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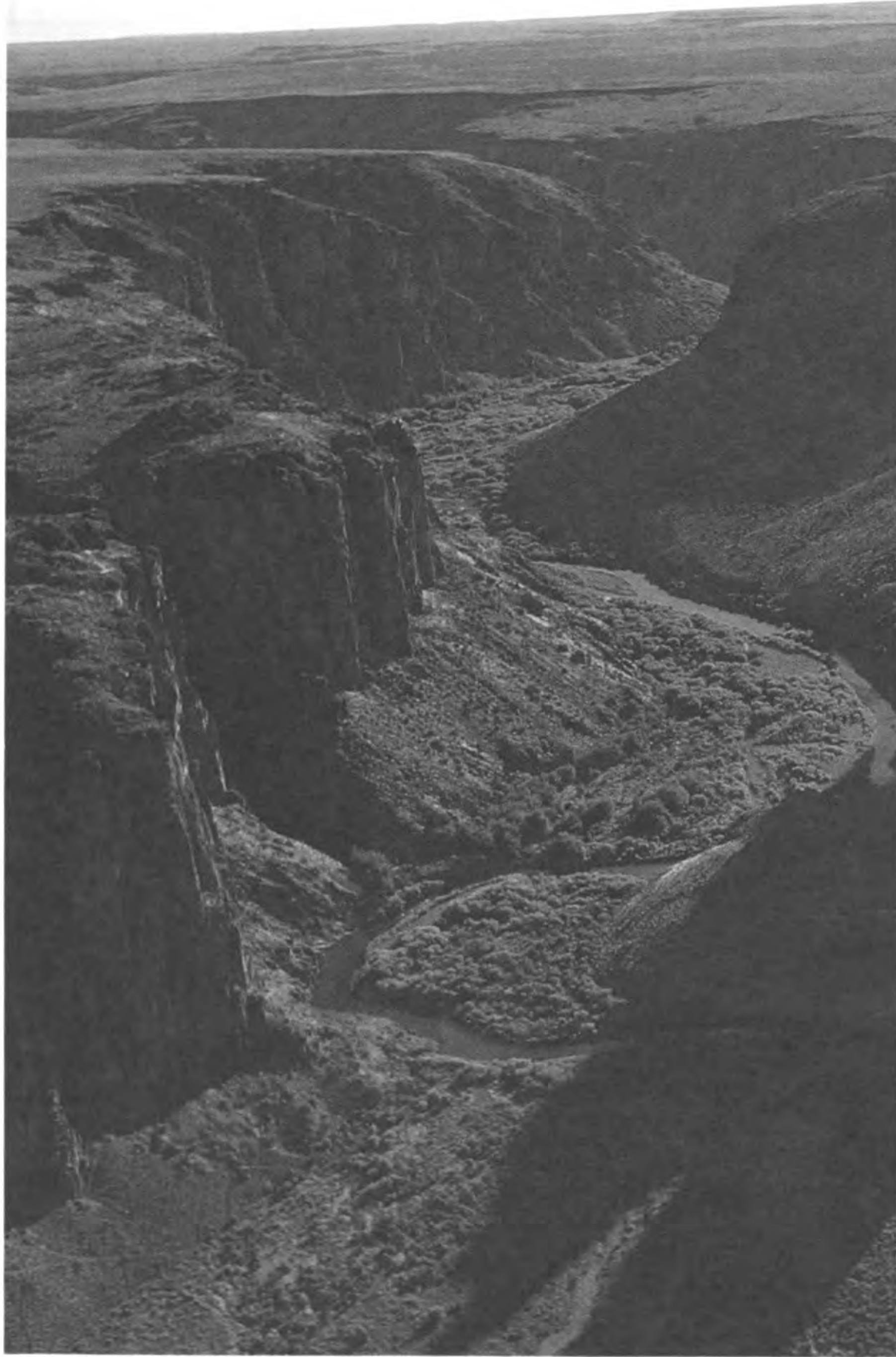

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History of Idaho

Volume 2

BY

LEONARD J. ARRINGTON

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TO MY PARENTS

N. W. and Edna Corn Arrington
Pioneer Settlers in Twin Falls County
and to
Merle Wells
Superb Idaho State Historian

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CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

World War I

WHEN the Great War began in Europe in 1914 Idaho had been a state only twenty-four years. Men and women were still living who had come into the Clearwater, Boise Basin, and Owyhee mining regions in the 1860s; who had worked on the Utah and Northern, Oregon Short Line, and Northern Pacific railroads in the 1870s and 1880s. Men still alive had known Chief Joseph, both on the battlefield and in his retirement. Women still talked of the first vote they cast after suffrage and they were proud and respectful of Permeal J. French, superintendent of public instruction. Six of Idaho's governors were still alive, one of whom, James H. Brady, was serving as United States Senator. Idaho's brilliant and respected Senator William E. Borah had been reelected to his second term in 1912. Blacks on Idaho farms and in cities had been born as slaves in Mississippi, Alabama, and North Carolina, and on the edge of Idaho's capital city groups of Indians still pitched their tents. Idaho was becoming famous for her potatoes and for her

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White Satin sugar, as she had been famous for her thunderous Shoshone Falls in the days before Magic Valley had risen like a mirage in the desert.

A few automobiles had appeared in Boise, Pocatello, and Twin Falls. Local opera houses were still scheduling "players" from back east. Schoolteachers had diplomas from Lewiston, Albion, Moscow, the College of Idaho, and Ricks. People enjoyed county fairs and church socials, spelling bees and sleigh rides, Fourth of July and Thanksgiving, rabbit hunts and salmon fishing.

In addition to Senator Borah, Idaho was best known early in the century as the home of Walter Johnson, the "Weiser Wonder," arguably the greatest baseball player of all time. Born in western Kansas in 1887, Johnson drifted to the West in 1905 and tried out for some Pacific Coast baseball teams but failed to make the grade. In 1906 Weiser boosters organized a local baseball team and, through a mutual contact in Portland, offered Johnson a contract. He played a few games in the spring of 1906. Five hundred persons watched Johnson strike out thirteen in a 1-to-0 win against Emmett on June 20. Emmett players, supposed to be the "champs," were so crestfallen that they demanded a rematch, which was held on July 4. Once again Weiser was victorious; Emmett players lamented, "too much Johnson." Weiser won against Nampa, Boise, and Mountain Home but lost to Caldwell. Nineteen-year-old Johnson had pitched eighty-five innings without a score against him and struck out 166 men.

Word soon spread, and the very next year, in 1907, the Washington Senators signed him on. The "Weiser Wonder" again performed his magic. In his second season with the Senators he accomplished the impossible: he shut out the New York Yankees three games in a row. In all, Johnson pitched for the Senators twenty-one years, during which he set a world record for strikeouts (3,508) and shutouts (113) and pitched fifty-six

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consecutive scoreless innings.[1] In 1913 he won thirty-six games while losing only seven. His 416 victories, next to Cy Young the highest achieved by any pitcher in this century, were all the more remarkable for having been gained on behalf of a perennial second-division team. Johnson's principal weapon was his fastball, which, with the possible exception of Bob Feller, is generally considered the fastest of all time and earned him the nickname "Big Train."

While Idahoans were enjoying small-town baseball, dreadful events were transpiring in Europe. On July 28, 1914, Austria declared war on Serbia, and within a few days Germany, Russia, France, and Great Britain were also at war. Idaho was a long way from the battlefront; but when the Germans overran Belgium, Idahoans conducted a statewide drive to purchase flour for the Belgian Relief Fund.

In the fall of 1914 Idahoans were preoccupied with the political campaign. Republican John M. Haines, a Boise realtor since 1890 and former mayor of Boise, had been elected governor in 1912 and had served well in that office. To most observers his reelection seemed secure—that is, until two weeks before the voting, when the Boise *Statesman* revealed that State Treasurer O. V. Allen, also a Republican, had submitted his resignation. An audit of the treasurer's books showed a defalcation. Charged with embezzlement, Allen pled guilty on October 22 to taking $93,112 and was sentenced to five to ten years in the state penitentiary. When he first took office, Haines had promptly cleared out obvious corruption. Now, although the state treasurer was a constitutional officer in no way responsible to the governor, many voters apparently felt that Haines should have been aware of what was going on. Politically damaged, Haines was defeated by his Democratic opponent. The newly elected governor was Moses Alexander, also a Boise resident, who operated a retail chain of men's wearing apparel. He now became the nation's first elected Jewish governor.

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Moses Alexander was born in Bavaria in 1853, the youngest of eight children. In 1867, at the age of fourteen, he immigrated to the United States and settled in Chillicothe, Missouri, where he worked as a salesman in his cousin's store. He became fluent in English, studied history and government, and avidly read the St. Louis *Republic*, a Democratic newspaper. In 1875 he met Hedwig Kaestner, who had emigrated with her family from Saxony in eastern Germany when she was twelve. It pleased Alexander that she decided to convert to Judaism; she was given the new name of Helena. The couple were married in St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1876, and subsequently became the parents of four children. Alexander was elected to the Chillicothe City Council, then mayor of the city for two terms. In 1891 he left Chillicothe bound for Alaska. En route, he stopped in Boise, liked what he saw, bought a former saloon on the corner of Main and Ninth streets, and opened a men's clothing store. He later expanded with stores in Emmett, Weiser, Caldwell, Nampa, Twin Falls, Burley, and Blackfoot.

In 1895 Alexander joined with other Jews to organize a Reform Jewish congregation, Beth Israel, and a synagogue was built in 1896. The next year, he agreed to run for mayor of Boise on a nonpartisan ticket and was elected. He served a second term. In 1908 he ran for governor but was narrowly defeated by James H. Brady. He declined nomination in 1910 but was selected again in 1914. Campaigning strongly for economy in state government and for Prohibition, he was elected.

Alexander's popularity with voters can be partly explained by his sense of humor. "Not far from Caldwell . . . he came upon a cluster of farmers," wrote one reporter. Wanting to address them on "the issues of the day," he noticed a low shed nearby and offered to speak from the top of it. "But they store manure in it," commented one of his fellow-travelers. Alexander mounted the shed, looked out over his impromptu audience, and observed: "This is the first time in my life I've ever spoken from a Republican platform!"[2]

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Alexander's first action as governor was against the liquor traffic. Idaho had embraced local option on Prohibition in 1909, but Alexander pressed for statutory Prohibition and also for an amendment to the state constitution that would eliminate the saloon. The Senate passed the resolution unanimously and the House by a three-fourths majority. Alexander signed the bill, and it became effective on January 1, 1916. In the November 1916 election, with Prohibition already in effect by legislation, the citizens approved the amendment to make it a constitutional provision. They also reelected Alexander by a narrow majority. In fact, the Democratic state ticket was swept into office; for the first time since the days of Populism and free silver the Democrats controlled the legislature. A major piece of legislation approved and signed by the governor was an act, directed against Bill Haywood's Industrial Workers of the World, making advocacy of armed revolution a criminal offense. This criminal syndicalism statute was enforced without hesitation, particularly in northern Idaho.

Early in 1916 Francisco "Pancho" Villa and his Mexican troops raided across the border into New Mexico. America was incensed at this violation, and General John J. Pershing was assigned to pursue Villa. Governor Alexander sent a telegram to President Woodrow Wilson offering enlisted men and officers equipped and trained. Wilson signed the National Defense Act authorizing use of state militias to guard against invasion, and in June 1916 the Secretary of War requested that Governor Alexander send a regiment to the Mexican border. He mobilized the Idaho National Guard, Second Regiment, some 1,800 men. Among the volunteers was his son Nathan. They arrived at Nogales, Arizona, on July 12 and served there until December 8. Army instructions were that they should be mustered out at Fort Douglas, Utah, but Governor Alexander was outraged. He fired off telegrams to the Army and to Idaho's congressional delegation, and the orders were revised to permit the Idaho regiment to be discharged out of Boise Barracks.

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Early in 1917 the war in Europe that had seemed so remote for two and one-half years suddenly threatened to involve the United States. The Germans began to wage unrestricted submarine warfare; they sank five American ships in the month of March. Responding to a presidential request, Congress on April 6, 1917, declared war on the Central Powers. Governor Alexander echoed support that the President "acted rightly and it was the only thing for him to do to protect the integrity of the flag."[3] The recently demobilized Second Regiment was reassembled and prepared for service as the Second Idaho National Guard. Drafted into United States service on August 5, 1917, the Second Idaho consisted of twelve full infantry companies, a machine-gun company, a supply company, and a headquarters company. The men, who came from all counties and most communities in the state, were trained at Camp Lewis, Washington, shipped to Camp Greene at Charlotte, North Carolina, and there were merged with other units, much to the regret of the officers and men. The first battalion became part of the 146th Field Artillery, which fought in several major engagements during the final year of the war. The second battalion was assigned to guard duty on railroad bridges and tunnels in the Northwest until October 1917, when its members joined the 116th Engineers. The third battalion was incorporated in the 146th Machine Gun Battalion. The machine-gun company was assigned to the 147th; and the field hospital unit was divided among four companies. All these organizations were attached to the 41st Division. From Camp Greene the men were moved to ports of embarkation and boarded British and American transports for France.

The large contingent of the 41st Division arrived at Le Havre, Saint Nazaire, Brest, and Bordeaux, France, in November and December 1917. Another contingent left in June 1918 and arrived at the front in time to assist in wiping out the Saint Mihiel salient near Metz. They also saw service in the Meuse-Argonne drive and the Ypres-Lys offensive. Other major engagements in

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which Idaho men fought were Cantigny, Chateau-Thierry, and the battles along the Marne, Aisne, Vesle, and Oure rivers. Cantigny, the first offensive in which American troops took part, was a key engagement that gave the Allies confidence in the fighting ability of American soldiers. At Chateau Thierry, the turning point of the war, American soldiers and marines halted the German advance to Paris. The First American Army, in taking the Saint Mihiel salient, prepared the way for the Meuse-Argonne drive through the Argonne Forest that proved to be one of the great battles in American history. These and other offensives resulted in the Armistice of November 11, 1918.[4]

On May 16, 1918, 2,786 young men who had reached the age of twenty-one registered under the Selective Service regulations, and the Selective Service Act of August 21, 1918, boosted the number of Idaho military registrants to 105,337. By July 22, 1918, some 12,590 Idahoans were in Army service, of whom 5,060 were volunteers. The total number of Idaho men and women in United States forces was 19,279, including Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Aviation Corps, and nurses. More than half, 10,028, went overseas. A total of 782 Idaho men lost their lives, and many others suffered from battle wounds and disease. On March 1, 1918, Idaho suffered its first casualty when Captain Stewart W. Hoover, of Blackfoot, was killed in action. Another Idahoan, Thomas C. Neibaur of Sugar City, received the Congressional Medal of Honor for extraordinary heroism. Although seriously wounded, he successfully arrested the counterattack of a German unit, killed four who attacked him at short range, and took eleven prisoners. Twenty-three Idaho men received the Distinguished Service Cross for exceptional bravery in battle.[5]

Since Allied countries could not produce what they needed to carry out the war effort, Idaho farmers and ranchers were urged to step up their production. There was every incentive to do so, because for a few years farmers received unprecedented prices.

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Wheat prices rose from $.72 a bushel in 1913 to $1.98 in 1918. The price of oats and hay doubled. Still, the labor shortage was a constraint, so Idaho state officials went so far as to invade saloons and poolrooms where those men who spurned jobs were arrested. Governor Alexander even issued a proclamation closing pool halls during the day so that "pool hall loafers" would have no alternative but to work. Businessmen volunteers in Boise, Twin Falls, and Idaho Falls also helped the farmers. Highway building was postponed so that more men would be available to plant crops. District judges were asked to postpone civil cases where a jury was needed until after the planting (or harvesting) season. Schools were expected to give spring and fall "vacations" to enable young people to thin sugar beet plants and pick potatoes. The governor issued a proclamation in February 1918 calling for 900 skilled workmen to go to the West Coast to work as shipbuilders. Much to the governor's satisfaction, the quota soon was filled.

On May 7, 1917, Governor Alexander appointed a State Council of Defense to coordinate all of Idaho's activity in behalf of the war. A local council was organized in each county to work with the state council in promoting patriotism and waging war on disloyalty, ferreting out deserters, draft slackers, and potential subversives. Because the Second Idaho was called into national service, the state was left without troops for internal defense in case of emergency. Alexander therefore authorized the creation of a battalion of Home Guards. Companies were organized at Boise, American Falls, Pocatello, Sandpoint, and Moscow.[6]

Members of the Industrial Workers of the World had gone to work in lumber camps in north Idaho. Accusations mounted that the IWW was financed by German agents and was intent on shutting down the industry. Keeping in mind the legislature's passage of sabotage laws and the timber interests' repeated requests for intervention, the Council of Defense asked the governor to declare martial law and jail officers of the IWW. When

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Alexander went to north Idaho and personally talked with lumber-mill managers, lumberjacks, and IWW organizers, he found that the disturbances were "considerably overdrawn." Nevertheless, local police units imprisoned some IWW members, prompting the union to threaten a general strike until they were released. The governor then asked for federal troops and called up a company of the National Guard. The strike, if indeed one was planned, was averted.

IWW organizing activity continued, however, and in March 1918 the labor group threatened to storm the St. Maries jail to free one of their members charged with criminal syndicalism. Alexander called the IWW "an organization based on sedition, cowardice and treason." The Sandpoint Home Guard was ordered to St. Maries and possible violence was prevented.[7] This crisis was the only time any unit of the Home Guard was called into active service.

A part of the war effort required economizing on wheat, meat, and sugar, with "wheatless Mondays" and "meatless Tuesdays." Herbert Hoover, head of the War Food Administration, asked for "Hoover menus" of rye bread, no meat, and honey in place of sugar. Women were taught how to make sugarless, eggless, milkless, butterless cakes; many of them started home gardens and organized canning clubs. At Pocatello, a regular stop on the transcontinental railroad, local women maintained a Red Cross canteen unit that served soldiers on their way to the West Coast, in both the months preceding and the month after the Armistice. During December 1918, for example, the Pocatello canteen served 500 gallons of coffee, 30,000 sandwiches, and 30,000 doughnuts.[8]

Public demonstrations of patriotism and support were common. Draftees were sent off with parades, dances, and farewell gifts. Women were organized to knit socks, vests, jackets, scarfs, and wristlets; they prepared bandages for hospitals; some of them entered the labor force to replace men, even doing

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heavy work in railroad shops. To cite the example of one Idaho community, by the beginning of November 1917 Pocatello women had contributed 223 bedshirts, 280 pairs of pajamas, 68 shoulder wraps, 100 bathrobes, 241 surgical gowns, 80 pairs of bedsocks, 84 hot-water-bag covers, 144 ice-bag covers, 60 operating caps, 80 operating helmets, and 2 large boxes of surgical dressings.[9]

Educators were also involved. A student Army Training Corps at the University of Idaho compensated for dwindling enrollment. An angry band of educators in Lincoln County attempted to punish a colleague for "traitorous" behavior (expressing pacifist sentiments) by throwing him into the icy waters of the Wood River. Councils of Defense in Kootenai, Idaho, Minidoka, Twin Falls, and Lincoln counties eventually forced the closure of parochial schools maintained by German Methodists, Lutherans, and Mennonites.[10]

In addition, massive drives were mounted to sell government Liberty Bonds and to gather donations to the Red Cross, Y.M.C.A., Salvation Army, United War Work, and other forms of relief. Former Governor James Hawley, in his *History of Idaho*, summarized Idaho's contributions to war finances as follows (figures rounded out):

Liberty bonds purchased	$44,400,000
War Savings Stamps	5,900,000
Red Cross Donations	700,000
United War Drive	450,000
All other relief work	1,300,000
Total	$52,750,000

A total of $120 was collected for every man, woman, and child in the state—a creditable accomplishment.[11]

Support for the war effort sometimes verged on paranoia. Guards were stationed at Arrowrock Dam, railroad bridges,

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grain elevators, and power plants, although no evidence exists of any attempted German sabotage. North Idaho mine and smelter operators asked the War Department for bayonets to prevent disruptions. When that request was denied, they asked that the state supply guards.

In 1917 Idaho had about 4,000 German-born citizens and another 1,000 of Austro-Hungarian birth, as well as 18,000 native-born Idahoans of German ancestry and another 3,000 of Austrian origin. The more zealous local citizens scrutinized the 16,000 "German" inhabitants carefully. Dunkard congregations at Cavendish and Teakean were pacifists. Germans also comprised most of the pacifist Mennonite congregations at Aberdeen, Kimama, and Adelaide. They declared their loyalty to America but did not believe in war.

Not surprisingly, anti-German emotions surfaced. In one case a person telephoned county offices in Blackfoot to say that residents of the small "German" settlement at Taber, eighteen miles northwest of Blackfoot, openly opposed the war and had raised the German flag over the schoolhouse. Outraged Bingham County citizens gathered at Blackfoot, and a group of them, estimated at from 40 to 100, fully armed, commandeered a train and went to Taber. No German flag floated aloft; the stunned local citizens watched while the mob raised the Stars and Stripes over Taber and then departed.[12]

Self-appointed vigilantes visited various punishments upon citizens suspected of being disloyal:

> The Pocatello owner of a facsimile gold-plated iron cross was jailed. Snoopers discovered a photograph of Wilhelm II in a hotel room in Troy; thereupon, a "shouting crowd" compelled the owner of the photograph to destroy it and publicly to "kiss the Stars and Stripes." At Rexburg, rowdies masked their identities behind Ku Klux Klan costumes before hunting for "pro-Germans." The mob captured and chained one accused individual to an electric light pole on

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which a sign was posted: "I was put here as a warning, also as an example of a Pro-German, a Kaiser lover."[13]

Local vigilance committees and patriot leagues, as they did throughout the nation, kept an eye on aliens, strangers, and suspicious persons, with little concern for civil rights and enlightenment. German books were burned, meetings of groups that permitted talks in German were forbidden, and the teaching of German in high schools was dropped in favor of French or no foreign language. Although he was a German immigrant, the governor did not discourage these moves. Indeed, he declared himself to be "against the German language, German Kultur, and German propaganda."[14] He was also unsympathetic to Idaho's many German immigrants who, because of their accent, were harassed by neighbors. He simply responded that they must prove their loyalty. Perhaps because he was Jewish, no one ever questioned his resolute American patriotism.

The 1918 election went on as usual. Senator Borah was reelected (with the private support of Woodrow Wilson); John F. Nugent, a Democrat who was appointed by Governor Alexander to fill the vacancy in the other senatorial slot when Republican James H. Brady died, was elected. Alexander chose not to run again, and Republican D. W. Davis was victorious in the governor's race. Idaho now had two Congressmen, and both Republican representatives were reelected—Addison T. Smith and Burton L. French.

Thanks partially to the American victory at Saint Mihiel in September 1918 and the substantial American contributions in the Meuse-Argonne offensive that began September 16 and continued into November, Bulgaria, Austria, and Turkey surrendered, and the Germans signed an Armistice on November 11, 1918. Idahoans celebrated with bells, whistles, sirens, drums, horns, and steam calliopes. Thousands marched in parades and listened to victory talks by Governor Alexander and city mayors.

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The Kaiser was burned in effigy. Bands played "There'll be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight." As health officials warned, however, a deadly price was paid for this exuberance.

In the spring of 1918 a relentless epidemic called Spanish influenza spread through Europe, Asia, Africa, and North and South America in what became the most serious pandemic since the Black Death of the fourteenth century. In a period of twelve months approximately 25 million persons died of influenza-pneumonia, including 500,000 Americans. The disease struck down and killed more American soldiers than did enemy firepower. The disease had touched America in the spring of 1918, but a more virulent wave of infection was brought to army camps throughout the nation as soldiers returned from France in the fall. Far deadlier than earlier strains, this influenza struck quickly and produced a high fever. Many of the cases developed into severe bronchial pneumonia, producing an alarming number of deaths not only among the very young and very old, but also among persons between the ages of twenty and forty.

The epidemic reached Idaho in early October 1918. The front pages of the state's newspapers were covered with reports of the victorious advance of American, British, French, and Italian troops. On the back pages were small dispatches from eastern cities telling of deaths from "The Spanish Flu." A few infections were reported in Boise, Caldwell, and Meridian. In compliance with the recommendation of the U.S. Surgeon General, Idaho's State Board of Health issued a statewide order, effective October 10, 1918, prohibiting all public assemblies "as a precaution." This order included the closure of theaters, churches, town assembly halls, and dance halls. All gatherings of a public nature were canceled, including election-year campaign rallies, Liberty Loan meetings, and dances. Schools were closed. Several communities adopted a quarantine under which no passenger was permitted to leave the train as it passed through the town, nor was any automobile allowed to stop there. Society

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matrons, members of civic clubs, schoolteachers, church groups, and other volunteers responded to calls for nursing help. Neighborhood women entered homes where everyone in the family was down and drew water, cooked meals, answered the telephone, and scrubbed floors. Some of the volunteer cooks, nurses, and "helpers" contracted the disease and lost their lives in the service of others.

With the announcement of the Armistice, the caution of the previous month was thrown aside. Celebrators gave little thought to the inevitability of contagion, and the result was predictable. Thousands were infected with the disease, hospitals were jammed, and business slowed to a standstill. Local and state boards of health promptly tightened regulations: all influenza cases had to be quarantined, public meetings deferred, and public telephones fumigated. Hotels and eating places were required to disinfect dishes and silver. Barbers were directed to disinfect razors, brushes, and towels. All buildings with influenza patients inside were placarded with a large quarantine sign, "INFLUENZA." Spitting on the sidewalks or floors, even loafing on street corners, were prohibited. Anyone venturing outside had to wear cotton gauze masks to prevent the spread of germs by coughs and sneezes.

Minidoka County placed guards at all roads into the county; anyone trying to enter was forcibly restrained. Challis placed guards on the highway in the mountain divide between the town and Mackay to keep people from bringing in the disease. Among those stopped were the county commissioners, the district judge, and many hunters. Gooding County did the same, as did Bonneville. Most towns continued their quarantines into March 1919, when the epidemic began to subside. The effect of the epidemic on Native Americans was especially baneful. Idaho's Indian population of 4,208 developed 634 cases of influenza and suffered 72 deaths.

Although no reliable statistics recorded the total number of

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deaths in Idaho, reports from neighboring states (Montana, Utah, Washington, and Oregon) suggest that the impact of the influenza epidemic on Idaho was severe. Rich and poor, farmers and factory workers, lumbermen and miners—many were stricken. Doctors, nurses, and hospitals were taxed as never before. Every hamlet was affected, every neighborhood lost children, parents, and grandparents. To this day medical historians are not certain why the epidemic of 1918–19 took place, why it was so deadly, why it ended, or where it went. But the Idahoans of those years remember it well.[15]

Idahoans proved their patriotism during World War I. The rate of war service was high and the support of citizens was evident in the hearty send-offs to draftees, street demonstrations, band concerts, fireworks, and farewell suppers. Idaho soldiers exhibited courage, resourcefulness, and alertness. Thousands of craftsmen not drafted migrated to Washington, Oregon, and California to work in shipyards and war plants. Laborers who remained supplied the Allied war effort with food and feed, minerals, and timber products in unprecedented amounts. Women found employment in railroad and machine shops, mills, and grain elevators. Housewives organized to furnish aid to soldiers, European refugees, and families of soldiers killed or wounded in action. Idaho's schoolchildren helped with the weeding and harvesting of farm crops, while their teachers served as substitute nurses during the influenza epidemic. Almost everyone bought war bonds or thrift and war savings stamps. Idahoans were fully involved in the great crusade to save the world for democracy. The decade that followed the Armistice, however, brought disillusionment and misfortune to many.

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121.

122.

121. Governor of Idaho from 1914 to 1918 was Moses Alexander, the nation's first elected Jewish head of a state. ISHS 72–74.238.
122. Armistice Day Parade in Troy, November 11, 1918, included a veteran of the Civil War, Mr. Weaver, who is holding the U.S. flag. UIL 5–77–5A.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

The Faltering Twenties

AMERICA'S transition from war to peace was not smooth; the war had borne bitter fruit. With little recognition of the consequences to the domestic economy, the government began to terminate war orders as soon as the Armistice was signed. Federal regulations that had been adopted to buttress the war effort were rescinded, and millions of American troops were discharged. Early in 1919 the pent-up demand for consumers' goods caused prices to soar. Wages failed to advance with the cost of living, and a wave of strikes occurred. In an attempt to curtail inflation, the Federal Reserve Board in late 1919 tightened credit, and prices dropped in 1920. Industrial prices declined modestly; farm prices plummeted. The value of agricultural land nosedived, and rural banks began to fail. Likewise, the markets for Idaho minerals and lumber dried up almost completely. Like its western neighbors, Idaho experienced a depression that continued throughout the 1920s.

Other changes made traditional Idahoans apprehensive and

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protective. Although there were many positive developments, they were outweighed by the negative economic momentum. A general strike began in Seattle on February 6, 1919, and lasted for several days. On September 9 of the same year about 1,000 members of the Boston police force went on strike. Because of looting, Governor Calvin Coolidge called out the entire State Guard, the strike was broken, and there was general agreement that no one has a right to strike against the public safety. On November 11, 1919, one year after the original armistice, a group of American Legionnaires and other war veterans in Centralia, Washington, beat up a group of Wobblies and killed at least one of them. Three Legionnaires died. Americans had observed the triumph of the Bolsheviks in Russia and were apprehensive that radicals, aliens, and foreigners were plotting a revolution in the United States.

One solution was the enactment of "syndicalism" laws that made membership in any organization committed to the destruction of the American form of government a crime. Among other states, Idaho adopted such a law in 1919. Idahoans were, in particular, fearful of the I.W.W. Prompted by the demands of the big lumber companies in the north, state authorities imprisoned thirty-one men under this act and effectively destroyed the influence of the I.W.W. in Idaho. By the next year, officers had arrested ninety-eight of them, all in the panhandle counties. Another eight were arrested in southern counties, primarily in Pocatello. Juries, however, convicted only 9 of the 106.

Rumors of radical conspiracy to subvert the government were widespread; people pointed accusing fingers at those persons who spoke German and Russian, Socialists, Wobblies, and even the Non-Partisan League.

Established in North Dakota in 1915, the NPL sought to remedy farmers' grievances by political means. The group began an organizational drive in Idaho in 1917, took over the Democratic Party in 1918, nominated a Republican millionaire from Bonner

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County (H. F. Samuels) for governor, and campaigned vigorously for a variety of causes, including the direct primary, a state bank guaranty law, good roads, nationalization or regulation of public utilities, and a moratorium on farm mortgage foreclosures. Some of their candidates were elected, but only to minor offices. By 1919 12,000 Idahoans were on the rolls of the Non-Partisan League. Sympathetic with them, Senator Borah supported their calls for economic and social justice, but many regarded members as "foes of democracy." They were attacked at times—Legionnaires broke up some of their meetings in 1919 and 1920—but the League continued to grow. The movement may have strengthened its opponents by driving conservative Democrats into the Republican Party, which triumphed in the polls in 1920.

