



The Ol' Pioneer

The Magazine of the Grand Canyon Historical Society

Volume 24 : Number 1

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Winter 2013



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President's Letter

Greetings All GCHS Members and GCHS Friends!

As your newly elected president I am honored to help lead this fantastic organization into the future. At our last board meeting, there was palpable excitement in the air about our future as one of the primary organizations concerned with the documentation and recording of Grand Canyon's dynamic human history. I want you to know that your officers are dedicated to making this an even better Society in the future, that will evolve and change, much as the canyon landscape has done over the last 6 million years (or is that 70 million?). There is a new energy among the officers that will drive our ambitions forward as we prepare for the next symposium in 2017. But four promising years lie between us and that date with destiny and we will not be idle until that day. Some of the goals we have in mind are to publish the 3rd Symposium papers in either "print-on-demand" form or the old fashioned book route; the possible initiation of an Oral History Project"; some initiatives on finding a broader range of articles for *The Ol' Pioneer* (with all deference to our everlasting hero Don Lago); and attempts to revitalize the Outings Program.

Our out-going President, Erik Berg, has already thanked our two retiring board members and welcomed the new ones in a previous letter to you. But I must pen a few words on behalf of all GCHS members to Erik. THANK YOU for the outstanding leadership you gave to our Society during the past four years. You helped to bring this organization back from the brink of irrelevance and instilled a sense of pride and professionalism that might have seemed impossible then. When we look back to the time of your first letter to us (in the Spring, 2009 edition of *The Ol' Pioneer*), you asked each member to "consider [their] own rediscovery [and] continued exploration of the Grand Canyon and its history." I can do no better than that in asking our members to stay involved. All of us thank you for the dedication you gave to this organization in your four year presidency. I promise to try and emulate the high standard you set for me. I will try to attract younger members to the Society, pursue a closer relationship with our partners (GCNP, GCA, MNA, and NAU), and attempt to make the history of this world-class feature something more than a dry recitation of facts and dates.

Erik is not going away, he is merely transitioning to our Outings Coordinator. I am most happy for that, as I attempt to navigate the headwinds of far too many e-mails in my in-box, extended time away regarding work responsibilities, and a busy modern life-style. So with that, I thank you all in advance for your trust in me and let's set about to make Grand Canyon's history come alive!

Wayne Ranney
GCHS President



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COVER: Mule ride into the Grand Canyon, April 20, 1915. William Randolph Hearst is at the back of the pack, and in front (standing) is comedian Will Rogers Jr. Grand Canyon National Park photo # 10892

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

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Citizen Kane-yon

by Don Lago

Continued from Issue 23:4

Franklin Roosevelt did not select Harold Ickes as Secretary of the Interior because Ickes had any background as a conservationist: Ickes had none at all. Ickes wasn't even interested in the job. Ickes had wanted to be the commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, where he could continue his passion for fighting for the underdog. At the start of the twentieth century Ickes had been inspired by the progressive movement, by its outrage at the growing oligarchy and injustice in America. As a Chicago lawyer Ickes helped Jane Addams and her Hull House, took cases too radical for other lawyers, and served as president of the Chicago NAACP. Ickes became a major force in Chicago politics, a nasty world where his pugnacious personality fit right in. Ickes idolized Teddy Roosevelt and remained a strong progressive even as America became much more conservative. When the 1920 Republican National Convention repudiated the Teddy Roosevelt tradition by nominating Warren Harding, and the usual motion was made to make the nomination unanimous, an outraged Harold Ickes screamed "NO!" loudly enough to be heard all over the convention hall. In that fall's campaign Ickes worked for the Democratic candidates, James Cox and Franklin Roosevelt. Yet when Franklin Roosevelt was elected president a dozen years later, many old progressive leaders distrusted him, seeing a pragmatist with few convictions. Roosevelt wanted to reassure the progressives by appointing one of them to his cabinet.

Harold Ickes saw conservation mainly as another form of progressive crusading against the rich and powerful. In the year after taking office Ickes published a book, *The New Democracy*, to justify the agenda of the New Deal. Ickes argued that the

values of pioneer America, in which individual effort and an endless frontier promised both freedom and financial success, were no longer functional in an industrial, corporate world dominated by ruthless oligarchs. The Great Depression and environmental problems were both symptoms of the same disease: unregulated greed.

Denuded forests, floods, droughts, a disappearing water table, erosion, a less stable and equable climate, a vanishing wild life — these are some of the notable results of unchecked and ruthless exploitation by men who euphemistically refer to themselves as "rugged individualists"....³⁷

Beautiful scenery that man with all his genius could never hope to duplicate has been destroyed or marred in order that some rugged individualist might be able to buy a Rolls-Royce for his feckless son or finance another fling with his favorite chorus girl...³⁸

National parks are a distinctly American institution. No other country has set aside in perpetuity such areas of great natural beauty...In the middle ages the ruling classes appropriated to themselves great groves of trees and wide expanses of sylvan glade. One of the reasons for the strong stand of the English barons when they forced King John to sign Magna Charta was because the King had disregarded one of their most cherished prerogatives — that of establishing great forests in order to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. In the old times kings or nobles or churchmen might set apart for their own enjoyment areas of natural beauty. It was left to the United States to consecrate to the use and enjoyment of the people thousands of acres of the

most beautiful and awe-inspiring scenery that...can be found anywhere in the world.³⁹

This almost reads like a justification for taking William Randolph Hearst's land.

As Secretary, Ickes often found ways to pursue his passion for human rights issues. When Ickes built a large new headquarters for the Interior Department and an artist proposed for it a major mural depicting the four elements — air, water, fire, and earth — Ickes preferred a mural depicting the oppression of Native Americans and African Americans. It was Ickes who arranged for African-American singer Marian Anderson, when refused the DAR auditorium, to sing at the Lincoln Memorial. Since the Interior Department had jurisdiction over Native American policy, Ickes brought about major changes to make those policies far more respectful of tribal rights and traditions. Ickes wanted landscapes in national parks to have Native American names, not Euro-American names; he once fired off a memo complaining that Bryce Canyon had names like "Queens Garden."

Ickes took office less than a decade after the Teapot Dome scandal had badly marred the reputation of the Interior Department, and Ickes was determined to redeem and expand the agency. Ironically, he soon renewed the campaign of Albert Fall, the villain of Teapot Dome, to remove the Forest Service from the Department of Agriculture and add it to the Interior Department. Once again Gifford Pinchot weighed in against transferring the Forest Service, accusing Ickes of being driven by a lust for power.

