

Zane Grey House  
Lackawaxen  
Pike County  
Pennsylvania

HABS No. PA-5371

HABS  
PA,  
52 LACK,  
3-

PHOTOGRAPHS

REDUCED COPIES OF MEASURED DRAWINGS

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

Historic American Buildings Survey  
National Park Service  
Department of the Interior  
Washington, D.C. 20013-7127

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

ZANE GREY HOUSE

HABS No. PA-5371

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PA.  
52-LACK,  
3-

Location: West side of Scenic Drive, 0.1 miles south of the confluence of the Lackawaxen and Delaware rivers, Lackawaxen, Pike County, Pennsylvania.

USGS Shohola 1965 Quadrangle, Universal Transverse Mercator Coordinates:  
18.501030.4592440.

Present Owners: Helen James Davis and Albert Davis.

Present Use: Private residence, operated by the owners as a museum of Zane Grey memorabilia. The north portion of the second floor is leased as office space to the National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

Significance: Zane Grey (1872-1939), a noted fisherman and author of novels about the American West, began his professional writing career in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania, where he lived from 1906 until 1918. The house, a four-square completed in 1906 for Grey's brother and sister-in-law, was purchased by Zane Grey in 1914 and he enlarged it in 1915-16. At the time it was surrounded by a cluster of smaller houses and outbuildings that served as a family compound and production center for Grey's early novels. After years of intermittent use by the Greys and their friends, the house was purchased in 1945 by Helen Davis, who operated it as an inn for twenty-five years. In 1973, a portion of the first floor was converted into a museum containing Zane Grey's household furnishings and memorabilia.

PART I. HISTORICAL INFORMATION

A. Early History of the Property, 1846-1904

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the site of the present-day Zane Grey House was purchased by the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company.<sup>1</sup> Russell Lord, chief engineer for the canal company, proposed the acquisition of lands in Lackawaxen Township in the 1840s as part of a series of improvements to enlarge the capacity of the canal system. In 1846 Lord purchased 126 acres of land south of the confluence of the Lackawaxen and Delaware rivers from Charles Lacoste for \$7,000; he then conveyed to the canal company the right "to use, occupy &c. these lands." Five years later Lord relinquished his ownership of the Lacoste purchase by deed.<sup>2</sup> By 1852, the company had rerouted the canal across this property, linking the new Lackawaxen River suspension aqueduct to the one on the Delaware River just below the slack water dam.

In the years following enlargement of the canal system, the company

developed the Lacoste lands and the surrounding area even further, building several houses, a lock-tender's dwelling, barns, and stores to accommodate the expanded operations.<sup>3</sup> Although vague, the Lackawaxen Township records reveal that by 1892, and possibly as early as the 1870s, the canal company had built a two-story farmhouse and barn at the point where the Delaware and Lackawaxen converge. The buildings and a wooden floating bridge also appear in early photographs that are tentatively dated "ca. 1890," although a surveyor's map of Lackawaxen drawn in 1898 provides the earliest reliable evidence of their existence.<sup>4</sup> When Zane Grey purchased the property in 1905, house and barn were still standing, but the bridge had been dismantled or washed away.

Since the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company owned so many structures in Lackawaxen Township, it is difficult to trace this single property through the late nineteenth-century tax-assessment books, which do not clearly distinguish specific houses or barns. These records do, however, identify the buildings by their occupants at any given time. From 1892 until 1898 the house and barn were rented to Frederick and Mary Holbert. In 1891 the Holberts and the house--which from 1892 to 1898 was consistently assessed at \$150--disappear from the records altogether.<sup>5</sup> The 1891 assessment book lists only one property with a valuation over \$100 as belonging to the canal company--the canal supervisor's Italianate residence located at the south end of Scenic Drive. This suggests that the farmhouse was either built or substantially enlarged in 1891.

When the canal was abandoned in 1898, the company sold off the Lacoste lands in parcels of one to three acres. Mary Holbert purchased the three-acre farmstead for \$300 in October 1898. The following year Frank Holbert acquired an adjacent two-acre lot, presumably consolidating their properties into a family farm.<sup>6</sup> In recent interviews with Kitt Groesbeck of the Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River (UDSRR), residents from Minisink Ford in New York remembered the Holbert farm. Some recalled that their parents took animals across the river to be bred there, while others spoke of the Holberts' various agricultural activities, referring to the lands of the present-day Pennsylvania Fish Commission parking lot as "Holbert's Flats."

#### B. Grey Family Occupancy, 1905-18

Zane Grey first spent time in Lackawaxen as a weekend visitor from New York City where he half-heartedly worked as a dentist. In the autobiographical account in Zane Grey: The Man and His Work, he confessed to feeling "out of his element" in this profession. As he grew increasingly dissatisfied with the practice of dentistry, Grey's thoughts turned to the out-of-doors and the pursuit of a childhood aspiration to be a writer. Grey was particularly attracted to Lackawaxen's rugged landscape, which he idealized in his memoirs as "the picturesque mountainous region where the forests abounded with game and the stream with fish." As often as possible, Grey and his brother, Romer, went on fishing and hunting expeditions in these northeastern Pennsylvania hills, exploring what they considered at the time "really wild country." "Here," Grey

later observed, "I had the first happy times since early childhood." One of these fishing trips inspired his first published article, "A Day on the Delaware," which appeared in Recreation magazine in May 1902.<sup>7</sup>

The year 1904 was a turning point in Zane Grey's life. He resolved to abandon his dental practice for a full-time career as a professional writer. At the same time he left New York to live in Lackawaxen year-round. Assisted financially by his fiancée, Lina "Dolly" Elise Roth, whom he met on a canoe trip in Lackawaxen in 1900, Grey purchased Mary and Frederick Holbert's three-acre lot for \$1,425 on September 27, 1904.<sup>8</sup> Land and tax records reveal that the Holberts had paid only \$300 for the property in 1898, and its assessed value had remained constant from 1898 until 1904. The disparity suggests that the Holberts deliberately overcharged Grey, whom they may have perceived as an outsider.<sup>9</sup>

A year later, on November 21, 1905, Zane Grey and Dolly Roth were married in New York City. They took up residence in Lackawaxen sometime in early spring 1906, following a long honeymoon trip to California.<sup>10</sup> Shortly after Zane's marriage, he and Romer began to make plans for a family compound overlooking the Delaware River. The brothers intended to transform the old Holbert farmstead into a family retreat from urban life--a place that satisfied the brothers' desire to be in a quiet, even wild, setting, and yet would also satisfy Zane's needs as a struggling professional writer. In addition, the Greys were a close-knit family and they liked the idea of someday settling three generations of their family together on the land. They planned to build a cluster of separate houses for Zane and Dolly; Romer and his wife Rebecca (also newlyweds); and Josephine and Ida Grey (Zane Grey's mother and sister). A third brother, Ellsworth, was working as a commercial artist in New York City; he may have planned to join in this family enterprise, but little is known of his life.

From the inception, the building activities of the Grey family represented a cooperative undertaking. Through the years, however, the myth that Zane Grey alone established a residence on the Delaware has been perpetuated by family tradition and Grey's biographers. In these accounts, the role of his less-than-famous relatives in shaping the architectural history of the site has been downplayed or even ignored. In reality, Zane Grey owned slightly more than half the entire property during these early years when it was considered a family retreat. Later, after 1914 when Grey came to dominate the site, it underwent changes to accommodate the needs of the best-selling author. The history of the present-day Zane Grey House must therefore include the several houses, smaller outbuildings, and other features that were collectively related to the function of the site as a whole.

