A Tale of Dough Gods
Bear Grease
Cantaloupe
and Sucker Oil

MARYMERE / PINETREE / MAE-LOU / AMK RANCH
UW-NPS Research Station
at the AMK Ranch

Cover photos (l-r): John D. Sargent, William L. Johnson, Alfred C. Berol,
William C. Lawrence

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1986
On July 15, 1977, the University of Wyoming-National Park Service Research Center was privileged to relocate to the facilities of the Berol AMK Ranch which the National Park Service had recently acquired in Grand Teton National Park. In the course of preparing a historical account of the Jackson Hole Research Station, predecessor of the Research Center, my wife and I became acquainted with W. C. "Slim" Lawrence through his significant contributions to that publication. Consequently, it was a natural extension to begin accumulating historical information on the Research Center's new home. We quickly realized that the historical character of the AMK property was very complex and yet, it was a very important element in the history of the northern portion of Jackson Hole. Also, by coincidence our publication celebrates the centennial anniversaries of John D. Sargent's first visit to Jackson Hole and the establishment of the University of Wyoming.

One of the most unusual aspects of the ranch's evolution was the long term association of Slim Lawrence and his wife with that property and its owners. In addition, Slim was well-known across Wyoming from his early ranching activities, organization affiliations and most importantly, his deep interest in and personal efforts to preserve various segments of Jackson Hole's and Wyoming's history.

Following numerous discussions between the three of us, it was decided that we should jointly undertake writing a historical narrative on the Sargent-Johnson-Berol property. Also, such a project was to include biographical information on both Verba and Slim Lawrence. Verba's faithful diary entries for nearly 37 years were of immense value with respect to their lives on this property. Besides Slim's verbal contribution to this work, his unfailing enthusiasm and his providing access to his files and photographic collections were major elements in the success of this research.

Throughout our working with Slim's personal collection materials, they were entirely housed in his home on the AMK. This proved to be an important facet of the research since Slim's presence contributed greatly toward quicker clarification and verification, as well as greater accuracy.

With Slim's subsequent departure from his home, we understand that his personal collection materials have been relocated. Some or all of those items we utilized may be in the Jackson Hole Museum; but currently, we have not verified their location. Consequently, our references to those items simply credit the "W.C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum)."

Copies of all of the references cited will be stored in the American Heritage Center, Archives Division, University of Wyoming, along with other pertinent material and photographs not used in this account. An attempt was made to thoroughly document all information with reference citations, thus sometimes sacrificing readability and flow of the narrative.

From the earliest homestead efforts to the present, the people associated with the property have been the subjects of numerous articles and books. Unfortunately, some of the written material has been inaccurate and quoted repeatedly as fact. This is understandable because of the personalities of the people involved with the property and their complex lives, and in early times, the lack of adequate communications. Also, there was a lack of documentary institutional data to verify con-
flicting accounts. In those cases, it became a matter of choosing the information perceived by the authors as being the most accurate.

Many individuals over a broad section of the country provided kind, patient and very helpful assistance. We are most grateful to all of them. In addition, the following individuals merit special recognition for their particularly valuable assistance and generous contributions: Barbara Titus and Robert Barton, grandchildren of John D. Sargent; Hartley Crane, Machias, Maine; Charles Leonard, Betty Clayton and Bruce Crawford, Miller School; Gayle Pryor, widow of William Johnson’s nephew; Kenneth Berol, Naples, Florida; Marion Allen, Shingletown, California; Ben Sheffield Jr., Quartzsite, Arizona; Bruce and Cheryl Adams, Jackson, Wyoming; Marilyn Jonak, Shelley, Idaho; and Elise Untermyer, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

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September 3, 1986
The Setting

The University of Wyoming-National Park Service Research Center occupies a site in the northern end of Jackson Hole, which provides one of the most aesthetically pleasing and unique vistas of Jackson Lake and the Teton Mountain Range. It is a piece of landscape that has had the prominent names of Sargent, Hamilton, Johnson, Berol and Lawrence intimately associated with it. These names represent individuals who shared in common a deep love for the property and the general environmental setting. Yet, it would have been difficult to have created any more contrasting individuals than those which chance brought to that unique landscape.

Therefore, it is the intent of this narrative to establish, as nearly as possible, an accurate, documented account of the homesteading of the site, the subsequent development and character of that site and the life and times of the interesting individuals who contributed to the history of the site.

Frontispiece: Jackson Lake, Sargent's Point (A), Sargent's Bay or Home Bay (B), site of Sargent's cabin (C), Johnson's lodge (D), Berol's lodge (E) and Arizona Lake meadows (F).
Machias, Maine, incorporated in 1784 and the seat of Washington County, was a particularly busy lumbering and seafaring town in the last half of the 1800s (Fig. 1) (Drisko, 1904). Early in this period, several community families were destined for involvement with Wyoming's very remote and little known Jackson Hole region. The Ignatius Sargent family was prominent in Machias where Ignatius had served as Treasurer of Washington County for about 33 years. Also, he was a partner in the Sargent, Stone and Company Foundry and Machine Shops (Fig. 2) and one of the owners and general manager of the Machias Water, Power and Mill Company (Colby, 1881; Drisko, 1904; E. W. Sargent, 1923). In addition, he was involved extensively in ship building and maritime shipping with sole or partnership interests in 35 ships (National Archives Project, 1942).

The Sargent name was well-known in New England. Ignatius was a third generation descendant of Epes Sargent of Salem, Massachusetts. Another famous Epes Sargent descendant was John Singer Sargent, the American painter. However, Ignatius and John Singer were descendants of different wives of Epes Sargent. Ignatius descended from Epes Sargent's second wife, Catherine Winthrop Sargent, and John Singer was a fifth

Fig. 1. Machias waterfront along Machias River in 1880s.
Fig. 2. Machias in 1880s with Sargent, Stone and Co. Foundry and Machine Shops along upper left riverbank.

generation descendant of Epes’ first wife, Esther Maccarty (E. W. Sargent, 1923). Ignatius and his wife, Emeline, had a son, Henry C., who was 17 years old in 1860 (U.S. Census, 1860).

Concurrently, the family of William H. and Elizabeth Hemenway of Boston, Massachusetts (State of MA, 1861), had taken up residency in Machias to facilitate William’s real estate and development enterprises (H. Crane, 1985). Among his major businesses was the leasing and promoting of the Machias Water, Power and Mill Company (Drisko, 1904). In 1860, his daughter, Alice, was 16 years of age (U.S. Census, 1860).

Henry Sargent and Alice Hemenway of the aforementioned prominent families attended the Washington Academy (a private school in East Machias, a town 4 miles from Machias) between 1853 and 1863 (Pierce, No date). Consequently, their marriage on July 18, 1861 (State of MA, 1861), was not an unlikely event. What was unusual was the birth of a son, John Dudley Sargent, on December 16, 1861. Henry C. Sargent was listed as his father and Alice as his mother on the birth certificate (State of ME, 1861). Two logical explanations of this early birth are (1) Henry and Alice were engaged in a premarital affair some 4 or 5 months prior to their July 18 marriage; or (2) Henry was not the father of John Dudley. Many years later in his final will and testament (J. Sargent, 1899), John Dudley related how his grandmother Hemenway on one occasion introduced a “tall, dark, slender” visitor at her house as a Mr. E. Jerome Talbot. During the same visit, John Dudley’s mother, Alice, privately introduced Mr. Talbot to John as his real father.

As a matter of record, an Edward Jerome Talbot, son of Samuel H. and Mary Talbot of East Machias (U.S. Census, 1860a) also attended the Washington Academy sometime between 1843 and 1853 (Pierce, No date). The U.S. 1860 Census of East Machias, Maine, listed Mr. Talbot, age 21, as living with his parents in East Machias where he was employed as a clerk. E. Jerome Talbot married Fannie Hayden on December 3, 1863 (Machias Union, 1863). In line with the Talbot family interests in maritime shipping, Edward pursued a seafaring career. Unfortunately, this professional pursuit was short-lived with
Edward's untimely death at sea on January 8, 1866 (Machias Union, 1866). While only circumstantial, the aggregate of those circumstances appear to substantiate that Henry Clay Sargent was not John Dudley's real father but Edward Jerome Talbot may have been.

Immediately following their marriage, Alice and Henry moved in with her father, William C. Hemenway, on the corner of Court Street and Broadway in Machias. In accounts written by John in the margins of the book, Some Fruits of Solitude, prior to his suicide (V. Lawrence, No date) and statements written in his will (J. Sargent, 1899), John recalled living in grandfather W. H. Hemenway's house until 1872. During this period, Henry C. Sargent, his legal father, appears to have been an irregular member of the Hemenway household. Henry volunteered for service in the Civil War on May 21, 1861, as a Private in Company C of the Sixth Regiment Maine Infantry. He reported for active duty on July 15, 1861, when he was 18 years old and received a disability discharge on October 25, 1861, supposedly for a hernia problem (ME Infantry, 1864; Titus, 1985). In 1866, he traveled alone to California via the Isthmus of Panama (Fig. 3).

Sometime in 1872, illness of John's grandfather and/or his mother required his moving in with the Ignatius Sargent family on Water Street (Fig. 4). His grandfather Hemenway died on November 5, 1874 (Washington Co., 1874), and his mother, Alice, died in Boston on December 1 of the same year (State of MA, 1874). John appears to have lived in the Ignatius household until 1879-80 (J. Sargent, 1913). During those years, Ignatius and Henry likely supported him.

It is difficult to assess the impact on John during his first 19 years of having a very weak or disrupted family life and of knowing that he was probably an illegitimate child. Some measure of his early disillusionment is evident in 1875 when he met with a Mr. Harding in his recently deceased grandfather Hemenway's office. In this meeting, John said, "bottom dropped out of everything" (V. Lawrence, No date). With no further elaboration, one can only speculate on the causes for this feeling. Likely his depression over the loss of his mother and grandfather was amplified with his grandmother Hemenway moving out of Machias to Portland and thus the complete loss of the last vestige of his early life in the Hemenway house. The fact that John was not going to receive anything from his grandfather's estate may also have depressed him (Washington Co., 1888).
During the period between late 1879-80 and 1885, John Sargent's activities are poorly documented. Again from his notations in the margin of the book, Some Fruits of Solitude (V. Lawrence, No date), it seems that John traveled west to Cheyenne, Wyoming, Denver and Leadville, Colorado, in March 1880. He worked there until 1885 as a ranch hand punching cattle and as a stage driver (J. Sargent, 1906). Through all of this, he probably returned one or more times to Machias in the course of his courtship of Adelaide Crane, daughter of Leander and Edwina Crane. The Cranes were a prominent Machias lumbering and maritime shipping family. In 1885, John's residence was listed as Ft. Fetterman, Wyoming Territory (Machias Union, 1885).

John Sargent's courtship of Adelaide Crane culminated in their marriage on February 22, 1885 (State of ME, 1885), in the bride's parents' home in Machias (Machias Union, 1885). The Crane family was very much opposed to this marriage (Titus, 1977a). The terse two sentence announcement in the newspaper, after what appears to have been a private wedding in the family home, serves to substantiate that antagonism.

Following the wedding, there is a gap in the activity record for John and his bride. According to the Machias U.S. 1900 Census, John and Adelaide's first child, Charles Hemenway, was born in Connecticut in December 1885 (Fig. 6). This was substantiated in part by R. Wright (No date) who lived with Charles in the home of Leander Crane as a young girl. Furthermore, Verba Lawrence listed the birth place of Charles as New Haven, Connecticut (V. Lawrence, No date). The New Haven location was apparently temporary with Adelaide living with her
parents at that time. Leander Crane was listed in the *New Haven City Directory* only for the years 1886 and 1887 (Fig. 5) (Clendinning, 1985). He was then Treasurer of the Crane and Franklin Stove Company. Leander returned to Machias in 1887 (R. Wright, No date).

Between 1885 and 1890, John's travels to the West are sketchy. As mentioned before, it seems that Adelaide moved in with her parents when they moved to New Haven; while it appears John traveled to the West to both search for a suitable place to settle and simultaneously increase his financial resources. Two former residents of Jackson Hole, Esther Allan (Allan, 1973) and Elizabeth Hayden who interviewed Mary Sargent in 1955 (Hayden, 1955), and a written note by John (V. Lawrence, No date) stated John entered Jackson Hole in 1886. This information is contradictory and confusing at best, since John related that he worked for 2 years on the railroad, likely from 1885 to August 1887 (J. Sargent, 1906). If he did visit Jackson Hole in 1886, it was for a very brief period.

According to a note in John's homestead correspondence, he and his family left Cheyenne on August 1, 1887, enroute to his "estate" (J. Sargent, 1906; 1913). The assumption here is that this reference is to the Jackson Hole property. Sargent never claimed he settled in Jackson Hole at this time. Again, it must have been a short visit. However, prior to this visit, Adelaide and Charles had come to Cheyenne where a second child, Mary, was born sometime prior to August 1, 1887 (Fig. 6). This period for her birth is based on information from the District Court in Evanston, Wyoming (Uinta Co., 1900), and the U.S. 1910 Census of Uinta County. Also, John stated he traveled from Cheyenne to his "estate" with two small babies on August 1, 1887 (J. Sargent, 1906). Unfortunately, birth information was not compiled by Wyoming in the 1880s; but Mary Sargent told Elizabeth Hayden (Hayden, 1955) that she was born in Cheyenne.

Sargent's third child, Martha, was born on September 19, 1888, in Machias (Fig. 6) (Church of the Ascension, 1890). Based on known future travel patterns of the Sargents, one can assume that the entire family or part of the family made irregular or seasonal (winter) trips back to Machias before 1890. Since such trips were costly, one can speculate that the Henry C. Sargent family and/or the Crane family underwrote those trips.

Reference has frequently been made by numerous writers about John's college education at such places as Harvard, Yale, and Columbia Universities before 1890. Replies to our inquiries of each of those institutions indicated there were no records of a John Dudley Sargent ever having graduated from or even having attended those schools (Columbia Univ., 1985; Harvard Univ. Lib., 1985; Yale Univ. Lib., 1985). It is possible he may have been a student for a brief period of time, since records of students attending but not graduating were poorly or not kept for the late 1800s. Considering John's activities before and after he was 19, there was no possibility for him to have attended any of those schools for any length of time, much less graduate.

In New York in 1889-90, an event that would profoundly affect Sargent was unfolding. Robert Ray Hamilton clandestinely married Evangeline L. Steele (aliases Brill and Mann) in Paterson, New Jersey, on January 7, 1889 (*N.Y. Times, 1889f*). Hamilton was a fourth generation descendant of Alexander Hamilton. He was 37 years old, independently wealthy, a lawyer and member of the New York Bar and a member of the New York Legislature. He is described by the *New York Times* as being 5 feet 10 inches in height, slender, dark complexioned and wearing a light mustache. His eyes and hair were black and he dressed well. Hamilton was a handsome man with clean-cut features and keen eyes (*N.Y. Times, 1889; 1889a*). Eva Steele was an attractive woman with an unsavory background which caused Robert's friends and relatives
to ostracize him (N.Y. Times, 1889a). By May 1889, this situation had become so unbearable that Hamilton decided to leave New York and relocate in California. However, once in California, the climate was disagreeable and he and his wife moved to Atlantic City in August 1889. In Atlantic City, a heated family quarrel erupted into an attempted stabbing of Robert and a near fatal stabbing of their child's nurse by Mrs. Hamilton (N.Y. Times, 1889b). In the ensuing investigation by police and friends, it was discovered that Robert was the victim of a conspiracy by Eva; her common-law husband, Josh Mann; and his mother, Mrs. Swinton. The conspiracy involved the use of a newborn baby which the conspirators obtained for Eva to convince Hamilton the child was his (N.Y. Times, 1889d).

In the course of the marriage, Eva accumulated money and property from Hamilton and was planning to convert much of his jewelry and silver plate into currency. Also, she was living in a very high style with elegant amenities (N.Y. Times, 1889a; 1889b; 1889c; 1889d and 1889e). Once the stabbing affair inquiry exposed these events, the conspirators' trial in New Jersey and subsequent divorce proceedings in Elmira, New York, consumed Hamilton's time until March 11, 1890, when he left Elmira for New York City (N.Y. Times, 1890).

In May 1890, Robert left New York City on a hunting trip to the West (N.Y. Times, 1891). At about the time he may have arrived in the West, it is speculated that Sargent was making preparations to build or was already in Jackson Hole building. Contrary to many statements that Sargent's family arrived in Jackson Hole in October 1890, Sargent said (Uinta Co., 1900) that he brought his family to Jackson Hole in July 1890. He further said his wife was at their ranch in August 1890 (N.Y. Times, 1890a).

Exactly where and when Robert Ray Hamilton met Sargent is unknown. Sargent may have known his father, General Schuyler Hamilton (N.Y. Times, 1913). But Sargent stated, "we have known him (Robert) but a short time" in a letter he wrote to Robert's brother in 1890 (N.Y. Times, 1890a). As mentioned before, Robert came to the West after May 1890; and the New York newspaper, The Sun (1891), indicated Hamilton only resided in Jackson Hole a matter of weeks before his death in September 1890.

During their brief acquaintance, a partnership apparently was agreed upon. Robert was so impressed with Sargent's homestead location that he had decided to send for his personal belongings and make it his future home (N.Y. Times, 1891). It seems likely there was some mutual sharing of expenses for the planned 10-room cabin. Beyond that, the business end of the partnership probably was a proposed dude ranch-outfitting business to exploit the area's hunting and fishing resources. With Sargent's experience in the West since 1880 and Hamilton's professional, political and social connections, such a collaborative venture could have been mutually beneficial.

It is impossible to determine what fiscal investments were made by each partner. Despite his heavy financial losses to the marital conspirators (N.Y. Times, 1889g), Hamilton appeared to have ample financial resources remaining, according to his will of 1890 (N.Y. Times, 1890c). At the same time, Sargent must have had reasonable fiscal resources considering the furnishings placed in the cabin, the costs of shipping those items, plus the traveling and interim living expenses for his family. Since there were no legal questions raised by the Hamilton family concerning homestead proprietary interests after Robert's death, the question of the partnership investment relationship remains unanswered.

Financial matters aside, construction of the 10-room Sargent-Hamilton cabin (Fig. 7) must have started very early in the Summer 1890. Swedish log workers from Idaho were hired to build the cabin. The logs were hewed flat on the inside surfaces and the dovetail coped end joints were sometimes supplemented with wooden
Fig. 7. John D. Sargent's cabin, 1891.

pegs. Whip-sawed 2-inch planks were used for flooring and whip-sawed boards were cut for window, door casements and ceilings (Fig. 8) (W. Lawrence, 1978).

A general floor plan of the Sargent cabin, developed from recollections of W. Lawrence (1980), old photographs and information from Spence (1906), is presented in Fig. 9. The small bedrooms at the back of the house were dark and only about 5-foot wide. Their exact number and size were not verifiable. The open summer kitchen contained a stove and table. During winter and inclement weather, a large canvas covered the opening to that area. Access to the room at the north end of the cabin was limited to the one outside door.

In a photograph dated 1891, one year after Hamilton's death, that room was labeled "Hamilton’s Room" (Figs. 10; 11; 12; 13) (Titus, 1982).

During construction, Robert invited two of his friends out to hunt in September: Cassimir De R. Moore and Gilbert M. Speir (Sun, 1891). Unfortunately, Hamilton drowned fording the Snake River below the outlet from Jackson Lake on August 23, 1890, while returning alone from an antelope hunt. Three sources of information on his death seem to be the most reliable: John Sargent’s letter to Hamilton’s brother, Schuyler; Cassimir De R. Moore’s letter to Schuyler; and Dr. J. O. Green’s account of finding the body (N.Y. Times, 1890a; 1890b).

Hamilton attempted to ford the river in the dark and crossed in the wrong area. At the time of the accident, Sargent was at Kamtuck, Idaho, getting supplies and mail; and he did not return until August 27. Upon his return, Sargent asked for local assistance from several Jackson Hole residents to search for Robert who was several days overdue from his hunt. Hamilton’s body was found on September 2. His horse had been able to swim ashore despite a turned saddle, while Hamilton was found with his spurs tangled in the

Fig. 8. Whip-saw platform and sawyers.
aquatic plants of the river channel (N.Y. Times, 1890a; 1890b). The searchers had agreed to light a signal fire, if and when his body was found. On September 2, such a signal fire was constructed on the low mountain now named Signal Mountain (Leek, 1923). Hamilton was buried directly west of the Sargent cabin in a site which is now flooded by Jackson Lake. Several years after his death, the body was removed from that gravesite and sent back East for internment in the Hamilton plot (W. Lawrence, 1981; Jackson Hole Guide, 1958).

Because of the remoteness of the area, communications were not only slow, but usually lacked sufficient details. As late as June 1891, Sargent traveled to New York to testify that indeed the body recovered from the Snake River was Robert Ray Hamilton (N.Y. Times, 1891a; 1891b).

Rumors of foul play persisted supporting such an event (N.Y. Times, 1891c). Those unfounded rumors ultimately suggested Sargent was involved in the treachery and killed Hamilton to gain sole possession of the ranch (Kongslie, 1891). While on a hunting trip sometime between 1896 and 1900, Dr. John Mitchell wrote in his diary, "All Jackson’s Hole, a community of scalawags, renegades, discharged soldiers and, as Capt. Anderson, calls them, predestined stinkers, unite in the belief that Sargent killed H" (Jackson Hole Guide, 1965). In 1913, after John D. Sargent’s death, his second wife, Edith, wrote a letter to the New York Times editor to exonerate John, stating that the coroner’s jury decided that Hamilton’s death was accidental and that John was incapable of committing murder (N.Y. Times, 1913).

The Winter 1890-91 was a most trying time for the Sargent family. The cumulative impact of establishing and constructing a new homestead in an environment with a severe winter climate, plus all of the events associated with Hamilton’s death, would test the mental state of most individuals.

Final completion of the 10-room cabin probably carried over into 1891. Other log homestead structures built included a 12-foot by 12-foot barn which had a gable roof and a haymow above the stable and harness storage area. Several corrals were associated with the barn. The barn was located on the north side of the clearing which was used by Alfred Berol for trap shooting from the 1940s to the 1960s. Behind the main cabin (to the northeast) were four other log structures: an outhouse, an 8-foot by 8-foot chicken house, a 12-foot by 12-foot woodshed and a 16-foot by 20-foot boathouse (Woods, 1904). The latter structure was used for general storage, as well as for an 18-foot boat...
which was packed into Jackson Lake from Marysville, Idaho (Allan, 1973). This boat could be rowed but it also was outfitted with a mast for sailing. This is a logical piece of equipment considering Sargent’s background in the seaport town of Machias. W. Lawrence (1978) reported seeing remains of this boat in the crumbling boathouse with the mast step still in place in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Sargent’s homestead was located on an open ridge of a short peninsula which extended in a northerly direction into Jackson Lake (Fig. 14). This location provided an exhilarating view across Jackson Lake of the east slopes of the Grand Teton Mountains (Fig. 15). Most of the scattered trees were under 10-foot tall and represented new forest growth established following the fires of 1879 which burned over large portions of Jackson Hole (Gruell, 1980). There were no springs for water on the ridge; water was hauled from Jackson Lake. One steep water haul road led directly west from the cabin to the lake. When this road was wet or icy, a more gentle but longer road to the north end of the peninsula was used. Water was hauled in wooden barrels having canvas covers. It was then loaded on a wooden sledge pulled by a Shorthorn bull which Sargent used as a utility work animal (W. Lawrence, 1978).
Fig. 14. USGS topographic maps, 1901 (bottom) and 1911 (top) Editions.
With respect to a transportation system serving the Sargent-Hamilton homestead, a major Indian-fur trapper trail down the east side of Jackson Lake passed just to the west of the homestead. This trail led to the Conant Pass Trail which went over the north end of the Teton Mountains for travel into Idaho. The Sargent family frequently used this trail to move in and out of Jackson Hole. The Yellowstone Military Road was the main route connecting Jackson Hole with Yellowstone National Park and Montana. This road passed east of the Sargent homestead (Fig. 14). A short secondary loop which passed right by the Sargent Cabin was used mostly by travelers as an access to campsites south of the ranch buildings (W. Lawrence, 1978).

There is no well-documented record of pets and livestock on the Sargent homestead. Several dogs and a cat named "Tom Tough" were shown in various photos of the ranch. Martha Sargent, daughter of John, talked of loving her two dogs, Joke and Jolly (Titus, 1982). The J. V. Allens frequently commented that Sargent was "very, very good to animals" (Allen, 1981). Also, John had great pride in his Shorthorn bull which he raised and had trained to pack, to be ridden and to pull equipment (Fig. 16) (J. Sargent, 1906a; W. Lawrence, 1978).

Fig. 15. Webb expedition (Purdy, 1896) in front of Sargent's cabin, Sept. 1896.
In addition, Sargent had at least one horse. As a young boy, Marion Allen (1981) observed Sargent going for his mail, "Usually he would be walking and his saddle horse would be following him and a pack horse following the saddle horse, making quite a parade." Also, Ben D. Sheffield Jr. knew the Sargent family and remembered their pinto horse called "Nymph" and John Sargent’s "cow" that he packed on trips to Moran (Fig. 17) (Sheffield, 1985).

