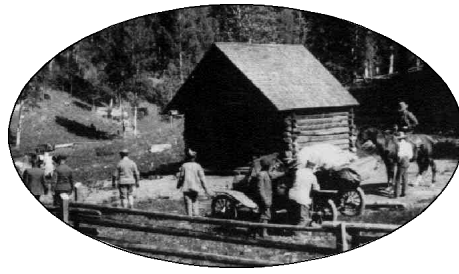


Figure 1. Map of Grand Canyon National Monument/Grand Canyon Game Preserve, ca. 1906-10. President Theodore Roosevelt liberally interpreted the 1906 Antiquities Act when he established by proclamation the 1,279-square-mile Grand Canyon National Monument in 1908. The monument was carved from Grand Canyon National Forest (created by President Benjamin Harrison as a forest reserve in 1893), Grand Canyon

National Game Preserve (created by Roosevelt in 1906), and unassigned public domain. The U.S. Forest Service managed the monument from 1908 until it became a national park in 1919, relying entirely on the Santa Fe Railroad to invest in roads, rails, and amenities to accommodate a budding tourism industry.



Chapter One

Becoming a National Park

1882 - 1919

In the decades after the Mexican-American War, federal explorers and military in the Southwest located transportation routes, identified natural resources, and brushed aside resistant Indian peoples. It was during this time that European Americans, following new east-west wagon roads, approached the rim of the Grand Canyon.¹ The Atlantic & Pacific Railroad's arrival in the Southwest accelerated this settlement, opening the region to entrepreneurs who initially invested in traditional economic ventures. Capitalists would have a difficult time figuring out how to profitably exploit the canyon, however, biding their time until pioneers had pointed the way to a promising export economy: tourism. Beginning in the late 1890s, conflicts erupted between individualists who had launched this nascent industry and corporations who glimpsed its potential. During 1901-1919 quarrels escalated to include pioneers, allied with county and territorial governments, and the media, pitted against corporations teamed with progressive federal agencies. The ultimate ascendance of the latter coalition resulted in the creation of Grand Canyon National Park. Understanding this struggle helps clarify uneasy partnerships among governments, businessmen, and residents that continue to this day.

Unfavorable reports of explorations in and around Grand Canyon, along with difficulties of transport, native peoples' persistence, and the absence of a regional labor pool, accounted for the reluctance of eastern capitalists to penetrate the region until the turn of the century. Settlement continued, however, by a few pioneers who sought out a subsistence living and what little cash they needed through local markets. Mormon lumberjacks entered the Mt. Trumbull and Kaibab Plateau areas in the early 1870s to extract timber for the St. George temple and the town of Kanab. Cattlemen ranged southward from Pipe Springs to the canyon's North Rim and Esplanade in the same decade. Mormon colonizers began their great push into eastern Arizona, settling Lees Ferry, Moenave, Moenkopi, Tuba City, and communities along the Little Colorado River during 1870-78. Hispanic shepherds from northern New Mexico ranged westward astride the thirty-fifth parallel beginning in the mid-1860s and founded small communities at Concho, St. Johns, and Horsehead Crossing.

Colonists from Boston arrived below the San Francisco Peaks in 1876 and established the community of Agassiz (Flagstaff), while ranchers moved north from Prescott and Mohave County mining towns to settle at the foot of Bill Williams Mountain and develop isolated ranches atop the Coconino Plateau approaching the canyon's South Rim.²

Prospectors had descended below the canyon's southwestern and southeastern rims even earlier. William Hardy, who had established the Colorado River landing of Hardyville above Fort Mojave in 1865, may have been the first to prospect among the Havasupais in 1866 but was soon followed by others like Charles Spencer, W.C. Bechman, and Daniel Mooney, who found promising deposits of lead, zinc, and silver beside the waterfalls at Supai. Seth Tanner, a Mormon scout and guide who by 1876 had settled along the lower Little Colorado River, discovered and claimed copper

Figure 2. The Edwin Dilworth "Uncle Dee" Woolley cabin, built ca. 1907 near Blondy Jensen Spring at the head of the old trail along Bright Angel Creek, North Rim. GRCA 15753; Rust Collection photo

deposits near the mouths of Lava and Basalt Canyons in 1877 and in 1880 organized the Little Colorado River Mining District just east of Grand Canyon. Dozens more probed the canyon's depths in the 1870s, often finding minerals, sometimes staking claims, but rarely shipping ore; only very rich lodes could justify transportation costs before arrival of the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad in 1882.³

Prospectors, and especially ranchers and farmers who coalesced into regional communities before the early 1880s, risked the trackless, arid, Indian-controlled peripheries beyond lines of European American settlement because the federal government, eager to fulfill the nation's "manifest destiny," did not quit with its mid-nineteenth century explorations, wagon roads, and military protection. Convinced that possession relied on occupation, Congress enacted dozens of land laws facilitating at-large settlement, resource development, and private construction of transportation infrastructure. The nation had not yet won its independence when the Continental Congress in 1780 defined the initial manner in which the public domain would pass to its citizens, offering large tracts at cents on the acre for title to surveyed lands. Noting by 1807 that its citizens were rushing ahead of federal surveyors, Congress enacted preemption laws permitting squatters to patent their claims. In 1862 it passed the first Homestead Act, which would persist with periodic amendments until the 1930s. Further, to encourage the use of less desirable lands, it enacted the Timber Culture Act in 1873, the Desert Lands Act in 1877, and similar laws encouraging individual reclamation. By the time immigrants reached the Grand Canyon region, they had become conditioned to substantial government support in the acquisition of property and needed only to locate desirable parcels to make them their own.⁴

