, its unblemished wild beauty, and its potential for the study of glaciers. Responding to conservation interests, the region was designated a forest reserve (later national forest) in 1897. Homesteaders quickly capitalized on a host of visitors seeking guides and accommodations. Cabin resorts, a small hotel, corrals, guiding, provision of pelts and heads, boat livery, sale of lakefront lots for family camps, all contributed increasingly to their livelihoods during the period leading up to the area's designation as a national park in 1910.

Glacier National Park's enabling legislation guaranteed all valid existing land claims within the new park, and homesteaders around Lake McDonald expanded services to a growing influx of summer visitors. Road development plans in the mid-1910s enhanced property values and tourism opportunities, even as, in 1917, Congress passed an act to exchange private lands "for the purpose of eliminating private holdings" within the park. This set in motion a permanent, if fluctuating, tension between the park and inholders, or private land owners, within the park boundary. These factors also established a lasting relationship between the development of privately owned recreational camps and tourist services: land could provide a commercial location or it could be treated as a commodity. By the early 1920s, over half of the lake frontage encompassed by patented homesteads had been sold in small parcels to individual owners building family camps. Enclaves of families coming from the same locale developed at different places around the lake.

Anticipating enhanced commercial opportunities promised by the completion of the Trans-Mountain (now the Going-to-the-Sun Road) and Roosevelt (U.S. Highway 2) highways, inholders opened more cabin resorts and other services designed for auto travelers. The National Park Service, charged with the preservation of park's natural scenic beauty, moved aggressively in 1928 and 1929 to extinguish such private holdings at Apgar and along the east shore near the head of Lake McDonald through land purchases. The Half Moon Fire of 1929 disheartened many inholders, making it easier for the government to acquire shoreline property, but commercial development and dividing of private holdings for private recreational camps continued into the early 1960s. Throughout that period and down to the present, the government continues to acquire recreational camp properties around Lake McDonald, although at a diminished pace. Surviving camp properties illustrate a variety of interrelated patterns of development and rustic architectural design intended to evoke a sense of wilderness retreat and simplicity.

B. Homestead Era 1891-1910

Although the Lake McDonald region of the future Glacier National Park was well-known to Native American peoples, and used as an eastward travel corridor to the winter bison hunt, it remained largely unexplored by Americans of European descent before the early 1890s. Located west of the Continental Divide and accessible only through strenuous and lengthy exertion from even sparsely populated places, it was among the last largely unexplored areas encompassed by United States boundaries at the time James J. Hill's Great Northern Railway pushed through Marias Pass in 1891. First the railroad's tote road, built to move building materials and supplies for work crews in advance of construction, and then the railroad itself, opened the region to relatively easy access. The wide Flathead Valley and the broad sweep of the plains of eastern Washington, with their lush agricultural promise, drew most homesteaders past the railway stop at Belton, roughly three miles from the foot of Lake McDonald, but a few staked their claims around the lake and up the North Fork of the Flathead River.

Six of the several homestead claims around Lake McDonald before 1896 eventually received patents. They preceded the official survey of the townships encompassing them, and all of the claims slightly exceeded the 160 acres allowed by the Homestead Act of 1862. The earliest claimant was Frank C. Geduhn (1859-1935), who was originally sent to locate a water claim at Lake McDonald by Frank Miles of the Butte and Montana Corn Company in February 1891.¹ Geduhn, a German immigrant who had worked at a variety of jobs across the upper Midwest, was instantly captivated by the beauty of the lake and its deep cedar forest. He recorded the water claim and immediately loaded a sleigh and returned to the foot of Lake McDonald, where he staked his homestead claim. John "Scotty" Findlay followed in the spring, and Geduhn escorted John Elsner to a claim at the head of the lake that summer.

Partners Milo Apgar and Charles Howes followed the Great Northern's tote road from Great Falls in June 1891. Both of these men had their origins in upstate New York. Born in Peruville, Tompkins County, New York, Milo B. Apgar (1844-1896) was the ninth child of Samuel R. Apgar. Milo married Diane Jeanette Dimon, and the couple moved west to Minnesota, after the Civil War, following the predominant pattern of western migration from central New York State of the period.² They raised three children—Eslie Mortimer (1864-1932), Phoebe (b.1867), and Harvey Dimon (b.20 October 1869, Excelsior, Minnesota) in Minnesota before moving west to Montana.³

Charles Howes (b.1856) was a little younger than Apgar. The two men apparently met in Great Falls, where Howes lived for seven years. Bea Macomber, Denis Comeau's daughter, believed that Howes and Milo B. Apgar ran a store together in Great Falls.⁴ Howes was born in Steuben County, New York, and moved west, first to Wisconsin.⁵ He married a woman, at least partially American Indian and variously called Maggie, Margaret, and Mamie, there. Before crossing the Continental Divide in Montana, he lived in the Yellowstone Valley for two years.⁶ L.O. Vaught painted an unflattering picture of Howes, saying, he was "densely ignorant, evidently had had a hard life, was uncouth, suspicious, entirely lacking the social amenities." He added, "His word was not quite dependable, his statements were to be taken with two grains of salt," but acknowledged that, "He was a crack shot, an expert boatman in

white water, knew where the trout were and how to catch them, was fully able to take care of himself in the wilds.”⁷ Of this disparate, and possibly somewhat rough, group, Findlay and Geduhn became fast friends, and the latter took it very hard when Findlay drowned late in 1892 while crossing McDonald Creek. In an effort to outrun his grief, Geduhn relinquished his claim west of the outlet to Apgar and took up the claim John Elsner abandoned at the head of the lake.⁸ This left Howes and Apgar flanking the outlet, and placed Geduhn at the head of the lake west of the inlet.

The homesteaders were joined in 1893 by Acadian Denis Comeau, who staked a claim along the eastern shore at the head of the lake.⁹ Like the others, Comeau worked his way west. When he met his future wife, the widow Lydia Wing Cruger, in 1898, he was working winters as a sawyer in one of the Columbia Falls, Montana, mills and guiding in the mountains in the summer. Cruger, too, had crossed the country, starting in New York State and living in Michigan and Ohio before coming to Montana. In Columbia Falls, she ran the Valley House boarding house to support her and her three adolescent children—Edward, Ida, and Ruth—when she and Comeau married in July 1899.¹⁰

Frank Kelly (b.1855), the next homesteader to stake a claim at Lake McDonald, was born in Dubuque, Iowa, of Irish parents. He worked primarily as a carpenter in the Upper Midwest and also as a raftman on the upper Mississippi. At nineteen, he moved to Minnesota. In 1883, he came west to Livingston, Montana, with the Northern Pacific Railroad. He also worked in California and in Astoria, Oregon. He came to the Belton area to run a portable sawmill for the Great Northern Railway and staked his claim on the west shore of the lake, about two miles from the north end, in March 1894.¹¹ In 1897, he married Emmeline Haworth, the widow of the Great Northern Railway’s section foreman at Belton and a relative of Jessie Cunningham Apgar. Mrs. Kelly had a three-year-old son, Vernon “Vern”, from her previous marriage, and Kelly adopted him at least so far as giving him his last name.¹²

