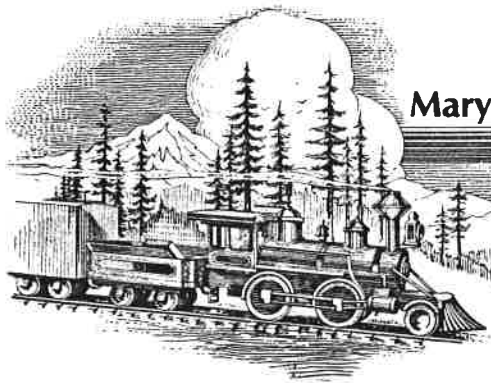


South Region

**HARRIMAN STATE PARK
OF IDAHO
AND
THE RAILROAD RANCH:
A HISTORY**

**BY
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Historians

Harriman State Park

and

The Railroad Ranch:

A History

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Introduction and Acknowledgements

Harriman is truly a gem in Idaho's state park system. Although many people had described its scenic features to us, we were hardly prepared for such a beautiful setting. We spent two enjoyable weeks at the Park in August, 1983--the first full summer it was open to visitors. On our routine of morning and evening walks we daily discovered new and spectacular sights: statuesque bull moose standing in Silver Lake, nonchalantly feasting on weeds; elegant trumpeter swans gliding across the water with their cygnets; a porcupine waddling over a downed log; huge osprey circling overhead, watching and shrieking as we approached too close to their nests; pelicans sitting expectantly on snags in Henry's Fork waiting for fish; sleek muskrat and tail-slapping beaver; startled mule deer gracefully springing out of sight; weasels slinking along tree trunks, ever curious and watchful. All of this in a park which is also blessed with a spectacular vista of the jagged Tetons; the clear, shallow, relaxing flow of Henry's Fork; an abundance of wildflowers which bloom all spring and summer; and the ever-present sandhill cranes, beautiful to watch and even more enjoyable because of their loud, rattling, warbling call. Even the ordinary at Harriman State Park can be extraordinarily peaceful and relaxing: a new born colt learning to walk; a herd of healthy white-faced steers suddenly coming into view through a morning fog; the rustic beauty of miles of jack pine fences; friendly marmots performing on the lawn.

Idahoans can take immense pride in the unique natural resources of Harriman. We are sure they will also be curious about its history--just as we were--for people are always curious about cowboys and ranches and how rich people live. And therein lies a difficult interpretive problem. Thousands of people travel by the Park each year on their way to Yellowstone National Park. It would be easy to lure a good percentage of these sojourners into Harriman, enticing them with stories of easily-seen moose and visits to the summer retreat of the wealthy Guggenheims and Harrimans. But what will happen to this fragile ecosystem if the Park becomes a popular haven for summer tourists? Can they be confined to a limited area so as to protect the wildlife from disruption? Can plants be defended against visitors wandering off trails or picking samples? Will the Park become, as Roland Harriman hoped it would not, another Yosemite or Yellowstone, with concession stands and asphalt nature trails?

We found ourselves with mixed emotions writing this history. On the one hand, the task was pleasurable because the ranch's story is colorful and romantic. It is the type of tale historians enjoy telling, and we have tried to do so as carefully as possible to provide an accurate base for future interpretation. However, we know how popular the Park's cultural interpretive program could become. If you travel through the United States you will find hundreds of historic houses and buildings with period rooms, bronzed plaques, and informative signs. They are well visited by the curious who come to see how other people in other times lived. Statistics have repeatedly shown that a major reason people detour from a main highway is to visit museums and historical sites. Recent studies have shown that even in states with spectacular scenery such as Washington and Oregon, far more people visit historical sites than go on nature walks, camping trips, rafting excursions,

or other outdoor activities. Yet few historical sites have histories which can rival Harriman State Park's. The cultural legacy of the former Railroad Ranch could easily be used as a hook to lure unimagined numbers of visitors. Once there, they would probably be willing to pay admission fees and buy concessions.

That presents a real problem to the Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation. In these times, state agencies need all the additional funding they can find. Harriman probably has more potential to generate revenue than any other park in the state system. It will be tempting for the Department to encourage visitation which would generate revenue for Harriman and other state parks. The Department has an additional problem as the Park is in the public domain. Often this is interpreted to mean that such places must be opened to multiple uses so that people from all spectrums of society can enjoy them. Park managers are increasingly criticized for attempting to preserve parks for healthy "Sierra Clubbers" who can enjoy scenic places by hiking to them. Many people vociferously tell park managers that they want facilities accessible to the elderly and the handicapped and those who do not care to walk far from a parking lot. Consequently, more and more parks are managed as multiple use units in an effort to please everyone.

There is no doubt that we need park facilities accessible to the elderly, handicapped, and those with little energy or time. There is also no doubt that not every park should be accessible to everyone. Some parks can be managed for multiple use to accomodate all needs and different lifestyles. Others suffer from such concentrated and conflicting uses, becoming places of enjoyment only for those who would just as soon be at Disneyland or Coney Island. It is too early to tell whether Harriman can or should be managed as a multiple use park. So far the Parks Department has handled

its responsibilities at Harriman most professionally. The Park was not immediately opened to visitors, nor has the Department mounted a splashy advertising campaign to lure tourists. It has undertaken numerous studies to determine the impact of visitation upon the natural surroundings, but it must complete many more before it will have sufficient information upon which to base management decisions. We commend the Department for its patience, and encourage it to maintain its program of gradually opening the Park while continuing studies and planning. We sincerely wish it luck as it tries to find compromises to difficult multiple use questions.

Although we are historians who appreciate historical sites, it is clear to us that the history of the Railroad Ranch, interesting though it is, is not the most important aspect of the Park. Each place has its unique history, of course, and there no place else where one could discover a history exactly like that of the ranch. However, historical sites and museums abound and more are opened each year, while places with clean rivers, abundant wildlife, and scenic trails become scarcer. This is not to say that the history of the Park should be ignored, or interpreted inaccurately or unprofessionally. The Harrimans were obviously proud of the ranch's history and would have wanted its story told. Visitors deserve to know the history of the Park. Nonetheless, we believe that historical interpretive activities at the Park should be kept in perspective, lest it become another Mt. Vernon with manicured grounds, tidy concession areas and costumed interpreters. Although that type of place appeals to many people, it has little attraction for moose, swan, osprey, weasles and deer.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Janice Brown, Parks Department Interpretive Specialist, who hired us for this job, allowed us complete access to the Park's archives, and provided comfortable lodging while we were at the site. Summer Interpreter Lucy Ann Diggins took us on many eventful hikes through the Park and patiently identified birds from the enthusiastic but untrained descriptions of two wide-eyed amateurs. Park Manager Gene Eyraud and his staff cooperated fully with our efforts to unravel the Park's history and willingly took time to answer our numerous questions. The other staff members at the Park in the summer of 1983, all of whom provided us with friendship and assistance, were: Jeff Eaton, Assistant Manager; Cindy Staszak, Ranger; Peter Jensen and David Rasmussen, Summer Seasonal Employees; Cathy Lock and Jeff Snyder, Summer Interns from Idaho State University; and Ed Sellers, Summer Intern from the University of Idaho.

Ruth Kassens at the Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation in Boise gave us access to Harriman files in that office, while Madeline Buckendorf, Director of the Idaho Oral History Center, allowed us to use two interviews with Governor Robert Smylie from her collection. Elizabeth Jacox and Gary Bettis of the State Historical Library assisted in finding background information on the Island Park area.

Finally, though we did not meet her, we acknowledge the assistance of Heidi Fatland whose The Railroad Ranch: From Prehistory to Park was published by the Parks Department in 1982. In many ways our document is an extension of the historical work Heidi began. Readers of this manuscript will note that our analysis of events sometimes disagrees with hers. Historians, like other people, frequently reach different conclusions after examining the same evidence. The first person to study a topic is always

presented with unique organizational and interpretive problems. But they blaze a trail for others to follow. Later historians hopefully extend and enhance the analyses begun by their predecessors. This history would have been considerably more difficult to write had Heidi Fatland not preceded us. We consistently used her book as a point of reference and are indebted to her efforts.

We assume that other historians will follow us, investigating various aspects of the Park's past. Hopefully they will find this work a useful point of departure. We would like to explain to those future researchers the citation method used to identify some sources in this document. In the spring of 1983 the Park's large, previously unorganized archival collection was preliminarily processed. Many materials were placed in three large storage drawers with numerous file folders in each, separating correspondence and other records into broad subject areas. Some materials had not yet been processed at all by the time we visited the Park. Since this archival work was merely preliminary, it seems likely that in future years materials will be placed in an entirely different system. In fact, in a separate report to the Parks Department, we recommended that re-processing be done as the current system is confusing and difficult to use in places. However, we did attempt to leave the most accurate paper trail possible so future researchers could check our sources and analyses. We penciled a number on each file folder within each drawer. When referring to a document within one of the drawers we have cited it in the following manner: "Drawer 1, File 43, HSP Archives," meaning the item is in file 43 of drawer 1, Harriman State Park Archives. We cited unprocessed materials as simply, "unprocessed materials, HSP Archives."

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Chapter One

A Brief History of the Island Park Area

Shortly after World War II a group of Fremont County resort owners incorporated Island Park Village in southeastern Idaho, stretching from Last Chance to Sunset Lodge, including an extension to Henrys Lake. Highway 191 became their "Main Street," and since the distance between various village parts totaled over 30 miles, the residents of the newly incorporated town touted theirs as the longest main street in the world. The resort owners were inspired to turn this geographical strip into a village because of an Idaho law prohibiting the use of slot machines or the sale of liquor by the drink except in incorporated communities. But in actuality they were only bringing formal recognition to an established fact. While residents of places like Pinehaven and Henrys Lake protested the anonymity of calling their communities "Island Park," most people were accustomed to referring to that part of Idaho from Pinehaven to the Montana border as the Island Park area. When railroads came into the region in the early 1900's a post office was established at Island Park Siding, the site for a new tie making company. After the railroad was built, the company left and the post office moved to Pond's

Lodge, although it kept the name Island Park. As more people moved into the region the post office distributed mail to an ever-wider area, and the catch-all name Island Park became associated with the whole vicinity.¹

There is some speculation that the first white person to travel in Island Park was John Colter in 1807 or 1808. In August 1806 the Lewis and Clark Expedition, including Colter, was approaching the Mandan Indian villages in present day North Dakota, on its return east after two years of wilderness travel. The expedition encountered two fur traders who convinced Colter that a fortune could be made in fur. To the astonishment of other expedition members who were anxiously anticipating a reunion with civilization, Colter asked for and received an honorable discharge from government service in order to remain in the far west as a fur trapper. It was probably during the winter of 1807-08 that Colter stumbled across what is now Yellowstone National Park. His descriptions of strange natural phenomena caused him a certain amount of ridicule in the trapping community, but the appellation "Colter's Hell" was soon pegged to the place. Although the exact date of discovery is unknown, Colter was the first white person to experience the wonders of Yellowstone.²

Whether-or-not Colter ever saw Island Park, in 1810 Andrew Henry and a party of trappers employed by the Missouri Fur Company did come to the region. They established a trading post at Three Forks, Montana, but repeated attacks by Blackfoot Indians forced the abandonment of the fort. Henry's men journeyed south over Reynolds Pass to the lake which bears Henry's name. The group followed the lake's outlet--Henry's Fork of the Snake River--about 50 miles, through the area now occupied by the Island Park Reservoir. In July 1810, at a spot about four miles below

present day St. Anthony, Henry's group erected several buildings, thus establishing the first American fur post west of the continental divide. But these first visitors did not stay long. A severe winter forced the men to subsist on a diet of horse flesh and in the spring of 1811 the discouraged party divided into several groups, permanently abandoning Fort Henry.³

Several trappers followed Henry's route into the Island Park area. Peter Wiser and Archibald Pelton traced his trail from Montana, and members of Wilson Price Hunt's party trapped in the Henry's Fork area in 1812. In 1818 Donald Mckenzie also trapped on Henry's Fork. In fact, fur hunting intensified and by 1840 the Island Park region, like so many parts of the west, had been largely depleted of fur-bearing animals. While a few fur hunters like Beaver Dick Leigh remained, the fur trapping period of the region's history was nearly over.⁴

With the decline of the fur trade, Island Park entered a 30 year transitional period called by local historians "the quiet years," an era between trapping and homestead activities. But not all was quiet. In 1860 the federal government sent William F. Reynolds to explore the vicinity. Reynolds was guided by Jim Bridger who had long tried to convince a disbelieving nation that geysers, bubbling mud pots and other phenomena existed in the Yellowstone region.⁵ Rugged terrain and deep snows thwarted the expedition's efforts to enter the Yellowstone country, and the party returned east after nearly circumventing their objective. They did, however, give Reynolds' name to a pass and provided easterners with accurate descriptions of the topography and rich resources of Island Park. Other governmental expeditions followed and eventually the

Yellowstone region was thoroughly explored and mapped. In 1872 it became the country's first National Park. The early descriptions of Colter and Bridger had been confirmed, and the whole country became enamored by the wonders of the Park. Experienced outdoorsmen like Leigh, Bridger and George Rea made comfortable livings serving as Yellowstone guides.⁶

By the 1870s some people stopped passing through Island Park on their way to Yellowstone and established homes there. Gilman Sawtell was probably the first, setting up residence on Henrys Lake in the late 1860s, where he trapped and fished, taking his pelts and salted fish to miners in Montana. In 1872 he built a cabin on the lake, and in 1874 was joined by his family, remaining in the region until 1896. Sawtell was the first recorded stockman in Island Park, and the first commercial fisherman, pioneering in ventures that would eventually develop into important regional businesses.⁷

George Rea was the first homesteader in Island Park. In 1877 Rea joined General O.O. Howard in his pursuit of the Nez Perce Indians, and greatly admired the Shotgun Valley⁸ which Howard's troops passed through. In 1878, following the end of hostilities, Rea returned and filed a homestead claim there, establishing a ranch named "Glen Rea." Like Sawtell, Rea at first centered his activities on cattle raising, but in the 1890s started one of the first fish farms in Idaho, creating a man-made lake on his ranch and shipping his fish to Denver, Salt Lake City, and Montana. By the 1880s Island Park was developing a reputation as a hunting and fishing center and Rea supplemented his income with a successful outfitting service. Among those he guided was Theodore Roosevelt, who killed a buffalo in Island Park in 1889.⁹

Rea was soon followed by others who settled the area around the present Harriman State Park. John, Tom and Jenny Bishop homesteaded south of Rea in about 1885, and the Bishop family became well-known for its herd of over 100 elk, kept in an enclosed pasture. The Jack Golden family set up a dairy farm in the timber on the middle fork of Thurman Creek.¹⁰ Perhaps as early as 1881 Robert Osborne settled on the east side of Henry's Fork, southeast of the Reas, Bishops and Goldens. The Osborne's large house was a stage stop for people on their way to Yellowstone, and Osborne also had a commercial fish farm.¹¹

One of the more colorful groups of settlers arrived in 1889 when K.F. Hopf and partners Gerber and Rutledge purchased the homestead of John Kooch on land now flooded by the Island Park Reservoir. Here they established the Arangee Land and Cattle Company, brought in Holstein cattle and hired Swiss emigrants, including John and Chris Reber, to start a cheese factory. They also constructed a handsome two-story hotel called The Belview. Since the hotel was on the Yellowstone route of the Bassett Brothers stage line, the Arangee Land and Cattle Company seemed to have begun a lucrative business. But the venture was short lived. The competing stage company owned by Frank Jay Haynes and W.W. Humphrey soon drew away customers from The Belview. This decrease in business and a harsh winter in 1889-1890 forced the owners to sell. But the Arangee Company greatly influenced settlement of the Island Park region by bringing in several permanent residents. John Reber became a prominent hunting and fishing guide, while another former Arangee employee, Charles Ripley, homesteaded on Henry's Fork and built a tourist facility known as Ripley Inn, the predecessor of modern Last Chance.¹²

By the 1880s Island Park's reputation as a hunting and fishing paradise had attracted many prominent families who built summer homes. Among the first were several doctors from Johns Hopkins University who built cottages on Henrys Lake. George Myers, wealthy partner of the Liggitt & Myers Tobacco Company, later famous as the manufacturers of Chesterfield Cigarettes, purchased land in Shotgun Valley originally homesteaded by Swiss emigrants working for Arangee. There he constructed a spacious ranch house known as Teton Lodge.¹³

Of all the wealthy easterners to build Island Park summer homes in the late 1800s, the one with the greatest local impact was A.S. Trude, a prominent Chicago attorney. Trude made his first trip to Shotgun Valley in 1888, and in 1890 purchased the land and buildings from the floundering Arangee Land and Cattle Company. Trude maintained The Belview, which became known variously as the Arangee Hotel and Trude's Hotel, but it was never very profitable. Trude did not purchase the property with that in mind, but rather to maintain it as a hunting and fishing retreat. In 1899 Trude's brother, Charles, moved to Island Park to operate the ranch on a year-round basis, remaining there until his son William took over in 1909. In the meantime, A.S. Trude obtained ownership of the Glen Rea Ranch in 1903 after the death of George Rea. Trude had loaned Rea \$9,000 to make improvements on the place, and when Rea died his daughter was unable to pay the indebtedness. Trude renamed the property the Algenia Ranch after his wife and regularly visited it until his death in the 1930s. An ardent conservationist, he is credited with introducing many prominent politicians to the splendors of Island Park, among them Theodore Roosevelt, William Jennings Bryan and Chicago Mayor Carter Harrison, creator of the hair-winged fly, the first of which he named the "A.S. Trude."¹⁴

As word of the hunting and fishing treasures of Island Park spread, numerous resorts and outdoor clubs developed to serve the growing clientele. But while Island Park did gain a reputation as an attraction in its own right, its tourist industry and transportation routes have always been closely tied to developments at Yellowstone. Stage lines first served the area, ushering travelers through on their way to the Park. After the turn of the century a railroad replaced the stages, bringing substantial change.¹⁵

The railway history of Island Park actually extends back to 1860 and the William Reynolds expedition, which was given the task, among others, of surveying the area for a possible railroad route. But at a time when people still disbelieved stories about Colter's Hell, there was little need for a railroad. In 1880 Union Pacific Railway officials formed the Oregon Short Line in order to give the UP a transcontinental connection with Portland. Construction of the line began in 1881 in Granger, Wyoming, and by 1884 the Oregon Short Line reached its Oregon terminus, traversing the old Oregon Trail route through southern Idaho. Still, it was another 20 years before railroad activity began in the Island Park region itself. The St. Anthony Railroad Company was incorporated in 1899 and in 1900 St. Anthony, the county seat, became a railway terminus. Shortly thereafter, the Oregon Short Line gained control of the St. Anthony Railway Company. For years, Union Pacific officials contemplated a line from St. Anthony to the western entrance of Yellowstone after observing the profitable operation of the Northern Pacific bringing tourists to the Park via Gardiner, Montana. One version of how the company was finally stirred to action relates that UP President Edward H. Harriman, on a trip to the Park in 1905, became

disenchanted with his tedious stagecoach ride through Island Park and strongly encouraged construction of a Yellowstone branch. In any case, construction started shortly thereafter, with one crew working out of St. Anthony and another in the Island Park area. Finally in June 1909, after nearly four years of work, the 70 mile railroad was completed.¹⁶

The Yellowstone branch line brought considerable change to Island Park and vicinity, creating the towns of Ashton and West Yellowstone. In Island Park itself former stage stops not on the rail line closed or saw business dwindle, while new areas--Island Park Siding, Trude Siding, and others--came into existence. The railroad also brought an economic boom to the area, which local historians have aptly labeled the "tie cutting era."¹⁷

In July 1908 President Theodore Roosevelt, by executive order, combined the Henrys Lake Forest Reserve and part of the Yellowstone Forest Reserve into the Targhee National Forest, thereby protecting from future developers much of the area Roosevelt and many others had come to enjoy. With federal protection of a wildlife habitat assured, with a firm economic base in cattle raising, dairying, logging and fish farming, and with a railroad connection, Island Park by 1909 had become a well established community. In that year St. Anthony real estate man and future Idaho governor C.C. Moore extolled the virtues of the place, remarking on its profitable cattle and sheep business, but being most ecstatic about hunting and fishing:

Some of the most famous trout streams of the West are in Fremont County. The trout are numerous, large and gamey, and conditions are such that the lovers of the sport can enjoy it to the utmost. Numerous resorts and clubs are maintained in the famous Island Park, through which trains run every day. Elk, deer, bear, mountain lion, mountain sheep and other game may be killed during the open season. Wild geese, ducks, grouse, sage hens, etc. are still plentiful.¹⁸

Seventy-four years later a reporter for Time Magazine observed that Island Park is still famous for its outdoor activities:

In every fly-fisherman's mind there exists a small repository of dates that mark the calendar. . . . There is no date more important than the hatch of the fabled green drake on Henry's Fork. When the first of the insects is sighted on the Snake River, Henry's Fork and the whole town of Last Chance, as well as all the motels, gas stations, restaurants and tackleshops in between, come alive with their own hatch: trout fishermen.

History is a continuous process and certainly Island Park changed between the reporting of C.C. Moore in 1909 and Time in 1983. Area residents have instituted a variety of gimmicks to lure even more tourists to the region: the American Dog Derby and Winter Carnival, which brought a certain amount of national notariety between 1917 and 1951; the Henrys Lake Rodeo; the incorporation of Island Park Village with its 30 mile main street. In 1979 the Union Pacific abandoned the railroad between Ashton and West Yellowstone after discontinuing passenger service 20 years earlier. But by then most tourists were traveling to Island Park by car, frequenting places such as Pond's Lodge and Mack's Inn, so the loss of the railroad did not drastically alter life. Over the years fish farming and cattle raising have declined as economic bases, replaced by logging and the automobile tourist trade. Still, the Island Park of the 1980s in many ways resembles the Island Park of C.C. Moore's day. By 1909 the pattern of future development and growth had been firmly established.¹⁹

Endnotes, Chapter 1

¹For background on the 1940s incorporation of Island Park Village see Boise Idaho Statesman, 28 June 1953; and Idaho Falls Post Register, 30 Sept. 1956. For the post office move see "Name of Island Park," Snake River Echoes, vol. 10, no. 3, p. 55.

²For consise histories of Colter's Yellowstone-area travels see Merrill D. Beal, The Story of Man in Yellowstone (Caldwell: The Caxton Printers, 1949), pp. 35-51; and Hiram M. Chittenden, The Yellowstone National Park (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979; originally published in 1895), pp. 20-30. For more material on Colter see Stallo Vinton, John Colter, Discoverer of Yellowstone Park (New York: Edward Eberstadt, 1926); and Burton Harris, John Colter: His Years in the Rockies (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952.) The French explorer Sieur de la Verendrye and his son Chevalier de la Verendrye, apparently were near the northeastern border of Yellowstone in 1743, having crossed the Yellowstone River, but it is doubtful they were in the Park itself. See Beal, Yellowstone, p. 32; and Chittenden, Yellowstone, p. 5.

³See Beal, A History of Southeastern Idaho (Caldwell: The Caxton Printers, 1942), pp. 67-8; and Louis J. Clements, History of the Upper Snake River Area to 1840 (Rexburg: Eastern Idaho Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 29-30. Clements' "Andrew Henry" in LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West, vol. 6 (Glendale, Ca.: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1968), pp. 173-84 is also helpful.

⁴Brief summaries of the region's fur trapping period after Henry can be found in Lonnie C. Pippin and Jonathan O. Davis, A Study of Cultural Resources Inundated by Island Park Reservoir, Fremont County, Idaho (University of Nevada: Desert Research Institute, 1980), pp. 23-5; and A.J. Ferguson, "Proposed Harriman State Park of Idaho: Background Information and Interpretive Prospectus," Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Idaho, 1976, p. 11.

⁵Some people considered Bridger the country's greatest liar when they heard of his stories of the Yellowstone. But Bridger was not the only one wrongly ridiculed. When Charles Cook returned from an exploring trip to the region in 1869, his magazine article on his travels was rejected with the notation, "Thank you but we do not print fiction." See Kenneth H. Baldwin, Enchanted Enclosure: The Army Engineers and Yellowstone National Park (Washington, D.C.: Historical Division, Office of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, 1976), p. 1.

⁶For the Reynolds Expedition see Baldwin, Enchanted Enclosure, pp. 5-13; and Frank N. Schubert, Vanguard of Expansion: Army Engineers in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1819-1879 (Washington, D.C.: Historical Division, Office of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, 1980), pp. 129-31. For Island Park's "quiet years," see James L. Allison and Dean H. Green, Idaho's Gateway to Yellowstone: The Island Park Story (Mack's Inn: Island Park Gateway Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 21-2. The literature on the history of Yellowstone Park is

too voluminous to cite here. For excellent introductions see Chittenden, Yellowstone Park; Beal, Man in Yellowstone; and especially Aubrey L. Haines, The Yellowstone Story: A History of our First National Park, 2 vols. (Yellowstone National Park: Yellowstone Library and Museum Association, 1977.)

⁷ Green, "Island Park's First Settler--Gilman Sawtell," Snake River Echoes, vol. 10. no. 3, pp. 51-2; Allison and Green, Island Park, p. 26.

⁸ The area was not known as Shotgun Valley when Rea first visited. He gave it the name after settling there, supposedly after having lost a shotgun. See Marie Hargis Graham, "Place Names of Fremont County, Idaho," Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Idaho, 1972, p. 67.

⁹ For the Nez Perce conflict in the Yellowstone area see Beal, I Will Fight No More Forever: Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War (New York: Ballantine Books edition, 1971), pp. 190-202. For George Rea see Allison and Green, Island Park, pp. 31-9. Roosevelt's description of his buffalo hunt can be found in Clements, A Collection of Upper Snake River Valley History (self-published, no place, no date), pp. 48-9.

¹⁰ There is considerable discrepancy over whether Thurman Creek and Thurman Ridge should actually be called Thurburn Ridge and Creek. Many oldtimers in the area refer to "Thurburn" and mention a homesteader by that name. See for example, Sam Trude to E.R. Harriman, 21 March 1932, Drawer 1, File 39, Harriman State Park Archives [hereafter cited as HSP Archives]. Thurburn, according to some, homesteaded in the area in which the Harriman State Park building complex is located. Still, "Thurman" has come down as the accepted place name. See Graham, "Fremont County Place Names," p. 72; and Heidi J. Fatland, The Railroad Ranch: From Prehistory to Park (Boise: Idaho Parks and Recreation Department, 1982), pp. 6-7.

¹¹ Time constraints on this contract prohibited a primary search into homestead and land records in the area, which would be valuable. Therefore, all information on settlers comes from secondary sources. For the Bishops see Allison and Green, Island Park, p. 52; Graham, "Fremont County Place Names," p. 39; and Ivy Carter and Parley Jones, interviewed by Barbara Kemp, 15 April 1980, pp. 1-3, Harriman State Park Oral History Project [hereafter cited as HSP Oral Hist.]. For the Goldens see Carter and Jones interview, pp. 7-8, 11-13. For Osborne--which is sometimes spelled Osborn--see Graham, "Fremont County Place Names," p. 60; and A.C. Nichols, interviewed by Kemp, 13 Feb. 1980, pp. 7-8, HSP Oral Hist.

¹² See Allison and Green, Island Park, pp. 40, 59; and Graham, "Fremont County Place Names," pp. 55, 64. For John Reber's life after Arangee, see Ashton Herald, 50th Anniversary Issue, 1956. Haynes, in addition to operating the stage line, was one of the west's most prominent photographers. See Edward W. Nolan, Northern Pacific Views: The Railroad Photography of F. Jay Haynes, 1876-1905 (Helena: Montana Historical Society, 1983.)

¹³ See Ashton Herald, 50th Anniversary Issue, 1956; Allison and Green, Island Park, p. 52; and for the Liggitt and Myers Company, Joseph C. Robert, The Story of Tobacco in America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949). Local histories sometimes mistakenly refer to this as the Leggett and Myers Company.

¹⁴ The story of the "A.S. Trude" hair-winged fly is an often-told piece of Island Park history. Apparently the story originated in a Fly-Tying article by William Bayard Sturgis, which is Appendix 2 of Allison and Green, Island Park. We have included the story here, and have no reason to doubt its veracity. However, Sturgis states that Harrison created the fly in 1901. He had been dead eight years by then. In fact, one of Trude's most famous legal cases came as a prosecutor facing Clarence Darrow and other prominent defense attorneys in 1893-94 when Patrick Pendergast was tried for the murder of Mayor Harrison, found guilty, and, despite numerous appeals, hung. See The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, vol. 14 (New York: James T. White & Co., 1917), p. 132. For other information on Trude see Allison and Green, Island Park, pp. 31-44; W.S. Trude, letter to the editor, St. Anthony Fremont County Chronicle News, 10 January 1957; Idaho Falls Post Register, 6 Oct. 1968; and manuscript titled "Trude History," by Sam Trude, Drawer 1, File 47, HSP Archives.

¹⁵ For Island Park as a growing tourist area see Allison and Green, Island Park, p. 104ff.

¹⁶ For background on the Oregon Short Line generally see Robert G. Athearn, Union Pacific Country (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1971), pp. 305-22; David F. Myrick, Railroads of Nevada, vol. 1, The Northern Roads (Berkeley, Ca.: Howell-North Books, 1962), pp. 333-37; and Union Pacific Railroad, "A Brief History of Union Pacific Railroad's Idaho Division," unpublished manuscript available from UP Department of Public Relations, Salt Lake City. For more specific information on the Yellowstone branch see Allison and Green, Island Park, pp. 169-70; and Sam and Ed Eagle, West Yellowstone's 70th Anniversary, 1908-1978 (West Yellowstone: Eagle Co., 1978 (?)), pp. 2-2--2-3. The story about E.H. Harriman's involvement comes from E. Roland Harriman, I Reminisce (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1975), pp. 14-15.

¹⁷ For Ashton and West Yellowstone respectively see Philip Hibbert, "A History of Ashton," Snake River Echoes, 1977, pp. 18-24; and Eagle, West Yellowstone. The term "tie cutting era" comes from Allison and Green, Island Park.

¹⁸ Many Men are Making Money in Fremont County, Idaho. Why Not You? (St. Anthony: C.C. Moore Real Estate Co., 1909), pp. 9-10.

¹⁹ The quotation is from "In Idaho: The Hatch of the Green Drake," Time, 15 Aug. 1983, p. 7. For the American Dog Derby see "Dog Derbies 1917-51 Brought World Attention," Snake River Echoes, 1977, pp. 27-30; and Nichols interview, pp. 14-22, HSP Oral Hist. For the abandonment of the railroad see Island Park Villager, 15 June 1979. For the impact of automobile travel on Island Park see Allison and Green, Island Park, especially pp. 170-71.

Chapter Two

The Beginnings: 1898-1920

E. Roland Harriman, in recollecting how his father became involved in the Island Park Land and Cattle Company (IPL&CC) wrote:

The Island Park Land and Cattle Company, the ranch's official name, had been started by four officials of the Oregon Short Line in the early 1890s by buying out the holdings of a number of early settlers or homesteaders. Because of their occupation, the ranch was nicknamed "Railroad Ranch."

