

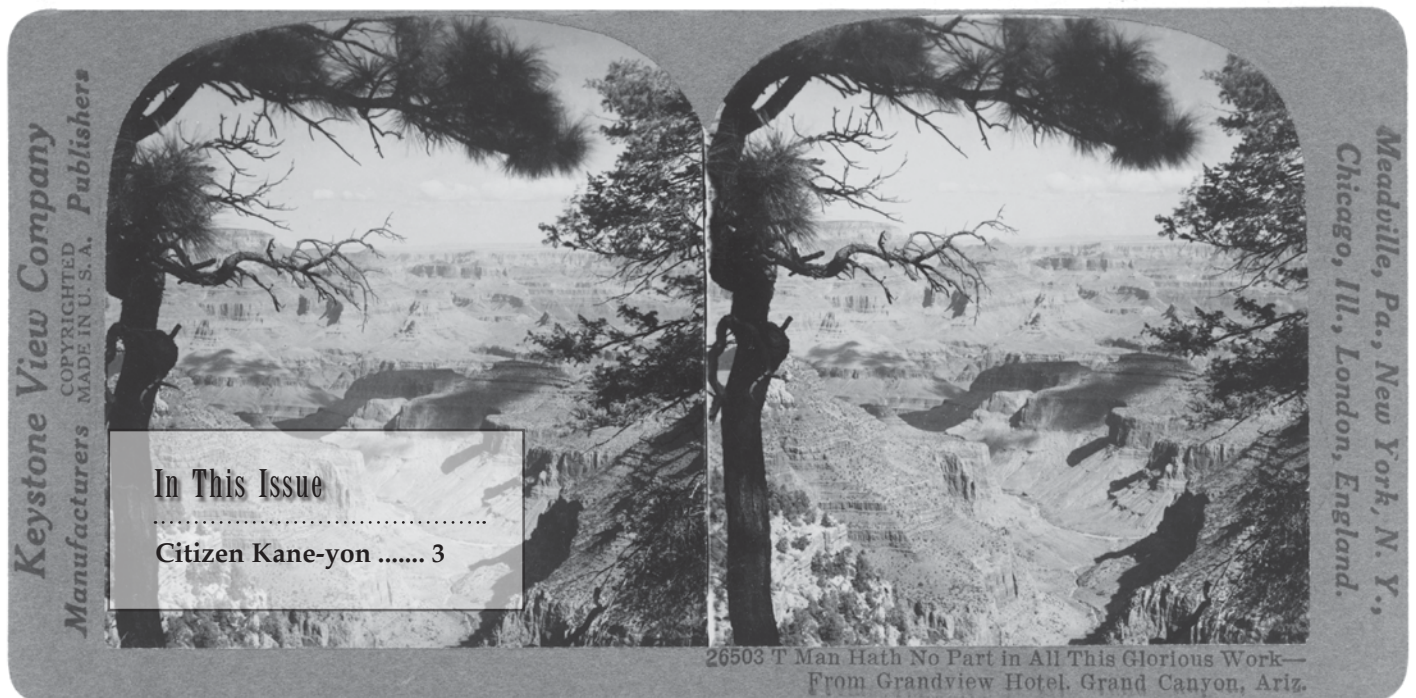
The Ol' Pioneer

The Magazine of the Grand Canyon Historical Society

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Fall 2012



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26503 T Man Hath No Part in All This Glorious Work—
From Grandview Hotel, Grand Canyon, Ariz.

President's Letter

Fall (or as I like to call it, 'season of prime canyon hiking weather') is finally here. The great 2012 Grand Canyon History symposium is now behind us and the work of publishing the proceedings is wrapping up. Aside from the symposium, in the last year we have also revamped the society website and started offered t-shirts and other gear with our new society logos. But now is the time for the society to look ahead to the new year and beyond. On Saturday morning, Nov 17, the GCHS board of directors (a dedicated group of volunteers elected by society members) will meet at the East Flagstaff Public Library for our annual board meeting to review the events of the past year and plan for the next. All members are welcomed and encouraged to attend as it one of the best ways to get to know the organization and have input on its direction.

Among the items we will be discussing is what do we want the society to do over the next couple of years. Will we have more outings, and if so, where to? What about sponsoring talks or speakers? What stories and information do people want to see in *The Bulletin*, website and *Ol' Pioneer*? How can we encourage new members to join and how can we interact better with existing ones? The discussions are always lively, but informal, and the participants friendly and engaged. If all that is not enough, we usually go out for lunch afterwards. So please consider attending and having your say on your society. Even if you can not attend the meeting in person, I welcome your input via email as well (president@grandcanyonhistory.com).

Erik Berg
GCHS President



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COVER: Image top: Front of Grandview Hotel with Grand Canyon behind building. Circa 1900. Photo-Grand Canyon National Park #06255

Image bottom: Photographic print on stereo card. Circa 1925. Man hath no part in all this glorious work—from Grandview Hotel, Grand Canyon, Ariz. Photo-Library of Congress

The Ol' Pioneer submission deadlines are going to be roughly the first of January, April, July, and October.

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The Historical Society was established in July 1984 as a non-profit corporation to develop and promote appreciation, understanding and education of the earlier history of the inhabitants and important events of the Grand Canyon.

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Submissions to *The Bulletin* should be sent to Karen Greig, kgreig@yahoo.com

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Citizen Kane-yon

by Don Lago

When the movie *Citizen Kane* came out in 1941, the officials of Grand Canyon National Park would have had a keen interest in seeing it. It was a story they knew all too well.