Secondary accounts of the author's years in Lackawaxen have wrongly assumed that he built and/or lived in the present-day Zane Grey House upon his arrival in 1906. In fact, he did not own the lot on which the house was built, nor did he live in the house itself, until 1914, the year he purchased both from his brother and sister-in-law. Zane and Dolly Grey actually spent the early years of their marriage--from 1906 until 1914--living in the old Holbert

farmhouse, which they called the "cottage" on the point. Although no source states this explicitly, evidence from land and tax records, oral histories, and Grey's own writings, coupled with concurrent activities on the site, supports this contention.<sup>11</sup>

In his daily journal, Grey described the winters in the Holbert cottage as a terrible ordeal. During winter 1909, for example, he complained that "this is not a favorable situation in which to live, and my house is not a comfortable one . . . This morning when I awakened there was half an inch of snow on my coverlet, and a cold east wind nearly blew me out of bed." During one relentless snow- and rainstorm, "the kitchen leaked and soon became sippy, and all the fires drew so hard they flamed red hot." A week later he noted that "the house is like a barn. My feet are like blocks of ice all the time except when I am in bed; my back is cold, and so are my hands." During a storm in March 1910, the winds "roared with a dreadful moaning sound, and threatened to blow the house over. The chairs on the veranda banged against the railing and the shutters slammed . . . The air stung my face like a lash from a steel chain."<sup>12</sup>

In contrast to this discomfort, Grey's autobiography presents a more romanticized portrait of those same Lackawaxen winters from the vantage of several years' hindsight, after several dozen published novels, and tremendous financial success. "In the winter," he reminisced, "I had ample time to read and study." He went on to describe how he and Dolly read and studied literature, poetry, and technical books together, while the sleet "pattered" against the window, the rain "roared" on the roof and the winter winds "mourned" under the eaves.<sup>13</sup>

Shortly after moving into the farmhouse in 1906, the Greys began the first of many construction efforts on the site. In a diary entry of April 4, 1906, Dolly Grey noted the completion of the "cathouse"--a small wooden structure built to shelter some of her husband's numerous (family tradition suggests nineteen) Persian cats. Several sheds appear in early views of the Grey property, but it is impossible to distinguish the agricultural storage sheds from those reserved for the animals.

It was probably in 1906 that Grey built the unheated one-room cabin, or "bungalow," which served as his work space during the summer months. The cabin was definitely on the site by February 1908 when he, describing a winter flood in a his diary, tells of "huge cakes of ice floating, bumping into the bungalow."<sup>14</sup> The cabin stood about 140 feet northeast of the farmhouse, its placement commanding a fine view of the Delaware River. It was composed of one square room measuring 14 feet by 14 feet, and was clad in unpainted, coursed cedar shingles.<sup>15</sup> Old-timers recall a giant stuffed fish mounted above the cabin door.<sup>16</sup> The structure also occasionally served as an emergency shelter for the cats during Lackawaxen's bitter-cold winters. In December 1909, for example, Grey recorded in his diary that "the thermometer registered 15 degrees above zero. I moved the cats from their houses into the bungalow, and made a fire for them."<sup>17</sup>

In January 1906, while his brother and sister-in-law were still on their

honeymoon, Romer Grey purchased an undeveloped two-acre parcel adjacent to his brother's property on cottage point from Frank Holbert for \$350.<sup>18</sup> It is difficult to determine exactly when construction of the present-day Zane Grey House began and ended, but evidence strongly suggests that the house was completed for Romer and Rebecca Grey by the end of that year. Romer's name appears for the first time in the tax records of January 1907, when he was assessed for two acres of land "formerly assessed to Frank Holbert," and a house valued at \$1,200.<sup>19</sup> Conclusive support for a 1906 construction date is found in the south foundation wall where the attending stone mason inscribed, "Wm Eakhart, May 2, 1906."

To distinguish their new house from other buildings on the site, Grey family members referred to it as the "big house." Two and one-half stories tall and essentially a four-square in plan, the big house was stylistically representative of its time and place. The site is not associated with any architect, and the master carpenter, who was almost certainly a local builder, remains anonymous. Gottleib Kuhn, Grey's neighbor to the south, and August Clouse of Lackawaxen are both likely candidates, but no documentation exists to link either man with the original block of the house. Of the workmen involved in its construction, only the above-mentioned William Eakhart can be placed at the site. No other evidence of the original construction--building permits, architectural drawings, contracts, or contemporary descriptions of the house--have been discovered. The original cost of the property, beyond the price paid for the land, also remains unknown.

Several early views of the house do survive, however, confirming that its original appearance has changed little since the early twentieth century. A photograph taken ca. 1911, however, reveals that the back porch has been altered substantially. Like the front porch, it originally featured a frieze of turned spindlework with decorative brackets attached to each of the turned porch supports. This porch originally only extended across the north half of the west elevation. It is not known when the porch was continued across the south part of the house, or when the door leading from the dining room was cut, but photographic and physical evidence suggest that it was prior to 1918. Early views of the house also document the exterior paint scheme, and provide the only record of striped awnings on the windows.<sup>20</sup>

While the house's exterior appearance has been documented fairly extensively, no early photographs of the interior have been located. At present, the only source of information on the family's occupation of the original house comes from oral histories. Mary Nelson, a woman who grew up with the Grey children in Lackawaxen, remembers that Rebecca Grey's bedroom was in the southwest corner of the second floor. The servants, who assisted her with the cooking and other household chores, lived in the finished attic rooms on the third floor.<sup>21</sup>

On June 30, 1914, Romer and Rebecca Grey deeded the house and lot to Dolly for \$1 and other unspecified considerations.<sup>22</sup> Zane and his family probably spent that summer in the big house, although there is no documentation of their move.

The first two-story ell addition to the big house was undertaken during winter 1914, when the Greys resided in Middletown, New York. Begun in December, the addition was complete by early spring 1915.<sup>23</sup> Most evidence of this development comes from a series of building papers that remain in the Zane Grey House.<sup>24</sup> In the first of these documents, master carpenter August Clouse wrote to Grey about preliminary arrangements. "Was up to Lackawaxen Sunday and found they hadn't done much as the weather has been bad last week," he reported. "It is cold yet I will be able to begin work the first of the month. Enclosed please find bill of material[s] of what we need to begin with." The attached list confirms that a major addition was in the works. In addition to 29,000 red-cedar shingles, eight kegs of various sizes of wire, cut, and floor nails, Clouse ordered numerous types of lumber for the framing and floors:

170 Level ft. 6 x 8 sills  
30 pieces 2 x 10--28 first beams  
30 p. 2 x 8--28 second beams  
150 2 x 4--16  
800 ft. boards planed one side, yellow pine or hemlock  
500 level ft. 1 x 8 white pine matched and planed  
200 ft. white pine planed four sides<sup>25</sup>

Clouse submitted the following bill for "time worked" by him and his carpenters on January 1, 1915:

A.C. Clouse	14 1/4 days	@ 3.25	\$46.31
Fred Clouse	14 1/4 days	@ 3.00	\$42.75
Job Reber	11 days	@ 3.00	\$33.00
Fred Squires(?)	11 3/4 days	@ 2.50	\$29.38 <sup>26</sup>

That same day, Charles Smith updated Grey on various aspects of the renovations. In a letter, he began by observing that the workmen "have the icehouse full of ice" and "the carpenters have the roof on the house and kitchen." He went on to describe some of the tribulations associated with excavating a well at the big house, and the worker's futile attempts to get the water pumping. In addition, he noted that, "[we] have some good stone hauled for the work [and we] think we have about enough stone for the rest of the work." He also mentioned that the "good stone" was "hauled across the ice on the river" from Zane Grey's bluestone quarry by a local man, entrepreneur John Smith.<sup>27</sup> The stone discussed here was almost certainly earmarked for the foundation of the addition to the big house. (The Greys had increased their landholdings in 1911 by purchasing 446 acres on the New York side of the Delaware River, in the town of Highland, Sullivan County. In addition to providing open land for hunting and fishing, this purchase included a one-half interest in a bluestone quarry that Grey owned with John Smith.)<sup>28</sup>

The first addition built onto the east half of the north facade comprised a single, long first-floor room, one second-floor bedroom, and an enclosed

sleeping porch. The first answered Grey's need for a heated study in which to work, while the generous second-floor room and sleeping porch became his bedroom.<sup>29</sup> Undoubtedly, the addition also reflected new demands placed on the space by the Grey's growing family: Romer was born in 1909, Betty in 1912, and Loren in 1915. Tradition maintains that Zane's brother, Romer Grey, designed the addition, but no evidence has been uncovered to substantiate this claim.