Homestead laws allowed only one claim for the life of an individual, and although there were a dozen ways to get around this restriction, more liberal mining laws better suited the needs of ranchers, prospectors, and later tourism operators. As many as 500 mining districts and an equal number of communities founded on mineral extraction dotted the West by the time Congress passed its first mining law in 1866. This act as amended in 1872 pertained to lode or "hardrock" mining, while an 1870 law with similar provisions governed placer claims. Both laws, drawn from local districts' common practice, allowed anyone to prospect and occupy public lands whether or not surveyed, to stake any number of claims, to hold them indefinitely as long as annual assessment work was performed, and to patent them if they promised commercial-grade ore. These laws also permitted claims to water sources for placer mining and milling purposes. District rules generally limited lode claims to twenty acres, an adequate size for irrigated plots as well as working mines, and more than enough to tie up

springs, water pockets, river crossings, and parcels for any type of commercial enterprise.⁵

Federal and territorial land grants for transportation corridors were equally generous to industrious individuals willing to take a financial risk and of far greater benefit to corporations that would take on the task of building transcontinental railroads. At the territorial level, anyone who built roads or trails through the public domain could charge tolls for fifteen years, encouraging construction of secondary and tertiary paths from a region's principal wagon roads into its hinterlands. These principal east-west roads were encouraged by the U.S. Congress, who, beginning in the 1820s, gave land to the states along rights-of-way for wagon roads and canals.⁶ From 1850 until 1871, railroad corporations benefited from grants to alternate sections flanking each mile of track laid. In this manner, sixteen railroads acquired nearly 100 million acres in broad checkerboard ribbons stretching from coast to coast, and hastened settlement by selling their lands cheaply to offset the expense of construction.⁷

From beneath this comprehensive blanket of government benevolence emerged the garbled myth of the "rugged individualist," the admittedly adventurous and risk-taking individuals, families, and parties who comprised the West's pioneers, but who would not have entered the region in such numbers and remained long without the comforting arm of federal support. The same incentives inspired the West's first true corporations, the railroads, headed by equally dauntless if more cautious investors with some renown, better financial resources, and more political influence than the common man. Individualists and capitalists were not always easy to differentiate. Both sought federal aid, perceived economic potential in the West, and were willing to take risks. Both hoped to get in on the ground floor. Perhaps the most salient differences lay in economic degree and scope. Individualists sought little more than a good living; capitalists were concerned with the accumulation of wealth, were anxious to control the lion's share of regional business to the exclusion of others, and harbored visions of national and world markets. Another difference lay at the root of hostilities between the two: individualists came first, generally by ten to twenty years, and served unwittingly as scouts for corporations that moved in to capture local production only after assessing pioneer experiences and ensuring federal support, marketable resources, sufficient laborers, and reasonable returns on investment.

These western verities were supported by construction of the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad across northern Arizona some twenty years following completion of the Beale Road, the first wagon trains, and incipient settlement. Congress had chartered the A & P in 1866, granting a twenty-mile swath of alternate sections within states and forty miles

within territories along its proposed route from Springfield, Missouri, to the Colorado River where it would join with the Southern Pacific Railroad. When the A & P went bankrupt in 1876 after completing only a few hundred miles of track, the Atcheson, Topeka & Santa Fe and the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroads picked up the charter, invested new money, and by 1880 reached Albuquerque in New Mexico Territory. Following the pioneer reconnaissance of Capt. Amiel Weeks Whipple, Gen. William Palmer's 1867-68 preliminary survey for the Union Pacific Railroad, and Lewis Kingman's final survey of 1880, crews of immigrant Irish and local Hispanos, Apaches, Navajos, Mormons, and itinerant white laborers moved relentlessly across Arizona, securing the last rails at Needles, California, in August 1883.⁸

Completion of the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad rearranged regional transportation and economies as it made its way across northern Arizona. Embryonic settlements astride the Beale Wagon Road like Horsehead Crossing (Holbrook), Sunset (Winslow), and Agassiz (Flagstaff) acquired their modern names and were immediately reoriented in relation to labor camps, then became permanently fixed beside depots left behind as camps moved west. Railroad facilities spawned new towns like Williams, Ash Fork, Seligman, Peach Springs, and Kingman, and railroad workers and their families were their first residents. Where earlier settlements had been populated by a few ranchers, hired hands, merchants, blacksmiths, freighters, and prospectors, the new towns attracted small and large businessmen looking for opportunities that were sure to appear. Most newcomers to the budding urban oases of the 1880s were middle-class European Americans from the East and Midwest who quickly became territorial boosters and accelerated the process of displacing and enclaving earlier Indian peoples, Hispanos, and Mormons through political, economic, and social pressures.⁹

The railroad became the principal artery of east-west travel as each mile of track was nailed fast, replacing the Beale Road that had well served travel by foot, horse, wagon, and stage for a quarter century but had required weeks to move people and freight between New Mexico and the Colorado River. After 1883 transcontinental passengers could cover the same ground in comfort and at less cost in thirty-six hours, and shipping charges that had ranged from \$300 to \$360 per ton dropped to a fraction of the cost.¹⁰ In combination with the Southern Pacific's rails west of the Colorado, completed in the 1870s, and the Santa Fe, Prescott and Phoenix Railway built from Ash Fork to Phoenix during 1893-95, the Atlantic & Pacific also reoriented transportation, diminishing the roles of steamships and land-based freighters to local feeder services. Effects and extent of that reorientation were evidenced by the

Mohave County mining industry, which had formerly relied on wagons to deliver high-grade ore to Colorado River steamships and transfer it to ocean-going vessels at the Sea of Cortez for delivery to San Francisco smelters. After 1882 lower-grade silver and gold ores as well as less-precious minerals like copper could be transported profitably via rail to New Mexico then south atop Santa Fe and Southern Pacific rails to smelters at El Paso, Texas, prompting larger mining companies to move in with new technologies and monopolize most of the districts.¹¹