Differing slightly from Harriman, Sam Trude, long-time ranch employee writing in the 1960s, stated that James Anderson, along with Union Pacific employees Silas Eccles, Dr. Pinkerton, Van Cott, Manson and Drollinger bought out a homesteader named Thurburn in about 1898, and thus began the Railroad Ranch. Certainly, the story of Oregon Short Line or other railroad men purchasing land from homesteaders in the 1890s and establishing the Railroad Ranch were current long before these men's reminiscences were written. It has since been frequently repeated and although the exact origins might not ever be known completely, the stories contain many elements of the truth.¹

It seems fairly certain that the IPL&CC began in the late 1890s. In 1928 James Anderson, then ranch superintendent wrote:

In June 1898 Martin Garn and I, planted . . . trout in [Golden] lake, that were procured by W.H. Bancroft, of Salt Lake City. . . . In 1899 . . . we, the original owners of the land, being W.H. Bancroft, S.W. Eccles, George Robinson and myself, constituting the Island Park Land & Cattle Company, which . . . was afterwards incorporated, purchased Golden's quit claim deed to the land.²

While the early history of the ranch is cloudy, by 1902 things become a bit more clear. In July of that year Silas W. Eccles, William H. Bancroft, Harry B. Tooker, James M. Anderson and William M. Bradley incorporated the Island Park Land and Cattle Company in Salt Lake City, each incorporator receiving one share of stock with Eccles being elected President. The company's stated purpose was to raise, purchase, sell and deal in livestock of all kinds. Equally important, however, the incorporators conceived of their ranch as a sporting retreat. The Articles of Incorporation stated that one of the goals of the company was to deal in "live game animals that may be lawfully acquired and disposed of," while the Bylaws prohibited shooting on the property out of season and reserved all hunting, fishing and camping privileges to the incorporators and their guests.³

Little is known about the original stockholders and ranch land-owners. James Anderson was to play a long and active role at the ranch, serving as its superintendent from 1920 to 1928. William H. Bancroft was born in Ohio in 1840 and began working for the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad Company when 16. After working for a number of small railroads he was hired by the Denver and Rio Grande, serving many positions there until becoming general superintendent. In 1890 he went to the Denver and Rio Grande's competitor, the Union Pacific, and by 1897 was vice president and general manager of the UP's Oregon Short Line. He

later became a vice president and general manager of the UP before resigning to work directly for the E.H. Harriman family. He was an avid hunter and fisherman who died in 1915. S.H. Pinkerton was for a time chief surgeon of the Oregon Short Line.⁴

Silas W. Eccles also had railroad and Oregon Short Line connections. Born in Illinois in 1852, he began his career as a telegraph operator for the Chicago & Alton Railroad. In 1876 he went to work for the Denver and Rio Grande. By 1884 he was a freight agent for that railroad, living in Salt Lake City. The Denver and Rio Grande was a fierce competitor of the Union Pacific, and its efforts to cross Nevada to reach the west coast were one of the primary reasons the UP formed the Oregon Short Line. Eccles, like Bancroft, switched employers and went to work for the UP, eventually serving as traffic manager for the Oregon Short Line. Both Eccles Siding and Eccles Butte in Fremont County are named for him. In 1900 Eccles became affiliated with the smelting and refining business, and was soon working for the Guggenheim family. In 1905, when members of that family assumed control of the American Smelting and Refining Company, Eccles became a member of the Board of Directors. One year later, the Guggenheim family business purchased sufficient stock to obtain working control of the Nevada Consolidated Copper Company, which owned the Nevada Northern Railway, a short line running from Ely to Cobre. After the takeover, Eccles became the President of both organizations. By 1917, and perhaps earlier, his office was located in the corporate headquarters of Guggenheim Brothers in New York City, and he was vice president of the American Smelting and Refining Company. He died on December 31 of that year. Years later Sam Trude described Eccles as "a great hunter and fisherman" and credited him with instituting game conservation policies at the ranch.⁵

Martin Garn, apparently an original owner of the ranch, never held stock in the IPL&CC. However, he served as ranch manager from about 1908 until his death in 1920 or 1921. It is possible that Garn was Eccles' son-in-law or stepson, for Garn's letters to Eccles are frequently addressed "My Dear Daddy." Garn was described by Rose Edginton, who cooked at the ranch during his tenure, as a kind man, much liked by ranch employees. He was friendly to all, treated the staff graciously, and welcomed visitors. During his time there the ranch gates were never locked. Averell Harriman remembered Garn as "a wonderful man" who "had the keenest interest in the ranch and . . . took care of it as if it was his own."⁶

Beyond these men we know little substantive information about those whose names are associated with the earliest history of the ranch. Soon, however, some very prominent families joined the original shareholders. Shortly after the incorporation of the IPL&CC the company sold or transferred lots at the ranch to three of its incorporators--Anderson, Eccles and Bancroft. These lots, at least two of which included buildings--probably cabins--were located in the area of the present Harriman State Park building compound and were no doubt utilized by their owners as hunting and fishing retreats. In 1906 three Guggenheim brothers, probably hearing of the place through their colleague Eccles, purchased lots at the ranch. In September Solomon Guggenheim purchased Anderson's lot and the following month his brother Murry⁷ bought Bancroft's. In November these two were joined by their older brother Daniel who purchased a parcel of land from the IPL&CC just north of Solomon's. Thus, by the end of 1906 there were four lot owners--three Guggenheims and Eccles. The ranch entered a new period when wealthy, influential and colorful business families would guide its future.⁸

The Guggenheim family's American experiences began in 1847 when Meyer Guggenheim emigrated to the United States with his father, a tailor, and five sisters. The family came from Switzerland where they long suffered from rampant anti-Semitism in that country. After settling in Philadelphia in 1848, Meyer and his father became peddlers of household goods. Not content with this occupation, Meyer began manufacturing stove polish as well as an early version of instant coffee. By the time of the Civil War he was a fairly prosperous store owner and manufacturer, and by the 1870s had branched out into other businesses, including lye manufacturing and railroads. By 1880, having established the firm of M. Guggenheim's Sons, importers of fine laces and embroideries, Meyer, the former Swiss peddler, was almost a millionaire.⁹

Meyer Guggenheim headed a large and talented family. In 1852 he married Barbard Myers,¹⁰ who had emigrated with him from Switzerland. Their children were: Isaac (1854); Daniel (1856); Murry (1858); Solomon (1861); Jeannette (1863); Benjamin (1865); twins Simon and Robert (1867); William (1868); Rose (1871); and Cora (1873). Jeannette died in 1889 during child birth while Rose and Cora were excluded from family business affairs, an activity Meyer reserved for his sons. One son, Robert, died at age 11. His twin brother Simon became a United States Senator, but it was the four oldest boys who were to distinguish themselves as entrepreneurs. While they were young men Meyer sent Isaac, Daniel, Murry and Solomon to Europe to tend to family business matters and acquire continental manners and customs. As the seven younger children remained in the United States, a permanent split developed in the family, with the older boys always taking a more active interest in business affairs than the younger.¹¹

Meyer was always on the lookout for a profitable investment and in 1881 he purchased an interest in two mines near Leadville, Colorado for \$5,000. Meyer's venture began as pure speculation, for he knew nothing about mining. But it was to bring him one of the greatest mining fortunes ever amassed, for within months the mines were producing silver of a higher content than any others in that rich region. By 1888 the mines were earning Meyer about \$750,000 annually, and before becoming exhausted they would bring over \$15 million into the Guggenheim coffers.¹²

Although the Guggenheim family continued to purchase mines in the United States and throughout the world, they achieved their real prominence by investing in smelters. Annoyed that the Colorado smelter which refined the bulk of his ore was reaping most of his profits, Meyer built his own smelter at a cost of \$500,000. The venture was a gamble, but like virtually everything Meyer and his sons entered into, it paid handsomely. Soon the Guggenheim business moved into Mexico to construct smelters, and by the late 1890s had become the foremost industrial power of that country.¹³

The Guggenheims also expanded their financial realm in the United States. In the 1890s John D. Rockefeller and associates formed the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO), a trust designed to give the Rockefeller interests control of virtually all mineral resources in America. The Guggenheims declined an invitation to join the trust, whereupon the Rockefellers determined to ruin the upstart family, partly because they were Jewish. A long and heated battle ensued, fought primarily by the four oldest Guggenheim brothers as their father was now largely inactive, and when it was over the Guggenheims had shocked

the financial world by out-maneuvering the Rockefellers. By 1905 the Guggenheims and their allies owned 51 per cent of ASARCO's stock. Daniel was President and Chairman, while brothers Solomon, Isaac, Murry and Simon were board members.¹⁴

Firmly entrenched at ASARCO, and with millions to invest, the Guggenheims now embarked on an incredible period of investment, increasing the family's wealth even more. They became known as the "Copper Kings" when they joined with J.P. Morgan in 1906 to mine the rich lodes along Kennecott Creek in Alaska. Shortly afterwards they opened the Braden mine in Chile, and in 1910 acquired that country's fantastically productive Chuquicamata mine. In 1923 the Anaconda Copper Corporation offered the Guggenheims \$70 million in cash to purchase slightly over 50 per cent of the later mine. After considerable debate the family agreed, making this the largest private sale of a mining property to that time. By then Isaac was dead, Dan was 67, Murry 65 and Solomon 62. These brothers, who represented one of the shrewdest and wealthiest business families in America, were ready to begin enjoying some of their fortune.¹⁵

It was shortly after their takeover of ASARCO, and about the time of their Kennecott venture that Daniel, Murry and Solomon Guggenheim purchased lots at the Railroad Ranch. Murry probably never visited the ranch, and within two years sold his lot, at cost, to Edward H. Harriman. Daniel, who assumed the leadership of the family's business affairs upon the death of his father, had little time to appreciate an Idaho ranch. He became one of the greatest industrial leaders of his time, a tenacious businessman whose overwhelming goal was to make money. An indefatigable worker, he allowed himself few leisure-time pleasures. When not consumed by business he spent his days nurturing the Daniel and Florence Guggenheim

Foundation, which financed the efforts of rocket pioneer Robert Goddard, established the first American school of aeronautics, and laid the foundation for America's aerospace endeavors. In 1911 Daniel sold his share in the IPL&CC to Harriman's widow, Mary. Dan did, however, visit the ranch at least twice, once for 10 days in the summer of 1908 with his family, and once again in the summer of 1917 with his brother Solomon.¹⁶

Although he did not have the acumen of his brother Dan, Solomon was nonetheless an able businessman. But unlike Dan he always made time for leisure activities, and thoroughly enjoyed his Island Park retreat until his death in 1949. Sol Guggenheim was the most handsome--indeed the most dapper--of the brothers. He had a robust appearance with clear eyes, dark hair parted in the middle, and, in his younger days, a long, curled-up mustache. He also possessed charm and manners, and was known for his bravery. When sent to Zurich as a young man he beat up toughs who teased him for being Jewish. When he went to Monterrey, Mexico at the age of 30 to oversee construction of the family's smelter, he carried a revolver in his belt. His daughter, Eleanor May Castle Stewart, years later remembered one of the family trips to the Railroad Ranch:

We were driving west to spend the summer at his ranch in Idaho. There was a fierce strike on in the mining country, and as we approached one of those little mining communities, some people stopped the car. They urged us to detour around the town. They said if father went through it in an open car, his life wouldn't be worth a nickel. Father thanked them, told them not to worry, and instructed the chauffeur to drive on--through the town.

It was because of his bravery, good looks, and charm that Solomon was the brother who was the most active in tending the family's foreign affairs.¹⁷

Like his brothers, Solomon became wealthy. But, also like his three older brothers, he remembered growing up on the wrong side of Philadelphia. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the four older Guggenheim brothers shared a reputation as free spenders. None was more extravagant than Sol. While in New York City he lived on Fifth Avenue, and later moved into a huge eight-room suite at the Plaza Hotel. He built a Victorian summer home at Elberon, New Jersey; maintained a Greek Revival winter place on 200 acres near Charleston, South Carolina, complete with a private golf course; a 1,200 acre plantation, also in South Carolina; and an estate on Long Island. He owned the 305-foot yacht Trillora, proclaimed to be the fastest in the world. As a lover of the outdoors Solomon also maintained several retreats where he satisfied his appetite for exercise, hunting, and fishing. He owned a lodge and preserve in Scotland, and, with J.P. Morgan's partner, Thomas Cochran, the Silver Tip Ranch near Yellowstone in Montana. Of course, there was also the property at Island Park.¹⁸

Despite his wealth, Solomon Guggenheim might have become an historical footnote, merely one member of an extraordinary clan, had he not developed a taste for art. His support of art eventually brought him fame unmatched by his siblings. Growing up under the tutelage of his business-oriented father and a mother who did not have the opportunity to acquire a taste for culture, Solomon had little interest in or knowledge of art until his marriage to Irene Rothschild, daughter of an eminent, highly cultured and prosperous New York businessman. Irene's artistic inclinations were toward the old masters of the Renaissance and Reformation, and as the family wealth grew, so did the Guggenheim's art collection, filling the rooms of their various houses. Sol was content following Irene's lead until

1926 when he met the Baroness Hilla Rebay von Ehrenweissen, a German painter. Hilla introduced Solomon to abstract, "nonobjective" artists, and convinced him to start purchasing works in this field long before it was popular to do so. Subsequently Solomon amassed one of the world's outstanding modern art collections. In 1937 he established the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation as a means of constructing and maintaining a modern art museum and encouraging art education. The Baroness became director of the museum, which was first housed in rented quarters. Solomon eventually commissioned Frank Lloyd Wright to draw plans for a building. The structure, overlooking Central Park in New York City, was finally completed in 1959, 10 years after Sol's death. Though the unusual design of the building has stirred controversy since its opening, it has nonetheless become one of the world's most recognized architectural structures, enshrining the name of its founder as a patron of the arts.¹⁹

Within two years after the three Guggenheim brothers became associated with the IPL&CC, another wealthy easterner, Edward H. Harriman, expressed an interest in the ranch. Roland Harriman recalled that his father heard of the Railroad Ranch in 1908 through his legal counsel and long-time friend Judge Robert S. Lovett,²⁰ who had been a guest of one of the Guggenheims at the ranch. Lovett probably found a very attentive listener. Though only 5'5" tall, Edward Harriman had a rugged appearance with bristling mustache, plain clothes, and deep, piercing eyes. The naturalist John Muir once wrote that "every feature of his countenance manifested power." He not only looked the part of an outdoorsman, he was one. Blessed with incredible stamina, he loved to hunt, fish, hike, ride, swim, and play tennis. Above all, he enjoyed the relaxation associated with nature. In New York he purchased a 20,000 acre estate, named it Arden,

and carefully preserved it as a wooded retreat where he and his wife Mary built their dream house. In Oregon he bought property at Pelican Bay, elegantly isolated at one end of Klamath Lake, bordered with meadows, bounded by forested mountains, and accessible only by boat. Lovett's description of the unspoiled beauty of Island Park must have immediately interested him.²¹

Like the Guggenheims, Edward H. Harriman had plenty of money to invest in Idaho land. He was born in 1848 to a poor Episcopal minister. Though always a regular churchgoer of firm faith, Edward decided early in his life that he did not want to live in the poverty required of a minister. He quit school at 14 and found a position as office boy on the New York Stock Exchange. He proved himself alert and enterprising, learning much about the workings of Wall Street. By the time he was 20 he was the managing clerk of a major Exchange office, and when he was 22 borrowed \$3,000 from an uncle to buy a seat on the Exchange. He developed a reputation as one of the best brokers on Wall Street, and by the end of the 1870s had accumulated a modest personal fortune. In 1879 he married Mary Averell of Ogdensburg, New York, whose father was President of the Ogdensburg & Lake Champlain Railroad. This was Harriman's entrance into the railroad field. In the early 1880s he bought a bankrupt 34-mile shortline railroad and in an action that was to become typical of his management style, invested considerable sums of money improving the line. A few years later he sold the railroad at a large profit. During the next 20 years Harriman purchased small railroads, improved them, and reaped the profits. He also continued his successful Wall Street brokerage and sat on the boards of several corporations. Although he lived comfortably, he was not yet wealthy, nor was he well known.²²

Harriman's rise to one of the most powerful and influential business positions in the country was meteoric. By 1890 the Union Pacific Railway Company was in a financial mess, facing stiff competition from other railroads. Agricultural and mining shipments were declining. The railroad was unable to make improvements on its 8,000 miles of track. By 1892 the UP carried an indebtedness of \$228 million, much of it owed to the federal government. Then hard times really arrived with the depression of 1893. As business declined even more drastically and the debts increased, the company went bankrupt. A reorganization committee of financiers and governmental representatives struggled for four years to salvage the giant railroad.

Harriman's experience on various railroad ventures convinced him that he could make the UP profitable. Still, he was a man of only modest wealth and relative anonymity. Thus when he let it be known in 1896 that he planned to become Chairman of the UP board and reorganize the railroad, his bold announcement was considered idle boasting by most. But like the Rockefellers who underestimated the Guggenheims in the battle for control of the American Smelting and Refining Company, financiers soon learned that Harriman was a man to be taken seriously. When the New York banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Company began the task of reorganizing the railroad, Harriman agreed to participate by contributing \$900,000 in return for being named a UP director.²³ On July 1, 1897 the Union Pacific Railway Company was reorganized as the Union Pacific Railroad Company. A few months later Kuhn, Loeb--with Harriman and other investors--purchased a small part of the UP trackage for \$81 million. Later they would buy more. Harriman was given a position on the executive committee of the reorganized company. More importantly, he began purchasing thousands

of shares of "worthless" UP stock, laying the foundation for one of the greatest personal fortunes in the country. In May 1898 he was elected Chairman of the company's executive committee. Though he never "owned" the Union Pacific, as many people assume, from 1898 until his death in 1909 he was firmly in control of the railroad's destiny.²⁴

Harriman's first task as Chairman was to inspect the road from the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast. He was appalled at what he found. The line was in deplorable shape and much of the rolling stock outdated. But he had confidence in the agricultural markets of the west and was not discouraged. Never miserly in business affairs, Harriman believed that investments for railroad improvements always paid rich dividends. Even before he returned from his western jaunt he wired the railroad's board for authorization to spend \$25,000,000 to improve the UP. The request was approved and work began. Roads were straightened, new track laid, modern cars bought. Harriman also supervised the purchase of more branch lines and spent millions improving them. The larger, renovated railroad system returned handsome profits as agriculture prospered, business revived and new western settlers purchased UP lands. In fiscal year 1899 the Union Pacific--bankrupt only a few years earlier--showed profits of \$14 million, a figure that rose to \$20 million the next year. Harriman's personal wealth, based on his shrewd investment in UP stocks, similarly rose. In 1904 he became President of the UP, a largely figurehead title for a man who was already its guiding force. Harriman's sudden rise to wealth and fame caught the fancy of the nation. A Cosmopolitan writer in 1903 reported, "The Western Railroad Czar, a title by which Edward H. Harriman is sometimes referred to, . . . in many respects fittingly describes a man who has shot into prominence within three years,

dazzling the public eye." When he died in 1909 he left a personal estate valued at \$70 million.²⁵

Harriman was also a devoted family man who wanted his children to enjoy the outdoors as he did. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Railroad Ranch intrigued him. He could easily afford the property, the ranch was splendidly located in an outdoorsman's paradise, and acquisition of the land would surround him and his family with natural beauty. By 1908 Silas Eccles, then President of the IPL&CC, an associate of the Guggenheims and a former Union Pacific employee, was acting as an intermediary between Harriman and Murry Guggenheim. On December 9, 1908 Eccles triumphantly wrote Harriman that he had secured Murry's lot for him. Eccles described the hunting possibilities at the ranch:

Just across the mountain, four miles distant, we own about 1200 acres of valley land and have leased from the State several hundred acres more for a period of five years. . . . Two beautiful streams with a nice volume of water flow through these lands, which are filled with trout, wild duck and geese, and it is the home of the sage chicken. . . . There are other places where we go after geese and chicken where no one else shoots; we camp out in places that are romantic, wild and delightful.

This vivid description must have heightened Harriman's interest in the ranch for he immediately asked Eccles to see if he could also purchase the property owned by Dan and Sol Guggenheim, and begin negotiations to buy the Robert Osborne farm nearby. Eccles was unsuccessful in convincing the other two Guggenheims to part with their property, but he did find a willing seller in Osborne who was in debt after constructing his large house. By the fall of 1909 Eccles had arranged to purchase 325 acres, including the commodious house, from the Osbornes, and to lease an additional 134 acres from the state, so that the Harriman family would have a sizeable

retreat. Unfortunately, by that time Edward Harriman had died, having never seen the Idaho ranch that appealed so strongly to him.²⁶

There is no doubt that Edward Harriman had extreme confidence in his wife's business acumen, for in one of the shortest wills in the history of such large estates, approximately 19 words long, Harriman made her the sole beneficiary and executor of his \$70 million estate. Overnight she became one of the wealthiest women in the world. With this fortune came heavy responsibilities, and until her death in 1932 Mary Harriman fulfilled the obligations of her stature in a most commendable way.²⁷

Mary Williamson Averell was born in New York City in 1851, but spent most of her youth in Ogdensburg where her father was a prominent businessman. She attended "finishing school" in New York and married Edward in 1879. They had six children: Mary (1881); Henry (1883), who died at age 5; Cornelia (1884); Carol (1889); W. Averell (1891); and E. Roland (1895). Until her husband's death, Mary's primary interests were her family and social work. After 1909 she proved herself an astute businesswoman and outstanding philanthropist as well. In business she was more conservative than her husband, showing little of the expansionist drive that had characterized him. She was also less intimately involved than he, delegating much of the business management to trusted associates and her sons when they became old enough. Still, the President of the Union Pacific once said of Mary, "She shows a knowledge of railroads equal to that of any man I have ever come in contact with." Edward had a sincere commitment to philanthropy. Firmly believing that the rich had obligations to their fellow men, he established the nation's first Boys Club in 1876. But in the breadth and depth of her giving, Mary Harriman far outdistanced her

husband. During the course of her lifetime she lent her support and gave millions to better government, war work, safety, public health, natural resource conservation, social welfare, education, and the arts. She died on November 7, 1932 and in a will almost as simple as her husband's, left her entire fortune to her children.²⁸

Mary fulfilled her husband's plans to purchase a retreat at Island Park. In the summer of 1909 the Harriman's oldest son--Averell--became the first member of the family to visit the ranch, stopping by briefly while working for a UP survey crew on the branch line between Ashton and Victor. Perhaps his descriptions of the place encouraged Mary to persist in her husband's efforts to buy out the Guggenheim interests in the ranch. In January 1911 her efforts partially succeeded. At that time Daniel Guggenheim sold her one-fourth interest in the Railroad Ranch holdings, and one share of IPL&CC stock for \$45,000.²⁹

In August 1911 Mary made her first trip to the estate, accompanied by her children Carol, Averell and Roland.³⁰ The family loved the dry mountain air, warm days, cool nights and long twilights. The boys went bird hunting in the mountains and took a five-day horseback trip to Yellowstone. Carol learned to fish, and though her mother thought her "fearfully amusing" in waders, conceded that "she fishes well for a beginner." She also enjoyed riding, boating and sharing in ranch activities. Mary recorded the "fine sight" of a big bull moose standing in a lake, took horseback rides, and fell into a swamp where she was nearly "devoured" by mosquitoes. She also had her first row in a duck boat, learned about the ranch's cattle operations, and greatly enjoyed a country dance under a new moon. Years later Roland reminisced that "It was a matter of love at first sight for all of us. The glorious scenery and

weather, the fishing, the hunting, the horseback riding and learning the lore of cattle handling all combined to lure us back there summer after summer".³¹

The Harrimans acquired a second share of IPL&CC stock and half interest in the ranch in 1915 when William Bancroft died, his share going to Averell. But the Harrimans did not succeed in convincing Solomon Guggenheim to relinquish his interest in the ranch. By at least 1916, and again during the summer of 1917, Solomon visited the Island Park estate. He must have enjoyed it, for when Silas Eccles died he purchased his interest in the ranch. Guggenheim now had half ownership of the land and one share of IPL&CC stock, although he effectively controlled three of the five shares. In 1918 he replaced Eccles as President of the IPL&CC, a position he would hold until his death in 1949. Since the IPL&CC was incorporated in Salt Lake City, the official annual business meetings were held there, but the principal shareholders never attended, doing business by proxy. The real business meetings, until the 1950s, were held in the New York corporate offices of Guggenheim Brothers. There would be a certain amount of shifting of names on the stockholders' list between 1918 and 1949, but basically by 1918 ownership of the ranch was settled. The Guggenheims and the Harrimans were the principal families, with Sol Guggenheim controlling three of the five shares of the IPL&CC and the Harrimans two.³²

The principal activity of the ranch during these formative years of changing ownership was acquiring land to consolidate holdings. As the ranch was involved in dozens of land deals in this period, it would be too cumbersome to detail each one here.³³ However, a description of a few transactions can indicate the methods used to obtain property.

Shortly after beginning negotiations to purchase the Guggenheim holdings at the Railroad Ranch, E.H. Harriman asked Eccles to obtain Robert Osborne's farm for "his boys." Eccles and Harriman agreed that they could negotiate a better price if Harriman's name was not involved, so in the summer and fall of 1909 William Bancroft, S.H. Pinkerton and Mr. Burley of the Oregon Short Line interceded on Harriman's behalf and purchased 325 acres and a large new house from Osborne. The deal was finalized after Harriman's death, with the three Oregon Short Line officials turning the property over to Mary. This land was never a part of the Railroad Ranch proper as it was solely owned by the Harrimans. Over the years the landholdings there increased, and the place became popularly known as Harriman East. Some speculate that the Harrimans stayed in the former Osborne house on their first trip to the ranch in 1911.³⁴

In the early years of the ranch, Eccles, Guggenheim and the Harrimans expressed interest in increasing their holdings in the Shotgun Valley, northwest of the Home Ranch, with its fine bird hunting and beautiful country. James Allison recalled in 1979 that "people don't realize that Shotgun Valley was just lousy with all kinds of chickens and all kinds of birds, waterfowl, fish. The creeks were so full of fish you wouldn't believe it." It was this sporting potential, and not a profit motive, which enticed the owners to move into Shotgun.

The complicated process of acquiring Shotgun Valley land from its numerous owners took several years. John, Tom and Jenny Bishop homesteaded in the Valley in 1885 and James Salley proved up on a homestead adjoining the Bishops in 1915. In 1916 Martin Garn, on behalf of the ranch, purchased the Bishop homestead which John Bishop had fenced, enclosing an entire lake Mary Harriman wanted in order to gain exclusive water rights

on the land. But because Garn neglected to do a thorough title search and survey, he found, to his dismay, that the fence lines were not on the boundary and that part of the lake was actually on Salley's property. Eccles was outraged, believing Bishop had deliberately duped Garn so that Salley could hold out for a high price. "You say you see nothing to worry about," he wrote Garn, "and that we got all we paid for. . . . But . . . it seems to me that without the lake we paid an enormous price." Eccles, dismayed that Bishop could have outsmarted Garn, concluded that the Shotgun property owners were attempting to take advantage of the IPL&CC, knowing that its owners could well afford to pay high prices. "Today the Bishops are using us to help Mr. Smalley [sic] perfect his title," Eccles wrote. "Please show me where we gain anything by this. I think Smalley will be like the Bishops and Ritchey after he gets title--they snap their fingers in our faces."³⁵

Garn urged Eccles to be patient because Bishop had promised that Salley would cooperate. "I see no way but to let things take the course of the law," he wrote. "Whether they make proof as the law requires or not, this is their funeral and for me to but [sic] in would be to make matters worse for them and ourselves." Bishop assured Garn he would have Salley deed the disputed land over to him, and he in turn would deed it to the IPL&CC. Eccles remained skeptical, but was willing to let Garn pursue the negotiations:

We wish no controversy with Mr. Salley or the Bishops. . . . We were greatly disappointed when we found out that the Bishop lake was not on the land we purchased. . . . The only reason I would care to have the lake would be to fence it and perhaps keep away objectionable neighbors, but if we cannot get it we must take the chance.

However, though wishing to avoid controversy, Eccles did not want to pay "a ridiculous figure to secure [the land] either." The negotiations continued for months. Finally, in March 1918, Garn wired Guggenheim that at last Salley had agreed to sell his 160 acres for \$22 an acre. Guggenheim wired back that he and Averell Harriman were willing to pay that price to obtain exclusive ownership of the lake but "we are in hopes that you will be able to secure the property at a much lower figure." Garn was not able to negotiate a lower price and the deal with Salley was closed on April 19, 1918. The Bishop and Salley purchase were added to what would eventually be called the Sheridan Ranch. Other settlers--Ritchie, McGinnis, Laird and more--would also be bought out, and state lands acquired before IPL&CC land purchases in the Shotgun Valley were completed.³⁶

The Osborne, Bishop and Salley land deals were in themselves not remarkable, and they were not much different than other purchases of several thousand acres the IPL&CC made over the years. However, they do illustrate several characteristics of most IPL&CC land acquisitions. First, in order to prevent land owners discovering their identity and raising prices accordingly, the IPL&CC shareholders frequently had others intercede on their behalf. Second, while the IPL&CC sometimes was willing to purchase virtually worthless land--such as Bishop lake--in order to insure privacy for its wealthy owners, it always drove hard bargains. One would think that multi-millionaires might not quibble over a dollar or two an acre, but Guggenheim and the Harrimans always pressured their agents to obtain the lowest price possible. Finally, in these early years, the IPL&CC established a pattern of vastly expanding its holdings beyond the boundaries of the Home Ranch, and would eventually even cross the border into Montana.

The ranch's conservation practices also began to solidify during these early years. As early as 1898 Garn and Anderson planted 10,000 Eastern Brook and Rainbow Trout in Golden Lake in order to improve fishing there. The next year the dam that Jack Golden had placed on Thurman Creek collapsed, washing away the fish. So in 1899 a new dam was constructed and in 1900 another 10,000 trout planted.³⁷ In 1907 the IPL&CC constructed another dam on Thurman Creek, creating another private fishing spot, Silver Lake. Each lake was stocked every three to four years. No screens were placed in the dams, allowing the fish free water access to Henry's Fork, thus improving the fishing along that stream as well. Not all activities were concentrated on improving fishing, however, Russ Egburt remembered that his father, George, was a "game warden" at the Railroad Ranch as early as 1902. Whether he was a state warden or hired by the IPL&CC is unclear, but his primary responsibility was to prevent poachers from trapping beaver. The problem of poaching and trespassing was to plague the Railroad Ranch for decades.³⁸

Hunting was easy in those early years, for the game was plentiful. "I have some of the best pointers and water spaniels in the country," Eccles wrote to Edward Harriman in 1908, "so that it would be easy for you to go right along in a buckboard and simply step out to do your shooting after the dogs locate the birds." One of the paradoxes of the American environmental movement is that the earliest conservationists found some of their strongest supporters among hunters who wished to preserve game so that they would have something to shoot. It is easy in the 1980s to equate game "conservation" with game "protection," but in the early 1900s those associated with the Railroad Ranch no doubt considered themselves conservationists, even though they readily and eagerly killed game. The evolution of the Railroad Ranch from hunting ground to game sanctuary was slow. Old timers remember the

early hunting parties--and some of the waste that went with them. "They used to take case after case of shotgun shells with them . . . in the bottoms of the buggies," recalled Parley Jones, "and they'd shoot all day." Jim Allison remembered that not all that was shot was used: "I used to get so mad. . . . They'd go out there with them dogs and on the prairie and on the meadows there and shoot those chickens. They never gathered up a tenth of them, I don't think, . . . and I'd just think how wasteful they were." Eccles informed Harriman that "we are careful about shooting" birds on IPL&CC property, and stated that "there are other places where we go after grouse and chicken." While such precautions might have preserved the flocks on their own lands, this could hardly be considered a sound conservation policy, judged by the standards of the 1980s.³⁹

One of the goals of the IPL&CC as set forth in the Articles of Incorporation, was to acquire live game animals. The company got its first chance to make such an acquisition when it purchased the Bishop homestead. After a heavy snowfall one winter, a bull and some cow elk were trapped on the Bishop place. The Bishops constructed a high fence around the pasture, fed the elk, and watched this small number develop into a large herd that became famous throughout Island Park. At least part of the company's reason for purchasing the Bishops' property was to obtain control of the herd. After buying the land, hired help transported the herd to the Home Ranch in sleighs with large racks. Some of the elks' horns were so large that they had to be trimmed to get them on the sleighs. A large pasture--600 to 1,000 acres--was enclosed with a seven foot fence, and the elk herd continued to flourish on the ranch until the 1930s.⁴⁰

Other activities during this early period centered around cattle raising and ranch improvements. Little is known about the cattle activity during

this time. However, there were cattle on the ranch at least by 1908 as Eccles informed Harriman in that year that the company had a "nice herd" of Jersey dairy cattle and 250 head of beef steers, as well as 25 head of horses. It is probable that the beef cattle were Herefords, a breed the ranch preferred over the years. Ivy Carter, who lived on the ranch in 1920, recalled that at least by then the herd was made up of Herefords. By 1921 the IPL&CC owned 716 head of cattle, mostly beef. In that year the Jersey dairy stock was traded for Durhams.⁴¹

At the time of the purchase from the IPL&CC the Anderson and Bancroft lots had buildings on them, and the Eccles lot may have also had a cabin. In 1908 Eccles described the existing cottages to Harriman: "The houses are well built of logs, contain nine rooms, with a nice bathroom and toilet, hot and cold water." While some buildings on the premises thus dated from the first years, much of the early work at the ranch involved building more structures. Tom Brower, who worked at the ranch from 1912 to 1914, could not recall any cattle on the place then. He did, however, remember that the biggest summer job was hauling logs and constructing buildings. By 1917 there were 20 structures on the Home Ranch, including eight barns, six dwellings and miscellaneous shops, offices and quarters for help; six buildings on the Sheridan Ranch; and one barn at the Island Park railroad station. Three more buildings on the Home Ranch and one at Sheridan were under construction. In addition, thousands of pine poles were cut in the early years to construct the company's miles of pole fences, one of the landmarks of the Railroad Ranch.⁴²

Very little financial information exists from this time, but the ranch had apparently begun its historic trend of losing money. In 1916 the company had an operating loss of \$19,531, and in 1920 the loss was over \$57,000.

Letters from Eccles to Martin Garn, manager of the ranch during this early period, constantly urged him to obtain the best deals possible when signing haying contracts, government leases or purchasing land. Among those working with Garn were George Brower, foreman; Rose Edginton, cook; Jack Simmons; Tom Brower; Art Edginton; William Edginton; and Walter Mikesell.⁴³

By 1920 the Railroad Ranch was well established. The Island Park Land and Cattle Company had been incorporated, and the Harrimans and Solomon Guggenheim were in control. The ranch had become a favored retreat of its wealthy owners, and certain conservation practices were instituted. Numerous land purchases helped to consolidate properties; buildings and fences were constructed; and cattle operations begun. In the following years the Railroad Ranch would grow with more land, more cattle and more employees, but it had gone through its most dramatic transitional phase between 1898 and 1920, and its operations would not alter drastically until the 1970s.

Endnotes, Chapter 2

¹Harriman, I Reminisce, p. 169; "Trude History," Drawer 1, File 47, HSP Archives. Again, time constraints on this contract prohibited a search of Fremont County records, as well as an employment record search at the Union Pacific Archives or genealogical searches.

²Anderson, "Statement on the Construction of Golden Lake and Silver Lake," 7 May 1928, Drawer 1, File 25, HSP Archives.

³The Articles and Bylaws are in the IPL&CC Corporate Minutes, Drawer 3, HSP Archives.

⁴For Bancroft see The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, vol. 17 (New York: James T. White and Co., 1927), p. 165; and Who Was Who in America, vol. 1, 1897-1942 (Chicago: The A.N. Marquis Co., 1943), p. 53. Also see George Kennan, E.H. Harriman: A Biography (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1922), vol. 1, pp. 141-43. For Pinkerton see Pinkerton to Eccles, 16 Sept. 1909, Drawer 1, File 4, HSP Archives.

⁵Information on Eccles is widely scattered. He was freight agent for the Denver & Rio Grande according to the Utah Gazetteer and Directory of Logan, Provo and Salt Lake Cities for 1884 (Salt Lake: Herald Printing and Publishing Co.), p. 479. For Eccles Siding and Butte see Graham, "Fremont County Place Names," p. 45. For his role in the American Smelting and Refining Company see Isaac F. Marcossan, Metal Magic: The Story of the American Smelting & Refining Company (New York: Farrar, Straus & Co., 1949), pp. 301-02. For information on Nevada Consolidated Copper see Myrick, Railroads of Nevada, vol. 1, pp. 113-34. Trude's assessment of Eccles is from an undated newspaper clipping, c. 1955-1960, in the collection of unprocessed materials, HSP Archives. For a brief biographical sketch, see Eccles' obituary in the New York Times, 1 Jan. 1918. Background on competition between Union Pacific and the Denver & Rio Grande comes from Athearn, Union Pacific Country.

⁶For Garn's letters to "Dear Daddy" Eccles see Drawer 1, File 14, HSP Archives. Edginton's description of him is from a 16 July 1975 interview she granted to Janet Ross, a partial transcript of which is in the collection of unprocessed materials, HSP Archives. For Harriman's statement see W. Averell Harriman, interviewed by Heidi Fatland, 15 Dec. 1981, p. 6, HSP Oral Hist.

⁷There is some confusion in the HSP records over Murry's name. Most deeds with his name attached refer to him as "Morris." However, all biographies refer to him only as Murry, although one does mention parenthetically the name "Morris." At any rate, "Murry" and "Morris" are the same person.

⁸The early changes in lot ownership are summarized in Fatland, Railroad Ranch, pp. 7-13; and in "Chronological File--Deeds & Agreements, Harriman State Park of Idaho," 1977, Drawer 3, HSP Archives. The Archives also contain most deeds relating to land transactions for the ranch's history.

⁹ Several books about the Guggenheim family have been written. Perhaps the best, and the one where most of this information was obtained, is John W. Davis, The Guggenheims: An American Epic (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1978), see pp. 37-57. Also good is Harvey O'Connor, The Guggenheims: The Making of an American Dynasty (New York: Covici, Friede Publishers, 1937). Of less usefulness are Edwin P. Hoyt, Jr., The Guggenheims and the American Dream (Funk & Wagnalls, 1967); and Milton Lomask, Seed Money: The Guggenheim Story (New York: Farrar, Straus and Co., 1964), which deals primarily with the Guggenheims' various family foundations.

¹⁰ Her name is sometimes also noted in the biographies as "Meyer." In 1918 Clarence L. Myers replaced Silas Eccles on the IPL&CC shareholders' list. It is not known if he was from this branch of the family, but it seems possible, as the Eccles share came under the control of the Guggenheim interests. At any rate, it seems unlikely that he was any relation to George Myers of Liggitt and Myers Tobacco Company, as Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 10 speculates, since George Myers had three daughters when he died, all with different last names, and there is no connection between the family and the Guggenheims, other than the fact that the IPL&CC would in the 1920s purchase the Myers farm in Shotgun Valley.

¹¹ Davis, The Guggenheims, pp. 48-85.

¹² Ibid., pp. 58-60.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 61-72; Hoyt, The Guggenheims, pp. 57, 83-92.

¹⁴ Marcossion, Metal Magic; Davis, The Guggenheims, pp. 73-6.

¹⁵ Davis, The Guggenheims, pp. 100-34.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 150-70; Lomask, Seed Money. For Dan's 1908 visit see Eccles to Alex Millar, 30 Dec. 1908, Drawer 1, File 4, HSP Archives. The information on his 1917 visit comes from Eleanor Countess Castle Stewart, England, to Douglas Cotts, New York, 12 March 1982. The Countess is Solomon's daughter, and the letter was made available to the authors by Cotts.

¹⁷ Davis, The Guggenheims, pp. 69-70; Hoyt, The Guggenheims, pp. 83-92. The quotation is from Lomask, Seed Money, pp. 168-69.

¹⁸ Davis, The Guggenheims, pp. 83, 198-99, 219-20; O'Connor, The Guggenheims, pp. 472-73; Hoyt, The Guggenheims, p. 100.

¹⁹ Davis, The Guggenheims, pp. 198-231; Hoyt, The Guggenheims, pp. 331-36; Lomask, Seed Money, pp. 49-51, 167ff.

²⁰Robert S. Lovett was always called "Judge" by his friends, though he never really was one. One of Harriman's closest personal friends, he became general counsel for all the Harriman interests in Texas in 1904. When Harriman died in 1909 Lovett became Chairman of the Board of the Union Pacific, a position he held until 1932 when Averell took that job. See John A. Kouwenhoven, Partners in Banking: An Historical Portrait of a Great Private Bank, Brown Brothers Harriman & Co., 1818-1968 (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1968), pp. 17-18.

²¹Harriman, I Reminisce, p. 169 contains the story about Lovett interesting Harriman in the ranch. See pp. 9, 24-5 for descriptions of Harriman; pp. 255, 273-79 for Arden; and p. 17 for Pelican Bay. Muir's description of Harriman can be found in Muir, Edward Henry Harriman (Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1911), pp. 5-6. See pp. 21-4 for Pelican Bay, where Muir spent a summer writing his reminiscences. For more on Harriman and his interest in the outdoors see J. Holmes McGuiness, "The Other Side of E.H. Harriman," Sunset, August 1911, pp. 196-98; and Kennan, Harriman, vol. 1, pp. 202-03; vol. 2, pp. 31-4.