George E. Snyder (b.1870, Menominee, Wisconsin), was among the last entrymen on Lake McDonald. He first visited the region in the fall of 1894. He staked his homestead claim the following spring on the point projecting from the east shore of the lake about a mile and a half south of the inlet and adjoining the south line of Comeau’s claim.¹³ Other homesteaders around the lake viewed him as a little lazy and possibly shiftless. One called him a remittance man, a term for an easterner sent west with an income, either to give him a new start or to get him out of trouble.¹⁴

Even as homesteaders staked claims, Lake McDonald “began to come into the limelight,” drawing hunters and fisherman, conservationists, and geologists to its largely untouched landscape. Charles Hallock, the owner and publisher of *Forest and Stream* when it began circulation in 1873, was a member of a large hunting and fishing party visiting Lake McDonald in the autumn of 1892. He urged the publication of several articles in 1893 about the lake and also forays to discover glaciers tucked into the mountains surrounding it. This gave the region national exposure in the country’s leading periodical about the outdoors, which chronicled adventures of both exploration and exploitation of American nature’s bounty.¹⁵ By this period, George Bird Grinnell was *Forest and Stream*’s chief editor and

publisher. He became one of the region's best known preservation advocates. The trickle of recreational visitors in 1892 strengthened into a gentle, but steady flow, its way eased by the Great Northern Railway's route passing within three miles of the foot of Lake McDonald. Under the Forest Reserve Act of 1891, the area was set aside in 1897 as one of the earliest forest reserves, the precursors of today's national forests.

Visitors to Lake McDonald were part of a long and evolving tradition of the American wilderness vacation, a tradition with its origins in the northeastern United States in the early nineteenth century. Before municipal sanitation, wealthy Americans left their urban homes for cooler, less populated regions during the fetid summer months to escape malaria and, later, cholera. In rural villages, wild uplands, and along seashores, they established social calendars revolving around varied outdoor pursuits. Dramatic scenery drew some, while others preferred more quietly picturesque locales or places associated with American writers. The idea of holiday-making grew out of the concurrent European customs of the Grand Tour advocated for the education of young men and the medical notion of visiting mineral springs to regain or revitalize one's health.

While in Europe the titled class established the habit, in America such holidays developed among the very wealthy—mainly urban merchants and businesspeople—and expanded to the upper middle class in the antebellum era. Vacationing presupposed disposable income and the notion that the increasing complexities of life in the industrial age demanded a respite. As the nation's borders pushed westward, so did its people and their developing culture. Artists like Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran and photographers like William H. Jackson produced a growing body of images of western scenery that engendered an American cultural identity based in its sublime landscape. American wilderness adventures, popularized in the 1860s and 1870s by the Adirondack journeys of George Washington Sears and the western travel logs of writers like John Muir and John Wesley Powell, became firmly lodged in the nation's imagination during the third quarter of the century. Americans turned to wilderness seeking “an intense personal experience, an escape to liminal space where the self could be temporarily re-imagined, an opportunity for physical, mental, and spiritual reinvigoration, a glimpse of the ‘good life.’”¹⁶ Camping holidays seized the nation's imagination in the 1880s and 1890s as people escaped to platform tents and cabins reminiscent of the nation's long settlement period. Some of the nation's urbane businessmen, went hunting and fishing in the remote places. Writing for *Forest and Stream* in the 1880s, William Wicks noted, “We migrate to the woods, hunt and fish from choice; we go for change, recuperation, pleasure, health. We aim to treasure upper energies in order to better sustain the tension of civilization.”¹⁷

Lake McDonald's visitors, too, sought amenities, and the region's homesteaders quickly realized that these well-shod explorers and visitors would happily pay for accommodation, guides, and transportation. This gave rise to a small tourism business. In 1894, F.I. Whitney, the general passenger agent of the Great Northern Railway, began sending tourists to cabin resorts at both Apgar's at the foot of the lake and Geduhn's at its head.¹⁸ These early cabins were small buildings constructed of notched logs daubed with clay and roofed with cedar shakes. George E. Snyder erected the lake's first hotel, the Glacier House, a frame, two-story building with about twelve rooms, on his homestead and established steamboat service to it

from the foot of the lake in 1895. Denis Comeau ran pack strings from his homestead cabins and corral¹⁹, along with his stepson Edward "Eddie" J. Cruger, for several exploring parties and also for fishing and hunting parties climbing into the mountains. Geduhn also guided.

Milo Apgar's youngest son, Harvey Dimon, or "H.D.," joined his parents on their homestead west of the outlet late in 1895.²⁰ After Milo's death the following year, H.D. began expanding tourist services at the foot of Lake McDonald, the place that would come to bear his surname. As the shortest distance between the lake and the railway, Apgar was the only convenient point of access to the rest of lake and all of the mountains and glaciers beyond on the west side of the divide. Rail passengers debarked at Belton and crossed the Middle Fork of the Flathead River by ferry. A stage met them on the far bank and carried them the three miles to Apgar. Some stayed there, while others boarded the steamer "F.I. Whitney" to the head of the lake, either to Snyder's hostelry or to Geduhn's cabin resort. Until 1922, both the hotel and Geduhn's could be reached only by boat. When homesteader Frank Kelly returned to Lake McDonald for good in the winter of 1905-06, he built his gasoline launch "Emmeline" at Apgar and set her afloat for the 1906 season. With no boiler to generate heat and cinders, she provided a more pleasant voyage than the old steamer had. She ran each summer until the mid-1930s, carrying goods and people long after roads connected the clusters of camps sited around the lake. Boarding her at the beginning of a summer holiday must have emphasized the sense of leaving behind one's everyday life for wilderness and potential adventure. Debarking at Apgar at the end of the summer must have felt like the first step in returning home to work or school.

Development at the foot of the lake was steady. Since Milo Apgar's claim lay west of the creek and was separated from the rough wagon road between Belton and Lake McDonald by the watercourse, it lacked commercial advantage. H.D. Apgar asked Charles Howes for permission to build four cabins on the latter's claim just east of the outlet. Howes agreed, with the understanding that the cabins would become his as soon as the creek was spanned by a bridge.²¹ In 1897, explorer Lyman Sperry drew a map for F.I. Whitney showing both Apgar's and Geduhn's cabin resorts, at the foot and head of the lake respectively.²² When Eddie Cruger came to the lake in May 1898, H.D. and Esli, the Apgars' eldest son, were living there with their mother. They had built two of the four rental cabins and were building another.²³

In the fall of 1904, the Lake McDonald region was surveyed, and in the spring of 1905 six of Lake McDonald's homesteaders made final proof.²⁴ Soon after, some of them started selling small lots to visitors on which to build cabins for summer use. Before 1910, Geduhn sold four lakefront lots. These included .56 acres to Helena lawyer Thomas J. Walsh, 3.53 acres to Kalispell businessman W.C. Whipps, 1.43 acres to Kalispell banker James Conlon, and 6.23 acres to Charles Sandford. Sandford, a Lake McDonald resident who worked as a carpenter with Eddie Cruger building the Whippses' cabin,²⁵ may have envisioned a cabin resort as this was an uncommonly large lot for a family camp. Before 1910, however, he had sold his lot to Colonel Nolan, Walsh's former legal partner and United States Attorney for the Montana District.²⁶ All of them built summer cabins shortly thereafter, ranging from the Georgian Revival log cabin, "Wissahickon," of W.C. Whipps to the Craftsman-influenced log Walsh Lodge.