Citizen Kane was the thinly-disguised story of William Randolph Hearst, the most powerful media mogul in American history. At his peak Hearst owned twenty-eight newspapers in most of the major cities, a syndicated news service, a newsreel company, and some of America's leading magazines. His power was not due to his high journalistic standards. Hearst invented some of the worst practices of tabloid journalism; his papers were full of sensationalistic stories of murder and mayhem. For his political journalism, which included fabricating the stories that aroused Americans to go to war with Spain, the phrase "yellow journalism" was invented. Hearst was ruthless at pursuing his goals, the foremost of which was his own power. Hearst ran for political office repeatedly, including for president of the United States.

William Randolph Hearst did have genuine and strong political beliefs, which he had absorbed from his father George Hearst. George Hearst had remained a struggling working man until about age forty. Then George Hearst had struck it rich, and soon he owned some of the richest mines in America—the Comstock, the Homestake, the Anaconda. Yet George Hearst retained his sympathies for the common man. In his newspapers William Randolph Hearst battled for the common man against the power of monopoly corporations like the railroads. Hearst became a

voice of the rising progressive movement. Yet as the years passed and Hearst had more and more wealth to conserve, he became more and more conservative, until in the 1930s he became the fiercest critic of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

William Randolph Hearst also had something to conserve at the Grand Canyon. In 1913, six years before the establishment of Grand Canyon National Park, Hearst bought some beautifully forested land on the rim at Grandview. For the next quarter of a century Hearst fended off the National Park Service, which wished to acquire Hearst's land but lacked the political muscle to take it away from him. Then in 1939 the Roosevelt administration threw its full weight into the effort to take Hearst's land, and the result was an epic struggle. It would be the only time in the history of Grand Canyon National Park that

the NPS seized land through a condemnation lawsuit. During the time that Orson Welles was filming *Citizen Kane*, depicting Hearst's Faustian lust for power and property, Hearst was acting out this story at the Grand Canyon.

William Randolph Hearst first traveled through Arizona in 1886, at age twenty-three. Hearst's first known visit to the Grand Canyon came on October 16 1903. Hearst was now a U. S. congressman from New York, and he was seeking the Democratic nomination for president in 1904. In the fall of 1903 Hearst took a train trip through the Southwest, with twenty congressional supporters of his candidacy. Hearst was following the example of President Theodore Roosevelt, his would-be opponent in the 1904 election, who had made a train trip through the West earlier that year, including a stop at the Grand Canyon, where Roosevelt made his famous "leave it as it is" speech. If Hearst said anything about the Grand Canyon, the newspapers didn't deem it worth printing. The Flagstaff newspaper commented: "The Hearst party stopped here Friday morning—for the engine to take water. They did not take anything else that we have heard of, but we probably owe our escape to the early (7 a.m.) hour of their passing."¹ One of those accompanying Hearst was Arizona Senator Henry Ashurst, who would be an important ally in defending Hearst's Grandview lands against the NPS; years later, on the front page of Hearst's *New York American*, Ashurst would credit Hearst's support for his re-election victory. In Prescott and Phoenix Hearst was given a warm welcome, mainly because Hearst was in favor of Arizona statehood. Hearst



William Randolph Hearst, 1904. Photo—Library of Congress.

was far behind Teddy Roosevelt in knowledge about wildlife: the Phoenix newspaper said that Hearst wanted to see “the wild Arizona ostrich on his native heath.”² Hearst failed to win the Democratic nomination.

Over the next ten years Hearst “visited this section repeatedly,” according to the Flagstaff newspaper.³ In the fall of 1911 Grand Canyon pioneer Pete Berry contacted Hearst with an offer to sell him Berry’s lands at Grandview. Grandview had been the first hub of tourism at the canyon, with a hotel served by a stagecoach from Flagstaff. But in 1901 the Santa Fe Railway arrived a dozen miles to the west and built its far more modern and luxurious El Tovar Hotel there, and the Grandview Hotel gradually went out of business. In the canyon about 2,500 feet below Grandview, on Horseshoe Mesa, was a rich copper mine, but a large drop in copper prices had forced the mine to close. Pete Berry had developed both the hotel and mine, and now he was a bitter man, feeling that not only fate had conspired against him, but so had the Santa Fe Railway and the U.S. Forest Service. The Forest Service governed the Grand Canyon in the years before it became a national monument and park, and the Forest Service welcomed the resources and political power of the Santa Fe Railway, while a little guy like Pete Berry served little use. Berry was unwilling to sell his land to the corporation that had ruined him. And who was the most outspoken enemy of railroad corporations that crushed the little guy? William Randolph Hearst. In the fall of 1913 Hearst traveled to the Grand Canyon to inspect the Grandview property, and he decided to buy it.

Hearst eventually owned about 200 acres there, in four sections. Today the best-known part of Hearst’s land is Grandview Point, where Hearst owned the 4.5 acres at its tip. He also owned the mining claims on Horseshoe Mesa below. To the southeast of Grandview Point, about half-way back into the drainage of Hance Creek, was the now-closed Grand-

view Hotel on five acres of land, and further into the drainage was the 160-acre homestead of Pete Berry. Hearst bought the Berry homestead and the hotel site for \$74,000. Years earlier Berry had sold Grandview Point and the Horseshoe Mesa mining claims to a mining company, and though the mine was now inactive, its stocks were still active, and it would be 1927 before Hearst bought out those stocks and obtained Grandview Point and the Horseshoe Mesa claims. Hearst paid a total of \$125,000 for all of this land.