²²Kennan, Harriman, vol. 1, pp. 1-24, 59-108.

²³It is interesting to note in connection with the Railroad Ranch that Rose Guggenheim--Solomon's sister--married Albert Loeb, nephew of one of the founders of Kuhn, Loeb and Company. The Union Pacific venture could have been Harriman's first connection with the Guggenheims. See Davis, The Guggenheims, p. 82.

²⁴Kennan, Harriman, vol. 1, pp. 109-38; Athearn, Union Pacific Country, pp. 355-75.

²⁵The quotation is from Robert N. Burnett, "Edward Henry Harriman," Cosmopolitan, March 1903, p. 592. For the Harriman estate see "Edward H. Harriman's Estate," Literary Digest, 29 March 1913, pp. 745-47. For Harriman's UP improvements see Kennan, Harriman, vol. 1, pp. 140-84.

²⁶The quotation is from Eccles to Harriman, 9 Dec. 1908. Also see Eccles to Alex Millar, 30 Dec. 1908; and Eccles to Lovett, 29 Sept. 1909, all in Drawer 1, File 4, HSP Archives. For Harriman's interest in introducing his children to the outdoors see Rush Loving, Jr., "W. Averell Harriman Remembers Life With Father," Fortune, 8 May 1978, pp. 197-216; and Harriman, I Reminisce.

²⁷Harriman, I Reminisce, p. 60; Persia Campbell, Mary Williamson Harriman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 1; "Richest Woman in the World," Hampton's Magazine, January 1910, pp. 124-6.

²⁸The biographical details concerning Mary come from Campbell, Harriman, esp. pp. 1-18. For Edward's philanthropic ideas and Boys Club involvement see Loving, "Averell Remembers Father," p. 198; McGuiness, "Other Side of Harriman," p. 198; and Kennan, Harriman, vol. 1, pp. 25-58.

²⁹For Averell's 1909 trip see Harriman interview, p. 1, HSP Oral Hist. Mary's purchase of Dan Guggenheim's ranch interest is detailed in Eccles to Lovett, 14 Jan. 1911; and Lovett to C.C. Tegethoff, 20 Jan. 1911, Drawer 1, File 4, HSP Archives.

³⁰Roland remembered years later that the first family excursion to Island park was made in 1912, while Averell recalled that it was 1910. See Harriman, I Reminisce, p. 170; and Harriman interview, p. 1, HSP Oral Hist. The information that the trip was actually made in 1911 comes from Campbell, Harriman, pp. 76-8. Campbell on these pages quotes from a diary kept by Mary while at the ranch. It is possible, but unlikely, that the family also journeyed there in 1910.

³¹Details on the 1911 trip come from Campbell, Harriman, pp. 76-8, while Roland's quotation is from Harriman, I Reminisce, p. 170.

³²Garn to S. Guggenheim, 24 Jan. 1918, Drawer 1, File 14, HSP Archives. For changes in stockholders see Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 9.

³³For those interested in investigating this matter further, deed records are maintained in the HSP Archives.

³⁴S.H. Pinkerton to Eccles, 16 Sept. 1909; Eccles to Lovett, 29 Sept. 1909; Eccles to C.C. Tegethoff, 15 Oct. 1909, Drawer 1, File 4, HSP Archives. Also see Ferguson, "Proposed Harriman State Park," p. 13.

³⁵Eccles to Garn, 11 July 1916; Garn to Eccles, 30 June 1916; and 9 July 1916, Drawer 1, File 9, HSP Archives. For more background on the Salley/Bishop purchase see Norva Salley, interviewed by Kemp, 17 March 1980, pp. 1-2, 11, HSP Oral Hist. The quotation on the rich hunting and fishing in Shotgun Valley is from James Allison and William Parley Jones, interviewed by Kemp, 1 May 1979, p. 13, HSP Oral Hist.

³⁶Information on the Bishop and Salley purchases can be found in numerous letters in Drawer 1, Files 9 and 14, HSP Archives. The specific quotations cited are from, in order, Garn to Eccles, 9 July 1916; Eccles to Martin Elliot, Attorney, St. Anthony, 6 Oct. 1916; Eccles to Garn, 10 Oct. 1916, all in File 9; and Guggenheim to Garn, 13 March 1918, in File 14.

³⁷The Golden Lake dam built in 1899 caused the ranch some problems. After it was constructed some of the lake's water backed up into other property, allowing the ranch's neighbors to fish on the lake legally since they were not trespassing. In 1921 the dam was destroyed and another one constructed, making the lake at last entirely on the ranch's land. See Carter and Jones interview, p. 8, HSP Oral Hist; and "Report of J.M. Anderson for the Year 1921," Drawer 1, File 15, HSP Archives.

³⁸J.M. Anderson, "Statement of the construction of Golden Lake and Silver Lake," 7 May 1928, Drawer 1, File 25, HSP Archives; Russ Egburt, interviewed by Ross, 14 July 1975, partial transcript in unprocessed materials, HSP Archives.

³⁹The quotations are from Eccles to Harriman, 9 Dec. 1908, Drawer 1, File 4, HSP Archives; and Jones and Allison interview, pp. 12-13, HSP Oral Hist. For good background on the role of hunters in the American conservation movement see Donald Fleming, "Roots of the New Conservation Movement," in Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, eds., Perspectives in American History, vol. 6 (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University, 1972), pp. 7-91, esp. pp. 17-18.

⁴⁰There is considerable correspondence in Drawer 1, File 9, HSP Archives concerning the elk herd. Also see Jones and Allison interview p. 8; Walter Mikesell, interviewed by Kemp, 25 May 1979, p. 10, both in HSP Oral Hist. Additional information on the elk herd is in Harriman, I Reminisce, pp. 171-72; Thomas T. Brower, Thomas Taylor Brower: His Own Life Story (self published, 1982), p. 41; and (Barbara Kemp), "Railroad Ranch Tracks," Snake River Echoes, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 57-61.

⁴¹Eccles to Harriman, 9 Dec. 1908, Drawer 1, File 4; "Report of J.M. Anderson for 1921," Drawer 1, File 15, both in HSP Archives. Also see Ivy Carter and Daniel Edginton, interviewed by Kemp, 8 May 1979, p. 4, HSP Oral Hist.

⁴²Information on buildings and construction is from "Chronological File of Deeds," unprocessed materials; Eccles to Harriman, 9 Dec. 1908, Drawer 1, File 4; and "List of Buildings located on the property," 5 April 1917, Drawer 1, File 11, all in HSP Archives. Also see Brower, interviewed by Jeff Eaton, n.d., pp. 4-6, HSP Oral Hist. For early fencing see Garn to Eccles, 30 June 1916, Drawer 1, File 9, HSP Archives. Fatland, Railroad Ranch, pp. 25-9 devotes considerable space to the history of the ranch's buildings.

⁴³Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 15 states that Garn was manager and Anderson superintendent from 1908 to 1920, but does not cite a source. We were unable to verify this information, but it does seem possible. Anderson had been involved in the ranch since 1898. In later years it was IPL&CC policy to hire both a superintendent and a manager, and Anderson could have been superintendent while Garn was manager. It is clear that in 1921 Anderson replaced Garn, who had died, becoming "Acting Manager," later superintendent. If Anderson was superintendent during these early years he appears to have been largely a figurehead, for all existing information indicates that Garn carried out the day-to-day details necessary to run the ranch. For what financial information is available see "Statement of Assets and Liabilities," 30 June 1916, Drawer 1, File 12; Balance Sheet, 31 Dec. 1921, Drawer 1, File 15; and miscellaneous correspondence between Eccles and Garn, Drawer 1, File 14, all in HSP Archives.

Chapter Three

The James Anderson Era: 1921-1928

William Averell Harriman owned stock in the Island Park Land and Cattle Company longer than anyone else and was the most famous of those associated with the ranch. The athletic Averell, born in 1891, was much taller than his 5'5" father, who encouraged his son's athletic inclinations. When Averell showed an interest in rowing, Edward hired the Syracuse University crew coach to spend six weeks at Arden teaching Averell and younger brother Roland how to row properly. Because of an asthmatic condition, Averell was not long able to participate in the Harriman family's traditional sport of racing trotting horses, so he traded the sulky for a saddle and became a championship polo player. In 1928 he was on the American national team. Averell also excelled in business as a young man. Though only 18 when his father died, he soon assumed an active interest in the family's business concerns. After graduating from Yale in 1913, he was elected to the Union Pacific board of directors. He later became Chairman of the Board of the Illinois Central Railroad, and in 1932 succeeded Judge Robert Lovett as Chairman of the Union Pacific. Showing the same mettle that

characterized his father's tenure as Chairman, Averell not only pulled the UP through the depression but increased its revenues. At a time when conservatives urged caution, Harriman introduced a new line of streamlined aluminum passenger trains, complete with low-cost meals and trained nurse stewardesses. The result was a 66 per cent increase in passenger traffic. It was this same boldness that prompted him to develop the nation's first major ski resort in an isolated Idaho wilderness, construct a handsome alpine lodge, and make sure both received ample publicity by inviting world famous celebrities to ski there. He called the place Sun Valley and connected it to the outside world with the Union Pacific. It proved no detriment to the railroad's finances.¹

Averell had other business interests besides railroads. In 1919 he founded the New York investment house of W.A. Harriman & Company, and shortly afterwards took in younger brother Roland as a partner. Under Averell's aggressive leadership the firm became a leader in the securities and underwriting business, opened branch offices in other American cities and abroad, and was one of the first investment houses to assist in rebuilding European industry after World War I. In 1931 the company merged with the 113-year-old firm of Brown Brothers & Company, to become Brown Brothers, Harriman & Company, the largest private bank in North America.²

All of these activities increased Averell's wealth and brought him considerable recognition in financial circles. But it was politics and diplomacy that gave him real fame. Like most of the Harriman family, and indeed most American financiers, Harriman began as a Republican. But by 1928 his older sister Mary had encouraged him to vote for Al Smith. He did and became a lifelong liberal Democrat. A complete listing of all his political appointments and offices would fill a page. He began

inconspicuously in Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal administration in 1934 as a divisional officer of the National Recovery Administration. He then moved on to become chairman of the business advisory council for the Department of Commerce, and in 1941 Roosevelt appointed him as a special representative to Great Britain. During World War II he was Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and after the war Ambassador to Great Britain. War-time photographs show him elbow-to-elbow with Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt. In 1946 he became Secretary of Commerce, and in the early 1950s served as presidential assistant on several European treaties. In the late 1950s he was a liberal Governor of New York who some felt might become President. After filling several diplomatic positions in the early 1960s, President Johnson appointed him as the U.S. envoy to the Paris Peace (Vietnam) Talks. Later he was an advisor to President Carter. During his long career he has met every Soviet premier from Trotsky on. Not surprisingly, he was the first prominent American invited to visit Yuri Andropov when he became premier.³

It is unfortunate that Averell Harriman's role in the Railroad Ranch has been overlooked by local historians. For example, Barbara Kemp wrote in 1981 that "Averell used the ranch for many years, but it was Roland and his wife Gladys who remained most faithful to their properties." A year later, Heidi Fatland stated:

In 1920, because of his escalating political career, W. Averell Harriman requested that his brother, E. Roland Harriman, deal with all matters in relation to the IPL&CC and the Railroad Ranch. Mr. Harriman retained his share in the IPL&CC, but he relinquished his voting rights to E. Roland Harriman. At that time, W. Averell Harriman essentially stopped coming to the Railroad Ranch, with the exception of a few visits prior to his mother's death and once again in 1976.

Both statements oversimplify the actual events.⁴

Mary Harriman had a great desire to see her sons assume authority over the family's business concerns while they were young. Thus, though only 24, Averell began overseeing the Harriman interests in the IPL&CC in 1915 when he obtained a share of stock upon the death of William Bancroft. Between 1915 and 1920 Averell and Solomon Guggenheim made joint decisions on virtually all major actions concerning the ranch, especially after Silas Eccles' death in 1917. In November 1920, Harriman--preoccupied with a rising business, not political, career--informed Guggenheim's office that Roland would from then on attend to most family matters concerning the ranch. However, Averell did not relinquish full authority in the IPL&CC even then. Until the 1940s, when his rising political career did interfere by taking him overseas, he was a frequent participant in IPL&CC board meetings. Further, as the ranch's debts increased, Averell shared the Harriman half of these equally with his brother. Averell was also a frequent visitor to the ranch in the 1910s and 1920s, and even into the 1930s. He again visited occasionally in the 1960s and was, in fact, the first Harriman to see the ranch, in 1909, and the last to visit before it became a state park, in 1976. Though the legend has grown that Roland and Gladys visited the ranch virtually every summer--"Gladys and I have only missed war years for our annual treks," Roland wrote in 1975, "counting up now to about sixty such visits"--such was not the case. Roland and Gladys did not become regular annual visitors until the mid-1930s, at about the time Averell was becoming heavily involved in New Deal politics. Until that time, Averell's visits were probably about equal to Roland's. As Averell said years later, "I always thought it was one of the most beautiful places that I've ever been to, and always enjoyed it. It wasn't my lack of enjoyment but diversions for other interests that kept me away from it."⁵

Nonetheless, it is Roland Harriman's name which is most associated with the IPL&CC, and rightly so, for unlike his brother, Roland had more time to devote to the ranch. Born on Christmas Eve 1895, Edward Roland Noel Harriman was nearly 25 years old when Averell asked him to assume active family leadership in the Railroad Ranch. He later acquired his mother's share of IPL&CC stock. Although he was "the youngest and puniest" of the Harriman family, Roland was nonetheless an outdoorsman. An avid fisherman and hunter, his primary claim to athletic fame comes from his involvement with trotting horses. Roland's father had purchased one of the country's most famous trotting tracks at Goshen, New York to use as a roadbed for a railroad. But he became so interested in the sport that he detoured the railroad and preserved the track. He passed his enthusiasm down to his youngest son. Over the years, Roland owned several world's record trotting horses, and after he married Gladys Fries in 1917 trotting became a family affair. Though Gladys knew nothing about the sport at the time of her marriage, she was to become one of the finest American horsewomen. She was the first woman ever to drive a harness horse a mile in under two minutes, and until she retired from active racing in the 1950s she held several world's records. In the 1920s, when trotting was dying out due to lagging interest and declining gate revenues, Roland Harriman invited several top breeders and owners to his New York home. He told those assembled that trotting was "going to hell in a hack," and suggested ways to save the sport. The group formed the Trotting Horse Club of America, Harriman filled its coffers with money, and trotting experienced a great resurgence.⁶

Of course, Roland Harriman was more than a trotting enthusiast. In the 1920s Harriman began his business career with the firm of W.A. Harriman & Company. He became a partner in that firm, as well as in the later Brown

Brothers Harriman & Company. Although he spent most of his life in banking, when Averell resigned as Chairman of the Board at Union Pacific in 1946 to become Secretary of Commerce, Roland took over the chairmanship, retaining the position until 1969. In politics Roland was always a conservative Republican, strongly critical of the New Dealers Averell served in Washington. "Billionitis is upon the land," he wrote in 1935. "A congressman or senator who cannot think of a way to spend at least \$1,000,000,000 of Federal money no longer can make the front pages or gets more than a whisper from the folks back home." Though they were opposites politically, the brothers remained close. "It's never caused the slightest difficulty between us," Roland told a reporter in 1962. "Mostly, I suppose, because we never talk about it. Anyway, as I tell everyone, Ave is my favorite Democrat."⁷

While Averell carved a niche in politics and diplomacy, Roland made an equally impressive, albeit quieter mark in philanthropy. He became a trustee of the Boys Club of New York in 1921, its President in 1934, and Chairman in 1957. He served as Treasurer and long-time trustee of the American Museum of Natural History. President Truman appointed him President of the American Red Cross in 1950, and Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon reappointed him to that position. In all of these and other volunteer assignments Roland carried out his responsibilities with seriousness. Not one to serve in an honorary or superficial way, Harriman worked diligently and greatly influenced the organizations he assisted.⁸

Shortly after Roland assumed the active Harriman role in the IPL&CC, James Anderson, an original property owner of the ranch in the 1890s, replaced Martin Garn, who died in 1920 or 1921, as administrator of the daily activities there. The exact date Anderson officially became

superintendent is unclear, but in 1921 he was appointed "acting manager." It is clear that the IPL&CC shareholders hoped Anderson would reverse a series of unprofitable years the ranch experienced under Garn. In 1920 the IPL&CC suffered losses of over \$57,000, and in 1921 Anderson wrote Guggenheim that he would try to put the ranch "on a small interest paying basis, as we have often talked of, and it seems clear to me now that this can be done."⁹

The task was easier to promise than to accomplish. During each full year that Anderson was superintendent the ranch lost money. Although he had inherited a large indebtedness, Anderson was unable to decrease it, and by the end of 1927 the total cumulative losses for the IPL&CC reached over \$226,000, this being absorbed by personal loans from the Harriman brothers and Guggenheim. Anderson tried a number of innovations to cut expenses and turn profits. In 1922 he laid off men.

After being reminded that losses were still high, Anderson informed the shareholders that many expenses were not for ranch activities specifically but went for "pleasure" when the owners visited in summers, and the two activities were hard to separate. Still, he assured the shareholders that "we will always watch every detail and try to keep our costs down to a minimum." When IPL&CC Secretary Albert Thiele protested that an allowance of 40 cents per meal was too high, Anderson dropped the cooking contract and the company ran the boarding house, at a considerable savings. In 1924, after Guggenheim insisted on disposing of part of the ranch's horse herd, Anderson killed 20 head rather than feed them over the winter. In 1925 he wrote that he hoped to trade "a great number of them . . . for something that would not be eating its head off."¹⁰

The main problem behind the chronic indebtedness facing Anderson was a highly depressed agricultural market. In 1925 Thiele chided Anderson for incurring telegraph charges by paying "cash on delivery" for work at the ranch, then wiring New York for immediate funds. "It would seem to me that our credit ought to be sufficiently good in the West so that it would not be necessary for a payment like this to be made at once," he wrote. "Can you not impress upon local trades people and merchants that they are dealing with responsible people?" While easterners would experience their own depression a few years later, Thiele obviously did not understand the hardships western ranchers and farmers were facing in the 1920s.

Anderson graphically portrayed their plight:

You do not seem to realize the position these farmers and ranchers are in, financially. They scarcely have enough to live on through the winter and are going from day to day. . . . It is not a question of credit at all, and if you were to see the way they have to live you would not be in their shoes very long. In fact many of them have simply pulled out and left.¹¹

The constant pressure on Anderson to economize contrasted with the financial resources of the owners. Although the Harrimans and Guggenheim personally loaned money to the ranch during all the years of its indebtedness--a commendable effort--they could easily afford to cover these loans and more, and indeed benefited from tax write-offs by taking losses. The correspondence between the owners and ranch superintendents, particularly in the depression years of the 1920s and 1930s, is astonishing in revealing how "thrifty" these wealthy men could be. Under their constant appeals to save every possible dollar, morale at the ranch occasionally suffered. Walter Milesell, who worked at the ranch in the late 'teens and early 'twenties, remembered that "they were a hard bunch to work with after Garn [was] let loose. Harrimans didn't want to spend any money . . . and I think Guggenheim just got tired of it." In a letter to Averell Harriman

in 1921, A.S. Trude chided his Idaho neighbor for trying to run the ranch at a profit, and pointed out some of the consequences of such action on waterfowl:

I assume that you, like myself, conduct your ranch more for pleasure than profit. It is a fact that they cannot be successfully conducted for both . . . [for] the mowing of quantities of hay for winter feed for the stock on a large portion of the land on which ducks and geese build their nests and raise their young, destroys a large number of them every year, especially if the hatching season is late in August, as it was three or four years ago, when the knives on our mowing machines were yellow with the yolk of these birds, and frequently the knives of the machines crippled, maimed and killed quantities of young.

Trude, who had a small operation compared to the IPL&CC, had quit the ranching business and encouraged his neighbors to do the same. Trude's letter was referred to Anderson who stated that he, too, was concerned about ducks and geese, but that current conservation practices were adequate. Further, he warned the shareholders that they would lose thousands of dollars if the ranch discontinued its cattle business. He assured the owners that "we will be able to show a profit." The Harrimans and Guggenheim ignored Trude's advice and continued to pressure Anderson to make good on his word.¹²

The local financial situation did not aid Anderson's efforts. Because of the depressed agricultural economy, the IPL&CC lost money when several local banks closed in the 1920s. In October 1922 the IPL&CC transferred its bank account of \$33,000 from the First National Bank of Rexburg to the St. Anthony Bank and Trust Company, which was closer to the ranch. Three weeks later the St. Anthony bank notified the Harrimans and Guggenheim it was in serious trouble and asked for a loan. The Harrimans and Guggenheim expressed a desire to help, but insisted on an independent

evaluation which, when completed, indicated they would be "throwing good money after bad." When the loan was not received, the bank closed. The IPL&CC collected only \$12,000 of its investment, losing \$21,000. The company transferred its account back to the First National Bank of Rexburg and in 1926 lost \$636 when that bank failed. The company then moved its local account to the First National Bank of Ashton, and in 1928 that bank closed, though the IPL&CC only had \$337 invested there. By then the shareholders had voted to transfer their banking business to W.A. Harriman & Company in New York. Although the IPL&CC would always keep a small deposit at local banks for the convenience of ranch superintendents, from the mid-1920s on all major company banking was done by W.A. Harriman and its successor, Brown Brothers Harriman.¹³

In 1926 the Harrimans and Guggenheim began purchasing securities on the company's account as a buffer against ranch losses. Usually these securities were purchased from successful Guggenheim interests. By 1927 the IPL&CC owned \$170,000 worth of stocks and bonds. The next year this investment grew to \$382,000. Because of wise investments, the company's losses were reduced. For example, in 1927 ranch losses were \$32,000, but actual company losses after considering investments were only \$10,000. In 1928, the year Anderson resigned, ranch losses were \$27,000, but the company, in one of the rare years in which its books were not tallied in red ink, showed a profit of \$15,000. Though Anderson labored during his tenure to turn a profit he never succeeded. It was only through the efforts and resources of eastern financiers, and not the skills of a western rancher, that the company was able to eke out a small gain in the year Anderson left.¹⁴

In his attempt to find a means of making the ranch operations profitable, Anderson introduced sheep. In August 1922 he disposed of all stock cattle, keeping only a few dairy cows. The changeover lasted on a short time. In the summer of 1923 Guggenheim, while visiting the ranch, requested that Anderson again buy cattle. Anderson bought a few, which, as he described in 1924, were enough only "to feed up the rough hay which the sheep will not eat." By 1925, however, Anderson had increased the number of cattle, which until 1929 roughly equaled in value the sheep herd. Thus, the ranch was out of the cattle business only a short time, but the sheep operation Anderson introduced lasted until the 1930s. In fact, the ranch from 1922 until 1977 always had at least a few sheep.¹⁵

At the same time that Anderson was experimenting with changing from cattle to an exclusive sheep operation he also had to care for herds of elk and buffalo. The 70 elk brought from the Bishop homestead grew to over 110 animals by 1924. While a few elk were butchered each year, the herd served no real purpose except to entertain the owners and their guests when visiting the ranch, thus being another example of mixing the business part of the ranch with pleasure. In 1924 Anderson requested permission to reduce the herd "as they consume so much hay, and besides, it requires one man to feed them during the winter and the herd continues to increase and is showing a considerable loss [of money] each year." Although the owners agreed to a reduction, throughout the latter 1920s the herd's size remained at around 70 despite efforts to cull it further.¹⁶

The origins of the ranch's buffalo herd is ambiguous. In 1921 Anderson asked permission from the owners to purchase seven buffalo, but it is unlikely any were bought at that time. It is unclear whether Anderson,

despite the expense involved, thought of the idea himself, or was asked to consider raising buffalo by one of the owners. The latter seems possible, for in 1923 six head were brought to the ranch from Yellowstone at the request of Kitty Harriman, Averell's wife. Mrs. Harriman personally paid for the construction of a corral and shed for the buffalo, but it is likely that expenses for caring and feeding then became a ranch cost. In 1927 the ranch had an opportunity to purchase seven more buffalo, an idea Sam Trude, ranch manager, did not much like. While a larger herd "might be nice," he wrote Roland Harriman, "I would a great deal rather look at a good old white-faced cow." Harriman agreed, and the idea was dropped. Probably the herd never grew to more than ten, and the ranch eventually sold all buffalo in the 1930s.¹⁷

In the total operating budget of the Railroad Ranch, maintaining the elk and buffalo herds was a relatively small expense. These herds, however, demonstrated the frustration Anderson and other superintendents in the 1920s and 1930s faced when attempting to profitably run the ranch. On the one hand, the owners desired that the ranch, like any other business operation, make money and hired experienced ranch managers for this purpose. On the other hand, they insisted that ranch operations assume expenses extraneous to a working ranch, such as the elk and buffalo herds, maintenance of the dude cabins and measures to protect fish and wildlife. This insured annual losses and constantly frustrated the various superintendents, as is apparent in their correspondence with the owners.

The ranch continued to increase in size during the Anderson era. The most significant purchase was the Myers ranch in the Shotgun Valley, which provides another excellent example of the "indirect" methods the owners utilized to obtain land. When George Myers, of the Liggitt and Myers

Tobacco Company, died in 1910 his three daughters inherited his Idaho ranch. In 1920 they let the Harrimans know they would sell the ranch to the IPL&CC. Averell somewhat shrewdly informed the heirs that the company had a mild interest in the place, even though the property "is of really not very great value to us." That was certainly an understatement as the Harrimans immediately began maneuvering to obtain the ranch. The Myers property contained a small lake, but it extended onto another homestead, owned by Burton and Emma Compton. As in past transactions to monopolize all access to lakes on their lands, the Harrimans in this instance asked Sam Trude, who had an option on the Compton homestead, to purchase the ranch for them. Trude agreed to intercede, but first pledged Roland to secrecy for Compton had not yet patented his homestead claim and "it is entirely against the law for anyone to agree to sell his land before it is patented." In January 1924, after four years of effort, Trude bought the Compton homestead and filed the deed in Roland's name.

At the same time, the Harrimans continued negotiations with the Myers heirs. Herbert Coppel of New York, a son-in-law of George Myers who represented the heirs, assured the Harrimans in 1921 that, although another party was very interested in the ranch, he could secure title to the land for \$15,000. Roland responded that the Harrimans were only mildly interested-- obviously another understatement given their simultaneous efforts to obtain the Compton land--and offered \$9,000. Harriman reminded Coppel that much of the lake was owned by the Comptons, which would necessitate an additional land purchase, and "in view of the above I do not see my way clear to offer you more than . . . \$9,000.

At that point the negotiations stalled. Coppel informed Harriman the family would accept \$10,000. The Harrimans refused to budge. A few

months later Coppel said the price had increased to \$12,000. Roland responded that he was now unwilling to offer more than \$8,000.

The stalemate lasted until 1924. After finally securing the Compton place Roland tried to find a way to break the impasse with Coppel, realizing the Compton investment would otherwise be wasted if the 160 acres remained completely isolated. Roland wrote Trude, "We are deadlocked. . . . If you can suggest any way by which we could get together we would be gratified." Trude had just such a suggestion. The Harrimans should make Coppel think they were no longer interested. In the meantime, he would ask F.J. Hagenbarth of the neighboring Wood Livestock Company to intercede on their behalf. The supposition was that once the Myers heirs realized the multi-millionaire Harrimans were no longer in the picture, they would agree to negotiate a reasonable settlement. When Harriman assented, Trude approached Hagenbarth. "Now, this manner of buying the place might have the ear marks of underhandedness," Trude wrote him in March 1924. But the heirs were asking a price "beyond any reason, [and] it stands Mr. Harriman in hand to be a little diplomatic." Hagenbarth agreed to intercede. He offered the Myers heirs \$3,000, then \$5,000, and finally announced his top offer of \$8,000. Finally, in May 1924, after more than four years of negotiation, the deal was closed at the latter figure and the Harrimans added the former Myers ranch to the IPL&CC holdings in Shotgun Valley. The Harrimans repaid Hagenbarth with a mounted buffalo head from their herd.¹⁸

Most land transactions concerning the IPL&CC involved the purchase, not the sale, of property. However, early in 1921, Guggenheim asked Anderson to evaluate some of the company's Shotgun Valley property for possible sale. Anderson recommended against this unusual request stating:

I believe you would get better protection on fishing and hunting laws if you retain title, than if you dispose of it, as you remember they tried last year to pass laws to allow any one to fish any stream to its source, even on private land, and it would be quite easy to pass a law prohibiting shooting and fishing on any land you did not own, as there has always been a strong feeling against the Railroad Ranch of jealous parties that have been kept out.

Part of the problem Anderson faced, of course, was that the Railroad Ranch was not just a ranch. It was also a private hunting and fishing retreat. Knowing how hard Anderson was working to have the company show a profit, it must have been difficult for him to recommend against disposing of marginal Shotgun Valley land. But these holdings were rich with fish and game, and even Anderson, realizing his job was both to run a ranch and provide sport for the owners, could not recommend it be sold.¹⁹

As Anderson described in his letter to Guggenheim, the problem of trespassers and poachers was a serious one which would trouble the IPL&CC for years. Blanche Edginton, who worked at the ranch from 1921 to 1924, remembered cooking breakfast early on Sunday mornings so ranch hands could patrol the fences, lakes and river in an effort to keep out trespassing fishers and hunters. It is unknown when such patrolling began, but it never completely succeeded in discouraging intruders.²⁰

In 1924 Anderson proposed a different method of handling the situation. He would make an example of a single trespasser and sue him for damages. Such a civil suit would be "so expensive for the defendant that I think one case would clear up our entire trouble, as the ordinary trespasser could not afford to stand litigation and the word would pass around very quickly." Apparently, the owners decided against this action, which would have resulted in bad publicity, for just a year later Sam Trude was in Boise attempting a different tactic. Trude tried to persuade the state legislature

to pass a bill making it a felony for fishers to trespass on farms lawfully posted. This effort was unsuccessful.²¹

Two years later Trude returned to the legislature with another proposition. In 1927 he managed to have an amendment added to a farm bill making it a misdemeanor for someone to trespass on cultivated or pasture land for the purpose of hunting, fishing or trapping. The outcry from southeastern Idaho sporting groups was immediate and loud. "This amendment is precisely what these people who control these vast areas of our wild open country . . . [have] been seeking as the climax of their desires since they became interested along our public streams," wrote the Fremont County Fish and Game Association to their legislators. This bill was also defeated.²²

It was not long before Trude tried yet another tact. He suggested that the section of Henry's Fork running through the ranch be established as a bird and fish sanctuary, thereby prohibiting all people--including the owners--from fishing or hunting along it. At first Guggenheim and the Harrimans approved the idea. But then W.M. Keil of the Idaho Fish and Game Department informed Roland that any such effort would be unpopular in Island Park. Anderson's aggressive anti-trespassing activities had caused hard feelings locally, and sportsmen intended "to fight to the last ditch any move towards the establishment of private preserves for the benefit of 'eastern dudes.' And that's that." In an effort to appease local people, the IPL&CC directors in early 1928 voted unanimously to cease all political activities aimed at securing various game and trespass laws.²³

Despite problems with trespassers, the ranch retained its bountiful supplies of fish and game. During the 1920s the owners and their guests frequently traveled to the Sheridan Ranch to hunt sage hens and grouse,

often staying at Teton Lodge after it had been purchased from the Myers heirs. Goose hunting on the Home Ranch was also popular, and occasionally ranch hands would ride to the back of Silver Lake, shoot guns and scare the geese towards the hunters hiding in blinds. The most exciting big game hunting of this period was "the fascinating and unique sport of bear hunting," as Roland Harriman referred to it. Old John Reber, who had first come to Island Park to make cheese for the Arangee Land and Cattle Company in the 1880s, had a fine pack of bear hounds which the owners borrowed for their hunts. Oftentimes the bears were only treed, but if a member of the hunting party had never killed one, he would be allowed the pleasure of shooting it.²⁴

During the period from 1920 to 1928 ranch management was actually overseen by two men. James Anderson was the superintendent and Sam Trude the manager.²⁵ Anderson lived in San Diego during the winters and felt it necessary early on to hire a man "to take full charge of the ranch . . . under my directions, that is familiar with live stock and weather conditions, . . . to live at the ranch the year round." Sam Trude, nephew of A.S. Trude and well-qualified for the job, applied in December 1920 and was hired in 1921.²⁶

Trude proved himself a competent employee in those first years at the ranch. He was befriended by Roland Harriman who appreciated his many efforts to obtain the Compton and Myers properties. Because of this warm feeling toward Trude, in 1925 Guggenheim and Harriman paid Mrs. Trude's expenses to the east coast to investigate special schools for the Trude's partially deaf child. By 1926 Trude was addressing his letters to Harriman, "Dear Roland," and Harriman his, "Dear Sam." In 1927 Harriman encouraged

the IPL&CC directors to increase Trude's salary by \$1,200 to \$6,000 annually, a motion that unanimously carried. During this time Trude was assuming more responsibility for the ranch's management, including trading livestock, negotiating for land, and being authorized to sign checks. When Anderson spent a considerable amount of time at Guggenheim's Silver Tip, Montana ranch in 1926, Trude assumed additional authority at the Railroad Ranch.²⁷

Given his increasing importance in the owner's eyes, friction between Trude and Anderson was inevitable. In December 1925 Trude traveled to New York and in a meeting with the Harrimans and Guggenheim received permission to introduce a new procedure, allowing cattle and sheep to winter in Shotgun Valley and purchasing the necessary hay to feed them, thereby ending haying operations at the Sheridan Ranch. However, as Anderson vehemently disagreed with the policy, Trude's action of going over his head led to a split that would widen in the coming years. "I may candidly state here that Mr. Anderson is one of the dearest friends to me," Trude wrote Roland, "but I tell you it is hard for me to do these things that I just know is being done backwards after having all my life been in this business." The two disagreed on other management decisions, Anderson even accusing Trude of bungling the trespassing amendment attached to the 1927 farm bill by prematurely boasting of his successful legislative jaunt, allowing the opposition to organize and defeat the bill. Finally, in October 1928 Anderson, believing he no longer had the confidence of the owners, resigned, ending a 30 year association with the Railroad Ranch.²⁸

Among those employed at the ranch under Anderson and Trude between

1920 and 1928 were Art Edginton who was foreman of the Home Ranch until 1922; William Edginton who was a laborer until the spring of 1922, then foreman of the Sheridan Ranch, a position he held until the fall of 1922 when he became foreman of the Home Ranch before leaving in 1924 in a dispute over purchasing sheep; and Blanche Edginton who was hired by Art Edginton to teach his four daughters in the fall of 1921, married William Edginton in the spring of 1922, and left the ranch when he did in 1924. Gladys Barrickman also taught at the ranch during this period. Other employees included C.E. Hopps, foreman of the Harriman Ranch in 1922, replaced by Thomas Brower in 1923; Hugh McQueary, foreman of the Sheridan Ranch until replaced by Edginton; Dale McQueary; William Colburn; Lester Young; P.G. Sessions; Jack Hilbert; Rene "Stubs" Kinkey, in charge of the shop; George Brower; Howard Salley; Ernest Mikesell; Walter Mikesell; Milton "Whitey" McNair; Les Taylor; Herb Wilson; Tom Powell; and Charles Myers.

The Railroad Ranch began the year 1929 with a new superintendent, and for the first time in some years with only one person clearly in control of management. However, the Anderson-Trude split, coupled with Trude's lack of self-confidence and the ranch's continuing financial problems made the years from 1929 to 1935 the ranch's most difficult period.

Endnotes, Chapter 3

¹ Loving, "W. Averell Harriman Remembers Father;" Robert Creamer, "Harriman of Goshen," Sports Illustrated, 9 July 1962, pp. 32-42; Kouwenhoven, Partners in Banking; Harriman, I Reminisce, pp. 36-7; Doug Oppenheimer and Jim Poore, Sun Valley: A Biography (Boise: Beatty Books, 1976).