Ickes's sympathies for the Common Man influenced his hopes and policies for the national parks. Ickes denounced the practice of building luxury hotels in national parks — such as Grand Canyon's

El Tovar — because they were playgrounds for the rich. In a speech to a 1934 gathering of the superintendents of all the national parks, Ickes declared:

I think there was a wrong concept to begin with. I think accommodations of that sort ought to be simple. The parks can perform a wonderful service in showing people that there is something more to life than jazz, and even radio...The greatest service that we can do the people who come to our parks is to get them back to the simpler things of life...That is what our parks are for. They are to be the great outdoor temple. And we ought not to desecrate them or permit them to be desecrated.⁴⁰

Ickes considered it a desecration that greedy railroad corporations built and ran many of the tourist facilities in national parks: "I wish we had the statutory power and the money to take over all of those concessions and run them ourselves."⁴¹ Ickes renounced the Mather-Albright emphasis on developing plenty of roads and facilities to draw tourists to the parks:

I do not want any Coney Island. I want as much wilderness, as much nature preserved and maintained as possible...I recognize that a great many people, an increasing number every year, take their nature from the automobile... But I think the parks ought to be for people who love to camp and love to hike and who like to ride horseback and wander about and have...a renewed communion with Nature...We lie awake at nights wondering whether we are giving the customers all of the entertainment and all of the modern improvements that they think they ought to have. But let's keep away from that, because if we once get started, there will be no end.⁴²

Environmental historians credit

Ickes with being the first Secretary of the Interior to declare that wilderness should be preserved for its own sake, not just for tourism or recreation. Ickes wanted to change the name of his department to the Department of Conservation. Perhaps the three summers the young Ickes had spent on a dude ranch in the Rockies had made a deep impression on him. Or perhaps he was serving the vision of his first hero, Teddy Roosevelt. Ickes put a lot of effort into creating new national parks and monuments, including Olympic and Kings Canyon. Ickes proposed three new national parks for New England and a 4.4-million-acre national monument for much of southern Utah, but local opposition blocked them. Ickes pushed for extensive national seashores: "When we look up and down the ocean fronts of America, we find that everywhere they are passing behind the fences of private ownership. The people can no longer get to the ocean...except by permission of those who monopolize the ocean front."⁴³

Ickes was very aggressive in pursuing his goals, partly because he had an aggressive personality. He often irritated President Roosevelt and other cabinet members. Horace Albright said: "There is no denying he could be very hard to get along with. He could be impetuous and unreasonable. Also, he constantly kept his associates off-balance. None of us could ever be sure that we wouldn't walk in one day and get fired."⁴⁴ Some sources say that Ickes's bullying convinced Horace Albright to retire six months after Ickes took office, and pushed Albright's successor, Arno Cammerer, into a heart attack. Ickes also fired a future director of the NPS, Conrad Wirth, only to soon apologize for his unfair wrath and rehire him. Yet President Roosevelt enjoyed aiming Ickes's combativeness against William Randolph Hearst.

Even as Hearst's attacks mounted and as the 1936 election neared, Roosevelt remained reluctant to fight back, but privately he was boiling.



Stephen T. Mather

In his diary for November 15 1935 Ickes wrote: "The President told me that...there was no man in the whole United States who was as vicious an influence as Hearst."⁴⁵ After Ickes made a speech blaming the rich for ruining American democracy, the Hearst newspapers ran a nationwide "editorial bitterly attacking me as a communist."⁴⁶ In January 1936 Ickes spoke with Roosevelt about "the question of William Randolph Hearst, who has been attacking the Administration viciously now for months. I think that there should be a counterattack...I believe that a real offensive ought to be opened up against Hearst with a determination to show him to the country for what he really is."⁴⁷ In February Ickes wrote in his diary: "It sounded today as if the President is about ready to turn someone loose on William Randolph Hearst. He has dug up a letter written by Theodore Roosevelt to Hearst in which he flays Hearst unmercifully, and he also has what Elihu Root said about Hearst when Root attacked him."⁴⁸ Franklin Roosevelt hadn't forgotten decades-old family grudges. When Hearst pushed the presidential candidacy of Alf Landon, Ickes urged Roosevelt to attack Landon by tying him to Hearst.



Horace M. Albright

On July 7, 1936, Ickes wrote:

The President had apparently been thinking of it and discussing who might make such a speech with the greatest effect. He had me in mind but he doubted the propriety of a member of the Cabinet making an attack on Hearst. I reminded him that Theodore Roosevelt had delegated Elihu Root on one occasion to attack Hearst and that seemed to change his mind considerably. I told him that I was not anxious for the job because I realized that Hearst would smear anyone who went after him, but that the job ought to be done and that I was willing to do whatever he wanted me to do.⁴⁹

Roosevelt decided that Ickes was the hatchet man for the job. Right before and right after the Republican National Convention, Ickes delivered nationwide radio speeches linking Landon with Hearst and lambasting Hearst. As Ickes's biographer T. H. Watkins described it: "He did it with savage delight."⁵⁰ Anti-Hearst newspapers gave Ickes's speech front-page, full-text coverage. As Ickes predicted, Hearst counterattacked in a personal way: "Hearst opened up

on me yesterday in a front-page story charging that my book, *Back to Work*, was written by members of the staff and, therefore, at the expense of the taxpayers. There was a long, detailed story full of moral indignation expressed against me."⁵¹ Three weeks later Ickes made another radio speech against Hearst and Landon, and Ickes wrote: "Undoubtedly Hearst will keep up his attack on me now rather vigorously. As a matter of fact, there was an editorial in the *Washington Herald* this morning...an insinuation that I have been a dismal failure as the head of this Department and have done everything wrong."⁵² Five days later: "That the Hearst press will overlook no opportunity to smear me from this time on there isn't any doubt."⁵³

Ickes knew he was living dangerously, for Hearst possessed some damning personal information about Ickes. Shortly after taking office Ickes began an affair with a much younger woman, which drove his wife to a suicide attempt. Someone began sending accusatory letters about the affair to newspapers, including Hearst's newspapers. To prove that these letters were being written by his lover's fiancé, Ickes had an Interior Department official gain entrance to the fiancé's apartment and find evidence. In March 1934 Ickes heard that Hearst's Chicago newspaper was going to print a story about his affair. Ickes called up Hearst himself in California and protested. Ickes lied and said the story wasn't true, and anyway Hearst wasn't supposed to be in the business of publishing personal gossip. This was true: Hearst might be ruthless in his political attacks, but he had always refrained from exposes about love affairs and other personal dirt, if only because Hearst's own private life was so vulnerable. Hearst called up his Chicago editor, and the affair story was killed. But not forgotten.

A few weeks before the 1936 election Ickes wrote in his diary: "On Tuesday the President called me up on a departmental matter and I took occasion to tell him that, in my

judgment, it was important for him to land with the full force of his right on Hearst's chin. I told him that no one else could do this for him...The President said that perhaps he ought to 'take a shot at the old man.'"⁵⁴

On October 1 "the old man" wrote in a front-page editorial: "Mr. Roosevelt declares that he is not a Communist, but the Communists say he is one. The Communists ought to know. Every cow knows its own calf..."⁵⁵

Roosevelt won in a landslide. After the next Cabinet meeting, Ickes wrote: "The President made it clear that Hearst is *persona non grata* so far as the Administration is concerned. He said definitely that as to Hearst our attitude was to be thumbs down, and he made a physical demonstration of what he meant when he said 'thumbs down.'"⁵⁶

Horace Albright had always remained "thumbs down" on Hearst's Grand Canyon lands. Before he retired in 1933, Albright made another attempt to talk Hearst into giving up his land. Albright recalled Hearst's plans for a museum:

Well, nothing happened. All those years went by and nothing happened...But as Director I decided to tackle Mr. Hearst because I understood he was in financial difficulties. He had finished his castle and he was much older, of course. I thought quite possibly he might have changed his mind about the museum and better not take any chances on his selling Grandview. So I undertook to get a date with him through a lawyer...Well, one of his lawyers got a date with him at the Ambassador Hotel. I had no reason to be afraid of him like I was before — I hadn't heard he'd changed temperamentally, anyway — only that he had had financial troubles...I looked forward to possibly being successful in winning him to a point of view that he should give the land to the Park, even if we gave him a concession to build the museum, which we hoped he

would. We had it all worked out as to how we'd handle it if he'd give us the land, or sell it to us for a reasonable sum if we could raise the money. I can remember going up to the hotel with a lawyer, but we couldn't get in because Miss Davies was with him and until that interview broke up, I couldn't see him. So I must have been there about an hour before the door opened and he and Miss Davies came out and he introduced me to Miss Davies... The same thing happened, he was gentle and kind and friendly, but he still had his museum idea and he wanted to go ahead with it. He wasn't willing to turn over the property. He complimented us on what we were doing on the administration of the park, said he had no apprehensions about anybody building up near him or anything. Being left as it was — that pleased him. He assured me that he was going to leave his property as it was; he wasn't going to do anything with it except build a museum sometime. He hoped to get it done and said, "I'm getting older all the time. I might not get it done." But he said, "I still have all my plans." So I couldn't do anything but thank him and go away.⁵⁷

With Albright willing to leave the matter alone, the NPS took no further action for the next five years. Besides, with the Great Depression, the NPS had no money to spare. During these years the owner of the Rowe Well property, a private inholding just south of Grand Canyon Village, offered to sell his land to the NPS. The NPS considered the Rowe Well property and the Hogan Orphan mine inholding on the rim to have a greater "nuisance value" than Hearst's land, for both places included bars at which locals often got drunk and got into fights. But the NPS had to forgo the Rowe Well purchase for lack of funds.

These were quiet years at Grandview. Dick Gilliland worked

on improving his cabin, and the only trouble he reported was that "Last winter a horse broke through [the cistern cover] and it was just by chance that he did not go entirely down and it would have spoiled the water, beside drowning the horse."⁵⁸

Hearst was indeed having financial troubles, and they got a lot worse over the next five years, until Hearst and his corporations were \$30 million in debt. By 1933 the advertising revenue at Hearst's newspapers had dropped from \$113 million to \$40 million, and more than half his papers were losing money. Banks refused to loan Hearst money. Hearst was forced to start selling off his art, his newspapers, and his real estate, even his castle in Wales, in which he'd invested millions of dollars for improvements. His Grandview property and plans too were affected.

Hearst may have been disingenuous when he told Albright that he only planned to build a museum at Grandview, for early on he had planned a residence, and not any cottage. When Hearst told Superintendent Eakin in 1926 that he was planning "a little place," this "little" was by San Simeon standards. By 1933 Hearst had had Julia Morgan draw blueprints for his Grandview residence, and in 1936, even amid all his financial troubles, Hearst was pressing ahead. Toward the end of June 1936 Hearst traveled to the Grand Canyon, and a few days later Julia Morgan flew to the canyon to join Hearst and look over his property. Two weeks later Hearst wrote to his construction superintendent George Loorz: "The work at Grand Canyon must be done economically. I am not prepared to spend a lot of money there."⁵⁹ Yet in September Hearst was facing financial realities and cabled Morgan from Europe to "bring Wyntoon and San Simeon work to conclusion October first and hold up Arizona until my return which will be soon."⁶⁰ Six months later Hearst saw Julia Morgan's construction plans for Grandview, and, as George Loorz's told a contractor: "but when Mr. Hearst heard they ran \$180,000...

he went up in the air. Much too much says he. Sorry, for if it had run a little over \$100,000 I think we would have started there May first with a bang."⁶¹ Soon Hearst was forced to shut down further work at his beloved San Simeon, so Grandview was now out of the question.

Horace Albright's feeling that a bankrupt Hearst didn't seem so fearsome was shared by the larger culture, in which Hearst increasingly seemed a symbol of hubris, of American overreaching for success and power. In a March 1939 cover story, *Time* magazine ridiculed the fallen Hearst, concluding: "...his appeal was not to men's minds but to those infantile emotions which he never conquered in himself: arrogance, hatred, frustration, fear."⁶² Later that year Aldous Huxley published a satirical novel about Hearst, *After Many a Summer Dies the Swan*. Soon, Orson Welles began work on *Citizen Kane*. And the Interior Department decided that it no longer needed to fear William Randolph Hearst.

In August 1938 Hearst attorney Frank Lathrop went to NPS regional director Frank Kittredge and told him that Hearst needed to sell properties that were least essential to him, and that this could include Grandview. Lathrop invited the NPS to make an offer. The NPS replied that it did not have any funds to buy Hearst's lands, and that no funds were likely anytime soon. The only hope for such a purchase lay in a 1929 law — the law that had so worried Hearst — that authorized the Secretary of the Interior to pay half the value of private lands inside national parks, if the other half could be obtained from private matching funds or as a donation from the land owner. Without this other half, the whole amount would need to be approved by congress, which was very unlikely.

When Kittredge wrote to Grand Canyon Superintendent Miner Tillotson about the proposal, word of it somehow leaked to Dick Gilliland, Hearst's caretaker. Gilliland wrote to Hearst complaining about this news,

and Frank Lathrop stormed into Frank Kittredge's office and "raked me over the coals," as Kittredge described it to Tillotson. "Mr. Hearst went up in the air and said he would have nothing to do with the sale. This in spite of the fact that he had authorized his agent to go ahead with it, but he intended it to be kept entirely confidential... the whole matter is supposed to be off..."⁶³ But Lathrop promised to raise the subject again with Hearst.

In the meantime, NPS managers started thinking about where they could get the other fifty percent of the funds needed for making such a purchase. Superintendent Tillotson talked with the Fred Harvey Company, and then he suggested approaching John D. Rockefeller Jr., who had been donating substantial lands for other national parks.

The Rockefeller idea came up through a chance inquiry. An agent for the Conoco Oil Company showed up at Tillotson's office and said his company wanted to open a gas station at the Grand Canyon, and he was talking with Martin Buggeln, who owned a private inholding just east of Grandview. But Buggeln's lands were a bit off the park road, so Conoco would need to build an access road on park land. Tillotson said the park would oppose that idea. The Conoco agent then asked if there were any other private inholdings where they could build a gas station. Tillotson kept his mouth shut. But this got Tillotson thinking that Standard Oil, owned by John D. Rockefeller Jr., might find Hearst's land a nice place for a gas station, if only they'd buy those lands from Hearst. An added incentive would be that Standard Oil, which supplied the Fred Harvey gas stations at Desert View and Grand Canyon Village, would preempt competition from Conoco.

Frank Kittredge replied to Tillotson that after Hearst had left his lands undisturbed for twenty-five years and offered to sell them that way to the park, it would look bad for the NPS to build a gas station there. Kittredge doubted that Standard Oil would spend an extravagant

amount of money for more than 200 acres of land for the sake of one gas station, and as for hoping for John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s personal help: "It is my understanding that the Rockefellers have been forced to give up some of their philanthropic activities."⁶⁴

After Hearst's blowup over the confidentiality of his land-sale proposal, Kittredge and Tillotson were taking pains to keep the whole subject secret, even from the NPS regional director who had jurisdiction over Grand Canyon National Park, which led to some bureaucratic ruffled feathers. But eventually Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes heard about it.