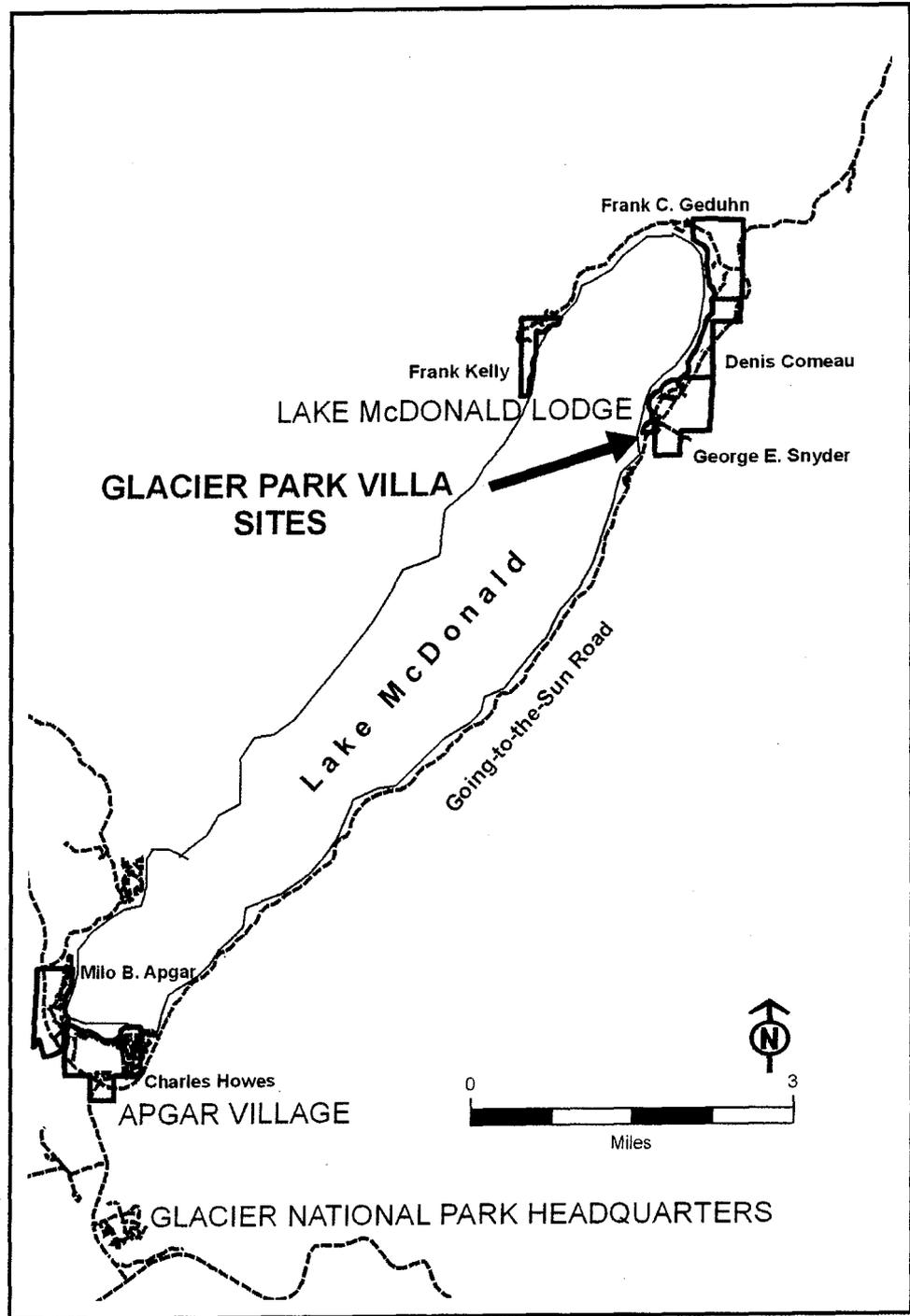


Figure 1. Location map showing Lake McDonald homesteads.

The Comeaus also began selling lots. At the north end of their property, John J. Robinson of Columbia Falls bought a 75 x 100-foot lot in 1905, where he apparently built a log cabin soon after.²⁷ When the Comeaus divorced two or three years later, Denis Comeau sold the northern third of the property to Olive Lewis and deeded the remainder to his ex-wife Lydia. She sold a 100 x 100-foot lot to Dora Crump in 1908 to raise money to pay for her son Eddie Cruger's hospitalization.²⁸ Crump later hired Cruger, a noted carpenter, to build her frontal gable cedar log cabin with its broad lakeside porch and stone chimney on its north wall.

George Snyder considered selling lake front lots from his homestead,²⁹ but instead sold his entire property, including his Glacier House hotel, to John and Olive Lewis in 1908. To diversify their new purchase's services, they immediately began building a row of log housekeeping cabins along the bluff northeast of the hotel designed with families in mind. They also sold a 300 x 300-foot lot to F.P. Thorne in 1907,³⁰ where he built the first private cabin on the bluff northeast of the new cabins. At the foot of the lake, Charles Howes sold three lakefront parcels at the east end of his property to individuals for summer cabins before 1915.³¹ And, H.D. Apgar allowed artist Charles M. Russell to build a log cabin on his land west of the outlet in 1908.³²

C. 1910-1928: Early Park Years

The setting aside of the park in 1910 also enhanced the value of privately owned land as no further entries were allowed. The new park drew more tourists each year, further increasing land values as demand grew. Ensuring one's choice of seasonal residence through ownership appealed to some people who had summered in the region during the 1900s and early 1910s. With most of the region's wilderness protected by federal law, one required no more than a parcel large enough for a cabin with a view. Homesteaders found a steady market for small lake side parcels among these visitors, and the shoreline within the homesteads hosted a growing number of Rustic Style log cabins built by individual families.