² Kouwenhoven, Partners in Banking; Harriman, I Reminisce, pp. 73-94.

³ Washington Post, 8 Nov. 1981, 14 Nov. 1981; Loving, "W. Averell Harriman Remembers Father."

⁴ (Kemp), "Railroad Ranch Tracks," p. 57; Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 12.

⁵ Averell's frequent attendance at IPL&CC board meetings is outlined in the Minutes of the Corporation, Drawer 3, HSP Archives. For Averell's "relinquishing" authority to Roland see Harriman to Thiele, 17 Nov. 1920, Drawer 1, File 5, HSP Archives. Averell's quotation about his enjoyment of the ranch is from Harriman interview, p. 2, HSP Oral Hist. The interview also outlines his visits to the ranch. See Deane Meese, interviewed by Jeri Knight Johnson, 1 March 1982, p. 4, HSP Oral Hist., for his 1960s visits. The overused quotation about Roland's visits is from Harriman, I Reminisce, p. 170. In 1948 Roland and Gladys began keeping a guest book, a photocopy of which is in the unprocessed materials, HSP Archives. Between 1948 and 1973, Roland and Gladys did visit the ranch every year. Specific information on owners' visits before this time is sketchy, but it is known from miscellaneous correspondence in the HSP Archives that Roland and Gladys did not visit at least in the following years: 1921, 1924, 1925, 1927, 1931 and 1934.

⁶ Creamer, "Harriman of Goshen;" Harriman, I Reminisce, pp. 228-33; Campbell, Harriman, p. 75.

⁷ Harriman, "Billionitis," Saturday Evening Post, 11 May 1935, pp. 23, 58; Creamer, "Harriman of Goshen," p. 35.

⁸ Harriman, I Reminisce, pp. 90, 189-221.

⁹ Anderson to Guggenheim, 30 Dec. 1921, Drawer 1, File 15; Minutes of the Corporation, 9 Sept. 1921, Drawer 1, File 12. For Garn's death see A.S. Trude to W.A. Harriman, 30 Apr. 1921, Drawer 1, File 25. All in HSP Archives.

¹⁰ For cumulative indebtedness, see Minutes of the Corporation, Drawer 3. For reducing the number of employees, see Thiele to Anderson, Drawer 1, File 24. For Anderson's concern about separating "business" from "pleasure" and the quotation concerning keeping costs down, see "Annual Report, 1922," Drawer 1, File 15. For meal costs see Anderson to Thiele, 9 July 1953, Drawer 1, File 17, and various letters, Sept. 1923, Drawer 1, File 32. For horse reductions see Anderson to Thiele, 18 May 1925, Drawer 1, File 16. All in HSP Archives.

¹¹Thiele to Anderson, 12 May 1925; Anderson to Thiele, 18 May 1925, Drawer 1, File 16, HSP Archives.

¹²Mikesell interview, p. 12, HSP Oral Hist. Trude to Harriman, 30 Apr. 1921; Anderson to Thiele, 20 May 1921; Anderson to Trude, 9 June 1921, Drawer 1, File 25, HSP Archives.

¹³Several letters in Drawer 1, File 62 detail the St. Anthony bank failure. Also see Minutes of the Corporation, 2 Dec. 1926, 10 Nov. 1927, and 10 Apr. 1928, Drawer 3. All in HSP Archives.

¹⁴Thiele to Harrimans, 18 March 1930, Drawer 1, File 43; Minutes of the Corporation, 22 Nov. 1928, 29 Jan. 1930, Drawer 3. All in HSP Archives.

¹⁵Anderson, Annual Reports for 1922, 1923, 1924, Drawer 1, File 15. Balance sheets for calendar years 1924-1928, Minutes of the Corporation, Drawer 3. All in HSP Archives.

¹⁶Anderson, 1924 Annual Report, Drawer 1, File 15, HSP Archives.

¹⁷Anderson, 1921 Annual Report, Drawer 1, File 15; Anderson to Thiele, 9 July 1923, Drawer 1, File 17; Thude to Harriman, 29 March 1927; Harriman to Trude, 27 Apr. 1927, Drawer 1, File 18. All in HSP Archives. Also see Jones and Allison interview, p. 24, HSP Oral Hist.

¹⁸Details on the Compton and Myers land deals can be found in many letters, 1920-1924, in Drawer 1, File 55, HSP Archives.

¹⁹Anderson to Guggenheim, 19 Apr. 1921, Drawer 1, File 14, HSP Archives.

²⁰Edginton to Kemp, 22 May 1979. Letter filed with HSP Oral Hist. materials.

²¹Anderson to Thiele, 29 Jan. 1924; 31 Jan. 1925, Drawer 1, File 25, HSP Archives.

²²Trude to Thiele, 17 Jan. 1927; Fremont County Fish and Game Association to Senator J.C. Coffin, et. al., 18 Feb. 1927, Drawer 1, File 57, HSP Archives.

²³Keil to E.R. Harriman, 8 Nov. 1924, Drawer 1, File 11. Harriman to Thiele, 3 May 1927; Thiele to Harriman, 3 May 1927; Keil to Harriman, 17 Sept. 1927, Drawer 1, File 44. Thiele to Trude, 26 Feb. 1928, Drawer 1, File 57. All in HSP Archives.

²⁴For details on bird hunting see Norva Salley interview, p. 19; and Brower interview, p. 59, HSP Oral Hist. Also see Blanche Edginton to Kemp, 22 May 1979, letter filed with HSP Oral Hist. materials. For bear hunting see Trude to Harriman, 17 June 1924, Drawer 1, File 54, HSP Archives; Brower, Life Story, p. 37; and Harriman, I Reminisce, p. 171.

²⁵ These titles changed from time to time. Ocassionally, Anderson was called the manager and Trude the foreman. Regardless of title, Anderson was at least nominally the one in final control of the ranch during the period.

²⁶ Trude to Guggenheim, 4 Dec. 1920; Anderson to Trude, 19 Jan. 1921, Drawer 1, File 69. Anderson to Guggenheim, Drawer 1, File 36. All in HSP Archives.

²⁷ For the Trude's son see various 1925 letters in Drawer 1, File 32. For the salary increase and Trude's increasing responsibilities see Minutes of the Corporation, 20 Oct. 1927, and 10 Nov. 1927, Drawer 3. All in HSP Archives.

²⁸ Trude to Harriman, 1 June 1926; Thiele to Anderson, 10 June 1926, 26 Nov. 1928, Drawer 1, File 31. Anderson to Guggenheim, 29 Oct. 1928, Drawer 1, File 36. Minutes of the Corporation, 22 Nov. 1928, Drawer 3. All in HSP Archives.

Chapter Four

The Sam Trude Era: 1929-1935

Sam Trude was 13 years old when his family moved to Island Park so his father, Charles, could manage A.S. Trude's ranch. Sam, who taught school for a time in the Rexburg-St. Anthony areas, loved the outdoors. Prior to World War I he also successfully built up a herd of over 1,000 stock cattle on his 680-acre farm and ranch he leased in the Shotgun Valley. After being hired by James Anderson in 1921, he proved adept at managing the Railroad Ranch and soon earned the complete confidence of the Island Park Land and Cattle Company stockholders. On the surface, he appeared an ideal choice to replace Anderson as superintendent in 1928. As it turned out, no superintendent in the history of the ranch was more ill-suited to the position. In fairness to Trude, he was superintendent during the ranch's most difficult era. The job would have been hard for anyone. The fact that Trude lacked self-confidence and constantly believed people were conspiring against him made his task even more troublesome.¹

The depressed agricultural market that faced Anderson in the mid-1920s worsened in 1929 when the entire country sank into the Great Depression. The ranch, which had managed to show a \$15,000 profit in 1928, thanks to wise stock and bond investments, lost \$21,000 in 1929, \$53,000 in 1930 and \$125,000 in 1931. The losses would have been higher had the IPL&CC shareholders not continued to invest in securities to buffer losses. Securities investments of \$382,000 in 1928 rose to \$722,000 in 1936.²

Certainly, families like the Guggenheims and Harrimans were considerably less affected by the depression than most. But even these people were not immune from the difficult times. The Harrimans' banking interests, for example, underwent several years of losses, and after the merger of Brown Brothers Harriman & Company, Averell and Roland declined taking profits and assumed all losses so that less secure partners could survive the depression. Had they wanted, the Guggenheims and Harrimans could have assured financial security at the Railroad Ranch by personally absorbing higher losses. But for whatever reason--perhaps because the ranch was not important enough to them to incur such debts; perhaps because they felt everyone should experience hardships and not be artificially carried through the depression; perhaps because they disliked being involved in any business that did not show profits--the owners forced stringent cutbacks at the ranch, making Trude's job extremely burdensome.³

In an attempt to reduce losses, Trude late in 1929 voluntarily reduced his salary by \$1,000 annually. This gesture, however, hardly affected ranch deficits. In January 1931 Trude again offered to cut his salary, and again the directors accepted, decreasing his wage an additional \$1,100 annually. Two months later, IPL&CC Secretary Albert Thiele reminded Trude that it was necessary to cut "expenses in times like these to as

close a point as can be done." Trude responded by reducing all wages at the ranch by 15 per cent.⁴

Despite these efforts the losses increased. Roland, in a typical letter to Trude for this period, encouraged the superintendent to do all he could to save money: "I assume you are doing all in your power to reduce operating expenses and, like everyone else, you will probably find it is possible to keep things going satisfactorily with much less expense." Trude responded with his familiar and almost futile offer to again take a cut in pay, this time \$500 annually. On another occasion, when Trude informed Harriman that part of a barn had collapsed, Roland notified Thiele that "I certainly don't want any more spent on reconstruction only repair at least possible expense." The directors even voted to dispense with their annual audit to save money.⁵

By the spring of 1932 it was apparent that these piecemeal efforts would not make a noticeable difference in the ranch's escalating deficits. So, for the only time in its history, the Railroad Ranch went out of the ranching business. It sold all of its sheep and all but a few horses. It also sold all cattle except 18 head, probably some steers for ranch meat and dairy stock.⁶ Then, in early summer, Trude layed off all but a skeleton crew. "I had a long talk with them all assembled," he wrote Harriman, "explaining how hard times were and no dividends coming in Everyone seemed to separately express their appreciation of good done in the past for them and [are] now willing to share their part in the hard run." "We are certainly very sorry to part with so many good friends," Roland responded, "but as you know, it just can't be helped." Although Trude attempted to make some money by leasing the Sheridan Ranch for summer grazing, there was no way the ranch could hope to end the annual deficits

when it was no longer a working ranch. Still, losses were reduced from \$125,000 in 1931 to \$58,000 in 1932.⁷

In another cost-saving effort, the shareholders decided to rid themselves of their elk and buffalo herds. The buffalo were sold in late 1932 for \$125. Disposing of the elk was more difficult. By the time Trude became superintendent in 1928 the herd had been reduced from over 100 to 60. Guggenheim and Harriman wanted it cut further to 25 head and Trude agreed as that would still be "a larger herd than you will see anywhere else owned privately and will supply us with all necessary elk meat to eat." But Trude found it impossible to sell elk in the depressed economy. What finally happened to the elk herd is not clear. Roland Harriman states in his reminiscences that in 1932 the herd numbered about 150 and, under an agreement with the Idaho Department of Game, was released to nearby lands with the understanding that no elk hunting would be allowed. This account is wrong on at least two counts. First, the herd never numbered 150, and by 1932 there were only about a dozen elk left. Secondly, the remnants of the herd were disposed of in 1934, not 1932. Heidi Fatland states that in 1934 "Sam Trude inadvertantly let forty-eight head go," but this again is an exaggeration of the size of the herd at that time. While exact numbers of elk are impossible to ascertain, the IPL&CC tax tables and balance sheets give an approximate valuation for elk at \$50 per head. In 1931 the elk herd was valued at \$2,560. By 1932, the value had been reduced to \$560, at a time when Trude stated the size of the herd was about a dozen. The valuation remained at \$560, which means the size of the herd stayed the same, through 1933. However, the balance sheets for 1934 and 1935 make no mention of elk. At some point in 1934 Trude managed to get rid of the remaining dozen elk. It is

probable they were simply released, as Harriman states. Although it is unclear exactly how the herd was reduced from 60 in 1928 to 12 in 1932, a December 1931 letter from Trude to Thiele indicates the probable method used:

We killed better than twenty head of elk and put them in cold storage in Idaho Falls. We sold last winter down to about twelve head but now, due to the depression, it seems almost impossible to realize much of anything on what we have and unless I hear from you to the contrary by telegram I will sacrafise [sic] ⁸ what we have left and realize the best I can out of them.

By January 1933 Trude was trying to convince the owners to once again return to the ranching business. He wanted to purchase sheep as well as cattle, although he proposed a different type of cattle operation. Since it was difficult to purchase steers in the region, Trude suggested the company purchase cows and raise their own calves. The idea of a cow-calf arrangement, rather than the purchase, feeding and selling of steers, was one the stockholders would debate for years. However, in 1933 nothing was done. The owners vetoed the sheep idea, and it seems likely they dissuaded Trude from encouraging any further cattle schemes, for Thiele wrote to him on their behalf: "As you will recall your bonus was to be dependent not only upon keeping within budget, but also dependent upon results realized from running cattle, if decision to run them was reached."⁹

Trude seems to have labored diligently to remain within his budget, partially with personal sacrifices. In the fall of 1933 he proposed another reduction of \$500 annually in his salary for 1934, to be followed by a similar decrease in 1935. He again proposed leasing the Sheridan Ranch for grazing. While some land was apparently leased in that year, once again Trude encountered the old problem of trying to run a profitable

ranch while fulfilling the recreational desires of the owners. Although Roland Harriman agreed that leasing Sheridan land would create revenue, he did not want the grazing to interfere with the pleasure of chicken shooting there, and suggested that if any guests were to be at the ranch, the lease be postponed until after the end of chicken hunting season.¹⁰

With austerity measures at the ranch, losses were reduced from \$58,000 in 1932 to \$20,000 in 1933. Early in 1934 the owners gave Trude permission to once again buy sheep. He purchased over 1,200 head and the following year bought nearly 800 more. Trude had confidence in the sheep business, but in 1935 he was replaced by Dan Clark, Sr., a cattle man. Clark promptly sold 2,000 sheep, retaining only a small herd of 10. Thus, in 1935 Clark permanently ended the sheep operation instituted by James Anderson in 1922. However, a few sheep would always remain at the ranch because, as explained by Randy Sandow, the ranch's last foreman, the Harrimans enjoyed eating lamb, a carry-over from the old days at the ranch.¹¹

Despite the depression the ranch remained a retreat for Guggenheim and the Harrimans, and Trude attempted during his tenure to maintain the place as a private hunting and fishing paradise. Even in 1931, when he was working to cut all unnecessary expenses, Trude built several small dams on Thurman Creek below Golden Lake in an effort to protect fingerling fish, and constructed "a very good sized goose pen" to provide wild geese with a place to brood and hatch. In 1935 Roland Harriman funded an employee of the American Museum of Natural History to spend the summer at the ranch studying wildlife.¹²

The primary conservation struggle during the Trude years concentrated on preventing poaching and trespassing. In 1928 the IPL&CC, after considerable legal maneuvering, managed to have Golden and Silver Lakes designated

as "private ponds." This action made it illegal for outsiders to fish the lakes. From that point on there were comparatively few problems with trespassers on the lakes.¹³

The problem of intruders on Henry's Fork was much more difficult to solve, however. While the owners considered it an invasion of their privacy when people fished and hunted on the river in front of their cabins, there was little they could do to prevent it because Henry's Fork was a navigable stream. When navigable streams pass through private property, people can legally wade, float, and hike along the stream and its banks. Trude and ranch employees often rode horses around intruders to encourage them to leave, but there was little else that could be done. Walter Mikesell worked at the ranch a number of years, leaving shortly after Trude was hired as manager. He later recounted a story which depicts the frustration Trude and the IPL&CC shareholders experienced in their efforts to prevent people from fishing along Henry's Fork:

I fished right down in front of the houses. I done it more for meanness to old Sam Trude. Here him and his . . . guard . . . come down there. . . . He rode up pretty close and he says "Hey, there!" I turned around and I said, "Oh, hello Sam!" "As long as you've worked here . . . you can't tell me that you didn't know you couldn't fish here." "Now let me tell you something, Sam. As long as I've worked here I knew that I could fish here. That it was all a damn bluff."¹⁴

While Anderson was still superintendent Trude lobbied the state legislature to pass various laws that would effectively prohibit fishing on that part of Henry's Fork flowing through the ranch. When these efforts failed he proposed establishing part of the ranch as a bird and fish sanctuary, prohibiting all fishing and hunting. Although the owners prevented Trude from carrying through on this, he continued to insist that establishing a sanctuary was the only way of eliminating the problem of intruders. In

1930, complaining that "the fishermen from the first of June to the first of August are very annoying by their presence," he again requested that the river and an eighth-mile wide strip of land on each side be designated a sanctuary. Both Guggenheim and Roland Harriman dismissed the idea because it would prohibit their own fishing.¹⁵

As trespassing problems continued, Trude again proposed the sanctuary idea in 1933. In January Trude wrote the owners that "much more of my time is spent in looking after the [trespassing] policy . . . than, I will say, is given to any other two things about the ranch." After detailing once again the problems trespassers caused, he encouraged creating a sanctuary. Again, the owners said no. "It sounds as though the game laws, with relation to trespassing, are getting better and better," Harriman wrote. "I hesitate to take any action that will be final and from which we cannot withdraw, such as the creation of a game refuge. It is one thing to do it voluntarily and another to have it on the statute books." Harriman's optimism about the enforceability of trespass laws proved unfounded, and problems continued for years. But the 1933 effort to designate a sanctuary was the last one contemplated during the Trude years.¹⁶

Although Trude was unable to convince the owners to establish a sanctuary, he succeeded in maintaining the ranch as a fine hunting and fishing area, which pleased the IPL&CC stockholders. Remarkably, he also proved that sheep raising could be relatively successful even during the depression. In 1934 the company lost only \$16,000, its lowest annual loss since the one year of profit in 1928. Despite these successes, it was apparent by the end of 1934 that Trude's time as superintendent was limited.

Sam Trude began as superintendent under less than ideal circumstances, as the Anderson-Trude split had caused some dissention among ranch employees. Probably the situation was never very serious, but Trude had an extreme lack of self-confidence and a vivid imagination that always made matters seem worse than they were. In Trude's mind, Anderson "kept up such a council of war against me . . . it got us all to suspicioning each other . . . and gossiping awfully." In a letter to Roland Harriman he stated in February 1929 that "this last fall and winter has been so full of gossip and rumors that I thought were true that it would drive an iron man wild." Trude was not an iron man and, on the spur of the moment, traveled to New York City to reassure himself he had the support of the owners. While there, Trude had only one short conversation with Guggenheim, whom he knew less well than Roland, and consequently did not bring up his troubles at the ranch. As Roland was out of town, Trude apparently unburdened himself to Gladys. This action greatly irritated Roland, who wrote Trude, "I am tremendously sorry that you took advantage of Gladys' sympathy to rehash a lot of old troubles which I thought had been settled once and for all a long time ago." Roland and Trude remained friends, and it was always difficult for Harriman to criticize the superintendent. But as early as 1929 he realized the essence of the problem which prevented Trude from being an effective manager--his lack of self-confidence:

It is up to you to establish yourself in that position and assume responsibility for lining up your organization. It certainly can't be done from here. . . . Mr. Guggenheim and I will measure your success by the results you obtain but we cannot be continually asked to hold your hand. . . . To sum up, you have got what you wanted and it is your responsibility to assert your authority and produce desired results.

Trude's tenure as superintendent was an emotional roller coaster.

At times he realized he had the confidence of the owners and managed the

ranch quite effectively. At other times he sank into self doubt and was afraid to make even the smallest decisions without consulting the shareholders. Harriman, who greatly disliked being constantly beseiged with management details, repeatedly encouraged Trude to make his own decisions.

In 1931 he wrote:

Details, frankly, have no interest for me and I had much rather hear about the affairs of the ranch that are of more noteworthy interest. . . . As long as you are manager . . . you are responsible for your actions . . . and what Mr. Guggenheim and I are looking for is a well run ranch, from a business point of view, and to have it a source of pleasure when we come out.

At times Trude competently tended to business details. But at other times he lapsed into his habit of seeking advice on all matters, a source of frustration for the owners. When Trude inquired about a raise for a ranch hand in 1934, Harriman scribbled to IPL&CC Secretary Thiele, "Trude's responsibility--matter of salary to be settled by him." When Trude flooded the shareholders with letters soliciting their opinions, Harriman gently reminded him that the owners had more important concerns than making minute decisions about ranch management: "Averell is spending all his time in Washington and I have been intensively busy and so haven't been able to answer your various letters."¹⁸

Despite the friction, Harriman maintained a close bond with Trude, which is probably the only reason he remained as superintendent as long as he did. As early as 1933, however, Roland realized Trude should be dismissed, noting in a letter to friend Harry Blagden:

It certainly becomes more and more apparent that Sam is not the man for the job. I only wish I could harden my heart enough to give him his walking papers. . . . However, God knows what would happen to Sam if he were turned out on his own resources now. . . . But he certainly hasn't got the respect of the men working for him now and he doesn't seem to be able to keep them under control.¹⁹

It would be a full two years before Harriman would "harden his heart" enough to seek Trude's dismissal. Although the general cause of Trude's release was a long period of faltering management, the specific reason was apparently some strong disagreements between Trude and Gladys Harriman. Regardless of the specific causes, Trude had proven himself unable to manage the ranch, and in March 1935 the IPL&CC directors asked for his resignation. A week later, Trude sent the requested letter to the shareholders.²⁰

The dismissal devastated Trude. "If you ever had an experience of everything going black well then you know what I experienced last night when I received your letter," he wrote Thiele. Further, he had over-extended himself financially and this, combined with his numerous salary reductions, left him in a difficult situation. He pleaded to the owners for assistance: "I am . . . too appreciative of what you have done to even suggest a reconsideration for my job but for God's sakes folks help me with my family and children." Harriman and Guggenheim were sympathetic. They allowed him extra time to vacate his home at the ranch; gave him a tractor, truck, and gasoline engine to assist him on his own farm; and even paid half of his regular salary for the year following his dismissal. Guggenheim and Harriman also loaned him \$4,200, and late in 1935 took over his farm in the Shotgun Valley, which cancelled the loan. Trude had hoped "that you will give me much more for it," but was forced to settle for the \$4,200. In 1937 Trude received a \$1,100 loan from the IPL&CC. When he asked for more, Thiele responded:

Mr. Guggenheim and the Messrs. Harriman have been very helpful and considerate in the assistance rendered to you in the past, and they again wanted to be helpful in your present emergency. However, you must realize that the assistance they and the company can render must of necessity have its limitations.²¹

The 1937 loan was Trude's last official association with the ranch and its owners. At the time he was fired, Harriman wrote Trude that "we are looking forward to seeing you as our close neighbor." But the letter was apparently written only to soften the blow, for the two never saw each other again. After leaving the Railroad Ranch Trude purchased the nearby Uden Ranch and farmed for a few years. He built a recreation center on the Uden known as "Happy Joe's." He later served as a Fremont County judge. Still, he never seemed to completely recover from his dismissal by the IPL&CC. In the 1960s Trude wrote a series of letters to Harriman in which he tried to explain his side of matters. He stated that he should have been eased off the ranch instead of being suddenly fired, and he claimed that the abrupt dismissal caused rumors which prevented him from obtaining other work. As evidence he enclosed a 1941 letter from St. Anthony businessman and former Idaho Governor C.C. Moore which stated,

Unemployment at your age is a serious matter and today men must be proficient in the line of work they chose or at least have a clean record from former employers. There seems to be quite a wide spread local rumor that you did not make good and no doubt that rumor followed you to Nevada and helped to prevent the connections that you had hoped to make.

Mostly, though, Trude suffered from the loss of Roland Harriman's friendship and could not understand why he was never allowed on the ranch to visit him. Now, in his last years, he just wanted to see Gladys and Roland and "shake hands with a couple who at one time were very good to me." Although Roland corresponded a few time with Trude in the 1960s, Sam was never able to shake his hand, as the Harrimans chose to maintain their policy of a complete break with their former superintendent.²²

Employees who worked under Trude between 1928 and 1935 included Howard Salley, hired as ranch foreman in 1928, later dismissed; Jack Hibbert, foreman;

Mrs. Dave Wetherbee, cook; Dave Wetherbee; Milton "Whitey" McNair; Ernest Wilson; Del Jenkins, eventually dismissed by Trude who hired Lee Jacobsen to replace him; Bill Colburn; Ernest Reber; Les Taylor; Tom Brower; and Art Edginton.

By 1935 the Railroad Ranch had weathered its most difficult years. Although the depression continued, it was not as severe as it had been in the early 1930s. Never again would the "ranch" go out of the ranching business. Personality conflicts occasionally arose, but they were never as severe as those during the Anderson and Trude years. Superintendents after Trude had strengths and weaknesses, but none were possessed by the lack of self-confidence which made it impossible for Trude to function effectively. In fairness to Anderson and Trude, however, no superintendent after them faced the constant haranging by the owners to make the ranch profitable. While the owners maintained a certain interest in cutting losses, the pressure was never again as strong as it had been on the ranch's managers between 1921 and 1935. For whatever reason, from that point on the owners accepted the fact that the ranch would never be profitable, and were willing to enjoy it for what it really was--a summer retreat, and not a successful business proposition.

Endnotes, Chapter 4

¹Biographical details on Trude can be found in Allison and Green, Island Park, pp. 42-3; and in a letter from Trude to Harriman, 1960s, Drawer 1, File 47, HSP Archives.

²The company's annual financial statements and investments are given in Minutes of the Corporation, Drawer 3, HSP Archives.

³See Kouwenhoven, Partners in Banking, pp. 197-98 for the impact of the depression on the Harrimans' banking concerns.

⁴The quotation is from Thiele to Trude, 18 March 1931, Drawer 1, File 39. Also see Harriman to Thiele, 2 Jan. 1930; and Thiele to Trude, 2 Nov. 1931, Drawer 1, File 47; Minutes of the Corporation, 8 Jan. 1931, 18 March 1931, Drawer 3. All in HSP Archives.

⁵For the quotations see Harriman to Trude, 17 March 1932, Drawer 1, File 42; and Harriman's handwritten note on a letter from Trude to Harriman, 17 May 1932, Drawer 1, File 37. Also see Minutes of the Corporation, 5 Apr. 1932, 16 May 1932, Drawer 3. All in HSP Archives.

⁶In 1929 Trude purchased 20 to 25 head of Holsteins to replace the old Durham dairy herd. No further notice of the types of dairy cattle maintained was found, so it is believed that from 1929 on the ranch's dairy herd was primarily Holstein. See Harriman to Thiele, 8 March 1929, Drawer 1, File 49, HSP Archives.

⁷The quotations are from Trude to Harriman, 12 June 1932, Drawer 1, File 41; Harriman to Trude, 24 June 1932, Drawer 1, File 47, HSP Archives. Also see the lists of cattle inventories, by year, assembled in Fatland, Railroad Ranch, pp. 19-21. For leasing the Sheridan see Minutes of the Corporation, 16 May 1932, and for losses see Minutes of the Corporation for respective years, Drawer 3, HSP Archives.

⁸What limited correspondence there is relating to the elk herd is in Drawer 1, File 40, HSP Archives. For Trude's quotations see Trude to Thiele, 23 Jan. ????, and Trude to Thiele, 14 Dec. 1931, in that file. For the disposal of buffalo see Trude to Thiele, 29 Dec. 1932 in same file. The elk herd valuations can be found in Minutes of the Corporation for various years, Drawer 3, HSP Archives. For Harriman's assessment of the disposal of the herd see I Reminisce, p. 172. For Fatland's see Railroad Ranch, pp. 44-6.

⁹Thiele to Trude, 19 Jan. 1933; Trude to Thiele, 2 Jan. 1933, Drawer 1, File 64, HSP Archives.

¹⁰For the salary reduction see Trude to Thiele, 13 Oct. 1933, Drawer 1, File 41. For Harriman's concern about hunting see Harriman to Thiele, 31 March 1933, Drawer 1, File 46. Drawer 2, File 10 contains information on property leases during this period. All in HSP Archives.

¹¹See Trude to Tom Brower, 6 Feb. 1934, Drawer 1, File 47; and Minutes of the Corporation, Drawer 3, HSP Archives. A sheep inventory, giving numbers of sheep by years, is in Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 20. Also see Randy Sandow, interviewed by Kemp, 11 Aug. 1980, untranscribed, Side 1, HSP Oral Hist.

¹²Trude to Thiele, 4 Jan. 1932, Drawer 1, File 57; Harriman to Dr. H.E. Anthony, American Museum of Natural History, 18 June 1935, Drawer 2, File 14, HSP Archives.

¹³The effort to have the lakes declared private took place while Anderson was still superintendent, in August 1928, but like so many activities in the latter part of Anderson's superintendency, the real work was undertaken by Trude. Vern Thomas, Idaho Department of Fish and Game to Trude, 20 Aug. 1928; S.W. Howland, Attorney, to Thiele, 21 Aug. 1928; Trude or Anderson to R.E. Thomas, Idaho Department of Fish and Game, 24 Aug. 1928. All in Drawer 1, File 57, HSP Archives.

¹⁴Mikesell interview, p. 23, HSP Oral Hist.

¹⁵Trude to Thiele, 2 July 1930; Thiele to Trude, 6 Aug. 1930, Drawer 1, File 44, HSP Archives.

¹⁶For the quotations see Trude to Thiele, 25 Jan. 1933, Drawer 1, File 39; and Harriman to Trude, 21 March 1933, Drawer 1, File 57. Also see various Jan. 1933 letters in Drawer 1, File 56. All in HSP Archives.

¹⁷Trude to Gladys and Roland Harriman, 16 Feb. 1929; Trude to Roland Harriman, 27 Feb. 1929, Drawer 1, File 47; Harriman to Trude, 5 March 1929, Drawer 1, File 41, HSP Archives.

¹⁸Harriman to Trude, 24 Nov. 1931, Drawer 1, File 47; Harriman's handwritten note is in the margin of a letter from Thiele to Harriman, 24 Jan. 1934, Drawer 1, File 41; Harriman to Trude, 23 Jan. 1935, Drawer 2, File 6. All in HSP Archives.

¹⁹Harriman to Blagden, 26 Apr. 1933, Drawer 1, File 41, HSP Archives.

²⁰For the difficulties between Trude and Gladys Harriman see Trude to Guggenheim, 17 Jan. 1934, Drawer 1, File 47; and Trude to Guggenheim, 4 Apr. 1935, Drawer 1, File 69. For Trude's resignation see Thiele to Trude, 15 March 1935; and Trude to Thiele, 23 March 1935, Drawer 1, File 69. All in HSP Archives.

²¹ Trude to Thiele, 23 March 1935, Drawer 1, File 69; Thiele to Trude, 10 Apr. 1935, Drawer 1, File 60; Trude to Thiele, 14 Oct. 1935; Thiele to Dan Clark, Sr., 11 Dec. 1935; Thiele to Trude, 1 Feb. 1937, Drawer 1, File 69. All in HSP Archives.

²² For Harriman's quotation about hoping to see Trude as a neighbor see Harriman to Trude, 5 Apr. 1935, Drawer 1, File 60, HSP Archives. Trude's handwritten letters to Harriman are undated, but are from the 1960s, as reference is made to Ben Meese as superintendent. They are located in Drawer 1, File 69, HSP Archives. For information on Trude after he left the Railroad Ranch see Allison and Green, Island Park, p. 43.

Chapter Five

Dan Clark, Sr. Era: 1935-1950

Dan Clark, Sr. was no stranger to the Railroad Ranch when he became superintendent in 1935. As the General Livestock Agent for the Union Pacific system, Clark had met Roland Harriman at the Pendleton, Oregon Round-up in the late 1920s. At that time Harriman invited him to the ranch to hunt and fish. By 1930, though, Harriman had a more serious reason to request that Clark visit the property. On December 1 of that year he wrote Clark that "we have had, for the last few years, a manager at the ranch who is not quite the man we would like to have," and asked Clark to recommend someone who might be more suitable for the position. Clark responded that he could only make such a recommendation after viewing the ranch operations. Harriman agreed, but wanted to be sure such a visit would not cause "suspicion," so in April 1931 he wrote Sam Trude that Clark would visit, mainly for pleasure, but also with a view towards making suggestions for future operations.

In the summer of 1931 Clark inspected the ranch, and his glowing report perhaps caught the owners by surprise. "Mr. Trude has things well

under control and is doing a good job," he wrote to Harriman. He did not think a management change was necessary, and his only recommendation was that the ranch change to a cow-calf operation, a suggestion with which Trude agreed.

Clark apparently had no further communication with Harriman until January 1933 when he inquired as to whether the owners were still looking for a superintendent and indicated his interest in the job. "I only wish we were in a position to accede to your suggestion," responded Harriman, but the ranch was at that time out of the cattle and sheep business, and since Trude "has a family and could probably not get another job at this time," the owners were not interested in making a management change. A month later, however, Harriman again demonstrated his confidence in Clark by asking his advice on several ranch matters.

By January 1935 the Island Park Land and Cattle Company shareholders had decided to replace Trude, and Harriman again asked Clark to recommend a new superintendent. The new manager would have to be familiar with cattle, have a pleasant personality, and, importantly, "be able to maintain proper relations with our neighbors in the community," since the chronic problem with poachers and trespassers had to be handled with "delicacy and diplomacy." Harriman also asked that his correspondence be kept confidential, as Trude had not been notified of the proposed change.

Clark responded that he was still interested in the job, even though he understood that he would be paid less than Trude. Harriman sought confidential recommendations on Clark's abilities, and when convinced he was the proper man for the job wrote his brother Averell that unless he objected, "I am planning to have Clark come to New York within the near future to go into details after which, if we can come to an

agreement, we can send him to the Ranch. Incidentally, we ought to be able to get him for considerably less than we are paying Trude." Because Guggenheim was not in New York, he left all negotiations for the new superintendent to the Harrimans. As Averell had no objections, Roland hired Clark and Trude was notified in March that he would be released.¹

The transition between Trude and Clark apparently was quite cordial. Clark arrived at the ranch prior to Trude's departure to familiarize himself with the operation. Trude found Clark "in a wonderfully friendly spirit which made me feel good." Trude cooperated fully with the new superintendent, partially because of mutual respect, but also because the IPL&CC shareholders agreed to continue paying Trude for one year after his release, contingent upon his "continued helpful and friendly cooperation toward all our affairs," including cooperating with Clark. Years later Trude wrote that after he left the ranch Clark turned on him, telling Trude he did not ever again want him "to set foot on the ranch." Trude also suspected that Clark spread rumors which made it difficult for him to obtain work. "For the life of me I cannot figure out why Dan, Sr. was so against me," Trude wrote Harriman in the 1960s. "If I wasn't co-operative with him, I never was co-operative with anyone." Regardless of subsequent personal differences between Trude and Clark, the change to new management had none of the divisiveness which characterized the Anderson/Trude transition. Harriman wrote to a long-time ranch employee that Clark was "an old-time Westerner who knows the business from A to Z." Clark also seems to have been liked by ranch employees and guests. One person who lived there during much of his tenure remembered him as "a gentleman, . . . painfully polite to everyone."²

Clark took over as superintendent during the height of the Great Depression and served until 1950, overseeing the ranch's affairs through World War II and the period of post-war prosperity. The ranch was only gradually emerging from its austerity cut-backs when he began, but by the time he left the owners were embarking on a period of expansion similar to that which characterized the very early years of its growth. In the year Clark took over, the IPL&CC had cumulative losses of \$598,000. By 1950 the cumulative losses had been reduced slightly to \$576,000. During the intervening years the figure fluctuated slightly, with the worst year under Clark's leadership being 1938 when the ranch lost \$95,000. Still, Clark was the first superintendent to operate the company at an approximate break-even point. Even so, most of the credit for this financial stability lies with the eastern owners and their wise securities investments, rather than with their western ranch manager. For example, in 1945 the IPL&CC showed a profit of \$5,000, but the ranch operations lost \$8,000. In 1950 the ranch lost nearly \$14,000, but the IPL&CC had profits of \$2,500. Still, Clark generally avoided the large deficits that characterized the Anderson and Trude eras, and the owners were pleased with his management abilities. He received a bonus for every year that he was superintendent.³

One of Clark's first actions as superintendent was to terminate the sheep operation, maintaining only enough sheep from 1935 on to provide the employees and owners with mutton and lamb. Although records on the Clark era are scarce, it is apparent that he also brought some changes to the cattle operations. Clark, like Trude, realized there were not enough steers in the local area to provide the ranch with quality animals. Both Trude and Clark--before his tenure as superintendent--recommended that the ranch

become a cow-calf operation, but the owners feared that long winters and high altitude would make it difficult for cows to calve. Apparently Clark did not actively pursue the cow-calf idea once he became superintendent, but he remained concerned that high quality cattle were necessary for a successful operation. He was convinced that while demand for meat during the depression would not be great, there would always be a reasonable market for quality beef. Thus, in 1936 he initiated a procedure of purchasing steers in Texas in the early spring, feeding them through the summer and early fall at the ranch, then marketing most of them, keeping only as many as the ranch's hay crop could feed during the winter. The cattle were brought to and taken from the ranch via the Union Pacific Railroad.⁴

Although a lack of documentation makes it impossible to reconstruct the cattle operations during this period, a fairly complete set of records for 1942 indicates the general nature of the cattle business. The ranch began the year with 384 head of stock cattle, mostly one year old steers, with a few calves. During the year it purchased 989 head of cattle, 689 being two year old steers, along with 300 one year olds. The ranch sold 1,017 head of stock cattle during the year, butchered a few and lost a few more. On December 31 it had 350 head of stock cattle, 338 being one year old steers. Thus, the ranch purchased as many two year old steers each spring as it could successfully fatten, then sold them in the fall. At the same time it bought a lesser number of one year olds which it wintered over on hay. These were sold the following year, when they were two years old, and another group of one year olds were purchased.⁵

The value of cattle at the ranch at the end of 1942 was \$23,000, a figure which is relatively consistent with the year-end valuations during the entire Clark era until 1947. These year-end figures, however, give no

indication of how many cattle were actually on the ranch during the course of a year, only the monetary value of those that were wintered over.