Pete Berry derived a spiteful glee in pitting William Randolph Hearst against the Santa Fe Railway and the U. S. government. Berry wrote to Ralph Cameron that his persecutors had “been after me day and night. I then came to the conclusion that I was too hard a nut to crack. So I have sold out to William Randolph Hearst so as to give them something easy to but [sic] up against.”⁴

The seeds of future conflict were sown by the fact that in places the Berry homestead didn’t quite reach to the canyon rim, leaving the rim belonging to the government. Hearst would go to great lengths to claim that thin strip of land.

When newspapers announced Hearst’s purchase of Grandview, it set off extravagant rumors about Hearst’s plans for the land. Residents of Flagstaff, which had lost out to Williams—the railroad junction—as the jumping off place for the Grand Canyon, were eager to believe that Hearst was going to restore Grandview to its prominence and boost Flagstaff’s tourism economy. The (Flagstaff) *Coconino Sun* speculated that Hearst was going to build a railroad or highway from Flagstaff to Grandview, or an electric train run by power from the dam Hearst would build on the Colorado River:

This purchase by the multi-millionaire...gives rise to many conjectures...

This section of the Grand Canyon is undoubtedly the most wonderful of all...[which] naturally convince[s] the casual observer that the project is more than one of securing a home on the brink of the Canyon...

Flagstaff and this practically unknown wonderland has needed someone with unlimited means to make it the most sought land in the whole west, and with William Randolph Hearst securing this special advantageous point...it would seem that a realization of pioneer hopes had come at last...

Aside from the wonders of this country, which many a tourist has come all the way from Europe to see, there are possibilities of water power that would supply all of Arizona with power, as well as parts of Colorado and Utah.⁵



Kolb Bros portrait of pioneer Pete Berry at Grandview Hotel area. Circa 1907. Photo—Grand Canyon National Park #08117

A month later a *Coconino Sun* headline announced that "Hearst Will Build a Palatial Residence to Entertain Friends Touring This Section of the Country."

Mr. Hearst will have built a lodge that will be in keeping with the natural wonderland of which it will form a part...

Here, also, in the midst of what is declared to be one of the most magnificent forests of pines in existence, will be erected a park with...driveways throughout its extent of 160 acres...[At what] will be unlike any residential spot in existence, Mr. and Mrs. Hearst plan to entertain their many friends who journey from the Atlantic to California and from abroad to view the great natural wonder.⁶

Soon the *New York Times*, no admirer of Hearst's endless scheming in New York politics, found another motive:

PHOENIX, Ariz., Feb. 9—According to reports here, William Randolph Hearst aims to be the next United States Senator from Arizona. Mr. Hearst, it is said, will establish a residence in Arizona within the next few months, and in due time seek the Senatorial nomination to succeed Senator Mark Smith.

Real estate men say that Mr. Hearst has purchased a large tract of land on the Grand Canyon and is planning to erect a modern hotel that will be one of the most palatial and commodious in the entire West. Work on the structure, it is said, will be started soon...

Mr. Hearst could not be reached last night, but his secretary, Mr. O'Reilly, confirmed that part of the dispatch relating to the purchase of land.

"It is true that Mr. Hearst has bought some land in Arizona," said Mr. O'Reilly, "but the rest of the dispatch is merely presumption. Mr. Hearst does not intend to leave New York. He bought the

site of an old hotel merely because its situation on the Grand Canyon appealed to him."⁷

A month later the editor of Hearst's Los Angeles newspaper passed through Flagstaff, after meeting with Hearst in New York, and provided more hope for Flagstaff:

Bostwick stated that the plans were being drawn for three distinct propositions, which included, first, a palatial residence for the owner, a resort hotel to accommodate a large number of tourists and the building of an electric railway from Flagstaff to the rim of the Grand Canyon with the terminus at Grandview...

As to when the railroad will begin building or from what source the power is to be drawn were facts not given publicity, but it is believed the immense undertaking will be practically initiated not later than June or July of the present year.

Speaking of reports in circulation and published throughout the country that Mr. Hearst was to make Arizona his home, to gain recognition as an aspirant for future senatorial honors from this state, Mr. Bostwick stated that such an impression was without any foundation whatever...

Mr. Hearst is to make New York City his base of operations, but will be a frequent visitor to Grand View, where he will maintain a home and entertain his friends without any other motive than that of a private citizen who has invested in the country, and who is appreciative of its marvelous scenic attractions.⁸

William Randolph Hearst did enjoy making plans for Grandview. In 1914 he told his new architect, Julia Morgan, who later would design his San Simeon castle, to design a cottage for Grandview. Later Hearst had Morgan design for Grandview an elegant residence, a hotel, and a public museum for his substantial collection of Native American artifacts. Hearst

had bought many of these artifacts through Herman Schweizer, who managed Indian arts sales for the Fred Harvey Company, the Santa Fe Railway subsidiary that ran its tourist services, including at the canyon. In 1927 Schweizer informed Hearst that he had bought a large bell, weighing hundreds of pounds, and sent it to the Grand Canyon (he mentioned no plans for it), and Hearst was welcome to buy this bell for \$1,500. Hearst did buy it. But of Hearst's building plans for Grandview, nothing ever came of them.

