

'Everyone Can Understand a Picture'

Photographers and the Promotion of Early Yellowstone

by Lee H. Whittlesey



Although Congress established Yellowstone National Park in 1872, commercial photographers were there by summer 1871. In post-Civil War America, photography was just coming of age. Advancements in camera technology had only recently made it profitable to sell stereo views of faraway places, but the general public was hungry for news—and views—of such exotic places as “Wonderland.” Stereo views (double-image photocard that could be viewed through a stereoscope to give the viewer a three-dimensional effect) had been for sale in America since at least 1854. By the 1870s, however, stereo viewing had grown into a hugely popular pastime. Millions of images, including views of Yellowstone National Park, could be found in parlors across the nation.¹

Photography was and is a simple means of interpreting the landscape, simultaneously storing basic information about it and promoting it. Like the earlier fur trappers in Yellowstone, photographers were, in a sense, “horse tour guides.” Traveling by horse, they produced touring images that guided travelers and became a component for interpreting early Yellowstone.² These touring images were instantly exciting to everyone who saw them. They exemplified the sentiment expressed by the *New York Times*: “While only a select few can appreciate the discoveries of the geologists or the exact measurements of the topographers, everyone can understand a picture.”³

As photography came of age in the early 1870s, a few of its practitioners ventured west to capture early images of Yellowstone’s wonders. Among Yellowstone’s early photographic popularizers, some of whom have remained obscure to memory, were the six men pictured at top right: (from left to right) William Henry Jackson (n.d.); L. A. Huffman (circa 1880); Henry Bird Calfee (n.d.); William I. Marshall (circa 1865); Oliver C. Bundy (1866); and Edgar H. Train (n.d.).

By 1880, as Yellowstone visitation became more common, photographers were offering custom, localized photographs. Henry Calfee, for example, photographed a group of unidentified people (lower right) gathered at the camp where he sold his Yellowstone “views.” Among Yellowstone’s wonders to draw photographic attention were (detailed at right, mid-page): “Crested Pool and Castle Geyser” (circa 1871); and “Old Faithful” (circa 1872). Both photographs are credited to E. H. Train but may be the work of Joshua Crissman.

THE ENCHANTED LAND,
—OR—
WONDERS OF THE
Yellowstone National Park,



All photographs on this page are in the MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, except as noted here. William Henry Jackson: USGS Photographic Library, Denver, Colorado; Henry Collier: American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie; "Crested Pool and Castle Geyser" and "Old Faithful": NPS, Yellowstone National Park.

The photographers who toured the Yellowstone country in the 1870s and early 1880s were doing so at a time when the American public had little access to the region. As a result, they brought images of the new place to the rest of the country. All of them promoted the new national park and stored initial information on it. Their photographs joined the sketches and chromolithographs that accompanied early accounts of the new region to develop a public image of Yellowstone as a geographic and humanistic place: a specimen of virgin land and sublime spectacle. Some of these images spread quickly across America and into Europe, influencing the way in which the public perceived and later described its experiences in the park and in the American West as a whole.⁴

Photography held great power in explaining and therefore transforming perceptions of the West from a mythical realm to a place that could actually be visited and settled. Early photographs also became repositories of cultural meanings that subsequent historians and interpreters could decipher.⁵ Before interpreting Yellowstone photographs, however, we need first to recognize that the photographers and their images existed, and as recent research shows, not everything has been discovered. Except for William Henry Jackson, other photographers who visited and photographed Yellowstone early on and were on occasion even first to do so—Thomas J. Hine and Joshua Crissman among them—have been overlooked almost completely. The majority of the photographs these men took have never received detailed examination and have been seen only by a few stereo collectors. The sheer number of their images is staggering, and the fact that they exist offers new opportunity for geographical, historical, and scientific understanding of the Yellowstone country.

W. H. Jackson, who accompanied the geological surveys of Dr. Ferdinand Vandever Hayden in 1871 and 1872, is well known for taking some of the first photographs of the Yellowstone country. Jackson's photographs are arguably the most important interpretive aids and documents of Yellowstone's early history. Jackson has long been celebrated as photographer, artist, explorer, historian, and pioneer, and his images, along with Thomas Moran's drawings and watercol-

1. Carl Mautz, *Biographies of Western Photographers: A Reference Guide to Photographers Working in the Nineteenth Century American West* (Nevada City, Calif., 1997), 6.

2. This article is drawn from the author's book-length manuscript, "Yellowstone's Horse-and-Buggy Tour Guides: Interpreting the Grand Old Park, 1872-1920," forthcoming from the National Park Service.

3. *New York Times*, April 27, 1875.

4. Judith Meyer, *The Spirit of Yellowstone: The Cultural Evolution of a National Park* (New York, 1996).

5. Peter B. Hales, *William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of the American Landscape* (Philadelphia, 1997), 6-7, 30, 124.