However, it seems probable that until 1947 the number of cattle handled would be approximately equal to those in 1942. However, after World War II the ranch seems to have expanded its cattle operation. For example, at the end of 1947 the value of IPL&CC cattle was nearly \$66,000, in 1948 \$115,000, in 1949 \$97,000, and in 1950 \$165,000.⁶

Such a trend of increasing activity in the late 1940s coincides with the IPL&CC's most ambitious land expansion program since the Garn era. In the fall of 1946 the company purchased 40 acres of public school lands from the State of Idaho, and late in that same year Clark purchased an additional 640 acres, transferring ownership to the IPL&CC. The largest purchase during the period, however, came not in Idaho but in Montana. At least as early as 1941 the company leased ranch land near Dillon, Montana and wintered cattle there. In 1946 the company purchased 1,528 acres approximately one mile west of Lima, Montana for \$37,000.⁷ The property was bought solely for hay cultivation and cattle grazing. Unlike the company's other holdings, the Montana property was never used as a hunting and fishing retreat.⁸

The Home and Sheridan Ranchs, however, continued to be used by the owners for summer excursions throughout the Clark era. During the few weeks that Clark and Sam Trude were at the ranch together in 1935 Trude wrote to the owners that "I don't think, going down the line--Garn, Anderson and Trude, that you have ever had as thorough a stockman for horses, cattle and sheep to compare with Mr. Clark." However, Trude found Clark eager to have Sam "teach him the phase of the ranch that most worried him"--the preservation of the place as a recreational retreat. Because of

the lack of available documentation, it is impossible to know if Clark concerned himself as much with fish and game conservation as earlier superintendents had, but there is no indication that the owners were dissatisfied with his efforts in this regard, and some new conservation policies were enacted during his time at the ranch.⁹

In 1941 Clark arranged for the Idaho Fish and Game Department to furnish the ranch with a small flock of Hungarian partridges to add to the other types of game birds already available there. In 1945 he arranged for the county extension service to plant a variety of trees on the ranch, including Siberian Pea, Golden Willow, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir and Blue and Norway Spruce. In that same year the District Ranger of the Targhee National Forest praised him for managing leased Forest Service land in a way that conserved its flora.¹⁰

The biggest conservation problem during the Clark era continued to be poaching and trespassing. In 1937 the IPL&CC sold 3,928 acres from the Sheridan Ranch to the federal government so that the Bureau of Reclamation could create the Island Park Reservoir. The government had originally offered \$34,000 for the property, but Roland Harriman filed a lawsuit claiming the offer was too low, and the case was eventually settled out of court with the government paying \$66,000. In addition to substantially reducing its holdings in Shotgun Valley, this land transaction increased trespassing. Trespassers could now gain access to property adjoining the Sheridan Ranch via the reservoir, and there was no way to effectively prevent them from crossing company lands. In an effort to again consolidate their holdings after the reservoir changed local land boundaries, the IPL&CC leased additional land from the Forest Service and in 1940 purchased 200 acres from Lewis and Ivie Potter, providing it with complete ownership of

all private land between their ranch and the National Forest boundary. These land transactions insured against most trespassing on the Sheridan Ranch.¹¹

Trespassing had always been more of a problem--and trespassers more visible--on the Home Ranch than on the Sheridan property, and this remained the case throughout the Clark era. In an effort to prevent trespassing on land along the river in front of the guest cabins, Clark revived one of Trude's ideas and requested the Idaho Fish and Game Department in 1941 and again in 1942 to create a bird sanctuary on that part of Henry's Fork running through the ranch. However, each year the request was received in Boise too late to make a decision. It would be a number of years before the state would take further action on the sanctuary issue.¹²

One wild animal that employees tried in various ways to eliminate from the ranch was the bat. Beverly Clements, who lived at the ranch in the 1930s and early 1940s, remembered that "all the buildings were infested with bats and of an evening they would fly out from the eaves by the hundreds-- blotting out the sky over our heads for several minutes." While bats had always been a problem at the ranch, apparently it was not until the 1940s that employees took active measures to keep them from the building compound. In 1949 and 1950 the company spent over \$25,000 repairing the cookhouse, bunkhouse and foreman's cottage because bats had created a strong stench in those buildings. At about this same time, attempts were made to "bat proof" other buildings on the compound. And in 1948, Mrs. Ed Kroker, wife of a ranch employee, wrote to the City of San Antonio for advice on how to construct a bat house to attract the animals. It is unclear exactly when the bat house was constructed, but it seems likely it was in the late

1940s, for Dan Clark, Jr. later recalled that "the Bat House was built after 'bat proofing' the houses in 1948 to attract bats as we believed them beneficial in mosquito and insect control." Despite the fact that the bat house was built to the specifications outlined by experts, it never succeeded in attracting the animals away from the other buildings. Nor did "bat proofing" efforts keep them from roosting throughout the compound. Over the years the ranch received numerous suggestions on how to keep bats out of the cabins, including playing a phonograph recording of "The Cascade of Roses Waltz" and applying large quantities of "Roost No More." But the bats remained.¹³

Employees who worked under Clark during his time as superintendent included Jack Hibbert, foreman; Irene Taylor and Ethel Hibbert, cooks; Dan Clark, Jr., hired as Assistant Manager in 1944; Lee Jacobsen; Del Jacobsen; Del Jenkins; Les Taylor; Herb Strange; Warren Powell; Loren McGarry; Evan Thomas; George Jones; Ralph Miller; Morgan Reynolds; and Ed Kroker.

Dan Clark, Sr. managed the ranch in hard times and good. But even in the bad times he never had as many difficulties with the owners as Anderson and Trude. In 1939, for example, when the depression was still affecting ranch operations, Clark received approval to make improvements on several ranch buildings, a contrast to the time a few years earlier when the owners neglected the buildings to save money. While finances improved in the early 1940s, the ranch was still managed under a partial austerity program because

of a lack of manpower and materials during World War II. After the war the ranch reached a peak of activity reminiscent of its early growth years. Cattle inventories increased and more land was purchased. Financial losses during the Clark era stabilized and were offset by shrewd stock investments. Further, since the ranch losses always approximately equalled investment gains, providing no real taxable income, and since the shareholders carried a large debt on the company, the ranch provided a tax shelter for its wealthy owners. Surprisingly, while the owners did loosen the purse strings during this period and never harranged Clark about not showing profits as they had Anderson and Trude, it was not until 1944 that Clark's salary was increased from \$4,200 to \$6,000--a figure roughly equal to what Trude received some 16 years earlier. In some respects, then, the owners continued to insist on economy. Nonetheless, the Clark years were marked by harmony and good feelings, and the transition between Dan Clark, Sr. and his son was the smoothest of any of the superintendency changes at the ranch.¹⁴

Endnotes, Chapter 5

¹Information on Clark's involvement with the ranch and his hiring can be found in correspondence maintained in Drawer 1, File 101, HSP Archives. For the specific quotations cited above see, respectively, Harriman to Clark, 1 Dec. 1930; Clark to Harriman, 15 Aug. 1931; Harriman to Clark, 3 Jan. 1933; Harriman to W.M. Jeffers, Executive Vice President, Union Pacific Railroad Company, 23 Jan. 1935; and E.R. Harriman to W.A. Harriman, 4 Feb. 1935.

²For Trude's quotation about Clark's "friendly spirit," see Trude to Guggenheim and Harriman, 16 Apr. 1935; and for the shareholders' desire that Trude be cooperative see Thiele to Trude, 10 Apr. 1935. Trude's later complaints about Clark come in his undated (1960s) letter to Harriman. All of the above are in Drawer 1, File 69, HSP Archives. Harriman's description of Clark as an "old-time Westerner" is in Harriman to Del Jenkins, 30 Apr. 1935, Drawer 1, File 90, HSP Archives. For the description of Clark as a gentlemen see Beverly Clements to Kemp, 11 Feb. 1980, in HSP Oral Hist. materials.

³Figures on profit and losses, as well as Clark's bonuses, come from Minutes of the Corporation, Drawer 3. For a distinction between ranch operations and the total IPL&CC operations for the years 1945-1953 see Thiele's Treasurer's reports for those years in Drawer 3, File 17. All in HSP Archives.

⁴Details on Clark's Texas innovation can be found in Clark to Harriman, 19 March 1936; 14 Dec. 1937; 23 May 1938; Clark to Thiele, 16 Apr. 1938; and Harriman to Clark, 27 Apr. 1938, all in Drawer 1, File 79, HSP Archives. For the owners' reluctance to enter into a cow-calf arrangement see Harriman to Clark, 15 Oct. 1931, Drawer 1, File 101, HSP Archives. See Drawer 1, File 74 for details on shipping the cattle via the Union Pacific during this period.

⁵See IPL&CC Inventory, 31 Dec. 1942, Drawer 2, File 9, HSP Archives.

⁶These figures can be found in the annual reportings in the Minutes of the Corporation, Drawer 3, HSP Archives.

⁷The Lima Ranch size was later increased with additional purchases.

⁸For the state land purchases see Clark to Thiele, 21 Dec. 1946, Drawer 2, File 17; Minutes of the Corporation, 15 Oct. 1946, 12 Dec. 1946, Drawer 3; and "Chronological File of Deeds," Drawer 3. For the Lima purchase see Minutes of the Corporation, 15 Oct. 1946, Drawer 3. All in HSP Archives. For leasing of Montana land before the Lima purchase see Lee and Carolyn Jacobsen, interviewed by Fatland, 3 Nov. 1981, pp. 28-9, HSP Oral Hist.

⁹Trude to Guggenheim and Harriman, 16 Apr. 1935, Drawer 1, File 69, HSP Archives.

¹⁰Owen Morris, Director, Idaho Department of Fish and Game to Clark, 15 Apr. 1941, Drawer 2, File 12; J.W. Howard, County Extension Agent to Clark, 15 Feb. 1945, and Vernon Ravenscroft, State Extension Forester to Clark, 25 Oct. 1945, Drawer 2, File 5; Ned Millard, Targhee National Forest Ranger to Clark, 20 June 1945, Drawer 1, File 100. All in HSP Archives.

¹¹For negotiations over the land transaction for the reservoir, see various correspondence in Drawer 2, File 3. For leasing of Forest Service property see Clark to Thiele, 23 March 1939, Drawer 2, File 15. For the Potter purchase see Thiele to Clark, 16 Sept. 1940, Drawer 2, File 15. All in HSP Archives.

¹²Clark to Idaho Department of Fish and Game, 28 Oct. 1941, Drawer 3, File 19; James O. Beck, Director, Idaho Department of Fish and Game to District Conservation Officer Christenson, 12 Oct. 1942, Drawer 2, File 12, HSP Archives.

¹³For Clements' description of the bat problem see Clements to Kemp, 11 Feb. 1980, in HSP Oral Hist. materials. The bat proofing expenditures are detailed in Minutes of the Corporation, 16 Dec. 1948, Drawer 3, HSP Archives. For the response to Mrs. Kroker's appeal see E.J.M. Berg, City of San Antonio Parks Department to Kroker, 15 Sept. 1948, in HSP Oral Hist. materials. The purchases of "Roost No More" came in the 1960s. See Ben Meese to National Bird Control Laboratory, 3 Apr. 1962, 20 June 1966, Drawer 1, File 40, HSP Archives. Clark's quotation is from a questionnaire he filled out which is with the HSP Oral Hist. materials. Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p.29, states that the bat house was built "about 1957," but it seems likely, based on Clark's reminiscences, that it was constructed earlier.

¹⁴For 1939 building improvements see Clark to Thiele, 29 Apr. 1939, and Thiele to Clark, 8 May 1939, Drawer 1, File 77. The ranch as a tax shelter is detailed in H.N. Mallon, President, Dresser Industries to Harriman, 13 Feb. 1947, Drawer 2, File 7. For Clark's salary increase see Minutes of the Corporation, 20 Dec. 1943, Drawer 3. All in HSP Archives.

Chapter Six

The Dan Clark, Jr. Era: 1950-1960

Solomon Guggenheim died on November 3, 1949, having served as President of the Island Park Land and Cattle Company from 1918 until his death. His passing marked the beginning of the gradual shift from the Island Park property as the Railroad Ranch to Harriman State Park. While Solomon lived he owned three of the five shares of IPL&CC stock, controlling the destiny of the Railroad Ranch. There were several changes in the year-to-year operations under his leadership, but throughout the 31 years of his presidency the basic policy of the IPL&CC remained the same--the Railroad Ranch serve both as a retreat and a working cattle operation. There is no indication that Averell and Roland Harriman, who owned the other two shares of stock, desired anything different. However, upon Guggenheim's death the Harrimans became more interested in gaining control of the Guggenheim share of the operation, and eventually did so in 1954. A few years later they were considering donating the ranch to Idaho for a state park.

Solomon Guggenheim bequeathed his interest in the Idaho ranch to his two daughters, Barbara Obre and Eleanor May, Countess Castle Stewart.

Solomon's oldest daughter married the son of the Earl of Castle Stewart, a direct descendant of the ancient royal house of Scotland. She spent her adult life at the ancestral estate in Ulster. Younger sister Barbara had two relatively short and unsuccessful marriages before marrying Henry Obre, a gentleman farmer. Both Barbara and Henry were excellent riders and extremely fond of horses. Today, it is Barbara's son by her first marriage, Peter Lawson-Johnston, who is in charge of the sprawling Guggenheim family business and philanthropic concerns.¹

Eleanor May and Barbara enjoyed the Railroad Ranch both before and after their marriages. As children they loved horseback riding and hunting there. Barbara remembered that they sometimes dressed as bandits and surprised their father and his guests by jumping from behind trees with toy guns, demanding "Your money or your life." As adults they frequently took their own families and guests to vacation at the ranch. In 1940 Henry Obre became a shareholder in the IPL&CC, a position he held until 1954. In 1951 Zink and Company acquired Solomon Guggenheim's share of IPL&CC stock. Other "Guggenheim" shareholders at this time were Obre and Albert E. Thiele, Solomon Guggenheim's chief assistant at the firm of Guggenheim Brothers, who served as Secretary of the company from the 1920s until 1954. In the latter year Barbara and Eleanor sold their interest in the Railroad Ranch to the Harriman brothers. It is unclear why they divested themselves of their share. Eleanor was too far away to visit the ranch regularly. In 1975 Barbara recalled that she and Eleanor decided to sell their part of the ranch to the Harrimans because the two sisters could not agree with each other on how it should be managed. While Averell Harriman and Solomon Guggenheim were apparently quite close friends, there seemed to have been occasional disagreements between other members of the two families, and perhaps this

provided further cause for Solomon's daughters to sell their interest. For whatever reason, on April 29, 1954, Barbara and Eleanor sold their IPL&CC stock to the Harrimans. As part of the negotiation, Barbara was given 1,280 acres of the Sheridan Ranch, now known as the Obre Ranch. By May 1954 Obre and Thiele were forced to resign as company directors, replaced by Harriman associates Peter Ward and William Pemberton. For the first time in decades the business meetings of the IPL&CC were moved from the New York corporate offices of the Guggenheims and were held in the New York offices of Roland Harriman, who became the company's third and final President. Also in 1954 for the first time in decades, another outside party, Charles Stone Jones, became a financial partner of the IPL&CC as a shareholder and minority owner of the company and the Railroad Ranch.²

The new partner, Charles Jones, did not inherit wealth like the other owners of the Railroad Ranch. Born November 14, 1895 in Bonham, Texas, Jones attended Bonham High School and after graduating became an accountant. In 1915 he married Genevieve--"Jenny"--Farnum, and a year later moved to El Paso to become auditor and financial advisor of the Rio Grande Oil Company. The title sounded more prestigious than the job actually was, for at the time Rio Grande was a one-year-old, fledgling company with three employees. For a few years Jones' career limped along with the company. Although he became a member of the Board of Directors in 1918, the company was still a speculative operation.

But the Rio Grande Oil Company was growing. Between 1918 and 1923 it built three refineries, with the largest located south of Los Angeles. In 1923 Jones became Vice President and Treasurer of the company and moved to that city. He remained a resident of California the rest of his life. Rio Grande continued to grow in the 1920s, in 1928 becoming a major west

coast producer with the discovery of the rich Elwood Terrace oil field north of Santa Barbara. However, the company's initial growth collided with the onset of the Great Depression and it suffered serious financial losses. In 1932 the original owners were forced to sell the company to oil pioneer Harry Sinclair.

The sale actually proved beneficial to Jones, for Sinclair needed an experienced oil man to head the Rio Grande Company. In late 1932 Jones was elected its President and for the next five years struggled to make the company profitable again. By 1937 Rio Grande was making money, but not as much as Sinclair and Jones had hoped. So in March of that year it merged with the Richfield Oil Company and Jones was elected President of the newly formed Richfield Oil Corporation.

During the next three decades Richfield became a power in the oil industry. Two of the largest oil discoveries in the west occurred during Jones' Presidency--one in the Cuyama Valley of California and one in Alaska's Kenai Peninsula. The preliminary geological work leading to the major oil discovery on the North Slope of Alaska in 1968 was also a Richfield accomplishment during the Jones' years. In 1962 he became Chairman of the Board at Richfield and actively sought the merger of Richfield and Atlantic into the Atlantic Richfield Company. After completing the merger, Jones retired from leadership of the company in 1966, although he retained a seat on the board of directors until his death in December 1970.

Charles Jones, an athletic man six-and-a-half feet tall, was an avid outdoorsman, aviation enthusiast, collector of western art, and active Republican. He loved hunting, fishing and golfing, and was recognized as a leading proponent of conservation in the oil industry. He was a founder

and first president of the Men's Garden Club of Los Angeles, a trustee of the California Arboretum, and a member of California's Governor's Committee for State Beautification. In 1929 he donated the land for Jones Airfield to the City of Bonham with a request that it be named after his father. He and Jenny acquired one of the country's largest collections of Charles M. Russell art which the National Cowboy Hall of Fame eventually purchased. He was also President Dwight Eisenhower's advisor and frequent hunting and golfing partner. In fact, Jones had a favorite hunting dog named "Ike," a gift from the President, which was a frequent companion at the Railroad Ranch. Upon Jones' death President Richard Nixon wrote:

His personal beliefs and ready ability to translate principles into action won him admiration and respect . . . throughout the nation. His strength of character and soundness of judgment made him sought out by Presidents and leaders in every walk of life. He showed courage in his convictions, discretion in disagreements and selflessness in service to his country.

By 1954, when Jones became an IPL&CC shareholder, Dan Clark, Jr. had been officially employed at the Railroad Ranch for 10 years. Although it is likely Clark assisted his parents earlier, he was first put on the payroll as assistant manager in October 1944 at a salary of \$260 a month. In the history of superintendency changes at the ranch, no transition was smoother than the one between Clark, Sr. and Clark, Jr. In fact, there is no "official" date when Dan Clark, Jr. assumed his duties. In 1947 the younger Clark received a raise, and in 1948, when his father was ill, was authorized to sign checks on the company's accounts with local banks. By December 1950, Dan Clark, Sr. was "no longer in active service to the company," and relinquished his check signing authorization. It is probable that it was in this year that the younger Clark officially became superintendent. However, the father was still receiving a retainer salary in 1951, and as late as 1952, although living in Idaho Falls, visited the

ranch regularly. And it was not until late in 1953 that the younger Clark replaced his father as statutory agent in Idaho for the IPL&CC. Regardless of when the official title change occurred, it is apparent that the two Clarks cooperated both before and after 1950, and in effect they operated as co-superintendents for several years. All changes in ranch operations during the tenure of Clark, Jr. were gradual and evolutionary, not abrupt.⁴

Despite the Clarks' similar management styles, operations did change at the ranch, but largely because of the owners. The most dramatic difference was the formation of the Railroad Ranch Cattle Company (RRCC), a partnership, on April 30, 1955, which virtually replaced the Island Park Land and Cattle Company. Although the IPL&CC continued to exist as a corporation, nearly all of its land, machinery and livestock were transferred or leased to the new company. From 1955 on the RRCC, with Roland Harriman owning 50 per cent of the partnership and Averell and Jones 25 per cent each, conducted all ranching operations at the Island Park property.⁵

The owners partially liquidated the IPL&CC for tax reasons. By the mid-1950s the Harrimans and Jones realized that the ranch's cattle operations would never be profitable over a long term. Since the owners anticipated continued losses, they could take more deductions for the losses on their individual tax returns--up to \$50,000 annually each--than they could as shareholders in the IPL&CC. The shareholders did not completely liquidate the IPL&CC because they could also derive certain tax benefits from past operating losses if the company continued in existence and received a nominal rental from the newly-formed RRCC. Furthermore, the partners could obtain an additional tax deduction for the rental paid to the IPL&CC.

The Railroad Ranch had always served as a tax shelter for its owners. With the formation of the RRCC these tax advantages were maximized. The partnership actually began in August 1955, but was made retroactive to April 30. Under terms of the agreement the IPL&CC received a monthly rent of \$1,200, enough to pay taxes plus a reasonable profit to the company as required by the Internal Revenue Service in order to avoid having the IPL&CC designated a personal holding company. This would have voided some of the tax advantages.⁶

While virtually all assets of the IPL&CC were leased or transferred to the RRCC, the cattle partnership did not acquire the right to explore for oil, gas, and other minerals, nor to drill or prospect for such minerals. Another partnership entered into by the Harrimans and Jones known as the Island Park Minerals Company (IPMC) acquired these exclusive rights. It was no accident that the owners became interested in possible mineral resources on their property at the same time that Jones became involved. As Jones had made his fortune in oil he was alert to the possibility of an oil discovery on the property. The Harrimans had also profited quite handsomely from oil deals in the past and were easily persuaded to form the IPMC. In the 1930s, when things seemed bleak for the Union Pacific, oil was discovered on some of the railroad's land near Los Angeles. As Roland Harriman wrote, "The discovery of the Wilmington oil field rescued the Union Pacific dividends in the 1930s." Convinced that the "railroad" could profit from other similar discoveries, the UP eventually diversified, forming a minerals company and purchasing the Champlin Petroleum Company. Roland also had a personal exposure to missed oil opportunities. In 1918 he and Gladys moved to Santa Barbara for his health. They were interested in purchasing a farm and had two prospects to choose from. Upon his doctor's

advice they chose one in the foothills, rather than one along the coast. A few years later Charles Jones' Rio Grande Oil Company discovered oil on the ranch the Harrimans had passed over. In later years, when Roland and Jones became friends, Charles never hesitated to joke with Harriman about the opportunity he missed at Santa Barbara. It is no wonder Roland did not want to overlook a similar chance at the Railroad Ranch.⁷

The IPMC was organized at the same time as the RRCC, with formation being made retroactive to April 30, 1955. Roland owned 50 per cent of the partnership, and Averell and Jones 25 per cent each. The owners separated their cattle and mineral partnerships because of tax advantages which allowed them to deduct expenses on two businesses instead of one. After forming the IPMC they hired a geologist to search the records for evidence of mineral deposits on their properties. His response was no doubt disappointing: "I wouldn't give you ten cents for the mineral rights in the Island Park property." The geologist was somewhat more enthusiastic about the Montana ranch because that area was known to have phosphate and oil deposits. Nonetheless, he concluded that it was not profitable to extract them at that time, as those resources were sufficiently plentiful in the west that mining would not be cost effective. The owners maintained some optimism about mineral and oil prospects on their lands and in 1959 the Richfield Oil Corporation obtained leases from the partnership for exploratory work. Although the records do not indicate how long the IPMC was in existence, it is known that no major mining or drilling was done on either the Idaho or Montana properties.⁸

These administrative changes of forming the RRCC and IPMC had more of an impact on the owners than they did on those living at the ranch where life went on much as before. Cattle raising continued to be the primary

business concern. However, there was one major change when the ranch finally went to a cow-calf operation.⁹

Dan Clark, Sr. had continued the traditional ranch policy of purchasing steers, fattening and selling them. However, this procedure gradually changed once Clark, Jr. took over. Upon Guggenheim's death, Henry Obre became the spokesman for the Guggenheim interests at the ranch. A farmer himself, Obre was convinced the company could make more money in a cow-calf rather than a steer operation. In 1951 he convinced the other shareholders to have Clark, Jr. investigate the matter. Clark must have agreed with Obre, for in the spring of 1952 he had four rail cars of cows and calves shipped to the ranch. By the end of 1954 the ranch had a herd of 199 stock cows and four bulls. This grew to 270 cows and 13 bulls by 1958, with an additional herd of 188 heifers being raised for future breeding. While Clark did institute a cow-calf procedure, he did not totally eliminate raising steers, as throughout the 1950s the ranch continued to purchase and sell feeders.¹⁰

The exact nature of the cattle operation in the 1950s cannot be determined because of a lack of records. Existing correspondence does indicate, though, that, unlike his father, Clark had no preference for Texas beef, purchasing stock from a variety of companies in Utah, Colorado, Nebraska, Missouri, and probably elsewhere. It seems likely that as the ranch's cow herd increased, the number of steers purchased decreased correspondingly. One year old steers, light two years olds, cows, calves, heifers, a few bulls and dairy cattle were wintered over each year. Between 1954 and 1958 an average of 2,500 head were wintered, in various locations. In 1954, 1,074 steers of the total winter herd of 2,853 were kept in a California feed lot, while 680 more were in a Caldwell lot. The next year

1,411 out of a total of 3,438 were wintered in California, while in 1956 a similar number were kept in Caldwell. Ruth Daniels, who lived at the ranch during the winter of 1956-57, remembered that about 500 head were kept at the Home Ranch. In that winter the company wintered 2,400 head. If the Caldwell feed lot kept 1,400 and the Home Ranch 500, it is possible the Lima Ranch wintered the other 500, for it is known some cattle were wintered there in the 1950s. In 1953 the Lima Ranch was capable of wintering only about 200 head. However, the size of the ranch was greatly increased in 1956, and it is possible that an additional 300 head could have been kept there after that time. It also seems that, at least by 1954, some of the company's breeding stock were kept at the Montana ranch during the winter, although a lack of adequate pasture meant that most cattle were taken back to Idaho for summer grazing. The cattle--both those purchased in the spring and those kept at a feedlot over winter--were usually transported by railroad in mid-May to a siding and then driven to the ranch. Those cattle the ranch sold each year were driven back to a siding and shipped out at the end of September or in early October.¹¹

It seems that Clark brought a certain amount of scientific management to the cattle operations. For example, in 1951 the ranch contracted for a cattle feed analysis of its pasture lands. In 1954 it began vaccinating its herd for brucellosis. A 1959 brochure for an Island Park livestock and grass tour boasted that visitors to the Railroad Ranch would "see how increased production of grasses can be accomplished through proper management: chemical killing of sagebrush, fertilizing pasture, abundance of water, and cattle production by proper conservation and utilization of grass. . . . The visit here will be an eye-opener to all citizens." Not

all of Clark's inovations were successful, however. One year he had ranch hands excavate a large pit, purchased a chopper and filled the hole with sileage. But the winter temperature was too cold in Island Park and, as Ed Kroker remembered, the ranch ended up with "a 500 ton sileage pellet." The "sileage" had to be blasted from the hole with dynamite.¹²

By the 1950s the boundaries of the Home and Sheridan Ranches had been established. While Clark entered into various new leases with private individuals and governmental agencies for land, no new Idaho property was purchased during the decade. In 1956 the IPL&CC acquired a parcel of land adjoining the Lima Ranch for \$28,000, the last large land purchase the owners made. In 1953 the Home Ranch consisted of 4,173 acres, the Sheridan Ranch 7,464 acres--of which 3,928 were innundated by the Island Park Reservoir--and the Lima Ranch 1,528 acres. In addition, the IPL&CC leased or had grazing rights to an additional 2,020 acres in Idaho and 920 acres in Montana.¹³

There is no indication that the owners pressured Clark to make the ranch profitable. They seem to have dropped that policy with Sam Trude. Nonetheless, the RRCC partnership had to be operated on "a strictly business basis" if the owners were to take personal tax deductions on the company. The partners' tax consultant advised them when establishing the partnership that "you . . . have to expect . . . that the deduction of losses from the cattle business in your individual returns would be more carefully scrutinized by the revenue authorities" than had been done previously. As it became much more critical that person "pleasure" expenses be separated from business expenses, the owners' cabins and furnishings were not leased to the RRCC. The owners were also advised

that the IRS would look more favorably upon their personal deductions if the RRCC occasionally showed a profit. In 1955 the company lost \$28,000, \$76,000 in 1956, and \$59,000 in 1957. After being warned by accountants of the "advisability" of showing a profit the next year, the partnership did make \$8,000. Although it is unclear how this was done, it clearly was the owners' policy to show a profit only when necessary to demonstrate to the IRS that the RRCC was a legitimate business. The company did not again make money until 1965. Deane Meese, wife of the superintendent who succeed Clark, remembered that because of "tax laws," her husband had to make a profit every few years, but also recalled that the ranch was primarily operated, not as a money-maker, but for the enjoyment of its owners.¹⁴

As always, to operate the ranch for the enjoyment of the owners meant maintaining wildlife on the place. The primary difficulty in the 1950s, as before, was with poachers and trespassers. However, by the late 1940s and 1950s the owners seemed to approach this problem from a slightly different perspective. Whereas in earlier years they were primarily concerned about invasions of their privacy and the possibility that poaching would mean fewer fish and game for their own sport, the owners now were also concerned about preserving wildlife for its own sake. This is not to say that altruism no longer entered into their considerations. Trespassers were still an "unsightly" intrusion upon their private lands and a constant irritation. Further, the owners consistently refused to take actions which would disallow them the opportunity to hunt and fish on their land, which would have been the ultimate preservation policy. Nonetheless, their efforts to prevent poaching were now tinged with some idealism. Saving wildlife simply for wildlife's sake became an

important objective. It is unclear why this change occurred. One reason perhaps was that the Harrimans realized that the years of fishing and hunting were diminishing wildlife at the ranch. It also seems that when Jones became a partner he introduced a higher sense of the need for conservation, a concept which probably influenced the Harrimans. For whatever reason, the 1950s were in many ways the height of the conservation crusade at the ranch. There is no indication in the existing documents that Clark inspired this change, although he proved a cooperative ally. Clark, like his father, was primarily a cattleman, with little of the personal interest in conservation that typified earlier superintendents, particularly Trude. Rather, the instigation for change came from above. It was the owners who now became convinced of the need for improved conservation measures. In many respects they were now following the suggestions made by Sam Trude and his uncle nearly 30 years earlier.