Secretary Ickes was in the midst of another round of open combat with William Randolph Hearst. Three times in early 1939 Ickes gave speeches denouncing the evil influences of Hearst and the rest of the monopolistic, conservative press. Later that year Ickes published a book, *America's House of Lords*, portraying the newspaper publishers as feudal barons who were oppressing the people. Ickes claimed that in 1910 Hearst had hired thugs who engaged in shoot-outs against other newspapers in the streets of Chicago, and that this was the beginning of the reign of gangsters in Chicago and across the nation. Hearst and other publishers struck back with what Ickes called "a violent storm of editorial abuse."⁶⁵ The editor who attacked Ickes most fiercely was Cissy Patterson at Hearst's *Washington Herald*. Patterson's spite had very personal motives, for Cissy Patterson had been in love with Harold Ickes and been jilted by him.

Harold Ickes met Cissy Patterson soon after FDR's inauguration. Patterson came from a powerful and wealthy publishing

family. Her grandfather was Joseph Medill, who had built the *Chicago Tribune* into a powerful newspaper, and her cousin still ran the *Tribune*. Her brother published the *New York Daily News*, and her daughter had married political columnist Drew Pearson. Cissy Patterson wanted to be a publisher and offered to buy the *Washington Herald* from Hearst, but Hearst declined and instead made Patterson editor and gave her one-third of the newspaper's profits. After Harold Ickes's wife died in a car accident in 1935, he and Cissy began dating seriously. Politically they were an odd couple, for Patterson was following Hearst into increasingly anti-Roosevelt stands. Then Ickes met a much younger woman, dumped Cissy, and married his new love. In her newspaper Cissy Patterson began attacking Ickes in such nasty, personal terms that Ickes contemplated suing her for libel.

In 1939 Cissy Patterson finally purchased the *Washington Herald*



SEC Ickes and bride return home. Olney, Md., June 22. Like a line from the song 'Knee Deep in Daisies and Head Over Heels in Love,' Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes and his bride of a few weeks pictured in the garden of the Ickes country home 'Headwaters' following their return from honeymoon in Europe.

Library of Congress photo & caption.

from the financially ailing Hearst, and she made him a one-million-dollar personal loan. She also wanted to buy his Grandview land at the Grand Canyon. We don't know any details about this offer; we catch only a one-sentence glimpse of it in a letter Hearst wrote to one of his lawyers in 1941: "...Mrs. Patterson tried to buy it from me for her private use."⁶⁶ In mid-1939, as Hearst was negotiating with the NPS about his Grandview land, he also began approaching wealthy people about buying it, and this was most likely when Cissy Patterson made her offer. One of Harold Ickes's justifications for condemning Hearst's land was to prevent him from selling it to another private interest. If Cissy Patterson had bought Grandview, it would have turned the fight over Grandview into a romantic grudge match. Patterson would be attacking Ickes not just with editorials, but with a personal invasion of his bureaucratic turf.

Ickes was not above using his office in a personal grudge against a publisher. In 1935 the *Chicago Tribune* had launched a round of nasty attacks against Ickes, and Ickes had started an investigation into whether the *Tribune* building in Chicago was complying with public water usage regulations and taxes.

For Ickes it may have been news that Hearst owned land at the Grand Canyon. Ickes quickly changed the nature of the game. In between his February and April speeches denouncing the newspaper barons, Ickes directed the director of the NPS to prepare a report on how Hearst had been using his Grand Canyon land, and he directed an Interior Department lawyer to examine the department's authority to condemn Hearst's land. Condemnation is the legal process by which a government agency takes over private lands for public use, against the will of the land owner, often for far less compensation than the land owner would demand. Ickes started the condemnation ball rolling even before there had been any formal negotiations between the NPS and

Hearst; as of yet, no NPS documents even mentioned a possible price for the land. Ickes wasn't interested in relying on the generosity of private donors like the Rockefellers. Ickes was also the director of the Public Works Administration, a jobs and construction program, in which Ickes had dispatched huge sums of money. Ickes's solution would be to declare it a public works project to obtain Hearst's land and to obliterate every trace there of William Randolph Hearst.

The Interior Department lawyer soon reported a big problem with the condemnation option. The 1929 law that allowed for condemnation of private lands in national parks also included an exemption, which named seven specific parks, including Grand Canyon, prohibiting condemnation against private lands that included a residence. This exemption had been written into the law by Montana Senator Thomas Walsh, who owned some land in Glacier National Park. It was Walsh's dogged investigations that had blown open the Teapot Dome Scandal and brought down Albert Fall, and no one had felt like questioning Walsh's morals or punishing the hero of Teapot Dome by taking away his land. But now his exemption offered possible cover for William Randolph Hearst. Hearst's lawyers had read this exemption and this was one reason why Hearst had maintained a caretaker in residence at Grandview all these years. (Actually Hearst had two caretakers in residence, Dick Gilliland at the Berry homestead and a secondary caretaker at Grandview Point). But the Interior Department lawyer believed that the department could evade this restriction on the grounds that Hearst himself did not use this land as a residence:

...it is my opinion that the restriction would not be applicable to this property. Even the assessed valuation of the improvements for tax purposes indicate that they are not such as to constitute a possible residence for Mr. Hearst. Certainly if the

improvements are occupied in their entirety by the caretaker, I think the property cannot be said to be "occupied by the owner and used exclusively for residence" purposes.⁶⁷

In response to Secretary Ickes's request for a report on Hearst's use of Grandview, NPS Acting Director A. E. Demaray (who had once worked at Grand Canyon National Park) indicated in a memo of April 28, 1939, that communications had been reopened between Hearst and the NPS and that Hearst was willing to sell his Grandview land for a tentative price of \$150,000. A decade previously, in his private communications regarding his land swap with the NPS, Hearst had repeatedly said that his Grandview land was worth less than \$100,000. Demaray found this \$150,000 price "exorbitant" and started a consistent NPS practice of lowballing the value of Hearst's land. Demaray cited the Coconino County tax assessment of the land's worth as \$10,326 — which counted only its 207.7 acres and its contents like barns and cows, not its extraordinary location or aesthetic value. Demaray admitted that a more realistic value was the \$28,950 estimated by Superintendent Tillotson a few years previously. Demaray asked Ickes to authorize him to begin negotiations with Hearst, starting with an offer of \$28,950.

Hearst tried to claim that the land's unique location and aesthetic value gave it huge financial value, but the Interior Department would refuse to concede this in their negotiations, even as they declared that the land's unique location and aesthetic value was their justification for condemning and obtaining the land for the park.

The NPS sought some independent assessments of the land's value, including from Jesse Kelly of the land acquisition department of the Standard Oil Company. The NPS was appalled when, on May 12, Kelly made a confidential report that the Hearst land was worth \$168,170. Of course, Standard Oil was accustomed

to assessing land as if it were going to be commercially developed. The NPS kept this report secret.