By default, the area became called Apgar even though Charles Howes owned the lion's share of the land east of the outlet and he pursued several tourist service livelihoods. In addition to occasional cabin rental, he ran a store, built privies to accommodate tourists, worked as a ranger, and possibly skippered the steamer "F.I. Whitney," before she was retired.³³ Howes's largest role, however, lay in realty. He began selling land in a small way when Charles Foot bought a lake front lot at the east end in 1909. After the 1912 settlement of the Apgar land dispute, Howes sold two lakefront parcels east of the dock—one to Orville Denney, a boat entrepreneur,³⁴ and the other to the Kalispell Mercantile.³⁵ He sold additional lake front lots to David Ross in 1913 and Roderick Houston in 1915.³⁶

Howes watched as his neighbors, the Apgars, platted and filed a formal subdivision of 52 lake front lots encompassing about a half-mile of shoreline west of the outlet in 1914.³⁷ Artist Charles M. Russell, who was already a regular visitor had begun developing his Bull Head Lodge [National Register, 1984] property on Lots A and B at the center of the subdivision before, probably in 1908.³⁸ The Russells added four more lots, two north and two south, of

their first lots. North and south of them, the Apgars' Glacier Park Cottage Sites lots sold well. Russell probably introduced the largest buyer, his Great Falls neighbor and a president of General Mills Corporation, James W. Sherwood, to Apgar. Sherwood filed the deed for all 26 lots north of Russell in 1920.³⁹ He built Sherwood Lodge, designed by Long Beach, California, architect, W. Horace Austin, at the north end of his holdings. Sherwood sold lots to Vera Thelen, wife of Great Falls lawyer Jonathan Thelen, and to Anna O. Coulter, wife of ear-nose-and-throat specialist C.F. Coulter, also of Great Falls, in January 1923.⁴⁰ South of the Russell's Bullhead Lodge, the last of H.D. Apgar's lots sold by October 1922, a few months after his death on June 17.⁴¹ Even though his daughters Jeanette and Helen were not yet grown up, each owned a single lot. Most of the other lots changed hands in groups of two or more. Ensenice Caroline Gruber, wife of Great Northern Railway vice president J.M. Gruber, assembled six contiguous lots by 1926, where they established a new camp after their first one at Rocky Point burned in that year's wildland fire. The only other family known to have built on these lots in the pre-World War II era is the Bellefleurs.⁴²

Howes could have compared Apgar's success with two of John and Olive Lewis's ventures near the head of the lake. During the summer of 1916, Lewis sold for \$500 apiece five 50 x 300-foot shoreline lots paralleling the one he sold to F.P. Thorne. Several of Thorne's friends from Kansas bought these, creating a small Kansas enclave near the new Glacier Hotel.⁴³ R.E. McDonnell, a Kansas City engineer, also bought one of these lots. These people all built side-gabled log cabins with open porches on the lake side and cobblestone chimneys on their side walls. Looking back in the 1950s, one Lake McDonald resident noted, "Log cabins, preferably of cedar, of which there was an abundance in the nearby forests, was [*sic.*] considered the only suitable type of construction for a summer residence. It had to be 'rustic' even though it lacked modern conveniences now thought essential."⁴⁴

E. Rustic camp architecture around Lake McDonald

A log cabin alluded to homesteading and rustic simplicity. Until the early 1930s, logs were easily cut around Lake McDonald. Western red cedar was the preferred choice, although western larch (tamarack), spruce, and even the occasional cottonwood log were used to raise the notched log walls of early log buildings in the area. While the cabins built for the early cabin resorts by Frank Geduhn and H.D. Apgar used the same construction techniques as those they built when they staked their claims, even the smallest of the recreational camp cabins were more spacious and owed something of their forms, proportions, and decorative features to the rustic version of the popular Craftsman style.

Recreational cabins on Lake McDonald, like those on other lakes, put their handsomest face, or front, to the water, as the lake was their reason for existence. Builders used both side-gabled and frontal gable forms. While many cabins had rectangular plans, others had T-plans or L-plans with cross-gabled roofs. In some cases, the wings were lower than the main block. The bulk of the cabins built around Lake McDonald had log foundations, most using vertical piers or "butts." A smaller proportion had stone foundations, and a few rested directly on the earth. For cabins set on sloping ground, builders constructed banked foundations or piers of graduating height, with the back sill at grade and the front wall and porch raised and reached by a flight of steps. Hand-split cedar shakes were the preferred roofing material and generally supported by log purlins which projected beyond the walls to support deep eaves.

All recreational log cabins had front porches spanning part, or all, of the main block; some had back porches, too. The front porch provided a sheltered intermediate living space set between the dark cabin interior and the outdoors with a view of the lake. On frontal gable block cabins, the roofline was simply extended over the porch deck. Many builders placed decorative motifs—lattices or sunbursts—composed of unpeeled logs—in the open gable end above the porch. On side-gabled buildings, the front porch might have its own shed roof, pitched differently from the main roof, or the porch might be recessed beneath the plane of the main roof like many bungalow houses of the early twentieth century. Back porches were more utilitarian: there might be a dry sink, benches for taking off boots, shelves for storage. These generally opened into the kitchen, set at the back of the cabin or in a wing.

The front, or lakeside, portion of these cabins included a large, open space used as the main living area. Most individually owned family cabins incorporated native stone chimneys placed on an exterior wall with a large hearth opening onto this main common space. In rental cabins built in resorts like Geduhn's and Kelly's, less costly stoves with metal stovepipes prevailed. Stairs climbed to an open sleeping loft in the upper half story. Under the loft, there might be one or two enclosed bed chambers.

Builders adzed most of the round profile on the interior sides of the logs of most cabins built in the pre-1930 period and then tacked narrow cedar strips over the spaces. This created a smooth, wood interior surface. On the outside, builders daubed the spaces between logs with local mud to seal the building. Interior walls were usually lightly framed, often clad in beadboard or planks. Family cabins were often furnished with American Indian rugs, rustic twig furniture, and the mounted heads of local animals like grizzly bears, mountain goats, and elk. Rental cabins tended to be furnished with easily replaced items bought from the mercantile, like iron beds and factory tables and chairs. With several mills in nearby Columbia Falls, most builders used stock multi-light sash and casements for windows. Some also used stock paneled doors, occasionally sheathing them in tree bark to enhance the rustic character of the building. Some builders constructed unusually wide, heavy doors and used custom hardware designed to look rough and heavy to match the overall aesthetic.

Additions and changes made in the post-World War II period brought plumbing and increased privacy to pre-1930 log cabins. Plumbing often employed rudimentary exterior pipes that were drained in winter. Many owners partitioned the sleeping loft into bedrooms and added dormer windows to let light into the new rooms. In an effort to improve the cabin's protection from harsh weather, the earlier sliding and double-hung sash and multi-light casements were sometimes replaced with single-light casements with insulated glass. Several owners have extended the front porch beyond the roof's projection, adding open decks, and often glazing the original porch to create more interior space.

In addition to the main cabin, all camps had ancillary buildings. Every camp had at least one privy. The earliest ones appear to have been built using notched logs, just like their associated cabins. Most early camps also had stables for wagon horses and sometimes also pack horses. By the 1930s, many camps also had garages. Root cellars were dug into the

earth and faced with a log wall breached by a heavy door, to protect food from spoilage or theft by bears. By the 1920s, a growing number of cabin resorts and private camps used generators to provide light in the evenings. Small, squarish buildings, these were usually built on poured concrete foundations protecting against sparking and explosion. With the strong orientation to the lake, many camps had boathouses and docks. Wood sheds protected firewood from the damp. Even when plumbing was introduced to many camps, laundry and bathing were placed in buildings separate from the main cabin, sometimes reusing an earlier structure. As second generations matured and had families, some private camps added guest cabins to their properties.