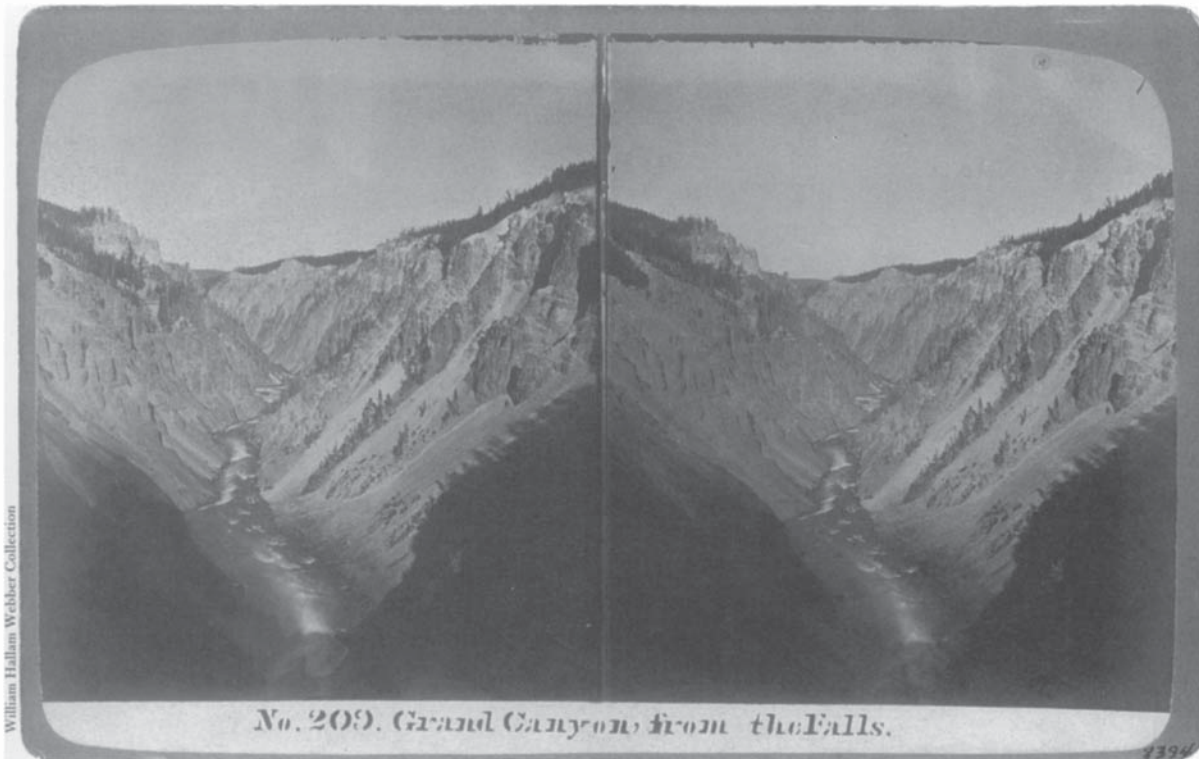
Historical Society of Colorado, Denver

William Henry Jackson (above, photographed on the 1874 Hayden survey) became so renowned he overshadowed almost completely the exploits and contributions of Yellowstone's many other early photographers.

ors, helped convince a skeptical Congress that the area should in some way be preserved.⁶ But other photographers would follow Jackson, even precede him, in recording Yellowstone in the 1870s and 1880s. These men—Hine, Crissman, Henry Bird Calfee, a man named Catlin, William I. Marshall, E. O. Beaman, John Fouch, Augustus F. Thrasher, Edgar Train, Oliver Bundy, Laton Alton Huffman, Thomas Rutter, James Nesbitt, and Charles Savage—are little known today, but their photographs had a material effect on the physical development and the perceptions of Yellowstone National Park. Together with Jackson, they were the earliest photographic interpreters of Yellowstone.

With the exception of Jackson, most of these photographers had limited contact with the era's park visi-

6. William H. Jackson, *The Pioneer Photographer: Rocky Mountain Adventures with a Camera* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y., 1929), 98. The best Jackson bibliographies are Hales, *Transformation of the American Landscape*; Thomas H. Harrell, *William Henry Jackson: An Annotated Bibliography, 1862-1995* (Nevada City, Calif., 1995); and Beaumont Newhall and Diana E. Edkins, *William H. Jackson* (Fort Worth, Tex., 1974), 151-57, even with the deficiencies Hales notes. Jackson's Yellowstone photos are in four celebrated volumes by the U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories: *Photographic Views on the Montana Road, 1871*; *Photographic Illustrations of the Yellowstone River, 1871*; *Photographic Views of the Yellowstone Lake, 1871*; and *Photographic Illustrations of the Hot Springs of the Upper Madison and Yellowstone Basins, 1871* (Washington, D.C. [1872?]). On Thomas Moran, see Thurman Wilkins, *Thomas Moran: Artist of the Mountains* (Norman, 1966); and Almon Gunnison, *Rambles Overland: A Trip Across the Continent* (Boston, 1884).



Period photographs of spectacular scenery in Yellowstone supported the public's romantic expectations of the sublime, instantly exciting everyone who viewed them. Henry Calfee's stereo "No. 209. Grand Canyon from [Lower] Falls" (probably 1874–1881) is the kind of image that conveyed the grandeur and immensity of what was still a largely unexplored park.

tors or expeditions. To be sure, Jackson and Crissman photographed officially for Hayden's surveys in 1871 and 1872, and Thomas Hine photographed for military explorer Captain John W. Barlow in 1871, but even the impact of Crissman and Hine was limited. Yellowstone had no real roads before 1878, and tourists to the park, mostly regional inhabitants, numbered only about five hundred a year through 1877.⁷ Following the great Yellowstone "discovery" expeditions of 1869–1872, the new park remained a roadless wilderness where few people ventured until the Northern Pacific Railroad arrived in 1883. Consequently, early photographers had the place mostly to themselves.

One might think these photographers would have encountered each other routinely, but Yellowstone was and is a vast area. Contact between them and with other park tourists apparently was minimal. They took hundreds of views of Yellowstone and returned home to peddle their photographs, doing so in a scattered fashion and with limited success. Indeed, all their pictures are not yet discovered, and their complete stories are yet to be told. But James S. Brust and Steven B. Jackson tell the stories of two of them—Thomas Hine and Joshua Crissman—in greater detail than ever before, and some of their pictures appear in this issue of *Montana* for the first time as well.

7. Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park*, 2 vols. (1977; reprint, Niwot, Colo., 1996), 2:478.

Thomas Hine accompanied Barlow in 1871 after General William T. Sherman had assigned Barlow to make a reconnaissance of the Yellowstone country at the same time Hayden was conducting his survey. Just as Jackson was Hayden's photographer, Hine was Barlow's. Most of Hine's photographs were destroyed in the Chicago fire of October 1871, although he had made sixteen prints from his glass negatives a few days before the fire. Still, even these prints somehow disappeared until James Brust found seven of them recently at the New-York Historical Society. Details of his discovery and what is known of Hine follow in a subsequent article here.⁸

Bozeman photographer Joshua Crissman (1833–1922), who photographed in Yellowstone four summers, 1871 through 1874, is likewise little known. He joined the 1871 Hayden survey at Bozeman, Montana, and served with Hayden's 1872 party as well. He assisted W. H. Jackson, and we now know that at least some of Jackson's images from 1871 should be credited to Crissman, and Jackson credited a number of his 1872 images to Crissman. Original stereo cards bearing

8. See William H. Jackson, *Time Exposure: The Autobiography of William Henry Jackson* (New York, 1940), 203; Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Niwot, Colo., 1996), 1:153 and n 14; John W. Barlow, "Report of a Reconnaissance in Wyoming and Montana Territories, 1871, By Captain J. W. Barlow, Assisted by Captain D. P. Heap, Corps of Engineers, United States Army," 42d Cong., 2d sess., 1872, Sen. Exec. Doc. no. 66, serial 1479, vol. 2, pp. 34-35.