Sargent, writing to the U.S. Land Office in Evanston, Wyoming, claimed he grazed six milk cows six seasons prior to 1897 on his homestead and milked the cows regularly for the benefit of his wife and children. It seems the usual over winter animal herd consisted of 1 cow, 1 bull and 1 horse (J. Sargent, 1906a). The severe winters and the family’s periodic absences during the winter restricted the number of animals that could be maintained. Evidence suggests that he might have wintered some of his stock in Idaho (J. Sargent, 1906a). Also, Sargent might have had a small herd of cattle. Noble Gregory first established his homestead near the Buffalo Fork River and initially acquired some of his cattle from Sargent (Jackson’s Hole Courier, 1952). In the Wyoming Stock Growers Association records, J. D. Sargent of Moran in 1905 was assessed for 31 head of cattle. Sargent was not mentioned for any other year in their records (WY Stock Growers Assoc., 1905). Forest Ranger Rudolph Rosencrans on July 2, 1907, wrote in his diary that he "made out hay application for J. D. Sargent" and on August 10, 1907, "from Lake went to Sargent’s to see about signing a special permit application" (Rosencrans, 1907).

The name "Marymere" for Sargent’s homestead ranch has been recorded and spelled in the literature in many different ways. In the beginning, Sargent used that name to refer to what is now Jackson Lake (N.Y. Times, 1890a) rather than the ranch itself. That changed over time (J. Sargent, 1899; Kongslie, 1891). While numerous versions exist of the spelling and writing of the name, "Marymere" seems to be the version utilized by Sargent.
After Hamilton’s death, Sargent continued the efforts to operate the Marymere Ranch as a dude-hunting ranch. One such party, wealthy Cleveland merchant Ralph Worthington and three nephews of Andrew Carnegie, stayed on the ranch for a few days (N.Y. Times, 1891c). The Sargents apparently provided their guests with a sumptuous fare for that isolated area. Kongslie (1891) tells of having wine and expensive cigars during one overnight stay on their way to Yellowstone. Mary Sargent said her father also served champagne to his guests. In those early years on the ranch, one to two girls from Idaho were hired employees (Hayden, 1955; J. Sargent, 1892). While Sargent and Adelaide had some initial financial resources, one might logically speculate that their costs of operation were greatly exceeding their earned income.

Besides the potential of fiscal stress, winter living on the Marymere had to be very trying. Five to 6 feet of snow accumulated seasonally on the ground or in one storm. Temperatures frequently plunged to -40°F and even -60°F. Valley fog rolled up and down the northerly portions of Jackson Hole until Jackson Lake froze over. W. Lawrence, who lived next to Jackson Lake, mentioned they may not see the sun for about 2 months from late November through January. The heavy wet snows usually occurred from February through April. Overall, these conditions made it (1) difficult to over-winter livestock; (2) difficult to travel except by snowshoe and skis; (3) difficult to receive or send letters and other communications to business contacts, friends and family; and (4) difficult to avoid mental depression and irritability ("cabin fever") from prolonged isolation and prolonged confinement in small homestead cabins.

Sargent and his family spent a number of winters outside Jackson Hole. He described his family’s November 1892 horseback travel over Conant Pass into Idaho. His account, found by Robert Barton in the belongings of his father, J. Oland, John’s son-in-law, is shared with the reader (Titus, 1977; J. Sargent, 1892)*:

"Best Camping Experience

We had been living on the ranch at Jackson Lake several years when it was decided to spend a winter in town.

The beautiful Autumn had been perfect way into October and we were all at the ranch after the last colors along the lake shore had faded, and the last of the rustling Aspines had shed their leaves in front of our Cabin.

There was five of us to move across the Tetons before we could get to a Railway; three children from four to eight years old, their mother and the writer. Late in October three of us, the eldest child, his mother and the writer, started out on saddle horses, with a camp outfit consisting of a 12 ft. Indian Lodge, 6 pair 8 lb. Provo Utah blankets, a weeks ration of Elk meat, flour, sugar, dried fruit, baking powder, salt, pepper, bacon and matches, leaving the other two children with the hired girl at the ranch. Of course, our camp outfit was on a pack horse. Our route was the seldom traveled Conant Trail, which crosses the Teton Mountains six miles north of the head of Jackson Lake, but about fifteen miles as you follow the trail.

We traveled single file, the pack horse being used to it and no bother. After fording the Snake River at the Old Indian Crossing, three miles above the lake our trail wound about in the pines and lower Cottonwoods till we got up to the Berry Creek Valley, which is a small narrow valley running off East from the East end of Conant Pass with fine Mountain water in Berry Creek and its spring branches.

On one of these, at a spring branch, in a little grassy park where I had my old lodge poles stacked away, we camped the first

*This is from a typed copy of the original handwritten account by John D. Sargent. It is not known who made the copy or how accurately Sargent’s grammar and spelling were reproduced.
night, clear and cold, but entirely pleasant. We slept, cooked and ate in the lodge. Next morning we packed up and by noon were on top of the Conant Pass enjoying a panoramic view of half the state of Idaho.

In another hour we were down through the dense fir and pine timber of the west slopes of Tetons and riding out over lovely Mountain Parks and through occasional groves of Aspens, pines and big fur trees. About fifteen miles below the Mountains, just at sundown, in a grassy meadow, we came to a Settler from an Idaho Hamlet, our destination before going to Railway. This man was hauling hay from this wild meadow, which he had been cutting, all the way to his home, thirty miles nearer to the Railway, and he loaded the boy and his mother on top of the hay load the next morning and I returned with my camp outfit and horses across the Conant Pass that same day to the Jackson Lake side again, driving the horses before me in the narrow trail single file at a trot whenever the ground would permit. I was home by sundown.

The next day I started out the eldest girl with the hired girl, on a wagon by way of Falls River Pass, which passes around the head of the Teton Range just inside the southwest corner of the Yellowstone Park. It is passable for wagons but not a smooth road. Then I was all alone with my four year old daughter Martha at the ranch, and a big snow storm closing down on the Lake and Tetons. In the midst of it Colonel Anderson, U.S.A. and Lieut. Devoll, U.S.A., arrived with a Government Pack outfit from a tour of the east side of the Yellowstone Park. We all enjoyed the comfort of the big ranch fire place that evening while the snow steadily fell outside. After the Colonel's party pulled out for Fort Yellowstone, one hundred miles north over the old Sheridan Trail, no roads in those days up to the Park, I began to get ready for our last trip over Conant Pass, to join the others in Idaho, and then go into Salt Lake City for the winter.

The morning I packed up the five pack horses with my most valuable property there was a foot of snow on the ground at my ranch and it was still snowing. I knew that meant three or more feet on top of Conant Pass. Martha, the "baby" was going across in midwinter weather practically and her mother and brother had crossed in beautiful Indian Summer weather less that a week earlier! It can do that in the Teton Mountains sometimes. It was noon before I'd packed the last horse, turned it loose in the bunch and while they all stood huddled together by the front door of the Cabin with their tails to the snow storm and the canvas covers of their packs changing rapidly from dirty white to snowwhite. I went in the cabin and dressed Martha for the ride. A cloak of Provo blanket to her heels, german socks and overshoes, a warm hood and wollen mittens and she was apparently very fat and all ready for any thing outside.

Tossing her up into an extra stock saddle of mine on Old Roan, a thoroughly safe old time pony, I gave Martha her bridle rains, told her to follow up the procession; drove the bunch of pack horses into the trail, got in the lead then myself on my best horse and Martha followed in the rear with all the pack horses single file between us. On the Big meadow, three miles north of my ranch, just before we were to ford the Snake River, I discovered I'd forgotten my keys. I stopped the pack train, told Martha the trouble, unpacked the dozen or more pair of Utah blankets from Babe, tumbled them into the snow on top of the lodge, quickly slipped Martha out of her outside wraps as she set in the saddle, then tossed her in the middle of the blankets, wrapped the lodge over all, after shaking the dry snow off her wraps and storing them under the folds of the lodge, mounted my horse, sang out 'Go to sleep Martha' and lit out for my ranch. With my keys safe in my pocket I returned to the meadow forty minutes later to find a big mound of dry soft snow and Martha sound asleep in the middle of it.

Quickly wrapping her and mounting the girl on Old Roan I soon had Babe repacked
with the bedding and lodge and we were on the trail once more. It never ceased snowing a moment and there was eighteen inches on the meadow as we crossed it to the ford of the River.

Soon after crossing the river we had to camp for it was near dark. I chose an old spot of Beaver Dicks where I knew he had his lodge poles cached. I soon had them set up, the lodge nicely stretched over them, blankets and cooking things inside, a fire in the centre of the lodge, then I removed Martha's outside gear as before as she set in the saddle and carried her in to the brightness and warmth of the lodge. Leaving her, sitting in some blankets by the lodge fire, I went outside, unpacked the remaining loads, staked out in a bit of open Park the bell mare, and turned the rest loose to graze through the night. With my axe I cut up fire wood for night and morning, piled it inside under the edge of the lodge, then I began our supper preparations.

Opening a 50 lb. sack of flour, I mixed two teaspoons full of baking powder with about a quart of the top flour, then fried some bacon in frying pan. Made a "Dough God" with a little water in the top of the flour sack, placed the "Dough God" in the frying pan on top of the slices of cooked bacon, cooked it a while over the coals-then I flopped over the "Dough God"-cooked that side as I had the top, took it out of the frying pan, stood it up against a stick facing the fire where it would bake slowly, turning it about occasionally, while I heated up some canned corn in the frying pan, boiled an Elk steak on coals, using a wire toaster, and made tea.

Opening a can of Eagle milk I fixed a big tin cup full of it with hot water for Martha and getting out the plate, knife and fork and spoon for her we set to it.

Our bed was made down beside the fire and as we turned in I could see a star or two through the peak of the lodge. Two minutes after saying her prayers Martha was sound asleep.

We got a late start next forenoon. Wasn't snowing, but threatening to, and at it so thick and hard again by the time we reached the top of the Pass could not see 30 yards.

Quarter of a mile below the top Martha dropped a mitten and I had to wallow down the Mountain side back after it through three feet of snow. It was a black mitten so easily recovered on all that snow! We were obliged to camp that night on the summit in three feet of snow. Under the north side of the pass I unpacked in the dark, Martha sitting still on her pony meanwhile. I set no lodge that night! We slept in the blankets with a fir tree and sky for our roof.

It cleared off bitterly cold towards morning, up there at 9000 ft. altitude in November. When I had breakfast ready it was quite warm and pleasant, the sun peeping at us finely over the crest of the Pass above our heads.

By Midafternoon we were down out of the snow and traveling through the pretty open parks and groves of the Idaho side in Indian Summer weather again. Just then Babe, the pony that carried half the blankets, began to drop behind and bothered Martha. I told Martha to let her alone and she'd follow us.

When we camped for the night Babe did not come in. Leaving Martha alone in the camp I took the back trail and found Babe lying down by the trail with her bulky pack turned under. She simply could not get on her feet. Unpacking and repacking her I got her into camp at midnight.

Next day at noon we rode out on the Idaho prairies and ten miles farther we came to the first cabin in a small farm at Conant Creek crossing and a good wagon road on to the hamlet where the others awaited our arrival."
In his affidavit to Wesley King, U.S. Land Commissioner, Sargent swore he and his family left Marymere in November 1892 because of his "wife's sickness," without any clarification by him as to the nature of the illness (J. Sargent, 1904). Interestingly enough, Sargent did not mention in the journal anything about his wife being ill during the foregoing trip. Nor did he say anything about her being pregnant. Nevertheless, on November 14, 1892, the fourth Sargent child, Catherine, was officially recorded in the State of Utah as being born to Adelaide and John in Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City-County, 1892; Church of the Ascension, 1897) 12-14 days after a 2-day horseback trip over Conant Pass and a 20-30 mile ride on a load of hay.

The birth of Catherine is probably the biggest mystery of the Sargent family. As events will show, Catherine was the child most favored by John Sargent. In later years, Martha Sargent would not even admit she had a sister named Catherine; while the Crane family considered Catherine to be fathered by John but not borne by Adelaide (Titus, 1977a).

Beside the possibilities that (1) Catherine was indeed Adelaide's child; and (2) Catherine was an illegitimate child born to either John or Adelaide, a third option appears very possible. One or both of the Sargents might have been guardians for Catherine. Kongsli (1891) described an encounter by Sargent with a temporary guardian of a small girl in New Haven, Connecticut. Supposedly, the girl was from Maine and was heir to a large sum of money and John was claiming guardianship for her but was refused by the unnamed temporary guardian. This incident shows that Sargent was capable of assuming guardianship, which could be a source of income.

Also, there was a strange business transaction involving the establishment of a land trust for Catherine by John, 4 miles south of St. Anthony, Idaho. John paid $75 for 5 acres, acting as a trustee for Catherine in 1895. Later John sold the land to his wife for $500. The land was eventually lost for failure to pay taxes (Fremont Co., 1895; 1895a; 1921). The guardian theory is further supported by the later marriage of Sargent's only son, Charles, to Catherine, his "sister" (Washington Co., 1932). Therefore, despite the birth certificate and baptismal record of Catherine, there is some question as to who the natural parents were.

There is no detailed account of the Sargent family's return to Marymere or their life on the ranch during the next 1-1/2 years. However, Sargent does say in his affidavit filed with his homestead application that they returned in the Spring 1893 and spent the Winter 1893-94 on the ranch (J. Sargent, 1904; U.S. Dept. of Interior, 1905). On May 15, 1894, the Sargent's fifth child, Adelaide, was born at Marymere (J. Sargent, 1906a). This was corroborated by information on a baptismal certificate (Church of the Ascension, 1897) and the U.S. 1900 Census of Machias, Maine.

In November 1894, Sargent took his wife and their five children to spend the winter in Wilford, Idaho (Fremont Co., 1895a), and delayed their return in the Spring 1895 "because of Bannock Indian troubles" (J. Sargent, 1904; Browning, 1895-96). The following account in the New York Times showed the involvement of the Sargent ranch (N.Y. Times, 1895):

"Regarding the Mary Mere ranch, to which troops have been sent to give protection against the indians, according to a dispatch from Market Lake, Idaho, Mr. Pease said 'the Mary Mere ranch is situated in a wild and mountainous region, fifty miles south of the troops that are present stationed in Yellowstone Park and is many miles from any other inhabitation.

If the indians are nearing the ranch, and it is threatened, it would prove conclusively that they are rapidly moving northward, as fifty miles represents a great distance in that wild and almost impassable region.'"

The family remained at Marymere through 1895 and all of 1896.
On March 26, 1897, a tragic event changed the lives of the Sargent family. On that day, a group of Jackson Hole residents removed a very ill Mrs. Sargent from the Marymere Ranch and transported her by toboggan to the D. C. Nowlin ranch some 50 miles south on what is now the National Elk Refuge. Apparently, they reached the Nowlin ranch on the evening of March 29. The purpose of the trip was to obtain medical aid for Mrs. Sargent. Mrs. Sargent's condition worsened despite all nursing efforts. She died on April 11, 1897, and was buried the next day on the Nowlin ranch (J. Sargent, 1899a).

This event suddenly became a very emotional issue among the local residents. Those feelings were picked up by the newspapers in many sensational and contradictory accounts of the death. The extent of these conflicting accounts is best illustrated in the excerpts from two newspaper stories and from a deposition made by Sargent. On April 3, 1897, The News-Register of Evanston, Wyoming, stated:

"until some four weeks ago a couple of messengers arrived in the settlements requesting some one to go at once to Sargent's, as Mrs. Sargent was dangerously ill and reporting that Sargent was neglecting to care for her and preventing even the children from waiting upon their mother. This strange report, coupled with indignation that such a state of affairs could exist, impelled Mr. and Mrs. D. C. Nowlin to leave the settlements for the Sargent ranch and the succeeding day Mrs. Samuel E. Osborne followed, both ladies being accompanied by six strong snow shovers and toboggans, supplies etc. Upon arrival at the Sargent place they were confronted with the puritan visage of Sargent and ordered off the premises, with all the lordly eloquence of a diseased mind.

But these parties, after having made such a harrowing trip against the wintry elements, had no idea of returning without at least knowing the truth of the messenger's report and upon this determination proceeded against Sargent's protest to investigate. A harrowing and sorrowful sight met their gaze. Lying upon a couch, was a woman, wasted and worn by disease and suffering. Inquiry developed the fact that during her long illness no hand of pity, no heart of love, had been held out to her by the brute who, fifteen years before, had sworn to love, honor and protect her. Lying there alone, neglected and dying, was the mother of his children, while Sargent, steeped in the fumes of opium and morphine, calmly awaited the moment of her death.

Kind and willing hands gave needy assistance and the weak and shrunken form was warmed back to life and today bids fair to survive the months of neglect, and the damnable abuse heaped upon her and her children by the husband and father."

Some years later a different version was printed in the Kemmerer Camera (1913):

"The story of the accident which occurred in 1897 as it has been given to us, is that during the fall the team had been hitched up preparatory to go into town. The two children had been put in the wagon, when the horses started up. Mrs. Sargent ran forward and caught the horses by the bits, and Mr. Sargent coming from the other side grabbed the lines and slapped them over the horses causing them to plunge forward, knocking her down and breaking a leg.

Instead of getting medical aid, Sargent took her into the house and kept her there giving what attention he could, but not believing the leg was broken. During the winter a soldier visited the ranch and reported the condition of Mrs. Sargent to the people in the valley, and they went to that distant ranch home, and brought her out on a toboggan, and sending for a physician and nurse.

About the only evidence which could be secured against Sargent was that of the nurse who stated her belief that death had been caused by neglect and lack of medical attention."
Both of these versions differ markedly from Sargent's chronology of events as outlined in his application for release from jail (J. Sargent, 1899a):

"about February 1, 1897, his wife Adelaide Sargent was taken ill at his said home; that about March 1, 1897, your petitioner dispatched messengers to Jackson Hole, 50 miles distant to summon a nurse for his said wife, one Mrs. Osborne by name; that said nurse arrived at the home of the petitioner on the 7th day of March, 1897, and took exclusive charge of said Mrs. Sargent to care for her and if possible to nurse her back to health; that Mrs. Sargent at this time had been about seven months pregnant; that the condition of Mrs. Sargent did not improve and on the 26th day of March, 1897, over the protest of this petitioner Mrs. Sargent was by certain people of Jackson Hole removed to the residence of one D. C. Nowlin, about 50 miles distant, professedly as it was said for the purpose of procuring medical aid; that said Mrs. Sargent was transported to said Nowlin's in a toboggan over the snow when the weather was severe and blistering and arrived there on the evening of March 29, 1897, very much exhausted; that a few hours thereafter on the same evening said Mrs. Sargent was delivered of a still-born child; that Dr. Woodburn of Rexburg, Idaho and the said nurse Mrs. Osborne were then and there present; that said Dr. Woodburn testified at the preliminary hearing of this petitioner hereinafter referred that said still-born child had, in his opinion, been dead in the womb about two weeks and said Mrs. Osborne testified that in her opinion it had been dead in the womb from 6 to 10 days; that said Dr. Woodburn immediately pronounced Mrs. Sargent beyond hope, that medical science could not save her and about April 1, 1897, left for his home at Rexburg, Idaho, about 90 miles distant; that on the 11th day of April, 1897, Mrs. Sargent died at said Nowlin's and on the following day was buried there."

Following Adelaide's death, John remained at Marymere with one of his daughters until at least May 18 (WY Press, 1897). He then left the ranch and traveled to New York City, where lacking money, he went to work for Swift and Company for 2 years (J. Sargent, 1906a). In the meantime, nurse Hattie Osborne was granted a court judgement against John Sargent for services rendered to his wife. Since John had left the country, the court authorized seizure of some of his property in the amount necessary to satisfy the judgement (Uinta Co., 1897). Not informed of this transaction or not willing to admit that justice was served, Sargent later claimed his possessions were stolen from him in his deposition for his homestead claim (J. Sargent, 1906a).

In October 1899, John returned to Marymere. He then appeared before the Justice of the Peace Court at Elk presided over by J.P. Cunningham (Fig. 18). The occasion of the appearance was for a preliminary hearing on the charge of second degree murder in the death of his wife, Adelaide (J. Sargent, 1899a). As a result of the preliminary hearing, Sargent was bound over to the Uinta County Jail and District Court in Evanston for trial on the second degree murder charge (WY Press, 1899).

On December 8, 1899, Sargent petitioned for release from jail on his own recognizance since he was without funds for bail, he was needed to support two of his children and his health was in jeopardy (J. Sargent, 1899a; WY Tribune, 1900). The court approved this request on December 11 (Uinta Co., 1899).

The murder trial was scheduled for April 9, 1900, in the District Court in Evanston. Witness subpoenas were issued on March 17, 1900. On April 3, 1900, Uinta County Attorney John W. Sammon moved and the court agreed to dismiss the case (Uinta Co., 1900). Reasons for the dismissal stemmed from conflicting testimony among the witnesses and inability to obtain substantial evidence (Kemmerer Camera, 1913).

Ironically, there is still an absence of facts that can be substantiated to describe
what really happened to Mrs. Sargent. Two statements may best sum up the situation:

"While the story throughout seems like a tale of the blackest villainy with Sargent as the chief actor, there appears an underlying current of injustice done an innocent man. Sargent is either a villain of the deepest dye or else the worst persecuted man in the United States" (WY Tribune, 1900).

"My own opinion is that she probably became sick of starvation, may have had an accident, which resulted in physical injury, which he had not the skill to treat, and that his fault consisted in being too proud to let his condition be known to those he disliked, and who disliked and distrusted him, but who would nevertheless have not permitted him and his to so suffer. He spoke to me of the occurrence as a proud man would, whose private needs and secret distress had been officiously pried into by foes and strangers who took advantage of his needs to make public his distress, and, under pretense of charity, to degrade him and try to alienate his children. The truth, I think, is that neither side understood the other" (Leek, 1923).

Adelaide's death brought about drastic changes in the Sargent family. Following their mother's death, the children were placed in temporary custody of several Jackson Hole families (Leek, 1923; News-Register, 1897). Such an arrangement did not involve all of the children since on May 18, 1897, Sargent stated that one of his daughters was still living with him at Marymere, presumably Catherine (WY Press, 1897).

Henry C. Sargent, John's father of record, sent one of his brothers to Wyoming immediately after Adelaide's death to return his grandchildren to Machias. Mary, Martha, Adelaide and Charles returned with John's uncle. In Machias, Martha and Adelaide lived with Henry, while Mary and Charles stayed with Adelaide's parents, the Leander Crane family (Titus, 1982; U.S. Census, 1900). For some reason, Catherine was not returned to Machias with the other four children. She continued to have a mysterious life.

While living with their grandfather, Martha and Adelaide were able to take advantage of schooling opportunities that had been unavailable in Wyoming. Martha was married to George Eaton in December 1913 in Machias. Shortly thereafter, she and her husband moved to Lawrence, Massachusetts. After the birth of a daughter, Barbara, she divorced Eaton but remained in Lawrence. She ultimately was employed in a woman's specialty shop in Boston (Fig. 23). She retired from that firm in 1961. Martha

Fig. 18. Preliminary hearing for John Sargent, murder in the second degree, Justice of Peace Court, Elk Precinct, Oct. 1899. Left to right: Catherine, John and Mary Sargent, Lawyer Ryckman, Justice Cunningham, Sheriff Ward and County Attorney Sammon.
Fig. 19. Adelaide Sargent.

died in DeLand, Florida, on May 29, 1979, and was buried in the Sargent family plot in the Court Street Cemetery of Machias (Titus, 1982).

Adelaide attended Machias Normal School where she received her credentials to teach at the primary school level (Fig. 19). She taught first grade in Augusta and then in Houlton, Maine, where she met her husband-to-be (Barton, 1982). On August 2, 1921, she married James Oland Barton in Machias (R. Wright, No date). She died on March 12, 1923, when giving birth to their only child, a son, Robert Barton. Adelaide is buried in the Lincoln, Maine, Cemetery (State of ME, 1923).

Like Martha and Adelaide, Charles' teenage life with the Leander Crane family appears to have been relatively uneventful. The seafaring atmosphere of Machias rubbed off on Charles; and after a relatively brief stay with the Cranes, he enlisted and served in the U.S. Navy from May 10, 1901, to December 24, 1906. He then joined the Merchant Marine and ultimately attended school for ships officers (Military Personnel Records, 1986; R. Wright, No date). Sometime around 1913, Charles married Catherine (Washington Co., 1932), his "sister" of record.

With the outbreak of World War I, Charles transferred back to the U.S. Navy as a commissioned officer. After World War I, he elected to remain in the U.S. Navy. Barbara Titus, Martha Sargent's daughter, related how all of the Sargent children, except Catherine, came for a reunion with Charles in Boston in November 1919. Charles took all of them out to dinner at the Copley Plaza. At that time, he was an officer on a ship in the port of Fall River, Massachusetts. This was the last time all of these Sargent children would see each other (Titus, 1985).

On March 18, 1920, Charles was a Lieutenant Commander serving as Captain of the Transport U.S.S. Yale (Fig. 20). He was waiting for his replacement so that he could be reassigned as Captain of another Navy ship (R. Crane, 1920). Sometime during late 1920 or early 1921, Charles was diagnosed as having tuberculosis and was to be transferred to Arizona for treatment. Unfortunately, before his replacement arrived, Charles died aboard his ship in the port of Fall River, Massachusetts, in December 1921. The cause of his death was a lung hemorrhage. He was buried in a cemetery in Newport, Rhode Island (Titus, 1985a).