Aside from boosting the mining economy and doubling population and property values of Mohave and Coconino Counties, the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad supplied the means by which large enterprises could take control of the sheep and cattle industries. Family ranchers who had supplied Arizona's meager civilian markets and lucrative military contracts since the 1860s were quickly nudged aside by companies like the Aztec Land & Cattle Company, Arizona Cattle Company, Babbitt Brothers Trading Company, and the Daggs Brothers. These companies bought out smaller spreads, purchased railroad lands, and used the rails to ship hundreds of thousands of cattle and sheep onto northern Arizona ranges and beef, mutton, and wool to eastern markets. The frenzy to fill northern Arizona ranges together with the alternating floods and droughts of 1891-1905 nearly destroyed the land, but the 1880s marked a boom period for both industries and witnessed robust profits while it lasted.¹²

The railroad also created northern Arizona's lumber industry by creating demand for railroad ties, trestles, and depot facilities, then providing the means to export lumber from the world's largest ponderosa pine forest. Edward Everett Ayer arrived in 1881 to supply most of the ties, and he established a sawmill at Flagstaff in 1882 that would remain the town's principal employer through much of the twentieth century. He was preceded by John W. Young, who founded a mill at Fort Valley north of Flagstaff, and soon followed by the Riordan brothers' Arizona Lumber Company and J.C. Brown's Saginaw Lumber Company, which built mills at several of the railroad towns. The Saginaw & Manistee and Arizona Lumber Companies would later construct tangled grids of narrow-gauge feeder railways that by the 1920s stretched from the Mogollon Rim to the edge of Grand Canyon National Park.¹³

EARLY CANYON DEVELOPMENT

Although corporate cattle, sheep, and lumber companies crept closer to the canyon during the 1880s and 1890s, the chasm itself produced nothing but headaches for shepherds and cowboys and precluded timber extraction. Initial development therefore fell to a few dozen pioneering individuals and families who rode the rails into the bustling commer-

cial atmosphere of Peach Springs, Williams, and Flagstaff and espied opportunities for modest mining and tourism ventures. Prior to 1901 they displaced Hualapai and Havasupai residents, built wagon roads and inner-canyon trails linking the canyon to the outside world, and established the first stage lines.¹⁴ They also secured the most promising mineral deposits, springs, water holes, and building sites, advertised to attract visitors, accommodated the few they enticed, and, to their eventual chagrin, campaigned to attract eastern capital for a spur railroad to the South Rim.

One of the more enduring enterprises was run by the family of William Wallace Bass during the years 1885-1923.¹⁵ Bass arrived at Williams in 1883, and within two years had selected a base camp beside the rim near Havasupai Point, identified a seventy-mile-long wagon route from Williams, and begun to entertain infrequent tourists with excursions along old Havasupai trails. He extended his Mystic Spring Trail to the Colorado River in 1891, applied for toll rights, built an all-weather road from Ash Fork in 1894, and at the end of the century completed the canyon's first rim-to-rim trail by improving earlier Paiute and prospector trails to Swamp Point at the North Rim. He later erected cable systems across the river, constructed a road from Bass Camp to Topocoba Point to bring tourists to the Havasupai Reservation, and built two homes that doubled as hotels nearer Grand Canyon Village. By 1915 Bass had completed more canyon approach roads and inner-canyon trails than any other pioneer and had filed twenty-five or more claims to strategic sites within future park boundaries.

Other than transient prospectors, very few took an interest in Marble Canyon and the Desert View vicinity, but the Grandview area began to bustle by 1880. During the 1890s it became the locus of active mining and tourism activities. Several men, among them William and Philip Hull and John Hance, built a wagon road from Flagstaff to the Hull's sheep ranch and on to Hance's rimside home near Grandview in 1884-85.¹⁶ Within a few years Hance filed for a homestead, built a small log cabin, improved a Havasupai trail to the Tonto Platform, and launched a small tourist venture, offering tents beside his cabin, simple meals, and mule trips. Hance sold his homestead and tourism interests to the James Thurber and Lyman Tolfree families in 1895, and his patented mining claims to a Massachusetts company in 1901, but he remained at the site and later at Grand Canyon Village as the canyon's premier storyteller until his death in 1919. Thurber improved the tourist operation and operated a regular stage from Flagstaff until selling his interests to another pioneer, Martin Buggeln, in 1901 and 1906.

A partnership that included Pete Berry and brothers Niles and Ralph Cameron began to haunt the inner canyon

in the late 1880s. They filed claims atop Horseshoe Mesa in 1890, and in 1892 discovered rich copper deposits on the mesa immediately below Grandview Point. They built a toll trail to the vein in 1892-93 and worked their Last Chance Mine profitably until 1902, when they sold out to larger eastern interests. Along with his mining endeavors, Berry and wife Martha started a tourist business at Grandview Point in the early 1890s that remained the South Rim's most popular destination until 1901.¹⁷

Sanford Rowe was the first European American to arrive in the vicinity of what would become Grand Canyon Village. During 1890-92 he filed several bogus mining claims at and near Rowe Well, three miles south of the rim, established a small tourist camp, purchased Bill Bass's livery business at Williams, and built a spur road from Bass's road to his camp and Hopi Point. In the same years the Berry-Cameron partnership reconstructed a Havasupai path from Indian Garden to the rim along the Bright Angel Fault to expedite prospecting ventures, recording their trail as the Bright Angel Toll Road. In 1896 James Thurber extended the Flagstaff-Grandview stage road through Long Jim and Shoski Canyons to a point near the Bright Angel trailhead and opened the Bright Angel Hotel. Rowe and Thurber had no interest in prospecting and Thurber did not even bother to file a claim to his hotel site, but both took advantage of the Bright Angel Trail to guide customers down to the Tonto Platform.