William Hallam Webber Collection

Crissman's indicia are rare, but a number of them have survived at the Montana Historical Society in Helena, the Museum of the Rockies in Bozeman, and in private collections. Crissman's stereograph series, called "Views in the Yellowstone National Park," apparently contained at least one hundred images taken between 1871 and 1874.⁹ Later, Crissman sold many of his photographic prints and even his negatives to W. I. Marshall, C. D. Kirkland, and others who reproduced and sold them prolifically under their own imprints. Thus, Crissman's Yellowstone images, although not credited to him, were seen for many years. Nonetheless, Crissman got his Yellowstone photographs printed and published before Jackson did, albeit locally in Bozeman, in 1871.

Henry Bird Calfee (1847–1912),¹⁰ commonly known as "Bird," and his partner Catlin are generally mentioned together among Montana photographers. Although Calfee was said to have moved to Radersburg, Montana, at one point, the two men ran a photographic

The demythologizing power of photography encouraged the public to see Yellowstone on a human scale as a place to be visited and enjoyed. In Henry Calfee's "No. 204. A Dinner in the Park," unidentified picnickers carefully display an array of provisions and tools for the camera (left, probably 1878–1881).

business in Bozeman during the early 1870s, and the Bozeman *Times* mentioned them often as photo shop owners between 1875 and 1878. By his own account, Calfee came to Montana Territory in 1870 and visited Yellowstone as early as 1871. Historian Aubrey Haines cautions, however, that not all the scattered information on Calfee fits together.¹¹ Early Montana historian M. A. Leeson, for example, says Calfee arrived in Montana in 1867 and engaged in painting for several years before turning to prospecting, and by 1872 Calfee was indeed engaged in mining near Bozeman, for his name appears in Gallatin County mining records that summer.¹² Calfee may have photographed before 1875 as a hobby, but he apparently did not begin his photography business until that year because the earliest mention of his photographic activities appear in Bozeman newspapers in 1875. Said the Bozeman *Avant Courier* that August: "our young artist friend, H. B. Calfee, will open the photographic rooms . . . 'Bird' is an artist."¹³

When Calfee first photographed in Yellowstone Park is unclear. Area newspapers and numerous 1870s Yellowstone accounts noted his constant presence in the park taking pictures. Montana pioneer Wilbur E. Sanders met him in 1880 at Old Faithful, and Calfee told him that he (Calfee) had been photographing the park every summer for nine seasons. If true, Calfee began taking Yellowstone photos in 1872 (the account for the 1871 trip does not mention any photographing). Haines notes, however, that because Calfee's photo business in Bozeman is not mentioned in the newspapers until 1875, his first trip to the park may have been

9. On Joshua Crissman see elsewhere in this issue Steven B. Jackson, "Joshua Crissman: Yellowstone's Forgotten Photographer"; Jackson, *Pioneer Photographer*, 109–111, 114; Jackson, *Time Exposure*, 180, 199; and Bozeman *Avant Courier*, August 7, 1874. See also miscellaneous Crissman photocopies from private collection of Bob Berry, Huntsville, Texas, in author's possession (hereafter Berry Collection). In an 1882 letter to L. A. Huffman, Huffman's father said Crissman told him that he (Crissman) spent eight days getting a good photo of Old Faithful in eruption, apparently in 1872. Mark H. Brown and W. R. Felton, *The Frontier Years: L. A. Huffman, Photographer of the Plains* (New York, 1955), 38.

10. Calfee Family Collection, accession 3640, American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyoming. The collection's genealogy shows that Calfee married Katie Lattus in 1880 and that at least two children were born in Missoula, Montana, from the union. Descendants may possess Calfee images. M. A. Leeson, *History of Montana, 1739–1885* (Chicago, 1885), 1,301.

11. H. B. Calfee, "Calfee's Adventures—He and His Companion's Blood Curdling Trip to the Park over a Quarter Century Ago," manuscript made from newspaper clippings, circa 1896, p. 3, Yellowstone National Park Research Library, Mammoth, Wyoming (hereafter YNP Library); Bozeman *Daily Chronicle*, August 9, 1964.

12. Aubrey L. Haines to author, December 22, 1998; Leeson, *History of Montana*, 1,301; Location index to mining claims, Gallatin County, book 1, December 4, 1872; *ibid.*, book 2, August 24, 1872.

13. Bozeman *Avant Courier*, August 20, 1875, January 5, 12, 19, 1899. The January series was from "Calfee's Adventures."

14. Haines to author, December 22, 1998; Wilbur E. Sanders, 1878–1880 journal, August 9, 1880, folder 4, box 2, MC 47, Wilbur Edgerton Sanders Papers (hereafter Sanders Journal), Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena (hereafter MHS). W. W. Wylie says Calfee's first year photographing in the park was 1871. See W. W. Wylie, unpublished manuscript, 1926, p. 126, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Libraries, Bozeman. Wylie's reminiscences are often inaccurate, but he was close to Calfee for many years and might have credibility. If Wylie is correct, some of Calfee's photos may predate those of W. H. Jackson.