In June, Hearst lawyer Frank Lathrop came to NPS regional director Frank Kittredge and insisted that the land was worth \$250,000, including the original \$125,000 Hearst had paid for it plus all the related expenses and taxes and caretaker salaries and lawyers' fees for a quarter of a century. However, Hearst was willing to sell his land for a bargain rate of only \$200,000. Lathrop warned that an unnamed private interest had made a firm offer of \$150,000 for the land — this might have been Cissy Patterson. But Lathrop said that Hearst preferred to sell his land to the NPS. Indeed, Hearst would consider making the 50% private donation of the land (giving him a sizable tax break), if the NPS paid him the other half, \$100,000, in cash. This was, in fact, the exact amount of money Secretary Ickes was in the process of obtaining from the Public Works Administration. But it seemed that only a portion of these funds could be used for land acquisition, and the rest needed to be used for public works — such as tearing down Hearst's buildings.

Three weeks after this exchange, H. C. Bryant, the Acting Superintendent of Grand Canyon National Park (Tillotson had been promoted) reported evidence that "wealthy men are being approached as possible buyers."⁶⁸ Lincoln Ellsworth, a famous polar explorer with considerable wealth, called the park to inquire about Hearst's land, and soon afterward Bryant got a visit from the son of George Lorimer, the publisher of the *Saturday Evening Post* and a longtime conservation ally of Stephen Mather. George Lorimer's son had come to look over Hearst's land to consider buying it and building there a memorial to his father, a conservation museum and library. Since George Lorimer had played a large role in promoting the establishment of Grand Canyon National Park, Bryant was torn between admiration for a worthy idea

and dismay over the complication this could bring to acquiring Hearst's land. Bryant reported: "I carefully concealed any idea that immediate purchase was being considered."

In the mails Bryant's report crossed paths with a letter from Secretary Ickes announcing that he had obtained the \$100,000, but: "It is quite possible that condemnation proceedings eventually will be instituted for acquisition of this property."⁶⁹

This became more likely when, at the end of July, Hearst's Frank Lathrop wrote to the NPS's Frank Kittredge: "...our separate ideas of value are so far apart that it would be fruitless to give further consideration to negotiations looking to putting these properties into public ownership."⁷⁰ Kittredge and others in the NPS weren't happy about the idea of condemnation. At least Hearst had honored park values, even leaving Grandview Point open for tourists. Kittredge wanted further negotiations with a higher offer. But Ickes pushed ahead, demanding an Order of Taking, which the Department of the Interior filed on September 16, 1939. Hearst would get \$28,950, a sum soon deposited with the court. The justification was:

The land is necessary for use in connection with a Public Works project which contemplates the conservation of natural resources, the prevention of soil erosion, forestation and reforestation, the preservation of scenic beauty, the building of foot trails, roadways, cabins, shelters and other structures and improvements necessary and appropriate to provide public facilities for picnicking, camping, and other recreational activities...⁷¹

The "forestation and reforestation" phrase was especially dubious, for William Randolph Hearst was a fanatical tree lover. His lands at San Simeon and Wynton were heavily forested, and Hearst refused to allow the cutting of a single tree. The logs for the large fireplaces at San Simeon

were hauled in from thirty miles away, over mountains. One time when workmen noticed that one tree in a newly planted row of trees was dying, they painted its yellowing leaves green so that Hearst would not get angry and they could wait until he left to replace it. One time movie mogul Samuel Goldwyn backed his car into a San Simeon tree, and Hearst spent \$5,000 moving that tree to a safer location. At the Grand Canyon a timber company had built a railroad spur line just south of Hearst's land to conduct logging operations, and Hearst could have made some easy money off his trees, but he didn't. When Grand Canyon rangers were cutting down trees in the Grandview area to control a mistletoe infestation, they offered to cut infected trees on Hearst's land, but Hearst refused.

William Randolph Hearst did not like having his things taken away from him, either his trees or his land, especially by a communist. Hearst began pulling all his political strings.

Hearst flew to Seattle to talk with the son-in-law of President Roosevelt, John Boettiger. When Hearst's presidential candidate Alf Landon had been clobbered in 1936, Hearst had been shocked and humbled, and as a peace offering, or influence offering, he had offered the editorship of his Seattle newspaper to the husband of FDR's daughter Anna, newspaperman John Boettiger, and given him more autonomy than any other Hearst editor. Now Hearst pressured Boettiger to help save his Grand Canyon land. On October 17, 1939, Harold Ickes wrote in his diary:

John Boettiger called me up from Seattle. William Randolph Hearst had been up there to see him on Saturday to discuss with him our suit which I have authorized to condemn his holding on the rim of Grand Canyon. Hearst does not want to sell this holding, and I finally said to Boettiger that if Hearst were willing, we might be able to work out an arrangement by which we would take title at a

fair, reasonable market price, subject to a life estate in Hearst and provided that Hearst did not make any improvements on the place or use it differently from how he has been using it in the past. John thought that this was fair enough.⁷²

Ickes was repeating the till-death offer Stephen Mather had made seventeen years before, but now it was seventeen years less generous — Hearst was 76 years old. Ickes did not repeat Mather's offer to let Hearst's children retain the land.

Hearst also contacted his congressional friends. On November 19 1939 Ickes wrote in his diary:

Senator Hayden called on Monday about the Hearst property on the rim of Grand Canyon, which we are seeking to condemn. He said that when the bill went through creating the Grand Canyon National Park, he and Ashurst promised Hearst that no attempt would ever be made to bring in his property. He wished that he had been consulted. I told him that I had not known about any such agreement, since this park was brought in before my Administration. The Park Service must have known of it but said nothing to me about it, although we have talked about this property for a long time. I told Hayden that we really ought to have this land which Hearst has never used and that the thing for Hearst to do was to agree to a fair price at which he would sell to the Government, while reserving a life estate. According to Hayden, Hearst hates to give up any property that he owns but he has told people that he intended to leave this at his death to the Government. Of course, if this is what he wants to do, he could deed it outright with the reservation of a life estate.⁷³

On November 30 the NPS's A. E. Demaray sent a telegram to the superintendent at Grand Canyon,

who had previously indicated he was ready to send in the Civilian Conservation Corps boys to demolish Hearst's buildings:

PENDING POSSIBLE
SETTLEMENT FOR
ACQUISITION HEARST
PROPERTIES ON BASIS
PERMITTING HEARST
TO REMAIN THERE
BALANCE HIS LIFE WHICH
SECRETARY HAS INDICATED
AGREEABLE TO HIM NO
PLANS SHOULD BE MADE
TO RAZE BUILDINGS
UNTIL OPPORTUNITY
TO ASCERTAIN FROM
HEARST'S REPRESENTATIVES
WHATEVER BUILDINGS
DESIRED BY HEARST FOR
SELF AND CUSTODIAN
SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO
REMAIN.⁷⁴

Senator Hayden was not placated. He was angry at Ickes for turning him into a liar and a betrayer of a friend, a very powerful friend. On December 22 he wrote to Ickes:

When the bill to create that Park was first introduced, Mr. Hearst made inquiry as to whether the establishment of a National Park would in any way interfere with the use and enjoyment of his patented lands, and he was assured that all of his rights and interests would be fully protected. At a later date, when I introduced a bill to change the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, an attorney representing Mr. Hearst stated that he would like to have the bill amended so as to specifically exempt the Hearst properties from acquisition by the Federal government. I assured him that such a legislative precaution was wholly unnecessary, and stated again that Mr. Hearst would not be disturbed.