Two dramatic changes in the way the state managed wildlife in and around the ranch spurred the owners to encourage stronger conservation measures. When the ranch's elk herd was released in the 1930s, the Harrimans and Guggenheim reached a verbal understanding with the Idaho Department of Fish and Game that lands neighboring the ranch would be permanently closed to elk hunting. However, after World War II the Fish and Game Department began reevaluating this policy. Sometime around 1950 the department allowed hunters to bag elk, deer and moose in the former preserve during special license seasons. Roland Harriman believed the department had yielded to the pressure of "native Idaho so-called sportsmen [who] looked with envious eyes upon the animals in the preserve." The department responded that it had opened the area to hunters as a conservation measure, because an "inadequate harvest" was being taken,

which was detrimental to the herd. The department maintained that selective hunting was actually better for big game herds than allowing the animal population to exceed the available forage. Regardless of the reasons for opening the preserve to hunting, Roland Harriman was furious. Whereas in earlier years elk, moose and deer were so plentiful that "we saw many of these magnificent animals even on the shortest route back on the range," now "many hundreds have been slaughtered with the result that . . . there are but few left." He felt he had been betrayed by the Fish and Game Department. He believed his years of cooperating with the agency had been wasted, and in a personal meeting with the department's director in 1956 reiterated his feelings that "it would be good policy to reestablish a sanctuary for big game in and around our ranch property." He was even prepared to include ranch lands in the sanctuary, "at least for the time being," even though such a proposal would mean the owners would sacrifice their hunting privileges as well. Harriman's conservation policy had progressed considerably past the point when he had prohibited Trude from establishing a fish and bird sanctuary on Henry's Fork because this would have also prohibited the owners from fishing and hunting. Now he was willing to forgo his own big game hunting to protect the animals. The Fish and Game Department, however, maintained their position that selective big game hunting was beneficial. Despite the owners' protestations, the policy remained.¹⁵

A second change in policy by the Fish and Game Department also angered Harriman and Jones. As early as the 1920s Trude had suggested creating a fish and bird sanctuary along Henry's Fork to prevent trespassing in front of the owners' cabins. The owners had always balked at the proposal, but by the 1940s began changing their minds. In 1941 and 1942

they allowed Dan Clark, Sr. to request that the land be set aside as a bird sanctuary. Since the owners were great fishermen, however, they were not prepared to have it designated as both a fish and bird sanctuary. Although they would rather be inconvenienced with a few "trespassing" fishermen than forfeit their own fishing rights, they were willing to relinquish their right to bird hunting for a bird sanctuary. The Fish and Game Department did not establish a sanctuary in 1941 or 1942 because Clark's requests were received too late each year for action. However, at some time during the 1940s a bird sanctuary was established on the section of Henry's Fork running through the ranch.¹⁶

In addition to prohibiting bird hunting on Henry's Fork, the sanctuary also closed the area to fishermen during migratory bird nesting season. This meant that while other Idaho streams were opened to fishing in early June, the Railroad Ranch section of Henry's Fork was closed until July. In 1956 the Fish and Game Department changed its policy, advancing the fishing season at the ranch to June 4 on the assumption that goose nesting in the area was well over with by that date. By early June, the department believed, the geese had migrated to Golden or Silver Lakes and therefore fishermen would not disturb their nesting areas.¹⁷

Harriman and Jones were incensed by the policy change and felt the department was being uncooperative. After visiting the ranch in the late spring of 1955, Jones discovered that the department had based its decision to change the season on erroneous information. While it was true that the geese had hatched by June 4 of that year, they had not migrated to the lakes by then, and the nesting areas were still vulnerable to disturbance by fishermen. "The State Biologist who signed the letter merely surmised that they went to Golden or Silver Lake," Jones wrote Harriman. "He did

not see them there." Jones asked a friend in the conservation organization Ducks Unlimited to investigate what happened if geese were disturbed by fishermen, and forwarded the opinion to Harriman:

When disturbed as they were last year, they will leave their young and their nests. Some of the geese routed from their clutches last year will return for another try this year, possibly one third of them. If they make clutches the eggs will not be fertile. However, they will bring with them some new geese whose eggs will be fertile. The new geese will nest just a bit later than the old residents, so there is small likelihood of any hatch before fishermen invade the area.¹⁸

Harriman immediately began pressuring the department to change its policy. He requested that Fairfield Osborn, President of the New York Zoological Society, intercede. Osborn in turn asked Ira Gabrielson, President of the Wildlife Management Institute in Washington, D.C. for help. Confronted with the intercession of such influential people, the Fish and Game Department repeatedly attempted to justify its action. Harriman and Jones, however, remained unconvinced of the policy's rationale and sought a personal meeting with Ross Leonard, director of the department. At the meeting the owners reiterated their view that the fishing season should be delayed at the ranch. Although the records indicate that the ranch had an early fishing season in 1956, by 1961 the Fish and Game Department had agreed to permanently delay the season on Henry's Fork to protect nesting waterfowl. Whether 1956 was the only year with an early fishing season is unclear, but it seems likely that the Fish and Game Department experimented with a spring opening only one year before changing back to the old policy because of the pressure from the owners and their influential friends.¹⁹

It was also during the mid-1950s that the owners contemplated taking additional measures to protect waterfowl, alarmed at the increasing

occurrences of trumpeter swan kills on and around the ranch by hunters who could not tell the difference between swan and geese, the owners considered making part of the ranch a bird refuge, prohibiting all hunting. In this effort they sought the assistance of Winston Banko, Manager of the Red Rock Lakes Migratory Waterfowl Refuge in Monida, Montana. Banko was eager to cooperate as he believed both the Monida and Island Park areas were essential in maintaining a sound, comprehensive preservation policy for trumpeter swans. The problem again, however, was that the owners were not willing to completely eliminate their own hunting by designating the whole ranch as a refuge. While Banko "tried to strike a middle course . . . which would get us some relief on that swan-shooting problem down there without depriving everyone of a good hunting area," he was unsuccessful in his 1954 efforts to establish a refuge. Heidi Fatland states that it was the State Fish and Game Department which vetoed the refuge proposal, but there is no evidence to support this idea. Rather, it seems that once again the ranch owners tried to have the best of both worlds: preserving the swan and maintaining their own hunting privileges. While it is true that Harriman became increasingly concerned about wildlife in the 1950s, and in many ways was more conservation-minded than he had ever been, still he was not prepared to become a true preservationist. The most that either Harriman or Jones was prepared to do was to inform "the Wild Life people . . . of last year's sorry spectacle" of swan kills, and cooperate with the Red Rock Lakes Refuge. Neither was prepared to make a refuge of the Railroad Ranch.²⁰

To a lesser extent than on Henry's Fork, trespassing on Golden Lake continued to be an irritant. Although the owners believed that Trude had succeeded in having Golden and Silver Lakes designated as "private ponds"

in the 1920s, in the 1950s they discovered that, in actuality, neither lake was a "private pond," nor was either eligible for such status because both were fed by a stream which contained natural game fish. When questioned, the Fish and Game Department replied that they had no official record that private pond permits had ever been authorized for the lakes. While Trude had carried on extensive correspondence on this matter and believed the permits had been officially given, that was not the case. This lack of a private pond permit did not cause a problem on Silver because that lake was completely surrounded by private property and no one could reach it without trespassing. However, a small part of Golden still extended beyond the ranch's borders, and here it was legal for people to fish "as long as they do not trespass upon private property of the Railroad Ranch to gain access and so long as they abide by fish and game seasons and regulations which would be applicable to these waters." Thus, the owners were not protected from "poachers," and legally had little recourse against people who fished on Golden. Although they were surprised to find that the ponds were not private, in actuality the lakes continued to function as such. No one could get to Silver and "poaching" on Golden was still only a minor problem, partially because of increased surveillance there. The Fish and Game Department cooperated with the owners by patrolling Golden and arresting people fishing illegally. The ranch itself, acting upon legal advice, also hired men in the 1950s to patrol the lakes and make citizens' arrests of people illegally trespassing or illegally fishing. These efforts kept the problem to a minimum, but it was not until 1977, when the state obtained the ranch, that Golden and Silver Lakes were finally and completely closed to fishing.²¹

In addition to their concern over waterfowl and trespassers, the owners

undertook several new conservation policies in the 1950s. The RRCC cooperated with the Fish and Game Department in cleaning trash fish from the Island Park Reservoir, Henry's Fork and the ranch's lakes in the late 1950s, and afterwards donated \$1,000 to the state for research into fish conservation. Jones supervised the planting of more varieties of trees at the ranch in 1955. He also worked with Clark in attempting to eradicate weeds and algae on Golden and Silver Lakes. For these and other efforts, and despite their occasional differences, the Fish and Game Department praised the owners for "the fine attitude the Railroad Ranch has maintained toward perpetuating and conserving the natural fish and wildlife resources of this area."²²

As an expert in cattle who brought several innovations to the ranch's operations, and a willing collaborator in conservation measures, Dan Clark, Jr. was thoroughly professional in managing the ranch. The owners were well pleased with his work. For reasons that are not clear, however, Clark apparently became disenchanted with his job. He abruptly resigned in February 1960, moving to the ZX Ranch in Paisley, Oregon. Much of the daily management of the ranch under his superintendency fell to his foreman, Ed Kroker. Others who worked under Clark included Florence Manville, cook; M.W. Javana; William P. Carter; David Allen; Jim Fretwell; and George Manville.²³

By the time Clark left the ranch the owners had already entered into preliminary discussions with the State of Idaho concerning the donation of the ranch as a state park. Ben Meese, who replaced Clark, was the ranch's last superintendent. Under Meese the ranch continued to run cattle and served as a retreat for the owners. However, the last 17 years of the ranch were

actually a gradual phasing out of the operations of "The Railroad Ranch" in anticipation of its becoming "Harriman State Park."

Endnotes, Chapter 6

¹For Solomon's will and biographical details on his daughters see Davis, The Guggenheims, pp. 220-21; 377-405.

²For Barbara and Eleanor May's activities at the ranch as children and their differences on its management as adults see Barbara Obre, interviewed by Ross, 16 July 1975, unprocessed materials, HSP Archives. For the Harriman buy-out see Minutes of the Corporation, 10 May 1954, 17 May 1954, Drawer 3, HSP Archives. For the close connection between Averell Harriman and Solomon Guggenheim, as well as Thiele and Guggenheim, see Davis, The Guggenheims, pp. 219-21. Nothing in available documents either proves or disproves the often-mentioned theory that there were differences between the Guggenheims and Harrimans. Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 52, hints that there were some bitter feelings, and Brower, Life Story, p. 37 states that the two families never rode together while at the ranch. In fact, Dan Clark, Jr. recalled that by the 1940s the families were seldom at the ranch at the same time. See Clark Questionnaire, 13 Apr. 1982, in HSP Oral Hist. materials. Ed Kroker also recalled years later that there were some differences between the families when the Harrimans objected to the Guggenheim's proposal to have a yacht on the Island Park Reservoir. See Kroker's reminiscences in Ferguson, "Proposed Harriman State Park," pp. 93-4. Such "circumstantial" evidence, however, is hardly sufficient to support a theory that there were hard feelings between the principal owners, and certainly all existing correspondence between the Harrimans and Guggenheims indicates that they were most polite and cordial with one another.

³No biography of Jones has been written, and information about him is scattered. His From Rio Grande to the Atlantic: The Story of the Richfield Oil Corporation (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972) contains little biographical information but is indispensable for detailing the history of the oil companies he was associated with. Nixon's quotation is from p. x of the foreward. "Charles S. Jones Celebrates 50 Years in Oil," Richfield Reporter, Sept. 1966, pp. 3, 7, contains the most concise published biography of Jones. Also see his obituary in the New York Times, 11 Dec. 1970; and a sketch in Floy Crandall Hodge, A History of Fanin County (No publication information available; accessible at the Sam Rayburn Library, Bonham, Texas), p. 124 for basic biographical information. For Jones' friendship with Eisenhower see the following issues of the New York Times: 26 Aug. 1956; 16 Jan. 1960; 29 Jan. 1960; 6 Aug. 1960; 9 Feb. 1961. The information about Jones' dog Ike comes from an interview with Railroad Ranch foreman Jack McGarry, cited in St. Anthony Journal, 27 Apr. 1978. Information on Jones' field in Bonham can be found in miscellaneous correspondence on the subject between Jones and U.S. Representative Sam Rayburn in the Sam Rayburn Library, Bonham, Texas. The Atlantic Richfield Company Archives, Los Angeles, contain some materials relating

to Jones, including materials detailing his role as an oil company conservationist, copies of speeches, and clippings. The archives has no personal papers relating to him. The Charles Jones collection of Russell art is briefly detailed in Persimmon Hill: A Publication of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center, vol. 11, #3 and 4, pp. 101, 108-9.

⁴For information on the Clark, Sr./Clark, Jr. transition see Minutes of the Corporation, 13 Nov. 1944, 16 Dec. 1948, and 7 Dec. 1950, Drawer 3. The quotation is from the latter entry. Also see M. William Javana to Clark, Jr., 2 Nov. 1953; and Thiele to Clark, Jr., 29 May 1953, Drawer 3, File 14. All in HSP Archives.

⁵Information relating to the formation of the RRCC, including correspondence and partnership agreements, can be found in Drawer 3, File 14, HSP Archives.

⁶The tax advantages of the partnership are outlined in Walter D. Fletcher, Davis Polk Wardwell Sunderland & Kiendl to Harriman, 22 Sept. 1954. Also see Peter Ward, "Memorandum re: Island Park Land and Cattle Company," 18 May 1955. Both in Drawer 3, File 14, HSP Archives.

⁷The quotation concerning UP's Wilmington oil field is from Harriman, I Reminisce, p. 123. Also see pp. 122, 135-36, for the importance of oil to the UP. For the story about Roland's Santa Barbara farm see pp. 49-50.

⁸For background on the formation of the IPMC see Ward, "Memorandum re: IPL&CC," 18 May 1955; Fletcher to Harriman, 22 Sept. 1954; and Davis Polk Wardwell Sutherland & Kiendl to Athol Rawlins, Salt Lake City, 30 Aug. 1955. For the geologist's assessment of mineral potential see William Peterson, Logan, Ut. to M.W. Humpherys, Idaho Falls, 23 March 1955. The quotation, from a telephone conversation with Peterson, is in Humpherys to Ward, New York, 24 March 1955. For the 1959 Richfield lease see Ward to Humpherys, 11 Dec. 1959. All in Drawer 3, File 14, HSP Archives.

⁹Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 15, states, "The steer operation continued well into the 1950's when Clark's son, Dan Clark, Jr. replaced him. It is thought that when Ben Meese was hired in the early 1960's the Railroad Ranch finally went to a cow/calf operation." Actually, the cow-calf operation began a decade earlier.

¹⁰For Obre's viewpoints see Minutes of the Corporation, 14 Dec. 1951, Drawer 3. For the 1952 shipment of cows and calves see Mailgram, Salt Lake City to Pocatello, 2 May 1952, Drawer 3, File 10. Although detailed cattle inventories do not exist for the early 1950s, 1952 appears to be the first year of the cow-calf operation, for on 7 July 1951 Clark, Jr. wrote to Utah cattle dealer Scorup, "We are not in the cow and calf business but run only yearling and weaner calves." Drawer 3, File 9. For detailed cattle inventories of the IPL&CC and, later, RRCC from 1954 to 1958, see various accountants' audits for those years in the unprocessed materials. All in HSP Archives.

¹¹Information on cattle operations during this period can be found in several pieces of correspondence maintained in Drawer 3, Files 8, 9, 10, 11, and 23. For specifics on the Lima Ranch capabilities in 1953 see "Real Estate, 1953," unprocessed materials. For cattle inventories between 1954-58 see accountants' audits, unprocessed materials. All in HSP Archives. Also see Ruth Daniels, questionnaire completed 12 May 1979, in HSP Oral Hist. materials.

¹²The August 1951 cattle and feed analysis can be found in Drawer 3, File 9. See H.F. Wilkins to Clark, 23 June 1954, Drawer 3, File 11 for brucellosis treatment. The quotation on the ranch is from Island Park Livestock and Grass Tour, August 7 and 8, 1959 (Idaho Council, National Livestock and Meat Board), in Drawer 3, File 30. All in HSP Archives. Kroker's quotation was recited several years later by Randy Sandow. See Sandow interview, Side 2, HSP Oral Hist.

¹³For acreage statistics see "Real Estate, 1953." For the Montana purchase see IPL&CC Financial Statement, 31 Dec. 1956. Both in unprocessed materials, HSP Archives.

¹⁴The quotation concerning IRS scrutiny is from Fletcher to Harriman, 22 Sept. 1954. For the 1957 warning to show a profit see Humpherys to Ward, 30 Oct. 1957. Both in Drawer 3, File 14. For a complete record of profit and loss on the RRCC from 1955-1969, see various accountants' annual budgetary statements, unprocessed materials. All in HSP Archives. Also see Meese interview, pp. 15-16, HSP Oral Hist.

¹⁵For Harriman's disenchantment with the opening of the preserve to hunters see I Reminisce, pp. 171-72; Harriman to Fairfield Osborn, President, New York Zoological Society, 18 Apr. 1956; and Harriman to Ross Leonard, Director, Idaho Department of Fish and Game, 31 Oct. 1956. For the Fish and Game Department's ideas about beneficial big game hunting, see Leonard to Ira Gabrielson, President, Wildlife Management Institute, 22 June 1956. All correspondence is in Drawer 3, File 19, HSP Archives.

¹⁶It is unclear exactly when the bird sanctuary was finally established. Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 43, states "it is thought that the request [for a bird sanctuary] was not granted until about 1948," but provides no citation for that date. Elwood G. Bizeau to Leonard, 15 June 1956, Drawer 3, File 19, HSP Archives, states that the sanctuary had been in effect about 12 years, or, if he was accurate, was established around 1944.

¹⁷Leonard to Clark, 24 Jan. 1956, Drawer 1, File 94; Bizeau to Leonard, 15 June 1956, Drawer 3, File 19. Both in HSP Archives.

¹⁸Jones to Harriman, 4 Apr. 1956, 12 July 1956. Will J. Reid to Jones, 31 March 1956. All in Drawer 3, File 19, HSP Archives.

¹⁹There is considerable correspondence on this matter between Harriman, Gabrielson, Osborn and Leonard in Drawer 1, File 94, and Drawer 3, File 19, HSP Archives. Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 48, states that the Fish and Game Department finally conceded to the owners "by permanently closing the fishing on the River until July 1 and by providing better protection for the migratory waterfowl," and cites a 31 Oct. 1956 letter from Harriman to Leonard [Drawer 3, File 19] as her source, indicating the early season only lasted one year. However, Harriman's letter merely suggests that the department change the season, and the HSP Archives contain no confirmation from Fish and Game that the season was in fact changed again that same year. However, the 4 Dec. 1961 Agreement between the Harrimans and the State of Idaho regarding the future transmittal of the ranch to the state as a park states, "No fishing shall be permitted in the sanctuary during migratory bird season," Section 4f, indicating that at least by then, and from then on, the late season was in effect. The Agreement can be found in the Idaho State Parks Department Records, Boise.

²⁰There are numerous 1954 letters between Clark, Banko and others concerning the refuge idea in Drawer 1, File 94. Also see Harriman to Osborn, 18 Apr. 1956, and Jones to Harriman, 4 Apr. 1956, Drawer 3, File 19. All in HSP Archives. For Fatland's analysis see Railroad Ranch, pp. 47-8.

²¹For the unsuitability of the lakes to be designated private ponds see William S. Holden, Attorney, Idaho Falls to IPL&CC, 31 July 1954. This letter also contains the advice about hiring private patrollers. For the Fish and Game Department's informing the company that no private pond permits had been officially awarded see James C. Simpson to Clark, 8 March 1955. The quotation concerning the public's right to fish Golden is from Leonard to Howard Clark, Justice of the Peace, Mack's Inn, 25 Aug. 1958. All in Drawer 1, File 94, HSP Archives. For the ranch's hiring of private people to patrol the lakes see Virginia Bowman, interviewed by Johnson, 9 March 1982, pp. 11-12, HSP Oral Hist. For the 1977 closure of the lakes see Minutes of the Idaho Fish and Game Commission, 11 Jan. 1977, unprocessed materials, HSP Archives.

²²For the \$1,000 donation see Clark to Leonard, 20 Oct. 1958, Drawer 1, File 94. For tree plantings by Jones see Jones to Clark, 30 Sept. 1955, Drawer 3, File 20. For weed eradication see Jones to Clark, 13 July 1955, Drawer 3, File 20, and Harriman to Jones, 25 Oct. 1956, Drawer 3, File 19. For the appreciation of the Fish and Game Department see Leonard to Clark, Drawer 1, File 94. All in HSP Archives.

²³For Clark's resignation see Clark questionnaire, HSP Oral Hist. materials; and insurance case testimony, Drawer 3, File 45, HSP Archives.

Chapter Seven

The Ben Meese Era: 1960-1977

When Dan Clark, Jr. retired, the owners called upon another long-time acquaintance to serve as ranch superintendent. Ben Meese, an agent for the Union Pacific Railroad in Idaho, had met the Harrimans often when they visited the Railroad Ranch by train. He was also a friend of Clark's and was fond of horses and cattle. Often he would ride on the ranch's cattle drives, which gave him the opportunity of becoming even better acquainted with the owners. In 1960 Roland Harriman paid his airfare to New York for an interview after Clark resigned. After the interview Meese was hired as Clark's replacement. An arrangement was made, similar to one in effect for Dan Clark, Sr. in the 1930s, whereby Meese would work for the ranch but also maintain his seniority with the UP in case he wanted to return to the railroad. The agreement was acceptable to all parties, and in 1960 Ben Meese became the last superintendent of the Railroad Ranch.¹

Cattle operations at the ranch did not change substantially after the Clark-Meese transition, although the cow-calf operation gradually increased. In 1961 Harriman requested that a Kansas City cattle firm survey ranch operations and suggest improvements. They recommended phasing out the steer operation completely and becoming a strictly cow-calf business, which they

believed would be more profitable. Harriman agreed "to start on a partial basis to see how it works and then expand as opportunity warrants." During the 1960s the size of the breeding herd gradually increased. Whereas in 1958 the Railroad Ranch Cattle Company owned 458 cows or heifers and 13 bulls, by 1968 these herds had grown to 1,126 and 27 respectively. The ranch had not fully converted by that year, however, as it also wintered nearly 1,900 steers it had purchased. Although cattle inventories after 1968 are incomplete, it appears that as the ranch gradually reduced the size of its herd in preparation for the transition to a state park, it did eventually convert to a total cow-calf operation. Randy Sandow, the ranch's last foreman, remembered that when he was hired in the winter of 1975 there were about 2,400 head of stock cattle, all of them breeding stock and their yearling calves.²

Meese also terminated the practice of wintering cattle at the Island Park Land and Cattle Company ranches. For years some of the company's cattle had spent winters in various feedlots, while others were kept on the Home Ranch or in Lima. Meese continued this practice his first two winters. Then in 1962 he negotiated a contract with the Western Potato Company of Idaho Falls whereby the RRCC would lease a feedlot in Roberts, Idaho³ and winter the entire herd there. From that point on, apparently, the only livestock kept at the ranches during winters were horses, a few sheep, dairy cows and probably the bull herd. Since cattle were no longer wintered on the ranch, Meese made another operational change by ending the traditional practice of cutting hay on the Home and Sheridan places. During the Meese era the ranches grew only enough hay to feed the horses, dairy and bull herds, a substantial difference from the days when hundreds of tons were put up.⁴

Perhaps the most publicized activities at the ranch were the cattle drives. The drives were not an innovation of the 1960s as cattle were always driven to and from railroad sidings when being shipped in or out of the ranch. But at a time when most ranchers had converted to trucking their herds, the large RRCC cattle drives of the 1960s sparked considerable attention. Most people refer to the "annual cattle drive"⁵ at the ranch, but actually there were a variety of "drives" taking place in both spring and fall. In spring, after cattle had been purchased and shipped to a nearby railroad siding, they were driven to one of the ranches. In fall the procedure was reversed as cattle were rounded up and driven to a siding for market. There were actually drives at both the Montana and Idaho ranches, although the Idaho ones are best remembered. Furthermore, in the 1960s, there were additional, longer drives as winter cattle were driven to and from the feedlot in Roberts.⁶ Because the owners were generally at the ranch in the fall rather than spring, it is the fall drive which has received the most attention.⁷

The cattle drives were a favorite activity of ranch hands and owners alike. As Roland Harriman wrote, "Nothing could rival our enjoyment of that traditional American experience, the cattle drive." Gladys Harriman was even more poetic in her description of the completion of a successful fall drive to the Montana ranch:

I hated to say goodbye to those dogies. . . . But I treasure
a lovely picture in my mind of a sapphire sky, snow-capped
mountains, pastures of good feed bordered with colorful willow
bushes, flaming aspen, and--eight hundred fat, saucy steers
quietly resting.

All the owners of the ranch were excellent riders. Solomon Guggenheim had frequently participated in the drives and once, when jokingly informed

he would not be paid for his services like other cowhands, replied, "Well, I'll pay myself!" Charles and Jenny Jones likewise went along whenever possible.⁸

It is no wonder that the owners enjoyed the drives for, while a certain amount of work was involved, they were exciting and communal affairs. The fall cattle drive to the railroad siding was actually a short event which took only a few hours, as there were several sidings within a few miles of the ranch. Although the owners occasionally helped on the longer drives, it was this short drive they most frequently participated in. The crew would awaken before dawn and move the cattle to the rail stop slowly so they would not lose weight. A cattle train would await them, and once the herd was loaded the crew celebrated with a feast. Actually, the picnic upon completion of the drive was open to neighbors, families and friends, not just those who helped on the drive, and it was an event remembered with fondness by those who took part. "Many of the local people would come and participate and it was just sort of a neighborhood get-together," recalled Deane Meese. "Anyone interested could come. And this was every fall, about the second week in September, before it really froze the grass too hard."⁹

In the 1970s technology caught up with the Railroad Ranch. The last cattle drive was held in 1971. After that cattle were shipped to market or to and from the Roberts feed lot by commercial cattle haulers using trucks.¹⁰

Financial figures for the RRCC are available only for the 1960s, but it is apparent that the company continued operating much as it had after the partnership was formed in 1955. During most years the company showed losses, which the owners used as deductions on their personal

tax returns. Occasionally, to demonstrate to the Internal Revenue Service that the RRCC was a legitimate business, the company showed a small profit. In 1965 the company made \$10,748, and in 1969 \$10,632. In every other year the partnership lost money, ranging from \$45,000 in 1963 to \$123,000 in 1967. Although the company had to occasionally register a profit to satisfy the IRS, this actually penalized the owners who could not claim losses that year as personal deductions. Consequently, when the ranch made money in 1969, the owners attempted to minimize the impact of the profits by doubling bonuses to ranch hands and paying an additional 20 per cent rent to the parent IPL&CC.¹¹

It is probable that the owners began considering the eventual donation of the Railroad Ranch as a state park some time in the early 1950s. Roland Harriman's first official contact with Idaho Governor Robert E. Smylie about the transfer came in the fall of 1959 when he invited the Governor to visit the ranch. In the spring of 1961 Charles Jones decided to withdraw as a partner and sell his interest to the Harriman brothers. Although we do not know his reasons for this decision, there was no animosity between the Jones and Harriman families. Charles continued to visit the ranch until his death in 1970 and his wife, Jenny, was a regular visitor until 1976. It seems likely that Roland and Averell Harriman persuaded him to sell his interest in the ranch's various businesses in order to simplify negotiations with the State of Idaho. In return for their withdrawal, the Joneses maintained the same right to visit that the Harrimans enjoyed. In December 1961 Roland and Averell Harriman signed an agreement whereby they agreed to donate the ranch to Idaho for use as a park. At the same time Charles and Jenny Jones conveyed to the state their remaining interest in the ranch, which consisted of a 99 year lease on a

portion of the property, and the cottage they built in 1955. The actual transfer of the property was to take place after the death of Roland and Gladys, and until that time the state was committed to protect their privacy.¹²

Harriman advised Meese about the park transfer prior to hiring him as superintendent. Accordingly, when the local press carried news of the donation, Meese wrote a friend that "it was no surprise to me." The agreement between the owners and the state made no immediate difference in the RRCC's cattle operations, as life at the ranch continued much as before. In one way, however, the agreement made Meese's job easier than that of any previous superintendent. By the terms of the agreement, the state recognized "the right of E. Roland Harriman and Gladys F. Harriman to the quiet and peaceful enjoyment of [the] property during their lifetimes." Furthermore, this understanding was "paramount and of the essence of this contract." If the Harrimans determined that their privacy was being infringed, they could void the contract. In order to obtain eventual ownership of the property, the state was obliged to prevent people from trespassing. Increased state surveillance, combined with Meese's efforts, finally virtually eliminated the trespassing problem that had plagued the ranch for decades.¹³

Since poaching and trespassing had always been the primary focus of conservation at the ranch, Meese was now able to concentrate his efforts on other matters. For example, he kept the ranch lakes stocked with trout. While Roland enjoyed the challenge of stream fishing on Henry's Fork, he also liked the tranquility of lake fishing on Golden and Silver. He kept a boat on each lake and often spent leisurely afternoons fishing on them. As he got older Harriman took a companion with him, but in earlier years

he enjoyed the solitude of fishing by himself. Meese also worked to keep weeds under control on the lakes. And he cooperated with the United States Fish and Wildlife Service in studies of trumpeter swans on the ranch.¹⁴

Hunters have often been leaders of the American conservation movement. The owners of the Railroad Ranch were enthusiastic hunters, but they were conservationists nonetheless. It is true that the owners' love of hunting at times interfered with their conservation policies. For example, Guggenheim, the Harrimans, and later, Jones, repeatedly vetoed efforts to establish game refuges or sanctuaries on their ranch which would have prohibited them from hunting. In their later years, though, the Harrimans viewed the ranch's wildlife from a different perspective. While before they anxiously anticipated the hunting there, even planning their vacations around the various game seasons, their grandson recalled that in later years Gladys would actually go out in the mornings and shoot along the ranch boundaries in an effort to scare geese into the small sanctuary that had been established along Henry's Fork. While never preservationists, except perhaps during their last years at the ranch, the owners and employees had respected wildlife. They left an abundance of it when they finally turned the property over to the state in 1977. Ivy Carter lived at the ranch in the early 1920s and visited again in 1978. She was impressed with the array of wildlife still there on her later visit, which was reminiscent of the days when she lived on the place:

I've enjoyed seeing the wildlife that is there: to see the river literally covered with thousands of wild geese and ducks and swans; to see an old moose come down out of the timber . . . and bury half his head in the water and come up with a mouthful of moss. The elk that the company used to own were always very interesting to me. In the fall, to hear them bugle is a sound . . . you will never forget. I wish everyone could have a chance to see the many beautiful swan as I have. . . . The buffalo that were there were also something to see.

It took continuous effort by the owners and by superintendents from Garn through Meese to insure that visitors to Harriman State Park would have the same opportunities to view abundant wildlife as had those who had known the place when it was the Railroad Ranch.¹⁵

Among those employed at the ranch during the Meese era were Jack McGarry, cattle foreman; Ed Kroker, maintenance foreman, replaced by Randy Sandow in 1976; George Fowler, Sheridan Ranch foreman; Gene Akin; Mick Laird; and Bob Strain.

By 1976 Roland Harriman's health was rapidly failing. Unable to further enjoy their Island Park property, he and Gladys decided to complete the donation by turning over control of the ranch to the state before their deaths. In May of that year former Idaho Governor Robert Smylie, now acting as the Harrimans' attorney for the donation, journeyed to New York to visit Gladys and Roland. At this meeting the Harrimans agreed to the early transfer of the property. Governor Cecil Andrus announced the change of plans at a press conference on December 1, 1976. On April 1, 1977 most of the Harriman family interest in the ranch and the Island Park Land and Cattle Company was transferred to the state, with the last share of IPL&CC stock presented to Governor John Evans in October of that year. The entire herd of cattle was sold in the fall of 1976 and the ranch crew disbanded. Each hand was given two horses as a gift from the Harrimans. The Railroad Ranch had existed as a working cattle farm and private retreat for nearly 80 years. Now it was to be replaced by a public park.¹⁶

Endnotes, Chapter 7

¹See Meese interview, pp. 2-3, HSP Oral Hist.

²For the 1961 recommendation to convert to cow-calf see H.L. Oppenheimer, Oppenheimer Industries, Kansas City to Harriman, 9 March 1961; Harriman to Oppenheimer, 14 March 1961; and Harriman to Meese, 3 Apr. 1961, Drawer 3, File 39. Cattle inventories through 1968 can be found in accountants' audits, unprocessed materials. All in HSP Archives. Also see Sandow interview, Side 1, HSP Oral Hist.

³It is unclear whether the feedlot was located in Roberts from the beginning. Some sources refer to it as being in Idaho Falls, but it is possible this is a mistake made because Western Potato was headquartered there. Nonetheless, at least by 1970 the cattle were being wintered near Roberts, and from 1962 on the RRCC contracted with Western Potato for all winter feeding.

⁴For information on the feedlots utilized prior to the contract with the Western Potato Company see various contracts in Drawer 3, File 39, HSP Archives. For the agreement with Western Potato see Meese to Ed Shaff, Twin Falls, 30 Aug. 1962 in the same file; and Idaho Falls Post Register, 26 Aug. 1962. Information on this period can also be found in Sandow interview, Side 1; Reed and Robert Berrett, interviewed by Johnson, 8 Dec. 1981, p. 18; and Warren Knapp, interviewed by Kemp, 1 May 1979, p. 7. All in HSP Oral Hist.

⁵Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 32, for example states that "Normally September or early October was the time for the annual cattle drive." Also see p. 15.

⁶We found no specific reference for drives to the Roberts feedlot, but several informants mentioned the drive from the feedlot in the spring. We assume cattle wintered over were also driven there in the fall.

⁷For details on the drives see Meese interview, pp. 6-8, 16; Berretts interview, pp. 12-13, 18; and Beverly Clements, "Story of My Life," 9 Apr. 1978, handwritten manuscript. All in HSP Oral Hist. materials.

⁸Roland's quotation is from I Reminisce, p. 175, and Gladys's is from p. 184. For the Guggenheim story see Jacobsens interview, p. 10, HSP Oral Hist. For details on the Jones's participation see Meese interview, p. 16, HSP Oral Hist; and Meese to Otto Rybin, Omaha, Neb., 14 Sept. 1962, Drawer 3, File 39, HSP Archives.

⁹Meese interview, p. 7. Also see Berretts interview, pp. 10-14; and Mary Stronks, interviewed by Kemp, 12 Feb. 1980, p. 13. All in HSP Oral Hist.

¹⁰ Berretts interview, p. 14; Sandow interview, Side 2. HSP Oral Hist.

¹¹ Annual accountants' audits for the years 1960-69 can be found in unprocessed materials, HSP Archives.

¹² For excellent background to the 1961 agreement see Steve Smylie, "The Harrimans and Idaho's State Parks," unpublished paper presented for Northwest Nazarene College, May 1976. The paper contains interesting "inside information" as the author based much of his research upon letters by and personal interviews with his father, the Governor. A copy is in Drawer 3, File 50, HSP Archives. Also see Harriman, I Reminisce, pp. 170-71; and Minutes of the IPL&CC, 1 May 1961, Drawer 3, HSP Archives. A copy of the 1961 agreement can be found in the files of the Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation, Boise. [This document is hereafter referred to as "1961 Agreement."]

¹³ The quotations are from, respectively, Meese to Jack Topey, 17 Jan. 1962, Drawer 3, File 39, HSP Archives; and the 1961 Agreement.

¹⁴ For Harriman's lake fishing see Knapp interview, p. 8, HSP Oral Hist. For weed eradication see William C. Hall, Aboreal Associates to Meese, 27 Aug. 1965. For trumpeter swans see William Rush, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to Meese, 24 Aug. 1964. And for fish plantings see various invoices. All in Drawer 3, File 40, HSP Archives.

¹⁵ For the story about Gladys and the geese see Tom Dixon interview, 28 May 1982, in unprocessed materials, HSP Archives. Ivy Carter's quotation is from her Monologue, February 1982, pp. 4-5, HSP Oral Hist.

¹⁶ For Smylie's trip east see Harriman to Smylie, 25 May 1976, File 240.60.2, Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation Files, Boise. For the gradual transition of the property in 1976-77 see Salt Lake City Tribune, 2 Dec. 1976; Boise Idaho Statesman, 26 Oct. 1977; and Dale Christensen, Director, Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation to Wayne Johnson, Fremont County Parks, Recreation and Waterways Committee, 29 March 1977, the latter in HSP administrative office files. For selling the herd and the gift of horses from the Harrimans see Sandow interview, Sides 1 and 2, HSP Oral Hist.

Chapter Eight

From Railroad Ranch

to

Harriman State Park: 1977-1983

The creation of Harriman State Park, at over 11,000 acres by far the largest in the Idaho state system, did not occur suddenly. In many ways the history of the park donation can be traced to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the training Edward and Mary Harriman provided their children.

Edward H. Harriman was an avid outdoorsman who believed in the preservation and study of natural areas. When pressures from his many business activities overwhelmed him, Harriman sought natural settings for solace and rest. It was this interest in nature and confidence in its recuperative powers that motivated him to purchase an interest in the Railroad Ranch in 1908. It was also this interest which spurred him to vacation in Alaska in 1899, after his doctors advised him to rest.

His trip to Alaska, however, was not so much a vacation as an expedition. At first Harriman thought only of a summer cruise for his family. But when he chartered the steamer George W. Elder out of Seattle

he conceived the idea of making a scientific expedition out of his summer vacation. He travelled to Washington, D.C. to discuss the proposal with Dr. C. Hart Merriam, the Chief of the United States Biological Survey. Harriman offered to pay full expenses for a team of scientists, and was willing to take them where they wished, drop them off when they wanted, and pick them up when they were ready to re-board the steamer. Merriam could not refuse such an offer and quickly recruited 30 of the nation's top scientists, artists, and photographers. When combined with the Harriman family, a few guests, and the crew of the George Elder, the total party numbered 126. They sailed from Seattle on May 30, 1899 and returned two months later, having cruised 9,000 miles.