Except myths. A century after Hearst's purchase of Grandview set off a flurry of rumors, Hearst is still generating rumors. At least three books about Julia Morgan claim that her 1914 cottage was indeed built, and the publisher's blurb for one of these books claims that Hearst built a "famed lodge" at Grandview. This same book includes a photo of a cabin that is captioned as the Morgan/Hearst cottage. Yet this photo shows a wooden frame building, while Morgan's plans for this cottage show it as a southwestern-style adobe building.⁹ These claims about the Morgan cottage are contradicted by NPS documents and by the statements of Hearst's attorney, Frank Lathrop, who handled much of his Grandview dispute. Lathrop often met with Frank Kittredge, the NPS western regional director based in San Francisco. (Kittredge's jurisdiction didn't actually include Grand Canyon National Park, but since he was in the same city as Hearst's lawyers, he would handle many of the interactions with Hearst). After a 1938 meeting Kittredge wrote: "Mr. Lathrop emphasized that Mr. Hearst had always loved this property in Grand Canyon, and time and again had called in architects to discuss building but never had done so, perhaps because of his diversified and more pressing interests elsewhere."¹⁰ A year later Kittredge wrote that Lathrop had said that Hearst had been "...hoping to build on this property himself, but this being impossible..."¹¹ In preparing its condemnation of Hearst's



Interior of the Grandview Hotel lobby. Circa 1905. Detroit Photographic. Photo-Grand Canyon National Park #12090

land, the NPS made a thorough inventory of its contents, including its 928 ponderosa pine trees, its 35-year-old horse, and its 7,123 feet of fences made of five-strand wire and steel posts. There was a highly detailed list of all the buildings, including Pete Berry's original cabin, now expanded to 750 square feet at a cost of about \$2,000 for use by Hearst's caretaker Dick Gilliland (it was probably this cabin that was incorrectly identified as Morgan's cottage). The NPS inventory made no mention of any Julia Morgan cottage. Longtime Grand Canyon postmaster Art Metzger, who lived through the Hearst era, recalled for NPS interviewer Julie Russell that Hearst never built anything at Grandview, although Dick Gilliland did fix up his cabin "pretty nice." Hearst documents indicate that he spent a total of \$4,715 on improvements at Grandview, nearly half of which would have been for improving Gilliland's cabin. In 1926 Grand Canyon

Superintendent J. R. Eakin talked with Hearst at Hopi House and wrote to Stephen Mather: "He informed me that he had definitely decided to pull down the old buildings and build 'a little place.'"¹² In 1940 the Acting Superintendent of Grand Canyon National Park, J. V. Lloyd, wrote: "At no time in the memory of old local residents has Mr. Hearst stayed on the ranch while at Grand Canyon, but during his rare visits he has always stopped at El Tovar Hotel. This probably is due to the fact that the existing buildings are old and unsuitable for this general use by Mr. Hearst."¹³

Yet at first Hearst seems to have made more use of Grandview. It's hard to track Hearst's visits to the canyon, as there are few sources about it. One good source is Harold G. Davidson's biography of Jimmy Swinnerton, a Hearst artist who played host at Grandview. Hearst hired Swinnerton in 1892 when Hearst was starting out as a newspaperman in San Francisco,

and he regarded Swinnerton as his protégé. Swinnerton did illustrations and then cartoons and then political cartoons. While still in his twenties Swinnerton contracted tuberculosis, atop his alcoholism, and his doctor predicted he would be dead in a month. Hearst sent Swinnerton to the California desert to recuperate or die, and Swinnerton was amazed when he recovered, and he credited the desert for saving his life. In the desert Swinnerton devoted himself to painting. In 1914, six months after Hearst had bought Grandview, Swinnerton headed there to use it as a base for painting the Grand Canyon. Davidson's book includes one Swinnerton painting of the Grandview Hotel and one of its blacksmith shop, and two paintings of the view from Grandview. Hearst seems to have offered the Grandview Hotel as a vacation spot for his wide circle of friends, including famous artists and writers, and Swinnerton met them at the Flag-

staff train station: "Jimmy was kept busy meeting and escorting such visitors as Zane Grey, William R. Leigh, and Mary Roberts Rinehart down the dusty road to Grandview."¹⁴ Hearst too came. "Jimmy waited at the depot on several occasions when the Hearst entourage came to town. Phoebe Hearst [Hearst's mother], "WR," and friends would often be unloaded from the Santa Fe cars and driven to Grandview."¹⁵ When Swinnerton married in 1917, he took his new bride to Grandview. Swinnerton stayed in Arizona several years, mainly in Flagstaff, and one outcome was the comic strip "Canyon Kiddies," which featured the adventures of Indian children set in southwestern scenes, including on the rim of the Grand Canyon. Hearst was the pioneer of the Sunday comic strip, and "Canyon Kiddies" ran in his *Good Housekeeping* magazine for nearly twenty years.

One Hearst visit to the canyon is recorded in a Kolb brother's photograph of Hearst, Will Rogers, and others riding mules down the Bright Angel Trail on April 20, 1915. (Decades later, Will Rogers's son would buy another private inholding on the canyon rim, a motel and bar at the Orphan mine site on the West Rim). This photo was taken only five days after the premiere of the Kolb's movie of their recent Colorado River boat trip, which they would show in their South Rim studio for decades to come. Hearst was an avid photographer and had recently gotten into the newsreel and the movie serial business (starting with *The Perils of Pauline*). Hearst got to know the Kolbs and wanted them to take him on a Grand Canyon river trip, but nothing ever came of it. Hearst later hired Ellsworth Kolb to photograph San Simeon; while working there, Ellsworth took a bad fall.