As mentioned previously, John left Marymere after his wife's death and may have taken Catherine with him. The other children were already in Machias. The reasons for his departure,
according to Sargent's deposition to the U.S. General Land Office in Evanston, Wyoming (J. Sargent, 1906a), were: "That he was forced by deception and fraud and the kidnapping of his four year old daughter in May 1897, to go East." What he meant by "fraud" and "kidnapping" is unknown but Catherine was 4 years old at that time and probably was the daughter he was referring to.

Along with her sister Adelaide and her father, Catherine was baptised in New York City on August 1, 1897 (Church of the Ascension, 1897). After that ceremony until 1899 in Jackson Hole, there is no information on Catherine's whereabouts except that her father was working in New York City to support her (J. Sargent, 1906a). On October 28, 1899, she appeared with Mary in a photo taken at John's preliminary murder hearing at Elk, Wyoming (Fig. 18). Barbara Titus, daughter of Martha Sargent, reports that she was told by relatives that John took Mary and Catherine back to the West with him when he returned in 1899. Both girls disliked the East (Titus, 1978a).

After returning to Jackson Hole, Catherine and Mary were then taken to the Sister's school in Ogden, Utah, according to Sargent's application for his release from jail (J. Sargent, 1899a). The Sacred Heart Academy, operated by the Sisters of the Holy Cross from 1878-1956, was a boarding school in Ogden (Louise, 1985). This was probably the school John mentioned. After his release, the Wyoming Tribune (1900) reported that the two girls were attending school in Salt Lake City and living with their father who was working for the Oregon Short Line Railroad.

From Salt Lake City, Catherine apparently accompanied her father to Marymere in July 1900 (V. Lawrence, No date). In the Fall 1902, Catherine went away to school for 5 years in Racine, Wisconsin, living with a family named Lynn (Fig. 21) (J. Sargent, 1906b; C. Sargent, 1905). During this time, there is further documentation that Catherine was a favorite child of John's.

On April 17, 1907, John D. Sargent made out a deed of trust making Catherine a gift of his estate with Herbert H. Drake as trustee for Catherine (Uinta Co., 1907). Catherine's last documented stay at Marymere is the photograph taken in 1908 (Fig. 22).

From 1908 on, Catherine's activities were very vague. There were many rumors which cannot be substantiated. The first hint of her marriage to Charles was in 1913 when Henry C. Sargent, John's father, wrote to the District Court, Kemmerer, Wyoming, after receiving notification of John's death. He mentioned that Charles and Catherine were living in New York City, address unknown (H. Sargent, 1913). In 1920, Ruth Crane who was brought up with Charles in the Leander Crane family, reported she met Charles in Philadelphia and at that time Charles was married and had four children. She said Catherine was living with them but she didn't mention that Catherine was his wife. Ruth stated that Charles' oldest child was 6 years old; therefore, the marriage could have taken place in 1913 (R. Crane, 1920). When Charles died in 1921, Catherine was at the funeral. She then disappeared until 1932.
On May 3, 1932, Catherine applied to the Washington County Probate Court for her children's share of their great-grandfather's (Henry C. Sargent) estate (Washington Co., 1932). From this deposition, only two daughters and one son were alive on that date. This deposition proves that Catherine married her brother of record, Charles, when she certified that Alice, Charles, and Dorothy were the only surviving children "of my late husband, Charles Hemenway Sargent, deceased." The last information about Catherine was her application on October 22, 1940, for her share of Henry C. Sargent's estate, claiming she was his granddaughter. Unfortunately, the Washington County Probate Records lacked any current address for Catherine at that time (Washington Co., 1940).

Mary Sargent's (John's oldest daughter) early life closely parallels Catherine's early childhood. After her mother's death, she stayed with the Leander Crane family along with Charles, her brother. Unhappy in Machias, Mary returned with Catherine and her father to Marymere in 1899 (Fig. 18) (Titus, 1978a). Again with Catherine, Mary attended school in Ogden and Salt Lake City when their father was in jail and when he worked for the railroad (J. Sargent, 1899a; WY Tribune, 1900).

On November 3, 1902, at the age of 15, Mary Sargent married Fred Cunningham, brother and partner of James Pierce Cunningham, in St. Anthony, Idaho (Fremont Co., 1902). Mary may have been living with the J. Pierce family as early as 1900, for Pierce and Margaret Cunningham had no children and it was reported that they reared some of the Sargent children (Apple, 1960; Leek, 1923). The Fred Cunningham ranch was located southeast of the now preserved Pierce Cunningham Cabin, a historical feature in Grand Teton National Park (Allen, 1981).

Mary had been mistreated by Fred and had lived an unpleasant life with him (W. Lawrence, 1978). Sometime in 1912, she left Fred without his knowledge and went to Ashton, Idaho (Allen, 1981). She and her son accomplished this by walking several miles in the rain to the Fred Feuz ranch. Their forlorn appearance made a lasting impression on Caroline Feuz Oliver as a young child. Sympathetic to their plight, Caroline's father took them to Moran where they caught a freight wagon to Ashton (Oliver, 1986).

Shortly after, Fred Cunningham also left Jackson Hole. The exact date was not established. The Wyoming Stock Growers Association (1912) did not record Fred's cattle assessments after 1911. The Jackson's Hole Courier (1915) reported he was hauling hay in January 1915. As a young boy and neighbor, Marion Allen (1986) remembered Fred returning to Jackson Hole to help his brother, Pierce, for a year during World War I. Other neighbors, who are still living in Jackson Hole, did not know what happened to Fred. Steven Leek (1923) reported he committed suicide. Marion Allen (1986) recalled his father, J. V. Allen, met Fred in Idaho around 1918. Fred was very ill at that time and died soon afterwards.

Mary's and Fred's only child, Roy, was born in 1905 (U.S. Census, 1910). When Mary returned to Jackson Hole, Roy stayed with the J. Pierce Cunninghams periodically (Taylor, 1985). Like his mother, he had trouble holding a permanent job and he did not enjoy a good reputation with residents (W. Lawrence, 1978; Briggs, 1985). Roy married and left Jackson Hole in the early 1930s.
After leaving her husband, Mary led an unsettled life. In 1913, just before his death, John reported she was in a theatre company in the vicinity of Seattle, Washington (J. Sargent, 1913a). As mentioned previously, Mary came from the West Coast to participate in the 1919 reunion with Charles Sargent in Boston (Titus, 1985a).

Mary Sargent was in and out of Jackson Hole many times during the period between the 1920s and 1940s. W. Lawrence knew Mary when she was living with Herb Whiteman and working for Ben Sheffield in Moran, Wyoming, in the early 1920s. W. Lawrence (1978) said, "It was hard for her to concentrate on a job or keep a job. She would hang around Moran and talk to the workers." Ben Sheffield Jr. recalled that Mary worked for his father several times at Moran (Sheffield, 1985). In 1927, she was married to a man named Curtis (Washington Co., 1927). This marriage only lasted a couple of years, for in 1932, she was married to a Mr. Beal (Washington Co., 1932a). Sometime during or between these marriages, Mary worked for J. Pierce Cunningham when he was managing a hotel in Victor, Idaho (Taylor, 1985).

In the late 1930s, Mary lived in California, returning to Jackson Hole for a month in summer for about 3 years. Each time, she camped on the site of the Sargent homestead. W. Lawrence would provide her with a tent. Her purpose was to look for family valuables which she claimed were buried near the homestead (W. Lawrence, 1978; 1981). Marion Allen (1985) also remembered seeing Mary at the Ward Dance Hall in Jackson, Wyoming, in the late 1930s. During the 1932 visit, Mary had her mother's body moved from the Nowlin ranch site to the Jackson City Cemetery.

On September 19, 1947, she married her fourth husband, George C. Sears, in San Rafael, California (State of CA, 1947). In the 1950s and 1960s, she continued to visit Jackson Hole. Mary's 1950 trip was highlighted by a reunion visit to Marymere with her sister, Martha Sargent Eaton (Fig. 23) (Jackson's Hole Courier, 1950). Mary out-lived her husband but remained in San Francisco where she died on September 4, 1984 (State of CA, 1984), at the age of 97.

The general appearance of John D. Sargent is best captured in Fig. 24. He was around 6 feet tall, slim in build with fine features, straight black hair and black mustache. His dress was a mixture of Western and Eastern clothing (Burt, 1924). Hilda Stadler, who knew Sargent in his later years and lived in his cabin in 1899, wrote, "I remember him well, he had a hunted look-like he was afraid the devil would get him" (Stadler, 1956).

Sargent was a Doctor Jekyll and a Mr. Hyde. He possessed a violent, even maniacal temper (Burt, 1924; Titus, 1978); yet as Burt went on to say, "in all my life I have never seen anyone kinder to a nervous, untrained animal than this man, twice accused of murder, was to his black filly." Accounts written in Sargent's journal present vivid testimony that he was a sensitive, literate person (J. Sargent, 1892; 1904a). His library collection and phonograph demonstrated an interest in and appreciation for the fine arts and humanities (Lincoln Co., 1914). At the same time, John seemed to be a religious man. He was baptized with two of his daughters in 1897;
and in 1905, he transferred by warranty deed 1 acre of his homestead to the Episcopal Church, through the Rt. Reverend James B. Funsten, Bishop of Boise, for the purpose of constructing an Episcopal chapel, a rectory and a burial ground (Church of the Ascension, 1897; Uinta Co., 1905a).

From the very beginning of his stay in Jackson Hole, Sargent displayed a life-style and a fierce independence characteristic of his New England background but foreign to the early homesteaders in the valley. Such things as his piano, phonograph, library and pool table were amenities which would serve to soften the impact of the family's isolation (Fig. 12). Nevertheless, John's behavior and his belongings were undoubtedly the very non-western facets that triggered comments about his eccentricity and were a source for envy and antagonism, particularly after his wife's death (Allen, 1985).

Furthermore, John was disowned and severed from his last family ties by Henry C. Sargent, his father of record, following Adelaide's death (Titus, 1978; 1978a). Except for Mary and Catherine, he was cut off from his other children by distance and his lack of money after returning to the West in 1899. As stated before, Sargent lost some of his belongings, furnishings and livestock when he was forced to leave Jackson Hole after his wife's death (Uinta Co., 1897). These had to be replaced.

The location of Marymere added to Sargent's stress. While some new neighbors were established after 1897, the isolation remained as a potential stress factor where John was the only adult of the family for a year and alone for most of the 4 years prior to his second marriage in 1906.

In the midst of all of his personal problems, Sargent went on a crusade against the illegal killing of elk and trespassing on the Forest Reserve in Jackson Hole. His letters of complaint to the Commissioner of the General Land Office not only stated the problem but included the names of his neighbors and other residents of Jackson Hole as violators (J. Sargent, 1901). While these letters identify several real problems, the following excerpt also indicated Sargent's growing paranoia about the residents of Jackson Hole:

"A citizen of Wyoming who lives in this reserve and strictly obeys all laws, and tells the truth about those who do not, can not make a living here because of slander, and conspiracy, and blackmail, he must suffer from those who are lawless characters of this reserve" (J. Sargent, 1901a).

The previous letters triggered an investigation by the Army Unit from Yellowstone National Park and a Forest Inspector. The following excerpts from Forest Inspector Macrum's report detailed the general game law violation problem in Jackson Hole as he and the Army investigators found it in 1901:

"Constant inquiry was made along the way regarding violation of the game laws, and while little testimony could be obtained that
would convict in a court of justice, yet enough was found to convince us that a number of persons are living on the reserves who make a living therefrom, largely from game.

Difficulty in securing testimony for conviction of violators of the game laws arises from the following causes: First, nearly all persons living in the Jackson Hole country, in one way or other, are trespassers, and consequently afraid to testify lest they in turn be caught; second, they are afraid that personal danger would follow giving information; third, the justice court being elective, great leniency is shown to offenders when brought before it, hence no adequate penalties are inflicted; fourth, the State game warden, a taxidermist, and his deputy, live among those who violate the laws and are lax about making arrests. About the only informations made are those growing out of spite....

From what I saw and heard while there I think this is the most lawless place I have seen."

With respect to trespassers on the Forest Reserve, the foregoing investigators cited 14 violators, recommending removal of all individuals having no legal right of residence (Macrum, 1901).

While Sargent and the investigators were probably correct, survival in Jackson Hole was very difficult and the means for that survival were very limited. Consequently, those early residents utilized every option in that struggle, illegal or not. Sargent's letters only added more fuel to the fires of animosity already in existence.

With the departure of Catherine to Wisconsin in October 1902 for 5 years and Mary's marriage to Fred Cunningham in the same fall, Sargent was left alone at Marymere to dwell on his personal problems. At this time, Sargent concentrated on the acquisition of title to his homestead land. Prior to this time, John had exercised a squatter's claim to the homestead; however, no filing could be accomplished on the unsurveyed lands. With the establishment of the Teton-Yellowstone Forest Reserve, all of these squatter claims were evaluated by Reserve personnel as to their legitimacy as an agricultural settlement within the Reserve. Such an evaluation was made on December 20, 1902, with the recommendation to permit Sargent to file on the land (Wolff, 1902). The formal transmittal of this report by the Forest Supervisor was not approved until December 14, 1903. That report was not stamped with a date of receipt by the General Land Office in Washington, D.C. until July 9, 1906 (Miller, 1903). This example of communication and transmittal delays and other similar problems were to continuously plague Sargent's efforts to obtain title to his homestead. Completion of his homestead filing was delayed further by: (1) slow exchanges of mail correspondence; (2) delayed land surveys; (3) Jackson Lake irrigation land withdrawals for the Minidoka Project by the Reclamation Service; (4) contradictory decisions within the General Land Office concerning appropriate homestead application processing procedures; and (5) Sargent's own failure to comply with homestead regulations (National Archives, 1902-08).

In his efforts to obtain timely and favorable consideration for his homestead application from the General Land Office, Sargent called upon an array of persons for assistance. The most helpful of these individuals were the following: U.S. Representative from Colorado, Franklin E. Brooks, House Committee of Agriculture; U.S. Representative from Wyoming, Frank W. Mondell, Chairman, House Committee Irrigation of Arid Lands; and Robert S. Spence, Attorney, Evanston, Wyoming (National Archives, 1902-08). Finally, on March 23, 1908, John D. Sargent's homestead application was approved (U.S. General Land Office, 1908) under Final Certificate No. 1024 for 160.61 acres.

Sometime in the 1900s, Sargent operated a store in a small log cabin next to the Military Highway and Freight Road on the north shore of Sargent's Bay near his homestead (V. Lawrence, No date). Ben Sheffield Jr. (1985) remembered buying
candy there and Struthers Burt (1924) saw signs "announcing that lemonade and candy and tobacco could be bought." Two other signs on the store characterize its reputation with travelers. On the door was a sign "M & M" for Marymere; but local people facetiously said it stood for "Milk and Music," which were the main items for sale. Milk came from John's cows and the music related to cylinder phonograph records. The other sign read, "All under a dollar leave it—Over a dollar charge it" (Allan, 1976). From the latter sign, one might deduce that it was a self-serve establishment with a limited inventory.

In addition to the store, Sargent became an agent for the Victor Talking Machine Company sometime around 1910. He was advertising his dealership via the mails with the following handwritten postcard message (V. Lawrence, No date):

"Victor talking machines
Records and needles
at Montgomery Ward Co.
Chicago prices
at Sargent's on the Lake.
New stock in Aug 5, 1910
Machines $17.50 up
Records 35c to $6.00 each
No dealer in the U.S. can
undersell me in Victors
and records.
Sargent-Victor Dealer"

When John came to Moran for his mail, he frequently brought his Victor phonograph for neighbors to hear (Sheffield, 1985).

Another way Sargent tried to earn money from travelers was by renting his boat. F. T. Thwaites (1903) on a trip to Yellowstone Park in 1903 recalled,

"We camped on a small bay not far from Sargent's Ranch and soon were visited by John Dudley Sargent, the Hermit of Jackson Lake. He was a great talker, very nervous, and obviously an Easterner. He stayed for supper, and offered to rent us his boat for less than the 'quarter of a dollar for a quarter of an hour' which he advertised on signs."

Throughout Sargent's communication with the General Land Office, he repeatedly referred to the problems of winter travel and mail service in Jackson Hole (National Archives, 1902-08). Allen (1981) vividly described the hazards of that winter travel in relation to the 1908 death of a Mr. Snow who was wintering at the Marymere with his wife and Sargent. Mr. Snow supposedly got "cabin fever." He attempted to walk on the ice of Jackson Lake to Moran and became lost and froze to death. While there is no absolute verification, Sargent had an aunt whose married name was Snow and the family could have been the one mentioned (Washington Co., 1888). Tragedy seemed to be a constant companion for John Sargent.

A more personal account of those oversnow travel conditions is provided by Sargent describing one of his spring trips when he was returning to Marymere from a winter outside Jackson Hole (J. Sargent, 1904a):

"Saturday the 9th, after having missed the tri-weekly stage of Wednesday, I got off on the stage for Squirrel P. O. Idaho, 24 miles East of St. Anthony. The ride half way was all right but the last half was pretty bumpy because of snow and ice in the road necessitating our changing to a horse sled 7 miles before reaching Squirrel P. O. when we arrived at 3 P.M. I found about 2 ft. of snow on level at Squirrel and it looked good to me for it was the first of that sort I'd seen since I left home in December. After looking over the Highland Ranch that afternoon with me friend the manager Mr. C. and admiring his well-wintered Herfords I got out my old ski; waxed them up for business and the next morning Sunday the 10th, I began my ski trip with L. my sole companion on the fifty mile trip from there home.

When we started out from the Highland Ranch it was quite cold and the snow

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*This is from a typed copy of the original handwritten account by John D. Sargent. It is not known who made the copy or how accurately Sargent's grammar and spelling were reproduced.
crusted hard but by the time we reached the last ranch we'd pass on our trip, 7 miles East of the Highland Ranch, the day became hot and the glare of the sun shining from a flawless azure sky almost unbearable to our eyes so we retraced our trail a mile and spend the Sunday at Judge Kelly's Ranch and enjoyed hearing our last music (there was a Chickering piano on this far away ranch) through the kindness of the Judge's daughter, before skiing out into the wilderness.

Rather late the next morning we again got off on our journey, the ski running well till noon when it was so hot and the sun so hard on our eyes we decided to camp on some rocky cliffs over the valley of Squirrel Creek till evening.

The rocks sloped at the south and were bare of snow so we were very comfortable in the warm sunshine. Thirty miles east of us was the entire west face of the Teton range with the Grand Teton and Mt. Moran ashy gray against the vivid blue of the sky beyond and the main range snowwhite, with black masses here and there where the timber grew.

Far to the west we could see the ragged Saw Tooth range and due South of us the half circular range that bridges the Teton Basin, now thickly settled. Over all was a flood of bright sunshine and we were really warm under its glare although there was nearly 2 ft. of old settled snow on a level all about us where we had perched ourselves on the rocks.

Mounting our ski just before Sundown we struck into the timbered parks that extend up to the base of the Teton Range, and steering our course straight East by Northeast we kept at it all night till we arrived at the Forest Ranger Cabin on Squirrel Creek Meadows at sunrise the next morning. The old snow was on a level with the roof of the cabin and would average 6 ft. on a level all over that region.

After a day's rest at the cabin we pulled out on our ski on Thursday, April 14th for the Conant Pass. After an hour's run across the meadows and timbered foothills we began the steep climb up the west slope of the pass making about a mile an hour through the heavy timber on the mountain side, the snow getting deeper every mile till the average depth was 7 to 9 ft. near where we ran out of the timber on to the western ridge of the pass. There we found a bit of dry ridge under some small Pinon Pines at 11:30 A.M. gladly quit our ski for a few hours rest on this bare ground during the heat of the day.

The western view from this elevated spot seemed to embrace half the state of Idaho, Falls River Basin, the valley of Henry's Lake, Henry's fork, Snake River, Teton Basin, the vast Idaho plains, Sawtell's Peak, Crater Buttes, the Saw Tooth range, all lay before our eyes and that evening while climbing the top of the pass we looked back to see the entire Saw Tooth range, 175 miles west of us, aflame with sunset colors of indescribable gorgeousness. At dusk, as we were approaching the shortest and narrowest ridges of the pass the sky became overcast and a stiff wind struck us from the head of the Conant Creek.

Nothing to do but stop; so we built a bonfire of dry Pinon Pine logs on the crest of the ridge and alternately froze and roasted till daylight.

Early the next morning we continued our climb up and over the steep narrow ridges of the pass which was not as wide in places as our ski were long, with a precipitous take-off from 20 ft. deep snow banks on either side into canons a thousand ft. deep. On one of the steepest of these narrow ridges the snow was piled up in vast billows or terraces that made the climbing of them hard, difficult, and certainly dangerous.

As we approached the rim at the East end of the pass where we were to run down into the Canon of Berry Creek, a thousand feet drop off in half a mile, we were caught in a blinding snow squall right in the midst of acres of big dead standing timber, a most bewildering place to me, although this was my sixtieth trip over this pass in the last fourteen years.
The consequence was we came out on the rim one-half mile south of where the trail goes down into Berry Creek Valley and where the descent is much steeper and higher. Straight ahead of us was a narrow passage between Great billows of snow that came out over the edge of the rim, I took my feet out of my ski straps, fastened my ski together, grasped the straps with one hand, and my ski pole in the other, set down on the ski 'amidships' and started down with all brakes set.

Ten minutes later, when L. came down behind me in my trail, he said when he saw me disappear over the crest of the rim he was sorely puzzled to know where I’d gone to and when he got started down himself on my trail he had plenty of trouble of his own. If the snow had started on the rim above us we’d been burried under tons of snow for two months to come.

After a five mile run down Berry Creek valley we arrived at the SnowShoe Cabin hid in the timber and burried under six feet of snow.

Digging out the door, a hole 2 by 4 without any door, and then getting a wooden shovel inside the cabin, I came out and began digging down through the snow on the roof to find the stove pipe and after digging a circular hole through the hard snow 4 ft. deep I came to the top of the stove pipe.

The cabin was 8 x 8 with a narrow bunk, an air tight stove, and a fry pan. Again the axe we had in our pack came in use and soon we’d cut enough wood to do for the night.

Opening a tin of Emergency rations and melting snow in the fry pan for water we soon had supper and then rested our weary bones till morning on the narrow bunk, keeping up the fire all night.

In the morning we started out on our ski down the valley in a soft snow storm and by noon were on the banks of the Snake River four miles above Jackson lake inlet. Peeling off our clothes in a snowbank we waded the river, carrying our ski on our shoulders and had to climb up a 6 ft. snow bank on the East bank of the river before we could again get into our clothes. No time for photographs there. That same evening, after a three mile run down the big meadow covered with 5 ft. of old settled snow, we skied across the Home Bay of Upper Jackson Lake and after a ten minutes climb to the top of the Point of Maine I was once more home in my third ski trip over Conant Pass at an end.

When I entered my cabin my ten year old black cat was asleep on my bed and he did not cease talking to me for an hour afterwards. In the four months he’d been alone in my cabin he had eaten all of the meat off a 100 lb. Elk quarter I left on the table and wintered fat on it. Not a living soul had he seen in these four winter months. I left my bed made up for him to sleep on and a 'cat hole' cut in the corner of the door for him to go in and out.

Not a mouse had touched my hunting trophies and everything in my cabin was exactly as I left it on Dec. 10th, 1903."

Sargent summed up his frustrations with the mail service and travel when trying to comply with the procedures associated with his homestead application in his letters to Davis, U.S. Land Office, Evanston, Wyoming:

"My local mail service is so slow, I was a long time learning of the Plats being on file in the local office.... Yours of the 11th inst., with Enclosures-by registered mail-I have just received as I am enroute afoot to Elk P. O. (I have no confidence in the mail service at Moran.)" (J. Sargent, 1906c).

"You people who have all the silky easiness and modern conveniences of towns and city life have a very faint idea of one tithe of the hardships I went through the last of May in one trip from my home to this Railway at this time of year. And my bare expenses were more than a first class Ry. ticket from Evanston to Salt and return and day or two
at the Knutsford thrown in! And I walked over half the distance" (J. Sargent, 1906d).

Sargent's financial plight continued to deteriorate in the early 1900s, ultimately forcing him to mortgage his ranch for $1,300 in December 1905 to a Colorado Springs, Colorado, party (J. Sargent, 1906a; Uinta Co., 1905). Ironically, this mortgage was actually made on a fictitious homestead. The Evanston U.S. Land Office (U.S. Land Office, 1905) approval of Sargent's final homestead certification was overruled by the Washington, D. C. General Land Office and no patent was issued until 1908 (U.S. General Land Office, 1908). According to Sargent, he took this action "to get capital to again make a living on it and stock it with a new herd of milch cows to take the place of those I lost in 1897. And to marry a woman I met in New York in 1899" (J. Sargent, 1906a).

The woman Sargent met in New York was Edith Drake who became Sargent's second wife on June 4, 1906, in Alta, Wyoming (Fig. 25) (Uinta Co., 1906). Edith was 40 and John 44 years old. Pearl Germann (1950) recalled, "I remember very well when they came out into Ida. to be married. They came to a dance in Victor and began to waltz. Every one left the floor and stood and watched them as they whirred & whirled crazily around and it really was a sight to see."