Harriman's summer vacation turned out to be one of the most significant scientific expeditions ever undertaken in Alaska. In 1978 Averell Harriman, who was a seven-year-old member of that cruise, remarked, "In going to Alaska in recent years I find that people still speak of the expedition and of the scientific discoveries that were made." The scientists mapped and described a number of glaciers not previously known and took over 5,000 photographs, still among the best ever printed of the Alaskan coast. They also discovered thirteen genera and more than 600 species new to science. A dozen scientific monographs, some of them classics in their fields, were published as a result of the expedition.¹

One of those who participated in the excursion was naturalist John Muir, who became a life-long friend of Harriman's, eventually writing a biography of him. Muir was a frequent visitor to the Harrimans' various properties both before and after Edward's death in 1909. During a 1908 summer vacation with the Harrimans at their property on Pelican

Bay, Oregon, Muir, at the instigation of Harriman, began writing his autobiography. A few years later, in 1911, he spent six weeks in New York visiting the family and working on various manuscripts. In 1913, at the height of the controversy over flooding the pristine Hetch Hetchy Valley to create a reservoir for San Francisco's domestic water use--Muir's longest conservation crusade--he set aside 10 days from his hectic schedule to visit with the Harriman family at the Railroad Ranch. "I was very tired," he wrote friends a few weeks later, "but a ten day visit and rest at Mrs. Harriman's Idaho Ranch greatly delighted me. This so far has been my only summer outing." Muir greatly appreciated the Harrimans' generosity. Similarly, Muir's conservation ideas influenced the Harrimans. Both Edward and Mary were valued allies in his efforts to preserve the Yosemite and Hetch Hetchy Valleys, and there is no doubt that Muir was partially responsible for inspiring them to preserve park lands.²

Muir was not the only influence on the Harrimans, for their interest in the preservation of natural areas was complimented by a sincere philanthropic impulse. While Edward clearly distinguished between philanthropic liberality and extravagance, he nonetheless taught his children that wealthy people had an obligation to use their money for the good of the country. "Leave whatever you touch better off for having touched it," he counseled. While the elder Harriman had many philanthropic interests, certainly one of his favorites was parks. When once asked what he intended to do with his money, Harriman responded by jokingly referring to the philanthropic exploits of another wealthy American: "What do you think the public would like best, libraries or parks?" Since Harriman believed they preferred the latter, he began working on a grand

scheme to donate land for a great state park in New York. Unfortunately, he died before his plan was completed.³

During his lifetime Edward Harriman steadily purchased land on the west side of the Hudson River until by 1905 he had accumulated over 20,000 acres, which the family called their Arden Estate. Timber companies had threatened the heavily forested property until Harriman interceded. The land was contiguous to the Palisades region of New York and New Jersey, a spectacular area of beautiful rock formations that was year by year being destroyed by quarrying. A great public outcry to preserve the area developed, and wealthy philanthropists responded by creating one of the first extensive state parks in the United States. J.P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, William K. Vanderbilt and others made substantial financial donations to the cause, but the greatest single donation occurred in 1910 when Mary Harriman fulfilled her late husband's request by donating 10,000 acres of her Arden property, along with a million dollars for its upkeep, to the State of New York. The presentation of Harriman State Park as part of the Palisades Interstate Park was made in September 1910 by Averell, the future United States Ambassador and Governor of New York, in his "first public appearance." The gift has been praised as "a noble act of philanthropy which was without parallel in this country . . . to that time, and which has been the inspiration of similar acts since." Perhaps no people were more inspired toward similar acts than Edward and Mary's two sons, Averell and Roland.⁴

The Harriman brothers' donation of their Island Park property--its full name being "Harriman State Park of Idaho" to distinguish it from the family's previous New York gift--was, then, a direct result of the lessons Roland and Averell learned from their parents. In words that

would have pleased his mother and father, Roland wrote that he and Averell gave the Idaho property as a park "because we just could not face the prospect of its becoming nothing more than an uncontrolled real estate development with hot dog stands and cheap honky-tonks, and because we could foresee the necessity for preserving such property for the enjoyment of future generations."⁵

When the Harrimans decided to donate the land they found a cooperative ally in Idaho Governor Robert Smylie. Smylie was elected Governor in 1954 on a platform consisting of four major issues, one of them revolving around environmental concerns, particularly the need for more state parks. By the time Smylie took office the next year Idaho had only two state parks, both administered by the State Land Board, for there was no parks department. Smylie was convinced more parks would be needed for future recreational needs and that the parks would generate tourist revenue. Shortly after taking office he encouraged the legislature to accept the 4,500 acre Mary Minerva McCroskey State Park in northern Idaho from Virgil McCroskey, which the lawmakers finally did, after having rejected McCroskey's donation the two previous legislative sessions. This was the first of several parks acquired during Smylie's three terms as Governor. After Roland and Gladys Harriman met the Smylies in the late 1950s at a Boise Red Cross benefit, the two families became close, long-time friends. When Roland invited the Governor to the Railroad Ranch in October 1959 to discuss a possible donation of the ranch as a park, he found Smylie a most enthusiastic supporter of the idea.⁶

After Charles Jones sold his ranch interest in 1961, the Harrimans were ready to begin serious negotiations with the state. Roland, the Harriman primarily interested in the gift, handled the family's concerns

regarding the donation. Smylie and Harriman met occasionally as they worked out details of the bequest. By late 1961 a contract was ready. The Harrimans insisted that the negotiations be conducted in total secrecy until the contract was signed, which they wanted accomplished before the end of 1961. This caused a few political problems for the Governor, who was already under attack from the Boise Idaho Statesman for excessive out-of-state travel. In December 1961, however, Smylie, realizing he would have to make a trip to the Harriman offices in New York if the contract was to be signed before the family's deadline, journeyed east, unable to let the press know why. The Statesman questioned the Governor's judgment in undertaking a secret trip:

In connection with Governor Smylie's absence from the state, without any announced reason, there are a number of arched eyebrows. . . . The discussion that the governor desired to create an air of mystery in connection with this eastern trip for political reasons are below the dignity of the office.

Fortunately for the Governor, he was able to return to the state with a signed agreement for an extraordinary gift which editors throughout the state enthusiastically praised. The Lewiston Morning Tribune commented that it "would be happy to see him take more trips for similar purposes," and even the Statesman commended the transaction: "In Idaho's hundred-year-old history few gifts have matched this one."⁷

Governor Smylie was also effusive in his tribute to the donors. "The people of Idaho, especially those who come after us, will be grateful to the Harriman brothers for this magnificent gift," he stated. "It will doubtless be one of the outstanding State Parks of the nation when it is finally established and operating." However, the terms of the agreement considerably delayed that day when the park would be in operation as the Harrimans retained exclusive rights to private use of the property as long

as they lived. They also placed other restrictions on the gift, which obliged the state legislature to finally give serious consideration to the future of Idaho's state parks system. The state, in accepting the gift, agreed to make efforts to extend the boundaries of the park; disallow hunting on the land; permit fishing on Henry's Fork with flies only; sell the Lima Ranch and use the proceeds for improving Harriman State Park; and pay Fremont County money in lieu of taxes on the property. Most significantly, however, the gift was contingent upon the state's developing "a professionally staffed career Park Service whose personnel shall be chosen on the basis of merit alone." Idaho's neighboring states had long had such departments. In fact, at a time when Idaho had only a handful of parks and no parks department, Oregon had over 140 state parks and Washington over 70. The "magnificent gift" of the Harrimans forced the state to begin the long process of catching up. The task was not easy. Smylie introduced an unsuccessful bill in the 1961 legislature to create a parks department. The Governor's 1962 re-election platform contained a clause addressing the need for a parks department and he reintroduced such legislation in 1963, but again failed. Finally in 1965 the legislature passed the bill and the new State Department of Parks and Recreation began operations on July 1 of that year.⁸

Ironically, among those least in favor of the Harriman State Park idea were some residents of Fremont County. The only member of the House of Representatives to vote against the 1965 act to create a state parks department was that county's William Frome. A Fremont County Commissioner in 1963 questioned whether there was really a need for Harriman State Park since Yellowstone was nearby. He further worried that while the county would receive some money from the state in lieu of ranch taxes,

these payments might be considerably less once the state took over. And the Idaho Falls Post Register strenuously objected to the Harrimans' no-hunting covenants on the land. Still, there was no widespread local movement to reject the gift, and even the Post Register, while continuing to disagree with the Harrimans on the hunting ban, editorialized that "Harriman State Park is an estimable gift."⁹

Shortly after passage of the 1965 legislation creating the parks department, members of the Idaho State Parks Board met with Averell at the ranch in an effort to persuade the Harrimans to immediately turn control of the property over to the state. The Harrimans balked at the suggestion, but a movement did begin that would eventually lead to the creation of the park before the Harrimans' deaths. In 1963 Roland signed over two life insurance policies to the state to be used for general operating costs at the park, and in 1973 he donated \$10,000 to initiate park planning. When Walter Fletcher, a director of the Island Park Land and Cattle Company, died in November 1972, the company's Articles of Incorporation were amended reducing the shares of stock from five to four. Daniel Cook and Peter McBean, two other stockholders, relinquished their stock at this time to Roland, who now had three shares with Averell controlling the other one. In December 1973 Averell resigned as a director of the IPL&CC, signing over his one-fourth interest in the company, valued at over one million dollars, to the Idaho Park Foundation.¹⁰ In 1975 Averell deeded his interest in the Harriman East Ranch to the Park Foundation, and Roland did the same a year later, with the stipulation that the property be turned over to the state government upon demand.¹¹

By 1976 Roland Harriman was confined to a wheel chair and in rapidly failing health. He and Gladys had last visited the ranch in 1973, and it

was obvious they would not be able to do so again. In 1976 they agreed to surrender their interest in the ranch and IPL&CC, effective March 31, 1977. For all practical purposes Harriman State Park came into existence on April 1 of that year, although it was not until October 1977 that the state made the transaction complete by calling in the one share of the IPL&CC stock that Averell had donated to the Idaho Park Foundation. At the news conference announcing the Harrimans' decision in December 1976, then Governor Cecil Andrus stated, "This is one of the most significant achievements of the State of Idaho in reference to parks, public lands and preservation for the future."¹²

The owners of the Railroad Ranch had always recognized the unique qualities of the property and hoped the state would carefully maintain it as they had left it--a rustic cluster of log houses and barns in a pastoral setting overlooking Henry's Fork, alive with abundant wildlife. In 1930 ranch employee Tom Brower had wanted to set up a soft drink stand on IPL&CC property to make extra money during the depression catering to Yellowstone-bound tourists. Both Guggenheim and Roland Harriman let Brower know that they were "opposed to the establishment of any stands of this sort." The owners remained opposed to any commercial development, as illustrated in Roland's statement that he and Averell could not bear to think of their ranch as "an uncontrolled real estate development with hot dog stands and cheap honky-tonks." Neither was Roland interested in opening up the park to an unlimited number of tourists, with the corresponding necessity for extensive tourist facilities. He noted in a 1975 letter to Idaho Parks Department Director Steven Bly:

I think we have all learned a hard lesson from Yosemite and to a lesser degree Yellowstone, and it is much better to

give a reasonable number of people the advantages of parks rather than to let a host of people ruin the benefits for all. I quite agree that the Railroad Ranch serves unique opportunities which must be preserved at all costs if it is to accomplish the purposes that we have in mind.

The first State Parks employee arrived at the ranch in 1976, and since that time the department has continuously staffed the property. Parks Department officials labored in succeeding years to fulfill the wishes of the Harrimans. They commissioned a number of studies of the property, including this one, in an effort to determine how to best manage its wildlife and cultural resources. The department was presented with a dilemma because, while the rich historical legacy of the ranch and its abundant wildlife could easily attract thousands of tourists annually to the site, such visitation might well be harmful to the park's fauna and flora. The department accordingly did not immediately open the park to visitors while it worked on methods of enabling the public to enjoy the site without disturbing its delicate ecological balance. The state continues to support studies, and intends to gradually publicize the park and slowly increase its visitation while monitoring the effects of larger numbers of tourists on plants and animals.

In the winter of 1982 Harriman State Park was opened to cross-country skiers. On July 17, 1982 the park was officially opened to the public with a large ceremony. The park's first full summer of visitation came in 1983, and those who have visited the summer homes, the lakes, the river, and the surrounding forests appreciate this legacy which has been left to Idaho.

Endnotes, Chapter 8

¹For a summary of the Alaska expedition see Alton A. Lindsey, "The Alaska Harriman Expedition of 1899," BioScience, June 1978, pp. 383-86, where Averell's quotation can be found; Muir, Harriman, pp. 8-11; Kennan, Harriman, vol. 1, pp. 185-213; and Harriman, I Reminisce, pp. 3-5.

²The John Muir papers are located at the University of the Pacific in Stockton, California, but are accessible to researchers on microfilm utilizing interlibrary loan. Much of the information for this section comes from Reel #11, "Letters sent, 1903-14." The quotation about Muir's time at the ranch is in Muir to Mr. and Mrs. Henry Fairfield Osborn, 13 Sept. 1913. For further details on the Muir/Harriman relationship see Muir, Harriman; and Campbell, Harriman, p. 74. The Hetch Hetchy dispute was a landmark battle between preservationists like Muir and proponents of multiple use, with the latter prevailing. For an excellent summary of the controversy see Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967; rev. ed. 1973), pp. 161-81.

³For Harriman's philanthropic attitudes see loving, "Averell Harriman Remembers Life with Father," p. 198; McGuiness, "The Other Side of Harriman," p. 198; and Harriman, I Reminisce. The quotation about leaving things better is from p. 280 of the latter. For his specific interest in parks and the second quotation see E. Stagg Whitin, "The Opening of Harriman Park," The Independent, 27 July 1911, pp. 182-5.

⁴For the best history of Palisades Interstate Park see 60 Years of Park Cooperation (New York: Palisades Interstate Park Commission, 1960). The quotation is from p. 24. For the significance of Harriman and Palisades Parks in the national state park movement see Beatrice Ward Nelson, State Recreation: Parks, Forests and Game Preserves (Washington, D.C.: National Conference on State Parks, 1928), pp. 3-5, 11, 176, 187-88; and Freeman Tilden, The State Parks: Their Meaning in American Life (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 6. The quotation about Averell's first public appearance is from Mary Harriman's diary, quoted in Campbell, Harriman, p. 14. Also see Whitin, "The Opening of Harriman Park;" Kennan, Harriman, vol. 2, pp. 339-44; and Harriman, I Reminisce, pp. 256-60.

⁵Harriman, I Reminisce, p. 174.

⁶Two oral history interviews with Smylie at the Idaho Oral History Center in Boise provide background to the Governor's interest in parks. See Smylie, interviewed by J. Meredith Neil, 9. Feb. 1976; and Smylie, interviewed by Judith Austin, 10 March 1982. Smylie, "Harrimans and Idaho's Parks," pp. 3-4, details the early meetings of the Harriman and Smylie families. For background on McCroskey State Park and Smylie's

role see Mary E. Reed and Keith Petersen, Virgil T. McCroskey: Giver of Mountains (Pullman, Wa.: Washington State University Department of History, 1983), especially pp. 4-7. Very little besides the McCroskey booklet has been written about the history of Idaho state parks. However, see Thomas Cox's excellent "Weldon Heyburn, Lake Chatcolet, and the Evolving Concept of Public Parks," Idaho Yesterdays, Summer 1980, pp. 2-15. Two other Cox articles lend insight into the park movement in the Pacific Northwest generally. See "The Crusade to Save Oregon's Scenery," Pacific Historical Review, May 1968, pp. 179-99; and "Conservation by Subterfuge: Robert W. Sawyer and the Birth of the Oregon State Parks," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, January 1973, pp. 21-9.

⁷The quotations are from, respectively: Boise Idaho Statesman, 1 Dec. 1961; Lewiston Morning Tribune, 23 Dec. 1961; and Statesman, 31 Dec. 1961. Also see Smylie, "Harrimans and Idaho's Parks," pp. 5-6 for excellent background on the secret negotiations.

⁸Smylie's quotation can be found in "Harriman State Park of Idaho," Idaho Wildlife Review, Jan.-Feb. 1962, p. 5. For background on the state parks legislation see Smylie, "Harrimans and Idaho's Parks," pp. 9-11. Also see 1961 Agreement.

⁹See Idaho Falls Post Register, 13 May 1963, and for the quotation 7 Oct. 1965. For the county commissioner's opposition see St. Anthony Chronicle News, 14 Feb. 1963. For the negative vote by Frome see Smylie, "Harrimans and Idaho's Parks," p. 10. Frome's vote was perhaps misleading in that he later supported the parks board and Harriman State Park. Governor Smylie later stated that he believed Frome voted against the parks department act because he had received pressure from local constituents opposed to the transfer of the Railroad Ranch to the state, but did so only after he was sure the legislation would pass without his vote. Nonetheless, his vote is indicative of a certain amount of ill-feeling toward the park in Fremont County.

¹⁰The Foundation had been established in 1972 to receive gifts from individuals and businesses for future development into parks.

¹¹For the 1965 effort to gain early control of the park see Idaho Falls Post Register, 5 Oct. 1965. For Roland's life insurance policies see Post Register, 23 May 1963. For the \$10,000 planning donation see Smylie, "Harrimans and Idaho's Parks," p. 14. Page 13 of his manuscript details Averell's conveyance of his IPL&CC share to the Foundation. Also see Minutes of the IPL&CC, 29 Nov. 1972, and 12 Aug. 1974, Drawer 3, HSP Archives; and file titled "Harriman General Notes," in HSP administrative office records.

¹²The quotation is from Boise Idaho Statesman, 2 Dec. 1976. Also see Harriman to Smylie, 25 May 1976, file 240.60.2, Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation records, Boise.

¹³For the quotations see, respectively, Thiele to Trude, 12 May 1930, Drawer 1, File 54, HSP Archives; Harriman, I Reminisce, p. 174; and Harriman to Bly, 7 May 1975, quoted in Smylie, "Harrimans and Idaho's Parks," p. 15.

Chapter Nine

Everyday Life at the Ranch

Daily activities on the Railroad Ranch changed markedly with each season, as did the number of employees living there. In winter the ranch maintained only a skeleton crew, ususally consisting of three to four men and their families. The size of the work force gradually increased during the spring, peaking with the summer haying activity, the most labor-intensive job. The ranch hired as many as 25 men during the heighth of summer activities, supplemented by contracted haying crews. In fall the numbers again gradually dwindled--especially after the fall cattle drive--until the crew was reduced to the few who stayed during the winter.¹

The year's cycle of activities did not begin in January, which was a rather dormant time. Rather, the ranch's year commenced in the spring. The exact starting date of work activities varied during the ranch's history, depending on the type of operations being undertaken. The earliest that work began occurred in the years 1922 to 1935 when the ranch raised large flocks of sheep. The first lambing season was 1923. While lambing can be successfully completed in temperate climates in February and March, Railroad Ranch employees discovered after experimenting that Island Park weather was too severe for successful lambing then. By 1924 the lambing season was

advanced to the latter part of April and early May, and from then on lambing occurred in late spring, sometimes as late as the last of May. The sheep were brought into the barns during lambing time and helped with birthing. Because some lambs and mothers died, efforts were made to unite unnatural pairs so motherless lambs could survive. Later in the spring the sheep were sheared and tails bobbed. Even after the ranch terminated its commercial sheep operation, lambing still signaled the beginning of the ranch's yearly work cycle, although no extra men were hired to help with the lambing of the small permanent flock.²

Ice cutting was another early spring activity. Although in some years ice was cut in November or December, in other years ranch hands waited until late winter or early spring to prepare the summer's supply. When the ranch received electricity and purchased refrigerators in the late 1940s, ice was no longer cut and stored. Before electricity, the ranch employees annually cut a year's supply of ice on Silver Lake. After removing snow from a section of the lake, workmen with saws cut the ice, which was normally about 18 inches thick, into large blocks. They loaded the ice onto horse-drawn sleighs and transported it to a large storage shed near the Silver Lake dam. There it was carefully stacked, with sawdust placed between each layer. The ice was taken to a small ice house on the ranch compound as needed.³

As the weather began to warm and the snow melt, ranch activities intensified. Some of the first tasks each year were to repair equipment, shoe horses, and lubricate machinery. After automobiles and motorized machinery came to the ranch⁴ an early job was to de-winterize the vehicles and prepare them for the upcoming season. Another spring activity, usually undertaken in late March after threat of heavy snowfall had passed, was clearing the long road from the building compound to the Yellowstone

Highway, the traditional signal to year-long residents that winter was ending. Now they could more easily travel to places like Ashton and St. Anthony for entertainment and supplies. Once the road was cleared the ranch gradually increased its work force. Cattle were dehorned and by May plowing, harrowing and seeding of hay fields and pastures was underway. Occasionally, some of the plowing and seeding was contracted to crews with their own equipment. Winters normally took a heavy toll on fences and buildings, so repairs were made to these. If new buildings were to be constructed, this was usually done in spring, and old buildings were painted as needed. Another major spring activity in later years, after the pine beetle infested the ranch, was cutting the year's accumulation of dead trees. The event which traditionally marked the real beginning of the summer work season, however, was the May cattle drive when cattle were moved from feedlots or railroad sidings onto the Home and Sheridan Ranches for summer grazing.⁵

In addition to getting the ranch ready for summer work, spring was also a time of making personal preparations for the year ahead. Storm windows were removed and replaced with screens. Those families that lived at the ranch year-round planted gardens. Another important spring and early summer activity was preparing the ranch for the owners' visits, which usually came in late summer and early fall. Lawns were groomed and horses worked so they would be ready to ride. The owners' cabins were cleaned, windows washed, sheets and linens scrubbed and ironed. Houses were aired and water was turned on.⁶

Summer work concentrated on tasks normally associated with a large cattle operation. By far the largest of these activities at the Railroad Ranch was haying, which employed the biggest crew. Haying season commenced in July and sometimes ran into September, depending on the size of the crop

and the summer's rainfall. Hay was cut on both the Home and Sheridan Ranches. After the purchase of the Lima property, hay was harvested there as well. In some years during the 1920s over 2,000 tons were put up, although by the 1930s and 1940s the ranch usually harvested between six and eight hundred tons. Haying operations were underway at the ranch at least as early as 1908, and continued until disbanded during the superintendency of Ben Meese.⁷

In the horse farming era haying was a spectacular sight. Day after day crews went into the fields, rising before dawn, and working until sundown. They used as many as 15 horse-pulled mowing machines. Beverly Clements, who lived at the ranch in the 1930s, remembered waking up "every morning to the sound of those horses . . . pulling those machines out and going to the meadow." Ivy Carter recalled that early in the haying season the morning harnessing was reminiscent of a rodeo: "After the horses had gone all winter without bein' in a harness or maybe in the barn even, . . . well then come hayin' time, those horses had almost gone back to bein' wild horses! And then the men would . . . have quite a hassle with 'em to get 'em into the harness again, you know." While at least some, if not all, hay at the ranch was being baled before haying operations ceased in the 1960s, in the early years it was put up in huge stacks using bull rakes.⁸

Probably during the ranch's early history, ranch employees who received room and board as part of their wages did all the haying. However, at least by the mid-1930s, contract crews with their own equipment were hired to supplement the help provided by the ranch hands. It is likely that during the last few years of haying all work was done by contractors, who were paid a wage but were not provided room and board.⁹

The end of the year's intensive work activity was marked by the fall round-up, usually held the last of September or early October. After the cattle were sold or moved to their various winter locations, those employees who lived at the ranch year-round began preparing for winter. Many of the jobs involved re-doing what was "undone" each spring: storm windows went up; machinery was winterized; water was shut off except where needed; gardens were harvested. Perhaps the biggest task in preparing for winter was cutting firewood. Trees were felled with two-man saws, probably later replaced by chain saws. The logs were hauled to the building compound where, at least by the 1930s, a large, generator-powered circular saw was used to cut them into two-foot lengths. These chunks were stacked into the large woodshed, completely filling it. Each house had its own wood bin, and one man had the task of splitting the firewood as it was needed during the winter.¹⁰

While work slowed during the winter, it did not stop. The Railroad Ranch always kept some livestock over the winter, and before the 1960s when the cattle were placed in a feedlot, a sizeable herd of stock cattle remained at the Home Ranch throughout the year. In some years buffalo and elk herds also had to be cared for over winter. The biggest winter task involved caring for these animals. After hay was stacked in the summer, ranch hands placed pole fences around the stacks to keep cattle out. The snows generally arrived early in the fall, when the major activity of feeding the year's accumulation of hay began. Employees broke trails to the hay and men with teams pulling large sleds made their way to the stacks and loaded the sleds. Then they pulled the loads into fields to be scattered on top of the snow for the cattle. It usually took two men all forenoon to get enough hay for the herd during the years that cattle were wintered over. Another important task was breaking ice on the water hole each day.¹¹

The ranch almost always maintained a small dairy herd which had to be milked twice each day throughout the year. The size of the herd fluctuated considerably. At times there were only enough cows to provide milk and butter--churned by the women, normally--for the ranch hands. For many years, however, the ranch had a larger herd and was able to sell dairy products, which were marketed locally. Other winter tasks included removing snow from roofs--often done with two men on either side of a building running a wire under the snow--and cutting and storing ice when this was not done in early spring.¹²

In many ways life at the ranch resembled that in other rural areas, although its winter isolation sometimes forced the residents to adapt to extreme circumstances. For example, the ranch extended a telephone line to Island Park in 1909 or shortly thereafter. While on the surface this brought a modern convenience to the ranch at an early date, in actuality the line never was reliable. Beverly Clements remembered the telephone service as it existed in the early 1930s:

I . . . remember how we would use the telephones which were in each house. . . . You took the hook off the wall, turned the handle on the side . . . however many rings you needed to tell which of the other houses you wanted to talk to. Then you walked outside and when the other person heard the rings they knew you wanted to talk so they went outside and then you yelled to each other, [because] the phones did not work too well.

It was not until 1936 that the ranch got a reliable hook-up with the Mountain States Bell Company. Clements stated, "I also remember the night we got a telephone line to Ashton, the gala occasion. We all felt safer because we could call a doctor or for help in case of trouble."¹³

It was this winter isolation which distinguished life at the ranch from other rural places. Residents purchased winter supplies in the fall

and never travelled from the ranch once the cold weather and heavy snows arrived except for emergencies and special occasions. In the early years, winter travel was frequently done with dogs and sled. By the late 1930s or early 1940s there were enough cars in the region that the Yellowstone Highway was kept open. However, this did not greatly benefit ranch residents, as they could not easily get a car to the road until the ranch access drive was cleared in spring. The ranch did have a large sled onto which a car could be placed and dragged to the highway if necessary. Obviously, such isolation could be dangerous. In the winter of 1913-14, Parley Jones broke his leg and it took the doctor six hours to get to the ranch from Ashton to treat him.¹⁴

The ranch's isolation brought about some other innovations. For example, in the late 1930s and 1940s mail was delivered from Ashton to West Yellowstone in a small airplane. The pilot would fly low over the ranch and drop off a bag with the residents' mail. Then someone would snowshoe out and retrieve the bag. Prior to this, mail was picked up from the main highway by dog sled. The isolation also made it necessary for the ranch to occasionally have its own school during the years children lived there through the winter. At times the Island Park Land and Cattle Company provided winter employees with extra money so that children, and sometimes their mothers, could live in a nearby town to attend school. At other times either the company or individual residents hired teachers to live at the ranch. Probably the first teacher was Blanche Edginton, who was hired by Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Edginton in the fall of 1921 to teach their four daughters. In about 1928 Sam Trude suggested that the IPL&CC pay the costs of having a teacher at the ranch, and efforts were even made to designate the Railroad Ranch as a separate school district so that the

company's school taxes could partially be utilized for its own school. Because a school district designation required nine children and there were never that many at the ranch in winter, it never received school district status. The company ceased hiring teachers after the winter of 1930-31 as a cost saving measure. Apparently the last teacher at the ranch was Fay Abegglen who was hired in the fall of 1938 by Jack Hibbert to teach his two children, Beverly and Nield. The Hibbert children attended school in the upstairs of the cookhouse for two years before moving to Ashton during the school year.¹⁵

The winter life at the ranch was certainly not suitable for everyone, as it could be a rather lonely and depressing ordeal. Even people who generally enjoyed the isolation and spent many winters there found themselves becoming irritable with each other by late in the season. At least those who wintered over in the latter years enjoyed more conveniences than the "pioneers." The cabins of the owners had indoor plumbing, hot and cold running water, and generator-produced electric lights by at least 1908. However, these cabins were closed in winter, and it took some time for the employees' houses to obtain such amenities. Walter Mikesell, who stayed in the cookhouse in the winter of 1921, remembered that there was no indoor plumbing. The crew took baths in a tin tub with water heated on a wood stove, and used gasoline or kerosene lamps. It is unclear exactly when the ranch received certain modernizations, but by the end of the 1920s it is apparent that several conveniences had been installed. For example, by 1924 the ranch had a sewer system, and probably by that time all the housing had indoor plumbing. By 1927 it had a hot water system. Although the ranch had a generator in the early 1900s, at first this was a small system used

only for lighting the owners' homes in summer. By at least 1936, however, the generator capacity had been increased and supplied the daily needs of ranch hands as well as the guests. In the late 1940s the ranch finally received an electric line.¹⁶

Life was not all work, even in winter. Skiing was a popular activity, especially for the children who roamed over the hills and through the timber on their long, wooden skis--some of which were homemade at the ranch. Occasionally the residents would travel by sled or sleigh to a neighboring ranch to visit, but such trips were rare. Card playing and visiting with one another were popular pasttimes. Sometimes the residents put on plays, went sleighing, or even had ping-pong tournaments. Reading was especially popular, and the Harrimans occasionally donated books in order to establish a small ranch library. In 1926 Mary Harriman purchased a radio for the ranch which enabled the winter residents to keep abreast of news and entertainment programming. As the weather began to break in the spring, residents would enjoy family or group picnics to various scenic places on the ranch. Spring was also the time for long walks, a welcome exercise to work off the winter's "cabin fever." When the roads cleared, residents would travel to Ashton or St. Anthony for fresh supplies and entertainment. They also trapped rabbits, hunted sage hens and caught fish, although always being careful not to deplete any of the hunting and fishing resources enjoyed by the owners. Children especially found it easy to entertain themselves once the weather broke, by playing in the barns, exploring the thousands of acres of ranch land and swimming in Henry's Fork. Summer and early fall were the busiest seasons at the ranch and in many ways curtailed leisure activities. Still, even then, there were picnics and barbeques,

and the chance to visit with a new group of employees. Life at the Railroad Ranch was, all in all, unique. Fern Brower was one of those who experienced it, living there as a young girl in the 1920s and 1930s:

While we were there we just did everything. We skied and we sleighed. . . . It was a whole vacation for a whole year. . . . We went barefoot all summer and then in the winter my dad would buy us these high topped shoes, you know, the boy shoes even for the girls . . . and that was to keep our ankles so they wouldn't get weak.

I've thought about this many times, how much our children . . . have missed. . . . At the Railroad Ranch we had wagons and we had dog sleighs and we had buggies, and you know, we lived the prehistoric times almost, up there. . . . But I wouldn't trade my life, having had buggies and dog sleighs. . . . It was a vacation time in our lives.¹⁷

Endnotes, Chapter 9

¹For a break down on the numbers of workers at the ranch for various months see Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 34. Several materials in the oral history collection also help in establishing the numbers of workers and times of year they were employed at different stages in the ranch's history. See Carter and Edginton interview, pp. 4-5; Clements reminiscences, pp. 1-2; Ruth Daniels questionnaire; and Meese interview, p. 17. All in HSP Oral Hist.

²See James Anderson, Annual Report of the IPL&CC, 1 Jan. 1924; 17 Feb. 1926, Drawer 1, File 15; and Thiele to Harriman, 11 June 1929, Drawer 1, File 57. All in HSP Archives. Much of the information in this section on seasonal activities comes from Ruth Reynolds' diary for the year 1941, the only diary of daily activities in the HSP records. For lambing after the commercial sheep raising venture ceased see her entry for Apr. 14. The diary is in HSP Oral Hist. materials.

³Beverly Clements, interviewed by Kemp, 17 March 1980, p. 35; Kanpp interview, pp. 1-2, in HSP Oral Hist. Also see Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 24; and [Kemp], "Railroad Ranch Tracks," p. 59.

⁴The first automobile--a Ford touring sedan--was purchased in 1928 and over the years the ranch accumulated a formidable fleet of pleasure and work vehicles. It is unclear when the first tractor was purchased. See Minutes of the IPL&CC, 29 March 1930, Drawer 3; and various machinery inventories in Drawer 3, File 25. HSP Archives.

⁵For a good synopsis of various spring activities see Reynolds diary. Also see Knapp interview, p. 6, for the spring logging necessitated by pine beetles. Both in HSP Oral Hist. Because of the voluminous nature of this material, individual citations relating to various spring activities will not be attempted. However, the following files in the HSP Archives contain numerous pieces of correspondence for various years, detailing various activities: Drawer 1, Files 15, 20, 79; Drawer 3, File 15.

⁶The best description of these personal spring activities can be found in Reynolds diary, HSP Oral Hist. Also see [Kemp], "Railroad Ranch Tracks," p. 59.

⁷See Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 23 for a chart listing the amount of hay produced in various years. For haying seasons see Anderson to Harrimans, 13 July 1923, Drawer 1, File 25; and Anderson to Thiele, 12 Sept. 1923, Drawer 1, File 31. Haying season ran from mid-July until mid-September that year when approximately 2,000 tons were put up. For haying in 1908 see Eccles to Harriman, 9 Dec. 1908, Drawer 1, File 4. For haying at Lima see Clark to Stewart, 1 Sept. 1956, Drawer 3, File 14. All in HSP Archives.

⁸The quotations are from, respectively, Clements interview, p. 7; and Carter and Jones interview, p. 14. Also see pp. 17-18 of the latter. For other excellent descriptions of the haying operations see Jacobsens interview, p. 24; Mikesell interview, p. 21; Jones and Allison interview, p. 17; and Blanche Edginton, interviewed by Kemp, 4 June 1980. All in HSP Oral Hist.

⁹For various haying contracts in the 1930s see Drawer 1, File 99. In 1957 Clark attempted to hire a single contractor to perform all haying tasks at the ranch. Existing documents do not indicate whether he was successful, or when this practice began, but the tone of Clark's letter seems to indicate that the ranch's own crew had not been used as hay help for some time. See Clark to Glen Bates, Burley, 21 Feb. 1957, unprocessed materials. All in HSP Archives.

¹⁰Clements interview, pp. 35-6; Salley interview, p. 16; Reynolds diary. All in HSP Oral Hist. materials.

¹¹The best descriptions of this winter feeding activity come in Brower, Life Story, pp. 35, 38-9; and Brower interview, pp. 60-61. Also see Mikesell interview, pp. 25-6. HSP Oral Hist.

¹²Reynolds diary; Clements interview, pp. 19-20, 27-31, HSP Oral Hist. materials. For inventories of dairy products sold between 1951-53 see various check records in Drawer 3, File 2, HSP Archives.

¹³Clements to Kemp, 11 Feb. 1980, HSP Oral Hist. materials. For the improved service in 1936 see Thiele to U.S. Forest Service, Ogden, 11 Sept. 1936, Drawer 2, File 10 HSP Archives. For the early hook-up of the ranch with Island Park see Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 31.

¹⁴For buying winter supplies see B. Edginton interview, p. 18. For the "car sled" see Jacobsens interview, p. 20. For Parley's broken leg see Jones and Allison interview, p. 1. HSP Oral Hist. For the use of dog sleds into the 1930s for winter transportation see Trude to Harriman, 21 March 1932, Drawer 1, File 39, HSP Archives.

¹⁵For "airmail" see Jacobsens interview, pp. 18-19. For Blanche Edginton as teacher in 1921 see B. Edginton to Kemp, 22 May 1979. Both in HSP Oral Hist. materials. For the IPL&CC's efforts to establish a school district, and their decision to stop paying for teachers, see Trude to Thiele, 12 June 1931; and Harriman to Thiele, 17 June 1931, Drawer 1, File 58, HSP Archives. For other details of ranch schooling in the late 1920s see Brower interview, pp. 40-42, HSP Oral Hist.; and Brower, Life Story, p. 53. For the schooling of the Hibbert children in the late 1930s see Clements interview, pp. 21-3; and Clements to Kemp, 11 Feb. 1980, both in HSP Oral Hist. materials; and teacher's contract between J.N. Hibbert and Faye Abegglen, 9 Sept. 1938, unprocessed materials, HSP Archives. Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 35, has a section dealing with the ranch school which is fairly accurate, although the chronology is faulty. For example, she states that Edginton was hired by the IPL&CC in 1928 when she actually worked at the ranch in 1921, employed by Art Edginton; and she has the Hibbert children attending school at the ranch in 1922-23, although Beverly was not born until 1932.

¹⁶For modern conveniences in the owners' cabins by 1908 see Eccles to Harriman, 9 Dec. 1908, Drawer 1, File 4. For the sewer and hot water systems of 1924 and 1927, respectively, see Minutes of the IPL&CC, 22 Oct. 1925, and 22 Nov. 1928, Drawer 3. All in HSP Archives. For other details on the coming of modern conveniences see Mikesell interview, p. 22; Salley interview, p. 14; Edginton to Kemp, 22 May 1979; and Clements to Kemp, 11 Feb. 1980. All in HSP Oral Hist. materials. For the coming of electricity in the late 1940s see Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 31.

¹⁷Fern Grover, interviewed by Kemp, 31 July 1980, p. 33. For other details on various recreational activities at the ranch see Reynolds diary; Carter monologue, p. 3; and Clements interview, p. 41. All in HSP Oral Hist. materials. Also see Rose Edginton, interviewed by Ross, 16 July 1975, unprocessed materials; Trude to Harriman, 5 May 1926, Drawer 1, File 31, for Mary Harriman's radio donation; and Trude to Harriman, 25 March 1930, Drawer 1, File 54, for a Harriman donation to the ranch library. All in HSP Archives.