The NPL joined forces with other groups in 1922 to form the Progressive Party, and their candidate for governor polled the second highest number of votes—ahead of Moses Alexander, running again as the Democratic candidate—but lost to the Republican candidate, C. C. Moore. Progressives took control of county governments in Jerome, Minidoka, and Canyon counties, but the 1923 legislature defeated nearly all of their reform proposals. It was not a time for reform. People distrusted "radicals," whether native-born or foreign-born—whether seeking justice for farmers or for laborers. The courts, highly conservative, upheld legislative and administrative bodies when they adopted security measures against "radicals." Courts willingly granted sweeping injunctions against strikes. Governors called upon state militias and federal troops to protect strikebreakers and halt union activity. Although the group failed to achieve identified political objectives and eventually collapsed in 1924, it forced some Idahoans to become more tolerant of different ideologies and programs. The League also enjoyed widespread support in 1919–22 in North and South Dakota, Iowa, Colorado, Montana, Washington, and Oregon and was the major

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force behind the Farmer-Labor Party that controlled Minnesota politics for half a century. Partly as a result of NPL influence, the federal government adopted programs designed to help the farmer in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Idaho's governor from 1919 to 1923 was David W. Davis. Born in Wales, Davis grew up in Iowa, where his father was a coal miner. For a while Davis managed the Farmers' Cooperative Association store and worked as a cashier in the bank at Rippey, Iowa, before he moved to Dayton, Washington. Relocating at American Falls in 1907, he established a bank, became a booster for the city and state, and was elected governor in 1918. He instituted a massive reorganization of state government by combining forty-six offices and agencies into nine departments. His cabinet consisted of a commissioner in charge of each department. During his term, construction of the state capitol building was finished and a state highway program was begun. But the depression reduced tax payments and frugality was required.

Governor Davis, along with many other Idahoans, was still caught up with the hatreds and cautions that accompanied the war. Firmly of the "old school," he called for compulsory education of foreign immigrants, insisting that they be trained to read, write, and speak English. He ordered a crackdown on the I.W.W. in Idaho, persuaded the legislature to authorize an Idaho Constabulary as a state police force, and insisted that children be required to attend public schools. This last proposal would have eliminated parochial schools, and a bill to require it failed to pass.

Other aspects of the national temper affected Idaho in the early 1920s. One was Prohibition. As early as 1892 a Prohibition Party had been organized in Idaho, primarily through the stimulus of churches, the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, and the Independent Order of Good Templars. Gains were made in municipal liquor control: most saloons were forced

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to close on Sunday, some were shut down completely, and women were prohibited from entering saloons. Some towns became "dry" by force of law. Saloons, it was thought, brutalized the poor, fostered dirty politics, and lined the pockets of the rich.[1] The granting of woman suffrage probably reinforced the growing public morality. In 1909 Idaho passed a local-option law, and many local elections pitted a "saloon" ticket against a "church" slate.

In 1915, in a campaign actively supported by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Prohibition Party, Anti-Saloon League, Citizens' Leagues, Young Men's Christian Association, Sunday School societies, Salvation Army, Mormon wards and stakes, Methodist Epworth League, Baptist Young People's Union, and the Christian Endeavor societies of the Christian, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches, Idaho amended the state constitution to make Prohibition a part of the organic law of the state. An amendment to the national constitution was ratified by the thirty-sixth state (Utah) on January 29, 1919, and took effect one year later. Congress passed the Volstead Act over President Wilson's veto so that the nation had the power to enforce the Eighteenth (Prohibition) Amendment. As distillers and liquor distributors went out of business, bootleggers—some genuinely criminal elements and some strictly local entrepreneurs—began to operate. The nation learned during the twenties that a much-wanted reform would not work unless it enjoyed widespread popular support and was backed by a determined enforcement effort. The general impression was that as the twenties proceeded, the amendment brought about "disrespect for all laws." The law stayed on the books until 1933, when it was repealed by the Twenty-first Amendment.

A second national movement that blessedly affected only a small minority of Idahoans was the Ku Klux Klan, an organization that fanned intolerance of blacks, Roman Catholics, and Jews. The goal, according to Imperial Wizard of the Klan Hiram

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Wesley Evans, was "to recreate a native, white, Protestant America."[2] The Klan had first been organized in the South after the Civil War to restore order and return prewar leaders to their former seats of power. Disbanded in 1869, the organization was reborn in the early 1920s and by 1924 had five million members. It was a force with influence in Arkansas, Texas, California, Colorado, and Oregon and indeed in many other states during the 1920s. By the Depression of the 1930s the Klan had fewer than 100,000 members. Those that remained with the Klan in the 1930s directed their attention to Communism and organized labor, with the traditional parades, cross-burnings, secret initiations, and floggings.

The Klan moved across the border from California to Oregon in 1921; by the spring of 1922 there were 14,000 members in the Beaver State, and the Klan was strong enough to ruin the careers of many otherwise acceptable political aspirants. Successful in Oregon, the KKK flowed over into Washington and Idaho, but it was never a major force in either state. Idaho's two Kleagles (Klan officials) were located in Lewiston and Boise. They organized Klaverns (local branches) in those cities and in Caldwell, Nampa, Twin Falls, Burley, and Pocatello. One historian described the Klan's Idaho activities as follows:

> Located mainly in the farming country along the Snake River [ignoring the panhandle and Mormon southeastern Idaho], the Klan was a social club where the members from time to time sat down to worry about the foreigners and Catholics in the lumber and mining camps to the north, and the Pope in Rome. In one little town, the solitary Jewish family was included in all of the Klavern's social activities to show that the Klan was a strictly nondiscriminatory movement aimed only at outsiders.[3]

As a boy in 1925, the writer witnessed a burned cross on the lawn of a Roman Catholic neighbor named Kelly. In general

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KKK members received most of their thrills from their fraternalism. The Klan seems to have made virtually no headway among the Mormons, in either Utah or Idaho. Most Idahoans were not taken up with the Klan, seeing it as neither inspiring nor constructive, and several Idaho communities adopted anti-mask ordinances. There was a similar general reaction to the "skinheads" and Nazi types that existed in pockets in northern Idaho in the 1980s.

If Idaho was exploring wayward paths in the 1920s, it was also adopting new ways of life that would bring abiding pleasure: the automobile, movies, electricity, telephone, radio, clothes washers, refrigerators, and vacuum cleaners. Not least important was the installation of cafeterias to take the place of the outlawed saloons. Cafeterias, created in Los Angeles, were friendlier and more informal than the typical restaurant. The most exciting to Boiseans and the many visitors to the Capital City was the establishment of an automatic restaurant, the Mechanafe, in which food was conveyed by a running belt to the customer; one merely made selections and began to eat, at the counter or in a private booth. A teenager's dream! (Gertrude McDevitt, who operated the business until wartime rationing ruined it, went on to serve as state historian.)

The most pervading influence on the style of life in Idaho was the automobile. Of course, the first automobiles, regarded as "rich men's toys," were expensive and virtually inoperable in bad weather. But after Henry Ford's assembly-line production of his Model T, prices dropped to an affordable level, and in the 1920s the automobile and the truck replaced the pushcart, the buggy, the wagon, and the riding horse. Once satisfactory roads were built one could build a house on the edge of the city and avoid high-rises, apartments, and tenements. The automobile also enabled those on farms and in small towns and villages to take advantage of cultural offerings in nearby cities—libraries, movies, musical performances, and Chautauquas.

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The automobile led to the development of larger stores in larger communities. Among those who set the pace were M. B. Skaggs and his four brothers of American Falls, who consolidated their operation with a California group to form Safeway grocery stores. The enlarged Safeway chain, along with Skaggs drugstores, gained national prominence.[4]

Another invention that narrowed the gap between country and city dwellers was the radio. Idaho's first radio transmitter was built by Harry Redeker, a teacher at Boise High School, and his students in 1920. They helped other people build radio stations elsewhere in the state. Their station evolved into KIDO, which was nationally licensed in 1922.

The most amazing product of Idaho schools in the 1920s was Philo Farnsworth. Utah-born Farnsworth, whose family moved to southeastern Idaho in 1918, began to tinker with an electric farm generator at Ucon (a few miles east of Rigby), built an electric motor that operated his mother's washing machine, and won a contest with an invention for an ignition switch for a car. In 1920 he went to Rigby High School, where he was fortunate to have a stimulating chemistry and physics teacher, Justin Tolman, who took extra time after class to respond to his many questions. Tolman also encouraged Philo to sign up for a correspondence course from the National Radio Institute in Washington, D.C.

On the afternoon of February 21, 1922, Tolman came into the classroom to find Farnsworth (called Phil by his school buddies) covering the blackboard with strange drawings. "What is that?" Tolman asked. "It's an electrical system for projecting an image," responded Farnsworth. "It's just a diagram of how my new invention will work," he said. Then the precocious boy went through the whole diagram, explaining how, by means of a "cathode-ray tube" (later known as a "dissector tube"), one could transmit light impulses into electrical impulses and scan an image by means of fast-flying protons in order to display pic-

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tures electrically. At the time, radio was in its infancy; there was not yet a licensed broadcasting system in Idaho and only one in the Mountain West.

Farnsworth later moved to Utah, then Los Angeles, then San Francisco, all the while working on his invention. He was supported by San Francisco bankers. Once, when working in his home laboratory, he was surprised by police who thought he must be making liquor and raided his premises. On September 7, 1927, now aged twenty-one, he projected his first image on a screen. The image was a dollar sign, which he hoped would persuade the bankers to continue their investment. In 1930 a hearing on his invention was conducted by the U.S. Patent Office. It demanded proof of his 1922 "discovery." Farnsworth found Tolman, who walked into the hearing with his student's high-school science notebook. The lawyers asked Tolman if he could remember the youngster sketching his system on the blackboard in February 1922. Tolman went to the blackboard, sketched out from memory the system Farnsworth had described in 1922, and exhibited his notebook for proof. Farnsworth was granted the patent on August 26, 1930. In recent years much has been made of his youthful accomplishment. His image appeared on a twenty-two-cent postage stamp in 1983, and his statue was placed in the National Statuary Hall of Fame for Utah in Washington, D.C. in 1990. Appropriately, the drive to place his statue there was initiated by a group of grade-school students who were present at the ceremony in the nation's Capitol.

To shift for a moment out of the 1920s, William Shiflett, a professor at Idaho State University, built Idaho's first television station. Shiflett and his students made their own cameras, television sets, and other equipment, and in November 1940 they televised a football game to a few television sets in buildings on the ISU campus. The first commercial station in Idaho was KIDO-TV (now KTUB) in Boise, in 1953.

The other medium that exerted a lasting influence on the

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people of Idaho was the motion picture. At first silent, and after 1928 "talkies" with sound, the films contributed to the enlargement of people's expectations. Unquestionably popular—forty million cinema tickets were sold weekly in 1922—the movies often featured carefree persons engaged in exciting adventures surrounded by frivolous luxuries.[5] Among the notable shows seen in most Idaho villages and towns in the late 1910s and 1920s were *The Birth of a Nation* with Lillian Gish, *The Thief of Bagdad* with Douglas Fairbanks, *The Gold Rush* with Charlie Chaplin, *The General* with Buster Keaton, *The Jazz Singer* with Al Jolson, and *All Quiet on the Western Front* with Lew Ayres.

Another noteworthy event in Idaho in the 1920s was the construction of the American Falls Reservoir. In many respects this was the most important Snake River project in the twentieth century because it furnished ample late-season water for dozens of small cooperative companies on the Upper Snake River, the thousands of farmers under the Twin Falls and North Side canal company ditches, and the Minidoka settlers. Its success required the cooperation of federal, state, and local governments, private interests, and both corporate and individual proprietorships. It is said to have been the brainchild of Ira Perrine.

Several considerations were involved in the success of the project. Farmers had learned that the annual supply of mountain runoff is not constant but goes through periodic cycles. The year 1919 was one of the driest in Idaho's history. (Other dry ones have occurred in 1931, 1934, 1977, and 1992.) On July 1, the Twin Falls Canal Company reported that it would be able to furnish only 30 percent of the normal supply of water. There were altercations along the river. Desperate farmers in the upper valleys of the Snake sometimes made illegal use of water at night, broke the locks on headgates, and in some cases organized vigilante committees. Farmers on the north side of the Snake in Magic Valley, unable to provide water for their livestock and poultry, were forced to haul in water for washing,

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cooking, and drinking. Such was the sympathy with their plight that the South Side farmers, who had a prior right, voluntarily gave up water to make possible a run for the people north of the Snake. In doing so, Magic Valley farmers suffered a $25 million crop loss. Obviously, additional storage facilities had to be built to provide water for future drought conditions.

To arrive at the accord was not simple. Agreement had to be forged among some thirty water districts and forty irrigation companies along a 300-mile stretch of the river. Organizations such as the Idaho Irrigation Congress and the Western States Reclamation Association, both established in 1919, had to be developed to promote the project. Eastern and southern congressmen, from states not directly impacted, had to be persuaded that the project was necessary and economical. Idaho's national political figure, Senator Borah, had to be enlisted in the cause. The entire town of American Falls had to be purchased, since its existing location would be submerged by the projected reservoir. And the federal government had to acquire 70,000 acres of land, over half of which belonged to the Bannock-Shoshoni tribe on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation.

An editorial in the *Pocatello Tribune* for July 12, 1919, exemplifies the arguments used to persuade reluctant eastern and southern congressmen to support the project:

> Some of the erudite brethren of the South and East should consider that sagebrush will not always be the decorative portion of Western scenery. The East has forgotten its bush days, and the South its tanglewood and skunkbush. Both have rain, but neither understands irrigation nor conservation of water. They know that it will float a steam-boat and is reasonably fair for baptismal purposes, but they don't comprehend canning it for crops.

Despite all odds—the collapse of farm prices after World War I, the obstinacy of Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall,

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the opposition of important absentee landowners and certain business interests—the Department of the Interior signified its approval in November 1924; a contract to construct the large dam was let and in July 1925 its cornerstone was laid. For two years an average of 400 men worked around-the-clock shifts. The gates of the dam were lowered into place in October 1926, and the reservoir was filled to its maximum capacity of 1.7 million acre-feet on July 1, 1927. The event was critical for thousands of Idaho farmers. With the backwater of the reservoir extending up the Snake twenty-five miles, the project provided directly for the reclamation of 115,000 additional acres of public land to the north of the Minidoka Project—what is known as the Gooding division—and supplied supplemental water for over 1 million acres above and below the facility.

When the cornerstone was laid, the community of American Falls presented a historical pageant—in tableau the story of western progress in eight episodes beginning with Lewis and Clark and continuing through fur trading, pony express (which did not in fact operate in Idaho), covered wagon, Fort Bridger treaty, Indian school, Mormon migration, and "the present"—i.e., 1925. The conclusion was one of Idaho's momentous days—equal to the discovery of gold on the Clearwater in 1860, the settlement of Franklin later the same year, and the completion of the Oregon Short Line and Northern Pacific in 1884.

Clearly, the 1920s had both achievements and disasters. In business, agriculture, entertainment, and household comfort, improvements were outstanding. The other side, however, was agricultural depression, exerting an influence that was predominant, even devastating.

The demand for agricultural products during World War I had prompted a land boom—the cultivation of acres that would not be profitable when demand and prices declined. Some of the expansion was financed by small-town bankers, often with little regard for the inflated prices upon which the demand for credit was based. Between 1914 and 1920 more than 1,700 new banks

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were opened in eleven agricultural states, and frequently two or three banks were located in communities where only one bank could hope to survive.

The severe agricultural depression of 1921 left many rural bankers with little more than "frozen assets"—that is, assets that could not be converted into cash without heavy loss. Local bankers had assisted young men in securing equipment and stock at the high prices of 1918–20; aided farmers in purchasing cattle, sheep, and hogs for feeding in early 1920; and extended credit to inexperienced one-crop "farmers" cultivating marginal land. In so doing, small-town bankers in Idaho and other agricultural states were helping farmers to produce huge surpluses at the very time the value of farm exports was falling from more than $4 billion in 1919 to less than $2 billion in 1922.

The increase in European production of farm crops after the war and the curtailment of United States loans abroad caused the loss of important overseas markets. American grains and meats were crowded from the market by similar, less expensive items from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Washington withdrew wartime price supports just when prices began to fall, and by the start of the crisis in 1921, no government program existed to cushion the shock.

When economic disaster threatens, the first recourse of most enterprisers is the local bank. But independent banks have, in a sense, "all their eggs in one basket" and are least able to help when they are most needed. Their resources and their ability to provide financial assistance are largely tied to the welfare of the region they serve. When the enterprises of the region are desperate, the banks have difficulty giving assistance because the same factors burying the enterprises are also curtailing the lending power of the bank. Thus it was in 1921: farmers who had flourished during the war were now submarginal, and extending credit to keep alive their war-demand-induced operations was merely postponing the collapse of their ventures.

An example was the extension of emergency credit to country

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banks in the fall of 1921 by the War Finance Corporation. Created in April 1918 to fund war industries, WFC, under the direction of Eugene Meyer, established thirty district offices throughout the nation and made limited advances to banks for loans to farmers. By December 1921, WFC was authorizing loans at the rate of $2 million a day. Most went to large institutions, but WFC did make a $300,000 loan to Idaho livestock loan companies and banks in December 1921 and later approved an additional $450,000. Although the Idaho committee of WFC correctly claimed that the limited WFC sums made available to farmers and ranchers may have saved some banks whose farm loans were delinquent because of the depression, it covered only a small fraction of the deficit. Farmers desperate for the money, it seemed, found it difficult to qualify for the loans.

WFC requirements made it almost impossible to make money available to dirt farmers. The expenses for getting a $500 loan, according to one banker, came to about $157.[6] Farmers who could furnish adequate unencumbered security qualified for credit at 6 percent interest with an additional 6 percent for local banks. Still, collateral had to be approved by WFC. This demand for "gilt-edge security" angered local bankers, who were required to attach their signatures to the small loans made to local farmers and stockmen. Although a government agency designed to serve a useful purpose, WFC was "bad if not colder-blooded than the private concerns," according to one Idaho banker. "I have had to endorse paper for our little bank to the amount of half what I am worth . . . the more I have to do with BUREAUCRATIC government the less use I have for it."[7] Many farmer-borrowers who took WFC money through rural banks paid 10 percent, with commissions of 15 percent added.[8] Nor did the loans stop the decline in farm prices.

In protest against WFC policies, farmers held a series of mass meetings throughout the state and drafted resolutions against

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the high expense, red tape, and impractical system WFC had for "helping" the farmer. One banker received a letter from a farmer that read:

> I got your letter about what I owe you. Now be patient. I ain't forgot you. Please wait. . . . If this was judgment [day] and you were no more prepared to meet your Maker than I am to meet your account, you sure would have to go to Hell. Trusting you will do this, I remain, sincerely yours. . . . [9]

The agricultural depression worsened, and prices fell dramatically below expectations. By 1922 the value of Idaho farmland had dropped to one-third of the pre-depression price. Potatoes worth $1.51 per bushel in 1919 brought $.31 in 1922. Potato land valued at $154 per acre at war's end in 1918 plummeted to $57 by 1922. The farm rate for sheep in Idaho was $12.20 per hundred pounds in January 1919 and $5.30 per hundred in January 1922. Hay, which brought $22 per ton in 1919, dropped below $10 in 1922. The average national farm price for beef cattle in January 1919 was $9.65; just three years later in Idaho the price was down to $4.50. Sugarbeets that sold to the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company for $12.03 a ton shortly before the depression sold for less than $6.00 in the 1921 harvest. Wheat brought the farmer $2.05 per bushel in 1919, $.72 in 1921, and $.90 in 1922. [10]

As Idaho's farmers and ranchers were unable to meet their obligations to local banks, these institutions began to fail. Twenty-seven Idaho banks, seven of which were nationally chartered, closed in the early 1920s. Nearly all of these served rural areas exclusively. Idaho had 224 banks in 1920, 86 national institutions and 138 state; by 1925 there were only 56 national banks and 103 state banks, or 65 fewer banks than in 1920. [11]

The heavy declines in the farm prices for potatoes, livestock,

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hay, wheat, and sugar beets—Idaho's major products—meant that granting farmers credit might help them to "hang on" but that was all. Without a change in prices they would sooner or later go under. Farmers attempting to convert from horse to mechanical power found the prices of tractors and machinery inching up. Hay growers receiving low prices found little sympathy from woolgrowers who could afford $8 per ton and no more to avoid loss. Hugh Sproat, president of the Idaho Wool Growers Association, calculated that interest, loss, depreciation, feed, labor, and taxes on an operation involving 10,000 ewes would total $49,000, while wool and lambs would bring in only $35,000, or a net loss of $14,000. By wintering without lambing and buying only enough feed for emergencies, the net loss could be cut to $3,500, but no further.[12]

Farmers and their political leaders failed to obtain legislation favorable to their plight. An early effort attempted to eliminate foreign competition for American farm products by imposing prohibitive customs duties. An Emergency Tariff Act passed in May 1921 was followed by the Fordney-McCumber Act of 1922, which raised rates on 200 agricultural products including huckleberries and reindeer meat. The seeming advantage of the tariff, however, was nullified by increased rates on industrial goods. Using the pretext that higher tariffs raised the cost of their raw materials, eastern and midwestern manufacturers simply raised prices on consumer goods and farm equipment. Again, the farmer was working at a loss.

Farm representatives then embraced the concept of parity: farmers ought to receive price increases commensurate with those of the necessities they had to buy. Using the period before World War I as a base, farm prices should rise as much as the general price index. This was a justifiable goal, but how could it be achieved? One way was by cooperative marketing—a device to eliminate the middleman. But markets were contracting, not expanding, so not much was realized.

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In the face of these mounting difficulties, Senator Charles L. McNary of Oregon and Representative Gilbert N. Haugen of Iowa proposed a bill to make the protective tariff effective by subsidizing exporters to sell agricultural surpluses at world prices, even if below the protected prices paid farmers for commodities in America. The exporters would be paid by farm producers who, it was hoped, would benefit by selling at higher prices. Congress twice passed the measure, and Idaho farmers were much encouraged that the official to oversee it would be Idaho-born Secretary of Agriculture William M. Jardine. One of seven children born to English and Scottish settlers in Cherry Creek (near Malad), Jardine had gone to Utah State Agricultural College in Logan and was both a football hero and an honor graduate in agriculture. After a teaching assistantship at Utah State he went on to Kansas State University, where he earned the Ph.D. and became a professor, then dean, and finally a member of President Calvin Coolidge's cabinet. (He was Idaho's first cabinet appointee—appropriately in agriculture.) Despite farmer lobbying, Coolidge twice vetoed the McNary-Haugen bill on the grounds that it would fix prices and lead to overproduction. Borah favored paying the cost of farm support out of the treasury, but that was not achieved until the 1930s. A Federal Farm Board was created in 1929 with power to purchase and store surplus crops to maintain prices, but it began operating just as the Great Depression of the 1930s began and quickly exhausted its funds.

Lumber prices also dropped from 1921 to 1924, and the industry suffered much unemployment. Mining suffered too as the prices of most minerals sagged until 1923. Then there was some recovery, but most producers were mechanizing and needed fewer workers. Depending on agriculture, mining, and forestry as its principal industries, Idaho's overall economy was sluggish throughout the 1920s. Individual businesses failed to flourish, and many families struggled in near poverty. For the first time

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since the end of the gold rush Idaho suffered a massive loss of population: some 50,600 people over the age of ten migrated out of the state, primarily to California. But however poor the state of the economy was in the twenties, it was merely a prelude to a worse one in the 1930s.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO: SOURCES

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123.

124.

123. The automobile became common on Idaho roads in the 1920s. This one was headed along a country road near Richfield. C. J. BROSNAN COLLECTION, UIL 6–102–5.

124. With the passage of the Prohibition Amendment in 1918, bootleggers tried to evade the law. This Bisbee photo, taken November 11, 1922, shows the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Twin Falls destroying illegal drink. ISHS 73–221.793.

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125.

125. The most popular sports personality in the nation during the 1920s was Walter Johnson, the Weiser Wonder, "The Big Train," one of the great pitchers of all time. ISHS 80–127.1.

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126.

126. Idaho's first appointee to a presidential cabinet was William M. Jardine of Cherry Creek (near Malad), who served as Secretary of Agriculture for Calvin Coolidge, 1925–29. Here he is shown with his mother and sister in front of his parents' Cherry Creek home in 1926 during his period of service. UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

The Great Depression and the New Deal

THE industrial East of the United States underwent the semblance of a boom in the later 1920s. Prices were strong, employment rose, stocks rebounded, and an air of confidence prevailed. During these years of national "prosperity," Idaho's agriculture, mining, and lumbering had risen ever so slightly out of the trough of 1921. The postwar reversal had been massive and the gains modest; by 1929 there was only a partial recovery. Then came the stock market crash of October 1929 that launched the worst economic disaster in the nation's history. The personal incomes of all Americans declined from $83 billion in 1929 to $46 billion in 1933, and the level of total income floundered below the $80-billion mark until 1941, twelve years after the depression began. As many as 13 million people were unemployed in 1933—a fourth of the nation's work force.[1]

Idaho, which had barely weathered depression conditions in the 1920s, was among the states most adversely affected by the nationwide depression. Judging by the percentage decline in in-

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come from 1929 to 1932, the states most disastrously affected were, in order of severity, North and South Dakota, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Montana, and Idaho. Although there has been a tendency to regard the depression as primarily an industrial phenomenon, the states that suffered most, in percentage decline in income and absolute level of income, were predominantly agricultural—states that had not recovered from the 1921 crisis before they were hit again by the devastating exigencies of the 1930s. Foreign markets dropped off sharply; domestic markets also declined; an additional calamity was drought. For example, Idaho's farm income dropped 57 percent from 1929 to 1932. Idaho's economy also depended heavily on lead and silver mines, nearly all of which closed during the 1930s, and on the lumber industry, which was largely inactive because people were not building homes.

The evidence of the decline in Idaho's income between 1929 and 1932 is glaring. The price of wheat dropped to $.26 per bushel, and cattle brought less than $20.00 per head in 1932—the lowest average price since the 1890s. Sheep similarly sold for $2.25 per head in 1932—the lowest in the century. Prunes were down from $22.00 per ton in 1929 to $6.50 a ton at the bottom of the depression. Sugar beets sank to $4.00 per ton in 1932, while wool declined from $.36 per pound in 1929 to $.09 per pound three years later.

Production of lumber from Idaho's famous white pine plunged from 438 million board feet in 1929 to 169 million board feet in 1933. The total value of mineral products declined from $32 million in 1929 to less than $10 million in 1933—again, the lowest in the twentieth century. The price of silver fell from $1.39 an ounce in 1919 to $.24 an ounce in 1933—the lowest price for silver in Idaho's history.

The early years of the depression spurred differing behavior in silver and gold. Production of silver fell drastically; gold, on the other hand, gained in value. Inasmuch as the United States

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was on the gold standard until 1934, the decline in general price levels after 1929 caused gold prices to escalate. This change induced a surge in the production of gold from 21,000 ounces in 1929 to 62,000 ounces in 1933. The combination of the rise in price and rise in production prompted the value of Idaho's gold "crop" to spurt from $429,000 in 1929 to $1,641,000 in 1933. As a contemporary observer pointed out, the Depression of the 1930s induced a rejuvenated gold industry comparable to the boom period of the 1860s. Indeed, it is unfortunate that the New Deal did not try to boost dismal circumstances by taking the gold out of Fort Knox, burying it in various centers of unemployment, letting the unemployed dig it up, and putting it back in circulation for the benefit of trade.[2]

The total cash income of Idaho farmers dropped from $116 million in 1929 to $41 million in 1932. Similarly, wages and salaries fell from $139 million in 1929 to $81 million in 1932. Total income payments of all kinds in Idaho slid downward from $235 million in 1929 to $123 million in 1932, a drop in per capita income from $529 to $268. Manufacturing employment was cut back from 15,644 men and women in 1929 to 7,682 in 1933, and Idaho's manufacturing payroll declined from $22.5 million to $7.1 million during the same period.

Unfortunately, when a calamity as clearcut as a depression occurs, people become fearful that they will "lose everything"—their property and savings as well as their jobs. Banks were pivotal institutions in that regard. Banks received and held the money deposits of businesses and families, made loans to individuals and companies, cashed checks, acted as fiscal agents for local governments, and in general served as community bookkeepers. Since banks provided the local circulating medium that seemed to have "dried up" during the Thirties, they were sometimes, mistakenly of course, held responsible for the depression. One would laugh at a sick person who became angry and broke his thermometer because it registered a high fever.

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But citizens of many communities in the 1930s became so hysterical that, without intending to do so, they resorted to action that made the prophecies of financial calamity self-fulfilling.

Before 1933 there was no federal deposit insurance. If a bank failed, the depositor was helpless. Banks were peculiarly vulnerable to the citizenry; when people lost confidence in a bank, they rushed in, demanded their deposits in cash, and left the institution in ruin. This phenomenon occurred hundreds of times in the United States in the 1930s. Some 4,500 banks faced runs that forced them to shut their doors, and in Idaho 38 of 106 banks closed their doors between 1929 and the bank holiday of 1933. Two were in Boise, and one of these was headquarters of a chain-banking arrangement that affected ten banks in Idaho and Oregon. The story of the closure and the subsequent run on other banks is instructive.[3]

In the summer of 1932 Boise had three banks: Boise City National at 8th and Idaho streets; First National Bank of Idaho, at 10th and Idaho; and First Security Bank of Idaho, at 9th and Idaho. The First Security Bank of Idaho was owned by the First Security Corporation, the nation's first registered bank holding company, which by 1929 owned twenty banks in Idaho and Utah with resources of $40 million. Its constituent First Security Bank of Idaho operated banks in Idaho Falls, Blackfoot, Montpelier, Pocatello, Preston, Gooding, Jerome, Shoshone, Hailey, Ashton, Mountain Home, Nampa, and Boise. Managing Boise's First Security was J. Lynn Driscoll, a native of Nebraska who, after his graduation from the University of Nebraska, began his banking career in Idaho as a messenger boy in the Overland National of Boise when it opened in 1915. He moved up rapidly and became a livestock loan specialist "all over hell's half-acre."

Boise City National, the second bank in Boise, had been founded by Henry Wadsworth and Alfred Eoff as early as 1886 and had long been one of Idaho's important banks. In 1932 the bank was headed by C. H. Coffin and Charles A. McLean.

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First National Bank of Idaho, the oldest bank in Boise, had been chartered as a national bank in 1867. Founded by B. M. DuRell and Christopher W. Moore, it was Idaho's largest. By 1932 the Moore interests had purchased banks at Ontario and Vale in Oregon, and at Emmett, Meridian, Nampa, Caldwell, Weiser, Buhl, and Rupert in Idaho. Crawford Moore, son of Christopher and president of First National in 1932, was an "old-style" banker; he considered federal regulations something of a nuisance.

In July 1932 Lynn Driscoll, anticipating trouble at Boise banks, had gone to Chicago to observe "runs" on several banks. The last week in July Driscoll received a telephone call informing him that the Boise City National, now paying out in old-style, large-sized bills, was on the verge of closing its doors. Driscoll returned home on the first available train; four days later, on August 1, Boise City National shut down.

The closure of Boise City National set in motion the domino effect. The public anticipated that the two remaining Boise banks might also be forced out of business. This apprehension almost sealed their closure because of what economists refer to as the Law of Self-Justified Expectations: if people expect a bank to go broke, customers will quickly withdraw deposits, and the bank *will* go broke for lack of immediately available cash. First National and First Security both began to suffer a few withdrawals.