“No. 158. Heart Lake and Mount Sheridan” (left), by Henry Calfee, is one of at least 295 Yellowstone photographs the photographer took during the summers of 1874 through 1881. The park visitors shown are not identified.

in 1873 rather than 1871, and his first year of photographing the park may have been 1874 rather than 1872.¹⁴

In any event, Calfee took at least 295 photos of Yellowstone every summer from at least 1874 through 1881. He figures in early park history as well. So continually was he in Yellowstone each summer during the 1870s, for example, that he was able to convey Mrs. Emma Cowan and her party to the safety of Bozeman following their ordeal with the Nez Percé Indians in 1877. In 1879, he and Catlin played a minor role in the naming of Lone Star Geyser and took photos of a “sagebrusher” party.¹⁵ In 1880, park superintendent P. W. Norris named a stream in Yellowstone Calfee Creek because Calfee was accompanying Norris’s party that year.¹⁶

During 1881–1882, Calfee undertook a lecture tour with W. W. Wylie to promote Yellowstone Park, and woodcuts made from Calfee’s photos graced Wylie’s 1882 park guidebook, titled *Yellowstone National Park or the Great American Wonderland*.¹⁷ An incomplete set of Calfee’s stereopticon photos survives at the Mon-

tana Historical Society. Likewise, the Yellowstone Park historic photograph collection and several known private collections all contain Calfee stereopticon views. From these we know that the series reached as high as number 275 and was called “The Enchanted Land or Wonders of the Yellowstone National Park by H. B. Calfee.” Calfee’s stereo views also indicate that he may have been responsible for several park place-names, among them *Demon’s Cave*, *Pulpit Basins*, and *Fairies’ Fall*, as he searched for captions for his photos.¹⁸

Calfee apparently was interested in the park’s geysers more for their photographic potential than as a “geyser gazer” (someone with a passion for geysers). He even set up his traveling studio in the Upper Basin and there sold his photos directly to travelers. One of his photos shows his “store” with Calfee’s signs proclaiming “Views of the Wonderland” for sale. Calfee began predicting the eruption times of some geysers, an interpretive activity in itself, probably to help sell his photos. He did this particularly at Giant Geyser, where traveler Wilbur Sanders said he ran into Calfee in 1881 and posed with his party for a Calfee photo. Said Sanders: “Calfee expected the Giant to spout today and nearly everybody in the Basin was lounging around it ‘from early morn to dewy eve,’ awaiting its action.”¹⁹

Much less well known is Catlin, Calfee’s partner. Even Catlin’s first name is elusive, but ten of his stereo views are in Bob Berry’s private collection in Huntsville, Texas. These were printed with the identification “Calfee and Catlin” on them and were part of the series known as “Views of the Wonderland or Yellowstone Park.” Numbers in this series reach to at least 148. Whether Catlin produced views bearing his

15. A “sagebrusher” was a park visitor who camped among the sagebrush with his own wagons and horses.

16. See Lee H. Whittlesey, *Wonderland Nomenclature: A History of the Place Names of Yellowstone National Park* (Helena, Mont., 1988), 210–11, 993–94, microfiche; Haines, *Yellowstone Story* (1977), 1:249; and Bozeman *Avant Courier*, June 14, 1877. On Calfee’s sagebrusher party, see Mary Cook, “Kate Cook Durland’s Mother’s Notes on the Trip to the National Park,” 1879, SC 556, MHS. See also Bozeman *Avant Courier*, June 14, 1877.

17. The tour was mentioned frequently in the Bozeman *Avant Courier*, April 7, 1881–March 2, 1882.

18. Calfee stereos are known from the Berry Collection, and from the private collections of William Eloe, Rockville, Maryland; Jack Davis, Bozeman, Montana; and William Hallam Webber, Gaithersburg, Maryland. Webber recently presented color copies of

his stereos to the YNP collection in a booklet compiled in Gaithersburg, Maryland, in August 1998, titled “An Amazingly Large Collection of 142 Stereographs and Cabinet-Size Photographs Taken During the 1870s and 1880s of: The Enchanted Land—or—Wonders of the Yellowstone National Park, by H. B. Calfee, Bozeman, Mont. Ter.” Webber’s collection shows Calfee’s stereo set numbered at least 275, including twenty more cabinet card images.

19. Sanders Journal, August 19–September 8, 1881, entries for August 27, 28, 1881, folder 5, box 2, MHS. For the photo of Calfee’s store see Richard A. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson, 1985), third leaf opp. 176.

20. Photocopies of Calfee and Calfee and Catlin stereopticons are from the Berry Collection, in author’s possession. There was a “Nelson Catlin” who guided in the park from 1882–1884.



William Hallam Webber Collection

name alone is unknown, but like those of Calfee and Crissman, Catlin's stereographs are treasures of early Yellowstone days.²⁰

Even less is known of E. O. Beaman's Yellowstone work. Beaman, photographer for John Wesley Powell's United States Geological Survey, was a New York landscape photographer who joined the USGS in 1871, was on his own by 1872, and made a number of views of the 1876 Centennial Exposition of Philadelphia. Of his Yellowstone photography, we know only that in early 1874 he exhibited in the east "by means of a powerful oxy-hydrogen stereopticon, views taken by himself. . . of the great Yellow-Stone Basin."²¹ Beaman probably traveled to the park in 1873, and perhaps encountered fellow photographer William Isaac Marshall there that summer. Nonetheless, the whereabouts of his Yellowstone views are unknown.²²

Unlike Calfee and Beaman, William Isaac Marshall (1840–1906) was not technically a photographer, but he purchased Joshua Crissman's large Yellowstone and

Henry Calfee's stereograph "No. 184. Castle Rock and Pyramid Mountain" (left), probably taken between 1874 and 1881 in the Gallatin range north of the park, is an example of the many early descriptions, written and visual, that presented the Yellowstone area as a classic specimen of virgin land and sublime spectacle.

Montana photo collection and sold Crissman's views under his own copyright.²³ Marshall must have been a fascinating character, and the photos he sold and otherwise distributed in the 1870s say much about early Yellowstone. Marshall said he arrived in Montana Territory in July 1866 as a result of the gold rush. He appears in the Virginia City census of 1870 and resided there through October 1875.²⁴ In 1871, the Hayden survey party found him working on a Virginia City mining claim. The survey's geologist, George Allen, recalled that when they visited the gulch's placer mines, they met "a gentleman by the name of Marshall, originally from Massachusetts, [who] for awhile studied at O[berlin]." A teacher, "extensive miner, etc.," Marshall, Allen said,

took special pains to show us the entire process of gulch or placer gold mining. He is very intelligent and clearly comprehends what he attempts to explain. Several photographic views of the mine belonging to a Mr. Hart, cousin of Mr. Marshall, were taken by [our] Photo corps . . . took tea with Mr. Marshall. Mrs. Marshall was from near Worcester, Mass. They have one little girl, five years of age, Nellie, and it really does seem so good to see and hear a little child again! . . . Mr. Marshall gave us a full account of the conditions of this and other mining territories in the west.²⁵

Marshall, who said he visited Yellowstone with his family in 1873 and 1875, claimed to be the first to take children through the park (two of his own and one of a cotraveler). The Crissman stereo views of Yellowstone that he sold, titled simply "The National Park," constituted a numbered series of 122 images. These he advertised and sold to teachers, clergymen, and others at his lectures and by mail, promoting them through

21. "Stereopticon," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 5 (April 1874), 158.