In most cases, private individuals had stopped building with logs by the early 1940s. The Half Moon Fire devastated the cedar forest at the foot of the lake, which had provided building materials to homestead owners there since the 1890s. Those rebuilding houses and businesses in the 1930s turned to frame construction using materials brought into the park, although some cabins during that decade using logs salvaged from older buildings.

In the post-war era, nearly all new private building used frame construction. Like their pre-war predecessors, these were modest buildings, usually a story-and-a-half tall and constructed using relatively inexpensive materials. Their designs used traditional gable-roofed forms interpreted for the builders' market. Deep-eaved roofs with exposed rafter tails and plain board trim around windows and doors were often the only details. Builders, rather than architects, probably designed and built these. They favored easily available materials, sometimes trying new post-war materials for walls and roofs, like asphalt and pressed board shingles. Among those whose families had long histories in Glacier, milled log siding was favored, probably because it more closely resembled the older log cabins. People continued to use factory sash and doors.

F. Glacier Park Villa Sites

John and Olive Lewis were one of three landowners around Lake McDonald who filed formal subdivisions with Flathead County 1914 and 1920. The Lewises mortgaged for \$28,970 the 285.59 acres of land they owned on the east shore of Lake McDonald to James A. Talbott, a banker in Columbia Falls on December 17, 1915.⁴⁵ On July 12, 1916, they executed two contracts with partners Robert R. and Blodwen Sidebotham and J.G.G. Wilmot of Great Falls, for the incremental purchase of all of the mortgaged land exclusive of a 42.5-acre parcel located to the southwest of the hotel in the south half of Lot 1 and the south half of the northwest quarter of the northeast quarter of Section 23 in Township 33 West, Range 18.⁴⁶ The excluded acreage was platted and dedicated by the Lewises and the same partners as the Glacier Park Villa Sites on September 6, 1916; the Flathead Country Commissioners approved the subdivision on October 2, 1916 (Figure 1).⁴⁷

The long, narrow, rectangular plat included 36 blocks in four rows which abutted the Lake McDonald shoreline at the west end. Thirty-one of the blocks were divided into 24 lots measuring 25' x 70' and platted in two ranges of twelve each. These were laid out in four ranges of eight blocks each, with a 32nd block divided into two 150' x 150' lots, numbered Blocks 22 and 23. These two lots were in the third range, near the center of the plat,

suggesting that they were set aside for other uses. At the west end, three irregular blocks (17, 18, and 19) with varying numbers of lots followed the shoreline. A street measuring 40 feet wide ran east-west between the 2nd and 3rd ranges, and four additional streets of the same width ran north-south between every other block. Remaining streets were 25 feet wide. The streets were given Blackfoot Indian names, including Nitosi (sun), Kokomokison (moon), Omo kottiyo (mountain lion), and Omkokiyo (grizzly bear).⁴⁸ The shoreline was designated Geseckse matsum (Glad-to-see-you Park). According to the option contract from the Lewises to Sidebotham and Wilmot, the “lands [were] to be used for summer homes and enjoyment of the lake and surrounding attractions. Each deed shall also contain a grant of the right and easement to the parties of the second part, their heirs and assigns, to use the [Lake McDonald] Hotel docks of the parties of the first part.”⁴⁹

In advance of filing the subdivision, John Lewis incorporated the Glacier Park Land Company with H.D. Apgar (from the foot of Lake McDonald) and E.E. Day (listed as dealing in real estate, loans, and insurance in Kalispell in 1915⁵⁰) on July 22, 1916. Each man, also one of the company’s three directors, subscribed \$100. The company was to have \$50,000 of capital stock, to be sold in five hundred shares of \$100.⁵¹ Its objects and purposes allowed the company to make virtually any kind of “improvement,” carry on virtually any business, and to divide and transfer land. The Lewises used the land company as an intermediate owner for all transfers in the Glacier Park Villa Sites subdivision, but not for other property within their tract. Apgar may have considered using the land company to sell lots in his 1914 Apgar’s Glacier Park Cottage Sites subdivision as he refiled his plat late in 1916, but he never did.

By the end of 1918, John and Olive Lewis had transferred 46 of the 783 lots in the subdivision to the Glacier Park Land Company for sale to individuals. The percentage suggests a less than successful venture, and the land company probably dissolved long before its 40-year expiration if the lack of post-1919 transactions is any indicator. Other Lake McDonald landowners successfully sold virtually all of the land they put up for sale; the Glacier Park Villas’ lack of lake frontage and potential for crowded conditions may have discouraged likely buyers. Lots near the lake sold best, although roughly thirty of the 744 identical interior lots did sell. The standard price was \$300 for an interior lot. All of the lots sold from the subdivision by 1918 transferred individually rather than in groups. Except for H.D. Apgar, who received a single lot in 1917, and E.E. Day, the third company partner, the names of those who bought lots in the Lewises’ Glacier Park Villas subdivision do not appear in land transactions in other areas around the lake.

In July 1929, John Lewis transferred 40 or so Glacier Park Villas lots to Flathead County in a single transaction.⁵² Lewis’s wife, Olive, then purchased these lots from the county on the March 1, 1930 along with a few lots that other owners had lost via tax deeds in July 1929. In two further transactions, in March and May 1930, the Lewises consolidated their remaining holdings in the subdivision in Olive Lewis’s name. She, in turn, sold all of this property in a single transaction to the Dakota and Great Northern Townsite Co. on July 16, 1930. Two years later, the townsite company sold the same property to the federal government.⁵³

This was part of a complicated process executed by the federal government with cooperation from the Great Northern Railway's management to extinguish the Lewises' land and hotel ownership on Lake McDonald. The Great Northern's subsidiary Glacier Park Hotel Company operated most other visitor facilities in the park and its franchise was scheduled to expire in 1933. To get around a law that required federal funds be matched equally by funds from another source when acquiring private properties within national parks, the National Park Service had agreed to issue a new 20-year franchise to the Glacier Park Hotel Company in exchange for selling the Lewises property to the park at one-half its purchase price. By early 1929, a representative of the Great Northern Railway offered the Lewises \$275,000 for their Lake McDonald holdings, including the hotel.⁵⁴

The Lewises resisted all offers until after the Half Moon Fire of 1929. J.R Eakin, the park superintendent, wrote to W.P. Kenney, vice president of the Great Northern Railway, on the January 2, 1930, that he thought the Lewises would be more receptive. Adding to the pressure, the U.S. Congress withheld the 1930 appropriation to continue building the Trans-Mountain Highway pending the purchase of private land with commercial potential near the route.⁵⁵ Further, the Great Northern planned to reopen the Belton Chalets that year and threatened to eliminate several tours using the Lewises' hotel.⁵⁶ The Lewises succumbed, and on March 1, 1930, sold their property for \$275,000 to the Dakota and Great Northern Townsite Company. This was another subsidiary of the Great Northern Railway established in 1906 to found towns along the line.⁵⁷ Further complications arose when the Comptroller General of the United States ruled that the National Park Service could not tie the donation of one-half the purchase price and the new franchise agreement together. While still retaining ownership of the Lewises' property, the hotel company applied for, and the National Park Service approved, an extension of its franchise. With that in hand, the Dakota and Great Northern Townsite completed the sale of the Lewis property to the federal government in June 1932.⁵⁸