Developments of these early canyon pioneers and the turnover in properties illustrate initial incorporative processes of the larger Southwest, wherein individuals and families experimented with economic possibilities, extended transportation from principal east-west roads, secured the properties necessary to pursue subsistence endeavors, and sold off those whose future development required more capital than they possessed. Before the turn of the century Bass, Hance, Thurber, Tolfree, Berry, the Camerons, and Rowe, along with other early arrivals like Dan Hogan and Louis Boucher, developed South Rim roads connecting points of interest from Lees Canyon near the Havasupai Reservation east to Desert View. They also built half a dozen roads connecting these points to the gateway towns, and a continuous trail atop the Tonto Platform from Bass's mining claims to the Little Colorado River that intersected with seven rim-to-river trails. Some engaged in mining alone, others pursued only tourist dollars. Most tried both but recognized a brighter future in tourism and sold off working mines and lesser claims to larger companies while retaining parcels of advantage to an emerging tourist industry. A few, like John Hance, sold everything at a profit when the selling seemed good. Some properties passed several times to ever more enterprising pioneers, but many of the earliest arrivals remained into the new century as bit

players in the ensuing drama for South Rim control.

The pattern of corporations succeeding pioneers culminated at the head of the Bright Angel Trail in the two decades following completion of a rail spur from Williams in 1901.¹⁸ Prior to that year most canyon tourists had been transcontinental travelers who chose to disembark at Flagstaff, Williams, or Ash Fork where they rented buggies at local livery or rode the stages offered by Thurber, Rowe, or Bass. They paid fifteen to twenty dollars for a bone-jarring trip that might require two days each way, and puzzled over timetables to resume their cross-country journeys. With completion of the Santa Fe Pacific Railroad's subsidiary, Grand Canyon Railway, transcontinental schedules could offer automatic transfers from the main line at Williams. The railroad often simply switched cars to the northbound rails in the dead of night so that visitors woke to a canyon sunrise. Offering a comfortable, three-hour excursion from Williams for only four dollars, the Santa Fe Railroad immediately put the half-dozen wagon, stage, and livery businesses connecting the South Rim to gateway communities out of business.

Once trains arrived at the doorstep of the Bright Angel Hotel, pioneer operators like Bill Bass and Pete Berry had to scramble to stay afloat. Both offered free stage service to their establishments from temporary ends-of-track at Anita and Coconino as well as from the Grand Canyon depot. Bass went so far as to build new roads from each of these points to Bass Camp. In 1902 he arranged for locomotives to stop at one of his mining claims five miles from the rim (a flag stop), built yet another road from that point to Bass Camp, and constructed a home/hotel on the claim in 1906 called the White House. He realized, however, that while a few people might always enjoy the solitude of his remote west-side camp, real tourist dollars would henceforth be earned at the emerging Grand Canyon Village. He began to offer tours along the south central rim, built a third home/hotel nearer the village in 1912 called the Tin House, and had his best season in 1915, grossing \$15,000. From that year forward, however, the Besses planned for retirement at Wickenburg, Arizona. They realized they could not sell their dying west-side business in what had become Grand Canyon backcountry, and instead entered into negotiations to transfer their interests to the federal government.

Pete and Martha Berry faced a similar predicament but conjured different solutions. Although the Berrys sold their Grand View Hotel and mining interests in 1902 to Henry P. Barber, who in turn sold to the Canyon Copper Company in the same year, they retained their 160-acre homestead, where they built the Summit Hotel in 1903. By agreement with Harry Smith, manager of the copper company, they jointly operated the adjacent hotels from 1903 until 1907, when copper prices and railroad competition

closed both mining operations and overnight accommodations. They lingered to provide day services for Fred Harvey Company tours, then reopened the hotel for the 1911-13 seasons. Slipping deeper into debt, they offered to carve the homestead into lots free to anyone who would make improvements, only to realize the devaluating effect of the railway's arrival when they found no takers. Finally, in 1913, Berry sold his remaining interests and those of the copper company to newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst. He and Martha stayed on as caretakers until 1919, then moved a few miles south to the homestead of Pete's son, Ralph, where they remained until their deaths in the early 1930s.

The Thurber and Tolfree business at the old Hance homestead met a similar fate. After purchasing the property and Hance's cabin in 1895, the families of both men built a larger lodge for meals, upgraded accommodations with sturdy tent cabins, took over the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad's stage line from Flagstaff, and made a fair living for the remainder of the century. Thurber responded to the railway's promise faster than others by extending the stage line and building the Bright Angel Hotel, but sold both to Martin Buggeln, a Williams businessman, just months before the railway's arrival. In 1906 Thurber sold the Hance homestead to Buggeln, ending his canyon tenure. Buggeln erected a two-story, seventeen-room hotel at the site in the following year with hopes of reentering the tourist business but thought better of it, retaining the property as a private residence and cattle ranch for another four decades.

ENTER RALPH CAMERON

Private lands to the east and west of Grand Canyon Village remained in individuals' or small companies' hands into the national park era simply because neither the Santa Fe Pacific Railroad nor any other corporation perceived a future in properties that the railroad itself had devalued. Officers of the successful company had every reason to believe that they would dictate tourist development at their twenty-acre depot site, but they soon found their hands full and lawyers busy fighting Ralph Cameron, a canyon pioneer who would not fold as easily as others. The ensuing twenty-five-year struggle that began with one man pitted against railroad magnates embodies private-public conflicts waged at other western parks, and includes nearly all the possible twists and turns of resourceful individualists armed with federal and territorial laws holding out against capitalists allied with a supportive federal government.