Like Catherine, Edith's background and personal status are shrouded in mystery. In February 1906, Sargent wrote with reference to Edith, "who is dependent on me today and whose life has been as full of sorrow and wrongs as my own" (J. Sargent, 1906a). Germann (1950) reported finding some letters in Sargent's library books which she inherited, addressed to Sargent from a relative begging him not to live with Edith, for it was wrong to live with a woman for anything but love.

After the wedding, rumors persisted that Edith was mentally ill and that Sargent was being paid by her family to take care of her. The fact that Sargent suddenly had money when he married Edith and for sometime after, probably was one basis for those rumors. However, unbeknown to most people, some of that money came from the $1,300 mortgage discussed earlier. Later, Edith Drake's brother, Herbert, said he paid off the first mortgage (H. Drake, 1913). Evidently, Herbert then loaned them more money which finally resulted in John and Edith signing the ranch over to Herbert Drake in a warranty deed in 1910 (Uinta Co., 1910).

With respect to the rumors of Edith's mental illness, it is difficult to determine the state of her mental condition (Fig. 26). As quoted before, Sargent hinted that Edith had a life full of sorrows and wrongs.
similar to his own when he first met her. Sargent at the time of his marriage was already quite withdrawn, paranoid about his neighbors in Jackson Hole, and depressed by his land patent problems and debts. Combining these problems with "cabin fever" induced by isolation and long, harsh winter climates, any irregular behavior by Edith or John was probably a manifestation of mental stress brought on or made worse by these problems. Burt (1924) and H. Drake (1913) also alluded to the Sargent's being without adequate food supplies which could further aggravate a deteriorating physical and mental state.

Edith's periodic naked appearances added further embellishment to stories about her mental state (Allen, 1981). However, she may have liked to sunbathe but experienced unexpected intrusions (Burt, 1924). Al Austen, an early Forest Ranger, also suggested John had taken Mrs. Sargent's clothes away from her and that she was not crazy (Allan, 1976).

On the more positive side, Edith appeared to be well-educated and an accomplished musician, especially on the violin (Burt, 1924; Allan, 1973). Furthermore, she demonstrated on numerous occasions her ability to write clear, eloquent, thoughtful communications which were not characteristic of someone who was totally unstable (N.Y. Times, 1913; E. Sargent, 1913).

Sometime in 1912, Edith left the ranch and went to California where her sister, Mrs. Bertha Sprague, lived (Sprague, 1913; E. Sargent, 1913). In a letter Edith wrote to the New York Times from Long Beach, California, she stated the reason for her departure:

"We were both trying to earn an honest living in California, which we could not do in Wyoming since the altitude was too high (7000 feet) to grow crops-no way to bring water from the lake, no capital to buy stock, only the tourist crop for three months in the year to live on and no money to build a hotel" (N.Y. Times, 1913).

Sargent implied in his correspondence with Edith that she may have been there for some reasons of health when he wrote, "H. writes you are greatly improved" (J. Sargent, 1913a). In the same letter, John talked about what would appear to have been some type of physical or mental problem he had during a recent visit with Edith in California.

Edith had plans to establish a small hotel in San Pedro with John, but his death in 1913 destroyed that hope (N.Y. Times, 1913). In an October letter to J. W. Sammon, Executor of John D. Sargent's Estate, Edith, then in Los Angeles, revealed her financial and mental state during this period:

"My husband, John D. Sargent—having sold my old fiddle for $125.00 I am helpless to earn money, till I can buy another—He has left me unprovided for, and forced me, without any valid motive to sign a deed, two years ago, giving my half of the Estate known as "Pinetree Ranch" to my brother....

I have no money to pay a lawyer here and get only six dollars a week, not enough to keep me in clothes, in the city-nor to
purchase another fiddle. My nerves are in very bad shape and I am in a forlorn condition-in a strange city, my people living in New York City” (E. Sargent, 1913).

Again in November, Edith wrote to Sammon stating, "I am trying hard to keep out of the hospital and am too nervous to write" (E. Sargent, 1913b).

Edith Sargent continued to have financial problems. In 1933, she related she was living on charity in New York City (E. Sargent, 1933). This was the last communiqué concerning her whereabouts. She died on June 24, 1947, in New York City. The death certificate indicated she had been hospitalized in the Manhattan State Hospital for the 3 years prior to her death (New York City, 1947).

John began to show a rapid deterioration in his mental attitude and physical state before and after his marriage to Edith. Commenting on John's condition to the New York Times, Edith related, "he was never unbalanced except by melancholia.... This trait was inherited and made him live the life of a recluse on his ranch.... living alone as he did, so long before our marriage was sufficient to render him, or any man unbalanced" (N.Y. Times, 1913).

One of the signs of this increased depression was when he changed the ranch name of "Marymere" to "Pinetree Ranch, Tetonsea." This new name appeared on all of his correspondence from 1906-13 (J. Sargent, 1906a) in an apparent effort to wipe out any ties to his past. Also in 1913, "John Hemenway" was printed on his letterhead showing the turmoil in his mind (J. Sargent, 1913). The use of his mother's maiden name for his last name seems to be an expression of his disillusionment with the use of the Sargent name with respect to his illegitimate status. Furthermore, being disowned by his father of record, Henry C. Sargent, likely increased this disillusionment. Sargent continued to write "John Hemenway" in notations throughout a book Edith sent him from California (V. Lawrence, No date).

Sargent's correspondence suggested he was alone at the ranch during the Spring and Summer 1913. During his last days, Sargent wrote, 'This 'estate' and my mother's and her father's name all I ask. please permit me a little rest now up home. John Hemenway" (J. Sargent, 1913). Herbert Drake, Edith's brother, probably expressed the concern of John's few friends, "Jack suffers from insomnia, loneliness and carelessness as to food...." Drake went so far as to have John Dodge of Wilson, Wyoming, make periodic visits to see Sargent in the hopes those visits would serve to reverse the deep depression evident in Sargent (H. Drake, 1913).

Even Edith was concerned when she wrote to John from Long Beach, California, offering advice to cure his insomnia and brooding:
"My cure for worrying... By brooding and letting the mind dwell on one train of thoughts, a groove is formed in the brain cells into which the thought force runs into, naturally a fixed habit is the result. No action, but mental work is the best cure for nervousness, action and talk excite the nerves, right thoughts being perfect calm, right thought is master. What you are doing is more important than what you're feeling.... For insomnia: Dismiss all thoughts that come flocking into your brain. Feeling follows the act. Act as if you were sleeping, this is a fixed law, the mind follows the hand, relax your every limb and don't give a Continental Damn!" (E. Sargent, 1913a).

Also in April 1913, Edith sent John a copy of William Penn's book, *Some Fruits of Solitude*, in hope that it would help combat his depression (V. Lawrence, No date). In very similar circumstances, convalescing from a serious illness, Robert Louis Stevenson had found the book helped him to face the world again. Several years later Stevenson presented the book to Horatio Brown and said, 'If ever in all my 'human conduct' I have done a better thing to any fellow-creature than handing on to you this..."
sweet, dignified, and wholesome book, I know I shall hear of it on the last day" (Gosse, 1976).

Unfortunately, Sargent's depression increased. Even though Edith had hoped John would come to California to start a new life (N.Y Times, 1913), John was too strongly attached to his homestead and Jackson Hole. Around June 27, 1913, Sargent wrote several papers and letters of final instructions and farewell which were found near his body at the time of his death (Lincoln Co., 1913). In one of the papers he lamented, "for one homestead and 1/2 century of my life to learn I am only a tenant" (J. Sargent, 1913b). In the farewell letter to Edith, he further wrote, "I'm my self too head and body tired to do any business. Never got over the night shock, corner of Monroe & 42nd sts, San Diego, tired and fatigued as I then was from my long hard journey from this cold high altitude. 'Straw that broke the camel's back' I reckon. Mother must take care of me now" (J. Sargent, 1913a).

Sometime between June 27 and July 1, 1913, John D. Sargent committed suicide with his Sharps 40-caliber single shot rifle (State of WY, 1913; Kemmerer Camera, 1913a; W. Lawrence, 1981). Verba Lawrence (No date) wife of W. Lawrence, wrote the following account in her scrapbook:

"His body was found by a party of riders. He had placed the barrel of his 40-90 rifle in his mouth, tied a string to the trigger then to his big toe, pulling the trigger in this manner. The lead from the shell was found in the wall above the door of his living room. The following men went to the ranch and buried Sargent near his cabin: Ted Miller, John L. Dodge, Valdez Allen, Curley Newman, Steve Mahoney, John R. Brown, Dewey VanWinkle."

Sargent played the following record on his phonograph during this tragic ending: "Nur, Wer die Schusucht Kermit" or "Ye Who Have Yearned Alone" (V. Lawrence, No date).

Sometime in the 1930s, W. Lawrence constructed a fence around Sargent's gravesite and placed a small headstone he had carved on the grave (Fig. 27) (W. Lawrence, 1978).
Between 1913 and 1918, Herbert Drake defaulted on the payment of county property taxes on Sargent's Pinetree Ranch. On July 11, 1914, the County Treasurer sold the property for back taxes at a tax sale and after the 3-year waiting period required by law, issued a treasurer's deed for the foregoing property on August 20, 1918 (Lincoln Co., 1918). In the intervening years from 1918-26, there were five different owners of that property (Lincoln Co., 1919; Teton Co., 1925). In those years, trappers like Don Graham, George Greenwood, Jim Webb, Charlie Fesler, John Wort and W. Lawrence camped in the living room area of the Sargent cabin. Windows of this room were covered with canvas and a stove was set up with the stovepipe going up the fireplace chimney. Itinerant livestock periodically stayed in the other areas of the cabin (W. Lawrence, 1978).

At this juncture, another Easterner was about to play an important role in the history of the Sargent homestead. In the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains near the James River on July 4, 1872, William Louis Johnson was born (U.S. Census, 1880; New York City, 1931). This area was the Scottsville District of Albemarle County, Virginia. Reconstruction following the Civil War was in full swing when Johnson was born and it was a difficult period for Albemarle County. The agricultural crop structure was changing from wheat and tobacco to more diversified products with an emphasis on fruit production. Transportation was evolving from canal and river travel to railroad travel. Also, industrial development was slowly taking place. Despite the problems, the county was making an effort to carry education forward as part of these transitional activities (Moore, 1976).

William Johnson was the third child born to Malinda Eubank and James Barclay Johnson, a carpenter (Miller Manual Labor School, 1880; New York City, 1931). William had 3 sisters and 3 brothers. In order of birth, they were Ellen, Florence, George, James, Cecil and Cabell (U.S. Census, 1880). Sometime shortly after the last child was born the mother died. In 1880, the father was described as being insane (Miller Manual Labor School, 1880). While no specifics are available, the seven children were left without any support (Miller Manual Labor School, 1880; 1882; 1887).

James' brother, David, took all seven of his nieces and nephews into his family of nine children. He also cared for his insane brother who was later in the year placed in an asylum (U.S. Census, 1880; Miller Manual Labor School, 1880). Such a burden was too great for David to sustain very long; and by the mid-1880s, all of the James B. Johnson children had been placed in widely dispersed guardian homes. No record of the youngest child, Cabell, was available beyond the 1880 Census, which suggests the child died at an early age. By 1882, the children were orphaned by the death of their father (Miller Manual Labor School,
1882). It would be hard to imagine a more difficult set of circumstances for the young Johnson children to endure.

Through his guardian, J. L. Johnson of Scottsville, Virginia, William applied to and was accepted as the 74th student by the Miller Manual Labor School at Batesville, Virginia, on May 4, 1880 (Miller Manual Labor School, 1880). On his application, it stated that William's parents or guardian did not have any "pecuniary means" for his maintenance and education. Thus began a relationship which was to profoundly influence William L. Johnson (Fig. 28).

Fig. 28. William Louis Johnson, 1884.

Samuel Miller, a legendary Albemarle philanthropist, established the Miller Manual Labor School through a well-endowed bequest in his will (Figs. 29; 30). The general purpose of this unique school was to provide "a sound English education, instilling in its students the value of hard work and the self-satisfaction gained from a job well done" (Miller School, 1985). Students were to be selected by Albemarle School Commissioners with no more than 100 students to be accommodated at any one time from first grade through grade 12. Such education was to be free to the students, selecting as many poor or orphaned children as possible (Runk, 1973). In addition, Miller's will stated:

"It is further my will, that the pupils shall be fed and clothed in a plain, substantial and comfortable manner, and their health cared and provided for by medical aid and attention, when necessary, while they remain at school herein provided for.... I also will and direct that the said pupils shall not be required to perform manual labor more than six hours out of every twenty-four hours nor be treated with cruelty or severity."

Runk (1973) further described the school program:

"The school routine in the early 80's was clear cut and interesting. We find that at 6 A.M. the boys rise, dress and make up their beds. At 6:30 the doors to the sleeping apartments are locked, and all the boys are required to go to their respective lavatories, where they wash, comb their hair, brush their shoes, and prepare for breakfast for which the bell rings at 7:00. At 7:50 the bell rings for prayers, after which the boys go to their respective school rooms. At 10:00 a recess is given for twenty minutes, when work is resumed and continues till twelve o'clock. At twelve the lavatories are opened, and the boys prepare for dinner which comes at 12:15. At 1:30 the boys are assigned their regular manual work. At 4:00 the bell rings for rest and recreation. At 6:00 the lavatories are opened and the boys prepare for supper. At 6:15 the bell rings for supper. At 8:00 the boys go to the Assembly Halls for study. At 8:45 the bell rings for prayers, after which the boys in the Primary Department go to bed, and those of the Higher Department return to the Study Hall. At 9:30 all study for the night closes. At 10:00 the boys are required to be in bed.

Formal instruction was given in mathematics from arithmetic through descriptive geometry and conic sections. Greek, Latin, French and German were offered in the language department. Free hand drawing
and mechanical drawing were required. Chemistry and Natural History covered a wide range of topics taught with special reference to their practical applications in the agricultural and mechanical arts and for the purpose of training the students to intelligently observe the various features of nature. Theoretical and practical physics were taught, instruction was given in bookkeeping and penmanship to better equip the student in their subsequent roles. A course in music was offered as well as work in printing. Work in electrical engineering and civil engineering was chiefly of a practical nature. The electrical engineering student learned how to make electrical machines such as bells, telegraph instruments, telephones, dynamos and registers. Some of the electrical engineering students became practical telegraph operators and maintained the private telegraph line to Crozet. The civil engineers specialized in surveying and railroad practice.

With the completion of the workshop in 1882 students were assigned to practice in the department of Industrial Training at the age of 15. Three years were to be spent in this course as follows:

- 1st year - Woodwork
- 2nd year - Iron work
  Technical drawing
- 3rd year - Iron work continued
  Brass work
  How to make and use steam
  Finishing work in wood
  Technical drawing

The philosophy of the workshop was the development of the boys in a skilled and intelligent use of materials, tools and machines in a practical examination of trained minds to the production of material wealth, and the best means of using materials and energies to the accomplishment of this end.

Fig. 29. Main building, Miller Manual Labor School, ca 1900.
Fifteen hours per week was spent in shop practice. In the iron room the boys practiced in filing, reaming, tapping, screw machine work, drilling, lathing, and blacksmithing.

In the tool room the students were taught to make and temper all tools required in the shop, i.e. taps, dies, drills, etc. and in the engine room and boiler room the student learned of the production of steam, both high and low pressure, the conduction of steam, pressure, care of boilers and the operation of the steam engines which ran the shop machinery. Woodwork and all of its aspects was considered and practiced in the wood room.

From the earliest days of the school the farm provided in large part the meat, milk, butter and vegetables required to feed the students and staff. By 1884 the farm consisted of 1,000 acres much of it in a high state of cultivation, i.e., 75 acres in corn, 75 acres in oats, 180 acres in good pasture, 50 acres in meadow. Twelve horses were engaged in farm work and eight horses in constant work on road maintenance. A fine herd of cows provided milk and butter for the school. Sixty hogs were raised and fed on the 'slops from the kitchen.' The horticulture department was charged with supplying the school with a sufficient variety of fruits and vegetables over the longest possible period of the year. The department reported in 1885, 'The quality of the land, the limited supply of barnyard manure, coupled with ever recurring protracted droughts, tend to make this a difficult problem, but from present appearances it seems to be feasible to some extent.' Vineyards provided grapes, orchards pears, peaches, and apples, small fruits such as blackberries, raspberries, currants, and gooseberries appeared to bear well, while the gardens provided peas, cabbage, snaps, potatoes, onions, beets and sweet corn.

Fig. 30. Shop building, Miller Manual Labor School, ca 1900.
Students provided and were assigned as a source of labor for the farm. The horticultural department and ten students made up a class on bee culture and assisted in all observations and manipulations of the forty colony apiary."

William Johnson resided at the Miller Manual Labor School until 1887 (Miller School, No date). At 16, he was expelled for haz ing some of the new students. As he was departing, William reportedly stated he understood why he was being expelled and did not have any ill feelings against the school. Furthermore, he said he would repay the school for all the great things it had done for him (Crawford, 1985).

Fig. 31. George Johnson, Helena, MT.

William's brothers, James and George, also attended the Miller Manual Labor School (1882; 1887). After his education, George went west and died a young man in a mining disaster in Montana (Fig. 31). James taught engineering at Virginia Polytechnical Institute and then at Clemson College, South Carolina. He was married and had one daughter. Also, William's sisters were provided with an education, two of them at an Episcopal boarding school in Richmond, Virginia. Although no records were found, Cecil, the youngest girl, was reported as having attended the Miller School. All three sisters were married; Ellen had two sons and Cecil had one son (Fig. 32) (Pryor, 1985).

William Johnson's activities after leaving Miller School are poorly known. The Grand Teton (1932), reporting the remarks of Reverend Mills at the dedication of the Johnson gravesite, suggested that William lost little time in seeking his fortune. Apparently, he was engaged in selling mathematical and scientific instruments in Philadelphia and Chicago. He later became involved as a partner in this type of business in the latter city. William is said to have made one fortune and then lost it (Pryor, 1985). If one were to speculate, William probably lost that fortune in the Chicago partnership venture prior to working for the Bausch and Lomb Optical Company in Syracuse, New York.

At the start of World War I, Johnson left Bausch and Lomb and became the Division Manager of the Eastern Sales Division of the Hoover Suction Sweeper Company (Grand Teton, 1932; Love, 1986). This is where he made his second fortune. During his 10 years with the Hoover Company, the Eastern Sales Division had sales totaling $30 million, and William profited nearly like an independent businessman (Smith, 1986). In a Hoover sales contest in 1921, Johnson won the Division Managers' Cup. In addition, his Division broke all sales records for the week before Christmas (Ibaisaic, 1922).

Ellsworth Smith was the Hoover Company Art Director when William was Division Manager. He described him as:

"rather handsome, just slightly overweight, and had a ready smile.... He was much like H. W. Hoover, kind, considerate of others, and modest.... Lou got every 'bit'
of the worthy things out of life because he put an abundance of good things in" (Smith, 1986).

These traits were manifested many times over outside of his job. William was very caring for his sisters and brothers. He was generous, sharing his wealth with them. Also, William paid for his nephews’ education at the Augusta Military School in Ft. Defiance, Virginia (Pryor, 1985).

On November 22, 1915, Johnson married Mae Eastman, both in their early 40s, in Chicago (Fig. 33) (Cook Co., 1915). Mae, a native of Portage, Wisconsin (State of OH, 1930), had been Mr. Johnson’s secretary (W. Lawrence, 1978). The Johnson home was located at 147 Greenway North in Forest Hills, New York (New York City, 1931). All evidence suggests their marriage was a happy one filled with a variety of adventure (Fig. 34). They did not have any children.

Johnson worked for the Hoover Company for 10 years until 1926 or 1927, when he retired at the age of 54 or 55. A measure of the warm esteem William enjoyed was evident in his retirement party at the McAlpin Hotel. Some 400 friends and associates, including all of the Hoover Company top executives, gathered for that retirement send-off (Grand Teton, 1932; Smith, 1986).

Johnson’s retirement was not a sedentary one. While attending a late 1920s homecoming at the Miller School, Johnson decided to provide money for revamping the school’s water system. This included rebuilding and strengthening the water reservoir dam and installing new delivery lines to and from the reservoir. That system was completed in 1930 and a bronze plaque at the Miller School recognizes Johnson’s generous gift (Leonard, 1985; Crawford, 1985). In addition, he was active in the Alumni Association (Flannagan, 1985).

In the Summer 1923, William Johnson stayed at the Brooks Lake Lodge, a dude ranch between Dubois and Moran, Wyoming. Several other Hoover Company executives were also known to stay at this lodge. W. Lawrence recalled meeting Johnson there and answering Johnson’s many questions about the Jackson Hole country. Finally Johnson said, “Wait a minute until I get my coat” and he left with Lawrence without his baggage, still asking questions all the way to Sheffield’s Teton Lodge in Moran. He never went back to Brooks Lake that summer and stayed in Moran every summer until he built his own lodge (W. Lawrence, 1978; Sheffield, 1985). His wife joined him in 1923 and in future stays at Moran.

Unlike Sargent, Johnson made many lasting friends with the local residents from the very beginning of his arrival in Jackson Hole. It was his friend, Ben Sheffield Sr., who suggested Johnson should consider buying the John D. Sargent homestead (Allen, 1985a). Johnson took his advice and acquired the property from a Jackson banker’s widow, Beatrice Wagner, on December
The long construction time for the lodge was related to the fact that: (1) the building logs were cut on the opposite side of Jackson Lake around Moran Bay; (2) the green cut logs had to be dried over winter and the bark peeled in the following spring; and (3) the concrete foundation and below ground concrete rooms were added after the building was built on wooden piers. Charlie Fox was the main building contractor; Bill Woodward from Kelly, Wyoming, construct-

Fig. 33. William and Mae Eastman Johnson.

18, 1926, for $1 "and other good and valuable considerations" (Teton Co., 1926). Johnson obtained title insurance for his property so he was not too worried when Mary Sargent and Edith Drake challenged his ownership several years later. Separately, the two women tried to break the tax title; but the suits were dropped and the issue never went to court (W. Lawrence, 1978).

Johnson set about building his "second" home south of the Sargent cabin sometime in 1927 (Fig. 35). The New England style building with a breezeway connecting it to the adjacent barn was not completed until 1930 (W. Lawrence, 1981). The lodge initially was designed as a single-story structure. However, because of numerous bears in the area, it is said that Mrs. Johnson decided she would not sleep in a ground floor room with that kind of wildlife. As a result, the building became a two-story structure (W. Lawrence, 1978).

Fig. 34. William and Mae Johnson's airplane flight over Atlantic City, 1920.
ted the two main fireplaces; and Mr. Morrell was the concrete mason (W. Lawrence, 1978; 1981).

Interestingly, the first pressurized water system in Jackson Hole was part of the lodge building plans. Unfortunately, the building contractor had never seen a pressurized system much less having the water tank buried in the ground. Consequently, they supported the 2,000± gallon pressure tank in the attic where it froze during its first year's use. It was never used thereafter and remains as an impressive monument to poor communication between the system designer and the contractor (W. Lawrence, 1978). Another unusual structure is seen in the north fireplace chimney. A large flat, stone hearth incorporated into and solely supported by the chimney proper as part of the second floor fireplace is a unique feature.

The adjoining barn had 8 horse stalls, 2 tack, grain and general storage rooms and an overhead hayloft. Horse corrals extended out from the east side of the building into what is now a parking area (W. Lawrence, 1978).

Johnson initially hired Clarence Ryerson as his caretaker. However, he was succeeded by Bob and Eva Grimmesey who began work sometime in 1927 and continued until 1929 when Bob became ill. Johnson then hired W. C. "Slim" Lawrence as caretaker. Slim and his new bride moved into the new lodge in the Spring 1930 (W. Lawrence, 1978).
As soon as the lodge was completed, Johnson had a telephone installed. The line for this telephone was part of the Bureau of Reclamation line from the Jackson Lake Dam to Ashton, Idaho. It was hung in elliptical insulators which were fastened to trees or poles and Slim Lawrence maintained portions of it. For electricity, he had a 700-watt Kohler gasoline engine generator located in the lodge utility room. However, the generator was removed to a small log cabin just north of the lodge because of the unbearable engine noise. At this time, the size of the generator was increased to 1,000 watts (W. Lawrence, 1981).

Some idea of the furnishings and decorations inside the lodge can be gained from Fig. 36. While these photographs were taken when the property was owned by the Berols, they had left the furnishings essentially unchanged from those utilized by Johnson. A complete inventory of Johnson's furnishings and personal effects on the Mae-Lou-Lodge property was listed in the Teton County District Court records (Teton Co., 1932a).