The Grandview Hotel was rustic to begin with, and by 1914 it was hurting from its nearly two decades of age and its years of being closed. It's not surprising that by 1926, when Hearst spoke with Superintendent Eakin, he had decided to tear it down. The hotel was removed a few years later

and its logs were donated to architect Mary Colter for use in her Desert View Watchtower, where they can be seen today in the ceiling of the round entrance room. The old trail from the rim to Horseshoe Mesa was also decaying, and in 1927 Hearst cabled his lawyer A. T. Sokolow about improving the trail, but it's not known if any work was done.

We have only one definite record of Hearst visiting the canyon in the 1920s, and that comes from Eakin's account. Hearst arrived one morning with a party of a dozen people, and they headed out to Grandview but were supposed to stay at El Tovar that night. When Eakin looked for Hearst at El Tovar he found that Hearst had changed his mind and was leaving that evening, though he said "he was returning soon for a longer stay."¹⁶ Eakin did speak with Hearst's attorney about Hearst caretaker Dick Gililand, who showed "extreme antagonism toward the government."¹⁷

After the Grandview Hotel was gone, Hearst had less incentive to invite his friends or himself to Grandview. When the park engineer was making his 1939 inventory of Hearst's lands, he added: "It is reported that Mr. Hearst visited his holdings here twice in the past nine years, occupying quarters in the local El Tovar Hotel."¹⁸

Yet again, William Randolph Hearst spawned myths. Postmaster Art Metzger said that years later a star-struck writer for the Williams newspaper greatly exaggerated the celebrity life at Grandview. This may have been the version heard by Howard Stricklin, who was park superintendent in the 1960s and who, in an interview with NPS ranger Julie Russell in 1981, regarded Grandview as a love nest for Hearst's mistress Marion Davies: "And he bought the place for her. Then he'd come and visit her there."¹⁹

Hearst's neglect of Grandview was typical of him, for his acquisitive appetites far exceeded his time and budget for digestion. Hearst bought a castle in Wales and a ranch in Mexico, and he built a palatial "beach house"

in Santa Monica, a Bavarian mansion called Wynton near Mt. Shasta, and his Mediterranean-style castle at San Simeon, which began absorbing most of his attention and money a few years after he bought Grandview. Hearst spent an estimated \$50 million dollars on sculptures, art, furniture, and antiques, often through gallery catalogs, and much of it got shipped straight to his massive warehouses in three cities, where it sat—still crated and unseen—for decades. Hearst also hoarded real estate and newspapers, which he couldn't bear to sell even when they were losing serious money. Hearst was following the collecting passion of his mother Phoebe, who had led the boy William through Europe on her art-hunting trips. Hearst's aesthetic tastes did include a good view: he told Julia Morgan that the ocean view from his little mountain at San Simeon was its main asset, and that her buildings should be placed and designed to take full advantage of it. Grandview too offered a grand view.

Yet Hearst valued extravagant displays of wealth far more than he valued nature. At Harvard Hearst had flunked his Natural History class. Hearst's idea of camping out was much like the scene in *Citizen Kane* where Kane's 'picnic' includes luxury tents and chefs. Hearst's newspapers showed little interest in conservation issues. In the years President



Marion Davies

Teddy Roosevelt was trying to shape an American conservation ethic, the Hearst newspapers pummeled Roosevelt with abuse. Hearst's *Los Angeles Examiner* campaigned incessantly to dam the Colorado River to provide water and power for California's growth. While John Muir was battling to save Hetch Hetchy from being turned into a reservoir, Hearst's only concern was whether it would be run as a private business or a public utility. Hearst believed in public ownership—but not for anything he owned.

In the same year—1914—that William Randolph Hearst was making himself at home at Grandview, a mining executive named Stephen Mather wrote an indignant letter to the Secretary of the Interior complaining about how powerful private interests were threatening the national parks. The Secretary wrote back that if Mather didn't like the way the parks were being run, he should come to Washington and run them himself, as the director of the new National Park Service. When Mather started, the NPS was a small agency with few resources and little political clout, and it was up against very powerful economic and political opposition. Mather devoted himself to establishing the authority of the NPS, to establishing new parks, and to fighting off numerous threats to the parks. One of Mather's first goals was to get the Grand Canyon made into a national park. Even President Teddy Roosevelt hadn't been able to achieve that, for Arizona politicians were strongly opposed to the idea. For many westerners, the land was made for resource extraction, for mining, grazing, and lumbering; taking away the private lands of heroic pioneers was deeply un-American.

As Stephen Mather and his deputy Horace Albright campaigned to establish the Grand Canyon as a national park, they began encountering a mysterious and powerful opposition. They had calibrated the power of Arizona politicians, but this opposition was something greater. Horace Albright recalled the situation in a 1981 interview with NPS ranger Julie

Russell:

We found we were having an unknown enemy when the Park bill was going through, unknown enemy opposing it. I've forgotten how the opposition was being expressed—but anyhow it was effective. We found out one way or another...that William Randolph Hearst was back of it, backing the opposition. The reason was, he was afraid the National Park Service would take Grandview and that Berry property away from him. That's why he didn't want it made a park.²⁰

Even if Hearst kept his land, he worried that the thin strip of land between his land and the canyon rim might now fall into unfriendly hands. Mather and Albright reluctantly yielded to Hearst's power, agreeing to a provision in the bill creating Grand Canyon National Park. This provision said:

That where privately owned lands within the said park lie within three hundred feet of the rim of the Grand Canyon no building, tent, fence, or other structure shall be erected on the park lands lying between said privately owned lands and the rim.²¹

To the uninitiated this provision, which didn't mention Hearst by name, was quite mysterious. Why 300 feet? The private lodges and other businesses within the park were a lot closer to the rim than 300 feet. But 300 feet was the distance of the Berry-Hearst cabin from the canyon rim. "So when we got that arrangement made," said Albright, "why the opposition dropped and that ended our trouble." Ralph Cameron was still fighting the park bill, "but he didn't have the influence to stop the bill from going through."²² The bill's sponsors, Arizona's Senator Ashurst and Congressman Carl Hayden, also included a provision protecting the rights of other private landholders. But Mather and Albright never accepted this, and they were deter-

mined to root out private inholdings. It was especially galling that the NPS couldn't even build a fence on its own land because it might offend William Randolph Hearst.