On Saturday morning, August 27, Crawford Moore called Driscoll to report in confidence that First National was in trouble and that he was recommending to his board of directors, meeting that afternoon, that the bank and its affiliates not reopen Monday morning.

With Moore's permission, Driscoll immediately called E. G. Bennett, vice president of First Security Corporation in Salt Lake City and a member of the advisory committee of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Driscoll arranged for Moore to go to Salt Lake City in an attempt to arrange by telephone for

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financial help from the RFC. First proposed by President Herbert Hoover in his annual message to Congress on December 8, 1931, the RFC bill was passed by Congress and signed by Hoover in January 1932. Although this new federal agency was generally considered to have been created to render assistance to large banks and industrial corporations, it might also serve smaller banks such as Moore's First National. When it became clear that RFC was willing to see what could be done but would not categorically guarantee all of First National's deposits, Moore decided not to open his banks that Wednesday. The RFC conference was not a complete failure, however, for it initiated negotiations that led to the reopening of Moore's banks two months later.

Driscoll was conferring with Governor C. Ben Ross (Democrat, 1931–37) early Wednesday morning, August 31, when Ross advised him that Moore would not open his banks that day. Rushing back to his office, Driscoll called the First Security banks at Nampa and Mountain Home, and the others scattered across southern Idaho, to warn of the run that was certain to develop within the hour. To Driscoll's dismay, Boise radio got hold of the news and broadcast the closure. Within thirty minutes customers lined up a block long, extending down both 9th and Idaho streets in Boise.

Anticipating a run on his bank, Driscoll had taken significant precautions before the opening of First Security of Boise that morning. For more than a year he had been sending promissory notes of important firms and business leaders, as they obtained loans from First Security, to the Federal Reserve Bank in Salt Lake City. This tactic gave him advance approval on notes that First Security might wish to use as security for borrowing in a future contingency. This arrangement, referred to as "rediscounting," was an important function of the Federal Reserve and made it possible for banks to borrow at low rates of interest on the security of prime business notes. Knowing that he might, in

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the event of the closing of First National, require a large supply of cash to cover withdrawals, Driscoll also had called the Salt Lake Federal Reserve the preceding Saturday, requesting the shipment to Boise of $500,000 in currency and another $50,000 each for the First Security banks at Nampa and Mountain Home. At the same time, recognizing that the heaviest demand for cash would be in Boise, Driscoll had arranged with the RFC in Salt Lake City for First Security to borrow $1 million. Then, on Tuesday, August 30, reasonably certain that First National would close, Driscoll again asked the Federal Reserve for another shipment to Boise of $500,000 in currency.

As First Security of Boise opened on that fateful Wednesday morning, Driscoll and other executives stood at their regular posts and announced that all deposits would be paid. Tellers were instructed to pay all comers, "but don't break your necks"—meaning pay out slowly and in small bills. Driscoll stood on the counter and announced: "We have wired for a great additional supply of currency to add to the emergency supply on hand, and we can stand a run of any duration. We will pay off every depositor if necessary." Traditionally the bank had closed on this day because of the Western Idaho Fair. It suddenly occurred to Driscoll that he dare not close at noon for the fair, as previously advertised, because customers might associate a closure with financial weakness rather than with support for the festivities. Driscoll promised that the bank would remain open as long as there were customers wishing to make deposits or withdrawals. Employees were told to be prepared to continue on the job until midnight if necessary.

Driscoll also wanted to communicate to all passersby that the bank was remaining open and had an adequate supply of currency. Under his direction Harry Hopffgarten, a Boise sign painter, hurriedly painted this message in red and black paint on a three-by-ten-foot sign with a white background:

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For the Benefit of Our Patrons This Bank Will be
OPEN UNTIL LATE TONIGHT
If You Want Your Money Come and Get It!
J. L. Driscoll, President, First Security Bank

The sign was suspended over the entrance to the bank from the second-story window even before the paint was dry. This firm declaration brought a cheer from the crowd outside. Some persons dropped out of line; by 3 p.m. the run had dwindled, although the bank remained open another six hours.

A number of incidents during this first-day run on First Security demonstrated the fundamental irrationality of people stricken with panic at the possibility of losing their lifetime savings. One customer, when he had finally advanced to the teller, declared in a most positive tone: "If you've got my money, I guess I really don't want it. But if you haven't got it, then by heaven, I want it now and in full!"

That day the Boise *Capital News* published a large editorial titled "Steady Boise." During the height of the run, representatives of nineteen of the leading businesses of Boise met in Mayor James P. Pope's office and issued a statement of faith in the local economy. From this meeting came the volunteered service of Idaho's leonine Senator William Borah and Boise's largest merchants. Borah, who was in Boise campaigning for his colleague John Thomas, made his way through the mob into the bank and came to Driscoll's desk. Borah suggested that he would be glad to mount the counter and make a speech to reassure the people that the situation did not merit panic and alarm. "For the first time in your life your offer to make a speech is turned down," replied Driscoll. The mere speech of the senator, thought Driscoll, might create additional alarm. The banker favored handling the crisis in a confident, matter-of-fact way.

The merchants realized that their business problems would be compounded if the last of the three Boise banks failed. To

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help the cause some businessmen brought deposits to First Security. Among those who exhibited strong support was C. C. Anderson, Idaho's largest merchant, who was a director of First National. Anderson made several appearances in the First Security lobby with checks and currency that he had ostensibly received from customers in payment for dry goods, and with much flourish he deposited the funds, thus bolstering the bank's reserves. This visible manifestation of confidence relaxed the tension on the faces of all present.

Even the Boise postmaster, Harry Yost, entered into the spirit of the day. When Driscoll noted that many of his customers were taking their cash from the bank and depositing it in Postal Savings, he asked Yost to return the money through the back door of the bank and redeposit it to the postmaster's account. Yost did him one better by bringing the money back every half-hour, thus furnishing an additional supply of currency for First Security's use.

Driscoll confidently waited for the half-million dollars in currency he had ordered from the Fed in Salt Lake City. Sure enough, on Wednesday morning as scheduled, two guards walked into the bank to report their arrival. Driscoll asked: "Where's the money?" They replied: "It's supposed to be here." The truth was, as Driscoll discovered, that the money was still at the Railway Express Office in Salt Lake City. No one had thought to put it on the train! Driscoll would surely be excused for uttering some of Idaho's colorful profanity as he telephoned Salt Lake City requesting the Fed to charter a plane to bring the currency immediately to Boise. That flight seemed particularly long to the impatient Driscoll. "No plane," Driscoll afterward recalled, "ever flew slower than that one." Late Wednesday afternoon when the crisp, compact cargo actually did arrive, the worst of the run was over. By nine o'clock that evening First Security's lobby was empty, and officials gratefully closed for the night. Thanks to the sign, the advance arrangements for

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currency, the atmosphere of confidence, and the good sense of some of Boise's civic and business leaders, First Security had weathered the first day of panic.

It was hard to predict what kind of run might occur on Thursday. Many people would have heard of the failure of First National and of the long lines at First Security. Would they all show up to make withdrawals Thursday morning? First Security opened earlier than usual on Thursday to avoid, if possible, the development of a line. Among the first people to face the tellers were some who had withdrawn deposits the previous day, now redepositing packages of money that they had never bothered to open. Although there were a few large withdrawals, the belated currency shipment from Federal Reserve was not needed. After a few days it was shipped back to Salt Lake City unopened.

From one point of view, the First Security Bank in Boise now enjoyed an enviable position; it was the only bank in Idaho's largest city open for business. But Driscoll decided that the community would best be served when his competitor, Crawford Moore's First National, reopened. Meanwhile he announced that First Security would utilize the facilities of the Boise City National Bank to handle state, county, and school district business and city payroll checks and to receive deposits on accounts already established.

Driscoll told the RFC representative who had arrived at the First National in Boise that $150,000 were needed immediately for the necessary operating expenses of both the First National's and the Boise City National's stockmen, whose herds were scattered far and wide on the range and whose employees had no money with which to buy groceries. Driscoll asked that the RFC take the unusual step of advancing $150,000 without requiring security, and he would then distribute money to the stockmen for absolute necessities. Mortgages, he explained, would be worthless if the established ranches failed. RFC representatives were somewhat taken back by Driscoll's audacity: "We'll see

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what we can do." The next morning the money was wired to Boise through the RFC, deposited in an account in the First Security Bank in Boise, and distributed to stockmen to meet their most pressing needs. Herders could now be paid, and flocks that might have been lost without adequate supervision were saved. Funds were dispensed by means of sight drafts, or "chippy checkbooks" as they were called, which required an explanation of the expenditure on every draft. Although restrictions of this nature irritated the hitherto independent stockmen, they willingly admitted that they had never seen a checkbook that looked so good. Eventually, when the stockmen were refinanced through a formally organized subsidiary of RFC, every penny of this advance was returned to RFC.

In addition to arrangements for the specific benefit of livestock enterprises, RFC also extended credit to banks, such as First National, which had to be reorganized in order to reopen. Total RFC loans to Idaho banks during the first six years of its existence (1932 to 1938) amounted to approximately $3 million over what RFC's Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation (Spokane) loaned. The First National in Boise was the recipient of nearly half this amount.

Finally, the national bank examiner and Comptroller of the Currency having completed their investigation, the First National Bank in Boise reopened on Monday, October 31, 1932, exactly two months after closing its doors. A corps of fifty-seven solicitors headed by reorganization committee chairman Harry Morrison raised $300,000 through the sale of capital stock, and this, together with the RFC loan, took $1,775,000 of the "frozen" assets out of First National. The threat to Boise's (and Idaho's) financial future was removed.

Shortly after Franklin Roosevelt became president in 1933, he selected E. G. Bennett to head the newly created Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. The FDIC initiated federal insurance on deposits in all the nation's banks. From that time

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there was no reason for the public to be concerned about the safety of their deposits. No one would have to fear that the 1932 Boise experience would ever be repeated.

The two leading banking systems of Idaho had survived, but thousands of farmers were losing their farms through foreclosure. Having borrowed money when prices were more favorable, they now had to pay off their loans when prices of farm products were hopelessly below costs. Familiar with the unfairness of the situation all through the 1920s, now substantially magnified, they reacted quite understandably. During the winter of 1932–33 a neighbor of the writer was foreclosed by his creditor and a sheriff's sale ordered for a Monday. All the farmers in the neighborhood gathered together on Sunday evening and agreed upon a plan to help their friend. They would attend the sale and refuse to bid against each other. The next day, as the auctioneer went through his accustomed chant, a splendid team of horses sold for $1.50; a grain binder, $2.00; a hay mower, $1.00. Prices of other animals and equipment ran from a low of $.50 to a high of $3.00. The farmers duly paid the sums they had bid, received the items purchased, and promptly turned them back to the farmer who had been foreclosed.

There were many such conspiracies. In Gem, Boise, Idaho, Valley, Adams, and Lemhi counties, arsonists systematically ignited fires in the forests in order to obtain employment as fire fighters. The situation became so serious that Governor Ross declared those counties to be in a state of insurrection, placed them under martial law, and ordered the National Guard to close off the forests to public access.[4]

As if things were not bad enough already, the year 1934 brought a disastrous drought. The Governor's Emergency Drought Relief Committee, on the basis of reports from forty-five water districts representing 80 percent of the irrigated land of Idaho, estimated that the general average water supply was only 56 percent of normal. Crop losses were estimated at $22.4 million. About 30,000 people required relief.[5]

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The reports from six weather observation stations in southern Idaho showed that from October 1933 to April 1934 precipitation was less than 65 percent of the long-term normal for that period. Already farmers had absorbed a heavy crop loss of potatoes, beets, beans, peas, and hay. The year 1934 was already the driest year in southern Idaho since the stations had started keeping records in 1909.

The report estimated that approximately 75,000 Idaho citizens would need aid on account of the drought, and that $2 million in emergency relief funds were required to remove beaver dams obstructing the flow of streams; to pump water from lakes, marshes, sloughs, ponds, and streams into irrigation ditches and canals; to straighten creek and river channels; to pump from wells; to clean canals and ditches; and to provide direct relief.

In a telegram to the Universal News Service in Chicago on July 26, 1934, Governor Ross declared:

> In Idaho the drought is serious, the worst in the history of the white man in this territory. Rivers and creeks are drying up which in previous years furnished irrigation. Thousands of springs that have been used for watering livestock in the mountains have become dry, and water must be furnished from other sections. While people in the affected areas will not be required to evacuate, feed must be shipped in to save the livestock. . . . With assistance of the Federal Government we will be able to sustain our people in their homes without evacuation.

The files of the Ross Administration in the State Archives contain many applications for drought relief.

The problems of the Idaho drought multiplied as the drought in the Great Plains region prompted thousands of families to move into the Far West. Idaho received many thousands of these migrants—from Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Missouri, and Texas. Although Idaho's economy was incomparably more distressed in the 1930s than in the 1920s, the net

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emigration of the 1920s was converted by *Grapes of Wrath* migrants into a net in-migration in the depressed thirties. The newcomers, who went principally into the Snake River Valley in southern Idaho and the cut-over area in northern Idaho, escalated a mounting relief load. Clearly, conditions in Idaho, as in other states, required a sustained program of relief and recovery.

When Franklin Roosevelt was nominated for president in 1932 he promised a "New Deal" for the American people. When he took office in March 1933 he promised to "do something" about the depression—to "put people to work." During the first "Hundred Days" (March 9 to June 16) he declared a Bank Holiday to prevent runs on banks, forbade the export and hoarding of gold, raised the price of gold, established federal deposit insurance for national banks, signed an act placing securities under federal supervision, granted $500 million to the states for emergency relief, inaugurated a plan of industrial self-government to be administered by the National Recovery Administration, and adopted the Agricultural Adjustment Act in an attempt to restore farm prices to parity—to levels equivalent to those existing before World War I. There were clearly some experimentation, some "playing by ear," and some inconsistencies, but at least there was action and a general consensus that the federal government was justified in taking measures to solve the problems of unemployment and low income. During the years 1933–34 the goal was to achieve recovery by agricultural and business regulation, price stabilization, and public works. From 1935 to 1941 relief and recovery measures were continued, but the government also enacted social and economic legislation to benefit working people—minimum-wage and maximum-hour legislation, social security, and massive work relief.

The federal anti-depression program in Idaho included unemployment relief, agricultural loans and benefits, programs for youth, social welfare assistance, works programs, and lending programs. While all of these measures were extensive in their

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coverage, it is surprising how meager the expenditures of the various New Deal agencies proved to be. The nation was not yet accustomed to distributing large amounts for economic resuscitation. Although Idaho ranked eighth among the forty-eight states in per capita federal expenditures during the period 1933 to 1939, the total disbursements in Idaho of all New Deal agencies during those seven years were only $399 per capita, or an average of $57 per person per year. Economists are now satisfied that one primary reason the nation failed to recover from the Depression of the 1930s until World War II was the small reach of the recovery effort. In all the years of the New Deal, the total financial assistance from federal government recovery programs was approximately $24 billion. That is a stout sum, but in the first year of World War II the federal government spent more than twice that figure.

Whatever the amount spent, there is no doubt that the recovery program made a vital contribution to Idaho's debilitated economy. Six significant programs deserve a brief summary.[6]

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION. The most pressing need was direct relief. Local charitable organizations and municipalities were unable to provide adequate assistance to miners and seasonal agricultural laborers who relocated in Idaho's cities. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was empowered to lend to states and local governments suffering such pressures. The FERA, which became law on May 12, 1933, made grants to local and state public agencies on a matching basis, one dollar of federal money for every three dollars spent by the state on relief programs. The newly created Idaho Emergency Relief Administration provided approximately $16 million in relief for 20,000 destitute Idaho families during the years 1933–35. Where feasible, the money was earned by

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work; a variety of projects enabled recipients to render useful service. Relief benefits per family in Idaho averaged from $15 to $30 per month. (At the time a common wage for agricultural and other unskilled workers was $1 per day; the average income of Idahoans was about $27 per month.)

CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION. The CWA was established on November 9, 1933, to employ 4 million persons during the winter of 1933–34. It expended $5.4 million in Idaho, providing jobs without reference to need. About half of those hired were previously on relief; the others were unemployed persons receiving no assistance. Average weekly earnings were about $15. While about one-third of the projects were building roads, streets, and bridges, others included repair of schools and hospitals, improvement of parks and fairgrounds, and constructing airports, sanitary facilities, waterworks, and means of flood control. A Women's Work Program provided employment in sewing clothes, making bedding, canning food, nursing, and teaching.

YOUTH PROGRAMS

CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS. Aware of the heavy impact of unemployment on young people, their lack of opportunity to develop skills and perform useful labor, President Franklin Roosevelt established the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) by executive order on April 5, 1933. The goal was to conserve young men physically and psychologically, but also to conserve the nation's natural resources. Approximately 4,500 barracks camps were organized during the nine-year program, usually in forests and national parks, each with about 200 young men. A total of 2.5 million young men eighteen to twenty-five, whose families were eligible for relief, were enrolled; they were paid $1.00 per day, plus maintenance and medical care. Of the $30 received each month, $25 were sent to the enrollee's fam-

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ily. In general, the camps were supervised by military officers, but many of the instructors were drawn from local teachers and well-trained civil-service personnel who conducted educational programs along with work projects.

Because of its bounteous forests, Idaho ranked second among all the states in CCC expenditures. Most of the young men assigned to camps in Idaho were from the industrial East—New York, New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the upper South, and the Midwest. But approximately 2,500 Idahoans were enrolled each year—just over 20,000 in the history of the CCC. About one-third of the enrollees, camp officers, and supervisory workers were from Idaho. A total of 163 camps were established in Idaho and operated for an average of three years each. Among them were 109 Forest Service camps, 20 on state forest, 9 on private forest lands, 8 under the Soil Conservation Service, and 16 under the Grazing Service. Most were south of the Salmon River. At its peak in 1935, CCC had eighty-two camps in Idaho. The projects were substantial: CCC enrollees in Idaho completed pest and disease control (blister rust) on 700,000 acres of forest, devoted 300,000 man-days to fighting forest fires, cleared 3,600 miles of truck trails, constructed 187 lookout towers and houses, built 1,500 miles of telephone lines, planted 10 million trees, controlled rodents on 2.5 million acres, and regenerated 42,000 acres of rangeland. The Idaho CCC also constructed thousands of public facilities, such as picnic tables, benches, fireplaces, and shelters.

One example of the permanent benefit of the CCC is its work in Heyburn State Park, where a camp was established in 1934. Fire circles, boat-landing slips, swimming rafts, bathhouses, seats along the shore of Lake Chatcolet, picnic grounds and tables, parking areas, community kitchens, toilet facilities, two caretakers' houses, a lodge, campsites with fireplaces, roads, and water systems turned the unimproved park into a showpiece for the state.[7] A total of $57 million was spent on the CCC in Idaho.

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INDIAN CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS.[8] A separate CCC program was established under the Indian Service for young Indian men living on reservations. Unlike those in regular camps, Indian enrollees could live in their own houses while working in family camps or in camps for single men. Indian families frequently moved their tents close to work projects. A permanent camp was set up for twenty-five or more men who would work on a project for two or three months and then move on to another. The family camps, sometimes supervised by employed Indian women, were visited by teams who instructed the women in sewing, cooking, and child care. At first, Indian enrollees worked twenty days a month at $1.50 a day, earning $30.00 a month; if the individual lived at home he also received $.60 a day for subsistence and thus received $42.00 a month. Later, the work week was changed to eight hours a day, five days a week, for which the enrollee earned $45.00 instead of $30.00. The work programs were designed primarily by Indian leaders on the reservations in the interest of improving their land, water, and forests. The enrollees constructed telephone lines, fire breaks, truck trails, vehicle bridges, horse trails, reservoirs, springs and wells, and range fences, and worked on erosion control and grasshopper and rodent eradication—all on the reservations. The young men were also required to spend ten hours per week in educational and vocational training: arts and crafts, farm and home carpentry, range and livestock management, health, masonry, and poultry raising.

All told, 1,038 Idaho Indians were employed by the Indian CCC from 1933 to 1942. The spendings of the Indian Service for the Idaho Indian CCC program up to 1938 amounted to $615,862.

NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION. The NYA was established by executive order in June 1935 and continued into the war period. The program consolidated various types of assistance to youth provided by the Federal Emergency Relief

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Administration. A total of nearly 2 million youths from 16 to 24 were employed on NYA work programs during the depression years; 5,000 of these were in Idaho. Students whose families were unable to pay their school expenses or were certified for WPA employment were eligible. In contrast to the CCC, the NYA was focused on education funding. The NYA granted money to schools and colleges that then provided students with enough work to cover their necessary expenses. The writer, who was supported under this program during his four years at the University of Idaho (1935–39), worked on the college farm, in a chemical laboratory, in the library, and for the Department of Economics, receiving $15.05 per month for forty-three hours of work—$.35 per hour. The magnitude of the program in Idaho is suggested by its outreach in May 1939, when 2,264 participants included 1,532 high school students earning an average wage of $4.34 per month (high school students had little school expense) and 725 college students earning an average monthly wage of $26.29. Idaho received $473,772 to administer the program and ranked fourth among all states in per-capita expenditures.

AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS

AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT. Because of Idaho's heavy dependence on agriculture, the New Deal's most important assistance was a program designed to restore farm purchasing power. The 1933 Agricultural Adjustment Act authorized paying growers to decrease their plantings of surplus crops and had them devote the acreage to pasture, summer fallow, and other soil-building practices. In return for benefit payments of $2.5 million, Idaho growers during the 1934 crop year shifted approximately 150,000 acres from wheat and corn to soil-building or soil-conserving uses. During the three years of the program (1933–36) 28,134 AAA crop adjustment contracts were accepted by Idaho farmers, about half by wheat farmers.

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The remainder were for corn-hog and sugar beet contracts.[9]

When the United States Supreme Court ruled the AAA production control program invalid on January 6, 1936, Congress lost no time in approving the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act as a replacement. Sponsored by Idaho's New Deal Senator James Pope, this revised program continued restrictions in agricultural output by paying farmers not to reduce production but to adopt land uses and farm practices that would conserve soil and enhance its fertility. About 20,000 Idaho farmers were organized into county associations to participate in the revised program. Approximately 53 percent of Idaho's cropland—that is, about 2 million acres—was covered by these contracts. A total of 170,000 acres was diverted from soil-depleting crops; about 380,000 acres were involved in soil-building practices. Idaho farmers received $1.9 million in conservation payments under the 1937 program.

In 1937 the greatest harvest in the history of the United States threatened to break farm prices with the weight of the surpluses. When it became clear that, in addition to soil conservation, measures were necessary to stabilize the supplies and prices of farm products, Congress approved the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938—the so-called Second Triple A—which set up acreage goals to encourage plantings harmonious with domestic demand, foreign markets, and adequate carryovers. Above all, it provided loans on crops stored in an "ever normal granary" to assure sufficient supplies for consumers and favorable markets for farmers. When two-thirds of the producers voted favorably, marketing quotas were established on wheat and other crops. Crop insurance provided parity payments to producers of staples when prices fell below specified levels. Under these programs Idaho farmers received $2.3 million in 1938.

FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION. Because much of its farming was commercial, Idaho was in particular need of

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credit to help farmers with their financial burdens. The commercial banks of Idaho, like those of the nation generally, were designed primarily for small business operations; they specialized in short-term loans. When they sought to offer agricultural aid by extending credit for longer time periods, they were saddled with "frozen assets"—assets that could not quickly be converted into cash. Institutions under supervision of the newly organized Farm Credit Administration loaned $12.5 million to individual Idaho farmers in 1938–39 and extended credit to a number of Idaho farm cooperatives. The largest volume of financing came from the five Idaho production credit associations, which loaned more than $54 million for short periods to 2,500 farmers and stockmen from 1933 to 1939. Long-term mortgage loans made on 11,000 farms in Idaho by the Federal Land Bank of Spokane aggregated more than $35 million by the end of 1939—about 40 percent of the total farm mortgage debt in the state.

Another farm credit institution lending to Idaho agriculture was the Spokane Bank for Cooperatives, which made loans to fruit and vegetable cooperatives, farm-supply associations, and cooperative grain elevators. As of December 31, 1939, the Spokane bank was financing eighteen Idaho cooperatives with loans aggregating more than $600,000.

FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION. Because the above-mentioned agricultural programs benefited primarily commercial farmers, the Farm Security Administration was created in 1935 to help low-income families become self-supporting instead of dependent on relief. During its first four years the FSA assisted almost 9,000 struggling Idaho families. The work of the FSA included a rehabilitation loan program, under which $5 million were loaned to 5,000 Idaho farm families for feed, seed, fertilizer, and equipment; small subsistence grants, averaging about $85 each, for the purchase of food, fuel,

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and other urgent necessities; the establishment of homesteads in Boundary County and "scattered farms" in Ada and sixteen other counties to provide better homes, improved schools, and enhanced farming opportunities; a tenant purchase program enabling fifteen Idahoans to obtain loans of $140,000 to acquire farms of their own; and the establishment of four migratory labor camps to furnish accommodations for 448 seasonal agricultural families.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION. The REA was created in 1935 to lend the entire cost of constructing electric distribution systems in isolated rural areas. The plan was successful. By the end of 1939 REA had loaned $2.2 million to six farm electric cooperatives that built 1,800 miles of new rural lines to serve 5,000 farmers. Whereas fewer than 30 percent of Idaho farms received highline power at the end of 1934, electrical service was available to 54 percent of the farms in 1939. Idaho rural schools were among the first to draw power from the new lines. Rural electrification facilitated the use of power equipment in dairying and increased the use of washing machines, electric irons, radios, refrigerators, chicken brooders, and tank heaters.

All told, from 1933 to 1939 New Deal appropriations for Idaho agriculture, not counting agricultural education expenditures, were $120 million, of which $32 million were outright grants and $88 million were loans.

SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS

Under the old-age and survivors insurance program of the Social Security Act of 1936, single cash payments were made to covered workers reaching age sixty-five and to heirs of workers who died. These payments equalled 3½ percent of a worker's wages covered by the system. By July 31, 1939, a total of 1,200

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payments amounting to $48,000 had been made to Idaho workers at age sixty-five or to their heirs.

A second section of the Social Security Act financed state unemployment compensation programs. With this encouragement, Idaho passed an unemployment compensation law on August 6, 1936, that covered an estimated 110,000 workers. Although benefits to unemployed workers did not become payable under the Idaho law until September 1938, eleven months later unemployment benefit payments in the state totaled $2.3 million. The average weekly benefit payment in the state was $10 for total unemployment and $9 for those partially unemployed. In administering the law the federal government expended, from 1936 to 1939, some $480,000 in Idaho. In addition, the United States Employment Service in Idaho received some 36,000 applications for jobs during the New Deal era and placed 29,000 people, 70 percent of them with private concerns.

A third section of the Social Security Act allowed public assistance for the needy aged, blind, and dependent children. These programs called for matching funds, with the federal government advancing 50 percent. By August 1939, 8,400 needy aged, 300 blind, and 6,400 dependent children in 2,700 Idaho families were receiving an average of $22 per month from federal and state funds. From 1936 to 1939, federal grants to Idaho for these programs were old-age assistance, $3.8 million; aid to the blind, $130,000; and aid to dependent children, $830,000. Idaho also received $280,000 for maternal and child welfare services, $240,000 for establishing and maintaining adequate public health services, and an undisclosed sum to help some 193 Idaho citizens in the process of rehabilitation.

WORKS PROGRAMS

Although the most pressing need in Idaho and other states was the provision of a federal system of relief, Congress and the

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Roosevelt Administration sought to establish programs that would stimulate business and provide remunerative employment. Some of these merely stepped up the rate of spending of existing bureaus and agencies.

PUBLIC ROADS ADMINISTRATION. The least revolutionary of these programs was road building, in which the federal assistance was granted to provide employment and also to build up an integrated system of state highways and secondary roads. Federal funds were made available for the elimination of railroad grade-crossing hazards, the reconditioning of feeder or secondary roads, and the improvement of main trunk highways. From 1933 through 1939 work was done on 1,650 miles of roads in Idaho with the aid of federal funds. Total federal expenditures in Idaho from 1934 to 1939 were $15 million for highways and $2 million for grade crossings.

PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION. To stimulate industry and put men back to work, the PWA made available to state and local sponsoring bodies federal funds to aid in construction costs. In general, projects were financed by 45 percent grants from PWA funds. In some instances, in addition to the outright grant, the PWA arranged to lend the applicant the remainder of the cost. PWA payrolls had to meet the prevailing wage scale in the community where the project was located. The PWA also operated a federal program, consisting of construction and repair work on federal property in each state. PWA allotments for federal and non-federal projects in Idaho up to July 1, 1939, included $8.2 million for streets and highways, $1.3 million for sewers and waterworks, $500,000 for administrative buildings, $2.7 million for school buildings, $3.9 million for flood control and reclamation, and $3.5 million for improvements on federal lands.

To improve recreational facilities as a means to stimulate Idaho's lure for tourists, the PWA made an allotment of $5.6

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million to the Forest Service for the construction of major and minor forest highways, roads, and physical improvements in Idaho's national forests. The PWA also allotted to the Bureau of Reclamation $5.2 million for various water projects, including canals and structures for irrigation and distribution systems. The most important of these was the Owyhee Reclamation Project in Oregon and Idaho, to which $5.2 million were allotted for the construction of canals and canal structures for the irrigation distribution system of which the PWA contributed $2.2 million. The PWA also provided for the construction of storage reservoirs on tributaries of the Upper Snake River near Ashton.

Principal nonfederal programs were the construction of seventy-eight educational buildings with an estimated cost of $6 million. A grant of $225,000 financed a new junior high school building and additions to Boise High School and a Boise elementary school; a Pocatello High School expansion received $400,000. Drainage work near Bonners Ferry was funded to rebuild dikes, drainage ditches, and a pumping plant.

The peak of site activity on federal and nonfederal programs combined was reached in June 1934, when an average of 10,000 men were at work.

WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION. Some 95 percent of the projects on which funds were expended by the WPA, a work-relief program, were planned and sponsored by the areas in which they took place. In practically all cases the locality contributed to the cost of the project, and in most cases it provided site planning as well. The community's contribution paid the majority of the cost of materials, supplies, and equipment, whereas federal funds were expended primarily for wages. Those employed on these projects were all certified as in need of work. Of every federal dollar spent, 86 cents went directly into wages for workers.

Among the major accomplishments of the WPA in Idaho were the construction of 125 public buildings and the modernization

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and improvement of 90 others, including 43 schools. In addition, 1,484 miles of highways, roads, and streets in the state were extended or improved. The WPA also constructed and/or repaired more than 1,800 culverts and 400 bridges. Municipal water-supply systems benefited by the addition of ninety-five miles of water mains, aqueducts, and distribution lines, and laterals were added to storm and sanitary sewer systems. The expansion of recreational facilities was accomplished by the construction of twelve new athletic fields and playgrounds and the improvement of eleven others. WPA sewing rooms produced more than 430,000 garments and other articles for distribution to needy families. Some 72,000 quarts of milk and 12 million pounds of other foodstuffs were distributed to persons in need, and 1.2 million lunches were served to school children. Other work included the refurbishing of 287,000 public-school and library books and the cataloging of 70,000 volumes.