The 46 lots in the Glacier Park Villa Sites sold previously through the Glacier Park Land Company remained in private ownership.⁵⁹ While lakefront lots had sold best, no detectable pattern suggests why some interior lots and not others had sold. Most owners held a single lot. Access was rough as the streets were never laid out. Most owners used their lots for tenting.⁶⁰ Near the water, however, two owners built cabins typical of Lake McDonald recreational camp buildings in the pre-World War II era. Two of these are L-plan log cabins. Two other cabins were built soon after the war using characteristic post-war cabin construction materials. These cabins may be the only buildings ever constructed within the Glacier Park Villa Sites subdivision. Individual cabin histories are discussed below.

Hunter Cabin (c.1925) - W.C. and Helen Hunter bought Lot 23 in Block 16 from the Glacier Park Land Co. in October 1917 and owned it until June 1929, when they sold it to Mabel Helen Wetch. The ownership dates suggest that the Hunters probably built the L-plan cabin. Edward Neitzling bought the Hunter Cabin from Mabel Helen Wetch in September 1948. In November, the property transferred to Edwin and Wilma Marken, who owned it until it was transferred to the federal government in 1962. Unlike most other recreational camps around

the lake, this one's main (and only) building is not contiguous to the beach. The cabin's open porch set within the corner of the cabin's plan is nevertheless oriented toward the water, and a later owner replaced the windows on that side with large single-light fixed sash to take in the view. The cabin's L-plan with a slightly higher main block is a popular form on Lake McDonald in this period. Like most cabins built for individual family use rather than within a cabin resort, the Hunter Cabin has a prominent exterior stone chimney.

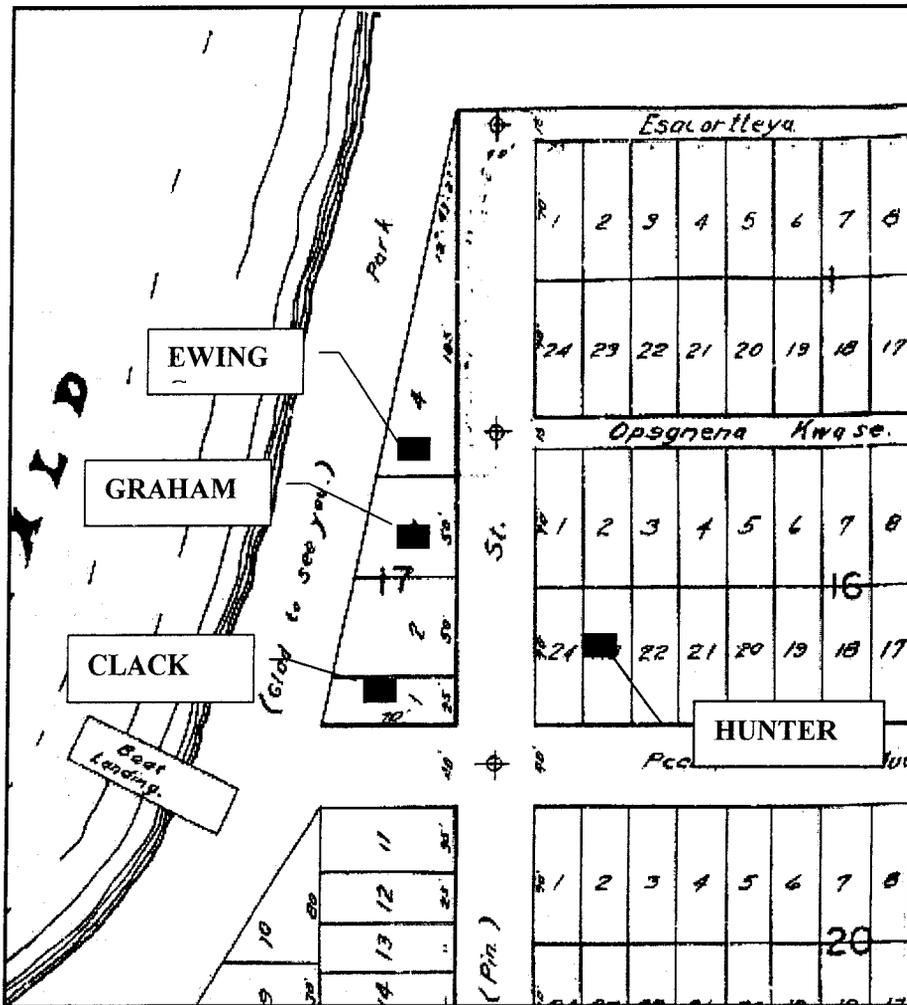


Figure 3. Map showing location of cabins in Glacier Park Villa Sites

Ewing Cabin (c.1925) - John and Olive Lewis transferred Lot 4 in Block 17 on which the Ewing cabin is located to the Glacier Park Land Company in 1916. It was apparently still in private ownership in 1930 when it was excluded from the Dakota and Great Northern Townsite purchase. The lot transferred to Flathead County in August 1932, suggesting that the taxes were unpaid, but there is no recorded owner in the subdivision book.⁶¹ A map drawn by the park showing ownership about 1930 notes the lot belonged to Dr. Fred Ewing.⁶² The county did not sell the property until 1938, after the log cabin building period, suggesting that Ewing built the cabin but never filed his deed. Like the Hunter Cabin, this L-plan cabin typifies the modest family cabins of the period in plan and construction. Sited on

the shore, it is set back among the trees, with its windows oriented to the lake. Its porch appears to have been altered in the late twentieth century, but the cabin retains much of its fenestration plan and a prominent stone chimney typical of family cabins.

Cornelia T. Clack Cabin (c.1947) - The Ewing Cabin along with three other lots—Lot 1 in Block 17 and contiguous Lots 10 and 11 in Block 19—were sold in August 1938 by Flathead County to Edward Neitzling, who had grown up on his mother's (Anna Neitzling) homestead west of the lake's outlet, and James Lee.⁶³ These lots along with an additional interior lot had been acquired by Flathead County for unpaid taxes. On September 6, Neitzling and Lee sold three lots to Otis H. Alderson suggesting an advance agreement. The three lots had been individually transferred until 1938. Peter Johnson acquired Lot 1 in January 1923 and probably built one or both of the small gable-roofed cabins that were later combined to make the current frontal gable frame cabin. While log buildings were popular throughout the 1920s, some people constructed frame cabins.