Under these circumstances, I hope that the pending condemnation suit will be dismissed. As an additional reason for dismissal, I do not

believe that in the present state of the Federal finances any money should be expended from the Treasury for the acquisition of property which is not absolutely essential to the proper administration of the National Park.⁷⁵

Ickes responded:

It has been the understanding for a number of years that, when Mr. Hearst found himself ready to give up his Grand Canyon holdings he would want the Federal Government to have them. Since representatives of his Estate initiated the negotiations which ultimately failed only because of an honest difference of opinion as to value, I do not see that we have violated any assurances given to Mr. Hearst in the past.⁷⁶

Ickes also insisted he was trying to prevent "possible future alienation of the lands to some one else who might develop or use them adversely to the park welfare..."⁷⁷ Months later Ickes was still trying to placate Hayden, writing a similar letter with many of the same lines.

Hearst also got California Senator Hiram Johnson, a longtime progressive buddy of Harold Ickes and an ally in creating Kings Canyon National Park, to write a letter to the NPS. Hearst attorney John Francis Neylan told Senator Johnson:

Of course, I think such use of the power of condemnation by the government is just as dishonest as were the antics of the railroads and others, in the old days when they overrode the rights of somebody whose property they desired.

Coupling this use of the power of condemnation with these public works allotments, I think, is adding insult to injustice.

I question seriously that there is any large amount of unemployment in the vicinity of the Grand Canyon, and to fake up another excuse for squandering some more money seems to me

characteristic of the new public morality.⁷⁸

When the condemnation suit was filed, Hearst angrily withdrew his offer of splitting a \$200,000 price for the land. Hearst's lawyers now claimed that a fair price was \$236,100 and that "they would fight the suit with all the force of the Hearst Estates in an endeavor to obtain what they consider a satisfactory price," as the NPS's Frank Kittredge noted after a meeting with Frank Lathrop and a Hearst executive. They protested that "they were singled out for condemnation when there are other tracts of privately owned land in Grand Canyon which are more troublesome, such as the Hogan property." Hearst's agents complained "that they had always cooperated with the National Park Service, had given access to the Grand View Point without charge to the public, and had complied with park regulations in all respects."⁷⁹ After all this, the NPS was trying to rob them. They soon produced Horace Albright's 1929 letter saying Hearst had cooperated "splendidly" with the NPS and promising not to proceed against Hearst's lands without his cooperation. Kittredge was sympathetic, and he wrote to NPS Director Demaray: "Mr. Hearst has been a good park-minded citizen in Grand Canyon, as far as anything I have ever known or heard. This is going to make the case a little more difficult, perhaps, if it goes to court." Kittredge also warned that Citizen Hearst's determination to fight the condemnation "to the limit" might apply not just in court, but in "the chain of newspapers which are under their control."⁸⁰

Until the condemnation suit became official in the U. S. District Court in Phoenix on November 21 1939 the fight between Hearst and the NPS had remained behind the scenes, but now it hit the newspapers. Hearst didn't own a newspaper in Arizona, but he didn't need one to wage this campaign. Arizona was still a stronghold of Wild West

values, in which the land was there for conquest and private wealth. Opposition from powerful Arizonans had prevented Grand Canyon from becoming a national park until nearly half a century after Yellowstone had become a national park. And Hearst did have an effective agent for stirring up Arizona newspapers. His caretaker, Dick Gilliland, was no naive handyman. Gilliland had been a clerk at the Willard Hotel, the longtime hub of political life in Washington D. C., where he had mingled with the politicians who lived there, and witnessed the art of scheming. At the Willard, Gilliland had met Ralph Cameron, and Cameron brought Gilliland to the Grand Canyon to help manage his properties. Gilliland had absorbed Cameron's fierce hostility against the NPS, and as Hearst's man, Gilliland was a continuing source of hostility. Hearst paid Gilliland about \$35,000 a year in today's dollars, plus generous expenses, so Gilliland had a lot to lose. Now Gilliland did his best to stir up public hostility against the condemnation suit. One of his tactics was to scare as many people as possible by claiming that the Hearst land seizure was part of a master plan to seize all other private property in the park, including that of the Santa Fe Railway, which was the largest taxpayer in Coconino County.

On January 26, 1940, the *Coconino Sun* headlined: "Department of Interior Scraps All Treaty Commitments Of Past to Grab Hearst Property: Ickes' Dictator Tactics of Confiscation..." The article ridiculed Ickes's claim that \$100,000 worth of public-works funds should be spent on Hearst's 207 acres when the park contained over 1,000 square miles of equally worthy lands. It knocked Ickes for ignoring the pleas of Senator Hayden and for betraying a long history of commitments not to take Hearst's lands. It threatened that removal of Hearst's land from the tax rolls would force the county to raise taxes on everyone else (a laughable claim considering that in 1938 Hearst had paid only \$248.30 in property taxes). It protested the NPS

offering only \$28,950 for land worth — Hearst's latest claim — \$392,100.

Another long *Coconino Sun* article invoked the brave, noble, suffering pioneers who had sacrificed so much to conquer the West, a sacrifice the federal government was now betraying by seizing their hard-won lands. The noble pioneers they were referring to were Pete Berry and Ralph Cameron; the article quoted Cameron's pioneer diary at length and praised his "gallant battle" to retain control of the Bright Angel Trail.

A January 11, 1940, editorial in the *Williams News* was titled "Unprovoked Aggression," and portrayed Hearst as defender of democracy against tyranny:

There is no positive stopping place for their aggression this side of undisputed authority, of absolute despotism...Yet, in spite of federal encroachments, American democracy is still pretty free from shackles but year by year federal authority over the lives of Americans is being extended a little more and a little more. It behooves good democrats to oppose that extension wherever possible... Thus the battle of the private interests to hang onto that which has been theirs within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, takes on more than local interest. Each of these private holdings is an outpost needed to halt the aggression of federal bureaucracy. So long as these outposts can be held, democracy will be just that much safer.

In a March 1 article the *Coconino Sun* denounced "the imperialistic ambitions of the Department of Interior" and offered long quotes from a senate speech of Senator Henry Ashurst, accusing Harold Ickes of being drunk with "the heady wine of power." Ashurst recalled how when he wrote the law creating Grand Canyon National Park, he had promised that private inholdings

would be respected.

A February 9 *Coconino Sun* article quoted Dick Gilliland as saying he knew for a fact that after the NPS threw Hearst out, it was planning to seize the property of the Santa Fe Railway. The newspaper moaned: "Enormous property valuation would be lost to the county tax rolls if the railroad were taken over by the park. The ranchers, dependent on the Grand Canyon railroad, would also suffer." In its headline the article said that the new acting superintendent of Grand Canyon National Park, J. V. Lloyd, "Admits That Park Promises Are Scraps of Paper." Worthless.

When this article came out, Dick Gilliland headed for the telegraph office and sent a telegram to Harold Ickes denouncing this "scraps of paper" outrage. Gilliland did get Ickes's attention. Ickes contacted NPS director Demaray, who telegraphed J. V. Lloyd asking for an explanation. A nervous Lloyd wrote a long air-mail denial: he never said this; the newspaper article never claimed he said this; the phrase was just a headline written by a hostile editor.