The second addition to the house was built one year later, in 1916. A series of letters exchanged between Zane and Dolly during July-September 1916 document some aspects of the construction. In this collection of letters, Dolly--who was on site supervising the work--sent a series of progress reports to her husband in California. In the first of these, dated August 19, she wrote, "the foundation and cellar are almost finished and look fine." Two days later she reported that "the cellar is going up fine, as light as a room almost. It takes mother (Dolly) to plan things right." This was clearly a reference to the earthen floor and lack of windows in the unfinished crawl space of the first addition. She also mentioned wanting to move her bedroom--which she subsequently did--into the one currently occupied by her husband, because "it connects with the children's bedroom and will be much more convenient."

On September 12, Dolly Grey continued, "The addition is growing very fast these days. The place is going to look like a boardinghouse; it'll be so big. The new addition will be fine. I'm going to have a laundry chute and a swell bathroom." Later that week she described a rainstorm that damaged some of the new construction. "The whole side of the upstairs room is about ruined and will have to have new beaverboard," she observed. "Downstairs there is very little and most of that is where the partition will be removed into the other big room."<sup>30</sup> Upon completion, the second addition transformed the L-plan into a single, large rectangular plan, containing Zane Grey's bedroom with its sleeping porch and a bathroom on the second floor; the "filing room" and pantry on the first.

The letters also contain evidence of Dolly Grey's plans to expand their landholdings. After a series of negotiations with Gottlieb Kuhn (the neighbor to the south) Dolly reported to her husband in September 1916 that, "the lot business has finally been settled . . . I am going to have the weeds cleared off and the back part plowed up and planted for a pasture. The middle I shall use for berry patches, garden, etc. And the front, [to] extend our lawn. Then we can put croquet grounds there or anything we please, possibly the bungalow for the folks if the other thing doesn't materialize." The "other thing" Dolly had in mind (which never did materialize) was the purchase of Kuhn's house and land for her parents-in-law. (Three years earlier, in 1913, the Greys had sold the house built in 1907 for their mother and sister-in-law to friends Charles and Mary Smith.) Buying out the Kuhns held an additional appeal for the Greys, especially Zane. "If it [the asking price] were reasonable," Dolly concluded in a letter to her husband, "we'd have them away from your ----- . Quite an idea, don't you think?"<sup>31</sup>

At the culmination of the Greys' building activities in 1918, several

smaller outbuildings and recreational features had been added to the site, although most cannot be dated precisely. An icehouse stood on the northwest corner of the property, and a children's playhouse--lined with shelves filled with toys--could be found on the lawn just south of the big house. At some point during his occupancy of the farmhouse, Grey transformed the old Holbert barnyard into a corral for his three horses, named after the horses in his novel, Riders of the Purple Sage. A clay tennis court, complete with equipment-storage sheds, was built between the big house and Smith's house between 1913 and 1916.<sup>32</sup>

The most important building, however, was the new cottage on the point, built in 1914. Grey demolished the old Holbert farmhouse, probably during spring 1914, and filled in its basement with the debris. The Greys never occupied its replacement, however; for the cottage was intended as a summer residence for secretaries who traveled from New York to Lackawaxen in the summer to type the author's drafts. Zane Grey also kept an office on the first floor of the cottage, but little of his writing was done there.<sup>33</sup>

From March 1913 until fall 1918, the Greys lived in Middletown, New York, during the winter, and stayed in Lackawaxen only when the weather was warm, usually from May or June until October. Winter 1917 was spent in New York City.<sup>34</sup>

#### C. Summer Home, 1918-32

Summer 1918 was probably the last occasion that the entire Grey family spent a significant amount of time in Lackawaxen. In October 1918, Grey and his family departed for California to assist with the production of movies based on his western novels. Henceforth, they considered the Lackawaxen property merely as a summer home; for each of the next eleven summers, either Zane or Dolly returned to the big house while on business in the East, although Dolly sometimes stayed for several weeks at a time. Mary Nelson also recalled that Dolly's distant cousins occasionally spent their summer vacations there.<sup>35</sup>

The balance of the year the property stood vacant. The big house and the cottage remained essentially unaltered until the 1940s, but the small outbuildings and the recreational elements--tennis courts, playhouse, corral--gradually fell into disrepair. By 1920 the cabin in which Grey wrote several early novels, including parts of Heritage of the Desert (1910) and Riders of the Purple Sage (1912), was being used as a storage shed.

Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, however, the property never went completely unattended. Charles Smith, Grey's friend and neighbor, served as an informal caretaker for the houses, outbuildings, and grounds. It is unclear whether Smith received a regular annual salary for his services, but one record of such a payment occurs in 1929. That year Dolly Grey mentioned in a letter to Mary Smith that she was "enclosing [a] check for \$240 for [the] year's wages. Please tell him (Charles Smith) when spring comes to keep the asparagus bed from getting overgrown."<sup>36</sup> Another explanation for the payment may have been Smith's work in Grey's bluestone quarry across the river.

Smith's occupation changed from "laborer" to "stonecutter" in the tax-assessment books of the 1920s.<sup>37</sup> In his capacity as caretaker, Smith performed a variety of household tasks. These ranged from crating Grey's mounted fish and shells for transportation to the Museum of Natural History in New York, where some of the record-breaking specimens are still on display, to boarding up a broken window in the big house.<sup>38</sup>

In summer 1929, Grey returned to Lackawaxen for a last, emotional visit. In a letter to his wife in California, he described being "overcome with the beauty, the sadness, the loneliness, the desertedness of it. Oh, Dolly," he wrote, "the rooms are haunted. Those are our spirits there. I thrilled and I wept. I recalled everything. I felt the cold of the old cottage. I saw you in bed--I heard Romer's (his son, born October 1, 1909) tiny wail, I heard the wind, the river. For the first time, I went into the room where my mother died. Something strange came over me." He was stunned by how quickly the property had begun to deteriorate. "The dust, the dirt, the decay, the ruin reproached me," he wrote. "Why have we not taken better care of those places? They are a first and great part of our lives. Love, struggle, work, children--all came to us there."<sup>39</sup>

There is only one reference to the subject of tenancy in the available correspondence from the 1920s and 1930s. A local woman and former "New York chorus girl" wrote the Greys in California with a request to live in the cottage during the late Depression years. In a letter to her friend, Alvah James, who was then occupying the big house, Dolly stated her concerns concisely: "She (the prospective tenant) may be [a] perfectly respectable lady or she may not be a safe person to ensconce in a house none too fireproof. Her morals would not worry me, but her habits might."<sup>40</sup> Dolly Grey's final decision in the matter went unrecorded, but it seems likely the request was denied.

**D. Resident Caretakers: Alvah and Allie James, 1933-48**

In 1933 Grey invited Alvah James and his family to live on the Lackawaxen property while they recovered from the financial upheaval of the Depression.<sup>41</sup> They lived in the cottage on the point until the cold weather set in, then they moved into the big house, which was somewhat better insulated. Despite its stove and fireplace, the cottage was ill-equipped for the winters in Lackawaxen.

Once the James family moved to the big house, Dolly offered them advice on how to keep warm, revealing that it, too, was inadequately insulated for the harshest winter months. "It might be a good idea," she wrote, "if you would board up the entrance to the new house. That is, just that doorway on the stairs and, perhaps, stuff the cracks of the other doors leading to it; then with the fireplace and the furnace, it would not be so bad." She added that she would "be grateful if your boys would look after things a bit and keep them in repair."<sup>42</sup> Few alterations, if any, occurred during the James' occupancy of the big house. A notable exception was the replacement of the wooden roof with more durable and fireproof asbestos shingles. Dolly Grey had undoubtedly arranged for the new roof during one of her trips east, but no evidence was

found to date this work.