Alderson sold the Johnson Cabin and two additional lots to Jane Buttrey in November 1944.⁶⁴ She and her husband Frank Buttrey were prominent Montana retailers, known for a high level of service and innovation in their Havre-based businesses.⁶⁵ Mrs. Buttrey sold Lot 1 with the Johnson Cabin to her friend and fellow Have resident, Cornelia T.[immons] Clack, in 1947. Mrs. Clack's daughter, Cornelia Clack Graham, remembers that her mother drove Mrs. Buttrey places because the latter did not drive. Mrs. Clack's husband, Phillip, was a brother of H. Earl Clack, a prominent Montana businessman who developed a chain of gas stations. He bought the former Nolan Camp, built by Senator Walsh's former law partner at the head of the lake, in the early 1930s, and his brother and sister-in-law had spent short periods of time during some summers there and at the Geduhn Resort. Mrs. Clack especially liked the respite Lake McDonald provided from the heat of Havre, so she was very pleased to have a place of her own there.⁶⁶

Soon after Cornelia T. Clack acquired the Johnson property in 1947, the family combined the two small frame cabins on the site into the single frontal gable cabin still on the site today. The cabin has a steeply pitched roof, shed-roofed dormers, and a variety of sash and openings. While its porch has been altered, it retains its wood shingle roof, a feature uncommon in post-Depression-era privately built cabins around Lake McDonald. Cornelia's daughter, also named Cornelia (b.1912), married Robert Graham in 1943, and continues to use the cabin today. Robert Graham worked as a seasonal ranger in the park during this period. In the early 1970s, the Grahams enclosed the front porch in glass and added a large open deck to the cabin. In 1975, Cornelia Clack Graham sold this property to the government on a life lease.⁶⁷ This cabin is visually linked with the Robert and Edna Graham Cabin on Lot 3 by paths lined with cobblestones. Mary Agnes Roberts, daughter of Edna Graham and sister-in-law to Cornelia Clack Graham, sold this property to the government in 1975, also on a life lease.

Edna Sears Graham Cabin (c.1949) - Neitzling and Lee bought Lot 3 in Block 17 from the county in August 1942. S. Florence and Mabel C. Miller had bought this lot from the Glacier Park Land Co. in 1917, and relinquished it for back taxes to the county in 1941. On September 6, 1946, Neitzling and Lee divided their remaining shore properties between them.

James and Cena Lee retained Lot 3 while Edward and Ella Neitzling took Lot 4, the Ewing property. In 1949, the Lees sold Lot 3 to Edna Sears Graham. Edna and her husband, Robert, operated the Monarch Lumber Company in Great Falls, Montana. They built the existing pre-fabricated cabin, which retains the spare, low-slung lines of the taste emerging in domestic architecture during the late 1940s and early 1950s. While sited in the traditional manner of earlier cabins, it uses building materials more popular around Lake McDonald in the later period.

III. ENDNOTES

- ¹ Frank Geduhn to L.O. Vaught, 10 December 1926. L.O. Vaught Papers, Box 5, Folder 3. (GNPA)
- ² Lynn Conley, Apgar Family Association, e-mail to Lon Johnson, 30 November 2005. Central New York State was part of what became a corridor of westward movement begun by New England outmigrants in the post-Revolutionary era. Places along the way were western New York State in the 1820s, Ohio in the 1830s, the I-states in the 1840s, and the Upper Midwest in the Civil War era and later.
- ³ Lynn Conley, Apgar Family Association. e-mail to Lon Johnson, 30 November 2005. Mike Apgar provided H.D.'s birth date in the *History of Apgar*, on p.4.
- ⁴ Beatrice Macomber, Historical Interview, 19 February 1982. (GNPA) The Comeaus homesteaded land at the head of the lake in 1898.
- ⁵ Notes on Howes. L.O. Vaught Papers. Box 1, Folder 16. (GNPA)
- ⁶ L.O. Vaught, *History of Glacier* (unpublished manuscript, n.d.): 408. (GNPA)
- ⁷ L.O. Vaught. *History of Glacier*, 408. (GNPA)
- ⁸ L.O. Vaught, p.409; and Geduhn to Vaught, 20 December 1933. Vaught Papers, Box 5, Folder 3. (GNPA)
- ⁹ L.O. Vaught, *History of Glacier*, 439. (GNPA)
- ¹⁰ Thelma Powell. Interview by author, 24 July 2005. Lydia Comeau provided her wedding date in a letter to L.O. Vaught dated 5 August 1916. Vaught Papers, Box 2, File 9.
- ¹¹ L.O. Vaught, *History of Glacier*, 439. (GNPA)
- ¹² Historical interview with Gonhild "Bud" Henderson, 25 August 1977. (GNPA). Frank Kellenbeck, Frank Kelly's great-grandson, has the wedding photograph.
- ¹³ L.O. Vaught typescript synopsis of letters 1919-1937, affidavit, and notes from a conversation in 1926 or 1927. L.O. Vaught papers, Box 1, Folder 16. (GNPA)
- ¹⁴ Historical interview with Bea Macomber and Ace Powell, Jr., 4 June 1976. (GNPA: West Glacier, Montana).
- ¹⁵ Geduhn, Nine-page statement, item 8. *Forest and Stream* began publication in 1873 under Hallock's direction. From 1880 to 1911, George Bird Grinnell was its senior editor and publisher.
- ¹⁶ Marguerite S. Schaffer. *See America First. Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*. (Washington, D.C. and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001): 3.
- ¹⁷ William S. Wicks, *Log Cabins and Cottages. How to Build and Furnish Them* (New York: Forest and Stream, 1920): 8. The first edition came out in the 1880s; 1920's edition appears to be identical. Gibbs Smith of Layton, Utah, published a facsimile edition in 1999.
- ¹⁸ L.O. Vaught, *History of Glacier*, 417. L.O. Vaught of Jacksonville, Illinois, began visiting the Lake McDonald area in 1894. In the early years, he and a party of friends set up a camp near Sprague Creek, which became known as "Jacksonville." Later, he spent summers at Kelly Camp, but throughout the years he corresponded with some regularity with Frank Geduhn. Vaught began assembling a history of the area's development, some of which he compiled a manuscript, which has never been edited or published.
- ¹⁹ Photograph 9861 (GNPA), shows Comeau with his wife Lydia and several horses packed for a climb into the mountains with the homestead buildings in the background.

²⁰ Kelly Apgar, Telephone interview with author, November 2005. Kelly Apgar is a lineal descendant of Milo Apgar, who has done considerable research on the Lake McDonald Apgars. She believes that H.D.'s mother asked him to come because she knew that Milo's health was failing.

²¹ Ace Powell, Jr., Historical Interview, 15 June 1976, stated that this was Milo's agreement. Apgar descendant, Mike, stated that H.D. established the cabin resort.

²² Vaught, *History of Glacier*, 444.

²³ Eddie Cruger, *History of Apgar*, [n.p., n.d.]: 36-37.

²⁴ Lydia Comeau to L.O. Vaught, 5 August 1916. L.O. Vaught Papers, Box 2, Folder 9. Comeau provided location dates for all six homesteaders and homestead numbers for some of them.