Reassured, Harold Ickes sent a letter to Dick Gilliland, misspelling his name in addressing him as "My dear Mr. Gilliland." Ickes said that "Owing to Mr. Lloyd's long service and acquaintance with the Department's policies, it is highly improbable that he would have made such a statement, which appears to be a newspaper canard."⁸¹

Gilliland sent a copy of Ickes's response to the *Coconino Sun*, which on March 8 commented: "Well, regardless whether the canard was committed by the newspaper or Lloyd (and we are betting in favor of the newspaper's report), we are surprised Park Service Lloyd would commit himself to any such personal opinion. Nevertheless, Gilliland writes us that he is preparing a magazine article and will call it 'THE STINK ON THE BRINK.'"

J. V. Lloyd was annoyed and sent a letter to NPS director Demaray:

This is another example of Mr. Gilliland's activities against

the Service even though he is still being allowed the privilege of occupying land, the title to which now rests with the Government...I wish to call your attention to the fact that the *Coconino Sun*...is quite evasive about such a statement. They offer to "bet" that such an assertion was made rather than back up their original statement, which was false. The general local reaction is that while Gilliland is an "old timer" he has gone too far with his vitriolic campaign against the Service."⁸²

Various organizations also joined the attack. Ed Hamilton, a member of the Coconino County Board of Supervisors, was especially alarmed by the condemnation suit, for Hamilton was the owner of the Rowe Well property, and he figured that if the NPS could get away with taking the land of the mighty William Randolph Hearst, he didn't stand a chance. Hamilton helped fan fears about the government seizing everything in sight and ruining the tax base. He got the Board of Supervisors to pass a resolution condemning the condemnation.

The Arizona Hotel Association reprinted the county resolution in their newsletter, along with a cartoon picturing the Department of the Interior as a bear chasing a cowboy labeled "private property of Arizona." The headline made clear that this was a Russian bear and invoked the recent communist invasion of Finland: "Will Arizona Become Another Finland? Or Have We Got Guts Too?" The text warned that all of Arizona was being "Stalinized." "Whether property belongs to a rich or poor man, don't let the government purloin it, for such is un-American. In cold reality, it's Nazism and Russian tactics of the lowest denominator."⁸³

The Williams-Grand Canyon Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution scoffing at the rationale for the condemnation, saying that Hearst could have taken all those proposed conservation measures by himself.

The government power grab was "so far reaching" that "it is fraught with the possibilities of vicious practice."⁸⁴ It was an attack on the U. S. Constitution.

NPS officials were appalled by these attacks and launched a public-relations campaign, writing letters and making public appearances and private meetings.

Grand Canyon Acting Superintendent Bryant wrote to, "of all groups," the Arizona Hotel Association, which depended on national-park tourist dollars, and declared: "my reaction was most unpleasant." "What a glorious day it will be when time and trouble is taken to check and know both sides of a question...[You] could have telephoned National Park Service representatives for the facts." The NPS version of events was that Hearst had approached the NPS wanting to sell his land; the NPS had engaged in long and honest negotiations but had been unable to agree on a fair price; now a jury of patriotic American citizens would assign a fair price; Hearst wasn't being dispossessed; and the NPS had no further plans or funds for acquiring any other private lands. Bryant signed off his letter "With deep regrets for the unfortunate imputations."⁸⁵

To the Williams-Grand Canyon Chamber of Commerce Bryant was "astounded." "Looking at the name of the Chamber of Commerce it would appear to be voting against itself."⁸⁶

To the Coconino County Board of Supervisors, NPS director Arno Cammerer "was astounded." "Grand Canyon National Park is a great asset to Coconino County...Anything that improves the administration and usefulness of the Park makes more enthusiastic visitors and increases the travel, thus easily compensating for the loss of a few hundred dollars in assessable property within the Park."⁸⁷ In reply, the Board of Supervisors passed another resolution against the NPS. Even if Hearst wished to sell his land, they were opposed. "But when we think

of the vast miles of rim line — the acres and acres in the Park available for recreation areas, we question the good faith of the Department of the Interior in its present action.”⁸⁸

The anti-NPS resolutions got sent to Arizona’s senators and governor, and they complained to Secretary Ickes. Ickes answered Arizona Governor Jones: “The reason for this policy is that the exploitation of private lands in a national park may defeat the purposes for which the park is established.”⁸⁹

Among themselves NPS managers measured the progress and frustrations of what Acting Superintendent H. C. Bryant called their “good missionary work.” To director Demaray, Bryant wrote: “I spent January 3 at Flagstaff and Williams attempting to offset the activities of Mr. Gilliland... Everywhere I went friends told me that his presentation of the situation was far different from the facts I presented...I really feel that the Chamber of Commerce at Williams sincerely regrets having passed the hasty resolution urged by Mr. Gilliland.”⁹⁰

Yet a month later when J. V. Lloyd became Acting Superintendent and traveled to Flagstaff, he was a lot less positive: “I was greatly disappointed to find such an unfriendly feeling existing toward the park, after years of patient efforts to cultivate more cordial relations.” Even with the local attorney for the Santa Fe Railway and Fred Harvey Company, “I was amazed to find that even he was rather pointed in his condemnation of the Service.” At the Rotary Club he “once again found the feeling against the Service to be quite bitter.” At a meeting of the Coconino County Board of Supervisors, he was “fully conscious of the handicap of discussing any park problems or policies with the Board of Supervisors or the average Flagstaff citizen at this time, when they seem to be so disturbed.”⁹¹

Four months later NPS director Demaray complained to Secretary Ickes: “...Mr. Gilliland,

has shown no appreciation of the Department’s courtesy in allowing him to remain on the property, but, on the contrary, has openly and vigorously assailed the action of the Department in acquiring it.”⁹²

The condemnation suit worked its way through the court, very slowly. Dick Gilliland testified, after meeting with Hearst to plan strategy. In January 1940 Hearst’s attorneys had filed their own countersuit, claiming that the land was worth \$392,100. Hearst’s attorneys were doing their homework, studying what other inholdings in national parks had been worth. In court, Hearst’s attorneys argued that the government was acting unconstitutionally. They were doing their best to delay the proceedings, since the Public Works Administration appropriation for the land needed to be spent on actual improvement work by June 30, 1940, or the funds would expire. With this deadline approaching, NPS managers got nervous and began discussing starting improvement work even before they had won the suit. They had made lots of plans but frozen them when Ickes renewed Mather’s offer to give Hearst lifetime rights. It was already too late to do genuine construction work, such as improving the road to Grandview Point or building picnic facilities, but it wouldn’t take long to demolish Hearst’s buildings, which would qualify as an expenditure of the funds.

Regional Director Kittredge complained to Ickes that he had wanted to continue negotiating over price, that the NPS should have offered as much as \$75,000. Ickes had weakened the NPS’s bargaining power by diverting \$8,300 of the \$100,000 appropriation to other projects, including the Statue of Liberty. With two weeks to go before the June 30 deadline, Kittredge wrote to NPS director Demaray: “It is my feeling that Mr. Hearst, as indicated in conversation with the former Director [Albright], has been a very good park-minded citizen. With this in mind, it is hoped that

every consideration may be given to Mr. Hearst’s wish that the certain buildings requested may be allowed to remain.”⁹³

But with the deadline looming, the Interior Department prevailed upon the Justice Department to order Hearst to surrender his lands and remove Dick Gilliland from them. Gilliland telegraphed Hearst to ask if he had to comply, and Hearst said yes. But this action wasn’t final: the condemnation case was still going on in court.