For years Director Mather sought to meet with Hearst to learn his intentions and persuade him to give his land to the park, but Mather had to communicate through intermediaries. In 1921 Ford Harvey, the head of the Fred Harvey Company, reported that he had run into Hearst's attorney in Chicago, who told him Hearst wanted to build "a fine residence" at Grandview, perhaps with one room devoted to a public museum for his Indian collection. Hearst was offended that the NPS owned the strip of land between his land and the rim, and he wanted it. Perhaps the NPS would give this strip to Hearst in exchange for an equal amount of his land. Ford Harvey, who understood Mather's positions, thought Mather might agree to an exchange if it came with a promise that Hearst would refrain from any commercial development of his land, and perhaps would give the park an option to obtain the land. Hearst's lawyer, A. T. Sokolow, told Harvey to forget about obtaining the land.

A few months later Sokolow held meetings with Albright and Mather and officially made Hearst's proposal. Soon Mather wrote directly to Hearst stating his position: the NPS wanted Hearst's land. One of Mather's top personal priorities, to which he had "given a considerable amount of money from my private funds, is the elimination of private holdings within the boundaries of national parks."²³ The NPS would agree to Hearst's land exchange only if Hearst agreed to deed his entire land to the NPS upon his death, or perhaps—Mather knew that Hearst was 59 years old—his children's deaths. If Hearst refused this offer, he could obtain the land exchange only by agreeing to refrain from any commercial development of his land, and it would be best if he gave the national park five or six times the acreage it gave him, and agreed to allow the

public free access to the canyon rim along his lands.

Two years later, Mather was still waiting to meet with Hearst to talk about a deal.

The next interaction between Hearst and Mather was initiated by George Parker, head of the Parker Pen Company. One of Parker's former employees, Arno Cammerer, was now one of Mather's top aides and sometimes served as acting director of the NPS. Parker was also well acquainted with Hearst's top executives. When Parker visited Grand Canyon National Park in June of 1924, Superintendent Eakin drove him out to Hearst's lands. Eakin wrote to Stephen Mather:

I suggested to Mr. Parker that it would be a very gracious thing for Mr. Hearst to donate this property to the government; that we would preserve it in its original condition and establish a campground on this property. Furthermore...we would erect a suitable tablet stating that the property had been donated to the Government by Mr. Hearst and this tablet would be one of the very best means of perpetuating Mr. Hearst's name for all time.²⁴

Parker passed this suggestion through to Hearst. Stephen Mather was not naïve enough to imagine that Hearst's lust for immortality would be satisfied by a plaque, but he wrote back to Eakin: "I hope something comes of it. It is always possible, of course. If it does go through I will feel more like erecting a tablet to Mr. Parker than perhaps to Mr. Hearst."²⁵

In the midst of these communications, a map landed on the desks of both Hearst and the NPS. The NPS was planning to build a new road between Grand Canyon Village and Desert View, and the surveyors had selected a route that cut across one corner of Hearst's land. This route was shortest and required no grading and offered a natural, solid road bed; it would save the park thousands of dollars. At last, Hearst had something to bargain with. It took

two years, but Hearst and Mather worked out a congressional bill exchanging the roadway land for the strip of rim land Hearst had wanted, with no further conditions attached. Mather did win the acreage contest, gaining 48.9 acres from Hearst while giving him 25.8 acres. More than half a year before the bill passed, Hearst gave permission to begin building the new road over what was still his land. But this land swap got Hearst into trouble with his wife, who was co-owner of the land and who was reluctant to sign the transfer deed. Mrs. Hearst complained that William was signing away their children's inheritance. William huffed that this was "absurd" and finally got his wife to sign.

At some point—Albright's recollection has no date—Mather and Albright finally got to meet with Hearst. Albright:

I can remember how I was almost as thrilled and excited at seeing the great William Randolph Hearst as I was in seeing the Grand Canyon. I knew he was a very big man and reading his newspapers we regarded him as a ferocious character, a man of tremendous force and very difficult, and a man that a man would be afraid of. So when we finally had our appointment at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, we were both shocked and surprised to find what a gentle fellow he was. He was just as gentle as a baby. Kindly eyes and friendly smile and charming and pleasant. We had one delightful visit with him. He said all he wanted Grandview for was to establish a museum for his silver collections, particularly his Indian collections he had. Mr. Mather said, "Would they be open to the public?" "Why, of course," he said, "it would be a museum for the public. I would like to have the pleasure of building that structure and putting my things in it." He collected all sorts of things, you know, one of the world's greatest collectors. He said he wanted



Mrs. Hearst Photo—Library of Congress

to be sure the stuff didn't get in the wrong hands...Well, you couldn't argue with him about that. If he was going to develop it into a public museum and put all his collections in there, why it would have been a good thing for the Park. So we accepted his viewpoint and thanked him and after a very pleasant visit, we left him.²⁶

By now Mather and Albright had fought many nasty battles with men and corporations that were determined to exploit and sabotage other national parks, so by contrast Hearst was a fairly benign problem, and the NPS left him alone for years.