22. *Ibid.*; T. K. Treadwell and William C. Darrah, *Stereographers of the World*, 2 vols. (n.p., 1994), 2: E. O. Beaman entry; Mautz, *Biographies of Western Photographers*, E. O. Beaman entries.

23. In November 1993, photo collector William Hallam Webber, during his research on William Henry Jackson, discovered that W. I. Marshall purchased the bulk of Joshua Crissman's photos from Crissman in or about 1876. Webber located a set of sixteen stereo images owned by William Eloë, which appears to document what happened between Marshall and Crissman. Eloë's stereos are printed with Crissman's name and labels, but they bear additional purple labels (apparently added later) that read "The National Park" (a Marshall trademark). Handwritten onto each stereo card, probably in Marshall's own hand, is the additional message "Copyright 1876. W. I. Marshall." Webber believes, and so do I, that these are the transitional cards that Crissman gave to Marshall at the time of their agreement.

24. William I. Marshall, "The Yellowstone National Park," n.d. [1879], broadside in outsize rare-separates file, map drawer 9, Yellowstone Archives, YNP Library (hereafter YNP Archives); William I. Marshall, "Our National Parks—Yellowstone and Yosemite—California," n.d. [1883], broadside in Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Bozeman *Avant Courier*, July 7, 1876. The newspaper noted that Marshall had resided in the region "for the past nine years."

25. Journals of A. C. Peale and George Allen, Allen entry, July 5, 1871, in Marly Merrill, *Yellowstone and the Great West: The 1871 Yellowstone Expedition from Journals and Correspondence* (Lincoln, in press). The original George Allen journal is at Oberlin College, Ohio.

In 1879, seven years after the park was established, Superintendent P. W. Norris oversaw construction of the first park administration building atop Mammoth's Capitol Hill. Shortly after it was built, Henry Calfee shot "No. 200. U.S. Building" (right). No one shown is identified, but the man standing on the upper porch may be Norris.

articles he wrote for the *National Education Association Proceedings*, the *New West Illustrated* newspaper, L. P. Brockett's book, *Our Western Empire* (1882), and his three broadside sheets.²⁶

In 1879, Marshall proposed conducting commercial tours of Yellowstone and brought at least one such group into the park. A traveler, H. B. Leckler, met them in 1881 and noted:

The other party we met at Dillon was a party of tourists, composed of one lady and six gentlemen, under the charge of Mr. William I. Marshall, of Fitchburg, Mass., a gentleman who delivers lectures upon the Park during the Winter throughout the Eastern States, and nearly always passes his Summers in the Park.

It was the first season Marshall had brought a party with him, Leckler said, and, although managing it successfully, Marshall had not been compensated adequately for his expenses. "Next season, I believe he proposes to charge four hundred dollars, which will be twenty-five per cent below the cost of the journey if undertaken at regular rates," he said, adding:

We found Mr. Marshall a perfect gentleman in every way; highly educated, a fluent talker and most obliging. He gave us all the information he had about the route we propose taking, and treated us as kindly as though we were members of his [own] party. We afterwards heard that most of the tourists he conducted were pleased with the trip.²⁷

If Marshall planned to make regular tours of Yellowstone, he seems to have made only four trips—1873, 1875, 1881, and 1882. His wife, who wrote a biography of him, says only that he took tourists to Yellowstone in 1881 and 1882.²⁸

Marshall, who sold what were actually Crissman's stereo views for three dollars a dozen and 8" x 10" prints

26. See also William I. Marshall, "An Evening in Wonderland," *National Education Association Proceedings* (Salem, Ohio, 1881), 132-43; Omaha, Nebraska, *New West Illustrated*, January 1880; L. P. Brockett, *Our Western Empire: Or, the New West Beyond the Mississippi . . . and Statistics of Crops, Areas, Rainfall, etc.* (Philadelphia, 1882); Marshall broadsides, "The Yellowstone National Park" and "Our National Parks—Yellowstone and Yosemite—California"; and William I. Marshall, "Save This For Your Scrapbook," from "The Yellowstone National Park," broadside, n.d. [August 1877], Ricks College, Rexburg, Idaho.



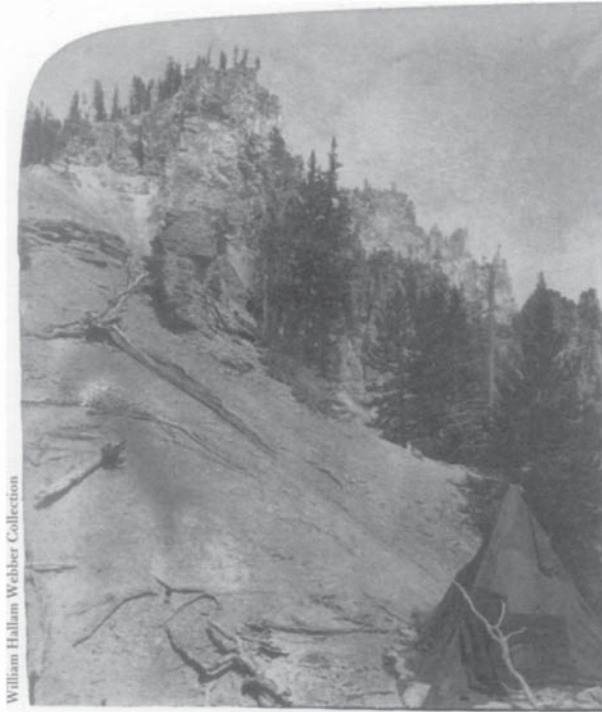
for seventy-five cents each, claimed they had won awards at the 1876 Centennial Exposition. By 1876, Marshall had returned to Fitchburg (his stereo views have Fitchburg stamped on them with the copyright date of 1876). He remained interested in Yellowstone, boasting in 1877 that the photos were "the only first-class views of these wonders which have ever been made."²⁹ The claim ignored the images of Jackson, Hine, Calfee, Catlin, and Thrasher, whose Yellowstone work Marshall surely knew about.