On July 5 the *Coconino Sun* ran the headline: “Harold L. Ickes Outs Gilliland From Home.” “Mr. Gilliland,” it reported, “said that Hearst attorneys plan no compromise in their fight against the condemnation. Meanwhile, Mr. Gilliland, a pioneer resident at Grand Canyon, has been forced to leave his quarters on the Hearst property...”

Weeks later the NPS was still trying to turn the bureaucratic gears to mobilize the WPA funds as quickly as possible. Acting Superintendent Lloyd now had a new justification for demolishing Hearst’s buildings. The 400th anniversary of the Coronado expedition, which brought the first Europeans to the Grand Canyon, was scheduled for that summer, and it included a history pageant on the canyon rim. Lloyd proposed that the pageant be relocated onto Hearst’s lands, which would require the immediate razing of Hearst’s buildings.

In August there was a new twist to the Hearst story. After having two acting superintendents, Bryant and Lloyd, Grand Canyon National Park finally got a new superintendent. It was Frank Kittredge, who had opposed Ickes’s condemnation suit and who regarded William Randolph Hearst as “a very good park-minded citizen.”

Within days of taking office, Kittredge went out to Citizen Hearst’s property to finally take a look at what he had been negotiating about. Accompanying Kittredge was longtime park naturalist-ranger Eddie McKee. Kittredge wrote a memo

saying that Eddie McKee wanted a number of buildings preserved for their historic value or future park use. These included two log buildings Pete Berry had built for a blacksmith shop and an employees bunkhouse; Emery Kolb had told McKee that these buildings had been there when he first arrived at the canyon in 1902. McKee also wanted a log corral saved. McKee wanted the caretaker's cabin at Grandview Point "preserved and converted into a self-operating exhibit room." McKee also wanted Dick Gilliland's cabin preserved: "There is a possibility that there may be some park use for the structure and its presence will not interfere with any development." But Kittredge had his own motives for not wanting to tear down this building. This "so-called Hearst cabin was considered by the Hearst people as something of a symbol," and Kittredge didn't want it razed without his personal authorization.⁹⁴ Kittredge had started the whole process, only to have it ripped from his hands by the imperious Harold Ickes, but now Kittredge would finish it.

The condemnation suit dragged on for more than another year. On October 2, 1941, the court finally awarded the Hearst land to the NPS for the price of \$85,000, plus 6% interest for its initial underpayment for the land.

When Hearst's attorneys asked the judge, David Ling, how he had arrived at this figure, he answered that there was no realistic way to determine what such a unique property was worth, but he had decided that the Hearst claim was too high and the NPS claim was too low. Hearst's attorneys supposed that Judge Ling had simply split the difference, leaving a figure that was three times the NPS claim and one-third the Hearst claim. But Judge Ling's figure was extremely convenient for the government. Secretary Ickes had diverted \$8,300 of the original \$100,000, and the nearly two years of 6% interest owed by the NPS came to \$6,264, leaving only \$85,436. If Judge Ling had declared

that the land was worth \$86,000, the whole deal could have been wrecked.

Hearst's attorneys had no doubt that Harold Ickes had malicious motives, but in court they had been unable to offer such a case. Attorney Henry MacKay, Jr. explained to Hearst:

The right of the Government to condemn for the purpose of a National Park is unquestioned and could not be successfully attacked. Our only point was the right of Secretary Ickes to condemn these lands for National Park purposes under the guise of a PWA project, and thus seek and use PWA funds to accomplish his purpose. However, the Declaration of Taking and the Declaration of Necessity are regular on their face. The trial court would not permit us to go behind the face of these documents to impeach these official statements by taking the testimony of Secretary Ickes and his subordinates, and it is extremely doubtful that the Circuit Court would do so either. In other words, the determination of necessity is also a question of fact delegated to the Secretary of the Interior, which the Courts will not question in the absence of fraud.⁹⁵

William Randolph Hearst was incensed, and he wanted to appeal the decision. His attorneys talked him out of it. A majority of the judges on the appeals court were New Deal appointments, and they would not be friendly to Hearst. A new decision might award Hearst even less money. Hearst couldn't demand the price he had paid in 1914, for the courts determined only the current value of a property, and in the Depression property values everywhere had declined. The Grandview property was indeed, as Judge Ling said, so unique that it was impossible to assess its market value. The government too was unhappy with the decision, and if Hearst provoked them further, they might file their own appeal. Further

proceedings could take years and lots of money. This case had already cost Hearst \$16,745 in legal fees. Hearst should settle for what he'd gotten. There was solace in having "nicked" Harold Ickes for three times what Ickes had wanted.

Attorney Henry MacKay advised Hearst that at least he could get an income tax break from the court decision if he declared and could prove that the Grandview property was not for personal use, but had been an investment property, on which he'd lost money. This was contrary to what Hearst had always told the NPS about his land. But Hearst now dutifully wrote a letter to one of his lawyers declaring that Grandview had always been an investment property. Hearst also vented his anger:

I am terribly distressed and disappointed at the values fixed by the court upon the Grand Canyon property. They are greatly below its worth.

There is very little privately owned Grand Canyon property.

I bought mine knowing that its rarity and its unique location would make it an extremely profitable investment.

I did not make any mistake in my estimates as far as private bidders were concerned.

I could have sold it at a handsome profit for commercial purposes, and Mrs. Patterson tried to buy it from me for her private use.

I held out for twice what I paid for the property and I know I would have secured it except for the fact that the government insisted on ridiculously low values and the courts were apparently afraid to render a fair verdict.

I think we should appeal the case.

There is no reason why the government should plunder me of this beautiful property for half of what I paid for it.

I should get a reasonable profit or at least what I paid for it.

The testimony of the vast majority of experts proves largely increased value.⁹⁶

Since the NPS had almost nothing left of its \$100,000, there was now no money to do actual work on the land. Besides, very soon there was a world war on. A decade later, most of the buildings were still there, still decaying.

There is no word about Franklin Roosevelt's reaction. We don't know exactly what role he played in Secretary Ickes's actions. But the president had always supported Ickes's open combat against Hearst and the rest of the conservative press. Roosevelt was surely aware that Ickes was moving to take Hearst's land. Roosevelt must have taken some sweet, mischievous pleasure in this triumph over Hearst.

At the end of 1948, NPS officials were still trying to figure out if they had the legal right to tear down the Hearst buildings. Since the land had been taken on the premise of being a public works project but no public works had been performed, was the whole deal solid? A. E. Demaray pointed out that, in fact, very quietly, while the court case was still proceeding, \$3,000 had been authorized and spent on the land, including razing some buildings. This satisfied the NPS's claim to the land. There is no word as to how the NPS replaced that \$3,000, which it needed to purchase the land.

Two years later the rest of Hearst's buildings were demolished.

Today some remnants of the buildings are still there, but often they are not even noticed by people walking right past them on their way to Hearst Tanks, two small ponds developed as a water supply, now a good bird-watching spot. Few visitors to Hearst Tanks realize how that name originated.

* * *

Special thanks to Karen Greig for her heroic and ingenious research in the Hearst papers at the Bancroft Library, UC-Berkeley.

(Endnotes)

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