Horace Albright had another reason to remain scared of William Randolph Hearst. At the start of 1929, soon after Albright had replaced Mather as director of the NPS, Albright was scared that Hearst's power was going to get him thrown out of his job. Herbert Hoover had just been inaugurated as president, and there was already uncertainty about Hoover retaining or replacing agency heads. "For about a month I sweated it out," Albright wrote in his memoir *The Birth of the National Park Service*, "and I felt even more nervous when I heard a persistent rumor that was

making the rounds. It seemed that George Hearst, one of the sons of the newspaper magnate, was being pushed by influential people for the job of Director of the National Park Service."²⁷

George Hearst was grossly unqualified for the job. He was twenty-five years old, a serious alcoholic, a dropout after one year of college, and so incompetent working at one of his father's newspapers that his father had him fired. Even at Grandview, Dick Gilliland seemed aware of George's troubles: in June 1927 Gilliland wrote to a Hearst lawyer suggesting that George Hearst could buy some available land six miles from Grandview, just outside the park boundary, turn it into a great dude ranch, and become the ranch manager. Nothing came of this idea. It's surprising that William Randolph Hearst would want to see George in a high-profile position like director of the NPS. But perhaps the "influential people" pushing for George Hearst was actually President Hoover. Hearst had endorsed someone else for the 1928 Republican nomination, and Hoover was anxious to win Hearst's support for his presidency. Then again, at this moment William Randolph Hearst was angry at Horace Albright, for he feared Albright was betraying his promise not to take his Grand Canyon land.

Hearst was angry over a proposal pending in congress that enabled the NPS to acquire private lands inside national parks by either purchase or legal condemnation. This proposal was a response to an emergency at Yosemite National Park, where a timber company had the rights and the plans to cut thousands of acres of trees. But the proposal was stated in general terms, and Hearst feared it could be applied to his Grand Canyon lands. A Hearst representative—and boyhood friend of Horace Albright—called on Albright. On February 23, only a week before Hoover's inauguration, Albright wrote back that this proposal was not intended to apply to Hearst, who:

...has worked splendidly with the National Park Service in many

matters...I am perfectly willing to go on record, unofficially, not to proceed toward the acquisition of these properties, but to leave this to future personal conferences with Mr. Hearst or his authorized representatives with the view of perhaps evolving something that would serve our purposes and at the same time entirely meet with Mr. Hearst's plans and ideas for their future."²⁸

Horace Albright kept his job, but he also kept the goal of obtaining Hearst's land eventually. Hearst attorney John Francis Neylan kept Albright's letter, for as Neylan wrote to Hearst: "If the Bill should pass, the enclosed letter, retained as a confidential document, will be very valuable in dealing with the matter in the future."²⁹ This letter would indeed reappear.

Hearst was correct to fear the NPS's new powers of condemnation, for ten years later the NPS used this power to take Hearst's land. This outcome was set in motion a few months after Albright pledged not to take action against Hearst. In October, 1929, the Wall Street crash triggered the Great Depression, which placed Hearst under tremendous financial pressure, and which placed Franklin Roosevelt in the White House. Franklin Roosevelt loathed William Randolph Hearst. He had inherited this loathing from his cousin Teddy. The Roosevelt family's loathing of Hearst went back more than a third of a century. Now it would be not just a small federal agency aimed against Hearst, but the full powers of the White House.

William Randolph Hearst and Teddy Roosevelt should have been political allies, for both were passionate progressives at home and chauvinists in foreign policy; Hearst had "provided the war" that made Teddy Roosevelt famous as a Rough Rider. But both men were politically ambitious, and with Hearst's move to New York City in 1895, both men were living in the same city, and there wasn't enough space for both of

them. In 1898 Teddy Roosevelt ran for governor of New York, and Hearst yearned to run against him. "That Theodore Roosevelt," wrote Hearst biographer David Nasaw, "who was less than five years older, was already so far ahead of him only whetted Hearst's ambitions. It is impossible to measure the depth of his loathing for Roosevelt..."³⁰ Hearst found it inopportune to run for governor in 1898 after living in the state so briefly, but in the pages of his *New York Journal* he launched against Roosevelt what Nasaw called "a brilliantly coordinated campaign of ridicule," complete with cartoons portraying Roosevelt as a brat, a humbug, and a cynical opportunist. Roosevelt won.

Two years later William McKinley chose Teddy Roosevelt to run for vice president, and Hearst reprised his anti-Roosevelt campaign on a national level. Editorials and cartoons ridiculed everything about Roosevelt, including his love of the West. Roosevelt won. Once during the campaign, and once after McKinley won, the Hearst newspapers implied that McKinley deserved to be assassinated. Before long, McKinley was assassinated. Teddy Roosevelt was now president. Hearst was widely and angrily blamed for the assassination.

Two years later Hearst finally got his own political career off the ground by getting elected to congress. Soon he was seeking the 1904 Democratic nomination for president, to kick Teddy Roosevelt out of the White House. But Hearst was too controversial for most Democrats, and he lost the nomination three-to-one to the safer Alton Parker. Parker lost to Teddy Roosevelt in the greatest landslide in American history to that time.