Marshall is important here not only as part of the Crissman story but also as one of Yellowstone's earliest tour guides and promoters. In 1887 he moved to Chicago where he became principal of the Gladstone School. An educator and apparently a highly effective speaker, he gave more than two hundred lectures to various educational associations on Yellowstone, Yosemite, and mining. Often referred to as "Professor," he published several books on educational topics and Oregon history, including one on Oregon's Whitman massacre that he sent in manuscript to Yellowstone superintendent John Pitcher for comment in 1904.³⁰ In 1879, he published a "broadside," perhaps only a single sheet, titled *The Yellowstone National*

27. H. Banard Leckler, "A Camping Trip to the Yellowstone National Park," *American Field*, 2 (February 23, 1884), 190. See also P. W. Norris, *Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park* (Washington, D.C., 1881), 30.

28. Mrs. Wm. I. Marshall to Mr. Chas. W. Smiley, March 22, 1925, in William Hallam Webber, "A Report of the Information Found at the Fitchburg Public Library [on] . . . W. I. Marshall . . . with . . . Related . . . Material Appended . . . [from] the Historical Society of Fitchburg, Massachusetts," September 1998, biography file, YNP Library.

29. Marshall broadside, "Save This for Your Scrapbook"; Omaha, Nebraska, *New West Illustrated*, January 1880. See also Marshall, "An Evening in Wonderland," 132-43.



William Hallam Webber Collection

Using one of his own place names, Calfee included what was apparently his own photographic tent in this view, "No. 62. Lookout, from Dragon's Back" (above, 1874-1881), taken at the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone.

Park, and as late as 1902 he visited the park and was given a permit to collect geological specimens.³¹

John H. Fouch, another 1870s Yellowstone photographer, shares similar undeserved obscurity. Fouch, whom Yellowstone superintendent Philetus Norris mentioned as having visited the park in 1878, traveled with Norris to the Custer battlefield in 1877, where he took the earliest views of that place. Some of Fouch's photos of Montana Territory are known, but few of his Yellowstone images seem to have survived.³²

Fouch is said to have made only sixteen Yellowstone images, of which three are extant. Those three are part of a set of sixty-three photos he issued, titled "Stereoscopic Views of the Yellowstone Country," that he apparently took between 1876 and 1878. Fouch evidently reissued these photographs from Minnesota in 1879 under the title, "Artistic Views of the Yellowstone Country and Yellowstone National Park, Series of 1876, 1877, and 1878." Most of these were of Montana Terri-

tory, and it is not known how many of them still exist. Fouch's catalog shows that his photos numbered 48 to 63 were of Yellowstone Park. One of his extant stereo views is identified "Series of 1879, 1880, 1881, and 1882," indicating he may have visited the park in other years and taken additional photos, although these images could have been earlier photographs reissued. Thus, at least some if not all of his park photos date from summer 1878.³³

Still another 1870s Yellowstone photographer is A. F. Thrasher, about whom we know very little. Some of Thrasher's writings on the park survive but none of his Yellowstone photos are known to exist. Thrasher is known to have been in Deer Lodge, Montana, between 1867 and 1869, and by 1870 he was located at Bannack as a "daguerrian artist." Sometime between 1870 and 1872, he relocated to Lewiston, Idaho, where he issued stereo views of Idaho. He is known to have been in partnership with William Hyde in 1871, the year Thrasher went to Yellowstone.³⁴

Thrasher accompanied the Raymond-Clawson party into Yellowstone in 1871, and, according to R. W. Raymond, brought a sizable load of photographic supplies into what would become the park. C. C. Clawson called him "A. F. Thrasher, photographer, and Prof. of the Fine Arts generally." Thrasher would go anywhere to secure a photo, Raymond said in a long description of him, adding: "he invests the profession of photography with all the romance of adventure." At one point, Raymond claimed, Thrasher became so caught up in the beauties of Yellowstone that the party was forced to abandon him:

I may mention here, that, after we had been several weeks in the mountains, Mr. Thrasher became entirely unmanageable. He had so many views to take that there was no hope of getting him back to civilization until his chemicals were used up—and he had provided a desperately large stock. So on the cañon of the Yellowstone we left him.³⁵

Thrasher left Deer Lodge in 1872, was active in eastern states after that, and reportedly died in the mid-1870s. Like Hine, Crissman, Calfee, and Catlin, he was

30. William I. Marshall to Yellowstone Park Superintendent John Pitcher, July 27, 1904, archive doc. 7606, YNP Archives; John Pitcher to William I. Marshall, August 6, 1904, Letters Sent, vol. 14, p. 373, *ibid.*

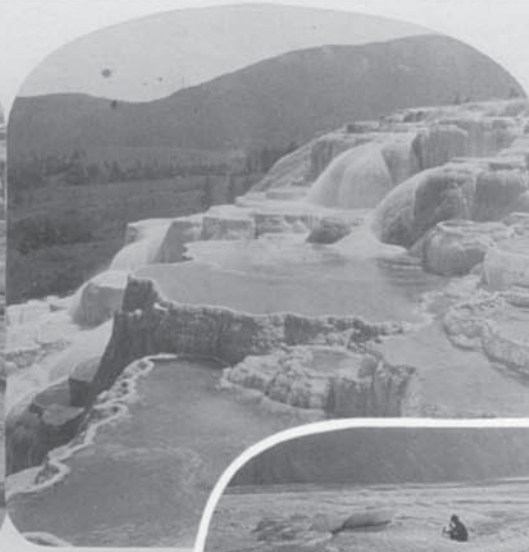
31. Pitcher to Marshall, August 7, 1902, in, Letters Sent, vol. 12, p. 50, YNP Archives. See also Marshall to Pitcher, archive doc. 7606, *ibid.* According to the National Union Catalogue, Marshall completed a work on Yellowstone that was published in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, in 1879, titled "The Yellowstone National Park." It is described as a "broadside" (perhaps only one sheet) of size 31" x 50 1/2", and is probably the same as is cited in note 25. Copies in Beineke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, and YNP Library.