Once these main buildings were completed, Johnson set about constructing additional structures. Those included an open pole and frame woodshed, a log chicken coop, a log blacksmith shop, a log smokehouse and a log boathouse-icehouse combination (Fig. 37). In 1931, Johnson purchased three log cabins from the Hogan homestead, south of the current Moran entrance gate of Grand Teton National Park. All of these cabins were completely disassembled with everything but the roof and floors being moved to Johnson's ranch. Each building was reconstructed on a rock and concrete foundation with a new roof and floor. Slim Lawrence designed the rock arrangement of a fireplace in the 3-room Hogan cabin and Ernie Moore did the actual masonry construction. The rocks in that fireplace supposedly are representative of the rock formations found in Jackson Hole (W. Lawrence, 1978). Looking at the construction materials and the equipment installed in the ranch buildings, it was evident as Slim Lawrence (1978) stated, "Johnson was a fussy man who wanted only the best of everything incorporated into his property."

The site of the aforementioned buildings was given the name "Mae-Lou-Lodge" which was an amalgamation of Mrs. Johnson's first name and William's middle name. They even created stationery letterhead which utilized a bucking horse symbol with the words "At the Sign of the Bucking Bronco, Mae-Lou-Lodge."

Despite his humble background, Johnson easily adapted to a life of affluence. He liked to travel and play golf (N.Y. Times, 1931) yet was equally at home in the western rural environment of Jackson Hole. In the East, his relatives always remember him as very fashionable in dress, arriving in a chauffeured car and staying at the best hotel in Charlottesville (Fig. 38) (Pryor, 1985). In the West, Slim Lawrence (1978) related an event which describes Johnson's adaptability for an entirely different lifestyle (Fig. 39). During a trip in Yellowstone National Park, Johnson and Lawrence stopped to eat at the Old Faithful Inn. Neither had a tie or coat and Johnson was wearing a leather vest. They were, as a result, refused service in the dining room. Lawrence recalled, "Johnson told them to go to hell, hauled out his checkbook and threatened to buy the Inn!" Whereupon they were permitted to eat there.
Johnson's kindness and generosity were manifested in a variety of ways. When his nephew wanted to accompany Johnson to Wyoming, he first sent him to a chauffeur school. Then he permitted him to drive him to Wyoming in Johnson's large touring car (Pryor, 1985). In Wyoming, he bought bicycles for several Moran boys and contributed the purse for the Jackson rodeo bucking bronco contest (W. Lawrence, 1978). In addition, he helped a number of Jackson Hole people purchase or improve property with mortgages he financed (Teton Co., 1932).

Johnson preferred riding over walking. Therefore, he kept about seven horses at the ranch. Included was a team used to pull a wagon for hauling firewood. Usually, these horses were wintered on the Elk Ranch (W. Lawrence, 1978; 1979).

Fishing and particularly hunting were Johnson's passion. Even though he was a short, heavy-set man, he was on the go every day and couldn't sit still (W. Lawrence, 1978). He purchased several membership shares in a developing waterfowl gun club in Kern County, California. In Mercer County, Illinois, he owned Bar and Keg Islands in the Mississippi River, presumably for hunting and fishing (Queens Co., 1932). For all of that, Johnson's diverse hunting and fishing reached their zenith during his stays at the Teton Lodge and Mae-Lou-Lodge. He would arrive in early spring and stay until November to take advantage of the seasons (W. Lawrence, 1978).

Fishing on Jackson Lake was done from his very fine "clinker" built boat outfitted with an outboard motor. Also, Johnson liked to fish in the ponds and lakes that Slim helped stock in the northern Jackson Hole country. Slim recalled that
Johnson wasn't much of a fisherman because he was too nervous (W. Lawrence, 1978; 1979).

Johnson's annual hunting activities usually began with an antelope hunt along the Sweetwater River in Wyoming (Fig. 40). During the same trip, usually 2 weeks, he hunted Sage Grouse near Daniel (W. Lawrence, 1979). Clarence Ryerson and Ben Sheffield Jr. guided Johnson on his elk hunts to Two Ocean Pass (W. Lawrence, 1981; Sheffield, 1985). Slim guided Johnson on various hunts. They hunted bighorn sheep out of Granite Creek around the head of Crystal Creek in Teton County. Johnson loved to swim, so they camped near the Granite Hot Springs pool. Slim also guided Johnson on a number of hunts into the Middle Fork of the Salmon River in Idaho. From their base camp, they hunted mule deer and mountain goats (Fig. 41) and speared salmon in the river.

In between big game trips, Johnson would hunt Blue Grouse, Ruffed Grouse and waterfowl around the Jackson Lake area. They had blinds set up near Berry Creek where they primarily shot Canada Geese and Canvasback ducks. In the fall, at the Snake River, opposite Berry Creek, Johnson installed a rope across the river to make the crossing by boat easier.

Johnson appeared to enjoy spring bear hunting the most. He enjoyed watching the bears and trophy hunting over Slim's bait stations around Arizona Lake. These stations consisted of a decaying horse carcass enclosed in a log crib or decaying suckers placed in an old milk can punched full of holes and wired to a tree. The Mae-Lou-Lodge contained pelts of black and grizzly bears which Johnson had shot. He was particularly fond of donuts cooked in bear grease and at one time had two pet bear cubs.

Many of Johnson's other hunting trophies were placed in the lodge (Fig. 36) (W. Lawrence, 1978; 1979; 1981). H.W. Hoover Sr., one of the founders of the Hoover Sweeper Company, hunted many times in Wyoming with Johnson. In fact, Hoover built a lodge in Ohio.
similar to those he had seen out West. That lodge is still furnished with some animal trophies that Hoover acquired with Johnson (Love, 1986).

Mrs. Johnson always accompanied her husband to Moran. However, in the late 1920s, her physical condition began to deteriorate and much of the time she was ill. She was only able to enjoy the Mae-Lou-Lodge for a little over a year (W. Lawrence, 1978). She died of cancer at a private hospital in Cleveland, Ohio, on October 1, 1930 (State of OH, 1930).

In the Fall 1931, Johnson went on two Idaho big game hunting trips to the Middle Fork of the Salmon River with Slim between September 28 and October 21 (V. Lawrence, 1931-35). On his way home to New York on the train, he became ill from a heart disorder. After receiving treatment in Chicago, he proceeded on to his Forest Hills home. He continued feeling ill and died on December 8, 1931, in New York City (1931). When notified of his death, Mrs. W. C. (Verba) Lawrence (1931-35) remarked, "We loved him very much. This is truly one of our saddest days."

Through his will, Mr. Johnson continued to demonstrate his kindness and generosity. At his death, his estate was appraised at nearly $910,000 (Pryor, 1985a). Besides his bequests to relatives, Johnson provided the Miller Manual Labor School with an unrestricted $400,000 trust to be administered by the Irving Trust Company of New York City. This trust has increased in size to its current value of $1.1 million (Leonard, 1985). In addition, miscellaneous personal property was given to the Miller Manual Labor School, which changed its name to Miller School of Albemarle in 1950. The provisions of Johnson's will were never contested; however, the great diversity of Johnson's assets, coupled with the impact of the Depression, were responsible for Irving Trust's prolonged efforts to settle the estate (Queens Co., 1932).

A lasting tribute to the Johnsons was made by their friends on July 31, 1932. Less than 100 yards west of the Sargent cabin, they dedicated a stone memorial containing the ashes of both Mr. and Mrs. Johnson (Fig. 42). Most appropriately, the Reverend Mills (Grand Teton, 1932) concluded the dedication as follows:

"One reads the facts of these lives, one views the solid ideal around which they were built, and one returns to one's own life resolved somehow with renewed consecration and renewed vigor of dedication to build his life like this."
As executor of Johnson's estate, the Irving Trust Company retained Slim Lawrence as caretaker of the Mae-Lou property for the period of 1931-36. One unfortunate event during this time was their ordering Slim Lawrence to destroy the Sargent cabin. It was the feeling of Irving Trust that the cabin detracted from the appearance of the site they had selected for the Johnson grave (Fig. 43) (Teton Magazine, 1977). Lawrence tried to prevent the destruction; but under threat of being fired, he carried out the elimination order (W. Lawrence, 1978).

Fig. 43. Deserted Sargent cabin, 1929.

During this period, Alfred Berolzheimer and his wife Madeleine, two Easterners, became acquainted with the Rocky Mountain West through stays at the Miller dude ranch between West Yellowstone and Bozeman, Montana (Untermyer, 1978), and the Belden ranch just west of Meeteetsee, Wyoming (W. Lawrence, 1981). Alfred and his brothers, Edwin and Henry, were fourth generation family members engaged in the manufacture of pencils and writing materials through the family's Eagle Pencil Company of New York City. In 1856, this business had been started by their great-grandfather, Daniel, a resident of Fuerth, Bavaria, in a small factory in Yonkers, New York. The business grew so rapidly that in 1877 a city block on Manhattan Island was acquired for the expanding industry (Fig. 44) (Harvard Univ., 1962; N.Y. Times, 1922; 1949).

Alfred was born on October 5, 1892, in New York City to Emil and Gella Goldsmith Berolzheimer. Emil immigrated to this country in 1883 to work in the established Eagle Pencil Company and became its President in 1885 (N.Y. Times, 1922). Alfred's boyhood was spent in New York City and Tarrytown, New York. He attended preparatory school at the prestigious private boy's school, Phillips Exeter Academy (Who's Who, 1974-75; K. Berol, 1986). The Academy was founded in 1781 in New Hampshire's second oldest town, Exeter, which is described as "perhaps more than any New England town, reminiscent of an English provincial village" (Anon., 1985). In 1913, Alfred graduated cum laude with a Bachelor of Arts degree from Harvard University. Following graduation from college, Alfred was employed by the banking firm of Speyer and Company where he gained experience in commercial, industrial and international finance (Harvard Univ., 1962; Jackson Hole News, 1974).

During 1915, Alfred started his work with the family-owned Eagle Pencil company, which became the Berol Corporation in 1969 (N.Y. Times, 1974). However, World War I interrupted this employment: Alfred
Pencil problems solved at
"LEADQUARTERS"

Fig. 44. Eagle Pencil Co. ad., New York City, 1942.

was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in 1917 and served with the Army in France. At the end of World War I, Alfred once more returned to the Eagle Pencil Company (Harvard Univ., 1962).

Elise Untermyer remembered Alfred as being tall and well-built with reddish-blond hair. Throughout his youth, Alfred had been waited on "hand and foot" with numerous servants to care for his needs. As a young man, the girls liked to date him because they always received a special, exotic green orchid (grown in the family greenhouse) which was quite distinct from the usual purple variety. One of the girls who dated Alfred was Madeleine Rossin, the youngest of two daughters of the Morris Rossins (Untermyer, 1978; 1986).

Madeleine was born in New York City and was brought up there and in Europe, living a sheltered life (K. Berol, 1986a).

Elise Untermyer, a friend, recalled that she was not only protected from germs but from contact with persons unknown to her parents. Madeleine went to a private school after some years of lessons at home. She was carefully chaperoned by her mother or a governess at all times (Untermyer, 1986).

A long-time friendship culminated with Alfred and Madeleine being married on May 4, 1922 (N.Y. Times, 1922a). Their only child, Kenneth Rossin, was born on April 16, 1925, in New York City (Who's Who, 1984-85). While they maintained an apartment in that city, Faraway Farm at Cross River, New York, was the Berols' primary residence (Fig. 45) (K. Berol, 1986). Sometime during World War II, Alfred and his brother, Henry, changed their name from Berolzheimer to Berol (Berolzheimer, No date).

By 1946, Alfred had experience in nearly every part of the Eagle Pencil Company, as well as having served as Secretary, Treasurer and Vice President. In that year, Alfred was elected President of the Company and in 1962, he was elected as Chairman of the Board of Directors. In honor of his 70th birthday and nearly 50 years with the Company, the Board of Directors passed the following resolution (Harvard Univ., 1962):

Mr. Alfred C. Berol had devoted nearly half a century to the welfare and development of the Eagle Pencil Company; and,

WHEREAS during this period his far-sighted vision, penetrating intellect, and creative imagination were dominant fact-
ors in the Company's growth and success in the United States and abroad; and,
WHEREAS his outstanding leadership, personal integrity and warm understanding of human values have been a source of inspiration to his associates; and,
WHEREAS on the occasion of his 70th birthday, the Members of the Board of Directors wish to acknowledge their deep appreciation of Mr. Alfred C. Berol's dedication to the affairs of the Company and to express their great affection and esteem for him,
NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED that there be established an endowment fund at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration... known as the Eagle Pencil Company-Alfred C. Berol Fellowship...."

Harvard University (1962) further commented on the Eagle Pencil Company:
"This large and complex company, a leader in its field throughout the world, is a remarkable example of a relatively rare institution—a major concern entirely owned and continuously operated by the same family."

By 1962, the Eagle Pencil Company headquarters and main plant had moved to Danbury, Connecticut (Fig. 46). Other factories were located in England, Canada, Mexico, Columbia and Venezuela. In addition, they operated a sawmill and the Hudson Lumber Company in California where they pioneered the use of California incense cedar in their products (Harvard Univ., 1962; Who's Who, 1974-75).

The Berolzheimer brothers' family background apparently generated their mutual interest in the outdoor activities of hunting and raising purebred animals. Edwin had one of the finest kennels in the U.S. of field trial Irish setters (N.Y. Times, 1949). Henry raised English pointers and Tennessee walking horses on his 10,000-acre Georgia plantation. He also served as President of the Georgia Field Trial Association (N.Y. Times, 1976). As early as 1932, Alfred and his family spent their summers in various locations in the Rocky Mountains. Alfred acquired much of his early love of the wilderness and hunting in the Canadian Rockies around Jasper Park, Alberta, and at dude ranches in Montana and Wyoming (K. Berol, 1986; W. Lawrence, 1981).

During one of Alfred's visits to the Montana Miller ranch, he learned that the Sargent-Johnson property was for sale (K. Berol, 1986a). Following up on this lead, he was soon negotiating for the property with the Irving Trust Company. On June 15, 1936, Irving Trust secured quiet title to the property and on June 29, 1936, Alfred purchased the 142-acre Sargent-Johnson property including the Mae-Lou-Lodge and nine outbuildings for $24,300 (Teton Co., 1936; 1936a; Berolzheimer, 1936; 1940).

Immediately following his purchase of the Johnson-Sargent property, Alfred initiated a variety of activities: (1) Slim Lawrence and his wife, Verba, continued as caretakers of the property; (2) the water system of the Mae-Lou-Lodge was remodeled; (3) New York architect, George W. Kosmak, was retained to draw plans for a new log residence for the Berol family; and, (4) Paul T. Colbron of Wilson was appointed as Mr. Kosmak's Wyoming representative (Berolzheimer, 1936; 1936a).

Less than a month after the purchase, the Berols arrived at their ranch. Madeleine and Kenneth returned to New York in early fall and Alfred stayed until October 18 to elk hunt and attend to construction details. During 1936 and the next summer, they stayed in the Mae-Lou-Lodge (V. Lawrence, 1936-40).
One important project completed in 1936 was the acquisition of a horse grazing permit and construction of a fenced pasture on the Teton National Forest. This pasture was located south of Arizona Lake and was large enough to accommodate 10-15 of the Berol's horses (W. Lawrence, 1978; V. Lawrence, 1936-40).

Construction of the new Berol Lodge was started in the Spring 1937 with the Nelson Brothers of Jackson hired as the general contractor. Ernest Moore, who did the fireplace work for Johnson, was hired as a subcontractor for the 6 fireplaces and 3 stove chimneys scheduled in the new house. The deadline for completion of the building was the Fall 1937 (Berolzheimer, 1936a). Coincident with these activities, a new name, the AMK Ranch, was adopted. Represented were the first letters of the first name of each member of the family (Jackson Hole News, 1976).

In contrast to the Mae-Lou-Lodge log source at Moran Bay, logs for the Berol residence were cut on the northwest end of the Arizona Lake meadows. The large spruce logs on each side of the main entrance were cut in the swamp 1 mile north of Moran. Rocks for the fireplaces, except in the master bedroom, came from the Gros Ventre Canyon. The master bedroom fireplace rocks are pink volcanic tuff quarried near Rexburg, Idaho. Some of the flat stone slabs used for walkways were taken from Beaver Dick's abandoned homesite several miles north of the AMK (W. Lawrence, 1978).

On-site work commenced on May 17, 1937. The nature of the log construction project required a sizeable work force, which in those depression times provided a considerable benefit to the local economy. In addition, the quality of work performed was very high; because for every position filled, there were several unemployed skilled workers waiting to take over (W. Lawrence, 1978; V. Lawrence, 1936-40).

Probably, the many anecdotes about Alfred had their beginning at this time with his fascination with the dynamiting of the tree stumps from the building site.

Bill Rodenbush of Moran was the "powder monkey" hired for the job. Alfred closely followed Rodenbush; and when Rodenbush was ready to set the dynamite off, he would poke Alfred in the ribs and Alfred would shout, "Powder, powder gentlemen" in a most memorable New York accent (W. Lawrence, 1978).

In contrast with Johnson's Mae-Lou-Lodge, the new Berol residence was an elongated, single-story structure covering some 5,200 square feet (Fig. 47). It contained many windows overlooking Jackson Lake. Consequently, those windows produced a light and airy atmosphere which resulted in a more esthetically pleasing environment than that of the Mae-Lou-Lodge. Kenneth Berol (1986a) related, "An interesting feature was the angular construction in the dining room. Alfred got the idea from a lodge in the province of Quebec, Canada where he went salmon fishing. Told that such angular construction was impossible with logs, he persisted and prevailed." The building was not ready for occupancy until late July and early August 1938 (V. Lawrence, 1936-40).

The general motif of the furnishings of the Berol Lodge became a mix of Western crafted wood furniture and Southwestern Indian artcraft in the form of rugs and pottery. Many of the pine furniture items were produced in Bozeman, Montana (Fig. 48). Big game trophies were hung on the walls and over fireplaces. Fig. 49 best depicts the character of those furnishings.

In addition to the main lodge construction, several other projects were being completed. Remodeling of the caretaker's quarters in the Mae-Lou-Lodge provided better winter heating and more window space. The hayloft of the Johnson barn was remodeled into three sleeping rooms and a bath. To handle the anticipated horse use at the ranch, they constructed a new pole and frame barn and a log cabin to store saddles and other horse gear (Berolzheimer, 1936a; V. Lawrence, 1936-40; W. Lawrence, 1978).
Before construction activities were completed, Alfred became involved in several frustrating long-term events. On June 8, 1938, just before the main lodge was completed, a storm on Jackson Lake washed away 5 feet of the ranch shoreline and undermined the boathouse porch (V. Lawrence, 1936-40). In early 1939, Alfred began a long and futile battle with the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation to lower the maximum level of Jackson Lake or to get some agency to build cribbing to prevent further wave erosion of his property (Berolzheimer, 1939; 1939a).

In correspondence to the Director of the National Park Service, he lamented, "The fine work which the Park Service has done in cleaning up Jackson Lake is gradually again being undone by the unsightliness of washed away shores, and I do hope that an effort will be made to maintain this magnificent country (probably the finest we have in the entire United States) in as pleasing a condition as possible in spite of the damage caused by man" (Berolzheimer, 1939b).
Horace Albright’s letter to Alfred explained the frustrating situation:

"The divided jurisdiction I think, is the chief difficulty in the way of getting some workable plan developed. The National Park Service has no jurisdiction whatever over Jackson Lake. The Lake itself is under the Reclamation Service and the borders of the Lake are under the Forest Service" (Albright, 1940).

After his personal campaigning failed, Alfred invested thousands of dollars (W. Lawrence, 1978) in efforts to establish riprap devices to prevent the wave erosion (Fig. 50). The futility of that approach was painfully evident when a severe storm on Jackson Lake destroyed all of those riprap structures in a brief 10 minute period in July 1941 or 1942 (W. Lawrence, 1978).

Alfred was still investing in some kind of device to stop erosion as late as 1966 (Seaton, 1966).

In 1953, the issue was very much alive when the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation budget request included $5,000 for condem-
nation of Alfred's shoreline area (A. Berol, 1953). What is not clear is whether Alfred or the Bureau of Reclamation knew about Sargent's motion, which was part of his homestead patent and probably the final reason the patent was approved (J. Sargent, 1907; U.S. Reclamation Service, 1907). The following statement of J. R. Garfield (1907), Secretary of the Department of Interior, pointed out this very important part of the patent:

"Claimant hereby further tenders to the United States Government any and all portions of said land that may be submerged by any reclamation works now contemplated, or which may hereafter be constructed, free of charge to the government,..."

In any event, no condemnation occurred. The erosion problem was never resolved but only deferred to the future.

As early as 1938, another frustrating event occurred when Alfred became concerned that the National Park Service would condemn the AMK as part of a proposed extension of the Grand Teton National Park boundaries (O'Mahoney, 1938). Even though Alfred perceived a threat, there is no evidence that his property was ever proposed for condemnation.

Finally, the age old problem of county property tax assessments for improvements also surfaced for Alfred. His total assessment valuation increased $9,000 in 1939 over that in 1938 (Berolzhiemer, 1939c). Despite all of his protests, legal services and a Petition on Appeal in Teton County District Court, the issue was unresolved (Teton Co., 1940; Simpson, 1939).

Life on the AMK for the Berols was quite different from that of either Sargent or Johnson. Much of their time at the ranch was spent entertaining friends and visitors. Their general life-style "was a curious mixture of Eastern (even European) formal traditions and the free-and-easy style of the West" (K. Berol, 1986a). Their daily activities followed a well-defined routine (Jonak, 1984).

Between 1936 and 1969, the Berols' average stay per year was 2-1/2 months, extending from about the last week in July until sometime in the first week of October. Prior to the mid-1960s, they generally traveled by train with their arrivals most frequently at Rawlins, Green River, or Evanston, Wyoming; however, one-third of their arrivals were at Gardner and Livingston, Montana. Their departures were usually from the Wyoming towns. In the mid-1960s, they began using air travel to reach the ranch. On most of these occasions, the caretaker transported them and their large amounts of luggage between the ranch and their various embarkation points (Diaries of V. Lawrence, 1936-68).

The Berols employed several caretakers during their ownership of the ranch. Slim Lawrence and his wife, Verba, served from 1936-71. Lee and Madeline Brendenstahl worked for Slim and the Berols from 1965-71. John B. Adams and his wife, Cheryl, were employed from 1971 until the property was sold to the Park Service. In 1968, Mr. Berol provided Slim Lawrence with a new house on the AMK property for his retirement years (V. Lawrence, 1967-68). Also, in an effort to provide suitable living quarters for the family of John and Cheryl Adams, the Berols in 1974 arranged for construction of a new prefabricated home just east of the Mae-Lou-Lodge (Adams, 1985).

In addition to the caretakers, the Berols usually employed a cook, two or three maids and a chauffeur-handymen for the times they occupied the lodge in the summer. The caretakers hired the seasonal employees and generally supervised their work. The chauffeur-handymen lived above the Johnson garage or in the Hogan 3-room cabin. The maids and cook were provided rooms off of the kitchen in the Berol Lodge.

One of the main jobs of the handyman was chopping and supplying wood for 10 fireplaces, a furnace and a variety of heating stoves. All of these employees usually reported for work before the arrival of the Berols to help clean the buildings, unpack and put in place the 68 Indian
woven rugs and other valuable interior furnishings. Each item had its special place and the positioning of each item was precisely specified by the Berols (Jonak, 1984; Adams, 1985).

The maids and the cook were issued four uniforms which always had to appear clean, crisp and pressed. The maids served in a variety of capacities. As personal maids, they carried out the usual housekeeping chores according to a routine schedule. The private character of the Berols' day to day life-style was such that they used the master bedroom, dressing rooms and Alfred's study for reading and relaxing. The living room area was mostly used for entertaining guests. As a consequence, the maids could only work in the private areas when the Berols were at meals or away from the lodge. For example, one of the maids had to slip away from the dinner duties to turn down the bed sheets in the prescribed manner.

At breakfast and dinner, the maids became waitresses and also helped the cook prepare the food. Alfred Berol always carved the meat and summoned the help by using a buzzer at the table. Alfred liked his meat blood red and everyone had to eat it that way. There was a set order in which things were brought to the table and served. Separate china settings were used for breakfast and dinner. A centerpiece of flowers or fresh fruit was always required (Fig. 51). During parties, the maids also served drinks to the guests (Jonak, 1984; Adams, 1985).

Even the menus were a product of a specific routine. Kenneth Berol remembered, "While my mother planned most of the meals, my father always discussed party menus directly with the cook, sometimes to the discomfort of both mother and cook when 'routines' were violated" (K. Berol, 1986a). Guests at their parties knew they would be served either ham, leg of lamb or turkey, preceded by a scalloped half of cantaloupe with maraschino cherries in the scallops (Untermyer, 1978; Jonak, 1984; Adams, 1985).

Kenneth further recalled, "for house guests, there were printed cards in each room setting forth the time for meals (which were always punctual): Breakfast-8:30; Lunch-1:00; Cocktails-6:30; Dinner-7:15."

Alfred was a consummate reader, staying up until 2 or 3 a.m. to read. The 3,000-watt Kohler generator at the Mae-Lou Lodge was unable to furnish power to both houses. Consequently, Alfred had a 15 KW 4-cylinder diesel generator installed at the north end of the barn. It ran 24 hours a day and furnished power through the first underground electric cable used in Jackson Hole (W. Lawrence, 1981). The diesel generator was retired in 1955 when Alfred had the Lower Valley Power and Light REA Company construct power lines to the ranch (V. Lawrence, 1951-55). With this new source of power, Berol also had electric baseboard heaters installed in the Mae-Lou and Berol lodges, markedly reducing the wood cutting efforts.