Chapter Ten

The Railroad Ranch as a Retreat

The Railroad Ranch was used as a retreat by its owners from the earliest days. Because most of what is known about the owners' activities at the ranch comes from oral history interviews, we have a better understanding of what the Joneses and Harrimans did than what the Guggenheims did. There is no information available on the activities of earlier owners, such as Silas Eccles, except that they, like those who followed, enjoyed the ranch's fishing and hunting.

Each of the owners had a distinctive personality and each enjoyed special activities. However, all held the Railroad Ranch in special esteem. Charles Jones referred to it as "heaven on earth," while Roland Harriman claimed that from the first time his family saw the Island Park property it was "love at first sight." In the spring of 1936 Harriman wrote to Dan Clark, Sr. that he and Gladys were looking forward to visiting the ranch and "running the fat" off the steers. When they returned east in the fall Roland wrote Clark, "New York is a sad place to come to after our fine time with you. You may be sure we are going to hurry back as soon as possible."¹

Little is known about the Guggenheims' visits. An avid hunter, Solomon Guggenheim spent much of his time bird hunting on the Sheridan Ranch. Although we do not know the date of his first visit to the Island Park property, records show that he came in 1916, 1917 and 1918, and visited regularly thereafter until his death in 1949. The Guggenheim family apparently often travelled to the ranch by private rail car, but at least once they came by automobile from the east. The Guggenheims usually visited in late summer and early fall during bird hunting season. Like the Joneses and Harrimans, the Guggenheims brought servants to the ranch. The Guggenheim family members were also excellent riders, spending much of their time at the ranch horseback riding.²

Either Charles or Jenny Jones, or both of them together, visited the ranch nearly every year from 1955 until the mid-1970's. The Joneses spent longer periods of time at the ranch than any of the other owners. It was not unusual for Jenny to arrive in the late spring or early summer and stay until after the leaves had turned in the fall. Until he retired, Charles spent shorter periods at the ranch. While he is known to have visited in both spring and fall, he usually spent fall vacations there. After retirement and before the long illness preceding his death, Charles also occasionally spent the entire summer and fall season at the ranch. The Joneses hired servants to assist them--usually two local women--who would precede the family to the ranch by about a week to clean furniture and prepare the cottage.³

The Joneses often brought guests with them, the most frequent visitors being family members, especially their children and families, and Charles' sister and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. John Arledge of Bonham. These guests usually stayed with the family in the Jones House. Jones, and apparently many

of his business associates, were members of the local Coffee Pot fishing club. Frequently Coffee Pot and Flatrock Club members visited the Joneses during the day, but did not stay overnight at the ranch. Usually the Joneses lived quite informally, eating meals with their servants. Occasionally they had elaborate cocktail parties or formal dinners for guests, when they expected their maids to be on special behavior, as explained by Virginia Bowman:

I was always self conscious of doing the right thing. . . . When you served you had to have the silverware in a certain place and you had to use all these extra dishes . . . and the wine glasses and everything on the right places, and your napkins and everything in the right place. . . . Then you serve on one side and take off on another. . . . I was supposed to wear a dress and an apron, a little serving apron. . . . I was supposed to use a crumb brush . . . you know, where you brush the crumbs into a little pan. I didn't like that, trying to get around people, brushing their crumbs into that. . . . And she'd have her demitasse cups for coffee. . . . She used candles on the table when the guests were there, and⁴ I'd light the candles as a signal that dinner was ready.

Though they occasionally entertained formally, the Joneses had grown up in a small Texas town and enjoyed the rustic life at the ranch. While most ranch residents remember the Harrimans as being friendly and eager to participate in ranch activities, there is always a subconscious--if not conscious--recognition in their reminiscences that the Harrimans were of a different class. People did not forget that they were aristocratic, wealthy easterners. Their participation in cattle drives and other ranch activities is recounted with a certain amount of surprise--as if to say that "even millionaires can enjoy ranch work." On the other hand, the Joneses are more readily recognized as "common people," and in fact that term is frequently used to identify them. They were easy to work for, knew ranching and liked cattle, and treated their help as equals. They normally

ate with their staff, took them with them on outings and even paid their way to California to visit the Joneses during vacations.⁵

Unlike the other owners, there is no indication in the oral history reminiscences that the Joneses were hunters, though they certainly might have been. However, both loved the outdoors, and Charles was an expert fisherman who tied his own flies. Although Jenny loved wildlife, she did not fish and did not even like the taste of fish. Both Charles and Jenny enjoyed horseback riding, their favorite activity. They participated in the ranch cattle drives and usually rode each morning. In later years Jenny had an arthritic knee which prevented her from riding. She was an oil painter and also knitted, crocheted, and enjoyed crossword puzzles at the ranch. At least by the 1960s the Joneses had a television in their cottage. On Sundays the Joneses would frequently take their servants on a drive and to dinner, and sometimes treated them to a play in West Yellowstone.⁶

Jenny Jones must have enjoyed those Sunday excursions, for of all the stories about her the thing people remember most is her enjoyment of automobiles. Whereas the Harrimans enjoyed the ranch for its seclusion and privacy, Jenny liked travelling by car, visiting nearby communities. She was, however, a poor driver and one reason Virginia Bowman was hired as a "domestic helper" over other applicants was because she could drive. Jenny motored through the ranch enjoying the scenery and wildlife and also went regularly to nearby towns. She had her hair done frequently at Ashton, and though "common" and friendly, she did enjoy dressing up and had good taste in cosmetics. She was a witty conversationalist who loved to tell jokes. In 1976 Averell Harriman visited the ranch briefly, but Jenny spent the entire summer there. She was, therefore, the last of

the owners to really vacation at the ranch, and was the last one to leave. The final summer must have been difficult for her as she decided what furnishings to keep and which to give away or sell. "It was sad," recalled Mary Stronks, her long-time hairdresser. "Mrs. Jones . . . kind of hated that last year to end because it was kind of an end to [it]."⁷

Because they were visitors to the ranch longer than any of the other owners, and because oral history interviewers have shown more interest in documenting their activities than those of the Guggenheims, Joneses or Averell Harrimans, we know more about the vacation activities of Roland and Gladys Harriman than any of the other ranch owners. Roland first visited the ranch with his mother and family in August 1911. In 1917 he married Gladys Fries, who, according to Heidi Fatland, had first visited the ranch the previous year. From at least 1921 on, the Harrimans visited the ranch frequently, though certainly not annually, as is often stated. However, between 1948 and 1973 they did take an annual vacation to their Idaho property.⁸

Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of the Harriman visits was their insistence upon privacy. From their visits in the 1920s to their 1961 park donation agreement with the State of Idaho and its insistence upon seclusion, the desire for privacy at the ranch was their overwhelming concern. Whether it was the decades-long struggle to keep trespassers off the property, or Roland's consternation in 1933 that a Civilian Conservation Corps camp near Harriman East might infringe upon their seclusion, the Harrimans attempted to exclude all uninvited visitors. The ranch locked its gates permanently in the mid-1920s, and no one was allowed to enter except the few who had keys or were invited. Deane Meese recalled that one of her husband's major tasks while he was superintendent in the 1960s

and 1970s was to shield the Harrimans from people they did not want to see. There was no telephone in the Harriman Cottage and Meese screened all of their calls. Virginia Bowman recollected that ranch employees were not supposed to drive past the Harriman Cottage--in fact the Harrimans did not even want to see cars on the ranch, insisting they be kept in garages--and walking by the house was to be avoided if possible.

Some of the reason for privacy, especially in the early years, might have been concern over security. Ivy Carter remembered there was a local plot to kidnap Averell Harriman on one of his trips to the ranch, and Gladys and Roland seemed to take extra precautions when their daughters, Phyllis and Betty, were young. Tom Brower was primarily responsible for taking care of the Harriman girls in the 1920s and early 1930s, and he remembered that during a camping trip to Wyoming Roland had him wear a revolver in a shoulder holster and stay with the children at all times, as they had been threatened by kidnappers earlier that year in New York. Mostly, though, the Harrimans desired privacy for its own sake. As they lived a hectic life in New York, their weeks at the ranch were a time of relaxation away from all intrusions.¹⁰

While the Harrimans enjoyed privacy they were not recluses, frequently inviting guests to the ranch. In the 1920s and 1930s they often brought eastern friends with them on vacations. After World War II this practice virtually stopped as the Harrimans nearly always came by themselves. However, they did have long-time Idaho friends--particularly from Sun Valley--who visited them year after year, as did some of their grandchildren. Gladys's birthday party on October 6 was a particularly eventful occasion when the Harriman Cottage was filled with friends.¹¹

At times the Harrimans allowed others to stay at the ranch, or use it to hunt and fish, even when they were not present. In 1924 Harriman invited a young man from the New York Boys Club to spend the summer on the ranch to learn about life in the west. The following year he asked Sam Trude if a college friend of his who was having alcohol problems could convalesce there. Trude responded, "Send him out [and] we will take the kinks out of him." In 1929 the Harrimans paid all travel and living expenses for the Arden minister and his wife to spend six weeks at the ranch after the death of their two children. Then in 1936 the property was used for the honeymoon of an English couple who were friends of the Harrimans.¹²

Although there are no detailed records on ranch guests, it is known that over the years some prominent people--in addition to the owners--visited. Naturalist John Muir was Mary Harriman's guest in 1913. Dwight Morrow, partner in the J.P. Morgan Company and appointed Ambassador to Mexico in 1927 by President Calvin Coolidge, visited the ranch in 1921, and could well have been a more frequent guest as he was a close friend and business associate of Solomon Guggenheim. Investment analyst Dean Witter fished at the ranch in 1934 as a guest of the Harrimans, as did former President Herbert Hoover in 1941, although it is unclear if he was invited by Harriman or Guggenheim.¹³

The Harrimans' primary activities while at Island Park involved outdoors interests and ranch work. The entire Harriman family was fond of hunting and frequently scheduled their vacations around the various Idaho game seasons. Most of their shooting activities at the ranch involved bird hunting, although they also hunted bear and big game and decorated their cottage with several hunting trophies. Many of the big game kills were

probably made on their numerous trips to wilderness areas outside of the ranch boundaries. Roland was especially proud of his daughters' shooting exploits, and it is likely they also hunted while in Idaho. In 1930 he wrote Trude, after returning to Arden from the ranch:

You might be interested to know that I got a deer the night we arrived home and that Gladys also got a nice one, while I had the pleasure of being Betty's guide when she shot her first deer with one shot right through the heart. Phyllis also was blooded when she shot a wild turkey for our Thanksgiving dinner.

On their bird hunting trips, the Harrimans usually took their dogs, of which they were very fond. For some years they kept a kennel in Sun Valley, and in other years the dogs wintered at the ranch. Roland was also an avid fisherman, although Gladys did not share this enthusiasm. He fished the Henry's Fork and both Golden and Silver Lakes regularly, and was particularly fond of fly fishing. In 1933 he received a new dry-fly outfit from Gladys for Christmas, and as he wrote Trude, "When the ice goes out of the river you had better tip off the 'old boy' down in the hole in the rocks to look out for me. I am sure going after him next summer." When the Harrimans donated their ranch to the state they stipulated that only fly fishing would be allowed on Henry's Fork.¹⁴

Another favorite activity of the Harrimans was participating in ranch work. While they helped with the "mundane" chores, they were most fond of assisting on the cattle drives. Both Roland and Gladys were excellent riders and often went horseback riding while helping at the ranch or just for recreation. Ranch employees took special care of the owners' horses, fed them well and worked them prior to their visits. There was even a horse burial ground. When two of the Harrimans' horses died in

1935, Dan Clark, Sr. wrote Roland:

We laid old Roannie and Apache away on a nice sunny day before the storm, on an elevated spot in the elk pasture overlooking the entire ranch. We gave them a decent burial and feel that they are much better off than weathering the storms ahead of us.¹⁵

Another favorite vacation activity of the Harrimans was camping.

Often they would go to the Salmon River or to Wyoming. These, however, were not trips in which the Harrimans "roughed it." They were major excursions and the family took along a host of helpers and a goodly amount of equipment. In 1939, among the items stocking the Railroad Ranch camping equipment store room were the following:

- 1 complete stove
- 1 stove pipe set
- 2 folding stoves
- 1 Dutch oven
- 4 canvas buckets
- 2 rubber wash basins
- 1 rubber bath tub
- 2 teepee tents
- 1 wall tent
- 2 green canvas lean-to tents
- 2 folding toilet kit holders
- 1 folding table
- 4 folding chairs
- 2 folding shelves
- 6 Arctic beds
- 2 thin beds
- 6 air mattresses
- 1 case toilet paper
- 4 small bed pillows

Tom Brower later recalled a Harriman camping trip to Wyoming: "They hired a man from Moran, Wyoming, with seven saddle horses and thirteen pack horses, tents, pack, saddles, blankets, halter, ropes. . . . That was some pack outfit. It looked like a quarter mile long."¹⁶

The Harrimans enjoyed a variety of other activities during their Idaho vacations. Both Gladys and Roland were fond of walking and sometimes they played polo. Occasionally they went to Pond's Lodge to dance. Norva

Salley recalled that one time the Harrimans made a home movie in which she played the leading lady. Gladys was also fond of needlepoint. Regardless of the activity, the Harrimans insisted upon punctuality. Jack McGarry recalled that "Harriman was a very scheduled man, even in his personal life. And he was very punctual and expected others to be." This was perhaps a trait learned from his mother. "She always put great emphasis on operational efficiency, even in her own household," noted her biographer. "Dinner, for instance, was always served promptly at seven or eight o'clock, according to the place and season, like a railroad schedule."¹⁷

During a few years in the 1920s and 1930s the Harrimans apparently visited the ranch in either the late spring/summer or fall. However, from 1948 until their last trip in 1973 they always visited in the fall, staying through Gladys's gala birthday party in early October. They always brought a personal staff with them. In the early years when their daughters were young, the staff was quite large. Usually the entire party would arrive in a private railroad car. In 1926 the servant staff consisted of seven people: governess; nurse; maid; man-servant; handyman; and two porters. In the 1930s the Harrimans generally brought a staff of six. In addition, during many of these years, Tom Brower or others were employed partially by the IPL&CC and partially by the Harrimans to look after their private affairs, such as caring for horses or supervising and entertaining the Harriman girls. By the 1960s the size of the staff was reduced to a few housekeepers and cooks, although the Harrimans frequently brought their doctor with them. It is unknown if he was invited as a guest, a staff member, or perhaps both.¹⁸

The ranch assumed a different atmosphere when the owners were present. Fern Grover remembered that "it was electric around there. It just seemed like the whole feeling of the ranch was excitement when they came." Prior to their arrival the guest houses had to be put in order. Once they arrived the ranch hands had to do extra butchering and fishing to provide food. They also had to be careful to respect their privacy, which meant that resident children were usually not allowed to play around the building compound. Beverly Clements was a young girl when she lived at the ranch and remembered she was "always glad when they came and . . . always glad when they left." That attitude was probably typical of the adults, too. There seems to have been very little animosity towards the owners. In fact, the overwhelming attitude was that all the owners were friendly and considerate. Nonetheless, even the most loyal of the hired help must have been relieved when they left, for then ranch life returned to normal. Because of the famous names associated with the ranch it is easy to overemphasize its role as a retreat for its wealthy owners. For most of the year, however, life was considerably less "electric" than for the few weeks or months when they visited. During those long months the Island Park property was merely the Railroad Ranch, a working cattle farm.¹⁹

Endnotes, Chapter 10

¹ For Jones see Virginia Bowman, handwritten manuscript prepared for Ricks College speech class, 1962, in HSP Oral Hist. materials. For the Harriman quotations see, respectively, I Reminisce, p. 170; Harriman to Clark, 24 March 1936, Drawer 1, File 79; and Harriman to Clark, 13 Oct. 1936, Drawer 1, File 98, HSP Archives. For other letters in a similar vein see Harriman to Trude, 3 May 1932, Drawer 1, File 39; and Harriman to Clark, 15 March 1938, Drawer 2, File 6, HSP Archives.

² Information on early Guggenheim trips to the ranch comes from Eleanor May [Guggenheim], Countess Castle Stewart to Douglas Cotts, New York, 12 March 1982, made available to the authors by Cotts; and in Cotts to the authors, 29 Nov. 1983. Also see Jones and Allison interview, p. 6, HSP Oral Hist.

³ Bowman interview, pp. 1-2; Meese interview, p. 13; Stronks interview, pp. 1-2. HSP Oral Hist.

⁴ Bowman interview, pp. 7-8; Meese interview, p. 13; Berretts interview, p. 8. HSP Oral Hist. Details on the Arledge's frequent visits came in a letter from their long-time friend, Aubrey McAlister, Bonham, Texas, to the authors, 21 Sept. 1983.

⁵ A distinction between the way the Harrimans and Joneses were perceived is, of course, subjective, and comes from an overall reading of many oral history interviews. There is, therefore, no specific location to find such information. Perhaps the Bowman and Berretts interviews, HSP Oral Hist., come the closest to addressing the issue directly.

⁶ Bowman interview, pp. 3, 8, 12-13; Meese interview, p. 14, HSP Oral Hist.

⁷ The quotation is from Stronks interview, p. 10. Also see the rest of the interview for other details on Mrs. Jones; Bowman interview, pp. 9-13; and Berretts interview, p. 13. HSP Oral Hist.

⁸ Fatland, Railroad Ranch, p. 12 contains information about Gladys's early visit. The early visits of the Harrimans to the ranch, and the approximate numbers of such visits, have been documented in chapters 2 and 3 of this manuscript.

⁹ For concern over the CCC camp see Harriman telegram to Trude, 22 May 1933; and Trude to Harriman, 23 May 1933, Drawer 1, File 59, HSP Archives. Ferguson, "Proposed Harriman State Park," p. 13 states the gates were permanently locked in 1926. Certainly by the 1930s that was the case for Beverly Clements remembered locking them at all times. Clements interview, p. 19. For details on later efforts at privacy see Meese interview, p. 3; Berretts interview, p. 23; Bowman interview, p. 8. All in HSP Oral Hist.

¹⁰For the alleged attempted kidnapping of Averell see Carter and Jones interview, pp. 20-22, HSP Oral Hist. For protection of the Harriman girls see Brower interview, pp. 42-3, HSP Oral Hist.; and Brower, Life Story, pp. 48-9.

¹¹A photocopy of the Harriman guest book for 1948-73 is in unprocessed materials, HSP Archives.

¹²For details on these visits see Harriman to W. Frederick Mosel, The Boys Club, New York, 15 Sept. 1924, Drawer 1, File 47; Harriman to Trude, 20 Nov. 1925, and Trude telegram to Harriman, 28 Nov. 1925, Drawer 1, File 41; Harriman to Trude, 2 July 1929, Drawer 1, File 45; and Harriman to Clark, 23 June 1936, Drawer 1, File 98. All in HSP Archives.

¹³For these visits see Muir to Mr. and Mrs. Henry Fairfield Osborn, New York, 13 Sept. 1913 in Muir Papers, University of the Pacific, microfilm reel #11; Morrow to Harriman, 15 Nov. 1921, Drawer 1, File 55; Harriman to Witter, 23 May 1934, Drawer 1, File 57, both in HSP Archives; and Reynolds diary, entry for 9 Aug. 1941, HSP Oral Hist. materials.

¹⁴For the Harrimans' love of hunting see I Reminisce, p. 154. The quotation about Arden hunting is from Harriman to Trude, 1 Dec. 1930, Drawer 1, File 47, HSP Archives. For the Harrimans' enjoyment of dogs see I Reminisce, pp. 274-75; and Berretts interview, p. 24; Meese interview, p. 15, HSP Oral Hist. The fly fishing quotation is from Harriman to Trude, 21 March 1933, Drawer 1, File 57, HSP Archives.

¹⁵Clark to Harriman, 2 Nov. 1935, Drawer 1, File 56, HSP Archives. For more details on the Harrimans' ranch activities and care for their horses see Trude to Harriman, 24 March 1932, Drawer 1, File 39; and Trude to Guggenheim and Harriman, 1 May 1928, Drawer 1, File 48, HSP Archives. Also Salley interview, pp. 11-12, 16; and Jacobsens interview, pp. 35-6, HSP Oral Hist.

¹⁶An inventory of the 1939 holdings of the camping equipment store room can be found in Drawer 1, File 78, HSP Archives. For Brower's description see Life Story, pp. 46-7. Also see Harriman, I Reminisce, pp. 172-73; and Clements interview, p. 9, HSP Oral Hist.

¹⁷For polo and dancing at Pond's see Brower, Life Story, pp. 39, 44-5. For the home movie and miscellaneous other Harriman recreational activities see, respectively, Salley interview, pp. 20-21; and Meese interview, p. 12, HSP Oral Hist. For McGarry's quotation see St. Anthony Journal, 27 Apr. 1978. For Mary Harriman's punctuality see Campbell, Harriman, p. 18.

¹⁸For the 1926 staff see Harriman to Trude, 6 Aug. 1926, Drawer 1, File 45, HSP Archives. For further details on the Harriman staff in various years see Gover interview, p. 19; Clements interview, p. 21; Clements monologue, p. 6; Berretts interview, pp. 6-8; and Herb and Ethel Strange, interviewed by Kemp, 17 June 1980, pp. 8-11. All in HSP Oral Hist. materials.

¹⁹ For the quotations see Grover interview, p. 14; and Clements interview, p. 22. For other details about life on the ranch when the owners were present, and attitudes toward the owners, see Jacobsens interview, p. 26; Nichols interview, p. 9; B. Edginton interview, p. 15; Grover interview, pp. 3, 13; Clements interview, pp. 9, 12, 17-17; and Stanley Jenkins, interviewed by Johnson, 8 Dec. 1981, p. 5. All in HSP Oral Hist.

Chapter Eleven

Building Construction and Descriptions

This chapter is intended to supplement material contained in Heidi Fatland's The Railroad Ranch: From Prehistory to Park, pages 25-31. We have presented descriptions of the buildings in the same order as she, and our numbers, like hers, refer to her map on page 30. We have not attempted to duplicate Fatland's work, nor have we extensively researched construction dates. Generally, we agree with the dates listed in her book. In the few places where there are discrepancies we have pointed these out. Our goal has been to enhance Fatland's descriptions of the buildings--with first person narratives whenever possible--for the benefit of future interpreters. If we found nothing to add to Fatland's descriptions, we simply did not make an entry for that building.

General Information Concerning the Building Compound

Precise construction dates for many of the buildings on the compound cannot be ascertained. However, it is known that at least some ranch buildings were constructed by 1902. When the Island Park Land and Cattle Company sold lots to James Anderson and William Bancroft in that year, each

lot contained "buildings." It is possible that Silas Eccles' lot also contained a building or buildings.¹

The first real description of the building complex comes in a 1908 letter from Silas Eccles to Edward Harriman:

The houses are well built of logs, contain nine rooms, with a nice bathroom and toilet, hot and cold water; water being supplied from an artesian well of soft water. We also have a neat little generating light plant that supplies all of our requirements.²

One of the more important tasks for ranch employees in the early years was constructing buildings. Tom Brower, who worked for the IPL&CC in 1912, remembered spending the summer logging to obtain material for new buildings:

We'd just go out and get the right size logs and cut them down and then we had to cut them with a regular ribbon saw . . . then trim them up, cut them the right length. Then snake them in with the horses.³

Over the years the Home Ranch compound gradually grew. In 1917 it consisted of the following, with the building owner listed in parentheses:

- one log elk barn (IPL&CC)
- one log cattle barn (IPL&CC)
- one frame horse barn (IPL&CC)
- four miscellaneous log barns (one each owned by IPL&CC; Harrimans; Guggenheim; and Eccles)
- two miscellaneous frame barns (one each owned by Eccles/ Guggenheim; and Harrimans)
- an unknown number of log shops (IPL&CC)
- one log water tank (IPL&CC)
- one log electric light plant (IPL&CC)
- one log club house (IPL&CC)
- three log help quarters (two owned by IPL&CC; one by Guggenheim)
- one log foreman's house (IPL&CC)
- one log manager's office (IPL&CC)
- six log dwellings (owned as follows: Eccles = 1; Guggenheim = 2; Harrimans = 3)⁴

The colors of the buildings differed considerably from those of the 1980s. Beverly Clements, who lived at the ranch in the 1930s, remarked

during a visit to the Park in 1980, "The State of Idaho must have gotten a good deal of brown paint." She remembered many of the buildings as being natural. If a building was not natural wood, it was green and white: "The trim was white, but I think everything else was a green color, to blend in as much as it could."⁵

Specific Buildings

#4--THE BOYS HOUSE: Fatland states that this building was used to house the Harrimans' help. This is possible, but at least in the 1960s and 1970s it was used to house the Harrimans' guests. The first small room on the right was a storage area for fishing and hunting gear. The place always smelled like bats, and guests during this period frequently took brooms to bed to ward them off.⁶

#5--THE DINING COTTAGE: Fatland states that the Dining Cottage was used as guest housing by Mary Harriman. Apparently this practice continued under Roland and Gladys. Dan Clark, Jr. recalled that in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s the Harrimans' daughters stayed on the main floor, and after they married this is where they and their families stayed when visiting. Hired help, which the Harrimans brought with them to the ranch, stayed on the top floor.⁷

#6 & 6A--THE HARRIMAN COTTAGES: Beverly Clements recalled that the most distinctive thing about the interior of the original Harriman Cottage was its huge, dried, flattened snake skin which went up the wall beside the stairwell, extending the full length of the stairs. The cottage was also decorated with stuffed birds. In 1947-48 the old cottage was removed and the present building constructed. Although it has become customary to

refer to this as Roland and Gladys's cottage, it was built by both Roland and Averell, and jointly leased to them by the IPL&CC beginning in August 1948. Averell was a fairly frequent visitor after retiring from active public service in the 1960s.⁸

#7--THE JONES HOUSE: Fatland states that "very little is known about [this] building," but in actuality, since it was so recently constructed, it is one of the best remembered by those who lived on the ranch. The house was designed by Eddie Seagle, who was a close personal friend of Roland and Gladys Harriman. Seagle was an engineer at Sun Valley when it was controlled by the Union Pacific. A crew of Sun Valley workmen constructed the building in 1955. During the Jones's visits, one maid lived in the south room upstairs. The Joneses always had two maids, but it is unknown where the other one stayed. An interesting feature of the cottage is the attached dog house. Jones, like the Harrimans, was a great dog fancier. For a time this house was the home of "Ike," the dog President Eisenhower gave to Jones.⁹

The Jones House was the most decoratively furnished of any of the ranch buildings. Virginia Bowman, who worked for the Joneses for several summers, recalled the elegant furnishings. There was a large bearskin on the floor in front of the large fireplace, while various animal skins adorned the walls. Fresh-cut flowers in handsome vases were placed throughout the house frequently. There were copper ash trays which had to be polished regularly, and silver tumblers on the shelves by the fireplace. Camel saddles were placed at the feet of each bed and in the living room in front of the large window. The living room also had leather chairs, brown tables and a large brass or copper plate used as a coffee table. The showpiece

of the living room was a large Persian or Oriental rug which the Joneses owned before the cottage was constructed. Deane Meese recollected that the living room was actually designed to accommodate the rug.¹⁰

The most noteworthy of the house's furnishings were its original pieces of art. Charles and Jenny Jones had one of the country's largest collections of Charles M. Russell artwork, and his sketches, paintings and bronzes adorned their summer cottage. The National Cowboy Hall of Fame in Oklahoma eventually purchased the Jones collection. It is possible that the Russell painting currently in the Harriman Cottage is an original and was a part of the outstanding Jones collection originally.¹¹

#11--THE RANCH OFFICE: Beverly Clements recalled how this building looked when it was the home of Dan Clark, Sr. in the late 1930s and early 1940s:

Clark's house was quite elegantly furnished and had a covered porch out on the front of it, and they used to have a dining room table in there and they would eat out of those nice dishes. Not old chipped ones, but nice ones with stemware, not just milk glasses, but stemware. And the back part of it was the kitchen and Mrs. Clark usually had a cook¹² when they were here. Of course, they left in the winter time.

#13 & 13A--THE COOK HOUSES: Fatland states that the former cookhouse was torn down in 1949 and the present cookhouse constructed in approximately the same location. While we did not attempt to verify this, it does seem likely, for in 1948-49 the IPL&CC approved the expenditure of over \$25,000 to improve this and two other buildings because bats had "gotten between the walls of the houses over a period of years and . . . produced an unhealthy odor and caused the houses to be overrun with bugs."¹³

Ivy Carter cooked at the ranch in 1920-21 and described the former cookhouse:

It was quite a large building, two stories high and made of

logs. Inside there was a large dining room . . . This was where all the hired men ate their meals. The kitchen was large also. Part of the kitchen was sectioned off to form a big pantry, and also there was a good sized room for the wood, to be used in the large cook stove. The wood was also used in the big heating stove that stood in the dining room. There was a living room, besides the dining room. On the outside of this was a big porch across the east end of the house facing the river. There were two bedrooms on the main floor and a large open space upstairs for a sleeping quarters. There was a large porch across the back end of the house, on the west end. Just outside of this porch was a post with a bell on it that was used to call the hired men to their meal. Inside the kitchen on the wall was the wall style telephone. . . On the back porch stood the ice box.

During the 1920s and 1930s there was also a wood stove on the second floor. This second floor doubled as a classroom during the years children attended school at the ranch. Blanche Edginton, who was at the ranch during the same time as Carter, recalled that Ivy made all the men wash before eating. Each man sat at the same place each day, and when through eating picked up his place setting and took it to the kitchen.¹⁴

Randy Sandow and his wife Sharon lived in the present cookhouse in the mid-1970s. Their bedroom was upstairs while the living room was on the main floor, in the present carpeted area. At that time the hired hands ate at only one table. Randy recalled that workers who were even five minutes late to meals had to fix their own.¹⁵

#14--THE ICE HOUSE: Fatland states that the present ice house was constructed on its present site in 1921, but there seems to be some question about this. It is true that an ice house was built in 1921, as described in James Anderson's annual report for that year, which is Fatland's source of information: "We built a very nice ice house and cold storage with two compartments, and have same full of fresh ice just put in." However, Anderson does not state where the ice house was located, and there is no indication that it was necessarily the one presently on

the compound. Warren Knapp cut ice for the ranch in the 1940s and remembered that the ice house on the complex was really quite small and was referred to as the cooler. The main storage house was at Silver Lake. Randy Sandow--whose information is admittedly second hand as he was not employed until the 1970s--stated that the ice house presently on the compound was the one formerly at Silver Lake, and that it was moved from the lake after the ranch obtained electricity. We were unable to confirm either version of the story, and Park employees might want to question other informants concerning this matter.¹⁶

#16 & 16A--THE MILK HOUSE: There also is some discrepancy in Fatland's date for this building's construction. She states that it was constructed around 1930, but clearly there was a milk house on the compound--if not this one then another--earlier than this. Ivy Carter worked at the ranch in 1920-21 and recalled that the milk house was a small, one-room structure which was just a "few rods away" from the back porch of the cookhouse. This would put it in approximately the same location as designated on Fatland's map, and there is no evidence that they were not, in fact, the same building.¹⁷

Both Carter and Beverly Clements, who lived at the ranch in the 1930s, recalled the interior of the milk house and its function. "This is where the chore boy would bring the milk after milking the cows," stated Carter. "Part of it would be separated by the hand operated cream separator. Everyone who worked on the ranch . . . and the guests . . . would get their share of the milk and cream. All the milk cans and budkets and the separator had to be washed and scalded." Clements reminisced that

we had a huge, . . . probably five foot tall milk separator in there and that's where as soon as the cows were milked,

they took the milk in there . . . and separated it so that we never had bowls of milk sitting around with the cream rising to the top. It was always separated. It was served in two different pitchers and you never drank the whole milk. You drank¹⁸ the separated milk and the cream was used to make butter.

ELK BARNS: Fatland states that there were two elk barns. We could only find mention of one, but did not thoroughly investigate the matter. Beverly Clements recalled that at least one of the elk barns was huge, two to three times the size of the horse and cow barns, and was not precisely a barn as it had no front or end walls, and no doors that shut. Elk-- and people--could simply walk through. It did, however, have stalls, and it was a very popular nesting area for swallows. It is known that one elk barn was quite tall and the IPL&CC carried special tornado or wind insurance on it for this reason.¹⁹

GOLDEN LAKE DAM: Martin Garn and George Edginton destroyed the original Golden Lake dam because it backed water off Railroad Ranch property, inviting "poachers" who could legally fish there since they did not have to trespass to get to the lake. The present dam was constructed in 1921 and greatly alleviated the problem, although a small portion of the lake still extended beyond ranch boundaries, and, as the owners found in the 1950s, people could therefore still legally fish there. Ivy Carter's father contracted to build the dam, and she recalled how it was done:

In the spring of 1921 my dad, William Walter Edginton, took the contract for and started building the dam across Thurmon Creek to form the Golden Lake. . . . He hired seven or eight men to help with the project. Daddy set up one large tent near the dam site which was used for a kitchen and dining room area. My mother, Mable Ann Edginton, cooked for all the hired help and her own family. Several other tents were had for sleeping quarters. No mechanized machinery was used at this time. It was man-power²⁰, horses, scrapers, plows, fresnoes, picks, and shovels.

Endnotes, Chapter 11

- ¹ See Chronological File of Deeds, unprocessed materials, HSP Archives.
- ² Eccles to Harriman, 9 Dec. 1908, Drawer 1, File 4, HSP Archives.
- ³ Brower interview, p. 9, HSP Oral Hist.
- ⁴ List of Buildings, 5 Apr. 1917, Drawer 1, File 11, HSP Archives.
- ⁵ Clements monologue, p. 6, HSP Oral Hist. materials.
- ⁶ Interview with Tom and Linda Dixon, 28 May 198?, unprocessed materials, HSP Archives.
- ⁷ Dan Clark, Jr. questionnaire, HSP Oral Hist. materials.
- ⁸ Clements interview, p. 18, HSP Oral Hist.; Minutes of the IPL&CC, 16 Dec. 1948, Drawer 3, HSP Archives.
- ⁹ For the Sun Valley construction of the house see Meese interview, p. 1; and Dan Clark, Jr. questionnaire. For the maid's quarters see Bowman interview, p. 2. Virginia Bowman served as a maid to the Joneses for many summers. For the dog house see St. Anthony Journal, 27 Apr. 1978. The Seagles visited the Harrimans nearly every summer they were at the ranch and were among their closest Idaho friends. See Harriman Guest Book, unprocessed materials, HSP Archives.
- ¹⁰ Bowman interview, pp. 5-7; Meese interview, p. 1; and Bowmen, handwritten manuscript prepared in 1962 for a Ricks College speech class, accompanying her interview. All in HSP Oral Hist. materials.
- ¹¹ Bowman interview, pp. 5-7; Berretts interview, pp. 19-20. Both in HSP Oral Hist. Also see Dixons interview, unprocessed materials, HSP Archives. For more on the Jones Russell collection see Persimmon Hill, A Publication of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center, vol. 11, #3 & 4, esp. pp. 101, 108-09.
- ¹² Clements monologue, p. 6, HSP Oral Hist. materials.
- ¹³ Minutes of the IPL&CC, 16 Dec. 1948, Drawer 3, HSP Archives.
- ¹⁴ Carter monologue, p. 1; Edginton interview, pp. 11, 23. HSP Oral Hist. materials.

¹⁵Sadow interview, Side 1, HSP Oral Hist.

¹⁶Anderson, 1921 Annual Report, p. 3, Drawer 1, File 15, HSP Archives.
Knapp interview, p. 15; Sadow interview, Side 2. HSP Oral Hist.

¹⁷Carter monologue, p. 2, HSP Oral Hist. materials.

¹⁸Ibid.; Clements monologue, p. 4. HSP Oral Hist. materials.

¹⁹Clements interview, p. 11, HSP Oral Hist.; Thiele to Clark, 3 June 1937, Drawer 1, File 77, HSP Archives.

²⁰Carter and Edginton interview, p. 6. Also see Jones and Allison interview, p. 7; and Jones and Carter interview, p. 8. HSP Oral Hist.



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