32. P. W. Norris, *Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior, for the Year 1878* (Washington, D.C., 1879), 992; James S. Brust, "John H. Fouch: First Post Photographer at Fort Keogh," *Montana The Magazine of Western History*, 44 (Spring 1994), 2-17.

33. James S. Brust, conversations and correspondence with author, 1993; James S. Brust, "Into the Face of History," *American Heritage*, 43 (November 1992), 104-13; James S. Brust and Lee H. Whittlesey, "'Roughing It Up the Yellowstone to Wonderland': The Nelson Miles/Colgate Hoyt Party in Yellowstone National Park, September, 1878," *Montana The Magazine of Western History*, 46 (Spring 1996), 56-65. Two of the undiscovered Yellowstone country views are of the Dailey and Bottler ranches.



Upper Basins Mammoth Hot Springs

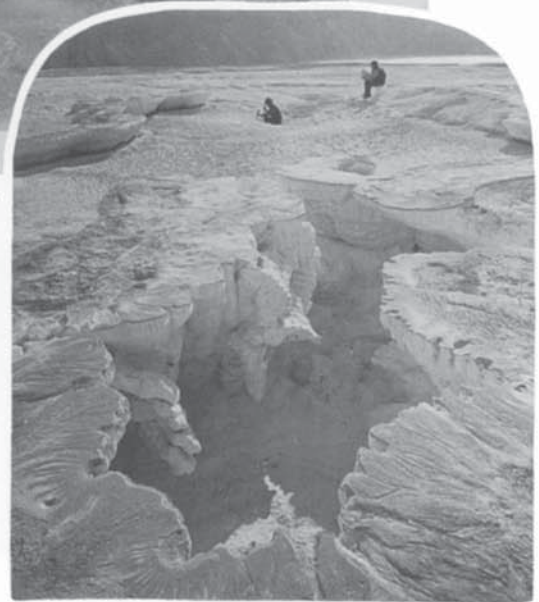


It was common practice in the nineteenth century to purchase the negatives of other photographers and publish them under one's own copyright. Edgar H. Train probably bought these two Mammoth Hot Springs images from Joshua Crissman. Above (circa 1872) is "Upper Basins"; at right (circa 1872) is "Crater of Periodical Lake." The men in the latter photograph, likely members of the 1871 or 1872 Hayden survey, are unidentified.

as early (or nearly so) as William Henry Jackson to photograph Yellowstone.³⁶

Two other obscure photographers of Yellowstone in the 1870s who deserve mention are Edgar H. Train (1831–1899) and Oliver C. Bundy (1827–1891) of Helena, Montana. The Yellowstone Park photo collection contains at least seventy-four of their stereo-view cards. How many they actually produced is unknown, as is the nature of their association with Yellowstone. Originally from California, Train arrived in Idaho in 1864 and moved to Helena in 1866, where he bought out the photo shop of a man named Douglass. Bundy (Train's brother-in-law) moved to Montana Territory in 1866 and in 1872 opened a photo gallery in Virginia City. He went into partnership with Train in Helena in 1876, and bought Train completely out that same year. Some of their photo cards carry the logo "Bundy and Train."³⁷

Still another Yellowstone photographer was Charles Roscoe Savage (1832–1909). At least two dozen of his Yellowstone images are known. Savage, an Englishman who became a Mormon and practiced photography in Salt Lake City, visited Yellowstone in 1875 and 1884.



His photographs from those years are in the Mormon Church collections and at Utah State Historical Society, both in Salt Lake City. Savage was reputable in Utah in his day, but his Yellowstone views are little known. Furthermore, except for an article he wrote about his 1884 trip that appeared in the *Deseret Evening News*, little is known of Savage's Yellowstone trips.³⁸

Better known is photographer L. A. Huffman (1854–1931), who worked in the park somewhat later. Huffman apprenticed with F. Jay Haynes at Moorhead, Minnesota, and then went to Fort Keogh, Montana, in 1879. After setting up a studio in nearby Miles City, he traveled to Yellowstone but seems to have made photographs of the park only in 1882. Few of these Huffman photographs apparently survived, although Huffman

34. Deer Lodge, Montana, *New Northwest*, series of articles appearing September 9, 1871–June 27, 1872; *Helena Daily Herald*, December 7, 20, 1871.

35. Rossiter W. Raymond, *Camp and Cabin: Sketches of Life and Travel in the West* (New York, 1880), 155–57; The Montana Historical Society Library has some scattered biographical materials on Thrasher in the vertical files. See also Treadwell and Darrah, *Stereographers of the World*, 2: A. F. Thrasher entry; and Mautz, *Biographies of Western Photographers*, 212, 292.

36. Researcher Mary C. Horstman of Missoula has searched for Thrasher's Yellowstone photos without success.

37. *Helena Daily Herald*, June 10, 1899. Albeit few, other miscellaneous materials are in biographical files, MHS Library. Mautz, *Biographies of Western Photographers*, 292.

38. Dr. Brad Richards to Elsa Kortge, June 13, 1993, and 24 Xerox photos, Yellowstone National Park Museum Collection, YNP Library; Brad Richards, *The Savage View: Charles Savage, Mormon Pioneer Photographer* (Oregon House, Calif., 1995). See also Salt Lake City, *Deseret Evening News*, September 17, 1884.