Two years later Hearst announced he was running for governor of New York, and President Roosevelt saw his chance for revenge. "We must win," Roosevelt wrote to one congressman, "by a savage and aggressive fight against Hearstism and an exposure of its hypocrisy, its insincerity, its corruption, its demagoguery, and in general its utter worthlessness and wickedness."³¹ To an English friend

Roosevelt wrote:

It is a little difficult for me to give an exact historic judgment about a man whom I so thoroughly dislike and despise as I do Hearst...Hearst's private life has been disreputable. His wife was a chorus girl or something like that on the stage...He preaches the gospel of envy, hatred and unrest...he is entirely willing to sanction any mob violence if he thinks that for the moment votes are to be gained by doing so...He cares nothing for the nation, nor for any citizen in it...He is the most potent single influence for evil we have in our life.³²

Roosevelt quietly planted reports and rumors about Hearst's personal immoralities. As election day approached and the race looked close, Roosevelt dispatched Secretary of State Elihu Root to a public rally in New York to lead the attack on Hearst:

I say to you, with the President's authority, that he regards Mr. Hearst to be wholly unfit to be Governor, as an insincere, self-seeking demagogue, who is trying to deceive the workingmen of New York by false statements and false promises...In President Roosevelt's first message to Congress, in speaking of the assassin of McKinley, he spoke of him as inflamed 'by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public press, appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred.'...I say, by the President's authority, that in penning these words, with the horror of President McKinley's murder fresh before him, that he had Mr. Hearst specifically in mind. And I say, by the President's authority, that what he thought of Mr. Hearst then he thinks of Mr. Hearst now.³³

The anti-Hearst newspapers repeated Root's message loudly. On election day one and a half million

New Yorkers cast their votes, and Hearst lost by 60,000 votes.

Observing all of this was young Franklin Roosevelt, who idolized and modeled himself on his cousin Teddy. In 1920 the Democrats nominated Franklin Roosevelt for vice president. Hearst, for the first time in his life, endorsed the Republican presidential candidate, Warren Harding.

Two years later Hearst once again set out to run for governor of New York, and Franklin Roosevelt worked to defeat him.

In 1932 Governor Franklin Roosevelt was the frontrunner for the Democratic nomination for president, and Hearst did his best to stop him, pushing the candidacy of an old friend, Congressman John Nance Garner. Hearst organized Garner's campaign, which was mostly an anti-Roosevelt campaign.

At the Democratic National Convention Roosevelt was about one hundred votes short of the two-thirds needed to win the nomination. Garner had about one hundred delegates. Roosevelt operatives pleaded with Hearst to throw Garner's votes to Roosevelt, since, after all, Hearst and Roosevelt shared basic progressive values. Hearst did like the idea of being a kingmaker, so he pushed Garner to support Roosevelt. When Garner was nominated for vice president, Hearst was sure it was his payoff. Hearst was expecting to play a major role in shaping Roosevelt's cabinet and policies, but Roosevelt was less responsive than Hearst felt he deserved.

For awhile Roosevelt and Hearst tried to bury the hatchet, but as Roosevelt implemented his New Deal policies, Hearst found them intolerable. The New Deal imposed major restrictions on corporations and major taxes on the rich. Hearst's proletarian sympathies were now well buried beneath his self-interest as one of the richest businessmen in America. Hearst was outraged that the New Deal was pushing for fair wages and work conditions in the newspaper industry. Hearst declared that Roosevelt was violating the Bill of Rights

and promised to fight his measures to the Supreme Court. Hearst began calling Roosevelt a communist and a dictator: "The people elected a Democratic Administration, not a socialist dictatorship. The people approved the well considered proposals of the Democratic platform, not the theories of Karl Marx and the policies of Stalin."³⁴ America was being ruled by "Stalin Delano Roosevelt." By the start of 1935, two years into the New Deal, Hearst launched all-out war against Roosevelt and became the national leader of the Roosevelt-haters. When Roosevelt ran for re-election in 1936, Hearst plucked Kansas governor Alf Landon out of obscurity and placed the full power of his media empire behind Landon, whose vice-presidential running mate was the editor of Hearst's Chicago newspaper, Frank Knox.

Roosevelt, wary of Hearst's power, at first tried his famous charm on Hearst and tried to appeal to Hearst's old progressive values, but finally Roosevelt lost patience. "I sometimes think," said Roosevelt, "that Hearst has done more harm to the cause of Democracy and civilization in America than any three other contemporaries put together."³⁵ Roosevelt began counterattacking, sometimes openly, but mostly he placed his attack on Hearst in the hands of Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes.

In June 1935 Roosevelt announced a major tax increase on the wealthy, which Hearst would brand as "essentially Communism." On the day Roosevelt's tax message was being introduced in congress, Roosevelt met with Harold Ickes and read his tax message to him. Ickes wrote in his diary: "He told me that he thought it was the best thing he had done as president...At one place in the message he looked at me with a smile and said, 'That is for Hearst.'"³⁶

Harold Ickes, of course, was also in charge of the National Park Service. It would be Harold Ickes who would direct the seizure of Hearst's land at the Grand Canyon.

> To be continued in the next issue...

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- 2 The Arizona Republican, Oct 18, 1903.
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- 6 Coconino Sun, January 23, 1924.
- 7 The New York Times, February 19, 1914.
- 8 Coconino Sun, March 13, 1914.
- 9 Julia Morgan's papers are in Special Collections at the Robert E. Kennedy Library, California Polytechnic State University at San Luis Obispo. Her papers do not contain any architectural plan for a cottage, simply drawings.
- 10 Frank Kittredge memo to NPS Director, August 31, 1938. File L3023, Grand Canyon National Park Research Library (GCNPRL).
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