With all of their entertaining, Alfred did not want his guests or family to be inconvenienced with the failure of a water pump. Consequently, he had three interconnected wells drilled with separate pumps to serve as backup systems (W. Lawrence, 1978).

The Berols were socially inclined with as many as seven or eight guests staying at the AMK at one time. These friends were
accommodated in the Mae-Lou-Lodge or the quarters above the garage (Jonak, 1984). Alfred loved parties; and at least in the early years at the ranch, they would have six to eight parties per month with 12-22 people in attendance (K. Berol, 1986a). One of the larger parties of the summer involved around 30 guests invited to celebrate Alfred's birthday on October 5 (V. Lawrence, 1956-60; 1961-65). A regular summer guest was publisher Alfred Knopf. Banker and friend, Felix Buchenroth, was a frequent local guest (Jonak, 1984). Several notable visitors included labor leader John L. Lewis and Wyoming Governor Nels Smith. Verba Lawrence (1951-55) in her diary sums up the frustration of the employees during 2 days in September, "No rides—too many house guests and fire places to watch.... More house guests arrived—No end to the company this summer—Another Dinner party at the Big house."

Since the private living area of the Berols was never shared with guests except for a few special individuals who were invited to Alfred's study (Fig. 52) (Untermeyer, 1978), a guest bathroom facility was located off of the living room entrance. Despite the fact that many parties were held in September and early October, when the weather could be inclement, there was no hot water or heat provided for the guests in this facility even though it was in every other area in the lodge. As one frequent guest noted, "Stays in that bathroom facility were of very short duration."

Alfred loved to shoot both shotguns and rifles. During the Berols' first 20-25 years at the AMK, they invited many of their friends to participate in trap shooting and other types of shooting matches involving bench rests and offhand matches. Even though Madeleine didn't participate, she would faithfully attend those affairs with her husband. Alfred had a trap shooting range installed in the clearing to the east of the Johnson Monument and the Sargent cabin site. A 200-yard rifle range, complete with bench rests and a "dark tunnel," was located on the southwest side of Sargent's Bay. A combination 100-yard rifle and a 50-yard pistol range was located adjacent to the south side of the blacksmith shop and east of the present parking area. Sometime in the 1960s, Alfred ceased using their trap shooting range; however, he continued shooting at the Jackson Hole Trap Club.

During most of their first 10 years at the AMK, the Berols frequently provided daylong horseback trips for their guests into the forested area east of the AMK and the highway to Yellowstone Park. While Slim and sometimes Verba generally guided those trips, Esther Allan, wife of Forest Ranger Sunny Allan, remembered serving as a guide a few times. The horses for those trips were maintained in the fenced pasture near Arizona Lake (W. Lawrence, 1981; Allan, 1978). Both Alfred and Madeleine were good horseback riders and accompanied their guests on most of those trips. In addition, Madeleine liked to ride horseback with Slim Lawrence when he would explore or look for Indian artifacts (W. Lawrence, 1978). Unfortunately, after a back injury in the early 1940s, an operation in 1947 and complications afterwards, Slim was forced to give up horseback riding (W. Lawrence, 1980). About the same time, Alfred also gave up that activity because of a leg circulation problem (W. Lawrence, 1981).

Hunting was a natural extension of the horseback riding and the shooting activities of the Berols. Alfred hunted Sage Grouse

Fig. 52. Alfred's study, AMK Lodge.
around the Daniel area. As with Johnson, this was often combined with his antelope hunts to Sweetwater County with Slim Lawrence. They also hunted antelope on the Belden Pitchfork Ranch west of Meteetsee. John Wort and the Nelson brothers normally guided Alfred on his elk hunts in the Pacific Creek area. Alfred hunted bighorn sheep with Charles Nelson in the Crystal Creek drainage of the Gros Ventre Range. His bear hunting was usually done in the same Arizona Lake region where Johnson had also hunted bears (W. Lawrence, 1981).

In connection with his hunting, Alfred expressed his opinion about Wyoming's wildlife management and regulations in frequent letters to Richard Winger; Felix Buchenroth and W. L. Simpson of Jackson; Governor Nels Smith; and John Scott, Director of the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission (Berolzheimer, 1938-53). At one time, he developed a memo about his ideas which he sent to these men. The following (Berolzheimer, 1939d) is an excerpt:

"I favor very much the creation of areas restricted to the use of trophy hunters only for elk on special license, restricted naturally to bull elk only with the possible further proviso that no elk smaller than a five point could be shot in this area. I would further permit the shooting of buck deer only, bear and grouse in these restricted areas with this special license. The season in these restricted areas I would have from September 15th to November 1st only. This might result in attracting a considerable number of desirable Eastern hunters who bring the most money into the state."

Like the Sargents, the Berol family was a paternally dominated one. Alfred appears to have been a man with highly contrasting and diverse interests and abilities (Fig. 53). Beginning with his early schooling, he maintained an active interest in literature, history and the fine arts. He became a trustee of the Columbia University Library and in 1970, was cited by the Friends of the Library for his service. Also, he was on the Overseers Committee of the Harvard University Library (N.Y. Times, 1974). He was considered a scholar and wrote about the literature and history of the 18th and 19th century England (Westminster College, 1963). As a collector with his wife, he donated rare paintings by various artists and letters by George Washington and by John Jay to Columbia University, as well as a letter of Galileo to Harvard University (N.Y. Times, 1974). The New York Times wrote a complimentary article when Madeleine and Kenneth Berol donated Alfred's collection of Lewis Carroll's "writings, photographs, letters and memorabilia" to the New York University Library. "It was considered to be one of the best collections of Carroll that was still available in private hands here" (N.Y. Times, 1975).

Alfred was also interested in agriculture, which included raising purebred Aberdeen Angus cattle at his Faraway Farm in Cross River, New York (Fig. 45). Besides his accomplishments in the family-owned business, he extended his industrial leadership by being a Trustee of the Stationers' Board of Trade and President of the Pencil Makers' Association. As a
result of these scholarly and business activities, Alfred was presented an honorary degree, Doctor of Humanities, at the 1963 commencement exercises at Westminster College of Salt Lake City (Westminster College, 1963).

Alfred was hard of hearing, partly because of injuries incurred during his World War I service. Adjusting to this loss caused him to become unnecessarily irritated at times and to talk in a loud tone (Untermyer, 1978). In his correspondence on a variety of matters, Alfred displayed an ability to be understanding and diplomatic, as well as authoritative. He also could display the attitude that by reason of his position or status, he expected to receive special treatment and had no compunction in asking for it (Berolzheimer, 1938-53). As an example, in a letter to Richard Winger, Alfred (Berolzheimer, 1938) protested against the method of obtaining sheep hunting permits:

"I made my application for a permit on November 4, 1937 for the succeeding year and mailed my check, and I am now informed that as more than 25 applications have been received, there will be a drawing on May 1st. I consider this eminently unfair and think that the method to be adopted should be first come, first served. Furthermore, it seems to me that a man who owns a home, such as I do on Jackson Lake, should have distinct preference over people who are not property owners in Wyoming."

Despite some of these traits, Alfred appeared to have the right personality to enjoy good relations with his business employees (Untermyer, 1978). Slim Lawrence enjoyed a fine working relationship with him (W. Lawrence, 1981).

In contrast to Alfred's temperament, Madeleine or "Mady" as her husband called her, was gentle, gracious and soft-spoken. Everyone who knew her described her in these terms. Her physical stature was petite and delicate, and she had long blond hair pulled back in a bun. She liked to wear western cut pants and a cowboy hat and was impeccably well-groomed at all times (Fig. 54). She was able to keep up with her husband in outside activities where she enjoyed horseback riding, swimming and tennis. She spoke fluent French and German. At times, she was intimidated by Alfred; but she was never known to have said an unkind word about anyone (K. Berol, 1986; Untermyer, 1978; W. Lawrence, 1979; Jonak, 1984; Adams, 1985). She always ran a smooth household, beautifully appointed, with excellant service. Alfred became her sole concern and there was little spare time after taking care of three households and servants and running his errands (Untermyer, 1986). After Alfred's death in 1974, she continued to live in their Hotel Pierre residence in New York City until her death in January 1985 (K. Berol, 1986).

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Fig. 54. Alfred and Madeleine Berol.
As the only child, Kenneth's parents were strict with him and tended to be overprotective when he was at the AMK (W. Lawrence, 1978). Kenneth arrived at the ranch when he was 11 years old and learned to enjoy the activities of his parents such as hunting, fishing and horseback riding. His association with the ranch was primarily during 1936-43. After that period, he or his family only visited for a few weeks each summer. Between 1961 and 1970, he was absent from the ranch (K. Berol, 1986a). Kenneth recalled, "As a child, I adored the ranch since it represented relative freedom from the 'stuffiness' of the East."

Kenneth had always been intrigued with the sea; however, it was on Jackson Lake where he learned to sail. "Capt." Mapes of Jackson Hole was his teacher (K. Berol, 1986) and sailing in a Snipe class sailboat was a special pleasure for him (W. Lawrence, 1980). This love of boating carried over into his adult years when he became a member of the U.S. Coast Guard Auxiliary Clubs. His clubs include Stamford Yacht, Port Royal and Naples Yacht (K. Berol, 1986a). Kenneth had special praise for Slim Lawrence: "He taught me to love nature, respect it, but not to fear it. Those lessons learned in the mountains of Wyoming are necessary prerequisites for a mastery of the sea."

Kenneth's preparatory education was obtained at Milton Academy, Milton, Massachusetts (K. Berol, 1986). Following the tradition of his father, Kenneth obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree at Harvard University and continued at that institution, receiving a Master of Business Administration degree in 1950. He served in the Army during World War II for several years and met June Waterous of St. Paul, Minnesota, during that period. He married her on August 14, 1947, and they had two children, John Alfred and Margaret June (Fig. 55) (Who's Who, 1984-85). Kenneth's family enjoyed the AMK Ranch and took advantage of the outdoor activities, having remodeled one of the Hogan cabins as their summer home in 1972 (W. Lawrence, 1979; Adams, 1985). June passed away in 1983. Subsequently, Kenneth married Betty Brookfield, a widow from Kansas City, Missouri, in 1984 (K. Berol, 1986a).

Like his father, Ken had served in different capacities in the family Berol Corporation such as Vice President, Treasurer and President. In 1979, he became Chairman of the Board of Directors, carrying on the family tradition (Who's Who, 1984-85; Standard & Poor's, 1980-85).

Alfred Berol died on June 14, 1974, in Danbury, Connecticut, closing out 38 years of continuous summer residency at the AMK Ranch (N.Y. Times, 1974). Kenneth Berol, as executor of the estate, deeded the property to the United States of America in 1976 for $3.3 million (Teton Co., 1976). The Berol Lodge and other buildings are now on the Grand Teton National Park's list of classified structures to be protected, a fitting memorial to the Berol family and their great love for the West.
As one looks back on the history of the Sargent-Johnson-Berol ranch, none of the owners were able to enjoy life on it to the same extent as did William Cecil "Slim" Lawrence. As a young man, he had tried unsuccessfully to buy the Sargent ranch. That event appears to have been a blessing in disguise as he later related, his caretaker position with Johnson and Berol fulfilled a boyhood dream:

"I first come up here and got stuck on Jackson Hole in 1912', Slim says, as he explains his first visit to Jackson Hole. 'I was only 14. I never could get it out of my mind. Then I moved up here to live in 1921. I wanted to live up here at this end of the lake where I could hunt and fish all I wanted and trap and do a lot of reading and be independent. It's just the job I wanted because I was by myself all the time. I done the work, of course, and always had it ready for 'em, and I've had a great life up here. Done what I wanted to do and made a good living'" (Teton Magazine, 1977).

Like the Sargents, Johnsons and Berols, the Lawrence family ties were strongly Eastern, beginning in Yonkers, Westchester County, New York. The Lawrence name in Yonkers was old, descending from three brothers who came to the United States in 1635. Slim's father, Sidney Herbert Lawrence, was one of 12 children born to William H. Lawrence and Maria V. Back. He was almost a "New Year baby" being born, along with his twin brother, Cecil, on December 31, 1852 (Fig. 56) (Scharf, 1886; St. John's Church, No date). Sidney's father's occupation as a coroner was recorded in the U.S. Census (1860b) and in a later census, as a lumber merchant (U.S. Census, 1870).

Three of the Lawrence brothers were drawn to the West, becoming successful game hunters to supply the markets in Cheyenne and Denver (Fig. 57). While the record is not clear, it appears that the twins, Sidney and Cecil, made trips to the West during the late 1870s; and Eugene, the youngest brother, joined them later in Colorado when they became settlers.

Fig. 56. The Lawrence twins, Sidney H. (l) and Cecil R. (r).
Sidney was listed in the 1870 Yonkers Census as a grocer’s clerk and in 1880 as a collector. The only reference to Sidney in the Yonkers City Directory was for the years 1877-78 when his occupation was listed as a planer (U.S. Census, 1870; 1880a; Yonkers City Directory, 1877-78). He was described as a small man, about 5 feet 6 inches tall and weighing 150 pounds (Laramie Daily Boomerang, 1912). Slim Lawrence remembered his father telling him about the wonderful Jackson Hole country and its abundance of game. Sidney had gone there in 1876, looking for game to supply meat for the railroad workers in Cheyenne, Wyoming (W. Lawrence, 1979).

Eventually, the Lawrence brothers settled in North Park, Colorado, which was surrounded by mountains and located in an isolated area near the border of Colorado and Wyoming (Fig. 58). Charlie Winscom, an early homesteader, listed "the Lawrence boys, Cid, Cecil and Gene" as settlers on the Canadian River in North Park in 1883-84 (Gresham, 1975). In the History of Westchester County, Eugene, Sidney and Cecil are mentioned as residing in Colorado in 1886 (Scharf, 1886).

In North Park, the brothers pursued many types of occupations in order to survive in this mountain region. They probably continued as meat hunters for:

"The country at this time swarmed with deer, antelope and elk and bear and mountain sheep were quite common.... it was the usual custom for many settlers in the fall of the year to kill enough deer, elk or antelope to make a wagon load and haul the meat to outside towns and sell it and bring back a load of ranch supplies" (Gresham, 1975).

Cecil was listed as the postmaster at Otis in North Park near Independence Mountain in 1881. Herb Hill, an early prospector, remembered the Lawrence brothers as staking a mining claim in the Lawrence Draw of Independence Mountain (Gresham, 1975). Sidney located the Last Chance Claim in the Independence Mining
District in 1896 (Larimer Co., 1896). The Lawrence name has been given to many topographic features in that region and appears on recent USGS maps. Both Sidney and Cecil had a registered stock brand for Pinkhampton, a small settlement in North Park, which indicates they raised either cattle or horses (W. Lawrence, No date).

Sidney's twin, Cecil, had been married since 1874 (St. John's Church, 1874) and in the 1890s went back with his wife to Yonkers to join the family business. Also, it appears that Eugene, Sidney's youngest brother, married Elizabeth Margaret Schork who came to Pinkhampton with her brother, Charlie. (Later she married Sidney.)

Elizabeth, born in 1876, came to the United States from Germany with her parents in 1881 (U.S. Census, 1900a). Her father was a scissors maker, who worked in a factory in Elizabeth, New Jersey (W. Lawrence, 1980). The record of Eugene's marriage to her and events following are vague. Mabel, a daughter, was born in October 1896 (W. Lawrence, 1981; P. Lawrence, 1981; U.S. Census, 1900a; 1910a). No records could be found about Eugene after that time. Slim Lawrence remembered that his mother (Elizabeth) married another Lawrence in North Park who died (W. Lawrence, 1981). There's also some indication there was a divorce between Elizabeth and Eugene (W. Lawrence, No date).

Sometime in the late 1800s, Sidney began driving the stage out of Pinkhampton on the Walden-to-Laramie line (Laramie Daily Boomerang, 1912; W. Lawrence, No date). He also acquired property along with Lizzie Lawrence near Pinkhampton, which was a stage stop, post office and store (Jackson Co., 1894). After Eugene's death or divorce, Elizabeth Schork Lawrence married Sidney Lawrence on February 7, 1897 (Daily Boomerang, 1897; Albany Co., 1897). Following their marriage, they settled in Laramie where Sidney was employed to drive the 25-mile Laramie-to-Woods Landing leg of the Trabing Brothers Laramie-to-Walden mail and stage line (Fig. 59) (Laramie Daily Boomerang, 1912; Laramie Republican, 1912). Their only child, William Cecil, was born in Laramie on August 31, 1899 (Fig. 60) (W. Lawrence, 1979; U.S. Census, 1900a).

After several moves, Sidney settled his family in their final Laramie home (Fig. 61) at Fourth and Thornburg Streets (The present Laramie City Hall stands on that lot which is now Fourth and Ivinson.) (W. Lawrence, 1979; U.S. Census, 1910a). Because of Laramie's school enrollment and classroom space limitations, Slim's first and second grade school years had to be spent in the basement of the University of Wyoming's main building (W. Lawrence, 1980).
Slim attended school in Laramie until sometime around 1910 (Fig. 62). About that time, Trabing's stage line lost its mail contract and Sidney lost his job. Ted Olson (1973) lamented the loss of Sid Lawrence and paid tribute to his dedication and service:

"But when I started school our mail was still being brought by stage, and dropped off where the Sodergreen ranch road joined the highway, a half mile beyond the schoolhouse. It wasn't the kind of stagecoach you see in the movies, merely a big wagon with three seats. The driver was a weather-bitten, laconic man named Sid Lawrence. He made the thirty-mile trip between Laramie and Woods Landing six times a week, going out one day and returning the next, delivering and picking up mail, light cargo and a few passengers. He was true to the tradition of the service: neither rain, nor snow, nor dark of night stayed him from his appointed rounds.

Rural Free Delivery put Sid out of business. I recognize now that he was obsolescent, a victim of what economists later would call technological unemployment. But like many others displaced by supposedly more efficient ways of doing things he left a gap. Now we had to ride five miles for our mail instead of two. Passenger service was terminated; if you fired a hay hand you couldn't ship him back to town on the stage, and only outrageous misconduct - like abusing a horse - justified making him foot it. So you didn't fire him. Sid had always been glad to do smaller errands. If you needed something urgently you could send in a note to the store and he would bring it out the next trip. The RFD man, being a government employee, couldn't be so accommodating; besides, his one-horse four-wheeled mobile post office had no room for any object bulkier than a mail-order catalogue.

We missed Sid Lawrence. It was some years before the telephone and automobile bridged the gulf his retirement had left."

Slim Lawrence remembered riding with his father on the stage and curling up in a buffalo hide under the seat to keep warm (W. Lawrence, 1979).

Also around 1910, Sidney and Elizabeth separated (W. Lawrence, 1980; Albany Co., 1911). Sidney obtained work at the Baldwin Ranch (Fig. 63) on the Big Laramie River near Gleneyre, Colorado, just across the
Wyoming border (Albany Co., 1911; Laramie Republican, 1912). While living on this ranch with his father, Slim attended a rural school at Gleneyre for 1 year. The children would ride horses or ski to school (W. Lawrence, 1979). At this time, Slim's stepsister, Mabel, was living with one of her relatives in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and attending school (W. Lawrence, 1980; Laramie Daily Boomerang, 1912). Elizabeth remained at the Lawrence home in Laramie where she continued renting furnished rooms (Polk, 1911) and was listed as a "nurse, at home" and having seven roomers in the Laramie U.S. Census (1910a).

Life on the Baldwin Ranch was a wonderful and at times painful experience for Slim. His father had given him a 25-20 rifle to use when horseback riding, cautioning Slim not to hold a loaded rifle while getting on a horse. Slim disregarded this advice and his loaded rifle fell and fired. Slim still carries the bullet in his side to remind him of the incident (W. Lawrence, 1979).

During the ranch stay, his father had taught him how to trap coyotes, bobcats, mountain lions and wolves. Also, he took care of the dogs that were used to hunt bears (W. Lawrence, 1979). A newspaper account in early 1912 described one of Slim's trapping adventures:

"Cecil Lawrence, the 12-year old son of Sidney Lawrence, of the upper Laramie river ranch had a very close call a few days ago with a big wolf weighing 130 pounds. The wolves in that section have been very bad this winter and everybody who has a wolf trap is setting it in the hope of catching some of the animals. Young Lawrence had a trap fastened to the fence with a chain and staple. Going to the trap one morning this week he found the large wolf enmeshed therein. The animal made a lunge at the boy, who threw a hatchet at lupus, but missed him. The wolf made another lunge and broke the chain, charging the lad, who threw his gloves at the huge animal and then ran. A dog belonging to Mr. Lawrence attacked the wolf from the rear and permitted the boy to escape. Summoning his father they armed themselves and started in pursuit, being able to follow the tracks of the animal and the marks of the trap and dragging chain, Mr. Lawrence killing the wolf with his gun. The boy had a very close call but showed his pluck and now has the pelt for a trophy."
In addition to selling the pelt, Slim collected his first and probably largest fur price because of a bounty levied on each head of cattle on the district's range which amounted to $400 (W. Lawrence, No date).

The Baldwin Ranch stay ended in tragedy. When his father did not respond to the ranch dinner bell, Mrs. Baldwin sent Slim to find his father. Slim discovered him dead in a corral with a jack stud mule. While there was no autopsy, the undertaker said the nature of Sid's injuries and broken bones indicated he had been kicked very hard and that was likely the primary cause of death (Abbott, 1912; Laramie Daily Boomerang, 1912). Unfortunately at this time, Slim's mother was sick in a Denver hospital. In this trying period, Slim was cared for by friends and ultimately was placed in a boy's boarding school in Denver (W. Lawrence, 1979). In the meantime, his father's remains were sent back to Yonkers for burial (Laramie Daily Boomerang, 1912a). According to the death certificate, Slim's father died on February 13, 1912 (State of WY, 1912).

The Denver boarding school stay was short-lived; for sometime in the Spring 1912, Slim ran away to Gleneyre where he stayed with the Schroeder family. Slim remembered that "they had 10 children so one more didn't matter." His education continued when his mother sent him to live with a friend in South Denver to attend the public school (W. Lawrence, 1979).

During this time, his mother was undergoing nurse's training, graduating from Cheyenne Private Hospital with honors on October 30, 1913 (Laramie Republican, 1913). In the summers, before her graduation, she worked with Dr. Phifer in the Wheatland hospital (Fig. 64). Even though Slim didn't like the town, he recalled two outstanding summer experiences there. Slim joined one of the earliest Boy Scout troops in Wyoming under Wheatland's Leon Goodrich. For a project, the scouts cleaned the town streets to earn money to go to Fort Laramie to hunt for arrowheads (Fig. 65). This collecting experience was likely one of the early influences which stimulated Slim's interest in Indian artifacts.

Another long remembered experience was Slim's 1912 summer trip with the Kirk family, traveling from Rawlins to Jackson Hole and Yellowstone National Park using a wagon drawn by two horses, saddle horses, a cookbox on the back of the wagon.
and tepee tents for sleeping. He remembered camping near Sargent's cabin and meeting John. He also recalled the dust because of the water wagons and tourist coaches traveling at a trot (W. Lawrence, 1979). Despite the inconveniences, Slim thought many times of going back to Jackson Hole, not dreaming he would spend most of his adult life in the area where they camped by Jackson Lake.

All of the trials and tribulations of Slim, his sister and his mother culminated happily with his mother's marriage to a prominent resident of Rawlins, Frank Hadsell, on November 10, 1913, in Cheyenne (Figs. 66; 67) (Laramie Republican, 1913a). Slim's stepfather was a remarkable man. He was born in 1852 in Hancock, Massachusetts, on the family homestead acquired from the Crown of England. As a teenager, he learned the butcher trade from his father and at 17, he was a partner in a Rhode Island butchershop. In 1872, he moved to Traer, Iowa, where he successfully ran a mercantile store. In 1880, he came to Wyoming where he became involved in horse raising and then sheep ranching which developed into one of the oldest sheep companies in Carbon County, Wyoming. Hadsell moved to the town of Rawlins in 1888 and main-
tained the sheep business from a ranch near Green Mountain, north of Rawlins. On May 27, 1920, he was appointed Warden of the State Penitentiary at Rawlins (WY Bd. of Charities and Reform, 1920) and became inactive in the sheep business; Kleber, his son by a former marriage, had already taken over the management of the ranch.

Hadsell's activities were not solely confined to ranching. He served as Carbon County Sheriff between 1889 and 1893 and was appointed as a U.S. Marshal from 1899-1908. In addition, he was elected to the 1911 Wyoming Senate (Rawlins Republican, 1927; Daily Times, 1971). When Frank Hadsell died on October 18, 1927 (State of WY, 1927), his friend for 45 years, Rubie Rivera (No date), was prompted to pay tribute to his close friend:

"I have eaten and slept with him on the ground, in pullman cars and in hotels. He enjoyed them all for he was a real fellow. He was a friend of dumb animals and a very good judge of stock. He was a charitable man. Many poor families and old friends and children were benefited by his help but you never heard him even mention the fact that he had helped anybody. As an entertainer Hadsell might have had equals but there was never any better. He had a wonderful memory and his ability to tell old time stories or carry conversations on any subject was an enviable characteristic. His home was always open to his friends.