Maintaining the Lackawaxen property from the West Coast was clearly a burden for the Greys. As early as 1926, Dolly Grey mentioned in a letter to Mary Smith that her husband "would like to sell the big house and just keep the cottage, as it is too expensive."<sup>43</sup> A sharp rise in local taxes contributed to the Greys' anxieties. The assessor may have seen Grey's fame and fortune as an opportunity to collect additional revenue for the township. By 1922, for example, Pike County's annual \$50 personal tax for adult males had increased fourfold--to \$200--for Zane Grey alone. Moreover, Dolly Grey was also assessed a \$50 personal tax--a departure from the custom that the wives of household heads were not required to pay a separate tax. At one point she commented to Alvah James that "if they keep on with the taxes like they have in the past, there will simply be nothing left of us . . . ."<sup>44</sup>

The issue of selling the property came up again in 1939, when Dolly informed James that "eventually we wish to sell if there is any chance for a decent market." In the same letter she asked him to "please let us know if you see any indication of interest."<sup>45</sup> This was Dolly's last letter to Lackawaxen before her husband's death in California on October 23, 1939. A few years later she began to relinquish her landholdings in the East.<sup>46</sup>

First, she sold the lot bought from the Kuhns through an intermediary in 1916 to John and Theresa Moran. They had previously expressed interest in the lot, and Dolly had written from California to assure Mary Nelson that, "if we sell it to anybody it will be to you."<sup>47</sup> The same year, she sold the four tracts of land in the town of Highland to Carl B. Cobb, Jr.<sup>48</sup> The death of her husband also led Dolly Grey to formulate a plan to protect the future of the Zane Grey House. She and Alvah James's daughter, Helen James Davis, discussed the disposition of the property on several occasions, and at Grey's invitation Davis considered opening the house to the public as an inn.

#### E. Helen James Davis and the Zane Grey Inn, 1945-73

In 1945 Helen James Davis of New York purchased the house with the intention of converting it into the Zane Grey Inn.<sup>49</sup> Numerous changes to the property occurred within the first few years of her residency, as the late-Victorian summer house was modernized to ensure comfortable, year-round living.

Inside, the most extensive renovations focused on the kitchen and pantry. Instead of installing contemporary facilities, Davis reorganized the existing kitchen to accommodate the demands of a busy the bed and breakfast. She removed the wall between the kitchen and the 1906 butler's pantry, opening up additional space for food preparation. She then moved the coal-burning stove from the south wall of the kitchen to the east wall, and installed rows of shelves for dishes and cooking equipment on the north and south walls. Davis also added two new doors in the pantry storage areas. The first door provided direct access from the 1916 pantry to the "filing room." A second door was cut in the wall separating the filing room from the library, and at

about the same time a new bathroom was installed.

Several structural changes were made to the bedrooms on the second floor. Doors to adjoining rooms were blocked to ensure the privacy of the inn's guests. A walk-in closet in the old children's room was subdivided with a plywood partition, and the passageway to the right of the closet was sealed off. Metal room numbers were nailed to each bedroom door. In some cases it is difficult to determine whether or not a closet or partition was original to the house or a more recent modification; many of the same materials and methods were in use over the twenty- to thirty-year period.

The renovations also included an overhaul of the electric, plumbing, and heating systems, and the modernization of both second-floor bathrooms. In addition, Davis updated the house's original interior, which reflected the aesthetics of the late-Victorian era. In particular she found the dark woodwork and bold wallpapers too oppressive for a modern inn, so she brightened up the house by painting the walls and most of the woodwork white. Likewise, the house's exterior scheme of deep green with white trim was considered unfashionable for the time. With the exception of the stone foundation walls and paneled doors, she had the entire exterior--clapboards, shingled cross gables et al.--painted white.

Modifications to both porches can be documented to this period, although not to a specific year. These include removal of the roof, spindlework frieze, and top portions of the supports on the east porch, and the construction of new steps on the north end. The spindlework and brackets were also removed from the west porch, but the roof, supports, and screened panels remain intact; at some point the steps on this porch were also rebuilt.

The grounds also underwent significant evolution in the 1940s. Years of rising and receding waters had reduced the cabin to a pile of rotten timbers. Helen Davis remembers her brother-in-law carting away the debris from the cabin, along with the remains of the children's playhouse. The cottage on the point survived until the great flood of 1942, when it was so damaged that it became uninhabitable. In 1945, John and Theresa Moran (whose cousin was Mary Nelson) obtained permission from Helen Johnson to dismantle a portion of the cottage and remove it to their own property behind the Zane Grey House. The one-story kitchen ell, complete with original porch, was removed intact and transformed into a freestanding structure. Now used as a storage shed, it stands beside the house Moran built from materials salvaged from the cottage on the point.

The Morans' 1940s house--an unassuming, one-story, rectangular building on a cinderblock foundation--conceals most of its early twentieth-century features. The majority of doors, moldings, trim, floorboards, and sash were taken from the cottage. Moran also dismantled and reinstalled the cottage stairway in his new house. Original plumbing fixtures, including the bathtub and sink, were also taken from the cottage. Moreover, many of the furnishings left in the cottage were salvaged by the Morans, including some significant for their association with Zane Grey's office.<sup>50</sup>

A few years after the cottage was dismantled, Helen Davis removed the

icehouse, which had been rendered obsolete by the era of refrigeration. When the barn built by the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company burned to the ground in the late 1950s, the last of the Greys' outbuildings vanished from the site.<sup>51</sup>

F. **Zane Grey Museum, 1973-88**

After new building codes forced the closing of the Zane Grey Inn in 1973, Helen and Albert Davis turned their attention to preserving the house and its contents as a memorial to the writer. They converted the north end of the first floor into an exhibition area for a museum, refurnishing the rooms to recapture the appearance at the time of Grey's occupancy. With the exception of minor repairs to the east and west porches, no structural changes have taken place since the early 1970s.

The Davises developed a guided tour for the general public based on Helen's personal associations with the house and the Grey family. The tour is currently organized around themes relating to Grey's life and literary career, including the early years, fishing, Dolly, baseball, dentistry, and the movies. Each exhibit features items such as newspaper clippings, postcards, publicity posters, and first editions of his novels; original manuscripts and numerous household furnishings are also on display. At present, the house itself is considered only a backdrop for the museum displays, rather than an artifact in its own right.

Plans are currently underway for the National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, to acquire the structure and open it to the public as an historic-house museum.

PART II. ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION

A. **General Statement:**

1. **Architectural character:** Completed in 1906 the Zane Grey House was a four-square plan with Queen Anne and Neoclassical influences that was transformed into a larger rectangular plan through additions in 1915 and 1916. It exemplifies the local traditions of frame and masonry construction, and incorporates standardized, machine-made materials and on the exterior and the interior. Among the building's most distinctive features are two Native American friezes in the study and library on the north end of first floor.
2. **Condition of fabric:** The house has undergone remarkably few alterations since the period of Zane Grey's occupancy. It retains almost all of its early twentieth-century materials. On the exterior, all of the sash, doors, and clapboards are original. On the interior, all of the original flooring and decorative woodwork, and many of the original brass light fixtures, remain intact. In addition, the well-preserved

kitchen contains its original sink, coal-burning stove, and hinged food-storage bins. Porches on the east and west facades have changed appearance several times, but the original balustrade, some of the turned porch supports, and most of the porch floorboards survive intact. The roof was recovered by Dolly Grey in the 1930s.