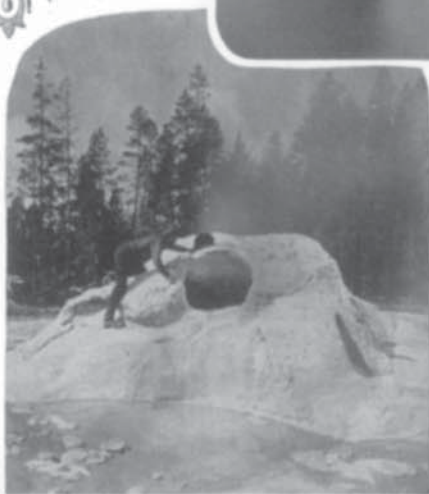
All photographs on this page courtesy NPS, Yellowstone National Park



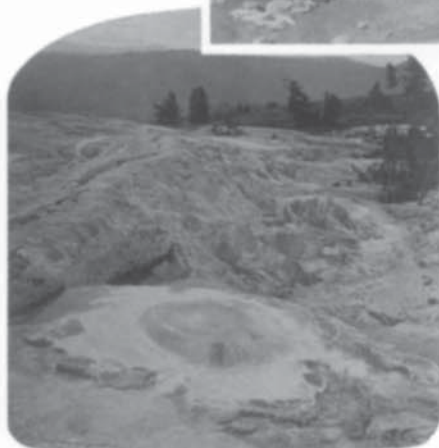
"First Boat on Yellowstone Lake," 1874



"Thumb National Park," probably 1871



"Crater Grotto Geyser," circa 1872



"Magic Spring," Mammoth Hot Springs, circa 1872 (today's Cupid Spring and Fissure Ridge)

The four stereos identified individually on this page demonstrate the breadth of park photographic treatment from scenic wonder to tourists fitting into the landscape. All the images, probably taken by Joshua Crissman, were reproduced and sold by Edgar Train. At upper left is an example of the indicia, or identification mark, printed on the backs of many stereographs, this one from a Bundy and Train photo.

People pursued the health benefits of Yellowstone's hot springs as early as the first cameramen took pictures of them. The uppermost photo shows two people and at least two bathhouses near the Liberty Cap formation on Hymen Terrace, Mammoth Hot Springs. William H. Jackson took a similar view that dates both images to 1871.

Joshua Crissman took two shots of the boat and passengers the day that E. S. Topping and Frank Williams launched the *Sallie* in 1874, the one above, published by Train, and Crissman's view, reproduced on page 35. The boatmen had advertised that the first woman to come to Yellowstone Lake could name the new vessel. The journal of Sarah Jane (Mrs. W. H.) Tracy recorded the trip with Mrs. Arch Graham, their husbands, and three other men: "As both our names was [sic] Sarah we readily agreed to christen the boat 'The Sallie.'" The men standing at fore and aft are probably Topping and Williams.

seems to have produced a fair number. A page from his 1883 catalog lists 58 captioned images taken in the park. Some of these are now held by the Montana Historical Society, but many may no longer exist, which is unfortunate, for among them are some unusual shots, including one of the rare Excelsior Geyser in eruption.³⁹ Still, Huffman may have reproduced his images in prolific numbers. An 1883 newspaper article noted: "L. A. Huffman, the photographer, will have ready for the spring trade fifty thousand views of the Yellowstone National Park and Indian camps. As an artist Mr.

Huffman is chief in the business." If Huffman produced fifty thousand images, doing so represents an impressive "reach." How many images any of Yellowstone's

39. Brown and Felton, *Frontier Years*, 36-38, 46. A large collection of Huffman's personal papers is at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming. Also see Huffman correspondence and business materials in SC 1702, MHS.

40. Miles City *Yellowstone Journal*, January 6, 1883.

41. Helena *Daily Independent*, June 12, 1879.

42. Katherine E. Early, *For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People: Cultural Attitudes and the Establishment of Yellowstone National Park* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 7.

early photographers actually reproduced, however, is unknown.⁴⁰

Thomas H. Rutter and his partner for a time, James Nesbitt, are better known as photographers at Butte, Glendale, and Deer Lodge, Montana, but they also produced Yellowstone views. Rutter stated on his outsized stereo views that he was “established 1870,” but he neglected to say where. Located in Deer Lodge in 1879, he visited Yellowstone that year and some if not all of his Yellowstone photos may date from then. The Montana Historical Society possesses ten of his stereo cards, ten more are in the private collection of Ed Knight of Jackson, Wyoming, and about ten others are in the University of Washington special collections. The numbering on his stereo cards indicates that he marketed at least 113 views.⁴¹

Numerous other companies and photographers sold commercial views of Yellowstone after 1883, among them Webster and Albee, Underwood and Underwood, C. Bierstadt, Lovejoy and Foster (who reissued Joshua Crissman’s images), W. E. Hook, Griffith and Griffith, the Canvassers, B. W. Kilburn, B. F. Hoyt, C. D. Kirkland, O. S. Compton, Gamble and Stafford, and the most famous and prolific, F. Jay Haynes, whose earliest views of Yellowstone date from 1881. In addition, hundreds of amateur photographers “shot” Yellowstone after the 1870s. One of these, Joseph Paxton Iddings, a geologist with the United States Geological Survey, pasted many of his Yellowstone

photos into his handwritten notebooks, which now reside in the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

All of these early image makers promoted Yellowstone Park just as it was becoming known to the larger world. They stimulated interest in it, froze it historically, helped initiate its interpretation, and influenced the way Americans, Europeans, and others viewed and perceived the region as a geographic entity. Because they sold their pictures commercially (often in stereoscopic form), their influence on early Yellowstone interpretation was arguably greater than that of noncommercial photographers. Moreover, their images assumed cultural significance because their Yellowstone views supported the public’s romantic visual expectations. In the towns where they operated their photo shops, they spread the word about Yellowstone and shaped the public’s sense of it. However quickly these photographers were forgotten, it is important to know that their photographs exist and to enjoy their images as a means of time travel. For everyone can understand a picture.⁴² *M*

LEE H. WHITTLESEY is park historian for Yellowstone National Park, a previous contributor to this magazine, and author of several books on Yellowstone, including *A Yellowstone Album* (1997), *Death in Yellowstone* (1995), *Lost in Yellowstone* (1995), and *Yellowstone Place Names* (1988). He holds a Juris Doctor degree from the University of Oklahoma.

Miles City photographer L. A. Huffman is known to have photographed in Yellowstone only in 1882. The fifty-eight stereos he produced from that trip are rare, although he advertised across the bottom of his stereo cards that he sold them, along with Indian portraits and other “choicest pictures in great variety.” Below is his “313. General view Upper Basin. Morning.”