In another effort, Idaho's writers employed by the Federal Writers Project produced, under the direction of Vardis Fisher, a splendid state guide—the first in the United States—and two other published compilations and studies. The Federal Music Project of Idaho presented several hundred free concerts. Other Idahoans were employed in art, theater, and education projects and historical records surveys.[10]

On June 28, 1939, 8,574 persons were employed in Idaho on projects operated by the WPA. Earnings of these persons for June amounted to $441,000, for an average of a little over $50 per month per person employed. Total federal expenditures from the beginning of the program to June 30, 1939, amounted to $23 million.

LENDING PROGRAMS

Through 1939 the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, inaugurated in the fall of 1932, made loans to at least 132 borrowers in Idaho. These included loans to banks and trust companies,

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mortgage loan companies, and industrial and commercial businesses, as well as catastrophe loans.

During the seven years after the organization of the Federal Home Loan Bank System in 1933, the number of affiliated Idaho institutions grew to eight and they reported total resources of more than $7 million. These were all federal savings and loan associations chartered and supervised by the national government under Act of Congress passed in 1933. Up to August 31, 1939, these member institutions had received $2.6 million in advances from their district Federal Home Loan Bank in Portland. Member institutions of the Home Loan Bank System were operating in almost every large-sized community, making their services available to most of the non-farm population of the state. Federally chartered savings and loan associations were located in Boise, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho Falls, Lewiston, Nampa, Pocatello, and Twin Falls.

The Home Owners' Loan Corporation refinanced 4,700 home loans totaling $8.2 million from 1933 to 1936. About 92 percent of these almost hopeless homeowners refinanced by HOLC saved their homes.

The Federal Housing Administration was established in 1934 to stimulate residential construction, promote improved housing standards, create a sound system of home financing, and insure loans made by banks, building and loan associations, and other private lending institutions for new construction, repairs, alterations, and improvements. It also made possible the modernization of farm properties and of small-business plants and equipment. The net volume of FHA business in Idaho through June 30, 1939, totaled $10.3 million.

IMPACT OF THE NEW DEAL ON IDAHO

Although no complete summary of all federal expenditures in Idaho for the period from March 1933 to September 1939 has been made, the compilation by the Statistical Section of the

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Office of Government Reports in the fall of 1939 shows that federal economic agencies expended more than $209 million in grants, an additional $112 million in loans, and an additional $10 million in insured private loans, for a grand total of about $331 million of federal assistance to Idaho. During the same period federal taxes collected in Idaho probably did not exceed $12 million.

As the result of the injection of federal funds, Idaho's economy did improve. The following summary is suggestive:

Individual income and corporate taxes in Idaho rose from $403,000 in 1933 to $2,012,000 in 1939.

Bank deposits rose from $41 million in 1933 to $90 million in 1939.

Total income payments in Idaho rose from $134 million in 1933 to $234 million in 1939; income per capita rose from $287 in 1933 to $452 in 1939.

Employment in manufacturing rose from 7,700 in 1933 to 9,900, and manufacturing payrolls rose from $7.1 million in 1933 to $13.3 million.

Farm marketings rose from $52 million in 1933 to $80 million in 1939.

Silver production rose from $2 million in 1933 to $15 million in 1939.

It would be misleading, however, to conclude that the 1930s were a period of unalloyed economic stagnation or that all the recovery was a result of the New Deal programs. Significant technical growth occurred nationally in steel, petroleum, chemicals, aircraft, and automobiles. One of the most dramatic advancements in Idaho was made by the Morrison-Knudsen Construction Company of Boise. Harry Morrison, an Illinois farm boy, and Morris Hans Knudsen, a Danish immigrant, became acquainted while working on the Boise Project of the U.S. Reclamation Service in 1905. In 1912 the two men formed their own construction firm. In 1927 they joined with the Utah Construction Company and contracted for the construction of the Bureau of Reclamation dam at Guernsey, Wyoming, and then built

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Deadwood Dam, high in the mountains near Lowman. M-K was likewise one of six companies that built Boulder (renamed Hoover) Dam in 1931–35, Parker Dam in 1935–38, and numerous other dams, irrigation works, tunnels and canals, streets, highways, and buildings financed by the PWA. Between 1933 and 1940 M-K and associates completed twenty major dams and hydroelectric works, in addition to other projects. After the government began its preparedness campaign in 1939, the company received many military construction contracts. Although the 1930s are usually remembered as years of sluggishness, to some energetic entrepreneurs they were also years of opportunity and growth.[11]

A second example of a growth enterprise was Sun Valley Lodge, opened in 1936 and giving Idaho status as a winter and summer sports destination. Established by W. Averell Harriman, chairman of the board of Union Pacific Railroad and later governor of New York, this famous sports playground, nestled in a valley near Ketchum, is 6,500 feet above sea level. Once a 3,000-acre sheep ranch, it became one of America's premier resort communities, with swimming pools, ice rinks, ski lifts (including the first chairlift ever built, modeled after a device to load carcasses on freighters), golf course, artistic lodges, and shopping centers. Sun Valley is one of America's favorite convention centers and vacation spots.

Finally, the depression years saw the burgeoning in Moscow of "Psychiana," the world's largest mail-order religion. Frank Bruce Robinson, a native of England, had migrated to Canada as a young man; moved to the United States, where he enlisted in the army; and eventually settled in Moscow, where he was employed as a druggist. In his search for religious truth, he claimed to talk with God and organized a psychological religion that enrolled thousands of interested persons in a correspondence course. Eventually, he became Latah County's largest private employer, wrote twenty books outlining his beliefs, and employed 40 to 100 persons full-time for the assembling and mailing of some 50,000 pieces of mail per day. He perpetuated

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the myth of the American Dream even at the peak of economic stagnation. It was possible to find the God Power, he asserted, if one followed the steps outlined in his lessons. As his biographer concluded, "He preached the possibility of material success and happiness despite the Depression."[12]

Like other Americans, Idahoans slowly gained in wealth and well-being from 1933 to 1939. By the outbreak of World War II, they were in a reasonably good position to participate effectively in the struggle for national survival during that effort.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE: SOURCES

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There is an extensive literature on the Great Depression and its impact on America and the world. Among the most helpful in the prepa-

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127.

128.

127. A popular federal agency during the 1930s was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), in which young men were employed to improve the nation's forests. This photo shows Camp F-142 (Kalispell Bay) on the Priest River in 1934. PRIEST LAKE MUSEUM ASSOC. COLLECTION, UIL 17–7.14.

128. This photo shows one company and officers at CCC Camp F–16, at Prichard, 1933. UIL 8–B140.4.

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129.

129. A Works Progress Administration (WPA) unit near Wallace built a channel for this unruly stream in 1939. DONATED BY MRS. HARRY MARSH, UIL 6–59–7.

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130.

130. The LDS Church inaugurated a self-help program in 1936 in which LDS stakes operated farms and other enterprises to furnish food for families in need. This is the Hog Project of the 11th Quorum of Seventies in Bear Lake Stake, Paris. LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES PH 1086.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

The Impact of World War II

On September 1, 1939, Germany invaded Poland, launching World War II. Britain and France declared war on Germany, and the United States declared its neutrality. As the German military marched to repeated success, Congress authorized trade with friendly belligerents on a cash-and-carry basis. Germany invaded Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. The United States agreed to send outdated and surplus war supplies, including aircraft, to Great Britain.

Having begun a limited rearmament program in 1939, the United States stepped up the effort and appropriated $4.3 billion for defense, including the planned production of 50,000 airplanes per year. As the war raged in Europe, the United States methodically put in place a system of defensive preparation. Germany defeated France in June 1940; the United States appropriated $4 billion to produce a two-ocean navy of two hundred ships. As the Battle of Britain began, the United States passed the Selective Service Act requiring the first compulsory

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military training in peacetime. Germany invaded Rumania, Italy invaded Greece, and the United States established the Office of Production Management for Defense (later the OPM). President Franklin Roosevelt asked for further aid to the anti-Axis nations (England, France); Germany invaded Yugoslavia. The United States established the Office of Price Administration (OPA) to ward off inflation and supervise rationing. Germany invaded the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile the Japanese government, allied with Germany and Italy, occupied French Indo-China and moved on throughout Asia. On December 7, 1941, Japanese carrier-based planes attacked the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor; Imperial forces also attacked Guam, the Philippines, Wake Island, Midway Island, Hong Kong, and the Malay Peninsula. At Pearl Harbor the Japanese pilots sank or disabled nineteen ships, including eight battleships and three destroyers, and 140 planes. About 2,300 people were killed and 1,200 wounded. Congress declared war on Japan and quickly followed with a declaration of war on Germany and Italy.

Idahoans had become involved in the war when the nation began preparedness in the fall of 1939. Morrison-Knudsen had been assigned by the Defense Department to construct airfields, roads, and maintenance buildings in the Pacific. When the Japanese occupied Wake Island, Guam, and Midway, they took as prisoners more than a thousand M-K employees, mostly from Idaho, and these men remained prisoners until 1945. Some died during their incarceration.

As a part of its defense preparations, the U.S. Navy acquired land near Buttonhook and Scenic bays on the southern end of Lake Pend Oreille, consolidated its holdings through condemnation, and constructed Farragut Naval Base. By the close of the war this vast training center covered an area of more than 4,000 acres and included 800 buildings. Beginning April 10, 1942, some 22,000 men worked on the construction, laboring

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ten-hour days, thirteen out of every fourteen days. Some $64 million were funneled into the project, and Farragut (named for Admiral David Glasgow Farragut, who achieved Civil War victories aboard the U.S.S. *Hartford*) became the largest city in Idaho. Naval personnel arrived in August 1942, six "boot camps" named after naval heroes were opened, and sailors began training in September. Five thousand men were stationed at each camp, where they lived in twenty-two two-story barracks, were fed in a central mess hall, and were served by dispensaries, recreation facilities, and store buildings. At one time there were as many as 55,000 people at Farragut. "Liberty" trains ran from the base to Spokane three times a day. The naval hospital, the best in Idaho at the time, consisted of 100 buildings connected by covered passageways, with beds for 2,500 patients and their families. Within fifteen months approximately 300,000 sailors passed basic training. The base was decommissioned in 1946 and became a college and technical institute between 1946 and 1949. Secret naval research has continued at nearby Bayview. In 1965 the base was designated Farragut State Park. After an International Boy Scout Jamboree was held there in 1967, the Seventh National Jamboree was held at Farragut in 1969, attracting 42,000 boys, and another National Jamboree was held in 1973, drawing 30,000 Scouts.[1]

Determined to have an ordnance plant away from the West Coast, the Navy built a large facility at Pocatello in the early summer of 1942. Guns up to eighteen inches in size were accommodated in the relining plant. Single lathes 115 feet long and overhead bridge cranes of 150-ton capacity made it possible to handle the massive naval guns. These monsters were lowered lengthwise into an eight-story pit, the bottom of which dropped so far below water level that Navy divers were used in its construction.[2] One of the buildings, only one story yet 135 feet high, covered 200,000 square feet and was designed to maintain the inside temperature with a fluctuation of only two

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degrees. Repaired and relined guns were tested at a station near Arco. This proving ground was transferred into the National Reactor Testing Station for the Atomic Energy Commission after the war. The ordnance plant was later converted into a factory where the Bucyrus-Erie Company made machines for strip-mining.[3]

In 1940 the United States Army Air Corps established Gowen Field near Boise as a major base for B-24 bombers. The base was named in 1941 for Lieutenant Paul Gowen, a native of Caldwell who died in 1938 in an air crash while on duty in Panama. Gowen Field became the final training center for units headed for Europe and the Pacific. Pilots, bombardiers, navigators, gunners, and other crew members learned to work as a team in flying bomber missions. Large air bases were also established at Mountain Home to train bomber crews and at Pocatello to prepare fighter pilots. The base at Mountain Home is still in operation. The Pocatello base was a closely guarded area near the twenty-six-mile reservoir above American Falls Dam.

In addition to the military facilities, Sun Valley Resort was closed to the public in 1942 and used by the Navy as a convalescent hospital for sailors and Marines with malaria, fatigue, or rheumatic fever. Idaho's colleges and universities were also centers for Army and Navy training.

Idaho furnished approximately 39,000 young men and 818 young women to the Army and Air Corps and 21,115 persons to the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard. Including Seabees (construction battalions), nurses, and other volunteers and inductees, Idaho had approximately 60,000 young men and women in the military service during the war, of whom 1,784 died, 8 were declared missing, and 31 were held in foreign prison camps. Many were decorated, including Junior Van Noy and Leonard Brostrom of Preston and Lloyd McCarter of St. Maries, each of whom was presented the nation's highest military award, the Congressional Medal of Honor—Van Noy and Brostrom posthumously.[4]

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On the civilian front Idaho ranked near the top of the forty-eight states in providing food, lumber, and metals. Idaho supplied beef, mutton, pork, turkey, chicken, eggs, and huge quantities of potatoes, beans, peas, onions, sweet corn, and carrots; apples, prunes, peaches, and cherries; milk, cheese, and butter. Idaho lumber was used to build military bases, ships, airplanes, boxes, and crates. During 1942 mills at Potlatch, Coeur d'Alene, and Lewiston produced 427 million board feet of lumber, principally Idaho white pine and yellow (ponderosa) pine, for the war effort. Idaho lead was used in making bullets and batteries, zinc was used in making brass cartridge cases, and mercury exploded the percussion caps. Idaho antimony contributed metal ingredients in every tire. Idaho silver helped make silver alloy bearings, and Idaho tungsten from Valley and Lemhi counties was used in making the hard-cutting tools in war plants.[5] A single mine, setting aside gold ore for a month, extracted enough tungsten to toughen 75 million pounds of steel. Because tungsten from mines in China (the previous source) had to fly the deadly Himalaya hump to reach Allied mills, the value of Idaho's tungsten was measured not in gold but in blood.[6]

A private entrepreneur who rendered yeoman service was J. R. Simplot. A native of Iowa, Simplot grew up in Declo, Idaho, and at nineteen, in 1928, began as a produce merchant in Burley. At the start of the war in 1941 he was the state's largest shipper of potatoes and onions. Seeing a future in dehydrated foods, he constructed a small onion dehydrator at Caldwell in 1941. After Pearl Harbor he expanded the operation and became the largest supplier of dehydrated potatoes to the Armed Forces. His dehydration method reduced one hundred pounds of potatoes to a neat fifteen-pound carton that could readily be sent overseas. Between 1942 and 1945 Simplot produced more than 33 million pounds of dried potatoes annually for the government and won the Army-Navy "E" for excellence. In 1944 he began construction of a gigantic phosphate fertilizer plant at Pocatello. These were the beginnings of a large industrial and

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commercial empire that included food distribution and production, lumbering, mining, fertilizer manufacture, microchips, livestock, and real estate development. More of this in Chapters Twenty-six and Twenty-nine.

Much civilian trade and business activity had to be suspended during the war years because of the shortage of materials, gasoline, and skilled labor. For example, the $26-million Anderson Ranch Dam to furnish supplemental water for Boise Valley farms was to have been finished in 1946 but was not completed for another four years.

Many Idahoans worked in shipyards in the Portland-Vancouver area, in airplane assembly plants in Seattle, in aluminum reduction plants near Vancouver, and on the Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams. Add to this the large number serving in the Armed Forces and one understands the chronic shortage of agricultural labor, which typically paid less than jobs in war industries. As a result, Idaho farmers recruited help from Mexico through the bracero program, from prisoner-of-war camps, from the Japanese-American relocation center at Hunt, from the conscientious-objector camp at Downey, from the Navajo Indian reservation in southern Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico, and from groups previously unsalaried, principally women. Those women who remained at home also contributed to the war effort by raising victory gardens, helping to salvage critical war materials, selling war bonds, and coping with rationing regulations.

Idaho was selected for two major and at least sixteen minor German and Italian prisoner-of-war camps. A large base camp was located at Farragut, where 850 German prisoners of war were stationed to work as gardeners and maintenance men. The second base camp was at Rupert, where the prisoners worked in sugar beet and potato fields and fruit orchards. Branch camps were located at Rexburg, Sugar City, Rigby, Idaho Falls, Shelley, Blackfoot, Thomas, Fort Hall, Pocatello Army Air Force Base, Preston, Franklin, Filer, Marsing, Payette, Upper Deer

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Flat, and Wilder. The branch camps were hurriedly constructed so the prisoners could live near a farm or orchard where labor was required. The prisoners, always under guard, lived in tents surrounded by a hog-wire fence. Guards left early in the morning to take the prisoners to work in the fields. One German prisoner of war thinning beets at the Preston camp remarked, "Hitler said we would march across North America, but I didn't think we would do it on our hands and knees."[7] According to Geneva Convention rules, their food was to be equal in quantity and quality to that given U.S. troops in the field. Hospital and medical treatment was provided at the base hospitals at Farragut and Pocatello and at Bushnell General Hospital in Brigham City, Utah. The prisoners had organized sports activities—soccer for the Germans and soccer and boccie (an Italian version of bowling) for Italians. They sometimes had motion pictures, musical instruments, crafts, libraries, and camp newspapers. Courses in American history and English language were popular. Those who worked on farms received 80 cents a day, but farmers were required to pay the minimum wage of $2.20 per day; the difference funded housing and food expenses. After Italy capitulated on September 8, 1943, Italian prisoners were given special privileges if they signed the Italian Service Unit parole agreement, which many did. In essence this made them "partners" in the Allied war effort. The conduct of the camps, in general, was a humane and successful endeavor.[8]

Situated at Downey, in the heart of Marsh Creek Valley forty miles south of Pocatello, a depression-era Civilian Conservation Corps camp became the wartime home of some 126 conscientious objectors—most of them men who belonged to one of the "peace churches" (Mennonite, Amish, Quaker, Jehovah's Witnesses) that do not believe in war. The majority were from Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, and Illinois. Under the direction of the Soil Conservation Service, they worked at erosion control, rehabilitating irrigation systems, constructing and digging irrigation

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drainage ditches, putting in water pipelines, rock-ribbing the Portneuf Mountain slopes, constructing the McCammon Diversion Dam, and doing emergency farm and forest work—thinning and topping sugar beets, picking potatoes, fighting range and forest fires, building fences, and cutting timber. As in POW camps, these men lived in barracks dormitories and had an infirmary, chapel, bathhouse, craft and recreation center, library, classroom, garages, and workshops. A few of the men were married and were able to spend evenings with wives living in Downey, which was within walking distance. Spike (temporary) camps for one or two dozen men were established near farming areas needing their labor, such as those at Fort Hall, Bancroft, Grace, and Tyhee.

A controversial war measure was the relocation of approximately ten thousand Japanese-Americans from the Portland and Seattle areas to an erstwhile "desert" location at Hunt near Rupert in south-central Idaho. These persons formed, for the period September 1942 to October 1945, the eighth largest city in Idaho—a city that no longer exists.

In recent years the United States government has officially apologized and made redress for this unjustified wholesale evacuation, explicable only in terms of the hysteria that followed the attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor. All West Coast military installations, airfields, and electrical plants were treated with extensive camouflage netting and blackout regulations. Such precautionary measures were also extended to cities and civilians. At the time, about 127,000 persons of Japanese descent lived in the United States, some 112,000 on the Pacific Coast. In the weeks after the attack on Hawaii the Japanese had launched successful assaults against the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore. The American public grew increasingly suspicious of persons of Japanese ancestry in the United States. Some even suggested that they represented a racially undesirable element in American life and could not be assimilated. Rumors

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circulated of sabotage and fifth-column activity in Hawaii, none of them true. Reports of enemy submarine activity off the coast of California added to the mounting sense of panic. Fearful of an invasion of the continent, and conscious of the dangers of resident sabotage, citizens on the West Coast demanded strong precautionary measures.

At the height of the popular suspicion, distrust, and fear, on February 19, 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt signed the unprecedented Executive Order 9066, under which the Army was given blanket power to deal with "the enemy." General John L. DeWitt, commanding general of the Western Defense Command in San Francisco, issued Public Proclamation No. 1 designating the entire western half of California, Oregon, and Washington as a "military area" and announced that all persons of Japanese ancestry would be removed as a matter of military necessity. One of the unfortunate results of the expulsion order was the inadequate protection of evacuee property rights.

The families affected owned about 150,000 acres of lush farming land, some 20,000 automobiles, several thousand businesses, and homes, art works, bank accounts, and other forms of property built up at great sacrifice over a period of many years. Evacuees were expected to dispose of this property quickly and individually. Each person was permitted to take with him or her only what could be carried in hand. Inevitably, they were victimized by the unscrupulous, who bought their homes and farms for a fraction of their true value. Total income and property losses of all Japanese-Americans attributed to the evacuation is estimated at $350 million.

In March 1942 the military constructed assembly centers at racetracks, fairgrounds, and livestock exhibition halls near the principal West Coast settlements. From these, internees were moved in the summer and fall of 1942 to ten newly constructed barracks cities, known as relocation centers, located in eastern California, Arizona, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Arkansas, and

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Idaho. The Minidoka Relocation Center, on federal land in the Minidoka (Gooding) Reclamation Project at Hunt, was one. (Hunt was named for Wilson Price Hunt, the Astorian explorer and businessman who had passed through Idaho in 1811.) These camps were administered by the War Relocation Authority (WRA), directed by Dillon S. Myer of the Agricultural Conservation and Adjustment Administration. Most of the central and field staff of the WRA came from the Department of Agriculture.

The Minidoka Center was located on 68,000 acres of arid sagebrush and sandy land between the Sawtooth Range on the north and the Snake River immediately to the south, near the towns of Twin Falls, Rupert, and Jerome. The construction contract was awarded to Morrison-Knudsen, and a crew of 3,000 men hastily built row after row of low, black barracks of frame and tarpaper in the summer of 1942. The community, sprawled over an area three and one-half miles long and one mile wide, was divided into areas for evacuee residents, administrative personnel, and military police. The evacuee area consisted of thirty-five residential blocks, each housing and servicing 250 to 300 persons. Within each block there were fifteen single-story barracks buildings, a central mess or dining hall, a recreation hall, a combination washroom-toilet-laundry building, outdoor clotheslines, and an office for the block manager. Each barrack was divided into six single rooms, ranging in size from 16 by 20 feet to 20 by 25 feet. Each room was "home for the duration" for a family with several children or for four or five unrelated individuals. During the early weeks, when the housing was still uncompleted, the rooms often held two families or up to eight bachelor men or women. To many Japanese, the most objectionable aspect of the entire arrangement was the denial of individual and family privacy.

From army stores the WRA furnished pot-bellied stoves, cots, sacks or mattress covers, and blankets, but there was seldom enough bedding. The evacuees were expected to make

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their own partitions, chairs, benches, tables, shelves, closets, storage chests, and other furniture, which they did by "borrowing" some of the poorly guarded lumber left over from the construction. There were no washing, bathing, or toilet facilities in the barracks; a central building in each block had to be used for these purposes. Each block had only four bathtubs for all the women, and the same number of showers for the men; and even these were lacking for several weeks. All meals were taken in the central dining hall. In the center of the compound were a community auditorium, gymnasium, canteens, schools, libraries, churches, post office, and fire station. There were athletic fields and a community garden plot.

The administrative area consisted of several blocks of office buildings, barracks apartments, dormitories, and a recreation center. Approximately 200 Caucasians, some of them from nearby towns, supervised and staffed the various administrative divisions. In one corner, behind a barbed-wire fence, were the barracks and headquarters of the military police, about a hundred of whom arrived ahead of the first detachment of evacuees. During most of the center's history there were from three to five officers and from 85 to 150 enlisted men. Guardhouses were built at each entrance to the city, and the military police checked the papers and credentials of every person going and coming. Although most such camps (e.g. Topaz, Utah) were surrounded by tall, strong barbed-wire fences, with watchtower guard houses equipped with searchlights every quarter of a mile and manned by armed patrols, observers say the Minidoka Center was far less fortified.

All told, there were about five hundred wooden buildings, all uniformly somber except the white-painted hospital and administrative structures. At the beginning the Minidoka Center was only two-thirds completed, with drafty buildings, crowded barracks, and open trenches. When the houses had neither ceilings nor inside walls, the residents complained of the blowing dust; they slept and worked with faces covered by towels. (It should

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be noted that many emergency housing facilities built at military camps nationwide for servicemen and their families were of similar construction.)

Construction of the Minidoka camp in the summer of 1942 ended the depression in south-central Idaho. M-K had hired carpenters and masons and helpers in Magic Valley for $72 per week, when wages ranged from $10 to $15 per week for clerks in stores and $20 to $25 per week for carpenters and masons (most of whom were unemployed anyway). Except during the harvest and the sugar factory "campaign," work was scarce; local poolhalls were lined with idle men of all ages, and scores of "loafers" leaned on buildings in the center of town facing the sidewalk. By contrast, those who worked at the "Jap Camp," as it was called, earned unbelievable wages. One of the writer's friends, later a distinguished professor at Northwestern University, was only fourteen, but he was tall and husky and no one asked his age, so he was hired to work in the lumberyard, later on the "cement gang." He learned that some carpenters were paid $300 a week. It was a crash project; speed was the object. Workers often wore respirators to keep from breathing the dust and getting "dust pneumonia."

The M-K payroll was like fireworks in Magic Valley—bringing immediate prosperity. Bars and restaurants suddenly overflowed. People bought newer cars and made improvements in their homes. World War II spending had rescued Magic Valley from the depression. Most of the builders, coming from farms rather than cities, lived in houses and shacks without running water, and they used outhouses. As they constructed the camp's communal kitchens, laundries, and bathhouses they were envious: the incoming "Japs" were being given such "luxuries" as indoor toilets at public expense. It would never have occurred to the workers what a God-forsaken place this would seem to people from Portland and Seattle forcibly exiled into the Idaho desert.

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Most of the evacuees sent to Minidoka were residents of western Washington and Oregon—about 7,000 from Washington and 3,000 from Oregon. Since the sewage system had not been installed, the inhabitants were first forced to use outdoor latrines. Knowing this would be their home for an indefinite period, they sought to alter the grim, bleak appearance by beautifying the center with vines, ferns, and flowers. They planted grass and a few large trees donated by residents of Twin Falls and Jerome and brought in cattail reeds, willows, and cactus to put on "their" land.

The administration was limited to a food budget of 45 cents per person per day. Although the individual amount of food was meager, the totals were enormous. In November 1942, the entire Minidoka camp consumed daily: 4,000 pounds of rice, 900 gallons of milk, 3,500 pounds of meat, 4,400 loaves of bread, and 1,126 dozen eggs.[9]

About a year after their incarceration, the residents adopted a system of self-government. A charter was approved, a seven-man Community Advisory Council was elected, and special committees were appointed to deal with food, health, housing, education, employment, and public relations. The center had two elementary schools with 776 pupils and a faculty of ten; five nursery schools for children under six; Hunt High School with 1,200 students; and an adult educational program designed to "Americanize" the Japanese with training in the English language and American history and government. An industrial-arts program taught adults skills in farm machinery, welding, motor mechanics, poultry and dairy husbandry, truck farming, electricity, and carpentry. There were four libraries—one in each of the schools and a public library.

A resident-controlled community cooperative, established in December 1942, set up a shoe repair, a watch repair, two mail-order agencies, four general stores, one clothing and dry goods store, one beauty parlor, two barber shops, one flower shop, a

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weekly newspaper (the *Minidoka Irrigator*), a motion-picture department, and a dry-cleaning shop.[10] A Community Activities Division sponsored music performances, socials, entertainments, children's activities, arts and crafts, and athletics. A Catholic Church, six Protestant denominations combined into one Federated Christian Church, and three Buddhist denominations provided religious services.

Soon after the center's inception, the administration launched a drive to recruit a labor force for work outside the center. Workers on neighboring farms and orchards were paid $16 a month and professionally trained persons $19 a month. Evacuees worked in potato fields, harvested sugar beets, and picked fruit. Although the residents, mostly from urban centers, were not accustomed to physically strenuous work (and picking potatoes and thinning and topping sugar beets could be very exhausting), they became conditioned and farmers regarded them as efficient and cooperative laborers.

The evacuees learned farming skills quickly. They cleared, irrigated, and placed under cultivation 250 acres in the spring of 1943 and produced more than 1,000 tons of grains and vegetables, including enough potatoes to last the colony for a year. The 1944 crop was nearly twice as large, coming from 800 acres under cultivation. The community also operated a hog ranch and a poultry unit. The poultry farm had 8,600 chickens by the end of 1943, with 3,500 laying hens producing three cases of eggs per day. The hog ranch contained 400 hogs by the end of 1943, furnishing dining halls with 25 animals per week. In 1944 the poultry farm produced 39,000 pounds of chicken meat and 63,000 eggs; the hog farm produced 307,000 pounds of pork. All in all, the farm furnished the center with about one-sixth of its food requirements. An attempt to set up a canning plant failed because necessary machinery and equipment were lacking.

In January 1943 the U.S. War Department announced the formation of a special Japanese combat unit. Of the 300 Mini-

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doka volunteers, 211 were classified as acceptable, more than from any other relocation center. A year later, in January 1944, the War Department announced a program of drafting eligible Nisei (children of immigrants born in America) into the army. By the end of 1944 more than 800 Minidoka residents were serving in the armed forces. Many of these were killed in action in Italy.

The central administration had encouraged relocation out of the compound for students and others. By the summer of 1944 more than 2,000 were doing agricultural and other manual labor outside camp or had permanently relocated to work or to attend a college or university. Not allowed to return to the West Coast, many of the parolees went to the Midwest.

In the middle of December 1944 the WRA announced that all relocation centers would be closed within a year; moreover, the ban on returning to the West Coast was removed. Since many of the men had joined the army, gone to university, or found outside employment, those remaining at the camp were mostly elderly people and children. They were not eager to move, either to the West Coast or elsewhere. But the administration gradually suspended the operation of its various services: the agricultural division was eliminated, schools were closed in May and June, and there was a steady exodus of relocatees. By July 1945 fewer than 5,000 still lived in camp, by September about 3,000, and on October 23, 1945, the center was closed.

Most of the center inhabitants did not return to Oregon or Washington but dispersed all over the nation. With the war over both in Europe and with Japan, Americans hailed the fighting heroism of the Japanese-American combat team, and the relocated internees now found themselves accepted as loyal Americans.

Many "Japanese" today are grateful for the evacuation experience. By uprooting them from the West Coast, it paved the way for their residence and acceptance in the interior. Many lawyers, doctors, business executives, and university professors

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now attribute their rise out of "second-class citizenship" at least in part to the forced relocation out of the Little Tokyos on the West Coast. Bitter and bewildering as it was, the evacuation is now sometimes referred to as a "blessing in disguise."

World War II exerted a mixed influence on Idahoans. On the one hand, about 25,000 Idahoans left the state to work in the shipyards, aircraft assembly plants, and other industries on the West Coast. Bright young men and women from the state served in the armed forces in North Africa and Italy; in England, France, Germany; in Guadalcanal, New Guinea, Okinawa, and Japan; and at American bases in Texas, Georgia, Maryland, Michigan, and California. Some of them paid the ultimate price. Civilians on the home front could not travel as they would like to have done, buy all the food they were accustomed to eating, or obtain new consumer durables, parts, and materials for building. Even civilians faced social dislocation, privation, and death.