Ralph Cameron had arrived at Flagstaff from Southport, Maine, in 1883, and through his inner-canyon forays with Pete Berry and other prospectors since the late 1880s had come to believe in Grand Canyon's economic potential. Cameron knew long before construction was

underway that the railway would touch the rim near the head of the trail he and his partners had built and still controlled, nominally, as a toll road. He was well versed in mining law that would allow him to secure nearby parcels of value to a probable tourism boom. He entered into an understanding with the Santa Fe & Grand Canyon Railroad, the failed predecessor of the Grand Canyon Railway, that their tracks would end at the head of the Bright Angel Trail.¹⁹ Following that agreement in 1898, he hired men to extend the trail to the Colorado River, made other improvements costing thousands of dollars, and began to file lode and mill claims to mineral-barren parcels that would extend from Hermit Basin as far east as Grandview Point. By early 1903 he had acquired sole proprietorship of the trail and opened Cameron's Hotel & Camp near its head and Indian Garden Camp beside its path on the Tonto Platform.²⁰

Troubles between Cameron and the Santa Fe Railroad began immediately when the Grand Canyon Railway struck a different deal with Martin Buggeln to continue the tracks beyond Cameron's establishment to the Bright Angel Hotel. This made sense to the railway as well as Buggeln because, aside from its 200-foot-wide right-of-way along the tracks, the railway was allowed by law to survey a twenty-acre depot site at the rim that included the land on which the Bright Angel Hotel stood. Buggeln's contract therefore required him to pay the Santa Fe Railroad about half of the hotel's profits, in return for which the railway delivered customers, supplies, and water to his door and paid for capital improvements, including hotel additions and an adjacent tent-cabin complex called Bright Angel Camp. The Santa Fe Railroad planned to build a first-class hotel, the El Tovar, but found it useful to work through the Buggelns until the new facility could open.

Opening rounds in the fight to follow were limited to free competition. The competing hotels offered similar services, prices, and quality: modestly furnished tent cabins and hotel rooms costing \$1.50-3.00 per night, horse rentals for several dollars and guides at five dollars per day, simple meals, riding accoutrements, and curios. Guests of the adjacent establishments shared the same views and rim walks, and although it was more convenient to step right up to the Bright Angel, Cameron's employees met each train at the depot, enticed passengers to amble down the tracks a little, and carried their baggage. They also circulated flyers casting Cameron in the role of David fighting the railroad Goliath in hyperbolic terms: "When you can get as good and better from a private individual—are you going to patronize a greedy, grasping corporation?"²¹ The public opinion campaign seemed to balance the scales, and with visitation escalating handsomely, both businesses earned money in the first decade of the new century. Cameron's

hotel entertained nearly 2,000 visitors in 1904-1906 alone.²²

Unable to beat their adversary at the economic level, the Santa Fe Railroad initiated a series of lawsuits. Cameron actually sparked the legal battles in April 1902 when he filed the Cape Horn and Golden Eagle mining claims enveloping the Bright Angel trailhead and his rimside hotel but also encroaching on the railroad's depot site, surveyed in the prior year. In 1906 the courts decided that Cameron could keep his claims to the extent that they did not overlap the depot parcel. He therefore failed to dislodge the Santa Fe Railroad but legitimized his key claims and facilities at the rim. His next move in early 1903, after receiving clearance from the Department of the Interior, was to erect a gate at the head of the Bright Angel Trail and begin charging a one-dollar toll. This prompted a Santa Fe Railroad suit filed in Buggeln's name, *Territory of Arizona vs. Ralph Cameron*. Jurors in 1904 decided that Pete Berry's transfer of the trail to Cameron in 1901 had been illegal, but confirmed Berry's right to charge tolls. Berry simply allowed his friend to continue to run the operation.

Cameron's regional popularity and willingness to use politics to his personal benefit came into play in 1906, when Berry's franchise ran out and (without precedent to the contrary) reverted to Coconino County. Serving on the County Board of Supervisors in that year, Cameron convinced its two other members to assign the franchise to his friend and hotel proprietor, Lannes L. Ferrall. The Santa Fe Railroad tried to circumvent county authority by appealing for a federal permit to operate the trail, but the Department of Agriculture chose not to intervene when the county, slipping into the bravado of the old Wild West, ordered its sheriff to protect it from interlopers. That action prompted the railroad to file suit against the county, arguing that it had no legal right to operate a toll trail. The railroad might have won that case, except that while it languished on the court docket, Cameron convinced the Arizona legislature to pass the "Cameron Bill" giving counties just such authority. Joseph Kibbey, an experienced jurist and Arizona's federally appointed territorial governor, vetoed the bill on advice of the secretary of the interior, but the popularly elected legislature unanimously overrode the veto. Santa Fe Railroad officials were livid when the county rejected a generous offer to operate the trail and instead gave the franchise to their archenemy for a pittance in 1907. The railroad then lost their final appeal in the Arizona Supreme Court in 1909.²³

BECOMING A NATIONAL PARK

Ralph Cameron won most of these early battles because he had the backing of nineteenth-century land laws, a host of friends, and local newspapers always ready to celebrate the common man. He was also aided by small businessmen who felt similarly threatened by corporate takeovers, county

government that abhorred federal interference (unless money was attached), and territorial legislators who did not like a presidential appointee overriding their decisions. The most influential among Cameron's supporters began to look in another direction, however, once his political aspirations began to fail, his motivations turned to simple greed, and the nation's popular culture began to shift slightly toward broader public welfare and social responsibility.