B. Description of Exterior

1. Overall dimensions: The rectangular plan measures x 30'-3" x 65', exterior foundation measurements. Six bays long and three bays wide, the dwelling is 40'-6" tall from grade to roof ridge.
2. Foundation: All foundations are rough-cut, irregularly coursed bluestone, 1'-6" thick. Stone for the 1915 and 1916 additions was obtained from a quarry on Zane Grey's land in Highland, New York, and hauled across the frozen Delaware River via raft or sled.<sup>52</sup> The 1915 foundation retains traces of its original dark-green paint, and the surface of the 1916 foundation is finished with decorative tooling.
3. Walls: Stud walls clad with sawn, horizontal lapped boards, 5-1/2" wide, with an average exposure of 4-1/2". The wooden siding, corner-boards, and unadorned window surrounds are painted white, but evidence of the original dark-green paint remains.
4. Structural systems, framing: Platform wall framing; the roof is framed with closely spaced common rafters joined at the apex with a ridge board. The floors are carried on diagonal subflooring nailed to wooden joists.
5. Porches: An uncovered porch extends three-quarters of the way across the east facade. This porch has two new sets of approach steps, one at the north end, one midway along its length. The original spindlework frieze, brackets, and shed roof have been removed, but the lower sections of the turned porch supports, the balustrade and the tongue-and-groove porch flooring remain intact. The latticework infill is a replacement of the original. A second porch is located at the south end of the west facade. It is covered by a shed roof and enclosed with screened panels that date from the 1930s or earlier. Although the spindlework frieze and brackets have been removed here, as well, the full-sized porch supports, balustrade, flooring, and latticework are all original. The approach steps on the north end of the porch have been rebuilt since the 1930s.
6. Chimneys: There are two interior brick chimneys, both rectangular in section, and laid in common bond. The 1906 chimney projects through the ridge in the center of the original house, while the smaller 1915

chimney is centrally located in the north section of the house.

7. Openings:

- a. Doorways and doors: The two doors on the east facade are identical, having raised rectangular and square panels with a single, rectangular light set into the upper portion. The two doors opening out to the porch on the west facade have four rectangular panes of glass set into the upper portion, with two molded panels below.
- b. Windows: Double-hung sash with one-over-one lights are used throughout the house, except on the three second-floor sleeping porches, which have horizontal sliding windows, and on the dormer windows of the attic, which contain hinged casements. The windows in the 1906 cross gables have dentillated lintels, a decorative feature found on similar early twentieth-century houses in the nearby towns of Port Jervis and Narrowsburg (New York), and Matamoras (Pennsylvania).

8. Roof:

- a. Shape, covering: A hipped roof covers the 1906 house; two cross gables face east and south, and one jerkin-head dormer faces west. A lower-pitched rectangular roof covers the later north wing; it contains three jerkin-head dormers, facing east, north, and south. The two roofs are joined close to the eaves in a valley that runs perpendicular to the front facade. Diamond-shaped, white asbestos shingles are affixed atop the original cedar shingles. This type of roofing was common in the Upper Delaware Valley, and numerous other examples remain in the area. A layer of built-up asphalt covers the shed roof of the west porch.
- b. Cornice, eaves: There is a slight overhang to the eaves with a narrow band of trim below.
- c. Dormers: The four jerkinhead dormers are clad in coursed cedar shingles and covered with the same asbestos roofing material as the rest of the house. The dormer windows contain decorative multi-light glazing in a geometric pattern.

C. Description of Interior:

1. Floor plans:

- a. Basement: The 1906 block and 1916 addition feature full basements; the 1915 basement is partially excavated. The four-room basement is a double-pile configuration, with a central stairway running against the north wall of the 1906 house. The southwest room has four centrally located brick piers, apparently recent additions; there is an original coal bin in the northwest corner. The original north entrance to the basement of the 1906 house is blocked but evident. The west foundation wall of the 1916 basement jogs 25 degrees to the southeast to avoid enclosing a well constructed during the 1915 renovations.
  - b. First floor and second floors: Basic four-square plan within original block.
2. Stairways: The main staircase has a T-shaped plan with a decorative balustrade and two heavily carved newel posts. Painted white in the 1940s, the stairway was originally finished with clear varnish.
3. Flooring:
- a. Basement: Earthen floors in the 1906 block and the 1915 addition; a bluestone floor in the 1916 addition.
  - b. First and second floors: Yellow pine tongue-and-groove planks, 3-1/4" to 4-1/4" wide, in the 1906 block; 2-1/4" maple boards throughout both additions.
  - c. Attic: Random-width pine boards averaging 7-1/4" wide.
4. Wall and ceiling finish:
- a. Basement: Exposed joists.
  - b. First and second floors: Plaster on lath; wallpapers originally covered most walls. Many of the Greys' dark, late-Victorian wallpapers were painted white in 1948.<sup>53</sup>
  - c. Attic: Plaster on lath walls in the 1906 block. The exposed roof framing was covered with beaverboard in 1948 when Helen Davis and her son turned the Greys' former servants' quarters into their private rooms. Exposed wall and ceiling framing in the 1915 and 1916 additions.
5. Openings: Doorways and doors: Most interior doors are five-panel wood, (common, mass-produced doors of the early twentieth century). The door between the kitchen and the 1916 pantry is a reused exterior

door, originally positioned on the north facade of the 1906 block providing access to the basement from the yard.<sup>54</sup> This door was relocated when the final addition to the north facade was made in 1916. All original door and window openings are trimmed with moldings and patters.

6. Decorative features and trim:
  - a. Living room: An unglazed terra cotta fireplace with egg-and-dart trim is centered on the west wall.
  - b. Study (first-floor room created by the 1915 addition): A second fireplace of plain red brick is centered on the west wall, topped with an unpainted oak mantel that contains a built-in beveled-edge mirror. A decorative painted frieze framed by nearly continuous picture moldings borders the upper portion of the walls. The frieze, an adaptation of the iconography of Native American sand painting, depicts rows of stylized ferrets and Navajo figures in blue, brown, green, and red. It is signed by Lillian Wilhelm, a cousin of Dolly Grey, and dated 1915.
  - c. Library (the additional space added to the study in 1916): Built-in bookshelves and window seating line the north and east walls of the room. A second frieze, representing Kachinas, spirits of Hopi mythology, was painted in vivid reds, blues, yellows, and greens by Zane Grey's brother, Ellsworth, a commercial illustrator, in 1916.<sup>55</sup> The room adjacent to the library, called the "filing room" during Grey's residency, contains built-in, floor-to-ceiling cabinets and drawers.
  - d. Second Floor: A third fireplace in the southwest bedroom (originally Rebecca Grey's) features a mass-produced wooden surround with a mantel supported by half-round, carved Ionic columns and glazed green tile. The beaverboard and brown slat trim throughout the house are original, although some of the former has recently been painted white.
7. Hardware: Most of the hinges, locks, knobs, and latches on the doors and windows are typical of the early-twentieth century. Many of the original brass wall and ceiling electric fixtures are still in place.
8. Mechanical equipment:
  - a. Heating: Heat was originally provided by a coal-burning furnace in the basement. Ornate, wrought-iron floor registers are found throughout the 1906 block. An original (1916) stove survives in

the northwest room of the first floor, but the stoves originally installed in Zane and Dolly Grey's bedrooms on the second floor, north end, were removed by Helen Davis in the 1940s. Heat is currently provided by an oil-burning furnace in the basement. The building is not air-conditioned.

- b. Lighting: Until 1945, electricity was generated by a series of Delco batteries in the basement<sup>56</sup>; remnants of the original knob-and-tube wiring can still be found there. Kerosene lamps augmented the electric lighting, though many of the lamps left by the Greys were electrified by Helen Davis in the 1950s.
  - c. Plumbing: The 1906 block was built with indoor plumbing. Helen Davis remembers a 6' tall cistern in the attic, which she removed by 1948. The original hand pump for the well is in basement.
9. Original furnishings: Numerous original furnishings, personal objects, manuscripts, and family papers remain in the house. Many are exhibited in the museum, although some furnishings and artifacts are stored in the private bedrooms and attic. The museum contains Zane Grey's oak desk and several William Morris-style chairs, including the author's favorite armchair and lapboard. Other artifacts associated with Grey include the drills and safe from his dental practice, a large collection of fishing gear, stuffed and mounted fish, clothing, and objects gathered on fishing and hunting expeditions, including exotic shells and fish, Native American rugs, and pottery.