On the other hand, Idaho experienced unprecedented prosperity. Wages were high, new military bases and industrial plants provided employment and added to the state's income, and people worked together as never before to achieve a common purpose—the defeat of the Axis. Many rural villages suffered as people moved to cities. Not everyone appreciated contributions of the Hispanics, Japanese-Americans, and prisoners of war to Idaho's agriculture, but the greater ethnic diversity added to the state's cultural heritage. Whatever one's individual experience, all were determined that the nightmarish aftermath Idaho's citizens had undergone following World War I would not be repeated.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR: SOURCES

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131.

131. About 8,000 Japanese-Americans from the Seattle area were interned during World War II at Camp Minidoka near Paul. ISHS 73–184.1.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

Political Independence in War and Peace

SINCE the achievement of statehood, and even before, Idaho's political leaders and their constituents have demonstrated a strong spirit of independence. The voting patterns of Idaho citizens have demonstrated, time after time, that Idahoans have maintained ambivalent attitudes toward political parties; they have not identified closely with major political parties; they have shown a high frequency of ticket-splitting and have sometimes given an important role to third parties.

The independent political tradition of Idaho is a major theme in the authoritative three-volume *History of Idaho* by Merrill Beal and Merle Wells.[1] It was also a theme of two recent books discussing Idaho's political history.[2] Focusing on the twenty-seven-year territorial period, Robert Blank, in *Individualism in Idaho*, concluded that the miners, farmers, and cattlemen who settled Idaho began a tradition of conservatism that included home rule, animosity toward "carpetbag" federal officials, and maintenance of pioneer values.[3]

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With respect to the federal government, the Idaho tradition has continued to be both independent and dependent. From the beginning, although there has been a resistance to outside authority and control, federal assistance has been not only accepted but demanded. In the words of historian Duane Smith:

> The miner relied upon his government for aid and succor. He cried for mail service, lenient federal policies toward mining and land, military protection, and territorial government. Aroused protests greeted any dereliction of responsibility or failure to meet expectations. Up to a point Uncle Sam was welcome, but the miner and townsman did not want the government to interfere too much. Quite definitely Federal regulation or close supervision was not desired. This ambiguous attraction and repulsion typify the Western attitude toward government.[4]

Because of the lack of strict party affiliation Idaho has been a borderline state politically, and many contests are close. Republican C. A. Bottolfsen and Democrat Chase Clark alternated in the governorship in the late 1930s and early 1940s by winning successive races by only a few hundred votes. Charles C. Gossett, who succeeded Bottolfsen and served briefly in 1945 before he appointed himself senator to replace John Thomas, carried an important county by a majority of one vote. Glen Taylor, who had earlier been bested by Gossett, beat him when he came up for re-election the next year.

John Gunther, who discussed Idaho politics in 1947 in his book *Inside U.S.A.*, summarized the state's major political forces. First, he pointed to the great mining companies, like Bunker Hill and Sullivan at Kellogg and the Sunshine Mining Company near Osburn (west of Wallace) with the world's biggest silver mine; the major lumber companies such as Clearwater Timber Company and other Weyerhaeuser interests; and the Idaho Power Company. Second, Gunther listed the Mormon Church, repeating a local truism: "Eighty percent of the Idaho

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vote is agricultural and 40 percent of that is Mormon."[5] Third were the Basques, whom Gunther credited with being as "liberal" as the Mormons were conservative and who swung the balance in the 1944 vote that elected Glen Taylor in place of D. Worth Clark. Fourth were the dust-bowl migrants from Oklahoma, Missouri, Kansas, and the Dakotas who represented a dissident vote. Fifth, said Gunther, was the education lobby, and sixth the *Idaho Statesman*, controlled at the time by Margaret Cobb Ailshie.[6]

The decades before, during, and after World War II are evidence of Idaho's independent political heritage.[7] Perhaps the single best illustration occurred in 1936, when Republican fortunes were at their lowest ebb. That year Senator Borah's term was up. Despite his five terms in the Senate, many observers, including one prominent Idaho newspaper, thought he would be defeated. Republicans had faced disaster in 1932 and 1934. Franklin Roosevelt, elected by a wide margin in 1932, was certain to be reelected in 1936 and would likely bring in a Democratic senator on his coattails. The Democrats, who had never run a strong candidate against Borah, now had a popular three-term governor, C. Ben Ross. "Cowboy Ben," a flamboyant campaigner, clearly appealed to the ordinary voter who, it was thought, might be tired of Borah's learned discourses on the Constitution, American history, and America's role in world affairs. But as he had done throughout his political life, Borah reached his rural and small-town coalition of cowboys, ranchers, miners, lumberjacks, merchants, teachers, farmers, and housewives chiefly by making them think. Not that he didn't sometimes inject humor to make them chuckle. His carefully organized, logically argued discourses, as this writer can testify, were never demagogic or partisan, ever thought-provoking, inspiring, and sometimes thrilling. The election figures demonstrated once again the independence of Idaho's voters. In the presidential vote Idaho gave Roosevelt 125,683 votes and

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Landon 66,232; in the senatorial race Borah received 128,723 votes and Ross 74,444. Some 60,000 voters had crossed over to the Republican column to support Borah for the Senate. Approximately one-half the voters divided their ballot between the parties in that election—one of the most remarkable instances of "ticket-scratching" on record.[8]

Borah and Ross were both exemplars of Idahoans' political independence. A native of Illinois who became an attorney in Kansas, Borah settled in Boise in 1890, the year Idaho was made a state. He was twenty-five. Active politically, within two years he was named chairman of Idaho's Republican Party. Under his influence Republicans abandoned their traditional anti-Mormonism and focused on national issues. Although he organized a progressive Republican election victory in 1902, a conservative Republican combine preferred Weldon B. Heyburn, of Wallace, who served in the Senate from 1903 until his death in 1912.

In 1906 Borah again led the Republicans to an Idaho victory. Following a highly successful criminal and corporate law practice, and having achieved a national reputation as an attorney for the state in its unsuccessful prosecution of William D. Haywood, Borah was elected senator to succeed Fred Dubois. Borah held the senatorial post for the next thirty-three years. He was a persuasive orator and exerted considerable influence in the Senate. He sponsored two progressive constitutional amendments—direct election of United States senators and the federal income tax—as well as the creation of the Children's Bureau and the United States Department of Labor. Although he was a solid supporter of President Theodore Roosevelt, he chose to remain neutral in the "mugwump" presidential election of 1912. During World War I Borah continued to solidify his independent posture, firmly supporting civil liberties at a time when freedom of speech was not popular. He strongly recommended taxing corporations' excess profits and upheld the Wilson ad-

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ministration in conducting the war against obstructionist tactics of the Republicans.

After the Armistice, Borah led the fight against ratification of the Treaty of Versailles, believing it to be inequitable and imperialist and a likely provocation for war in the future. He regarded the proposed League of Nations as simply a device to maintain an unjust peace and disparaged the World Court as an instrument of the League. For this position he was widely regarded as an isolationist. But unlike other isolationists, he felt that the United States should pursue an active, independent international policy for revision of the Paris treaties in order to promote world peace. Borah was largely responsible for the Washington Disarmament Conference of 1921.

In 1924 Borah was a candidate for his fourth term in the Senate. An independent in his senatorial speeches, votes, and actions and nationally regarded as a powerful champion of the rights and liberties of the people, Borah had the official nominations of both the Republican and Progressive parties and the quiet support of thousands of Democrats. In the election Borah received 99,846 votes and his Democratic opponent 25,199, a four-to-one score.

Borah chaired the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1924 to 1933. He fought foreign entanglements while at the same time promoting voluntary cooperation and anticipating much of the Good Neighbor Policy. He championed the unpopular cause of recognition of the Soviet Union and helped to promote a better relationship between the United States and Mexico. He was a potent voice in the 1928 multilateral Kellogg-Briand Pact that outlawed war as an instrument of national policy.

The senator was equally active in domestic affairs. During the New Deal, he supported banking reforms, including a monetary adjustment for gold and silver. He staunchly approved social security legislation but criticized other important New Deal

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measures, including the National Industrial Recovery Act, which violated his antimonopoly principles. He emerged as a leading Republican presidential contender early in 1936 but fortunately was spared that nomination. Instead, Idaho returned him to the Senate for a sixth term that year by a staggering vote that exceeded Franklin D. Roosevelt's total in the state. During his final Senate term, believing the independence of the judiciary at stake, Borah worked to defeat Roosevelt's proposal to enlarge or "pack" the United States Supreme Court. He also continued to support measures to keep the United States out of European wars, which he had warned against so often. He witnessed Hitler's advance into Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1938 and 1939, but he died before France fell in 1940.[9]

Even though Senator Borah addressed himself to national issues, he was able, through his seniority and exceptional prestige, to serve Idaho as well as the nation. He was a leader in the passage of the three-year (easier requirements) Homestead bill, his influence was important in the construction of the Arrowrock Dam and other reclamation projects, and he promoted such farm legislation as the Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act. Above all, he was proof that Idahoans did not care much about party affiliation.

The man Borah defeated in 1936 was another exemplar of individualistic political tradition. C. Ben Ross, governor during much of the New Deal period, symbolized Idaho's political resistance to the liberal Democrats who administered the programs that, as indicated in Chapter Twenty-two, were clearly advantageous for Idaho. Ross was Idaho's first native-born governor, the first to serve three terms (1931–37), a strong executive, a colorful campaigner, and an unforgettable personality.

"Cowboy Ben" grew up on a ranch near Parma, where the Snake and Boise rivers converge in Canyon County. Raised a Republican, he switched to the Populist-dominated Democratic Party in 1896, when he was twenty-one. His entry into politics

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was quick and successful. He was elected Canyon County Commissioner in 1915 and served six years. He was a founding father of the Idaho Farm Bureau Federation. In 1921 he moved to Pocatello, where he invested in irrigated farmland and urban real estate. Two years later he was elected mayor of Pocatello, and he served in that position for six years. Ross first ran for governor in 1928 but failed because of the presidential candidacy of Democrat Al Smith, whose "wet" and New York City image did not appeal to Idaho's rural voters. In a second try in 1930 Ross won the general election with a handy plurality over his GOP opponent, even though the legislature continued strongly Republican, as did the congressional delegation. He was successful in instituting the direct primary, an old-age pension law, an income tax to relieve property taxpayers, and a kilowatt tax on electricity generated in the state. He was reelected in the New Deal landslide of 1932 that put Franklin Roosevelt in the president's chair. His fellow Democrats won control of the legislature, both congressional seats, and a U.S. Senate seat for liberal Boise mayor James P. Pope.

During the turbulent early Thirties, Ross exercised strong yet restrained leadership. These were years of enforced austerity budgets, delinquent taxes, and confrontations with eastern liberals not always appreciative of Idaho's rural values. Ross put through a two-year moratorium on delinquent property taxes and a sixty-day freeze on mortgage foreclosures. Although he was pleased with such federal relief programs as the CCC, AAA, HOLC, and Social Security, the red tape, delays, and demands for state matching funds angered him. He won reelection easily in 1934. Juggling demands from federal programs for matching moneys with a need to relieve property taxpayers, Ross advocated a sales tax. When the legislature adjourned in March 1935 without passing the 2 percent tax he recommended, the FERA refused to fund further relief until the matching monies were advanced. Ross closed the state's relief offices, convened

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a special session of the legislature, and this time got a sales tax as law. The voters later punished him for extracting the "penny for Benny."

Ross had thought it was his destiny to unseat the most powerful of Idaho's politicians, Senator William E. Borah. In 1936, certain of a Democratic landslide, Ross expected his election as senator might be a part of it. He miscalculated his race. Roosevelt was reelected by the largest margin any presidential candidate had ever received, but Borah buried Ross by a margin of more than 54,000 votes. Ross's sales tax went down to defeat as well on a referendum vote. In 1938 Ross ran again for the governorship against the incumbent Democrat Barzilla W. Clark, winning the primary but losing by a small margin to Republican C. A. Bottolfsen. He returned to his Canyon County ranch, where he died at age sixty-nine in 1946.[10]

Ross's place as governor was taken by Barzilla W. Clark of Idaho Falls. Born in Indiana, Clark moved with his family to Eagle Rock in 1884, when he was only four. His father served as first mayor of the town after it had been renamed Idaho Falls. The younger Clark became a member of the Idaho Falls City Council in 1908, mayor in 1913, and, after a brief interlude when he ran for governor, was reelected mayor of Idaho Falls and served in that position until his nomination for governor in 1936.

Clark, a licensed engineer, was involved in many successful reservoir and water-development projects in Idaho. His term as governor, however, was riddled with failures. He had to find funds to replace the sales-tax revenues that the voters had rejected in the 1936 referendum. The legislature was unfriendly to him, since he was not a follower of Ross. Clark had little success with any of the measures he favored, and he vetoed several bills. In the 1938 Democratic primary he lost to ex-Governor Ross by just over 2,198 votes.[11]

Republican C. A. Bottolfsen, elected in 1938 and 1942, was

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the only Idaho governor until recently to serve split terms. "Bott," as he was usually called, was born in Wisconsin and educated in North Dakota and at the age of nineteen moved to Arco, Idaho, to take over the *Arco Advertiser*. Elected to represent Butte County in the legislature in 1920, 1922, 1928, and 1930, he was chosen Speaker of the House during the 1931 session. By 1938 there was enough disillusionment with the national Democratic Party that Bottolfsen surprisingly won the election with a promise not to scuttle the relief program of the New Deal but to "house-clean" the Capitol. He also slashed the budget of the University of Idaho and other state educational institutions to avoid increasing taxes.

When Bottolfsen ran again in 1940, his opponent was Chase Clark, brother of Barzilla. The trend now favored Democrats, and Clark was elected by a narrow margin. Chase Clark, three years younger than Barzilla, was only one when his parents moved to Idaho. After a year of college study at Terre Haute, Indiana, he attended the University of Michigan Law School but did not graduate. Returning to Idaho, he settled at Mackay, passed his bar examination, practiced law, and developed mining, livestock, and banking interests. He served in the Judge Advocate General's Office of the army and as a lieutenant in a machine gun company during World War I. In 1930 he moved his law practice and family to Idaho Falls. He served two terms in the legislature, succeeded his brother as mayor of Idaho Falls, went to the Idaho State Senate, and was elected governor in 1940. At the conclusion of his term, the United States now at war, Clark and Bottolfsen faced each other again. "Bott" regained the office by fewer than 500 votes. Clark was appointed to the bench of the United States District Court in Idaho and served until his death in 1966. In 1947 his daughter Bethine married Frank Church, a young Boise attorney and later U.S. Senator.

In the 1942 election that returned Bottolfsen to office, voters

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approved an initiative calling for $40 per month for all Idaho citizens sixty-five and older. This Senior Citizens Grant Act created a potential financial crisis, since the governor and legislature had been elected on pledges of economy and no new taxes. Bottolfsen proposed a 5 percent sales tax to fund the Senior Grants, but the legislature promptly rejected the sales tax and then repealed the senior citizens' pensions by overwhelming majorities. Should the governor veto the legislation? In a dramatic appearance before a joint session of the legislature he announced that he approved the legislative action and that the pension plan had "joined all other patriotic endeavors of Idaho and gone to war."[12]

When his term of office was up in 1944, "Bott" decided to run for the U.S. Senate but was defeated by Glen Taylor. He retired to Arco, ran for the governorship again in 1946, but was defeated by Dr. C. A. Robins. He served two additional terms in the legislature, 1959 to 1963, and died at his Arco home in 1964.

The career of picaresque Glen Taylor demonstrated once again the unpredictability and independence of the Idaho voting public. Born in Portland, Oregon, Taylor was one of eight children of a retired Texas ranger and itinerant minister. Soon after his birth the family moved to Kooskia, south of Kamiah on the Clearwater River. Taylor quit school at twelve, worked as a sheepherder and sheet-metal apprentice, and joined some of his brothers in a repertory troupe that traveled the West. He met a young Montana actress, Dora Pike; they married, set up a vaudeville company known as Glendora Players, and continued barnstorming. Taylor played every kind of role from romantic lead to comedian. The "talkies," as sound movies were called, and the depression almost put them out of business, but they persevered and revived in 1937, only to be struck down by the "menace" of radio. Taylor, who had never played any musical instrument except the mouth organ, learned to play the trom-

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bone, banjo, and guitar; Dora mastered the piano and saxophone. With his brother Paul and Paul's wife, they played one-night stands in country towns in Montana and Idaho.

Once when playing in Driggs, Idaho, Taylor attended a rally at which "Cowboy Ben" Ross was speaker. A master campaigner, Ross could move his audience to laugh and cry and vote for him. Experienced from his own long years on the road, Taylor decided that he could entertain even better than Ross, so he ran for Congress. His troupe, mounted on trucks, moved from place to place and put on a show, playing and singing to attract a crowd, after which he would make a speech attacking politicians and pleading for the common man. Taylor had been moved by the large number of persons who, not having any income, wanted to pay to attend his shows by trading bushels of wheat or potatoes, pullets, or eggs. He accepted the "donations" and used to joke about the one who turned in a turkey and wanted a chicken in exchange. Taylor "read up" on economics to find some explanation for the poverty in the midst of plenty. He was beaten, but the people liked him.

When an election was held in 1942 to replace Senator Borah, who had died in 1940, Taylor decided to run. Many dignified political old-timers were embarrassed. A Boise newspaper editorialized: "Feature Idaho [if you will] telling the nation that the best it can do for a man to fill the great Borah's shoes is a sweet singer, wholly uneducated and wholly unfitted."[13] With little support from people with resources, Taylor bought a dapple-gray Arabian horse named Ranger, saddled up, and rode from house to house asking for votes—thus saving on rationed gas and rubber. Surprisingly, he won the Democratic primary, defeating the state's Democratic machine, but he lost by a close margin in the general election to Republican John Thomas, who had been senator from 1928 to 1933 and was then appointed to replace Borah.

Taylor applied for a defense plant job in Idaho but was turned

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down because of the unfavorable publicity from his campaigns. He finally got a position in San Francisco as a painter's assistant and later as a sheet-metal worker and spent his earnings keeping up his contacts in Idaho. When the 1944 campaign began, he returned to Pocatello, filed again for the Senate, won the primary by 216 votes against incumbent Senator D. Worth Clark, and easily defeated Clarence Bottolfsen in the runoff. A crazy six-year dream had come true.

As a senator, Taylor voted on domestic programs that were in the New Deal tradition—increased social security benefits, fair employment for black Americans (of whom there were less than 500 in Idaho), national health insurance, mammoth federal housing construction, pro-labor legislation, and numerous reclamation projects. Disagreeing with Harry Truman over international issues, he thought Truman's policy of trying to contain the supposed Communist conspiracy destroyed the effectiveness of the United Nations and made the Cold War inevitable. He believed the United States was losing friends, particularly among Third World countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and that the Russians wanted peace. He feared the development of a military-industrial complex. In 1948 he bolted the Democratic Party and ran for vice president on Henry Wallace's Progressive ticket.

Although Taylor is best known for his international stance, so different from that of Borah and D. Worth Clark, he also was solicitous to help Idaho. He worked to secure the atomic energy plant near Arco; the Palisades and Lucky Peak dams; and the reactivation of Mountain Home Air Force Base. He wheedled federal money for flood control, conservation, reclamation, irrigation, schools, roads, and hospitals in Idaho. An entertainer, Taylor was also a very serious man with a fertile mind, good sense, and a dry wit. He was unaffected and interested in helping the common man. Although he sang and played the guitar on the Capitol steps, he was not a clown, hillbilly, or buffoon.[14] Nor

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was he a demagogue. Idaho voters appreciated his pertinacity, candor, and sincerity. He served six years but was defeated for renomination in 1950 when 5,000 Republicans crossed party lines in the primary to vote for D. Worth Clark, who was defeated in the general election by Republican Herman Welker.[15]

Bottolfsen's successor as governor in 1944 was Charles C. Gossett of Nampa. One of only two farmers to occupy the governor's office, Gossett had a host of elective experience—the only Idahoan to serve as state legislator, lieutenant governor, governor, and United States Senator. Born in Ohio, Gossett migrated at the age of eighteen to Cunningham, Washington, where he worked as a farmhand for three years. In 1910 he homesteaded in Nyssa, Oregon, and in 1922 bought an eighty-acre farm south of Nampa. Like other farmers, he complained about low prices, high freight rates, water fees, and taxes. Thinking the legislature could do something about it, he campaigned as Democratic nominee for representative from Canyon County and was elected in 1932. At odds with another Canyon County politician, Governor Ben Ross, Gossett voted against Ross's proposal to enact a sales tax to provide matching funds for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in 1935. His opposition to the tax enhanced his reputation, and he was elected lieutenant governor in 1936. In 1942 he ran for the U.S. Senate but was defeated in the primary by Glen Taylor, who, as noted, lost in the November election. Gossett campaigned for governor in 1944 and was victorious. The ticket revealed Idaho's independent spirit because liberal Democrat Glen Taylor was elected to the Senate while conservative Gossett became governor.

Gossett did not serve long. When Senator John Thomas, Republican from Gooding who had been elected to take Borah's place in the Senate, died in November 1945, Gossett resigned as governor; he had served less than a year. Lieutenant Governor Arnold Williams of Rexburg now became Idaho's first

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Mormon governor; he appointed Gossett to the Senate seat. Gossett had barely taken his place in the Senate when he had to stand for election. In 1946 Glen Taylor campaigned for George Donart, another Democrat, to replace Gossett, and Donart received the nomination but lost in the general election. Taking the seat was Republican Henry Dworshak.

Dworshak, a conservative newspaperman from Burley, was first elected to Congress in 1938, the year Glen Taylor first tried for office. Born in Duluth, Minnesota, Dworshak learned the printing trade and served as a printer there and in 1924, at the age of thirty, moved to Idaho to publish the *Burley Bulletin*. After his election Dworshak served the two remaining years of the senatorial term, but in the 1948 election was defeated by Bert H. Miller, a Utah-born Democrat from Boise who had been Idaho attorney general and Supreme Court justice. When Senator Miller died the next year, Dworshak was appointed to fill out his term, which, because of the death, expired in 1950. In the 1950 elections Dworshak retained his Senate seat, but he faced a tight race with Glen Taylor in 1954. It was a contest in which Herman Welker, Idaho's senior senator, employed the tactics of Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, whom he admired, and opened a campaign of fear and innuendo, alleging quite falsely that Taylor was a Communist fellow-traveler and part of an alleged Communist conspiracy. (Taylor left himself open to these charges by the 1948 campaign and various pro-Russian statements.) The campaign of defamation, in which Dworshak played no part, succeeded, and Dworshak was handily elected. When the term was up, Dworshak was reelected in 1954 and again in 1960. He died in office in July 1962.

Welker, a rightist from Payette who had practiced law in Hollywood, was a friend of actor Wallace Beery and a bird-hunting companion of Bing Crosby. Crosby, who had a vacation home north of Coeur d'Alene, campaigned for Welker in Boise under the slogan "A pheasant in every pot."[16] Welker was elected in

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1950 to replace Democrat D. Worth Clark, but he lost to Frank Church in 1956.

Frank Church was born in Boise in 1924. As a boy he read Borah's speeches, learned all he could about him, and decided he wanted to be a U.S. Senator. He became a high school debater, won a national contest in public speaking, became a lawyer, married Bethine, the daughter of Chase Clark, and got into politics. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1956, reelected in 1962, 1968, and 1974. As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, he was opposed to the Vietnam War. He also took an interest in conservation and the environment and led the push to pass the Wilderness Act, about which more later.

Meanwhile at the state level Democrat Arnold Williams, who took Governor Gossett's place in November 1945, had the responsibility of calling the legislature to a special session in February 1946 to deal with post-World War II problems. Although both houses of the legislature had Republican majorities, they enacted most of Williams's recommendations, which increased appropriations to most government agencies; expanded public assistance to the aged, blind, and dependent children; enlarged control over the state's charitable institutions; and established a teachers' retirement program. Williams failed in his bid to retain the governorship in the 1946 elections, losing to Dr. C. A. Robins in an election that saw Republicans winning a U.S. Senate seat, both congressional posts, a full Republican slate of state offices, and large Republican majorities in both houses of the state legislature. Williams later closed out his political career by serving as Idaho's secretary of state from 1959 to 1966.

Robins, who was born in Iowa and raised in Colorado, taught high school for six years in Missouri, Montana, Colorado, and Mississippi and then entered medical school at the University of Chicago. He practiced medicine until he joined the Army during World War I. After the Armistice he went to St. Maries,

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Idaho, where he established a successful practice and operated a twenty-five-bed hospital. He served in the state senate for three sessions beginning in 1939 and then in 1946 was chosen as the Republican nominee for governor to run against Arnold Williams. That election tested the validity of two axioms of Idaho politics: "You can't elect a north Idaho man governor," and "you can't elect a Mormon governor." When north Idahoan Robins won over Williams, he had proved that at least the first was not true.

Robins was the first Idaho governor to serve after adoption of a constitutional amendment that provided for four-year terms. As it was originally worded, governors could not serve consecutive terms, but this stipulation was changed in 1961 and Idaho has since had two governors (Smylie and Andrus) who served at least two consecutive four-year terms.

An important series of measures proposed by Governor Robins and approved by the legislature resulted from recommendations of the Peabody Report on Education.[17] Idaho's 1,118 school districts were consolidated to realize both educational improvement and economy. All high schools with fewer than 100 students were closed. Teachers' salaries, among the lowest in the nation, were raised. The Southern Branch of the University of Idaho at Pocatello was made a four-year, degree-granting institution separate from the University of Idaho at Moscow. The legislature also appropriated money for the purchase of a residence for the chief executive, and Robins became the first occupant of the home that remained the governor's mansion for most of four decades.

In typical independent Idaho fashion, in the next election after Robins was elected, that of 1948, a Democratic rebound gave that party control of the Senate and a large minority (34 to 25) in the House. Nevertheless, in a show of unusual harmony, nearly all of Governor Robins's proposals were adopted.

The victor in the 1950 governor's election was Republican

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Leonard "Len" Jordan. Born at Mount Pleasant, Utah, Jordan moved with his family to Enterprise, Oregon, when he was an infant. In 1917 he enrolled at Utah State Agricultural College, where he played football and participated in the Special Army Training Corps. Commissioned a second lieutenant, he served with a machine gunnery unit in World War I. Upon discharge he went to the University of Oregon, where he earned his football letter and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa honorary. After graduate work in economics he settled in Portland, Oregon, to work as an accountant and office manager of the Portland Gas and Coke Company. He began ranching in Wallowa County in 1926 and in 1930 disposed of his interests to become foreman of the Tully Creek Ranch of Dobbin and Huffman on the Snake River, running about 6,000 sheep. In the fall of 1932 he and a partner ventured into ranching at Kirkwood Bar, south of Hells Canyon, where he had 17,000 acres of land and about 3,000 sheep, and in 1935 he bought his partner's interest. In 1941 he moved to Grangeville, Idaho, where he operated a farm, had a car dealership, and sold insurance. Active in civic affairs, Jordan was elected to the state legislature, where he served one term. When he was nominated as Republican candidate for governor in 1950, he won the office and served one four-year term.[18]

Len Jordan was the only person in the last seventy years to be elected to the governorship and then to the U.S. Senate. (The last had been Frank Gooding.) Seven other governors during that period tried and failed to win a Senate seat. Jordan's opponent in his successful 1956 Senate campaign was Gracie Pfost. Another political independent from Nampa, Pfost was Idaho's first Congresswoman—elected in 1952 by defeating her very conservative opponent, Dr. John T. Wood of St. Maries, by the slender margin of 591 votes. An able Congresswoman, Pfost was reelected in 1954. When one group proposed a high dam in Hells Canyon, Pfost gave her support to preserving the beauty of the canyon and earned the nickname "Hell's Belle." She made

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the mistake of running for the Senate in 1956 and was beaten by popular former governor Jordan.

Senator Jordan is best remembered for his lobbying in connection with Hells Canyon. Having spent years on his remote sheep ranch below the canyon, Jordan figured prominently in the discussions as to whether one large federal dam should be built, as Glen Taylor recommended; three small ones constructed by Idaho Power Company, as Jordan and other conservatives advocated; or none at all. The conservatives won—Brownlee began producing power in 1958, Oxbow in 1961, and Hells Canyon in 1967. Upon Jordan's insistence, however, there was an extended debate to examine all the issues. Jordan's wife, Grace, also a college graduate, wrote an interesting family narrative entitled *Home Below Hells Canyon*, published in 1954.

Jordan's successor as governor was Robert E. Smylie, Republican of Boise, who had been attorney general during Jordan's term. Smylie was born in Iowa, did undergraduate work at the College of Idaho in Caldwell, and went on to obtain his law degree from George Washington University in 1942. Initially practicing in Washington, D.C. during the war, he returned to Idaho and served as attorney general from 1947 to 1954. Smylie served three consecutive four-year terms as governor—one of the few governors in American history to do so. He was fortunate to have bipartisan support in the legislature for at least part of his program of governmental reform. He created the Department of Commerce and Development to attract industry to Idaho and to promote the state. He reorganized the Idaho State Historical Society in 1956 and with the generous assistance of J. R. Simplot placed the society under professional supervision. Its quarterly, *Idaho Yesterdays*, first appeared in the spring of 1957. Other actions will be apparent in subsequent chapters.

Smylie's most lasting contribution to the state was the establishment of a state park system. Although the state had created

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Heyburn State Park near St. Maries in 1908 and Lava Hot Springs State Park in 1913, and had acquired the Packer John cabin (where Idaho's first Democratic convention was held in 1863) near McCall, the Spalding Mission property, some beautifully timbered lands on Payette Lake, and Register Rock, the state had lagged behind Oregon and Washington in the creation of state parks. Persuaded that a state park system would save the scenic beauty of the state and capture tourist trade, Smylie, after his election in 1954, urged the legislature to appropriate funds for the creation of a professional Parks Department and reorganization of the management of the state's natural resources.