This cultural shift is called progressivism, an aggregation of independent social, economic, and political reform movements at the turn of the century that developed in response to the evils of unchecked capitalism, industrialization, and urbanization rampant since the U.S. Civil War. The national economic depression of 1893-97 accelerated crusades to curtail the worst of such conditions. The fever pitch had largely run its course by 1917 when reforms were derailed by the nation's entry into World War I. Still, while the fervor raged, many citizens of all classes and politicians at all levels rallied to the belief that governments could achieve efficiency, businesses could remain profitable, and people could be treated with more compassion through science and greater democratization.²⁴

Progressivism in the West translated to a great degree into conservation of natural resources, an idea that had arisen prior to the Civil War with the writings and lectures of pioneer naturalists, scientists, game hunters, and federal bureaucrats, but it had no effect on public policy until George Perkins Marsh published *Man and Nature* in 1864.²⁵ Marsh's analysis helped influence legislators to pass laws protecting forested lands as watersheds and wildlife threatened with extinction. It also led to the appointment of Franklin B. Hough as the first forestry agent within the Department of Agriculture in 1876. Hough, Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, and John Wesley Powell, director of the U.S. Geological Survey, spearheaded federal efforts to protect the nation's resources. Editors of national magazines published articles promoting wildlife protection, hunting ethics, camping, and travel, revealing to eastern readers a West worth saving.²⁶ The American Forestry Association was organized in 1875. Powell produced his *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region* in 1878, the Department of Agriculture's Division of Forestry was created in 1881, and Hough delivered his four-volume *Report Upon Forestry* to Congress during 1878-84.

These literary, scientific, and bureaucratic crusades brought conservation to national attention by the 1890s, when the U.S. Congress launched its first tangible programs for wise use of the public lands. In 1891 it passed the Forest Reserve Act empowering presidents to set aside forested lands remaining in the public domain, and in 1897 defined the multiple-use managerial concept while placing forest reserves under the jurisdiction of the Department of

the Interior, General Land Office (GLO). Gifford Pinchot, one of few professional American foresters before the turn of the century, became chief of the Division of Forestry in 1898 and, with support from his friend Theodore Roosevelt, helped implement sustainable, multiple-use principles in an ever-growing number of reserves. Two of Pinchot's political achievements were the elevation of the Division of Forestry to federal bureau level in 1901 and the transfer of the reserves to the Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Forestry in 1905, consolidating forest management under one progressive agency. Later in 1905 the bureau was renamed the U.S. Forest Service.²⁷

Conservation was a natural outgrowth of progressive concerns for curbing capitalist abuses and taking scientific and democratic approaches to what remained of the nation's natural resources, but in the same years a parallel movement arose to preserve the country's most scenic lands for citizens' appreciation. As historian Alfred Runte has argued, preservation movements may have stemmed from Americans' cultural inferiority complex vis-à-vis Europeans' historic monuments, a psychological malady some felt could be cured by preserving the nation's scenic monuments if they proved of no traditional economic value.²⁸ Influenced by its cultural inadequacy, and by romantic travel literature and the works of Western landscape artists, Congress began to set aside mountain-top forested lands like Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Sequoia National Parks. As preservation movements gained steam during the progressive era, Congress accelerated its designation of great western parks. Meanwhile, southwestern archaeologists convinced Congress that the nation indeed had a long history of human constructions, particularly among western Pueblo peoples. Largely for that reason, it passed the American Antiquities Act in 1906, authorizing presidents to proclaim national monuments without congressional authority to preserve prehistoric, historic, and other properties of scientific interest.²⁹

These progressive gestures influenced the status of Grand Canyon during the 1890s and 1900s but did not immediately cause federal agencies to participate in its preservation nor in tourist management. Indiana senator Benjamin Harrison introduced legislation in 1882, 1883, and 1886 to set aside the canyon as a "public park," but the bills died in committee.³⁰ On 20 February 1893 President Harrison set aside Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, but the 1897 law that allowed grazing, mining, and lumbering within reserves, though it led to permit requirements for such pursuits, did not challenge rimside entrepreneurs. President Theodore Roosevelt visited the canyon in 1903, expressing his wish that it remain pristine for future generations, then enhanced its protective status by declaring portions to be a federal game preserve on 28 November 1906.³¹ The first

real measure of protection from uncontrolled development, however, did not arrive until 11 January 1908, when Roosevelt proclaimed the 1,279-square-mile Grand Canyon National Monument. This status prohibited future private claims of any type, although the canyon's pioneers scurried to properly file their claims with Coconino and Mohave Counties prior to that date.³²

Before creation of the National Park Service, parks and monuments were managed by various federal agencies, including the War Department and the Department of the Interior's General Land Office (GLO). Grand Canyon Forest Reserve had been indifferently managed by the GLO since 1897, but in 1905 it was transferred to Gifford Pinchot's U.S. Forest Service (USFS) with the land office retaining only those responsibilities associated with surveying, locating, and patenting private entries.³³ Because the monument had been carved from the forest reserve, renamed Grand Canyon National Forest in 1907, the forest service retained its administrative responsibilities with an expanded mission to accommodate tourist visitation.

The forest service took seriously its responsibility to protect public lands under its care but, in the early years of the agency's life, was not inclined to treat tourism as anything but the lowest rung on its ladder of sustainable uses. Impediments included limited budgets, its congressionally mandated mission, inexperience with tourism, opposition from pioneer individualists, and the personal visions of Pinchot and his successor, Henry S. Graves. USFS budgets rose consistently during 1905-19, but so did the number of national forests and administrative costs, so that individual monuments under its care received little money for road improvements until the 1910s, and none at all for tourist accommodations until 1922.³⁴ Abysmal funding also resulted from the chief foresters' focus on fundamental responsibilities—ranching, mining, timber production, and fire suppression. Rangers in the field spent their time checking range conditions, working on timber sales, issuing use permits, recording homestead entries, building fences and telephone lines, and fighting forest fires, but rarely interacted with sightseers.³⁵