It was generally known that Hadsell was possessed of a mean temper. He was of a high, quick, temperament through no fault of his. He was born that way. But he was also endowed with what I call good judgement and could apologize to a fellow if in his judgement he was satisfied he had offended and was in the wrong....

Mr. Hadsell was a high class man. One who could make friends easily, he had thousands of them and seldom lost a friend. When he did there was a reason for it and Hadsell could never forgive his lost friends. For this man knew himself and was always right. I don't wish to say that he was perfect but he was close to it in my estimation.

He had brains way above the average man and would use them either in an emergency or he could deliberate and plan most any transaction generally to the satisfaction of all concerned. He was fearless as an officer yet he had personality and magnetism and was very convincing."

Because of the dynamic personality of his stepfather, Slim Lawrence likely acquired many traits and skills under his guidance.

Slim finished high school in Rawlins, an environment he found more to his liking than in Denver. Even then his height was a useful resource as he played center on his school's basketball team. In addition, he was a member of the baseball and track teams (Fig. 68) (W. Lawrence, 1980; 1979).

The Hadsell Green Mountain ranch afforded Slim an opportunity in the summers to live a life he had grown to enjoy with his father. He was able to acquire hands-on experience in a wide range of ranch work. Also, Slim recalls learning a new way of hunting coyotes and wolves by using greyhounds raised on the ranch. While herding sheep, Slim was impressed with the amount of jade in the area and returned later in life to pursue one of his hobbies of collecting rocks. One old timer, Cal Lemon, taught Slim about freight wagons and handling teams of horses.

Fig. 68. Slim Lawrence with Rawlins High School basketball team, ca 1916.
Slim accompanied Cal as he hauled sheep wool from the ranches to the railroad. Cal would let Slim ride one of the wheel horses and handle the jerkline when the road was smooth. Meanwhile Cal would sip his whiskey and sleep on the load (W. Lawrence, 1979).

Another influence was Oscar Kipp, head of the sheep operation for the Green Mountain ranch (Fig. 69). Slim credits Oscar for teaching him the fundamentals of the sheep and ranch business, information which became invaluable in future years.

Fig. 69. Oscar Kipp at Hadsell's Green Mountain ranch.

Slim's curiosity led him to participate in the Farlow Wolf Roundup on August 13, 1917, even though his stepfather had opposed participation in the drive. This was a 3-day affair with participants arranged in a circular pattern riding towards a common center covering 1,600 square miles. Fires were built at night to keep the predatory animals inside the circle. The area involved stretched from Riverton through parts of the Gas Hills and the Rattlesnake Hills. This highly publicized event had 17 companies consisting of 30-40 horseback riders each. After the drive, there was a dance and Wild West events for prizes. Numerous coyotes, 3 wolves, 1 bear, many game animals and rattlesnakes were killed by the participants (Lawrence, 1979; 1980).

Sometime in late 1917 or early 1918, World War I fever caught up with Slim and he enlisted in the U.S. Navy for training as a hospital corpsman at a Pacific Coast base (Fig. 70). That training assignment was changed and he was transferred to a ship as a fireman trainee. He was ultimately assigned to a troop transport ship; however, after serving a short time, he was discharged on April 1, 1919 (W. Lawrence, 1979; No date).

Between his discharge from the Navy and 1921, Slim tried a number of different jobs. He served as a crew member on a private ocean freighter on a round trip to England and France. Back in the U.S., he was employed as part of a crew spraying weeds from a train along railroad tracks from San Francisco to Sacramento, California, and Portland, Oregon. Finally, Slim unexpectedly met his old friend from Hadsell's Green Mountain ranch, Oscar Kipp, in California. Oscar, now associated with the Yellowstone Sheep Company, gave Slim a train ticket back to Wyoming and immediately hired him to work for that Company (W. Lawrence, 1980).
During more than a year's employment by the Yellowstone Sheep Company headquartered at Arapahoe, Wyoming, Slim was in charge of the Lander area flocks. Those flocks, tended by Mexican herders, were summered in the Wind River Range from Fort Washakie and the Little Wind River to Bull Lake Creek and were wintered in the Pavillion area north of Riverton. This meant much of his summer was spent living in a tepee tent and traveling with a saddle horse and a pack horse. Bear predation was a major problem on that summer range, causing Slim to kill many of them. Because of a decline in the sheep business and an anticipated failure of the Yellowstone Sheep Company, Slim decided it was time to do something else (W. Lawrence, 1979).

During his employment with the Yellowstone Sheep Company, Slim got to know a number of people in Hudson, Lander and Riverton. Consequently, it was not surprising that Slim's next major job was with the Lander-Yellowstone Transportation Company. This company was formed to serve the Amoretti Hotel and Camp Company, as well as to carry mail between Lander, Crowheart, Dubois and Moran. While it is not clear who owned what, H. O. Barber of Hudson coal mining fame, Eugene Amoretti of Lander and J. T. Gratiot of the Diamond G Ranch (Brooks Lake Inn) appear to have been the major investors in all or part of these enterprises. In 1924, the Jackson’s Hole Courier announced, "The Amoretti Company is going into the tourist business on a scale that indicates that they have great faith in this part of the west as a summer playground."

The Amoretti Company included the Amoretti Inn near the present site of the Jackson Lake Lodge and seven tent camps located at the South Fork of the Buffalo River, Soda Fork, Two Ocean Pass, Fox Creek, Harebell Creek, Heart Lake and Lewis Lake. These tent camps were in the Teton National Forest or in Yellowstone National Park under a special use permit. All of the tent camps, except Lewis Lake, could only be reached by horseback. As a result, at one time Amoretti operated with 300 head of horses (WY State Journal, 1974; W. Lawrence, 1979; Jackson’s Hole Courier, 1924; 1926).

Slim returned to Jackson Hole in 1921 as a driver for the Lander-Yellowstone Transportation Company (Teton Magazine, 1977). Before he could begin work, he had to wait for the company's new Graham bus to be brought over Teton Pass from Idaho by horse-drawn freight sled in winter (Fig. 71).

![Fig. 71. Harry Scott’s mail and freight sled on Teton Pass.](image)

Only one vehicle could be loaded and hauled per day. Since Slim was 10th in line, he spent 10 days working for Harold Scott at his Teton Pass "lunch and change of horses" station waiting for his bus to be delivered. Much of that first summer he traveled in Yellowstone Park with H. O. Barber promoting travel to Jackson Hole. During his bus driving years, Slim had two buses, the Graham and then a White Motor Car on a 3/4 ton chassis (W. Lawrence, 1979; 1981).

Even with these new vehicles, the trip to transport tourists from Lander initially took 2 days over dirt roads. From Lander (the end of the railroad) the road passed through Fort Washakie over a bad stretch to Ethete, the Diversion Dam, Sand Draw, Lenore and
the Wind River-Dinwoody Creek crossing. They had lunch in the Welty dining room in Dubois and stopped overnight at Brooks Lake Inn (Fig. 72). On the second day, they could travel either below Barber Point on a stretch of black gumbo road or on the upper Barber Point road which was in bentonite (Fig. 73). Both routes were equally exciting and when wet, frequently required Slim to put chains on all four wheels. From there the road passed by Wind River Lake over Togwotee Pass to Turpin Meadow (Fig. 74). From Turpin, the route traveled along the north side of the Buffalo River to the old bridge at the Blackrock Ranger Station, to the Hatchet Ranch and on to the Amoretti Inn near Moran (Fig. 75). By the mid to late 1920s, the Lander-Moran road had improved to the extent Slim could make the entire trip in 1 day (W. Lawrence, 1981; Teton Co. Hist. Res. Center, 1979).

The informality of the job allowed Slim the opportunity to engage in diverse activities. Each spring, logs were floated down the Wind River from the winter logging areas to the sawmills in Riverton to be made into railroad ties. To the delight of his passengers, Slim always carried his logging boots and a pike pole and would stop...
and join in with the tie hacks working the floating logs (W. Lawrence, 1980). The postmistress at Crowheart frequently gave Slim pie when he brought the mail. Returning the favor, Slim bypassed the Dubois post office and brought the mail to be canceled at Crowheart. Since the postmistress' salary was based on the amount of mail canceled at her post office, this was of considerable benefit to her. However, postal inspectors took a dim view of this and Slim had to cease that practice.

While in Jackson Hole during his employment as a bus driver, Slim stayed in one of Ben Sheffield's Moran cabins and kept a horse at Ben's stables. In return, Slim worked for Sheffield by punching cattle, hauling wood and serving as a fishing guide and butcher (W. Lawrence, 1979).

During the off season, Slim's diverse talents and self-confidence provided him many other employment opportunities, some successful and some not so successful. Besides the odd jobs around Moran, he guided hunters in the fall and worked as a tool dresser sharpening drill bits in the oil fields. One winter he worked for the Ohio Oil Company laying an oil pipeline from Coalville, Utah, to Green River, Wyoming. He helped hire draft horses from the surrounding ranches and locate the pipeline route. Usually he was done by noon and spent the rest of the day hunting mountain lions in the Coalville mountains (W. Lawrence, 1980; 1981).

Besides these jobs, Slim became involved in a variety of cooperative ventures, some of which took him back to Rawlins. One of these was a fur buying company which bought and sold fur, cattle hides and sheep pelts from ranchers in the Rawlins and Saratoga areas (W. Lawrence, 1981). In another venture, he and five friends filed on grazing land where the town of Sinclair now stands. They had heard about an oil company's interest in the area and speculated on it being a site for a tank farm. Slim and his friends proved up on the property with only one roll of barbed wire; consequently, they would keep shifting the fencing around on their different grazing claims to show improvements. Only after they sold their lands to Producers and Refiners Oil Company (now Sinclair Oil Company) did they realize they had sold their land at lower tank farm prices rather than the prices for a refinery which was to be built there (W. Lawrence, 1979; 1980).

He had more lucrative employment when his stepfather, Frank Hadsell, needed Slim's help at the penitentiary for short periods. Those penitentiary jobs included care of the cell keys at night, escorting a prisoner to California, inspecting packages, bringing prisoners from other jails to the penitentiary and even helping round up an escaped convict (W. Lawrence, 1979; 1980).
Another profitable enterprise with a partner, Jules Farlow, was leasing the Yellowstone Sheep Company's dipping vats for 1 month during 2 years (Fig. 76). About this time, Wyoming passed a law requiring all sheep to be dipped once a year for ectoparasites. Unfortunately, the state soon repealed the law and the dipping vat business was dissolved (W. Lawrence, 1979).

Several business ventures took him far away from Wyoming. In 1925-26, he and several Rawlins friends took several White freight trucks to Florida in another speculation enterprise. This time they hoped to cash in on a building boom by hauling lumber to Florida from as far away as Tennessee. Unfortunately, that enterprise was a financial failure. A more successful venture with his friend Jules Farlow, was a movie contract in Hollywood. These men spent about a month in Hollywood as managers for 50 Indians in the filming of the movie "Iron Horse" (W. Lawrence, 1980; Riverton Ranger, 1966).

Coincident with Slim's enlistment in the Navy, he married a high school classmate, Dorothy M. Evans, on December 28, 1917 (Arapahoe Co., 1917). They had one child, Shirley Louise, who was born in Denver on June 12, 1919 (W. Lawrence, No date). Unfortunately, the marriage ended with a divorce on January 8, 1921 (Carbon Co., 1921). His daughter, Shirley, married and had three children (Fig. 77). She died relatively young in Portland, Oregon, on June 17, 1971 (State of OR, 1971).

One of the social events that attracted the young Jackson Hole bachelors was the dances held at various ranches and communities in the area. Slim met Verba Mary Delaney at a dance held in the old Kelly, Wyoming, store.

Verba was born in Dedham, Iowa, on June 12, 1905, to Joseph and Sarah Lewis Delaney (Fig. 78). When Verba was 1 year old, the family moved to Teton Valley on the west side of the Teton Range and settled on a ranch 5 miles from Driggs, Idaho. Verba's mother was 47 when she died in 1919, which caused some hardship for the large family. Even in 1967, Verba remembered her mother on February 7 and wrote in her diary, "My mother's Birthday-We had her with us such a short time, I
wonder often how different life would have been if we could have had her longer." In the summers, starting in 1921, Verba worked for different families in Jackson Hole. She first was employed by the Edicks of Kelly and then the Frews of Moose, ending up at Ben Sheffield's Teton Lodge in Moran as a waitress around 1923-24 (W. Lawrence, 1981; No date; Jackson Hole Guide, 1970; V. Lawrence, 1967-68).

Verba's contacts with Slim became more frequent when she stayed in Moran. Her love of the outdoors and history provided a point of common interest. In another context, Slim humorously referring to an old gas lamp said,

"Well, that's how I won my wife. The girls down at Sheffield's old lodge at Moran had 75 of them to pump and fill up with gas every night. So I used to go over and help them" (Teton Magazine, 1977).

One way or other, Slim must have impressed Verba and their friendship culminated with their marriage at Wind River, Wyoming, on September 20, 1929, with the well-known Reverend John Roberts officiating (Fremont Co., 1929).

As previously stated, William Lewis Johnson hired Slim Lawrence as his caretaker in December 1929, completely fulfilling Slim's dream of a settled ranch life in Jackson Hole. Slim and Verba lived at Sheffield's that winter and moved into the Johnson Mae-Lou-Lodge on May 9, 1930 (W. Lawrence, 1979).

Over the next 40 years, as caretakers for Johnson and Berol and in their personal lives, Slim and Verba were able to enjoy a unique life-style (Fig. 79). Their life on the ranch consisted of several different stages. Initially, the years from 1930-42 were characterized by marked winter isolation and heavy physical exertion at work and during winter travel for supplies, mail, trapping and even social activities. Also, they were able to enjoy relatively unconstrained outdoor activities largely due to the low number of residents and visitors in the north end of Jackson Hole.

From 1942-54, the degree of winter isolation was sharply reduced by increased plowing of roads and development of mechanized oversnow vehicles. Also, Slim's physical activities were reduced because of serious physical injuries. Furthermore, after World War II, there was a marked increase in recreational use of the general area by people from outside Jackson Hole. Lastly, during this period, the extension of Grand Teton National Park severely limited the kind of land and resource use the Lawrences historically had available to them.

From 1954-67, Verba served as Moran's postmistress, which reduced her activities at the ranch and the amount of time she could spend with Slim. Slim had further physical limitations on his outdoor activities resulting from his old back injuries. Also, the establishment of the Jackson Hole Museum required much of his time, further reducing those activities they had traditionally conducted together. Their iso-
Fig. 79. Slim and Verba at Johnson's Mae-Lou-Lodge, 1932.

Relaxation and tranquility at the ranch essentially disappeared with the increased visitor use of Grand Teton National Park. It was in this period that they consistently spent their winters outside of the ranch.

Finally, 1967-71 represented a time of winding down during retirement. Unfortunately, the period came to an abrupt close with the untimely death of Verba.

Until the 1950s, the Lawrences' nearest neighbors for most of the year were at Moran or the South Entrance to Yellowstone National Park, about 10 miles south and 16 miles north, respectively. Consequently, they had to rely heavily on each other to carry out routine chores. It was here that their ranch backgrounds became so important.

Six months of the year they had to contend with cold, snowy weather. During their first 5 years on the job, their water system was shut off in early December until the middle of April. This necessitated using an outhouse. Turning the water on in spring was a time of elation, for it meant a bath could be taken in the bathtub instead of a galvanized wash tub (V. Lawrence, 1931-35). In the winter, water could be obtained only by melting snow or hauling it from the lake. On wash days, Slim recalled he used a wooden neck yoke to carry two pails of water from Jackson Lake which was over 200 yards away. He would make 10-20 trips during each wash day (W. Lawrence, 1981). In 1936, these winter problems were eliminated when Berol had the water system reworked and winterized (V. Lawrence, 1936-40).

Verba liked to hang her clothes in the sun to dry. Consequently, she frequently had to use snowshoes to hang out the clothes. Also, the clothesline height could be adjusted according to snow depth by using hooks Slim had put at different levels on the trees (W. Lawrence, 1981).

Usually the snow depths would be such by mid-December that wheeled vehicle travel into the ranch was impossible and closed the road until late April or early May. Therefore, the most reliable form of transportation in winter was snowshoes or skis. It was common to travel 15-20 miles a day on these and Slim and Verba used both. However, they also used a three or four dog team to pull a sled (Fig. 80). At the same time, depending on snow conditions, one dog would pull Verba on skis (Fig. 81). Once trails were packed, this was a good mode of transportation to facilitate hauling supplies (V. Lawrence, 1931-35; 1936-40; 1941-45). Locations of the trails followed were identified by willows that Slim stuck in the snow (W. Lawrence, 1979).
Their dog team consisted of an Irish setter lead dog, a Lewellyn setter-collie cross and a mixed breed dog. Slim preferred these dogs because they were good pulling animals with amiable dispositions.

Travel with the dog sled did have its hazards. The sled trail was a convenient place to walk for moose. When the dogs and the moose met, they frequently took exception to each other with unpredictable results. On one such occasion, Slim was traveling the narrow swamp road trail to Moran and met a moose and her calf. During the encounter, the cow moose jumped over the sled, kicked and hit the sled and severely damaged it (V. Lawrence, 1936-40).

The Lawrences made their own dog food by combining cracklings (bought in 100 lb. sacks) with their homemade corn bread. The dogs also got bones of wild game when available (W. Lawrence, 1981).

Getting to the outside world in winter was a chore for the Lawrences. The Jackson Hole News (1976) related, "It took one day to snowshoe to Moran, another to take the mailsled to Jackson, and another to go over Teton Pass to Victor to catch the train to Pocatello. After spending four days getting to Salt Lake City, Slim told the taxi driver to slow down when he was driving 30 miles an hour. 'It felt like 100 miles an hour to me,' Slim recalls."

Later the Lawrences kept a car in Moran. At one time, they had to use some ingenuity to get a snowbound vehicle out to the highway from the ranch. In the Spring 1954, a trip to the Southwest was planned. In order to get their snow-bound jeep to Moran, Slim put on long hub bolts and four more tires and took it out on the snow crust early in the morning (W. Lawrence, 1981).

Motorized oversnow vehicles were just making their debut in the 1940s and helped to alleviate some of the primitive travel methods. In July 1941, Slim bought one of the earliest motorized toboggans produced by the Four Wheel Drive Company (Fig. 82).
As with all prototype models, some adjustments and modifications had to be made. However, this machine seemed to have more problems than its share. As Verba remarked (V. Lawrence, 1941-45), "it is a pusher type too. I'm the pusher." Again a couple of years later, "... Cecil has worked on the motor toboggan for two or three days it should work, it gets good care." Besides the breakdowns, the major problem, which was never solved, was the snow spray which engulfed all of the toboggan occupants.

After 5 years and numerous modifications of two different machines, Slim and Verba sold their motorized toboggan and bought a snowplane in July 1946 (Fig. 83) (V. Lawrence, 1946-50). Certainly the snowplane was faster and much warmer than the toboggan, but it too had its drawbacks. It operated well on level surfaces but could not negotiate hilly, uneven terrain. The engine and propeller were noisy. Also, the metal runners frequently froze in the snow when parked, requiring considerable force to free them.

In order to solve the problem of impassable roads in the spring, Slim would furnish shovels for the Moran community's annual road opening. Trucks were furnished and everyone would gather to open the Jenny Lake road first, then the Yellowstone road, finishing up with the Togwotee Pass road (W. Lawrence, 1981).

Following the enlargement of Grand Teton National Park in 1950 and consequently the increased plowing, snow closures of roads diminished sharply. The ranch road to the highway was the only remaining problem (Fig. 84). To cope with this, sometime in the 1960s, the Lawrences purchased two small double-track Ski-doos. These proved to be the long sought-for solution to their oversnow travel problems.

Most of the travel to Moran was for the mail which was the Lawrences' major source of information and communication. The *Jackson Hole Guide* (1971) recounted, "Lawrence remembers one winter when there was no mail for three weeks. 'I packed home 21 Denver Posts,' he said 'and read every one in order.'"

Slim and Verba also received many books and periodicals through the mail. The *Jackson Hole Guide* (1971) further interviewed Slim:

"The isolation of snowbound winters never bothers him the way it does some people. 'They don't know how to read,' he said. 'Living out like this you have to learn to read. A good book is lots of company.'"
Later in 1974, the Jackson Hole Guide commented, "Slim's extensive library is enough proof that he is an avid and thorough reader and researcher ...."

During the winters 1947 through 1950, the Lawrences began to spend the season in and around Moran where they had ready access to their car and plowed roads. Initially, reasons for these moves centered around Slim's back problems and the associated restrictions on his oversnow winter travel. They spent the winters 1951 through 1954 at the AMK. Once Verba became postmistress in 1954, they moved to Moran again in the winters. At first, they stayed in cabins in Moran and at the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation's work center at the Jackson Lake Dam. Beginning in 1960, they stayed in an apartment at the Jackson Lake Lodge. They did not spend another winter at the AMK until they had their new house built there in 1968.

The weight of snow on the ranch building roofs could seriously damage those buildings and was a concern for the caretaker. As much as 3 feet or more of snow could fall in a single storm. This snow accumulation not only required bracing of the roof structures, it also required shoveling snow off of them. The steep nature of the Johnson Lodge roof was both an advantage and a hazard: snow could slide off under the right conditions. However, so could the snow shoveler as Verba described (V. Lawrence, 1951-55), "Slim came off the roof in a slide." In 1940, Slim began using a surveyor's chain tied to two long pieces of rope to cut the snow loose.
from the roof (V. Lawrence, 1936-40). This worked so well that it is still being used today. Usually the roofs had to be shoveled three or four times a winter, as well as shoveling to open up window areas and walkways covered by roof snow slides (Fig. 85).

Another annual winter chore in the 1930s was putting up blocks of ice for refrigeration. Part of the boathouse was insulated with sawdust and the ice was cut from Jackson Lake and stored there for summer use (Fig. 86). With the advent of electric refrigeration, this chore was happily eliminated.

Both Slim and Verba thoroughly enjoyed their solitary life on the ranch. As one reads through Verba's yearly diaries, 1931-68, the Lawrences never seemed to have any periods when they suffered from boredom. Even those times when Slim was away from the ranch, Verba methodically combated loneliness by working at staying busy. On October 29, 1955, their installation of a TV set further mitigated winter isolation.

Both Verba and Slim liked to ride horses. Since horses were always available on the ranch, they used them to carry out a wide variety of activities. Saddle horses were used for travel as long as the horses could comfortably buck the snow (V. Lawrence, 1931-35; 1936-40; 1941-45). The degree that Verba enjoyed riding is best expressed by her diary statement (V. Lawrence, 1946-50):

"Took Boone and Socks to the pasture for a week while I catch up on my house work. Heck with housework if I have a horse around."

The horses were particularly important for Verba during the hectic times when the Berols were at the ranch. Having a horse
available allowed her to slip away quickly for some peaceful relaxation. The Berols' summer stays were trying at times for Verba as she wrote (V. Lawrence, 1936-40), "Well here they are, such a 'hub ub' .... Up to the big house most of the day, I'm so tired just from so many around.... Oh for the peace and quiet of a good, long winter."

While horses were utilized extensively for hunting, artifact searching and trapping, Slim and Verba also used them for the pure enjoyment of the wilderness setting. The Lawrences' feeling of companionship with some of their horses on these trips was revealed by Verba (V. Lawrence, 1956-60):

"Felt heart-broken, Boone is gone— the best friend I ever had. I went hunting every where I went Boone was with me ... he has packed me over every trail and mountain near here. I'll never forget him."

Trapping fur bearers was an important supplemental source of income to many Jackson Hole residents until the expansion of Grand Teton National Park in 1950. To preserve order, specific trapping areas were assigned by permit by the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission. Even so, each trapper was secretive about the location of his traplines and the nature of his trapping operations.

Slim obtained Bob Grimmesey's trapping area in the Arizona Creek drainage, which included the area north of Pilgrim Mountain, west of Pilgrim Creek, east of Jackson Lake and Arizona Creek and bounded on the north by Brown's Meadow. Slim had no trouble with other trappers and stated, "I minded my own business." Also, Slim worked closely with Herb Whitman who had the adjoining trapping area (W. Lawrence, 1981).

Until she married Slim, Verba had never done any trapping; however, with Slim's help she quickly became quite proficient. Together they operated two traplines with about 150 traps plus some irregular sets at a few special spots. Each trapline was about a 10-mile round trip which could be covered in 1 day and was checked several times a week. Verba could do both of them alone in the winter. An extension of the traplines to Brown's Meadows was not permanently maintained. Because of the length of the trip, Slim would set the traps on the way to the Meadows, stay overnight and spring the traps on the way back.

Saddle horses were used to run the traplines until snow depths made that impossible. Then snowshoes or skis were utilized. The dog sled was never used because of the scent the dogs left. Usually, the motorized toboggan, the snowplane and the Ski-doos were not practical because they were too noisy and too difficult to use in the terrain and timber of the area (W. Lawrence, 1981).

While many trappers used secret concoctions for scent and bait, Slim and Verba used a simple preparation for most...
of their trapping. In the spring, they acquired spawning suckers in Arizona Creek and Arizona Lake. Those suckers would then be placed in a jar to decompose in the sun over the summer. The oily residue was then used in the fall as the bait scent.