Smylie, who wrote his own speeches, typed many of his own letters, and was a man of action rather than a politician who enjoyed status, employed John W. Emmert as the first director of state parks and initiated a system that by 1990 comprised twenty-four state parks. Round Lake and Mary Minerva McCroskey state parks were created in 1955, Lucky Park and Ponderosa in 1956 and 1957, and Priest Lake State Park in 1959. The land was acquired in 1961 by which Harriman State Park was later created, and Farragut and Henry's Lake state parks were opened in 1965. Smylie's fight for parks was one of many indicators of the rising national concern for conservation and recreation in the 1950s and 1960s.[19]

Clearly, Idaho has had some forceful, brilliant, and colorful political leaders. George L. Shoup, the first territorial governor and first state governor, established an operable state government. Fred Dubois, a champion of statehood and an anti-Mormon crusader, gave the state its first visibility in the national capital. William J. McConnell, author of one of the state's earliest histories, served as United States Senator and as Idaho's third governor (for two terms). Frank H. Gooding was elected governor twice and a U.S. Senator. Weldon B. Heyburn, also a senator from 1903 until his death in 1912, represented Idaho's mining,

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forestry, and grazing interests. Governor James H. Hawley was a noted attorney, historian, and legal advisor. Burton L. French, a congressman for twenty-six years, and Addison T. Smith, a congressman for eighteen years, were both honorable and intelligent representatives of their constituents. Senator William E. Borah, son-in-law of Governor McConnell, served for thirty-three years and had national, even international significance. William Jardine of Cherry Creek became secretary of agriculture under Calvin Coolidge, was Herbert Hoover's ambassador to Egypt, and served as president of Wichita State University until his retirement in 1949. C. Ben Ross, C. A. Robins, Gracie Pfost, Glen Taylor, and Frank Church were all leaders with stature. Ezra Taft Benson, a Republican from Whitney, who had been Idaho's agricultural economist in Boise and later national director of the agricultural cooperatives headquartered in Washington, D.C., became secretary of agriculture under President Dwight Eisenhower and served from 1953 to 1961.[20]

During the war years, state government had seemed to be overshadowed by the national war effort. When wartime inconveniences were lifted in 1946, Idaho exhibited an anomalous political tendency. Many elections were decided by small majorities. Because Idaho's voters were inveterate ticket-scratchers, Idaho government tended to be bipartisan. Democratic governors often worked with Republican legislatures, and in one instance a Republican governor had a split legislature. Idaho frequently elected one representative from one party and the other from the opposing party. In 1962 the state returned Frank Church, a liberal Democrat, and Len Jordan, a conservative Republican, to the United States Senate in the same election. Idaho politics has never suffered from dullness. Idaho voters show a political irascibility that is both admirable and exciting; many things are more important to them than party labels.[21]

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Although sectionalism was once a dominant factor in state politics, issues common to all sections have developed in this century: questions of public finance, funding education, labor legislation, and environmental concerns. Local provincialism declined, especially during World War II when Idahoans became more closely allied with the developing national culture. Idahoans read the same magazines and syndicated press columns, listened to the identical radio and (later) television programs, attended similar concerts and plays, and read the same best-selling books as other Americans. San Francisco, Seattle, Salt Lake City, and Denver were almost as close for many Idahoans as Boise. The result was not a decline in interest concerning state problems, but a new level of national and international awareness.[22]

Nevertheless, Idaho's tradition of political independence and unpredictability remained. Randy Stapilus's recent book on *Paradox Politics: People and Power in Idaho* is aptly titled.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE: SOURCES

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132.

133.

134.

135.

132. William E. Borah, United States senator from 1907 to 1940, was a brilliant orator who was often referred to as "The Lion of Idaho." ISHS 64–105.26.

133. C. Ben Ross, of Parma, served as governor during the early depression years, 1930–36. ISHS D–858.

134. Glen Taylor was elected United States senator in 1944 for a six-year term. A guitar-playing entertainer, he was also national candidate for vice president in 1948. ISHS 3645.

135. Henry C. Dworshak, a Burley newspaperman, represented Idaho as U.S. congressman, 1939–46, and as U.S. senator, 1947–62. ISHS 75–2.80.

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136. 137.

138.

136. Frank Forrester Church III of Boise served as United States senator from 1957 to 1981. In 1984, shortly before his untimely death from cancer, the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness was named for him. ISHS 66–49.

137. Len B. Jordan, of Grangeville, governor, 1951–55, was also United States senator, 1962–73. ISHS 66–36.57.

138. Robert E. Smylie, governor of Idaho, 1955–67, usually typed his own speeches—as he later did weekly columns for the *Idaho Statesman*. ISHS 77–163.46.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

Expansion and Growth After World War II

IDAHO'S ambivalent attitude toward the federal government was demonstrated several times after World War II. On the one hand, the state appreciated federal expenditures for the National Reactor Testing Station at Arco; federal highways; the Bureau of Reclamation's Palisades and Anderson Ranch dams; the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' Lucky Peak and Dworshak dams; and other dam, reclamation, and power projects. On the other hand Idahoans wanted to leave private enterprise free to develop the state's resources in an untrammeled, if responsible, manner. This viewpoint was particularly true in lumbering, mining, farming, food processing, hydroelectricity, transportation, television, and tourism, each of which developed spectacularly in the years from 1946 to 1960.

LUMBER. The lumber companies of the Weyerhaeusers and their coinvestors suffered from the post-World War I recession, as did other Idaho concerns, and their earnings were disap-

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pointing. Burdensome state and local taxes, heavy transportation charges, high percentage of woods other than marketable white pine, low percentage of clear timber, exposure to fire and insect pests, and costly logging charges all contributed to unprofitability, in addition to the faltering market.

Weyerhaeuser's Clearwater Timber Company held 200,000 acres of the finest western white pine in existence; but the company had done little to develop it, confining efforts primarily to the purchase of standing timber. In November 1924 the stockholders chose a new management team that inaugurated a bold program of development. Under the direction of J. P. (Phil) Weyerhaeuser and C. L. Billings, land was acquired in Lewiston in what had been the county fairgrounds and a large sawmill began operation in August 1927. A large dam was constructed across the Clearwater, a hydroelectric plant was installed, and logs were funneled to the mill by both river and rail. The plant also included a planing mill, a large remanufacturing plant, and a box factory to utilize trimmed remnants and spoiled lumber. The Union Pacific and Northern Pacific railroads were induced to complete a forty-one-mile line from Orofino to Headquarters, and a machine shop was erected to repair locomotives. Clearwater managers reported that 200 million board feet of lumber were sawed the first year.

The company also experimented in making wood-fuel briquettes from the mass of sawdust, splinters, and chips formerly discarded into the burner. The result was Presto-Logs, ideal for city fireplaces, dining cars on trains, and other places where concentrated, almost smokeless fuel was needed. By World War II the company had made thirty-five Presto Log machines that were installed on a rental basis at other western firms.

But depression struck the lumber industry as early as 1927. During the following Great Depression, domestic building averaged only 15 percent of 1925 construction. Large companies staggered, small businesses collapsed. The Bonners Ferry oper-

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ation was one of the first to fall in 1926, the Edward Rutledge Timber Company failed to recover from two terrible fires, and Potlatch Lumber Company drifted along without any profits. Phil Weyerhaeuser and Billings concluded that Rutledge, Potlatch, and Clearwater should be merged. The new corporation, established April 29, 1931, was Potlatch Forests, Inc. (P.F.I. for short). The retail yards of the old Potlatch Lumber Company were transferred to Potlatch Yards, Inc. From this time forward there were two large Weyerhaeuser-associated companies in Idaho, P.F.I. in the north and Boise Payette in the south. Humbird Lumber Company stopped logging in 1931, ran its planing mills until 1934, and liquidated.

During the depressed thirties these and other western lumber companies did a quarter to a third of their normal business and registered consistent losses. Under expert leadership, however, they were able to survive and work out a conservation program that paid off over the long run.

During World War II P.F.I. earned profits, set aside a contingency reserve fund, launched selective cutting of timber, established tree farms, provided wood products for the war effort, and planned a plant at Lewiston to peel large white pine logs into rolls of veneer. In 1948 the initial output of veneer began. Men and women could now dream of living rooms, bedrooms, playrooms, and libraries paneled in knotty white pine veneer from the forests of northern Idaho. This undertaking proved to be expensive, and the veneer operation was later converted into a more profitable, fully equipped plywood plant.

In 1949 P.F.I. began construction of a pulp plant at Lewiston, along with three converting plants to produce paper milk cartons and other containers. The 150-ton pulp and 130-ton paper mill began producing at the end of 1950, and their rated capacity was later expanded many times. Beginning in 1952 the company added a paper mill in California, sawmills in Idaho and Washington, and enough timberland to raise P.F.I.

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holdings to 425,000 acres in the Far West. In 1960 P.F.I. had plants in twelve states and was catering to markets throughout the nation.[1]

The Boise Payette Lumber Company was long considered an orphan, an expendable bantling. Its operations depended largely on ponderosa, a stately pine that did not do well in the market because of prejudice against its yellow wood. The company ran deficits throughout most of the 1920s, and its losses multiplied during the depression of the thirties. Many of the retail yards closed down; a bank at Burlington, Iowa, where Boise Payette had $100,000 on deposit, failed; the First National Bank of Boise closed; the Emmett mill was temporarily shut down. The Barber mill was closed and dismantled in 1934, the Intermountain Railway liquidated in 1935. The conviction grew that Boise Payette should harvest the profitable stands within reach and then cease operations. The company carefully inspected all of its holdings and mapped out the remaining timber for selective logging. During World War II the company skimmed the cream from its holdings. By the end of 1946 the company had 484 million feet of "leave" timber and 292 million feet marked "cut." Everything pointed to early liquidation.

In 1947, however, the company took an unexpected step and expanded, paying $5 million for the Merrill Company (which operated a wholesale lumber business and millwork factory in Salt Lake City) and the Tri-State, Sugarhouse, and Badger lumber companies, which ran thirty-nine retail yards in Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. Except for the initial boost in retail marketing, however, the company still looked to an early termination of activities until 1949–50, when Norton Clapp and John Aram, youthful but experienced enterprisers, took charge. Nonpracticing physician Clapp had a connection with Norton lumber interests in the Midwest. Tall, stocky Aram, born on a cattle ranch "back in the hills" of the Salmon River country, studied business administration at the University of Idaho, went to work

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for Potlatch Forests, Inc., and was then appointed manager at Boise Payette.

Boise Payette's timber supply would not support the company long, little private timber could be bought, and state forests in the area were negligible. The United States Forest Service, however, could sell timber from its southern Idaho forests. Aram was successful in persuading it to sell timber to feed Boise Payette mills and to make mutually profitable trades of woodland, while the company held on to large acreages of cutover forests waiting for the new growth to mature (ponderosa pine mature more slowly than other pines). Grazing revenues were sufficient to render such lands self-supporting. By superior management, Aram made Boise Payette's mills efficient, bought timber from all available sources, and started a sustained-yield operation on a broad scale. He laid down a long-range program of selective cutting and tree farming.

In the spring of 1950 Boise Payette lands were officially certified as a Western Pine Tree Farm. Sound logging practices were enforced. High priority was given to working with the broad community. When a terrible fire broke out in the hills of the Payette National Forest, Aram halted all logging, closed the mill at Emmett and a small one at Council, and sent 350 men to help fight the fire. That fall another conflagration raged near Council and once again Boise Payette men battled the flames. This response built good will with government agencies and smaller companies. Through lobbying, sufficient federal money was obtained to enable the Forest Service to build roads up many canyons to increase access. The company also improved its marketing and manufacturing and purchased and virtually rebuilt a sawmill in Cascade. Moreover, Boise Payette was a leader in fighting the pine butterfly and spruce budworm that were killing ponderosa pine throughout southwestern Idaho.

By achieving friendly relations with national and state authorities, gaining the right to purchase a fair share of mature public

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timber, buying more timberland when possible, and developing a sustained-yield program on its own domain, Boise Payette solidified as a permanent operation. Employment approached 2,500, property valuations increased, and the company paid more local taxes. Small mills were delighted when the company purchased their rough lumber to be finished at the Emmett plant. When John Aram left Idaho for a post with the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company in 1956, he could take pride in having directed Boise Payette on a distinctive, successful path of development.[2]

MINING. Mining did not dominate Idaho's economy in the twentieth century as it had in the territorial period, but improved transportation and more efficient technology provided wealth far beyond the gold production of the early years. Although government orders suspended gold mining during World War II, Idaho led the nation in the production of tungsten and antimony, two metals vital to the war effort.

New plants played an important role. The blowing-in of the new Bunker Hill lead smelter in 1916 and the construction of an electrolytic zinc plant in 1928 by Bunker Hill and Hecla companies were followed in 1954 by a sulfuric-acid plant and in 1960 a phosphoric-acid plant. Low metal prices during the depression of the early 1930s forced a decreased output. Mines cut production and prices. In 1932 the average silver price was only 28 cents an ounce, lead was 3.2 cents per pound, and zinc was 3.25 cents per pound. For five years smaller producers were shut down or operated on a greatly curtailed basis. Larger mines, except for increasing silver output at the Sunshine, operated only half-time or less.

World War II brought its own frustrations. Lead and zinc production were desperately needed for the war effort, but experienced underground workers were scarce, and federal controls over prices and wages made it impossible to siphon workers

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away from the aircraft and shipping industries. Nevertheless, zinc production averaged about 80,000 tons a year, a record high. During the Korean War of the 1950s federal controls were not imposed, and Idaho operators surpassed previous top prices for lead and zinc. The annual gross value of metallic products in the Coeur d'Alene district reached $65 million in 1951.

The Coeur d'Alene district remained one of the great metal producers in American history, ranking with the Sierra Nevada in California in producing gold; the Mesabi in Minnesota, in iron; Keweenaw in Michigan, in copper; Bisbee in Arizona, in copper; Butte in Montana, in copper, silver, and zinc; and Bingham in Utah, in copper, lead, silver, and gold.[3]

The greatest success story in metals was the Sunshine Mining Company. In 1884 Dennis and True Blake discovered a silver-bearing lode on Big Creek, near Kellogg. With primitive tools the Blakes worked the Yankee Boy claim until they were bought out by the Sunshine Mining Company, incorporated in 1919. In 1931 a bonanza of high-grade ore was found, and Sunshine vaulted into the group of high silver producers. In 1937, when the claim yielded more than twelve million ounces of silver, Sunshine became the largest producer of silver in the world.[4]

The other metal mining success story is the Hecla Mining Company. "Hekla," Icelandic for the verb "to crochet," aptly describes the network of tunnels, shafts, and crosscuts honeycombing the Coeur d'Alene district. The Hecla and Katie May claims at Burke, located in 1884, became the foundation of the Hecla Mining Company, incorporated in 1891. In 1898 the company extended the tunnel and discovered the main ore body. By the 1920s, with the Hecla ore body decreasing, the company expanded its property holdings in Idaho and other states and Canadian provinces. Although a disastrous fire destroyed the plant and the town in 1923, a new mill was built. In 1931 Hecla purchased control of the Polaris Mining Company and worked on the Polaris Mine in Osburn, just west of Burke.

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Those reserves were exhausted in 1943, but further explorations revealed a high-grade ore body with years of mining potential. Hecla and Polaris merged in 1958. Hecla purchased other properties and by 1959 Hecla and Bunker Hill formed the Star-Morning Unit Area. The Morning Mine, which Hecla obtained by lease from ASARCO and which shares a vein with the Hecla Star Mine, is the largest lead-zinc vein in the world.[5]

Aside from developments in the Coeur d'Alene district, and the production of cobalt and other rare new minerals, the most important development during and after World War II was in phosphate mining and manufacture. We noted in Chapter Twenty-three the founding of the industry by Jack Simplot in 1944, when he built a large phosphate factory near Pocatello. Southeastern Idaho has one of the nation's largest deposits of phosphate rock. Simplot added to its phosphate production in 1960 when he purchased the Conda Mine near Soda Springs from the Anaconda Company. The minerals and chemicals division of J. R. Simplot Company built the Pocatello plant into one of the largest fertilizer processors in the United States. The division ultimately moved into retail fertilizers, industrial minerals, agricultural chemicals, industrial chemicals, and feed phosphates.

Associated with Simplot in mining phosphate was Westvaco Chemical Company, acquired in 1948 by Food Machinery Corporation (later called Food Machinery and Chemical Corporation). In 1961 the name was shortened to FMC Corporation. Under the new direction, FMC jointly operated with Simplot the Gay Mine (named for Simplot's daughter), an open-pit mine about thirty-five miles northeast of Pocatello on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation. The company brought its first electric furnace on-line in its Pocatello plant and produced about 8,000 tons of elemental phosphorous. Another furnace was started in 1950 and two more in 1952. By 1968 some 125,000 tons of elemental phosphorous were being produced annually from about 2

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million tons of phosphate shale, coke, and silica. Five days a week, from sunrise to sunset, April to October, ore was hauled from the Gay Mine to Pocatello in two hundred Union Pacific Railroad gondola cars, each gondola holding 100 tons of ore. A mountain of ore was stockpiled that would keep the plant in uninterrupted operation from November through March, when ore could not be moved because of weather conditions. FMC was committed to protecting the environment: when the ore was depleted in one area of the Gay Mine, the pit was back-filled, topsoil was brought in, and the land contoured, restored, and revegetated for the grazing of domestic and wild animals.[6]

Production by FMC's more than 600 employees totaled more than 100 million pounds annually, about 20 percent of the national total. The furnaces required about 90,000 kilowatts of electric power, about 27 percent of the entire output of Idaho Power Company in 1957. At FMC's plants in Kansas and California the material is converted to chemical products used in making alloys, safety matches, medicines, emulsifiers, detergents, soaps, foods, plastics, dyes, and gasoline additives.

Other companies soon joined in the industry. Monsanto Chemical Company erected a two-furnace plant at Soda Springs in 1952; Central Farmers' Fertilizer Company began operations in Georgetown Canyon in 1957; and Anaconda Copper and San Francisco Chemical developed mines at Conda. Other minerals and materials of value mined during the post World War II period include barite, near Hailey; fluorspar from Bayhorse, Wallace, and Meyers Cove; monazite from Cascade; thorium from Salmon; corundum from New Meadows; asbestos from Kamiah; garnet from Fernwood; sulphur from Swan Lake; rock salt from Soda Springs; and pumice from Idaho Falls.[7]

AGRICULTURE. Just as the scarcity of farm labor during the war had forced farmers to mechanize—to use tractors and powered harvesters—the thousands of sons and daughters

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returning to their farm homes at the end of the war ushered in an expansion of irrigated and dry-farm acreage. Assisting this process were the erection of new dams and the increased use of underground water. Anderson Ranch Dam, near Boise, which had been started before the war but was suspended "for the duration," was finally completed in 1952 at a cost of more than $26 million. A 450-foot structure that was then the highest earth-fill dam in the world, the half-mile-thick dam had long been needed to supply supplemental water to Boise Valley farms and stabilize farming in times of drought. The dam also contained power-generating facilities. Another $20 million flood-control dam, Lucky Peak, situated ten miles above Boise, was erected in 1950–52. This dam provided a large recreational reservoir for boating and water sports.

The Palisades Dam, a few miles west of the Idaho-Wyoming border, was authorized in 1941, suspended during the war, reauthorized in 1950, and completed in 1959 at a cost of $76 million. The additional water provided by the large reservoir permitted new land projects near American Falls and Rupert. The largest earth dam ever constructed by the Bureau of Reclamation, Palisades provides much of the hydroelectric power needed for the pumping and sprinkling projects described below. Additional dams were the Dworshak on the North Fork of the Clearwater near Orofino, initiated in 1959, and the Teton on the Teton River. Two other dams, C. J. Strike and Brownlee, both in southern Idaho, were built without federal funds by the Idaho Power Company. Dworshak Dam, the highest straight-axis concrete gravity dam in the western world, is the largest ever constructed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. An integral unit in the comprehensive development of the water resources of the Columbia-Snake River drainage area, the dam regulates floodwaters of the North Fork of the Clearwater and adds important electrical generation to the Pacific Northwest power complex. The three generators are capable of producing

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enough power to light a city the size of Boise. The dam, constructed over a period of seven years, is more than 700 feet tall and cost an estimated $327 million. The reservoir extends fifty-three miles behind the dam.

The most revolutionary development was the use of underground waters that probably have their original source in the Snake. The leading role in this development was played by Julion Clawson, who operated out of Rupert during the years immediately following World War II. A great-grandson of Brigham Young, "Duke" Clawson served in the Navy during World War I, operated a building and loan company, and invested in a sheep ranch at Nounan in Bear Lake Valley. In 1946 he purchased a large tract of sagebrush land in Minidoka and Lincoln counties, north of Rupert. Intending to begin a dry-farming operation, he soon discovered nine culinary wells on the property, abandoned thirty years earlier by German immigrants who had come from eastern Washington and the Dakotas to homestead the land. Clawson studied geological reports indicating that there were enormous lakes of water under the vast lava plain of the Snake. "They thought I was after oil when I brought drilling equipment here from Oklahoma," he told friends. "They thought I was crazy. They were even more convinced of it when they learned I was drilling for water."[8] By the summer of 1947 Clawson found abundant water in the three deep twenty-inch wells. He arranged with Idaho Power for electricity from Minidoka Dam to supply the needs of large, specially designed pumps to water more than 3,800 acres of wheat, potatoes, and beans in 1948. His irrigation layout was engineered so as to prevent erosion and undue loss of water through evaporation.

The first year of his deep-well irrigation was successful. The Portneuf silt loam of the area, with the addition of proper fertilizer and water, seemed ideal for the production of potatoes and sugar beets. And seventy days of uninterrupted pumping brought no drop in the water table. Local farmers were quick to catch

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on, and it was not long before some 30,000 acres of private land in the vicinity were under pump-based irrigation. The Bureau of Reclamation also drilled test wells on adjacent land that had long ago been set aside for irrigation but had never been provided the promised water. The bureau confirmed Clawson's contention that the entire area had an ample supply of underground water. During the 1950s more than 60,000 acres of land in the area, administered by the Bureau of Reclamation, were opened for homesteading.

This effective beginning of pump-based irrigation in the Snake River Valley, which spread as far down the river as Nyssa, Oregon, constitutes one of the most significant postwar changes in Idaho agriculture. Hundreds of thousands of acres of good farmland were opened up in the following years. Although pump-based irrigation existed elsewhere, particularly in the Imperial Valley in California, Clawson's success did much to bolster Idaho's agriculture. He had concentrated on deep wells, but the Snake River itself also became an important source of water as enterprisers pumped its water to plateaus high above the river. Clawson's willingness to think big and his fearlessness in going heavily into debt to take advantage of the best available technology in pumps and sprinkling systems established his leadership in setting a pattern of change that many smaller farmers in the Snake River country soon followed.

A visitor to Magic Valley and Boise Valley, in particular, will now see enormous investment in land leveling; underground irrigation pipe systems; slip-form concrete head ditches; aluminum, canvas, rubber, and plastic pipe systems; sprinklers, valves, and automatic controls; check dams; holding reservoirs; and siphons, gates, gauges, and meters. Working in a land where water is as precious as gold, Idaho farmers have learned to save water and to be efficient in its use and management. With relatively cheap hydroelectric power, farmers have also expanded the value of electricity beyond lights, water pumps,

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and refrigerators to a myriad of uses: electrically warmed water for livestock, milking machines, feed-processing systems, heating livestock shelters and crop storage buildings, and extension of daylight in poultry buildings.

The supply of seeds from the low countries of Europe was cut off the world market during World War II. This shift increased the demand for seeds grown in the United States, and Idaho growers capitalized on the opportunity to grow and commercially market these crops. Idaho became the nation's largest producer of small seeds: alfalfa, onion, carrot, bean, seed corn, clover, and wheatgrass. Seed companies with an established national market contracted with Idaho farmers, whose land was level, uncontaminated by weeds, and assured of late-summer water, to grow these products. By 1950 Idahoans had planted 150,000 acres of seed beans, the most popular of which was the pinto bean, jointly developed by the University of Idaho Agricultural Experiment Station and the U.S. Department of Agriculture; another 150,000 acres of seed peas; 3,000 acres of onion seed; 85,000 acres of clover and grass seed; and 2,000 acres of carrot seed.

FOOD PROCESSING. Because of Idaho's imposing position in the growing of crops, the state also came to rank high in food processing: potato processing, canning, freezing, meat and dairy product industries, and commercial trout hatcheries. After World War II Jack Simplot organized the Food Processing Division of J. R. Simplot and aggressively went into the market. Simplot's impact was significant. He built a large plant at Heyburn where potatoes were not only dehydrated but prepared and frozen as french fries, mashed potatoes, and potato chips. Dehydrator production reached about 8 million pounds of potatoes and onions annually, and canning and quick-freezing operations were added in 1946–47. Some 1,000 employees produced the equivalent of 600 carloads of food products annually. Potato

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processing plants were also located at Caldwell and Aberdeen, and a meat-packing plant was built at Nampa. Among the twenty products from the Caldwell plant were "minute" potatoes, frozen french fries, frozen potato patties, frozen diced potatoes, onion flakes, onion powder, canned corn, fruit and vegetables, frozen corn, fresh fish fillets, strawberries, and microwaveable cheeseburgers and pasta-vegetable blends. Frozen-food packing at Caldwell had reached 1 million cases by 1952.

In another move Simplot purchased in 1946 the Shelley Processing Company facilities at Burley, which became one of the nation's largest buyers of potatoes. The company also had a daily production of 24,000 pounds of dried pea powder for soups. The same year Simplot joined C. J. Marshall of Jerome in manufacturing potato glucose. Their plant began to make potato starch in 1947, producing five million pounds annually.

By 1960 the Simplot Western Idaho Produce Company, with headquarters at Caldwell, operated ten warehouses in Idaho and Oregon, shipped 25 percent of all potatoes in western Idaho and eastern Oregon, and employed 1,500 people per season. Simplot also had several thousand acres of irrigated farms in the Snake River Valley, a large sheep enterprise, a cattle-feeding operation, and a box factory.

NATIONAL REACTOR TESTING STATION. Perhaps the most significant new industrial development in Idaho after the war was the establishment of the United States National Reactor Testing Station (NRTS) near Arco in 1949. (The name was changed to Idaho National Engineering Laboratory—INEL—in 1974.) The gunnery range the Navy used in World War II and a location to the southwest of the naval area that the U.S. Army Air Corps utilized as an aerial gunnery range, also in the 1940s, were chosen for the site. The station included all the former military area plus a large adjacent plot withdrawn from the public domain. It was 687 square miles (now 890 square

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miles) in area—larger than the state of Rhode Island. The former Navy administration shop, warehouse, and housing area became the Central Facilities Area of the NRTS site, its boundaries including a part of the Big Lost River Irrigation Project authorized under the Carey Act of 1894 but never completed.

The NRTS site, administered at the time by the Idaho Operations Office of the Atomic Energy Commission, was chosen in May 1949. Employment during the construction years peaked at more than 3,000 in 1951. Operation began with a few hundred employees and reached 2,000 in 1951; 5,000 by 1960; and about 13,000 in 1990. About one-half of the employees have been native Idahoans. The site was bounded by a Golden Triangle of Arco, Idaho Falls, and Pocatello. Each of these towns, plus Blackfoot, hoped to host the headquarters for the project, and all in the region eventually profited. Idaho Falls, 29 miles east of Arco, was chosen because it combined proximity, state of development, capacity for rapid growth, and general suitability. By 1956 the government had spent approximately $110 million on plants and equipment. Annual cost of operation at the time was around $65 million. There was enormous growth in the neighboring communities. For example, during the years 1949 to 1959 the population of Blackfoot doubled. Of the thousands who worked at the facility, riding the bus back and forth, about 70 percent have lived in Idaho Falls; 15 percent, Blackfoot; and 7 percent each in Pocatello and Jefferson County (Rigby and Roberts).

Several private corporations have been integrated into the NRTS program under a contractual agreement. They include Aerojet General, EG&G, North American Aviation, Phillips Petroleum, and Westinghouse Electric corporations.

In 1951 the NRTS was the site of one of the most significant accomplishments of the century—the first use of nuclear fission to produce electricity. This event took place at Experimental Breeder Reactor No. 1 (EBR-l) on December 20 of that year.

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EBR-1 also produced the first usable electrical energy in 1951 when four bulbs, strung unceremoniously from a steam turbine generator to an adjacent hand railing, were lighted. It was a world first—an electrical moment from several points of view. A year and a half later, in June 1953, the Experimental Breeder Reactor demonstrated another milestone: the principle of "breeding"—that a reactor can actually "breed" more fuel than it consumes. This achievement was important because the uranium used for reactor fuel was in short supply. The large bodies of uranium ore found in the 1950s had not yet been discovered. Don Ofte, manager of the Idaho operations of the AEC, emphasized the importance of the EBR-1 this way: "If you say that the atomic age was born under the football stands in the University of Chicago when Enrico Fermi and the other pioneers built that first reactor and sustained that first chain reaction, then the nuclear industry had its adolescence in Idaho, because this is where it came into its maturity."[9]

Other firsts of EBR-1 included the first use of plutonium as a test reactor fuel and proving that the consequence of a core meltdown was not necessarily catastrophic. EBR-I remained in operation for ten years—until September 30, 1961, when Experimental Breeder Reactor II started up.

The second reactor at NRTS, the Materials Testing Reactor (MTR), became operational March 31, 1952. Materials proposed for use in new reactors still under design were tested to determine which would function best in the presence of intense radiation. The MTR produced the world's most intense neutron flux, enabling the reactor to run tests in a relatively short time, and made possible the production of radioisotopes of higher specific activity than in other reactors. Much radiocobalt used in cancer therapy and food irradiation was likewise produced in the MTR. Every reactor designed in the United States has been influenced by knowledge gained from the MTR, which was retired in 1970.

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Boiling Water Reactors Experiments (BORAX-I), constructed in 1953, was the first in a series of five NRTS reactors designed to pioneer intensive work on boiling-water reactors, where steam generation was allowed to take place in the reactor pressure vessel at the core itself. BORAX-I was tested in July 1954 to determine its inherent safety under extreme conditions. Experiments at the BORAX-II reactor in the winter of 1954–55 demonstrated the feasibility of the boiling-water reactor concept. The power level of this reactor was six megawatts. BORAX-III started operating in June 1954 with a 2,000-kilowatt turbine generator. On July 17, 1955, it produced sufficient power to light the city of Arco for a period of two hours—a world first.

Special Power Excursion Reactor Test (SPERT) was conducted at the site in 1955, and other SPERT reactors operated in succeeding years; research concentrated on the major safety concern at the time, "runaway power." The SPERT program demonstrated that "runaway" accidents are less likely to happen than once thought, that the course of such an incident can be predicted, and that reactors have a strong tendency to shut themselves down if excessive fission occurs.

In August 1955 the Atomic Energy Commission decided to undertake the construction and operation of an Engineering Test Reactor (ETR) to provide irradiation facilities for the development of reactor components for military and civilian power reactors. When the ETR achieved nuclear start-up in 1957, it was the largest and most advanced materials test reactor in the world with a power level of 175 megawatts. It continued to operate until 1982. The work done in the MTR and BORAX experiments in 1953 and 1954, the SPERT experimental work in the later 1950s, and the expanded activities of the ETR contributed to basic knowledge of reactor materials and reactor behavior under abnormal conditions. Resulting improvements in the design of reactors helped ensure the safe and reliable operation of nuclear

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power plants across the United States and in the free world.

Other work in the 1950s included development of several reactor prototypes for the U.S. Air Force, Army, and Navy. The nuclear Navy at the NRTS was inaugurated on March 31, 1953, with the initial power run of the Submarine Thermal Reactor, a land-based prototype of the nuclear engine for American's first atomic-powered submarine, the U.S.S. *Nautilus*. The nuclear-powered submarine could run thousands of miles without having to put in at port for fuel, and because nuclear fuel is only a small bundle, a little larger than the size of a softball and weighing twenty pounds, the ship could carry more cargo. Unlike regular engines, a nuclear engine does not need oxygen, so an atomic submarine could operate under water much longer and much faster than regular submarines. In 1954 a sixty-six-day test run from small uranium rods that would fit into a two-pound coffee can generated as much power as 1.6 million gallons of diesel oil would have provided.