Household items include Dolly Grey's Renaissance Revival bureau, an Eastlake-style etagere, a dining-room table, two center tables, and a wicker stroller. Rebecca Grey's simple early-twentieth-century bedroom set has never left the southwest bedroom where it was used before Zane Grey purchased the house. A twentieth-century William and Mary-style sideboard (in very poor condition in the basement). This eclectic combination of Victorian, Mission, and Colonial-style pieces combined in a single interior reflects the prevailing early-twentieth-century notion that matched suites of furniture suppressed an individual's creativity.<sup>57</sup>

D. Site:

1. General setting and orientation: The house stands 300' south of the confluence of the Lackawaxen and Delaware rivers, and faces the latter. The north facade is shielded by a mixture of deciduous and evergreen trees.
2. Historic landscape design: All remaining trees on the site were planted

by Zane and Dolly Grey between 1905 and 1918. Grey worked with a team of gardeners and laborers, planting and rearranging the landscape until he was satisfied that the grounds looked natural rather than designed. Among the variety of gardens planted by the Greys, Mary Nelson recalls a giant strawberry patch and grape arbors behind the cottage, a grape arbor covering the cottage outhouse, rose bushes and asparagus patches south of the big house, and daffodils and narcissus around the perimeter of the tennis court.<sup>58</sup>

3. Outbuildings: None survive. There is a narrow bluestone walkway leading to the spot where the outhouse once stood.
4. Signs: A large wooden sign on the front lawn advertises the Zane Grey House Museum. A smaller sign displaying the museum's hours and entrance fees is erected next to the unpaved visitors' parking lot.

Prepared by:  
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Zane Grey House Recording Project  
March 1989

### PART III. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### Primary

- Davis, Helen James. Personal collection of correspondence, photographs, and other materials relating to Zane Grey. Lackawaxen, PA.
- F. W. Beers. "Topographical Map of Pike County, Pennsylvania, from Recent and Actual Surveys and Records." New York: F. W. Beers and Co., 1872. Photostat of original. Mapping Department, Pike County Administrative Building, Milford, PA.
- Grey, Loren. Personal collection of correspondence, photographs, and postcards. Woodland Hills, CA.
- Grey, Zane. "My Own Life." In Zane Grey: The Man and His Work. New York: Harper and Brother, 1928. A rare and out-of-print volume, in the Zane Grey Museum.
- Nelson, Mary. Personal collection of correspondence, photographs, and other materials relating to Zane Grey. Lackawaxen, PA.
- Orange County Registry of Deeds. Orange County Government Center, Goshen, NY.
- Pike County Historical Society. Zane Grey File. Folder of recent newspaper clippings and magazine articles. Milford, PA.

Pike County Mapping Department. Tax Assessments for Lackawaxen Township, 1880-1960.  
Pike County Administrative Building, Milford, PA.

Pike County Registry of Deeds. Map Books and Deeds, 1898-1948. Pike County Courthouse,  
Milford, PA.

Sullivan County Registry of Deeds. Map Books and Deeds, 1911-1941. Sullivan County  
Government Center, Monticello, NY.

Surveyor's Map of Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania and Highland, New York (Surveys of 1891 and  
1898). Blueprint of original, showing the area at the confluence of the Lackawaxen  
and Delaware rivers. Map Collection, National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic  
and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA.

#### Interviews/Correspondence

Kant, Candace C., to author, 20 October 1988.

Davis, Albert. Interviews by author, summer 1988, Lackawaxen, PA.

Davis, Helen James, occupant of house when it was an inn/museum. Interviews by author,  
summer 1988, Lackawaxen, PA.

Grey, Loren, to author, 18 July 1988, 22 July 1988, and 29 August 1988.

Grosso, Betty Zane, to author, 30 July 1988.

Kuhn, Jody Lynn, lifelong neighbor of Helen Davis and the granddaughter of Gottlieb Kuhn, a  
carpenter associated with the Zane Grey house additions. Interview by author, 13 June  
1988, Lackawaxen, PA.

Hendershot, Raymond, brother-in-law of Helen Davis and occupant of the cottage on the point  
in 1941-42 when it was severely damaged by a flood. Interview by author, 25 July  
1988, Pond Eddy, PA.

Moran, Theresa, who with her husband in the early 1940s built a house out of material  
salvaged from the cottage on the point; the house still stands behind the Zane Grey  
House, on a two-acre lot purchased from Dolly Grey in 1941. Interviews by author,  
summer 1988, Lackawaxen, PA.

Nelson, Mary, whose mother, Mary Farrell, summered in Lackawaxen as a guest of the Greys,  
and who married local resident Charles Smith in 1910; in 1913 her parents purchased  
the house originally built for Zane Grey's mother and sister, which she continues to  
occupy. Interviews by author, 16 June, 22 June, and 8 August 1988, Lackawaxen, PA.

Wheeler, Joseph L. Interview by author, 25 July 1988; letters to author, July 27 and 15 August 1988.

#### Secondary Sources

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Gruber, Frank. Zane Grey: A Biography. New York: World Publishing Co., 1970. The official biography of Zane Grey, this study devotes several short chapters to the author's childhood and Lackawaxen years. Some inaccurate information; lacks footnotes and bibliography.

Jackson, Carlton. Zane Grey. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973. Concentrates on the issues of how and why Grey became a writer of western novels. The author's personal life is discussed only as it relates to his publishing record.

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Kaplan, Wendy. The Art that is Life: The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987. Includes good introductory essays on society and material life during the period; also includes numerous photographs of period interiors.

Lamar, Howard R., ed. The Reader's Encyclopedia of the West. New York: Crowell, 1977, pp. 467-468. "Zane Grey," by James K. Folsom. The critique says, "at worst" Grey wrote

"banal" escapist literature "marred by pompous moralizing . . . and by an unthinking racism, presented in a pretentious and awkward style," and "at best he wrote little differently."

Marsi, Rick. "Zane Grey: Museum in the Author's Home Looks Like He Just Left the Room." Press and Sunday Bulletin, 16 August 1987.

McAlester, Virginia and Lee. Field Guide to American Houses. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1984.

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Roach, Nancy Carrs. National Register of Historic Places nomination for the Zane Grey House. October 1982. On file, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA.

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Zimmerman, Karl. "Lackawaxen's Favorite Sons." New York Times, 15 May 1988.

### Additional, Unused Sources

Zane and Dolly Grey's unpublished diaries and correspondence may contain further information on family life and architectural change. This vast collection includes:

- a. Zane Grey's personal diaries and journals, 1905-1937.
- b. Dolly Grey's diaries, 1905-1945.
- c. 1,200 letters between Zane and Dolly Grey, from their courtship in 1900 until 1937, two years prior to his death.
- d. Zane Grey-Alvah James correspondence, spanning three decades.

*Note:* These materials are in the possession of Loren Grey (4417 Coloma Ave., Woodland Hills, CA 91364) and Betty Zane Grosso in California, and are not generally available to the public. Candace C. Kant (6648 Burlington Court, Las Vegas, NV 89107), an independent scholar studying the letters, has been very helpful.

### Other Manuscript Collections:

- a. The National Park Service has not yet obtained access to two important collections: 1) the personal collection of Helen and Albert Davis, which contains numerous letters between Zane and Dolly Grey; and 2) the papers of carpenter Gottlieb Kuhn, which are in the possession of his granddaughter, Jody Lynn Kuhn of Lackawaxen, PA.
- b. The National Road-Zane Grey Museum (branch of the Ohio Historical Society), New Canaan, Ohio, owns Zane Grey materials that were donated by the author's family.
- c. Robert Hobart Davis Papers, New York Public Library, contains correspondence with Zane Grey that spans three decades, beginning with his struggling years as a dentist in New York City.
- \* d. Daniel Beard Papers. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- e. Margaret Deland Collection. Colby College, Waterville, ME.
- f. Personal collection of G.M. Farley. Hagerstown, MD.
- g. Hamlin Garland Collection. University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA.