²⁵ William O. Whipps, *History of Apgar*, 24-25.

²⁶ Burton K. Wheeler, *History of Apgar*, 45.

²⁷ Fannie Hollingsworth called this the "deserted cabin" in her journal in 1922. Marion Wheeler Scott recollects calling it the "haunted cabin" in the 1930s. Taped interview with Marion Wheeler Scott by author, 2006. (GNPA)

²⁸ Lydia Comeau to L.O. Vaught, 25 March 1929. L.O. Vaught Papers, Box 2, Folder 9. (GNPA). The transfer was recorded in the plat book for Section 14, Township 33 West, Range 18 North, in 1910, but the deed could have been earlier.

²⁹ Snyder to Vaught, 19 February 1906. Vaught Papers, Box 11, Folder 18.

³⁰ *Book of Deeds 99/615*. (Flathead County Clerk and Recorder's Office, Kalispell, Montana).

³¹ *Plat Book for Section 23, Township 32 West, Range 19 North*. (Plat Room, Flathead County, Kalispell, Montana),

³² "Charlie Russell," *History of Apgar*, 5.

³³ Bea Macomber and Ace Powell, Jr., Historical Interview, 16 September 1976. (GNPA)

³⁴ Vern Kelly to L.O. Vaught, Synopsis. Vaught Papers, Box 1, Folder 11.

³⁵ *Subdivision Book "H", Howes' Lake McDonald Cottage Sites*. Plat Room, Flathead County Courthouse, Kalispell, Montana.

³⁶ *Plat Book for Section 23, Township 32 West, Range 19 North*.

³⁷ *Subdivision Book "A," Apgar's Glacier Park Cottage Sites Subdivision*.

³⁸ "Charlie Russell," *History of Apgar*, 5. The National Register nomination reverses the building dates for these two structures. The Russells may have had the studio first and stayed at Apgar or the Snyder Hotel early on.

³⁹ Dora Crump purchased 1 and 2 in November 1914, and sold them to Nannie Baker in May 1919. Harriet Fox Lundy bought Lot 3 in September 1916 and sold to Maud Baker in August 1918. Sherwood's deed was filed the same day for these three lots as the other 23.

⁴⁰ Subdivision Book "A." The Coulters built a cabin, which they were still using in 1951, when the second part of the *History of Apgar* was compiled. Anna Coulter contributed an article.

⁴¹ H.D. Apgar's death date provided by Lynn Conley, President, Apgar Family Association. According to Lynn Conley of the Apgar Family Association, Jessie Apgar married Roy Haworth, a gas engineer 16 years her junior, in 1924. Given his last name, he may have been a cousin. She lived until the 8th of April, 1939.

⁴² Margaret Lindsay, *History of Apgar*, 15. Lindsay notes that the Bellefleurs built the Greeley Cabin. *Subdivision Book "A."* corroborates the ownership.

⁴³ The Lewises replaced Snyders' frame Glacier House with a large new hotel in the Swiss Chalet style designed by the Spokane firm of Kirtland, Cutter, and Malmgren, in the winter of 1913-1914.

⁴⁴ Horace Chadbourne, *History of Apgar*, 47.

- ⁴⁵ Mortgage, Olive Lewis and John E. Lewis, 17 December 1915, *Book of Mortgages 130/570*. (Copy in Box 211, Folder 7, GNPA). This mortgage included land in addition to the Snyder homestead property.
- ⁴⁶ Option Contract, *Book of Miscellaneous 144/121*, and Contract of Purchase, *Book of Miscellaneous 144/122*. (Copy in Box 211, Folder 7, GNPA).
- ⁴⁷ Plat and Dedication, 6 September 1916. (Copy in Box 211, Folder 7, GNPA).
- ⁴⁸ Plat map accompanying abstract for property in the subdivision. (Cultural Resources Office, Glacier National Park)
- ⁴⁹ Option Contract, *Book 144 of Miscellaneous/134*. (Box 211, Folder 7, GNPA)
- ⁵⁰ *Polk Directory*, Kalispell, Montana, 1915. (Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana)
- ⁵¹ Articles of Incorporation of Glacier Park Land Co. (File No. 1478, Office of the Secretary of State Helena, Montana)
- ⁵² Title chains recorded in *Subdivision Book "G"*, Plat Room, Flathead County Courthouse, Kalispell, Montana.
- ⁵³ *Subdivision Book "G."*
- ⁵⁴ Correspondence in Box 76, Folder 9, GNPA, between W.P. Kenney of the Great Northern Railway and Horace Albright, Director of the National Park Service.
- ⁵⁵ Eakin to Kenney, 2 January 1930. (Box 76, Folder 9, GNPA)
- ⁵⁶ This was an ongoing discussion in January 1930. (Box 76, Folder 9, GNPA)
- ⁵⁷ The townsite company was a division of the Great Northern Railway incorporated in 1906 in St. Paul, Minnesota, to establish towns along the railway's route. In 1908, it filed papers to allow it to appoint an agent and do business also in Montana. For much of its existence in Montana, from 1908 until its withdrawal in March of 1944, it recorded a deficit in Montana. Papers related to the Dakota and Great Northern Townsite Co. Office of the Secretary of State, Helena, Montana.
- ⁵⁸ Correspondence in Box 76, Folder 9, GNPA, between directors of the Great Northern Railway and Horace Albright, Director of the National Park Service.
- ⁵⁹ The deed from the Lewises to the Dakota and Great Northern Townsite Co. provides a list of excluded lots correlating to those previously sold.
- ⁶⁰ Robert Lucke, Telephone interview with author, 24 October 2005.
- ⁶¹ In this period, properties with delinquent taxes transferred to the county in the second half of August, based on numerous title chains.
- ⁶² Glacier National Park Drawing No. GLAC-2875, Microfiche. (Ruhle Library, Glacier National Park: West, Glacier, Montana)
- ⁶³ *Subdivision Book "G"*.
- ⁶⁴ *Subdivision Book "G"*.
- ⁶⁵ <http://www.lm.havre.k12.mt.us/magera/buttery.html> and www.missoulian.com/specials/100montanans/list/030.html
- ⁶⁶ Cornelia [Clack] Graham, Interview with author, 25 July 2006. Taped for GNPA.
- ⁶⁷ Jane Buttrey sold the property to Cornelia T.[immons] Clack on 21 May 1947. Title chain as recorded in *Subdivision Book "G"* follows: To Merritt N. Warden, 7 June 1955; to Cornelia T. Clack [mother], [her children] Worth M. Clack, John Raymond Clack, and Cornelia Clack Graham, 7 June 1955; to John Raymond Clack, Worth M. Clack, and Cornelia C. Graham, 26 March 1964; to Cornelia C. Graham and Cornelia Kay Graham, 23 October 1964; to U.S.A. 10 October 1975. Genealogy from *Grits, Guts, and Gusto. The History of Hill County, Montana*. 1976.

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