Powered by STR Mark II, the U.S.S. *Nautilus* traveled in excess of 25,000 miles, most of the time submerged. The submarine also cruised under water from New London, Connecticut, to San Juan, Puerto Rico, a distance of more than 1,300 miles taking 84 hours at an average speed of about 16 knots. At all times, the reactor performed satisfactorily. This first atomic or nuclear submarine ran for more than 96,000 miles on its second small load of fuel. The Naval Reactors Facility is one of the oldest sections on the NRTS; thousands of naval officers and enlisted personnel have received training in Idaho's desert in this sophisticated system. Other ships besides submarines now use atomic power: the U.S.S. *Enterprise* is a huge aircraft carrier free to roam much farther than older carriers because it runs on atomic power.

The nuclear airplane, however, was a failure. Work began on the first prototype power plant for a nuclear airplane in 1951. The commission of the Aircraft Nuclear Propulsion (ANP) project was to develop a nuclear-reactor aircraft engine capable of

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powering an airplane for extremely long periods—one that could stay in the air for a week. The program involved building and testing three heat-transfer reactor experiments that proved the feasibility of operating an aircraft turbojet engine with nuclear heat. But after ten years and $1 billion spent on development, the ANP project was canceled, mostly because of the parallel development of the intercontinental ballistic missile. Looking at the two giant stainless steel reactor vessels still parked in the desert, encumbered by a labyrinth of pipes, instruments, and support beams weighing 150 and 170 tons—necessary to shield anyone flying in it—one cannot visualize them hanging on an aircraft that could actually take off.

Work in the Army Reactor Experimental Area on the site in 1957 was aimed at developing a family of small reactors that could meet a number of military requirements, including being compact, lightweight, and mobile. Both the ANP project and the Army's mobile reactor experiments provided technology that is still in use, specifically in the planning and design of the Modular High Temperature Gas Cooled Reactor (New Production Reactor) project.

Finally, two other plants established by the NRTS in the early 1950s tidied up operations at the station. The first was the Radioactive Waste Management Complex (RWMC) established in 1952 in the southwest corner of the site as a thirteen-acre disposal area for radioactive waste generated at NRTS. Advanced and innovative radioactive-waste management programs were designed. During the early years the waste was buried, but in recent years contaminated wastes have been stored above ground in fifty-five-gallon steel drums, fiberglass-covered wooden boxes, and steel bins. A recent objective is to send all such waste to a Waste Isolation Pilot Plant near Carlsbad, New Mexico. There continue to be controversies over waste seeping into the Snake River Aquifer and the importation of waste into Idaho.

The second new plant was the Idaho Chemical Processing

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Plant, established in 1953 to recover the usable uranium in spent nuclear fuel from government reactors. This unique recycling enterprise proved successful and continues.

Other industries and enterprises greatly expanded after World War II. Morrison-Knudsen at the end of the war was engaged in construction enterprises in sixty different countries. Total revenue from such contracts was $100 million in 1948 and by 1970 exceeded $1 billion. The surplus naval gun-relining facility in Pocatello was converted to a Bucyrus-Erie plant that turned out huge dragline excavators, cranes, and similar construction devices. Mobile homes and recreational vehicles were among the products added to Idaho's manufacturing potential. A mobile-home plant was established in Boise in 1954, and soon there were similar facilities in Nampa, Caldwell, and Weiser with a production of more than $25 million per year. Recreational vehicles, mostly camping units, added to the housing-fabrication industry. Sugar factories were enlarged, meat-processing plants were expanded, and egg and poultry production became a specialty in Franklin and Meridian. In 1948 Mountain Home Air Force Base reopened as a training facility and air transport base where Strategic Air Command bombers were stationed after 1953.

In the 1950 U.S. Census, Idaho's labor force was approximately 206,000, of whom about 55,000 were in agriculture, 868 in forest (excluding lumber manufacturing, in which there were 8,500) and fisheries, 5,000 in mining, 15,500 in construction (a sign of growth), 19,000 in manufacturing, and the remainder —far more than those mentioned—in transportation, communications, trade, services, and public services. Concurrently, Idaho ranked lowest among the Mountain States in per capita income, a reflection of large families and the vast proportion of workers in low-paying jobs. Wartime experience, however, demonstrated the loyal work ethic of most Idahoans, and the state became a target for a number of new businesses. Idaho was

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anxious to build its manufacturing sector and invested heavily in the necessary development of infrastructure—highways, schools, airports, trucking lines, hospitals, power, telephones, and television.

Despite the thousands who left the state during the war to work on the Coast, the state's population continued to expand. From 1940 to 1960 Idaho's population rose by 142,318, a gain of 27 percent compared with a national increase of 30 percent. Urban growth was more than sufficient to make up for the rural loss. Even with the trend away from the farm, Idaho's growers produced more than they did before. In 1960, though Idaho was still a rural state, about half its people lived in urban communities.

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140.

139. This Ore-Ida potato-processing plant near Burley was one of several built in Idaho after World War II. ISHS 80–87.41.

140. The Experimental Breeder Reactor No. 1 was the first to use nuclear fission to produce electricity. IDAHO NATIONAL ENGINEERING LABORATORY.

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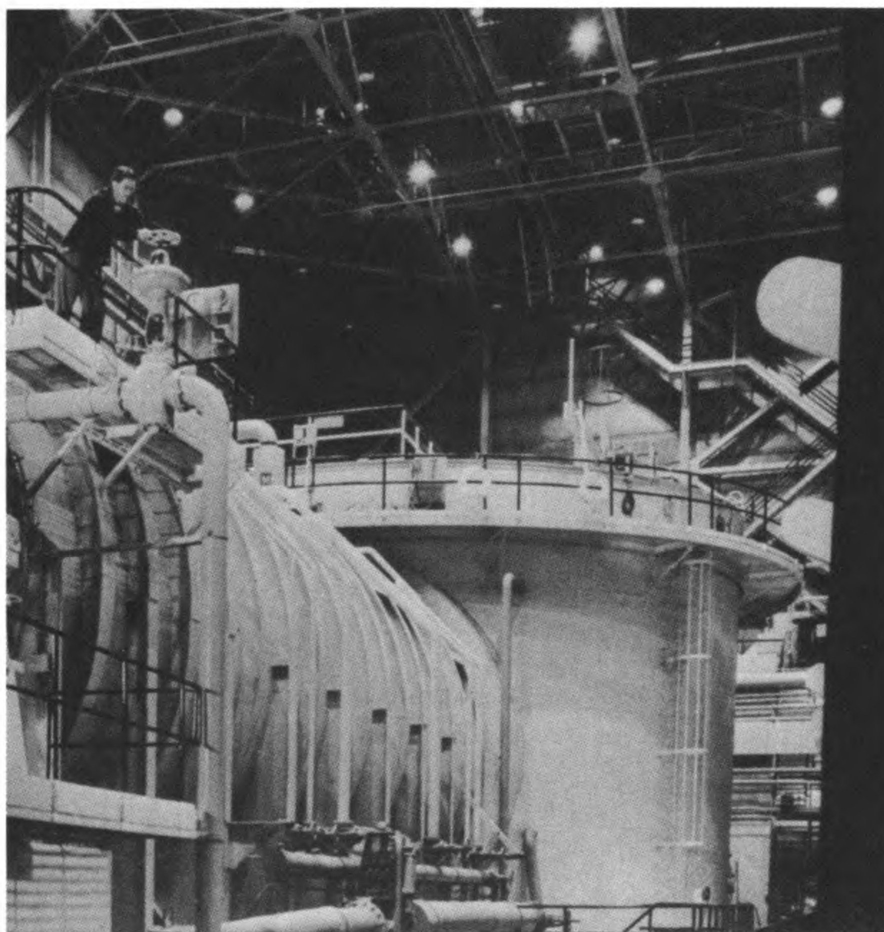

141.

141. The first nuclear-powered submarine, the U.S.S. *Nautilus*, whose engine was perfected at the National Reactor Testing Station near Arco, ran thousands of miles without having to put in to port for fuel. IDAHO NATIONAL ENGINEERING LABORATORY.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

The Public Lands Paradox: Idaho's Wilderness

IN the 1960s Idahoans developed a strong concern for their rivers, wildlife, trees, and mountains. Not that there was always agreement or consistency in what they wanted done; many questions about the environment are inevitably complex, often controversial. Exquisite, even dramatic, scenery was plentiful, but access roads and overlooks were limited. Should roads be built into a pristine wilderness? Should facilities be built so that people could enjoy the gorgeous panoramas? Campgrounds? Picnic tables? Outdoor toilets? Shelters in case of rain or snow? Cabins? Mineral deposits are known to exist in appealing mountain settings. Should miners be allowed to work them? A forest is the only habitat of a rare bird. Should lumbermen be allowed to cut down the trees? A secluded glen is a traditional grazing area for elk. Should cattle be allowed to graze there? A spectacular rushing river carries water down to the Snake and on to the ocean. Should farmers be allowed to dam the water and use it for irrigating their crops? There is an inadequate supply of

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electrical energy to power pumps. Should a power company be allowed to construct a plant and dam a creek to produce needed inexpensive hydroelectric energy?

The problems are so complex that complete agreement is unlikely. Preserving the serenity of the primitive is in conflict with mineral development, forest extraction, range appropriation, farming operations, and power production. It is also in conflict with the construction of accommodations for tourists, and tourism is a leading industry in Idaho. There is surprising agreement among Idaho's visitors that the state has the finest and most extensive wildernesses in the nation with the exception of Alaska, of course. Should they be preserved, or made more available, or exploited for the wealth they contain? Like other Americans facing similar questions, Idahoans are of different minds on the answer.

As early as 1872 Congress had established Yellowstone National Park, reserving more than 2.2 million acres from the public domain to ensure unique protection from commercial exploitation. A small strip on the western side of the park (31,500 acres) reaches into Idaho. In 1891 Congress passed the General Public Lands Reform Law, which authorized the president to create forest reserves from the public domain; their administration was initially placed with the General Land Office (predecessor to the Bureau of Land Management). In 1905 the Forest Service was established to administer and manage the forest reserves, which were renamed national forests in 1907. Idaho came to have more than 21 million acres of national-forest land. Boundaries of national forests have been rearranged and names changed over the years. At present, Idaho's twelve national forests are the Bitterroot, Boise, Caribou, Challis, Clearwater, Kootenai, Nez Perce, Panhandle, Payette, Salmon, Sawtooth, and Targhee. Under the direction of the Forest Service, the goal is multiple use of Idaho's forest resources, with sustained yields of wood, water, forage, wildlife, and recreation.

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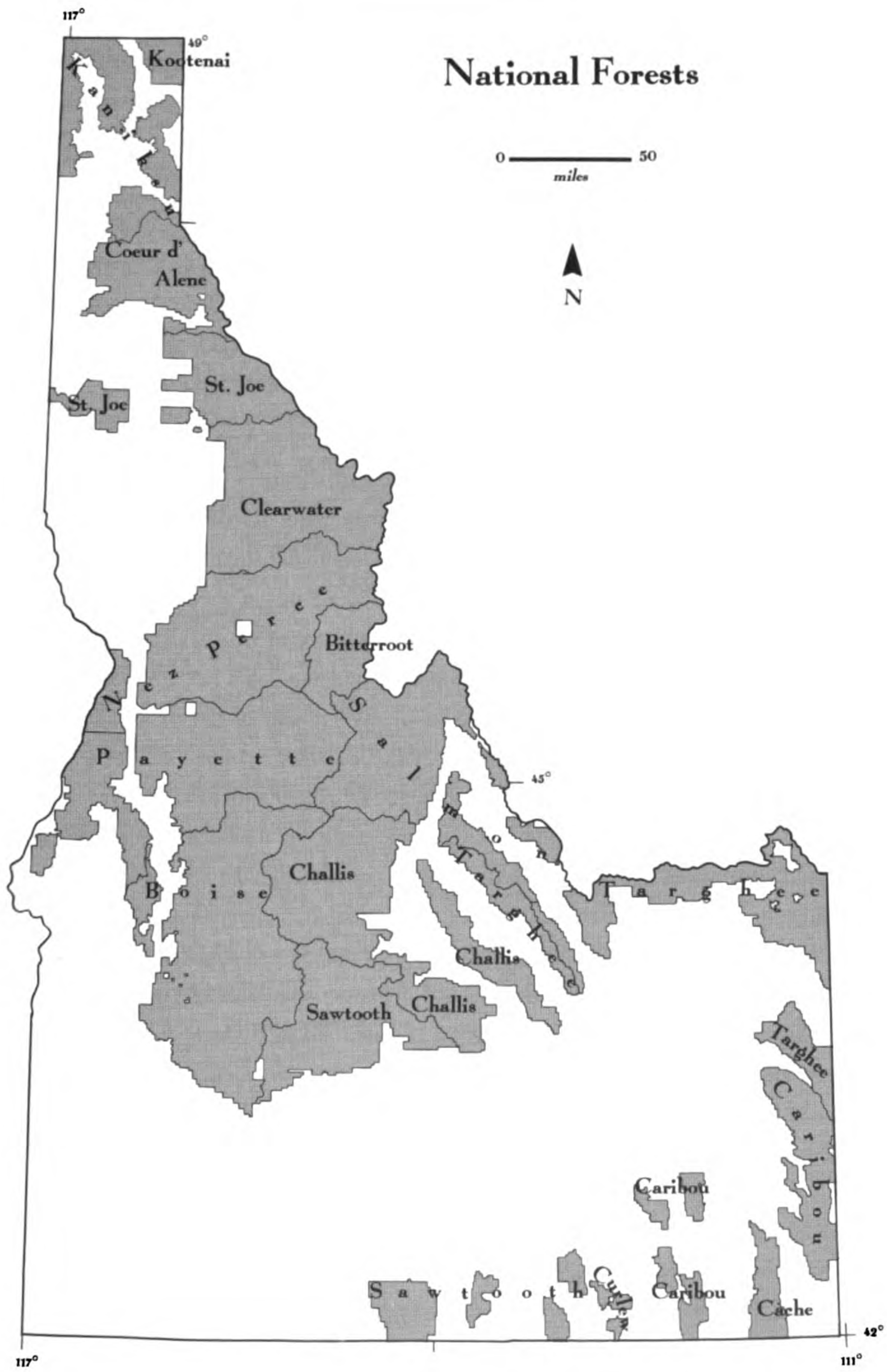

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Much of Idaho's national-forest land was added to the system by President Theodore Roosevelt, as interested in preserving the West as in developing it. As one of his biographers writes:

> For him, the preservation of the wilderness and the maintenance of the sport of wildlife hunting engendered qualities of manliness and self-reliance. It was always his hope to bring the individualism that he had found in the West back East, for it was in the West and in the history of western settlement that he felt were preserved the most truly American values and strengths of character.[1]

Roosevelt also supported the passage of the Antiquities Act of 1906 to preserve and protect prehistoric, historic, and scientifically significant sites on public lands and to create national monuments. Craters of the Moon National Monument, set aside by President Calvin Coolidge in 1924, is not a granite column placed prominently to commemorate an event but rather a desolate, eighty-three-square-mile area northwest of Arco that contains several dozen separate lava flows—some of them as recent as 1,600 years ago—as well as interesting patterns of lava resulting from relatively recent violent volcanic action.

A second historic site was recognized in 1965 as sentiment for environmental preservation was mounting. In an innovative partnership of federal and state agencies and private parties, the Nez Perce National Historical Park protects twenty-four notable areas in north central Idaho that retrace the history of the Nez Perce Indians, the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and other events in early Idaho history.

In 1962, with the help of Idaho's liberal Democratic senator Frank Church, Congress passed the National Recreation Area Act to help preserve and expand outdoor recreation opportunities throughout the nation. Idaho soon had two. The first was the Sawtooth National Recreation Area, established in 1972 to preserve rural, recreational, and scenic values in response to a pro-

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posed open-pit molybdenum mine at the base of Castle Peak in the White Cloud Mountains. The second, established in 1976, straddles a sixty-seven-mile stretch of Snake River on the west central Idaho border and is called Hells Canyon National Recreation Area.

Senator Church's leadership in wilderness legislation was surprising to some. In 1957 he had advocated the building of a 700-foot dam in Hells Canyon to generate power for mining the phosphate fields of southeastern Idaho. "I believe we have a trust," he said, "not only to ourselves but to our children, to develop the full potential of our God-given resources."[2] Five years later he had shifted from favoring development to being an outspoken environmentalist. This switch was certain to cause problems for him in his reelection campaign in 1962. Shortly before the election, former governor Chase Clark, his father-in-law, earnestly inquired:

> Tell me, Frank, how do you expect to win? All the organizations that count are against you: the cattlemen, the woolgrowers, the mining association, the forest products industry, the newspapers [all but one newspaper supported his opponent, Jack Hawley], the chambers of commerce . . . and for what? For wilderness! You don't just have rocks on your mind; you've got rocks in your head![3]

But Church was re-elected, by 25,000 votes.

In 1964 Church coauthored, sponsored, and was floor leader for the National Wilderness Act, which set aside undeveloped federal land so that some selected spots of the earth and its community of life would be unaffected by humanity—areas where persons might visit but could not remain. Such regions might contain ecological, geological, biological, scenic, or historical features and values. As part of the bill, more than 1 million Idaho (and some Montana) acres were designated as the Selway-Bitterroot Wilderness Area. This area included the first

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section seen by white men during the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In 1972, 217,000 acres of the Sawtooth National Forest were designated as the Sawtooth Wilderness Area. The district includes over 200 alpine lakes and many rugged peaks. Hells Canyon, overlooking the deepest gorge in North America and including the legendary Seven Devils Mountains, was designated a wilderness area in 1976; about four-fifths of it is in Oregon. Two years later the Gospel Hump Wilderness Area in the Nez Perce National Forest was created. The area is bordered on the south by the Salmon River. The name comes from Gospel Peak, where W. N. Knox preached an impromptu sermon to surveyors, prospectors, miners, and freighters in 1899, and for the local description—the peak looks like a buffalo hump.

In 1980 the famous River of No Return area, consisting of about 2.4 million acres, was designated a wilderness, the largest in the lower forty-eight states. This area, known for its jagged canyons and towering mountains, contains the Middle Fork of the Salmon. Senator Church later told how his wife, Bethine, had maintained her composure during the angry exchanges that took place in the hearings on this bill:

> During the public hearing in Salmon a cowboy flaunted his contempt by riding his horse through the front entrance of the hall, down the center aisle, out the side door. The wide-eyed editor of the local paper turned to Bethine and blurted out, "Well, what did you think of that?" "Why," she replied, "I thought that was a right handsome horse."[4]

In 1984, shortly before his untimely death from cancer, the wilderness area's name was changed to honor the senator's role in the designation of the area, making its official title Frank Church/River of No Return Wilderness.

The next step in preserving significant natural and historic sites, also suppored by Church, was the passage in 1966 of the National Historic Preservation Act—designed to protect prehis-

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toric and historic properties of regional and local importance. Many Idaho properties, including homes, businesses, and historic structures, have now been nominated by the Idaho State Historical Society and certified by the Park Service as National Register sites.

In 1968, again with Senator Church's sponsorship, Congress passed the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act for the preservation of America's most spectacular free-flowing rivers. Nine rivers in Idaho have been thus designated because of their remarkable scenic, recreational, geologic, fish and wildlife, historic, cultural, or other significance in their natural free-flowing condition. The rivers are the Middle Fork of the Salmon, Main Salmon, Lochsa, Selway, Middle Fork of the Clearwater, St. Joe, Snake (sixty-seven miles from Hells Canyon Dam downstream to the northern border of the Wallowa-Whitman National Forest), Rapid, and West Fork of the Rapid. Senator George McGovern of South Dakota gave Church much of the credit for the bill's passage. Church was "an extraordinarily able floor manager. He did it by shaming people into standing for the future of this country—despite all the special interest claims."[5]

In 1971 Congress established the Snake River Birds of Prey Area to protect valuable raptor nesting areas in Idaho, and the 1973 Endangered Species Act more generally offered protection of plants and animals facing extinction, as well as their habitats.

The National Environmental Policy Act made protection of the environment a national priority by requiring all federal agencies to assess the impacts of their actions on the surroundings and to mitigate adverse effects. Following this legislation, in 1976 Congress passed the Federal Land Policy and Management Act, which directed federal agencies to retain public lands under federal sponsorship and to provide for the multiple use and sustained-yield management of public lands and resources through land-use planning.

Equally interested in conservation, ecology, and tourism from

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the state's standpoint, Governor Robert E. Smylie proposed in 1955 that Idaho move quickly to reserve the few remaining areas that would be splendid parks. A state park system was finally established in 1965, and since that time twenty-one state parks have been established; they are administered by the Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation, headquartered in Boise.

Idaho's first state park had been established fifty years before. In 1908 Senator Weldon Heyburn became interested in preserving the beautiful setting around Chatcolet Lake in north Idaho, and lobbied for its designation as a national park. When that effort failed, the land was conveyed to the state and became Heyburn State Park, the first state park in the Pacific Northwest. The 7,800-acre park remains one of Idaho's finest. In addition to Heyburn, there are five state parks in northernmost north Idaho: Priest Lake, Round Lake, Farragut, Old Mission, and Mowry. Farther south, but still in north Idaho, are Mary Minerva McCroskey, Dworshak, Hells Gate, and Winchester Lake. In central Idaho are Packer John, Ponderosa, and Centennial parks. State parks in southwestern Idaho include Eagle Island, Veterans Memorial, Lucky Peak, Bruneau Dunes, Three Island Crossing, and Malad Gorge. South-central Idaho has two: Silent City of Rocks (usually, simply City of Rocks) and Massacre Rocks. In the southeast lies Bear Lake State Park and in eastern Idaho Henry's Lake and Harriman. Harriman, eighteen miles north of Ashton and one of the largest of the state parks (4,300 acres), is named for W. Averell Harriman, formerly president of Union Pacific Railroad, governor of New York, ambassador to the Soviet Union, and founder of Sun Valley, who, with his brother E. Roland, presented the park—the family's famous "Railroad Ranch"—to Idaho in 1977. Geologists believe that the ranch, near the Montana line, occupies an extinct volcano. Along with the park the state also administers the 11,000-acre Harriman Wildlife Refuge, where hundreds of trumpeter swans winter and which is also a home for pelicans,

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Canada geese, mountain bluebirds, moose, bald eagle, osprey, beaver, muskrats, otter, and sandhill cranes. The park offers gorgeous scenery, fantastic fly-fishing, and peaceful isolated tranquility.

Finally, there are seven National Natural Landmarks in Idaho, the earliest established in 1968 and the latest in 1980. The Great Rift Natural Landmark, consisting of 102,000 acres in the Bureau of Land Management wilderness in Blaine, Butte, Minidoka, and Power counties, marks the longest rift system in the United States and the deepest in the world. Big Southern Butte, in Butte County, rises 2,500 feet above the Snake River Plain and was an easily recognized geographic landmark for early travelers on Goodale's Cutoff from the Oregon Trail. Hell's Half Acre, in Bingham County, contains lava flows determined to be only 4,100 years old. City of Rocks in Cassia County, known to emigrants on the California Trail, features striking rock formations from a granite mountain. Hagerman Fossil Beds, in Twin Falls County, is one of the major fossil deposits in North America and is a National Monument. More than a dozen ancient horse fossils were uncovered here by the Smithsonian Institution in the 1930s. Menan Buttes, 1,200 acres in Madison and Jefferson counties, served as a navigation and rendezvous point for early explorers and travelers and is composed of rare volcanic tuff. Crater Rings, in Elmore County, features craters formed 1.4 million years ago when lava cones collapsed after loss of gas pressure, forming 200-foot depressions.

Policies ardently recommended, positions firmly held, and attitudes strongly expressed, with inevitable compromise, played a role in funding and establishing these forests, parks, monuments, and preserves, and in the administrative policies that govern them. As elsewhere, Idaho has seen vicious disputes between production-oriented enterprisers and nature-conscious environmentalists. The results have pointed, once again, to the inconsistency of Idaho's voters. Senator Church's

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sponsorship and support of the Wilderness Act, for example, gained him the animosity of many interests; many voters were upset with him. Church told Neal Peirce that in his 1962 election campaign, in spite of strident organized opposition against him, he learned that "Idaho people care a great deal about the outdoors.... Long dominant interests in Idaho politics can no longer... preserve their rights to the public domain as against the public interest."[6] The people, Church said, seemed to agree with Justice William O. Douglas's decision in the Hells Canyon case that "a river is more than an amenity; it is a treasure."[7]

Some of these emotional arguments surfaced in the late 1960s when the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO) proposed a 740-acre open-pit mine to extract molybdenum from the magnificent White Cloud Range. Among other things, they required a huge tailing pond. Governor Smylie, who had served three four-year terms, had been defeated in the 1966 primary by fellow Republican Don Samuelson and was not now in a position to defend the conservationists. Born in Illinois, graduate of Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, Samuelson served two years in the Navy at Camp Farragut and later established a business at Sandpoint, from which he was elected state senator for three terms. A fiscal and social conservative, Samuelson sided with ASARCO. The request became a volatile issue in the 1970 election. The Democratic candidate for governor, Cecil D. Andrus, who had lost to Samuelson in 1966, took advantage of the general negative reaction to the ASARCO proposal and defeated Samuelson. After his election, Andrus worked with Frank Church and others to create the Sawtooth National Recreation Area, which effectively defeated the ASARCO proposal.

The problem of environmental impact is indeed complicated. Forest operations provide hundreds of jobs, but they may destroy the habitat of birds or animals in danger of extinction. Mining companies employ thousands, but the discharge from the smelters severely impacts the surrounding communities.

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The level of lead in the Coeur d'Alene River delta in the 1980s was perhaps the highest recorded in the United States. The smelter-polluted air above the plants had the highest levels of sulphur dioxide gas in the nation, and smelter effluents denuded the surrounding hillsides. The Environmental Protection Agency placed the Silver Valley on a list of hazardous sites to be cleaned up by the Superfund program.[8]

Not all the problems are related to pollution in the air and water. As long as farming is a major focus in Idaho, soil erosion will be a dominant concern. The fertile Palouse country, thanks to research in plant breeding and cultivation techniques conducted by the University of Idaho and Washington State University agricultural experiment stations, produces more wheat than its counterparts in any equivalent area in the nation. Annual yields of seventy and eighty bushels of winter white wheat per acre are common, and the region is also a leader in the production of dry peas, lentils, and barley. Yet the Palouse and Nez Perce prairies of Washington, Idaho, and Oregon are among the ten most erodible regions in the United States, with average annual erosion and sedimentation rates on cultivated cropland of 11.5 tons per acre; in the heart of the Palouse, average annual rates are 20 tons per acre. The equivalent of 360 tons of soil has been lost from every cropland acre since 1939; all of the original topsoil has been lost from 10 percent of the land. Three million tons of sediment are carried out of the basin in runoff water each year. Partly because of this erosion and sedimentation, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has had to abandon plans for 89 percent of its water-based recreation sites along the Snake River. "Palouse farmers," wrote Frederick Steiner, "have not killed the golden goose but are plucking it to death."[9]

Soil erosion affects agricultural productivity, contaminates waterways, and worsens air pollution. No dramatic solution seems possible, but the U.S. Soil Conservation Service has instituted a program that will reduce erosion to "tolerable" levels

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by the year 2010 and will permit a high level of crop productivity to be sustained economically and indefinitely.

Wherever there is work or activity, it would seem, there is pollution and environmental destruction. Federal agencies are studying the problems and recommending measures to curtail the trends. Idaho's largest corporations are also aware of the concerns and are taking measures to reduce their impact.

The single worst environmental disaster in Idaho's history—in human terms, even worse than the 1910 forest fire—was the Teton Flood of 1976. Until then scarcely anyone had questioned the design and engineering reputation of the Bureau of Reclamation; none of its major public works had ever failed. The Bureau was very proud of its contribution to western production potential. But on June 5, 1976, the Teton Dam on the Teton River in eastern Idaho collapsed.

There seemed to be a sound justification for building the dam. Within the Teton Basin Project area 114,000 acres were under irrigation, but the farmland was subject to water shortages in late summer months and spring runoffs caused frequent flooding. For example, in 1961 southeastern Idaho experienced a serious drought that was followed in February 1962 by the largest flood on record. Following congressional hearings in 1962 (all of Idaho's congressional representatives favored the project), construction of the dam was authorized in 1964. Environmental impacts were criticized by various groups, including the Environmental Protection Agency, the Bureau of Sports Fisheries, the Idaho Fish and Game Department, and—after its establishment in 1974—the Idaho Conservation League. The project's economic feasibility was also questioned by eastern economists, who have commonly contended that every western dam is a boondoggle. But construction commenced in 1972, with up to 500 men working three shifts around the clock (though winter crews were reduced to about seventy-five men). The 10-million-cubic-yard, 305-foot-high earth dam, 1,600 feet

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wide at the base, was essentially completed by the end of 1975, when the reservoir began filling.

The seventeen-mile-long lake was nearly full when the earthen embankment gave way on June 5. Eighty billion gallons of water burst through the collapsing barrier and raged across the Idaho countryside with incredible fury. Traveling at about fifteen miles an hour, the water hit Wilford first; six persons were drowned and 150 homes were destroyed. It then passed through Sugar City, Rexburg, Salem, Roberts, Hibbard, Shelley, Firth, and Blackfoot, and finally, three days after the break, entered the backwaters of the American Falls Reservoir. The torrent stripped crops and topsoil from fields, destroyed roads, uprooted trees, and swept away houses and farm buildings. Altogether, eleven people died directly or from related causes, 25,000 persons were driven from their homes, 18,000 head of livestock were lost, and thirty-two miles of railroad were washed out. Property damages totaled some $600 million.

The flood triggered a massive relief effort by religious, private, and governmental organizations. The Mormon Church, to which 90 percent of the affected people belonged, shipped in tens of thousands of pounds of food and an estimated 50,000 volunteers in June, July, and August to assist in the rebuilding. Ricks College, located on higher ground than the city of Rexburg, opened its doors and facilities to those in need and became a haven with food and shelter for the thousands of homeless. Volunteers working around the clock with the college food services personnel provided 2,000 meals on the evening of June 5 and some 9,850 the next day, and continued as needed until August 18. A total of 390,000 had been served, all without charge. A special example of brotherly love was shown by small groups of Mennonites who came from California, Canada, Minnesota, and Oklahoma to stay for a week and help in the food service and rebuilding efforts. As many as 1,000 Latter-day Saints from southern Idaho, northern Utah, western Wyoming,

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and southern Montana came in chartered buses on weekdays and 4,000 on Saturdays, and worked all day in assigned areas before returning home at night. In three months this volunteer relief service amounted to more than one million hours of donated labor valued at $10 million.

Business organizations, too, went the second mile to help in the communities' recovery. Bakeries, bottlers, dairies, grocery concerns, restaurants, and local retailers still able to operate donated needed food. Other firms and individuals supplied trucks, tractors, and front-end loaders as well as materials where they could. The Idaho Power Company sent a caravan of crews and equipment from other locations to help the Rexburg Division restore electrical service in a minimum of time to all the disaster area.