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\*\* The following list of sources is compiled from references in secondary literature, which may or may not contain information germane to Zane Grey's years at Lackawaxen.

- h. Zane Grey Collection. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
- i. ----. Clifton Waller Barrett Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.
- j. ----. Elmer Holmes Bobst Library, New York University, New York, NY.
- k. ----. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX.
- l. ----. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- m. ----. Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, CA.
- n. ----. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, NY.
- o. Ripley Hitchcock Collection. Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library, New York, NY.
- p. Roy Jansen Collection. State Library of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, PA.
- q. Edwin Markham Collection. Horrman Library, Wagner College, New York, NY.
- r. Thomas Nelson Page Papers. William Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, NC.
- s. George W. Parson Collection. Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, AZ.
- t. David Dexter Rust Papers. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah.

#### PART IV. PROJECT INFORMATION

The Zane Grey House Recording Project was undertaken by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), a division of the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, during summer 1988. The project was cosponsored by the Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River (UDSRR), Beach Lake, PA, headed by Superintendent John Hutzky, and the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record (HABS/HAER), Robert J. Kapsch, chief. The field team was under the direction of Eric Delony, chief and principal HAER architect, and William Lebovich, HAER architectural historian; assisted by Sandra Speers, chief of Planning and Support Services, and Carla Hauser, secretary, UDSRR, the team consisted of Brian Bartholomew (University of Colorado at Denver), architectural supervisor, and architectural technicians Scott Barber (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee), Anne Guerette (US/ICOMOS and Laval University, Quebec), and Elizabeth Knowlan (University of Houston), as well as historians Sylvie C. Browne (US/ICOMOS and Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute), and Nancy Spiegel (Winterthur Program, University of Delaware). HAER photographer Jet Lowe made the large-format photographs.

Endnotes

1. The chain of title for the site can be traced back only as far as 1898. See Deed Book 54, 24-25 (1 October 1898), for the first deed in the chain. For the original land grants and useful background information on some aspects of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century history of the area, see Alfred Mathews, History of Wayne, Pike and Monroe Counties, Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: P.T. Peck, 1886), 954-967.
2. Harlan D. Unrau. Historic Structure Report, Historical Data Section: The Delaware Aqueduct, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, New York-Pennsylvania. Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1983), 12-14. Original maps of the Lacoste Purchase (surveyed in 1854 and drawn in 1856 by L. W. Weston, revised in 1865 by Russell Lord) are in the possession of the Delaware and Hudson Railway Company in Albany, New York. Copies of these maps can be found in Unrau, 15-17.
3. See Assessment of Seated Property, Real and Personal, Subject to Taxation, for State and County Purposes, in Lackawaxen Township, Pike County, Pennsylvania, for the years 1850 to 1898. For a map indicating the canal company's landholdings in the 1870s, see F.W. Beers, "Topographical Map of Pike County, Pennsylvania, from Recent and Actual Surveys and Records." New York: F. W. Beers and Co., 1872.
4. Aerial photograph of the area at the confluence of the Delaware and Lackawaxen rivers, ca. 1890, in the personal collection of Helen James Davis and Albert Davis. A similar photograph taken a few years earlier appears in Manville B. Wakefield, Coal Boats to Tidewater: The Story of the Delaware and Hudson Canal (Grahamsville, NY: Wakefair Press, 1971), 80. The original Hensel negatives, from which most early views were made, are in the possession of Stan Pratt, Honesdale, PA. A blueprint of the original surveyor's map of Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania, and Highland, New York (1891 and 1898), can be found in the Map Collection, National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA.
5. Assessments of Seated Property . . . in Lackawaxen Township, for the years 1892 to 1889.
6. Deed Book 54, 24-25 (1 October 1898).
7. Zane Grey, "My Own Life," in Zane Grey: The Man and His Work (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928), 16-17. See also, Frank Gruber, Zane Grey: An Autobiography. (New York: World Publishing Co., 1970), 35-45, for additional--though sometimes inaccurate--biographical information, and Carleton Jackson, Zane Grey (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973). "A Day on the Delaware" and other fishing stories are collected in George Reiger, ed., Zane Grey, Outdoorsman: Zane Grey's Best Hunting and Fishing Tales Published in Commemoration of His Centennial Year (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1972).

8. Deed Book 59, 41-42. An \$800 mortgage on the property, held by Christine Holbert Watson of Westchester County, NY, and recorded in Mortgage Book 15, 139-141 (16 September 1904), was deducted from the final cost. Mortgage Book 15, 318 (17 September 1905), records the discharge of the mortgage.

9. The less-than-welcome attitude exhibited by Grey's neighbors persisted throughout his thirteen-year stay in Lackawaxen. Locals resented his wealth and urbane, often ostentatious, ways. In the ensuing years Grey relied on intermediaries such as his friend, longtime area resident Charles Smith, to negotiate land transactions on his behalf. Smith's daughter, Mary Nelson, who grew up with the Grey children, still remembers a two-acre parcel of land that Gottlieb Kuhn (his neighbor to the south) put on the market for \$500. When Zane Grey expressed an interest in the land, Kuhn said the asking price was to be raised to \$700. "Seven-hundred dollars is robbery," complained Dolly to her husband after she purchased the land in 1916; but, she added sarcastically, "You're rich, and I can do without some clothes." [Mary Nelson interview by author, 22 June 1988; Letter from Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, undated (but summer 1916), excerpted in Candace Kant, letter to author, 20 October 1988.]

10. "Dr. Zane Grey of NYC" is listed as a non-resident property owner in 1905 tax records. See the Assessment of Seated Property . . . in Lackawaxen Township for 1905, 30. This entry also notes that the property was "formerly assessed to Mary A. Holbert."

11. Deed Book 59, 41-42, and Deed Book 66, 151-153, refer to Zane and Romer Grey's original landholdings, respectively; see the Assessments of Seated Property . . . in Lackawaxen Township, for 1904-18, especially years 1904, 1905, 1906, and 1907, to document the arrival of Zane and Romer and the subsequent development of their properties; see also, Mary Nelson, interviews by author, 16 June, 22 June, and 8 August 1988. Grey's personal writings also shed some light on the site. For example, see his discussion of a 1908 flood, which also mentions the two other area houses. In a particularly illuminating passage, Grey wrote, "I was awakened last night at 12:30 by a sharp yell from Rome, under my window. Then I heard they awful rumble of the river . . . In confusion, I got Dolly out of the house, over to Mother's." During the night "ice floes piled over the fence and bumped into the porch . . . This morning the road is impassable, and a hundred tons of ice lay in my front yard." [Diary entry 15 February 1908, from "Dawn to Dusk on the Delaware," keynote address prepared for the 1987 convention of Zane Grey's West Society by Joe L. Wheeler. On file, UDSRR.]

12. All excerpts taken from Wheeler, "Dawn to Dusk on the Delaware."

13. Zane Grey, "My Own Life," 17-18.

14. Zane Grey, diary entry 15 February 1908, quoted in Wheeler, "Dawn to Dusk on the Delaware," 3.

15. The location and dimensions of the cabin can be found on the "Lackawaxen Distribution System plan, showing the right-of-way over property of Lina Elise Grey and Zane Grey," dated 8 April 1926, Map Book 1, 106. The cabin is identified as a shed. An undated photograph in Gruber, Zane Grey (following p. 146), shows him posed in the open doorway of the cabin, which

is clad in coursed shingles. A double-hung, six-over-six-light window is visible in the background. A similar view of Grey posed in front of the cabin is in Mary Nelson's personal collection.

16. Leona and Orson Davis, interview by Kitt Groesbeck, 14 April 1987. Tape recording, UDSRR; Mary Nelson, interview by author, 16 June 1988.