With its new responsibilities at Grand Canyon National Monument, local rangers found their alliance with the private sector shifting from pioneer individualists toward corporate magnates who could offer more help with their new roles. Formerly, it made sense for rangers to befriend early miners and tourism operators who shared resource information and hospitality, stored fire-fighting tools at remote locations, reported and helped fight forest fires, and even built the cabins that would become ranger stations at Anita, Hull Tank, Rowe Well, and atop the Kaibab Plateau.³⁶ There had been some animosity over control, with pioneers irritated by the permit system and rangers vexed by the

extent of fraudulent land claims, but permits had been handed out freely and private inholdings remained a GLO concern. After 1908, however, rangers began to comb the monument and question far-flung holdings, causing considerable inconvenience to claimants who had to appear for on-site inspections.³⁷ They reported a greater number of irregularities to land office investigators and admitted increasing frustration at private claims to the most scenic points and to parcels needed for tourist development. In the face of the escalating number of visitors, whose needs pioneer operators could no longer satisfy, the forest service was thankful for an entity like the Santa Fe Railroad. Despite their desire to make developmental decisions, railroad officials proved willing to work with forest supervisors on design, to accept long-term leases rather than property ownership, and to spend liberally to develop quality tourism infrastructure.³⁸

Pioneer developers like Pete Berry, Bill Bass, and Martin Buggeln became bitter with the new federal-corporate relationship but could do nothing but watch their businesses wither and eventually sell out. Berry's anger was typical, if a bit more extreme, than most. He refused time and again to succumb to Santa Fe Railroad purchase offers, choosing instead to sell to William Randolph Hearst whom he believed, correctly, would prove a thorn in the government's side.³⁹ Ralph Cameron harbored the same hostility but was encouraged to continue the fight by his earlier successes and his election as territorial delegate to the U.S. Congress in 1908. The Santa Fe Railroad, for its part, chose a new tack after its defeat over the Bright Angel Trail. Henceforth the corporation and its concession partner, the Fred Harvey Company, would focus on their own developments and leave legal battles to the federal government.

The new railroad strategy, enhanced federal role, and nature of future conflicts were fully revealed in early 1909, when USFS mineral examiners T.T. Swift and H. Norton Johnson examined Cameron's lode claims and found them barren of commercial-grade minerals. Their report caused the GLO to invalidate the claims.⁴⁰ Close on the heels of this decision, railroad officials announced their "Hermit project," an upscale road, trail, and inner-canyon camp development that they hoped would obviate Cameron's trail and Indian Garden Camp. The forest service quickly approved the necessary permit, and district forester Arthur Ringland with forest examiner W.R. Mattoon accompanied the Santa Fe Railroad's engineers and landscape architect to survey the new developments.⁴¹ Cameron's rage at the federal-corporate collusion was fueled by the fact that Hermit Road and Hermit Trail would pass over many of his well-placed mining claims, recently declared invalid. He complained to Gifford Pinchot and Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson, posted notices of trespass at his claim sites,

obtained injunctions against construction, and filed lawsuits, delaying construction to 1911-13 and extorting \$40,000 from the railroad to end his harassment.⁴² Cameron did profit in this instance, but the Santa Fe Railroad-USFS coalition proved its ability to surmount private interests and its intent to upgrade South Rim tourist facilities.

Cameron spent very little time at Grand Canyon after taking his seat as territorial delegate in early 1909, leaving day-to-day business to brother Niles and a dozen or more employees who acted as on-site informants. His rimside hotel closed due to Fred Harvey Company competition and relocation of the railroad depot to the foot of the El Tovar hill in 1909.⁴³ Cameron retained the lucrative trail franchise, Indian Garden Camp (which

soon became an eyesore for lack of maintenance), and his mining claims, which he could never patent but would nonetheless retain through legal machinations and political influence until 1924. While the forest service continued legal actions against his claims through the remainder of the 1910s, Cameron promoted a series of development schemes and introduced federal legislation designed to raise their value in speculator's eyes or to coerce the Santa Fe Railroad or federal government into buying him out. None of his intrigues came to fruition, although the railroad did pay him to relinquish more of his claims in 1916.⁴⁴

Ralph Cameron's maneuvers after 1908 reflect the last-ditch efforts of pioneers to retain control in the face of corporate-federal partnerships prevalent in the West during these years. Although he distracted, hindered, and occasionally horrified the forest service, Santa Fe Railroad, and Fred Harvey Company with his plans, Cameron did not keep them from developing and controlling tourist services in the national monument. Adopting rustic and Pueblo-revival building styles and employing professional architects, the railroad during 1902-19 created visually pleasing, state-of-the-art structures that blended well with the forest-and-stone environs. Many of these still stand and fulfill their original purposes, including the El Tovar Hotel, Hopi House, mule barns, Fred Harvey Garage, Lookout Studio, Hermits Rest, and an assortment of service buildings. The railroad addressed South Rim aridity by hauling water in tanker cars from sources as far away as the Chino Valley,

using the latest aeration, filtration, and distilling technologies to provide potable water. It also installed a modern septic system to serve the El Tovar and its other facilities. The on-site Santa Fe Transportation Department scheduled excursions ranging from day trips along scenic rims to months-long adventures into remote backcountry. While the railroad invested the capital, the Fred Harvey

Company's wranglers, tour guides, and Harvey Girls managed accommodations, meals, and most direct visitor contact.⁴⁵

The U. S. Forest Service role remained one of enthusiastic support for its principal concessioner with minimal interference. Rangers sometimes interacted with



Figure 3. U.S. Forest Service ranger Pat Fenton, 1905. GRCA 15822B.