Their major trapping efforts were directed at pine marten and coyotes. They never trapped for beaver because of the difficulty in skinning them. Except where restricted by specific seasons, they trapped from October to early April, with their greatest effort being concentrated from November through January. Generally, the quality of the fur for marten was best in the months of November and December.

During the years of their trapping, the larger adult male marten appeared to prefer the higher elevation riparian areas; whereas, the females and younger males were found in the lower elevations around the ranch and along the lake shore. The Lawrences tried to avoid trapping the females. Coyote pelts were best before the snow crusted; once crusting occurred, the coyotes would lose large tufts of hair when they sat on their haunches and the hair adhered to the snow.

Marten trap sets involved placing a log for a runway against a tree in the fashion as shown in Fig. 87. The upper end of the log was flattened as a surface to hold the trap. The scented bait was attached to the tree above the trap and just out of reach of the marten. The catch was made when the marten’s front feet dropped down to the trap. The trap was set in such a manner that it would fall off when tripped, swinging the captured marten away from the tree to avoid getting pitch on the fur. Each marten set usually consisted of several trap arrangements as described above. Several scent trails were laid down by dragging a piece of burlap soaked with sucker oil across the snow to each runway log.

Coyote trapping was similar with several variations. Usually a bone soaked in sucker oil was wired to a tree as shown in Fig. 88. Traps covered with litter and/or snow were then placed around the base of the tree and one in a path leading to it. The coyote was captured while it was trying to reach the bait. In addition, traps were buried in runways used by the coyotes. Mink, weasels, red fox and lynx were also captured by these methods. Coyotes were also shot over bait. The method used most often involved placement of pieces of horse or coyote carcass under brush and logs usually on the open space of the ice of Jackson Lake. The coyotes were shot while attempting to dig down to the carcass.

Coyote pelts were removed at the trap site and pelts of all other animals were removed at the ranch in the form of a tube or “case” skinned. If pitch from the tree got on the pelt, Verba used butter or lard and a fine tooth comb to remove it. The fleas on the marten were a problem, so the marten were brought home in a plastic bag. Since Verba was allergic to the flea bites, it was fortunate the fleas did not stay in the house.
Complete accurate records of the Lawrences' fur catches were not available. However, Verba's diaries provide data that represent at least the minimum number of animals and the proportions of each species taken. For the years 1931 through 1950, a period of the most active trapping by the Lawrences, she reported they trapped or shot the following (V. Lawrence, 1931-35; 1936-40; 1941-45; 1946-50):

- 101 coyotes
- 217 pine marten
- 63 weasels
- 5 red fox
- 1 lynx
- 1 skunk
- 8 mink

Slim said their catch averaged $1,000 to $1,500 per year from the sale of their pelts to Lipshawn, a fur buyer in Idaho Falls, Idaho (Fig. 89). Their best marten fur price was $70 for a prime pelt right after World War II (W. Lawrence, 1981).

The Lawrences received some trapping assistance from a large tomcat they inherited from the Grimmseys when Slim and Verba moved into the Mae-Lou-Lodge. The cat lived a hazardous life outside the buildings since the coyotes were constantly running him up a tree. However, he caught a lot of weasels and brought them back to the lodge for Slim. One winter, the cat accounted for 20 of Slim's weasel pelts (W. Lawrence, 1981).

During the 1940s and later, Verba was doing much of the trapping. On December 11, 1944, she wrote (V. Lawrence, 1941-45), "Can't trap everyday - Two weeks wash." Reflecting back on all of their trapping, Slim commented (Teton Magazine, 1977), "Funny thing I used to trap coyotes to beat hell; marten, too. Had to make a livin' by trappin' marten. I wouldn't touch one now. I just wouldn't. Wouldn't think of hurtin' one of them. It's funny how you change. Of course that was the goin' thing then. Everybody trapped. They had to get a little extra money. Ranchers didn't have much money in the early days."

Being proficient with firearms was an absolute necessity when your next meal or your life might depend on it. Both Slim and Verba were excellent marksmen which was attested to not only by the game they killed but by their numerous prizes at local shooting contests. Slim's preferred gun was his 30-06 rifle. Verba used two rifles but used her 270-caliber most often. She was a particularly good shot with a 22-caliber pistol.

The local contests involved turkey, prize money, ham, chicken and grocery shoots. Contestants paid an entry fee which helped finance the prizes. In 13 contests during the months of November, December and January between 1951-54, Slim won 7 turkeys, 8 money prizes, 9 hams, 5 chickens and 2 boxes of groceries. In one shoot on December 14, 1952, Slim won 3 hams and 4 chickens. Unfortunately, women's equality had not yet been heard of; and for most of the shooting contests, Verba was not allowed to participate (V. Lawrence, 1951-55).

Hunting was more of a necessary activity for Jackson Hole residents than a means of recreation. Slim recalled "Everybody lived on elk. You had to.... My wife and I would each have an elk. We just hung it up and let it freeze and thaw all winter. It got awful tough by spring" (Jackson Hole Guide, 1971).

Like her trapping, Verba's hunting skills were not developed until after her marriage to Slim. The majority of their elk were killed east of Arizona Lake. They used saddle horses for most of their hunting. As mentioned before, Slim had suffered a series of serious injuries to his back. The cumulative effect of these injuries made it impossible for Slim to ride a horse or walk any long distances after
Nevertheless, Slim stayed active with the use of his four-wheel drive vehicles by clearing several jeep trails to a few of his favorite hunting areas (V. Lawrence, 1931-35; 1936-40; 1941-45; 1946-50).

After 1947, Verba was the primary hunter-trapper of the family. She was not a large woman, but was apparently well-coordinated, strong, durable and self-confident. On October 29, 1952, Verba reported, "Took off for Pilgrim Butte about 1:00—left Boone at the lake—took a short walk to the south, got a cow elk—surely surprised me, Packed half in." She also killed several moose when hunting alone but required Slim’s help to dress and haul the animals home (Fig. 90) (V. Lawrence, 1941-45; 1951-55).

The Arizona Creek, Arizona Lake and Pilgrim Creek area seemed to have an inordinate number of black and grizzly bears. Slim felt Yellowstone Park rangers were regularly dumping some of their problem bears in that area (W. Lawrence, 1979). Some credence for that was the observation of seven grizzly bears on May 24, 1943, five of which were yearlings and two were cubs unaccompanied by adults (V. Lawrence, 1941-45).

All too frequently, bear hunting turned out to be a matter of animal control at the ranch. Their dogs and particularly Cap, the Lewellyn setter-collie cross, were good deterrents to keep the bears out of the ranch. During the construction of the Berol Lodge, the workers maintained a cookhouse and meathouse on the property. Slim recalled that 30-35 bears were continually breaking into those structures which necessitated the killing of some of those animals (Fig. 91). Bears continued to damage ranch property. A number of these incidents occurred at night. The dog, Cap, probably saved Slim’s life when three grizzly bears created such a turmoil early in the morning of May 14, 1934, that Slim had to intervene. He shot and wounded one bear and the other two bears ran off. The wounded bear charged Slim who had only one escape route and that was the chicken house. Cap harried the wounded bear long...
Slim with grizzly bear he shot near Sargent's Bay enough to allow Slim to climb onto the roof. The next morning the wounded bear was found dead several hundred yards from the ranch (V. Lawrence, 1931-35; W. Lawrence, 1981). When Cap died years later, Verba commented, "Old Cap our most faithful friend is gone. I hope they will let him chase bear in dog heaven. No human was ever as loyal as old Cap" (V. Lawrence, 1941-45).

Slim searched for bear dens during the winter hibernation period because the best pelts for fur rugs were on hibernating bears. Spring bear hunting over bait was another means to acquire a good quality skin. Also, the Lawrences maintained two bear bait cribs near Arizona Lake where they, Johnson and Berol would shoot bears in the spring (Fig. 92) (W. Lawrence, 1981).

Verba enjoyed the excitement of hunting bears. In the blind near one of the cribs, Verba had constructed a comfortable seat of old bedding; and while waiting for bears to come, she would mend socks (V. Lawrence, 1936-40). Verba commented about one of her horseback trips, "Went up to Lookout, on my way home I found the..."
biggest grizzly at the bait. Too frightened to shoot. He was gone when C and I went back.”

In addition to the waterfowl hunting described earlier with Johnson and Berol, Verba and Slim hunted ducks at the various ponds between the ranch and Moran. Ruffed and Blue Grouse were taken regularly by Verba with her 22 pistol as she rode horseback in the fall. She and Slim went after their antelope in a variety of places including the Pitchfork Ranch west of Meteetsee, along the Green River, the Big Sandy area and around the Sweetwater River Crossing (V. Lawrence, 1931-35; 1936-40; 1941-45; 1946-50).

Besides his bighorn sheep and mountain goat hunting with Johnson, Slim hunted bighorn sheep at the head of Red Creek in the Gros Ventre Range and the Hidden Basin area northwest of Dubois. On one October hunt to Hidden Basin, Slim recalled a terrible snow storm. They had to drive the horses out ahead of them to make a trail to leave camp. When they left, Slim did manage to carry out a sheep head, even though they had to leave their gear in the Basin until spring (W. Lawrence, 1979; 1981).

While Slim enjoyed occasional fishing, Verba was a fishing fiend (Fig. 93). She had not fished prior to her marrying Slim. Her first catch was so exciting, she used her new rod as a club to disable the fish, breaking the rod (W. Lawrence, 1981). From that time on she was addicted. Even in 1942, after she broke her leg skiing behind the motor toboggan (W. Lawrence, 1979), she went ice fishing with a cast on her leg (Fig. 94). Besides Jackson Lake, they fished in a number of ponds and lakes. Slim had helped build and stock many of these in the late 1920s and early 1930s with brook trout obtained from the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission hatchery at Daniel (V. Lawrence, 1931-35; W. Lawrence, 1981).

Of all of the Lawrences’ outdoor activities, they probably pursued hunting for Indian artifacts with the greatest fervor, especially around Jackson Lake. These were usually early morning excursions looking for surface finds. In later years, some of the collecting extended to exploration trips to the desert Southwest in their trailer and camper truck. The results of some of their efforts in Jackson Hole have been well-documented (G. Wright, 1975-76; Rudd, 1983).

"Tuskers" were part of the history of northern Jackson Hole, particularly around 1905. These men illegally killed bull elk just to extract the animal’s two ivory teeth. Charles Purdy, a notorious tusker, told the Lawrences years later about six old cabins used by these men and the general locations (Casper Morning Star, 1960). Again, the Lawrences’ curiosity got the best of them. Consequently, they sought out these tusker structures and gathered valuable information about their function and use. As Verba recounted, “In so doing, it has taken us all over Jackson Hole, both on horse and by foot ...

Fig. 93. Verba on snowshoes fishing Sargent’s Bay in spring.
Fig. 94. Verba fishing from motorized tobog­
gan after breaking her leg.

every trip has been a never-tiring scenic
thrill, adding to it the possibility that we
might find something..." (V. Lawrence,
1954).

One of the early tusker cabins was located
in the middle of the area where Slim and
Verba hunted and trapped. It was so well-
hidden, it took four trips to relocate it after
Slim first discovered it (W. Lawrence, 1981).

By the time Slim had spent over 20 years
on the Johnson-Berol ranch, his insatiable
appetite for the collecting of historical arti-
facts, memorabilia and photographs was
fast outstripping his ability to store those
items, which ranged in size from Indian
trade beads to old ox yokes and wagon parts
(Fig. 95). Verba urged Slim to reach a
decision to do something with the collection
besides storing it in their house and on the
property. The problem was solved on June
5, 1958, when he and Homer Richards
established the Jackson Hole Museum to
house and display the many historical
items Slim had collected. They used a build-
ing in the town of Jackson owned by Homer.
Over the next 12 years, organizing and oper-
ating this museum from Moran consumed
much of Slim’s and even Verba’s free time
(W. Lawrence, 1979; Jackson Hole Guide,

When reading Verba’s diaries, particu-
larly prior to 1947, one is struck by the
relatively few days they spent confined
indoors because of adverse weather.
During these periods, Slim and Verba
invariably worked with the collection of
various artifacts, memorabilia and histori-
cal photographs. In addition, Slim had a
fine tool shop and ammunition reloading
facility in which he spent many hours.
Verba occupied herself with braiding rag
rugs, sewing and putting together jigsaw
puzzles. Also, she and Slim would play a
lot of cribbage. Verba tried with little suc-
cess to interest Slim in chess (V. Lawrence,
1931-35).

During those years when the road to
Moran was blocked with snow, park
rangers wintering at the South Entrance of
Yellowstone National Park stopped at the
Lawrences for a halfway rest stop on their
way to Moran for supplies and mail. Two of
these rangers, John Jay and Lee Colman,
shared a common interest in guns and dogs
with Slim. It was John Jay who brought
the dog, Cap, to Slim and Verba. Slim and
Lee Colman talked and traded guns for
hours. On one visit in 1932, Verba (V. Law-
rence, 1931-35) observed, “Lee and Cecil
talked guns even more than usual, on
second thought could it be possible.” Many
of the evenings with the rangers were spent
playing bridge. With the advent of the snow-
plane in the 1950s, these visits by the park
rangers diminished.

Verba liked to ski for pleasure and had
Slim clear a run at the AMK, from the
ridge down to Jackson Lake. In addition,
Verba would harness one of the sled dogs to
pull her as she skied. In later years, she
skied on Togwotee Pass and in Jackson.
Slim’s back injuries eliminated that activity
for him in the 1940s.

While they did a lot of walking in their
earlier years on the ranch, one of the hikes
they looked forward to each year was at
Easter. They kept a special trail cleared of
fallen trees from the ranch along the west
edge of the timber above the Lake to the
northern end of Sargent’s Point where the
snow melted early. Another ritual they
Fig. 95. Slim in his living room with a small part of his artifact, memorabilia and gun collection.

followed was to take flowers to the graves of Sargent and Johnson on Memorial Days.

Besides their entertainment value, community social affairs were particularly important winter events which served to mitigate the adverse impacts of isolation, as well as providing an opportunity to visit with distant friends and neighbors. In winter, travel to these social affairs could be slow and difficult (Fig. 96). Consequently, prior to the 1950s, parties and dances were all night affairs with participants getting home the next day (Fig. 97). Verba and Slim attended many of these parties and dances at the Moran schoolhouse, Toppings ranch at Elk, and along the Buffalo Fork at Turner's ranch, Hatchet ranch, Gregory's ranch and Neal's dance hall (Fig. 98). Many of the affairs were ski parties followed by a dance. Later, a number of these events were held in Jackson in connection with the Elks, Old Timer's Party, Wort Hotel and the Cowboy Bar.

Slim and Verba had broad interests that extended beyond Jackson Hole and Wyoming. From the late 1930s on, they were able to travel either in the late fall or early spring. In 1949, they bought a trailer for these trips and then an Alaskan camper for their pickup in the 1960s. Their curiosity took them to all of the western states with more frequent trips to the Southwest. They also made short trips by plane and car to see special events like the Western Stock Show in Denver. Other trips were made around Wyoming to attend gun and gem shows or to search for rocks and old, purple bottles, etc.

In 1953, Verba learned of the opening of the Moran postmaster's position. Slim stated she was curious about the job responsibilities and decided she'd further her education by studying the examination materials. When the exam was given, Verba took it and had the highest score; and after Congressional approval, she started as Moran's new postmistress on July 26, 1954 (Fig. 99) (Wyoming State Archives, 1954). This new responsibility, along with Slim's work in
Like his uncles and father, Slim succumbed to the adventure of mining hidden wealth. In the early 1930s, Slim and three partners, Charlie Fesler, Don Graham and James Webb, located and worked an asbestos-talc mine in Owl Creek at the northern end of the Teton Range. They had built a blacksmith shop, a tool shed and a lean-to on this mining claim, situated on the south facing slope of Owl Creek just above the confluence of Owl and Berry Creek. This site is not to be confused with another company's asbestos mining venture in Berry Creek. The talc deposit was likely the source of the many soapstone Indian artifacts that Slim and Verba were finding. In addition, Slim filed a gold claim at Colter Bay. Nothing came of any of these ventures (W. Lawrence, 1979; 1981; Jackson's Hole Courier, 1935).

Like so many things Slim did, he could not be so close to such a rugged mountain range like the Tetons without trying to do some mountain climbing. Even though his climbing experience was short-lived, he did participate in two first-time climbs. On August 30, 1932, Phil Smith, Walcott Watson and Slim completed the first climb of Eagles Rest Peak just north of Mount Moran (Fryxell, 1978; Watson, No date). Verba's anxiety and concern about the appropriateness of Slim's climbing were reflected in her diary when she wrote (V. Lawrence, 1931-35), "They reached here at

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**Fig. 96.** Bobsled transportation to dance at the Hatchet Ranch leaving from Gregory ranch. Slim and Noble Gregory on skis in front.

**Fig. 97.** The Wolff band: Willie, Stippie and Bessie. Ben Sheffield's lodge, Moran, WY.

**Fig. 98.** Easter party at Turpin Meadow Ranch: Back row, John S. "Dad" Turner, Jim Simon, Verna Allen, Betty Feuz, Marion Turner Scott, Dorothy Simon, Eunice Braman; Front row, Florence Lozier, Kay Davis, Verba Lawrence, Maytie 'Ma' Turner, Esther Allan.
7:30 this morning. I was never so relieved in my life, Cecil's Mt. climbing days are over." The next day Verba remarked, "Poor Cecil, his feet and hand are swollen yet. I'm certain he'll be content on low ground, from now on." Verba's predictions did not come true for Slim was persuaded to attempt the first successful moonlight climb of the Grand Teton with Len Exum's group on September 9-10, 1933 (W. Lawrence, 1979).

Sometime in the 1940s, Slim helped originate the "Jackson Lake Ice Breakup" contest to give residents of Moran a new interest in the winter and spring. A 50-gallon metal barrel was placed on the ice west of Moran. Jackson Hole residents then made their prediction of the exact time when the barrel would touch the shore which was then the official time of the ice breakup (W. Lawrence, 1979; W. Lawrence, No date).

Despite all of their other activities, Slim and Verba found time to belong to a number of organizations. To name a few, Slim was particularly active as a 32nd degree Mason and as a Shriner member of the Sheridan Kalif Temple and a lifetime honorary member of the Rawlins Korein Temple. Verba was a member of the Eastern Star and American Legion Auxiliary. She also served as Secretary and Treasurer of the Wyoming Section of the National Association of Postmasters of the U.S. Both Slim and Verba were active in the Elks (BPOE). In 1935, Slim was a charter member and on the Board of Directors of the Jackson Chapter of the Izaak Walton League of America. In the early 1940s, Slim served two terms as a member of the Wyoming State Historical Advisory Board. Continuing his historical interests, he became a charter member of the Wyoming State Historical Society. Also, he was a charter member of the Westerners first Wyoming Chapter (Laramie) where he had been a contributor to their Brand Book and had been elected "Top Hand" in one of them (W. Lawrence, 1979; 1980; No date; V. Lawrence, 1961-65; Jackson Hole News, 1970; Jackson's Hole Courier, 1935a).

Besides Slim's Jackson Hole Museum collections, his other contributions were especially significant. The selection of his design for the Union Pass Commemorative Medallion was important, as well as his work to establish recognition of the Trapper's Trail along the east shore of Jackson Lake. It was he who located and arranged for the transportation of the granite stone marker that was placed on the trail near Leek's Lodge (Jackson Hole Guide, 1966; 1973).

Several organizations have made special efforts to recognize Slim for his many and varied contributions. Slim and Homer Richards were honored in 1958, by the Wyoming State Historical Society, which presented them with their Historical Award for establishing and maintaining a fine private museum and for preserving Wyoming history (W. Lawrence, No date). On May 16, 1974, the Teton County Historical Society honored them for "having had the foresight to save some of the more important things of Jackson Hole" (Jackson Hole Guide, 1974a). In 1975, the Jackson Hole Outfitters and Guide Association presented Slim with an honorary lifetime membership (W. Lawrence, 1981).

When Verba retired as postmistress in 1967, she and Slim were looking forward to building a house of their own. In an agreement with Alfred Berol, they were to build the house on the AMK Ranch. Slim and
Verba worked hard clearing out trees and brush at their homesite in the Spring 1968. Work began on construction of the house on July 10, 1968, and was completed that fall. Unfortunately, Verba suffered a stroke during that period. Even though she was able to return to the ranch and their new home, her physical condition was progressively deteriorating. On July 8, 1970, Verba died of a self-inflicted bullet wound (Jackson Hole News, 1970). She was buried at the Lawrence gravesite immediately adjacent to the Johnson memorial and near Sargent's grave.

Slim remained active and lived alone in his new house on the ranch until 1983. At that time, he moved to a nursing home.

Seventy-one years had elapsed since Slim met John D. Sargent and first saw the ranch. Together, Slim and Verba had spent 40 continuous years working for Johnson and Berol on that same property. Their contributions in those many years to the ranch and to its owners were significant. With the passing of the Lawrence era, hopefully the present owners, the National Park Service, will continue the historic dedication and support necessary to preserve the unique Marymere/Pinetree/Mae-Lou/AMK Ranch.
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FIGURE CREDITS

Frontispiece: W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 1. Hartley Crane Coll., Machias, ME.

Fig. 2. Hartley Crane Coll., Machias, ME.

Fig. 3. Barbara Titus Coll., DeLand, FL.

Fig. 4. Kenneth Diem Coll., Laramie, WY.

Fig. 5. Barbara Titus Coll., DeLand, FL.

Fig. 6. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum) (Charles & Mary); Barbara Titus Coll., DeLand, FL (Martha).

Fig. 7. Barbara Titus Coll., DeLand, FL.

Fig. 8. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 9. Kenneth Diem Coll., Laramie, WY.

Fig. 10. Nat'l Archives & Record Serv. Evanston, WY, Homestead Final Certificate 1024 and Misc. Letter 353992. Gen. Br., Civil Archives Div., Wash., D.C.

Fig. 11. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 12. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 13. Barbara Titus Coll., DeLand, FL.

Fig. 14. U.S. Geological Survey. Topographic maps: Grand Teton 1901; Shoshone 1911.

Fig. 15. Haynes Foundation Coll., F. J. Haynes photograph H 3636. MT Historical Soc., Helena, MT.

Fig. 16. Nat'l Archives & Record Serv. Evanston, WY, Homestead Final Certificate 1024 and Misc. Letter 353992. Gen. Br., Civil Archives Div., Wash., D.C.

Fig. 17. Benjamin David Sheffield Coll., Acc. No. 7573, Neg. No. 21227. Archives Div., Amer. Heritage Center, Univ. of WY, Laramie.

Fig. 18. Milward L. Simpson Coll., Acc. No. 26, Neg. No. 17438, Photo B-Sa 732-3d. Archives Div., Amer. Heritage Center, Univ. of WY, Laramie.

Fig. 19. Robert Barton Coll., Enfield, ME.

Fig. 20. Barbara Titus Coll., DeLand, FL.

Fig. 21. Nat'l Archives & Record Serv. Evanston, WY, Homestead Final Certificate 1024 and Misc. Letter 353992. Gen. Br., Civil Archives Div., Wash., D.C.

Fig. 22. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 23. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 24. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 25. Nat'l Archives & Record Serv. Evanston, WY, Homestead Final Certificate 1024 and Misc. Letter 353992. Gen. Br., Civil Archives Div., Wash., D.C.

Fig. 26. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 27. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 28. Miller School of Albemarle Coll., Miller School, VA.

Fig. 29. C. R. Thurman Coll., Acc. No. Pnts. 54, Neg. No. NP 54.184. Manuscripts Dept., Univ. of VA Library, Charlottesville, VA.

Fig. 30. C. R. Thurman Coll., Acc. No. Pnts. 54, Neg. No. NP 54.192. Manuscripts Dept., Univ. of VA Library, Charlottesville, VA.

Fig. 31. Gayle Pryor Coll., Charlottesville, VA.

Fig. 32. Gayle Pryor Coll., Charlottesville, VA.

Fig. 33. Miller School of Albemarle Coll., Miller School, VA.

Fig. 34. Miller School of Albemarle Coll., Miller School, VA.

Fig. 35. Gayle Pryor Coll., Charlottesville, VA.

Fig. 36. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 37. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 38. Gayle Pryor Coll., Charlottesville, VA.

Fig. 39. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 40. Gayle Pryor Coll., Charlottesville, VA.

Fig. 41. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 42. Teton Co. Historical Research Center, Acc. No. 1103. Jackson, WY (Dedication); W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum) (plaque).

Fig. 43. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 44. Berol Corporation Coll., Danbury, CT.

Fig. 45. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 46. Berol Corporation Coll., Danbury, CT.

Fig. 47. Kenneth Diem Coll., Laramie, WY.

Fig. 48. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 49. William Balderson Coll., Meadowbrook, PA.

Fig. 50. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 51. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 52. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 53. Berol Corporation Coll., Danbury, CT.

Fig. 54. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 55. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 56. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 57. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 58. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

Fig. 59. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

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Fig. 75. Dan W. Greenburg Coll., Acc. No. 1642, Photo File W 994-t-jh-jll, "Jackson Lake Lodge." Archives Div., Amer. Heritage Center, Univ. of WY, Laramie.

Fig. 76. W. C. Lawrence Coll., Moran, WY (Jackson Hole Museum).

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