17. Quoted in Wheeler, "Dawn to Dusk on the Delaware," 3.

18. Deed Book 60, 151-153. Romer Grey's address is given in the deed as 104 West 105th St., New York City.

19. Assessment of Seated Property . . . in Lackawaxen Township for 1907, 30. A \$1,200 valuation was unusually high for houses in Lackawaxen, even new ones. It may be that the local assessor took advantage of the wealthy newcomer. The assessment was later reduced to \$800, where it remained into the 1920s. Refer to the Assessment of Seated Property . . . 1913 for the property's revaluation, which is accompanied by the curious notation, "buildings assessed for all they are worth."

20. The original back porch is disclosed in an oblique view of the house from the northwest, with baby Romer seated in the foreground, ca. 1911. For black-and-white evidence of the original paint scheme and window treatments, also see an undated photograph of the house showing the southeast corner before the additions were added. Original photographs in the personal collection of Loren Grey. For documentation of the modified back porch, ca. 1915-20s, refer to the photograph in Mary Nelson's personal collection. Copies can be found in the collection of the UDSRR.

21. Mary Nelson, interview by author, 8 August 1988.

22. Deed Book 68, 72. The site consisted of 1.7 acres. One year earlier, Romer and Rebecca Grey had subdivided the property, selling the house in which Josephine and Ida Grey lived, along with an acre of land, to Charles and Mary Smith. See Deed Book 67, 210 (13 March 1913).

23. For a previous interpretation of the houses's construction history, which claims that both additions were constructed in one phase in 1912, see Nancy Carrs Roach, National Register of Historic Places nomination for the Zane Grey House (October 1982). On file, UDSRR.

24. It is important to note that there were multiple construction projects underway during the 1914-15 period. Every effort has been made to distinguish between the erection of the new cottage on the point and the big-house addition, but this is not always possible. For example, a reference in January 1915 to having "the roof on the house and kitchen" [Charles Smith to Zane Grey, 1 January 1915] almost certainly refers to the completion of Grey's new cottage, a two-story structure with a one-story kitchen projecting from the side. But Grey's purchase of a large quantity of building materials, and the accounts of work done on wells at both cottage (in correspondence, called the bungalow) and big house indicate that there was more extensive work in progress at the property.

25. Letter from August Clouse to Zane Grey, undated (but late 1914). Personal collection of Helen and Albert Davis.
26. Letter from A.C. Clouse to Zane Grey, 1 January 1915. Personal collection of Helen James Davis and Albert Davis.
27. Letter from Charles Smith to Zane Grey, 1 January 1915. See also the bill from the firm Bishop and Avery, artesian-well drillers, to Zane Grey (30 December 1914), for an itemized account of the work. Personal collection of Helen and Albert Davis.
28. Deed Book 166, 594-597 (6 November 1911). Sullivan County Government Center, Monticello, NY. Grey apparently exaggerated when, in a short story, he claimed to own "nearly one thousand acres of land" along the Delaware River. [Zane Grey, "Fighting Qualities of Black Bass," reprinted in Reiger, Zane Grey, Outdoorsman.]
29. Use of the room is mentioned in a letter from Dolly to Zane Grey (21 August 1916), quoted by Candace Kant in a letter to the author, 20 October 1988.
30. All quotations from Candace Kant, letter to the author, 20 October 1988.
31. All quotations from Candace Kant, letter to the author, 20 October 1988.
32. For a discussion concerning construction of the tennis court, see letter from Dolly to Zane Grey, excerpted in Candace Kant, letter to author, 20 October 1988.
33. Mary Nelson, interview by author, 16 June 1988. Photographic and postcard views of the cottage exterior can be found in Mary Nelson's personal collection.
34. Candace Kant, letter to author, 20 October 1988.
35. Letter from Dolly Grey to Alvah James, 6 December 1932. Personal collection of Helen James Davis and Albert Davis; Mary Nelson, interview by author, 8 August 1988.
36. Letter from Dolly Grey to Mary Smith, 31 December 1929. In the personal collection of Mary Nelson.
37. The change in occupation is first noted in the Assessment of Seated Property . . . in Lackawaxen Township for 1919, 77.
38. In a letter from Altadena, California, (4 June 1930) Grey informed Smith of the arrival of a museum representative on 11 June; it includes a sketch of a mounted swordfish. In the personal collection of Mary Nelson.
39. Letter from Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 2 June 1929, quoted by Joe Wheeler in a letter to author, 9 August 1988. On file, UDSRR.

40. Letter from Dolly Grey to Alvah James, 1 August 1939. Personal collection of Helen and Albert Davis.
41. Best known as a South American adventurer, James is generally credited with introducing Zane Grey to Buffalo Bill. For more on their relationship, see Candace C. Kant, Zane Grey's Arizona (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1984).
42. Letter from Dolly Grey to Alvah James, 6 December 1932. Personal collection of Helen and Albert Davis.
43. Letter from Dolly Grey in Altadena, California, to Mary Smith, 8 December 1926. In the personal collection of Mary Nelson.
44. Letter from Dolly Grey to Alvah James, 18 September 1939. Personal collection of Helen James Davis and Albert Davis.
45. Letter from Dolly Grey to Alvah James, 1 August 1939. Personal collection of Helen James Davis and Albert Davis.
46. For an obituary notice discussing Grey's literary career and attempts to account for his enormous success, see "Zane Grey Dies; Was Favorite Novelist in the U.S," New York Herald Tribune, 24 October 1939, 18. The item concludes that Grey's popularity may have stemmed from his ability to express "philosophies and ideals identical with those of the masses of the American people." See also, "Zane Grey, 64, Dies Suddenly on Coast," New York Times, 24 October 1939, 23, which observes that "the more than fifty novels that he wrote were bad"; "Zane Grey Dead at 68," Boston Evening Transcript, 23 October 1939, 1; and "Zane Grey Dies Suddenly at 64," New York Daily News, 24 October 1939, 46. His age is given incorrectly in the latter three notices--he was 67.
47. Deed Book 97, 39-40. The letter from Dolly Grey to Mary Nelson, 4 August 1941, can be found in Mary Nelson's personal collection.
48. Deed Book 347, 265 (9 June 1941); Sullivan County Government Center, Monticello, NY.
49. Deed Book 105, 517-19, for the Article of Agreement between Lina Elise Grey and Helen Johnson. The house sold for \$1,500, with \$500 paid on the execution of the sale, and the remainder payable in annual installments of \$200, at an interest rate of 4 percent per year. The deed was transferred in Deed Book 111, 122-123 (29 March 1949).
50. The Colonial-style desk and display case were used by Grey in his cottage office. The case, according to Mary Nelson, was filled with exotic shells gathered from around the world. Two chests, several tables, lamps, and numerous chairs were also salvaged from the cottage. [Mary Nelson, interview by author, 22 June 1988.]
51. Raymond Hendershot, interview by author, 25 July 1988; Mary Nelson, interview by author, 22 June 1988.

52. Letter from Charles Smith to Zane Grey, 1 January 1915; personal collection of Helen James Davis and Albert Davis.
53. In particular, Helen Davis remembers that the living-room and dining-room walls were covered with a deep red wallpaper.
54. Undated photograph of Zane Grey house showing the north facade before the additions. Personal collection of Helen James Davis and Albert Davis.
55. Betty Zane Grosso, letter to author, 30 July 1988.
56. Power lines were first introduced in the area in 1925. The right to install electric lines and poles was granted to Pennsylvania Power and Light Company by Dolly Grey. See Deed Book 78, 446-47, for provisions of the agreement.
57. Cheryl Robertson, "House and Home in the Arts and Crafts Era: Reform for Simpler Living." In "The Art that is Life": The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920, edited by Wendy Kaplan. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987), 336-69.
58. Most information in this section was provided by Mary Nelson, interview by author, 8 August 1988.

ADDENDUM TO:  
ZANE GREY HOUSE  
West side of Scenic Drive  
Lackawaxen  
Pike County  
Pennsylvania

HABS PA-5371  
*HABS PA,52-LACK,3-*

COLOR TRANSPARENCIES

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY  
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U.S. Department of the Interior  
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