monument visitors and produced an occasional brochure, but continued to regard tourism as just another use of the lands in their care as they continued to investigate land claims and wrote permits for a wide variety of uses. This approach, born of budgetary necessity, had no effect on the remote backcountry and the little-visited Kaibab Plateau but led to unfavorable conditions at Grand Canyon Village. Since the Santa Fe Railroad and the Fred Harvey Company focused on profit-making services, they supplied few accommodations, amenities, or services for employees, who numbered more than 300 by 1919. Since nearly all visitors arrived by rail, they did nothing to maintain roads. Forest service and concessioner neglect resulted in a community resembling western boom towns of no definitive form, replete with scattered trash heaps and open-pit toilets, employees housed in wooden shacks, tents, and sidetracked boxcars, and wagon paths leading everywhere and nowhere.⁴⁶

Problems were exacerbated by the Fred Harvey Company's inability to schedule or adequately accommodate motorists who began to arrive unannounced in the 1910s. Since the forest service did not maintain campgrounds, the village scene was further muddled with impromptu tent sites and visitors asleep in their Model-Ts. Forest examiners developed at least five separate plans to correct these conditions during 1909-18, but accomplished almost nothing, and in fact contributed to the disarray by ignoring fuel-wood cutting and livestock grazing through-

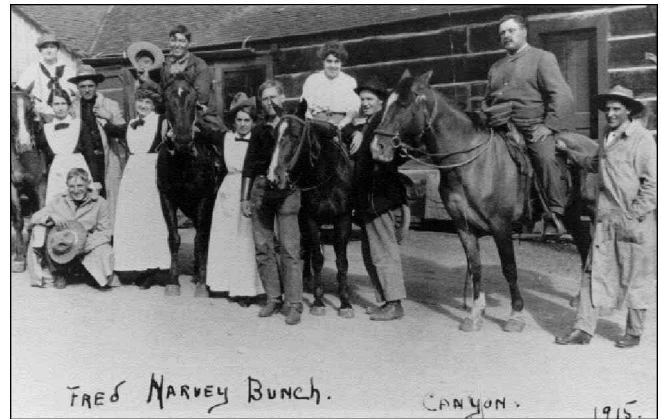
out the village. As the end of their tenure approached, forest officials could look back on a number of achievements, particularly their corporate partnerships and aggressive pursuit of fraudulent land claims. But developmental problems persisted—problems they could not adequately address, much less resolve.⁴⁷

At the national level, the forest service's administration of all lands in its care on multiple-use principles spurred preservationists to clamor for a federal bureau that would focus on protection of and visitation to the nation's parks and monuments. The idea was opposed by individuals of the Cameron mindset and "get-in, get-rich, get-out" corporations like the early lumber companies. It was also contested by civilians, bureaucrats, and legislators who sincerely believed in the middle road of sustainable democratic use of the public lands versus blatant destruction or no use at all. The forest service, concerned for its own bureaucratic empire and loss of forest lands to parks, led the political opposition. Arguments were couched in progressive rhetoric that emphasized efficient extraction of natural resources for the most citizens for the longest period of time. They were also framed in favor of traditional economic endeavors that in the century's first years did not include tourism, and against the inefficiency of creating still another federal bureaucracy that might limit public-land productivity.

Supporters of a parks bureau faced a hard battle to overcome exploiters and their political allies, as well as conservationists who still fought to overcome unrestrained development. By arguing that parks and monuments were typically worthless for mineral production, timber, grazing, and crops, and that tourism promised more in the way of regional dollars, however, a handful of proponents accomplished their mission in less than a decade. Among these were spiritualists like John Muir; interest groups like the Sierra Club, American Civic Association, General Federation of Women's Clubs, western railroads, and emerging "good roads" associations; and politicians like William Howard Taft, Interior Secretaries Walter Fisher and Franklin Lane, Representative John Raker of California, Representative John Lacey of Iowa, and Senator Reed Smoot of Utah. Legislation introduced annually during 1911-15 resulted in the creation of the National Park Service on 25 August 1916.⁴⁸

Arguments for the creation of the National Park Service coincided with efforts to promote Grand Canyon to national park status. A great many visitors to the canyon had considered the nation's premier chasm a national park ever since the Santa Fe Railroad and U.S. Forest Service had established their presence at its South Rim. Lingered private opponents to national park status, other than Ralph Cameron and a few like thinkers, had been satisfied since the early 1910s that the canyon could never produce wealth

from resource extraction but might bolster local service industries as well as state and county coffers. All special interests that had supported creation of the National Park Service, including the Arizona chapter of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Arizona Good Roads Association, also supported the canyon's promotion. They were joined by Mark Daniels, first superintendent of the national parks, his successor Robert Marshall, and the first director of the National Park Service, Stephen Mather. Even the U.S. Forest Service proved an ambivalent antagonist, opposing the transfer as a matter of general principle yet approving of it to rid themselves of an administrative headache.⁴⁹



By 1917 supporters considered it a foregone conclusion that Grand Canyon would be elevated in stature and that its management would transfer to the one-year-old National Park Service.

Senator Henry Ashurst of Arizona, whose father had once prospected the canyon's depths, introduced Senate Bill 390 on 4 April 1917. The legislation quickly passed the Senate on 16 May 1918. The United States' entry into World War I, Horace Albright's negotiations with the forest service over boundaries, and details concerning the status of the Bright Angel Trail, rights of private interests, and other matters of continuing commercial use delayed approval by the House Committee on Public Lands until 18 October 1918. After clearing that hurdle, the bill easily passed the full House and Senate, and President Woodrow Wilson signed it into law on 26 February 1919. The forest service continued to manage the park until the Sundry Civil Act of 19 July 1919 appropriated funds for new administration and the park service could gather its own staff. Transfer in the field took place when William H. Peters was appointed acting superintendent and arrived on 15 August 1919 to take charge of the nation's seventeenth national park.⁵⁰

Figure 4. Fred Harvey Girls and other employees, ca. 1915. Harvey Girls worked at the Bright Angel Hotel (later the Bright Angel Lodge) and ElTovar from 1905 until the 1950s. GRC A 18207; photo by T.L. Brown.