In the wake of the tragedy, two panels of experts were established to determine the causes of the failure. Their respective reports were issued in December 1976 and April 1977. The dam's failure was a complex phenomenon but, in the final analysis, it was concluded that Reclamation designers were at fault. Extraordinary geological conditions, especially highly permeable, cracked volcanic rocks at the damsite, were not effectively countered in the dam's design and construction process. Major recommendations to minimize the recurrence of failures included establishing an independent review board for dam design and construction, greater documentation of design decisions, closer project supervision and oversight by design personnel, and more intensive construction and post-construction monitoring of structures. The dam has not been rebuilt. Appropriately, Idaho native R. Keith Higginson became commissioner of reclamation in mid-1977; he had served as director of Idaho's Department of Water Resources from 1965 to 1977 (and returned to that position again in 1991). Higginson took initiatives to strengthen the agency's organizational structure and commitment to dam safety, environmental protection, eco-

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nomic efficiency, fair distribution of project benefits, and water conservation.[10]

Idahoans are quite aware of the severe restrictions that environmental controls have placed on parts of society. The family farmer is restricted in his use of cheap pesticides and fertilizers. Working families have lost their jobs because of restraints on small businesses. EPA rulings are sometimes regarded as unnecessary federal interventions in private business. Grace Jordan, whose husband (Senator Len) voted against the Wild Rivers Act when it was first proposed in 1966, commented: "The Wild River enthusiast was rarely the little taxpayer who couldn't afford expensive gear for outdoor sports; and the river selected for Wild status was rarely in the proponent's own state. No one was demanding that the reeking Potomac be returned to its pristine wild condition."[11] Outside interventions by activist groups (Sierra Clubs, Earth Lovers) have delayed or prohibited the growth of some operations generally regarded as beneficial.

In certain quarters pro-development studies are objects of derision and scorn. Observers think they see a hesitancy, a hanging back, an unsureness among Idaho enterprisers. It would be regrettable if the reformist and sometimes angry tone of the environmentalists were to halt the risk-taking, the technological innovation, and the "full speed ahead" approach that has built much of the new industry in Idaho.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN: SOURCES

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CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

The Challenge of Education

IDAHO'S development is the result of abundant natural resources, entrepreneurial energy, the adoption of improved technology, and the infusion of capital from the Midwest, New England, Europe, and the West Coast. Another major factor is the education of its people. Idaho's pioneers, as with most westering peoples, early established schools along with churches, theaters, glee clubs, and other cultural institutions. Idaho has always ranked high in number of years of schooling completed and in the rate of literacy of its population. Idaho has always had many dedicated teachers.

Two Idahoans in education have received particular national attention in recent years. When NASA planned to send a teacher on an outer-space mission in 1986, two of the ten final candidates for consideration came from Idaho: David Marquart of Boise and Barbara Morgan of McCall. Morgan was one of two final choices for the honor. A California native and graduate of Stanford, she moved to Idaho in 1975, teaches at the McCall-

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Donnelly Elementary School, and plays flute with the McCall Chamber Orchestra. She has represented Idaho with distinction, serving on several national committees and receiving wide acclaim as a lecturer, but she most enjoys her third-grade students in McCall.

Further indication of Idaho's status in education is that Dr. Terrel H. Bell, native of Lava Hot Springs, served as Secretary of Education for one president (1981–85) and as commissioner of education for two others. One of nine children raised by his widowed mother, Bell attended Albion Normal School because it was less costly than a university, then taught science and coached athletics for a year in Eden. He was principal in Rockland for seven years while he studied each summer to earn a master's degree in education from the University of Idaho. He later served as state superintendent of schools in Wyoming and Utah. Under his leadership as Secretary of Education the National Commission on Excellence in Education issued 12 million copies of the report *A Nation at Risk*, warning that American education, critical to the nation's future, was faltering and in many cases failing. In 1988 Bell published *The Thirteenth Man: A Reagan Cabinet Memoir*.

Having had an early start, Idaho's school system continued to grow with the population. By 1910, 722 school districts had an attendance of more than 35,000 students. Teachers' salaries averaged about $48 per month. A state board was established to supervise the schools (and take on duties of the university's board of regents) in 1912, and by 1920 it oversaw 1,771 school districts with 115,192 students. Idaho's schools were financed almost entirely by local property taxes. As mentioned in Chapter Seventeen, in 1887–88 the Latter-day Saints had established academies (high schools) in Paris (Fielding), Preston (Oneida), Oakley (Cassia), and Rexburg (Ricks). These remained in operation until the early 1920s, when, excellent public schools being available, the church turned the buildings over

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to local school districts and replaced these church schools with "seminaries." Adjacent to local high schools, the seminaries offer classes in religion (Old and New Testament, Christian history, Book of Mormon, and Mormon history) to supplement "secular" high school instruction. At the college level in the 1920s the LDS Church established "Institutes of Religion" adjacent to state college campuses to further religious study. Ricks Academy was renamed Ricks College in 1923 and, as we shall see, remains in operation.

Over the years, denominations other than the LDS Church also established parochial schools. By 1976 the Roman Catholics operated twelve elementary schools and one high school (Bishop Kelly in Boise); they had earlier operated St. Teresa's Academy, also in Boise. The Seventh-Day Adventist Church administered ten elementary schools and one high school (Gem State Academy near Caldwell). The Friends Church managed one combined elementary and high school at Greenleaf in Canyon County. Other Christian schools were operated in several locations.

The University of Idaho at Moscow was created in 1889. In 1893 normal schools were established in Lewiston and Albion and in 1901 the legislature founded a technical school, the Academy of Idaho, at Pocatello, about which more later. A state school for the deaf and blind was opened at Gooding in 1910. In 1904 the Idaho Industrial Training School was built at St. Anthony. The name was changed to State Youth Training Center in 1963, and to the Youth Services Center in 1974. Today this is the only state-operated institution in Idaho responsible for the care and rehabilitation of delinquent youth.

As we shall see, the Academy of Idaho in Pocatello became the Idaho Technical Institute, then the Southern Branch of the University of Idaho. After considerable study, discussion, and agitation, the legislature increased its stature in 1947, establishing Idaho State College with authority to grant bachelors'

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degrees as a liberal-arts institution. In 1955 the institution was authorized to grant the master of arts degree in education.

Although the college at Pocatello was given increased recognition and financial support, the normal colleges were not. In 1949 the legislature closed the colleges in Lewiston and Albion. Largely in response to much resistance to and resentment of the closing, in 1955 the legislature reactivated the Northern Idaho College of Education in Lewiston as the Lewis-Clark Normal School. It was charged with power to provide a two-year college course for elementary teachers under the general direction of the University of Idaho. The Lewiston school became a separate four-year college in 1963. A bill to reactivate the Southern Idaho College of Education at Albion was defeated, and in 1957 the state granted a long-term lease on the property to the Church of Christ. Magic Valley Christian College opened there in 1958, but it was discontinued after three years. Although other groups have attempted to put them to use, the buildings are now vacant.

In 1939 the legislature permitted the organization of junior college districts. Such districts were effectuated in Boise and Coeur d'Alene, and junior colleges already operating in these cities became tax-supported institutions. Boise Junior College had been founded in 1932 by the Episcopal Church; the Coeur d'Alene College had been founded in 1933 as a private institution. The three church colleges serving the people of Idaho have been the Northwest Nazarene College in Nampa; the College of Idaho (Presbyterian), now Albertson College of Idaho, in Caldwell; and Ricks College (LDS) in Rexburg.

Mention was made in Chapter Twenty-five of the reorganization of schools that began in 1947. Within five years the number of districts was reduced from 1,118 to 268 as a means of equalizing educational opportunity, achieving greater uniformity of school tax rates, and providing more effective use of state funds for the support of public schools. The greater centralization of

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administration has been accompanied by increased state appropriations for the schools.

In 1953 Governor Len Jordan entered into a regional compact with the governors of nine western states and Alaska under which certain high-cost professional programs might be operated on a reciprocal basis with no out-of-state fees. Idaho's students were admitted to medical, dental, and veterinary schools in other states, and students from those states were encouraged to register at the schools of pharmacy in Pocatello and forestry at Moscow.

Another policy change was in the training of Native Americans. Indian youth were schooled on the Coeur d'Alene, Nez Perce, Shoshoni-Bannock (Fort Hall), and Shoshoni-Paiute (Duck Valley) reservations until 1935, when they were integrated into nearby public schools.

A significant step in Idaho's educational achievement was the enactment in 1965 of a 3 percent sales tax, duly ratified by the citizenry in a 1966 referendum, which gave the state the wherewithal to equalize educational opportunity, support higher salaries for teachers, and maintain higher standards of instruction. In 1975 the legislature authorized state support for kindergartens.

Particularly significant to Idaho, to the West, and to the nation are the contributions of Idaho's major institutions of higher learning.

UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO. In one hundred years the University of Idaho has granted more than 60,000 degrees. It was at Moscow that most teachers in the state received their certificates, most of Idaho's lawyers graduated from law school, and many of the nation's finest agricultural, mining, and engineering scientists were given their first training. The university's principal problem has been its location so far north that enrollment has been limited.

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From the very beginning the university has insisted on high academic standards. As early as 1905 Idaho required four years of high school for entrance, the first college in the Pacific Northwest to do so. That same year the Carnegie Foundation surveyed the academic standings of the nation's colleges and universities and rated the U of I high above most of its western contemporaries—indeed, among the select colleges of the nation. By then the university had grown to include colleges in letters and science, agriculture, law, forestry, and mines; and master's degrees were available in four areas of study. The student newspaper (*The Argonaut*) had begun printing, the Pacific Northwest's first summer school had been started, and the agricultural experiment station had published significant bulletins about the growing of peas and potatoes to contribute to a developing business of agriculture.

In 1917 the College of Agriculture, in cooperation with federal, state and county governments, began a cooperative extension service to dispense research knowledge statewide. "Field men" were employed to go directly into the homes, orchards, fields, and stables wherever farms were located to demonstrate the best methods to follow in various agricultural efforts. Eventually, a county farm agent system was developed in each of Idaho's forty-four counties. Branch stations were established in Caldwell, Parma, Kimberly, Aberdeen, Sandpoint, and Tetonia. Agriculture-related research in growing potatoes, sugar beets, and wheat and raising sheep improved yields and profits for farmers and stockmen throughout the nation. Home economists have met with women's clubs, teachers, and youth groups to provide instruction in cooking, sewing, and home management, and have developed departments in many home-related industries.

During World War I the School of Mines conducted a statewide geological survey of minerals that proved helpful to the war effort. Recognizing the value of this activity, the state in 1919

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established the Idaho Bureau of Mines and Geology (now the Idaho Geological Survey) at the university. The bureau and the university over the years have jointly done research for Idaho's mining industry.

The School of Forestry, like Mines, conducted experiments from its first days on campus to help both farmers and foresters. In 1911 the Potlatch Lumber Company engaged the school to run experiments on its cutover lands to determine the best methods of removing stumps. The school published a bulletin entitled "Methods of Clearing Logged-Off Land" that was widely distributed in the region. In the mid-1920s the school cooperated with state and federal agencies in controlling white-pine blister rust and in studying wood lots and windbreaks. In 1927 the university named its first extension forester and began some of the country's earliest experiments on the potential uses of forestry by-products. The next year it established the Idaho Forest Experiment Station, precursor to the Forest, Wildlife and Range Experiment Station organized in 1939. In the latter year the university appointed its first extension conservationist.

The Schools of Business Administration and Education were established in the 1920s, as was the Graduate School, and the university was fully accredited by the Association of American Universities in 1928. Not until 1959 were doctoral programs initiated; both the Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) and Doctor of Education (Ed.D.) degree are offered.

During the depression of the 1930s U of I faculty absorbed substantial cuts in salaries, worked with reduced office services, taught heavier loads, and gave students extra attention. The university was besieged by the sons and daughters of southern Idaho farmers who were unable to pay for campus housing. The U of I led the nation in establishing the first university cooperative, enabling students to get by on less than $300 a year. (The writer, who lived in one of these, kept a careful record of his spendings and survived on $285 for a ten-month period. Of

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this amount he earned $150 by working for college departments on a National Youth Administration program, received $75 in scholarship funds from the Union Pacific Railroad, and secured the remainder doing odd jobs for professors and townspeople.) More than 300 students attended each year as members of one of the cooperatives—the Idaho Club, Campus Club, Lindley Hall, Ridenbaugh Hall, and LDS Institute—doing their own meal preparation and serving, dishwashing, room cleaning, and clothes washing to keep down expenses. Director (and instigator) of the cooperatives was George S. Tanner, director of the LDS Institute of Religion adjacent to campus.

During World War II the university instituted a Naval Radio Training School, operated an Army Specialized Training Program, and installed an Air Force ROTC unit, making it one of the few colleges in the nation to have ROTC in all branches of the Armed Forces. A 1945 report by the George Peabody College Survey Commission ranked the University of Idaho among the upper 10 percent in the nation in academic standing and rated the faculty "of high scholarly competence."

In the 1940s the William E. Borah Outlawry of War Foundation began the sponsorship of annual symposia at which nationally and internationally renowed scholars and statesmen discuss problems of social importance. The symposia have attracted worldwide attention.

In 1949 the university introduced extension classes in five Idaho cities and organized adult education programs at Boise Junior College, Idaho Falls, and Mountain Home Air Force Base. Five years later, overseas programs got under way when faculty initiated teaching and research programs in two Ecuadorean universities, and in 1981 faculty participated in a water-management research project in Pakistan.

Other parts of the university also operate outreach programs. In 1949 the university started a service of renting films and audio-visual materials to schools and organizations. With the

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completion of the school's television center in 1955, it increased production of informational films. The university also established in the 1950s the Bureau of Business and Economic Research and the Bureau of Public Affairs Research. Both render valuable assistance to county and municipal governments as well as the state. The university provides advisory services to the Nez Perce Indian tribe in connection with school and adult programs. The Theatre Arts Department presents annual tours to Idaho high schools. Other departments sponsor conferences and institutes for high school students. The College of Forestry, Wildlife and Range Sciences sponsors study at its sixty-five-acre Wilderness Research Center in the heart of the Frank Church/River of No Return Wilderness area and in McCall. Off-campus resident instruction centers are located in Coeur d'Alene, Boise, Twin Falls, and Idaho Falls.[1] Statewide responsibilities include agriculture, architecture, engineering, law, mining, metallurgy, and forest, wildlife, and range sciences. In 1990 the university enrolled 8,500 full-time-equivalent students and was led by President Elisabeth Zinser—the first woman to head a four-year institution of higher education in Idaho.

IDAHO STATE UNIVERSITY. As with most of the colleges and universities in Idaho, ISU began as a high school. When the Fort Hall Indian Reservation was established in 1869, its boundaries extended from Red Rock south of Downey to the Blackfoot River, an area of 1.5 million acres. In 1889 482,000 acres were trimmed from the southern section because few Indians resided there. In 1898 an agreement was reached with the Shoshoni and Bannock, duly signed by President William McKinley in 1900, by which 418,000 acres were opened to white settlement. A land rush resulted on June 17, 1902, when thousands of men rode racehorses, buggies, wagons, and trains to stake claims for farming land and mines, after which they hastened to the land office in Blackfoot to file on the property.

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Anticipating the creation of a city larger than the existing railroad terminal environs, State Senator Theodore Turner pushed a bill through the legislature establishing the Academy of Idaho at Pocatello to provide a two-year college preparatory and vocational school for eastern Idaho. The school opened in 1902 with forty students and four faculty members.

In 1915 the Academy was renamed Idaho Technical Institute and authorized to provide two years of college study along with preparation of students in technical and vocational fields. In 1927 the institution became the University of Idaho, Southern Branch, with greater emphasis given to traditional college curricula in the arts and sciences. The program remained two-year except for pharmacy, which was three years and later expanded to four. In 1930 the College of Pharmacy was established; by 1990 it was still the only college of pharmacy in Idaho.

The college's contribution during World War II was comparable to that of many of the largest universities in the nation. Civil Pilot Training under the jurisdiction of the Civil Aeronautics Authority was inaugurated in 1940; thirty classes offered training in auto and aviation mechanics, electricity, machine shop, air depots, welding, printing, foundry, sheet metal, and ordnance—all of this to train for specific military services or war-defense industries. Officials of the Kaiser Swan Island Yard at Portland, Oregon, were so pleased with the Pocatello-trained welders that they commissioned the successive training of twenty-four groups of men from 1943 to 1945. The college organized Idaho's first unit of American Women's Voluntary Service Corps. The 100 women who joined were trained in nutrition and communal feeding, motor-corps service, map reading, Morse Code, and first aid. A comparable number of men joined the Idaho Southern Enlisted Reserve Corps. In 1942 a Navy V-5 flight training program was started and continued through 1944, with from fifty to eighty-five persons assigned each ninety-day period for flight training.

In 1943 the college was one of 150 schools in the nation

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chosen by the Bureau of Naval Personnel as an officer training school in the Navy V-12 program. One student described the program as follows:

> Every day has the same pattern to it; reveille, morning muster, breakfast, classes, mail call, muster and lunch, classes again, muster again, study hours, then in for a bit of sack time. But there is more than enough to break up that routine. In Graveley Hall there are watches to stand, "personal appearances" before the officers, and always visits to the Training Aids Library and Ship's Store.[2]

Classes were held year-round, and the college had an average of 825 cadets over a five-semester period. They fielded a creditable football team, the Battling Bengals basketball team won eleven of fifteen games, and there were baseball, boxing, and volleyball teams; plays; concert, marching, and dance bands; a Navy chorus; and two newspapers, the *Idaho Bengal* and the *Dittybag*. All told 2,200 Southern Branch men and 96 women served in the United States Armed Forces, of whom 61 died under the colors.[3]

Partly because of this exemplary war record, Idaho State College was created in 1947 from the Southern Branch as an autonomous, four-year degree-granting institution. Divisions included the College of Liberal Arts, College of Pharmacy, and School of Trade and Technical Education. The Division of Graduate Studies was organized in 1955, the College of Education in 1958, and the Division of Medical Arts in 1961. The final step in the institution's rank came in 1963 when the legislature changed its name to Idaho State University. At the same time the College of Business was created. Since 1975 the Medical Arts Division has been reclassified as the College of Health-Related Professions and the School of Engineering has been created. Because of its proximity to the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory, ISU offers a program leading to the Doctor of Philosophy degree in nuclear science and engineering.

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In 1990 ISU had more than 7,000 full-time equivalent students. ISU is home of the Minidome (recently renamed Holt Athletic Arena), the first indoor stadium ever built on a college campus. In 1977 ISU also completed the Eli M. Oboler Library, at the time the largest educational building in Idaho. The university maintains continuing education centers in Idaho Falls, Twin Falls, and Sun Valley. The university also has close association with the Idaho Museum of Natural History, located on campus. One of the few institutions in the nation with a Dinomania Exhibit, the museum has attracted hundreds of thousands of visitors and houses one of the largest collections of the mammoth extinct Bison Latifrons.

BOISE STATE UNIVERSITY. Founded in 1932 by the Episcopal Church and private agencies as a community college called Boise Junior College, BSU became a district-supported school in 1939, a state college in 1969, and a university in 1974. It originally occupied St. Margaret's Hall, an Episcopal girls' school since 1892; the growing institution was relocated on the original site of the Boise Municipal Airport in 1940. Students and faculty enlisted in the military during World War II and enrollment dropped to about 200 in 1942, but a pilot-training program on campus kept the school from closing. By 1956 the student body exceeded 1,000. As enrollment continued to climb and new academic programs were added, three large new buildings were constructed: a grand Pavilion, 1982; the Morrison Center for the Performing Arts, 1984; and the Simplot/Micron Center for Technology, 1985. The college offers masters of arts and science degrees in several fields and masters in business administration, public administration, fine arts, and music. BSU has an extensive evening instruction program; does research to support the needs of business, government, and industry; operates a sizable academic program at the Mountain Home Air Force Base; and offers cultural opportuni-

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ties to the public through its drama and music departments, popular concerts, art exhibits, lecture series, and special workshops.

Because Boise State is centered in the governmental, medical, and business heart of Idaho, students and the university interact with the school districts, health care institutions, government agencies, and corporations headquartered in Idaho's largest city. The Boise State University School of Nursing, for example, graduates from 80 to 100 students per year; trains students in medical, surgical, pediatric, and psychiatric nursing; and gives experience in nursing procedures at hospitals in Boise, Caldwell, Nampa, and rural hospitals. The university registered 9,500 full-time equivalent students in 1990.

LEWIS-CLARK STATE COLLEGE. In 1893, when the state legislature established a normal school at Lewiston, Idaho's rural grade-school teachers were required to complete only eight grades and pass a county examination. Classes were held that year on the second floor of the old Grostein and Binnard Building at Second and Main. The room was separated by canvas curtains into four classrooms to accommodate the forty-three students and three instructors. When the ten-acre "city park" became the campus and the administration building was completed in 1896, 137 students enrolled. In the years that followed, most of the students were women who took a two-year course preparatory to teaching in a one-room country school. By 1934 it was one of the nation's few remaining two-year normal schools. Lewis-Clark was authorized to issue four-year degrees in education in 1947 and was renamed the North Idaho College of Education. Closed in 1951 because of the failure of the legislature to appropriate funds, the school was reopened in 1955 as the Lewis-Clark Normal School. Once again a two-year school, under the supervision of the University of Idaho, the school "graduated" to four-year and independent status in 1963. The

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name, however, remained the same. In addition to a liberal arts course, the school also offered a nursing program and vocational-technical education classes. In 1971 the school was renamed Lewis-Clark State College. In 1990 the school's 2,600 students could select from four-year courses in business, criminal justice, education, and nursing, as well as in the arts and sciences.

COLLEGE OF SOUTHERN IDAHO. Although the Peabody Survey of 1946 had recommended the establishment of a junior college at Twin Falls, and although local citizens had privately employed professionals from Stanford University and elsewhere to help with the planning process, not until 1963 did passage by the legislature of the Junior College Act make possible the creation of a junior college district. In a subsequent election the citizens of Twin Falls and Jerome counties approved the creation of such a district. With funds obtained from the counties, the state, and the federal government, the college opened in September 1965 with 640 students. Its campus was located on 230 acres on the north side of Twin Falls near the Snake River Canyon. The college almost immediately was granted accreditation by the Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges for its standard junior college program with a strong vocational-technical curriculum. Within five years CSI had 1,500 full-time students and an equal number of part-time enrollees. In 1990 the college had 1,900 full-time equivalent students. The college has ranked very high in athletics, often earning the national championship for two-year colleges in basketball and ranking at the top in baseball, track, and rodeo. The college has a fine arts center; an expo center; academic facility, health-physical education, student union, multi-use, vocational-technical, administration, and farm management buildings; a gymnasium; and the Herrett Museum, LDS Institute, and Catholic priory adjacent to the campus. CSI graduates approximately 500 students each year.

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NORTH IDAHO COLLEGE. At the bottom of the Great Depression in 1933 a group of citizens of Coeur d'Alene, for whom it was prohibitively expensive to send their children to the state university at Moscow ninety miles away, organized to found a junior college. The city council permitted them to use without charge the third floor of the city hall for classroom space and the city library on the second floor. Four full-time teachers with master's degrees were employed, several part-time instructors came from the community's local business school, a first-year president was chosen, and the school opened in the fall of 1933 under the name Coeur d'Alene Junior College. It had sixty-seven students. The school operated for the next six years with similar small enrollments. The University of Idaho agreed to give students credit for their course work; Orrin Lee, a graduate of Ricks College and the University of Idaho, was employed as "permanent" president; and the founding committee worked for approval of a legislative bill authorizing the formation of a junior college district that would provide tax dollars. The measure passed in 1937 but was vetoed by Governor Barzilla Clark. The legislature tried again in 1939 after the election of Governor C. A. Bottolfsen, who signed the measure, permitting tax support not only for Coeur d'Alene but also for Boise Junior College.

The junior college opened its doors as a tax-supported institution in the fall of 1939 under the name North Idaho Junior College, a name the college retained until 1971 when it became North Idaho College. Nestled among tall pines on a forty-acre site (originally, Fort Sherman) that includes beachfront on Lake Coeur d'Alene, the two-year college confers associate-degree certificates in thirty-eight transferable academic majors and several vocational programs. In 1990 the college had 2,000 full-time equivalent students.

RICKS COLLEGE. With an enrollment of 7,700 in 1990, Ricks College—a two-year, private institution—has become

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one of the largest institutions of higher learning in Idaho. Beginning as the Bannock Stake Academy, an LDS high school, the institution changed its name in 1903 to Ricks Academy in honor of Thomas E. Ricks and shifted to a college curriculum in 1915. It was named Ricks College in 1923. During the depression of the 1930s the LDS Church offered to give the college to the state of Idaho, but the donation was refused. With a large number of returning veterans enrolling at the end of the war, and the legislature decreeing that all teachers to be certified must have completed four years of college, the college added a third year of courses in 1948 and a fourth in 1949. New buildings were constructed, and new Ph.D.s were employed as instructors. Then in 1956, in a move designed to strengthen Brigham Young University in Utah, the upper-division courses were discontinued and Ricks students were encouraged to complete their classwork at BYU. Brigham Young University has now reached its 30,000 enrollment limit, however, and Ricks College looks forward to a restoration of its four-year, degree-granting status.

In 1957 the LDS Board of Education stunned the campus community with an announcement that it was considering moving the college to Idaho Falls. After several meetings and the presentation of arguments pro and con, the LDS First Presidency assured a visiting Rexburg delegation that the college would remain in Rexburg. Just the next year, however, the decision seems to have been reversed: land for the new location was purchased in Idaho Falls. Rexburg decided to fight the decision. A Committee of One Thousand published a booklet attacking the "underhanded" effort to move the college and rebutting the arguments used to support the removal. David O. McKay, the eighty-five-year-old LDS Church President, was inundated with letters, telegrams, and telephone calls. There was despair and bitterness in Rexburg but hopes rose with the repeated delays in implementing the removal. Finally, in April 1961, LDS headquarters announced that three new buildings would be con-

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structed immediately on the Rexburg campus. By 1975 the church had spent $17 million on new structures. LDS authorities had heard from the "boondocks," were touched by the dedication, determination, and fervor of the One Thousand, and from that time gave full support to Ricks College at Rexburg. The episode is now dismissed with the comment that no one in Salt Lake (or Provo) could figure out how to get the buildings through the Rigby overpass.[4]

ALBERTSON COLLEGE OF IDAHO. The College of Idaho (renamed The Albertson College of Idaho in 1991) was originally opened by the Wood River Presbytery and residents of Caldwell in 1891 as an academy or high school. (College students were not yet available.) The leading advocate was William Judson Boone, local Presbyterian pastor and president of the college until his death in 1936. Among the initial faculty were John T. Morrison and Frank Steunenberg; both later became Idaho governors. (Former governor Robert Smylie would later serve as acting president.) College classes were first offered in 1906 and the first degree was granted in 1911. Secondary-level classes were discontinued in 1919. From then on, the college was a four-year, nonsectarian liberal-arts school. By 1990 the school, with 560 students, was granting bachelor degrees in thirty subjects and master's degrees in education and counseling.

Perhaps the most famous academic personality connected with the college (and with the University of Idaho) was Lawrence Henry Gipson. Born in Greeley, Colorado, in 1880, Gipson moved in 1893 with his parents to Caldwell, where his father published *Commonwealth of Idaho* and *Gem State Rural*, grew fruits and horticultural products, and managed the business of the Caldwell Real Estate and Water Company. Young Gipson learned the printer's trade and worked in the printing shop of the *Caldwell Tribune* and his father's *Gem State Rural* until he

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was sixteen, when he matriculated at the college. He remained two years and in 1899 transferred to the University of Idaho, where there were 106 students in the collegiate department and 120 in the preparatory school. Gipson took the classical course required for the A.B. degree, which meant Greek, Latin, English literature, history, mathematics, and political economy.

Gipson received his A.B. in 1903, was recognized as the class poet, and remained another year at the university to teach history and economics in the Preparatory Department. In 1904, he was designated Idaho's first Rhodes Scholar. Indeed, he was a member of the first delegation of Rhodes Scholars to attend Oxford University, one of forty-two to sail for England from the United States. After studying English history at Oxford, Gipson earned a doctorate at Yale and went on to become one of America's premier historians. He returned to the College of Idaho as an instructor and in 1907 accepted a post at the University of Idaho as a professor of history. In 1910 he was, like so many Idaho scholars, drawn to the East, to Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he spent the rest of his life working on a fifteen-volume history of *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*—the last volume of which was published in 1971, just before his death at the age of ninety-one. His magnum opus was called by one American historian "the greatest single work by an American historian of our time. . . . A work of synthesis on a scale that few historians could have the temerity to attempt or the longevity to complete."[5] The work won the Pulitzer Prize. He was given an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters from the University of Idaho in 1953 and an honorary D. Litt. from the College of Idaho in 1969.

NORTHWEST NAZARENE COLLEGE. Founded at Nampa in 1913 as an elementary school, Northwest Nazarene began to offer high school and college courses in 1915. The school was accredited as a junior college in 1931 and fully ac-

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credited as a four-year school in 1937. The goal of the college is "to develop a Christian perspective on life and to encourage Christian commitment within the philosophy and framework of genuine scholarship." Although those of the Nazarene faith dominate the student population, almost every major Christian denomination is represented and students are not required to be church members. The college has six academic divisions: fine arts, language and literature, mathematics and natural science, philosophy and religion, professional studies, and social science. It has a well-earned reputation in debate. Enrollment in NNC in 1990 was 1,350 students.

BOISE BIBLE COLLEGE. Organized by Boise First Church of Christ in 1945 to train preachers, missionaries, and teachers, Boise Bible College offers bachelors of science and arts degrees. The nondenominational school had eighty students in 1990.

MUSEUMS. Other centers of learning in the state include the following museums:

Idaho State Historical Museum, Boise, with richly detailed interiors and exhibits telling Idaho's story in a clear and interesting manner;

Idaho Museum of Natural History, in Pocatello, depicting natural history of Idaho and the West, with animated dinosaurs;

Herrett Museum, in Twin Falls, featuring Idaho anthropology;

Latah County Historical Society, Moscow, with exhibits and a frequently used research library;

Boise Art Museum, offering twenty exhibitions annually, encompassing a wide range of historical and contemporary home and educational programs, lectures, films, art classes, and docent-guided tours.

In addition, many counties and communities have museums

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that feature local and regional history, pioneer relics, wildlife specimens, fossils, works of art, artifacts, books and newspapers, native American and ethnic memorabilia, railroad cars, mining equipment, photographs, and farm machinery.

Outside observers have pointed out the financial cost to a population of 1 million people as they attempt to maintain three first-rate universities, Lewis-Clark, two junior colleges, and several private colleges. The investment this involves inevitably dilutes to some extent the excellence of the universities. But the political reality of the burden of higher education can be explained by the state's geography. Centers of population that are distant from a college or university want one of their own, and they want it to be a good one. Idahoans face a challenge as they continue to support, via taxes and donations, the impressive educational system they have devised to fill the needs of Idaho's citizens.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT: SOURCES

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142.

143.

142. Ethel Cutler's pupils at Central School, Preston, 1910, gathered in front of the Oneida Stake Academy for a photograph. LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES PH 224.

143. The University of Idaho, founded in 1890, attracted students in a variety of disciplines including these 1898 female students in the Home Economics Laboratory, Ridenbaugh Hall. ISHS 65–169.1.

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144. The Idaho State University campus in 1901. IDAHO STATE UNIVERSITY.

145. The Idaho State University campus in 1991. IDAHO STATE UNIVERSITY.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

Idaho's Amazing Entrepreneurs

AUDACIOUS men and women who risk their energy and sometimes their own capital to introduce new products, organize new businesses, and launch new processes are called entrepreneurs. They are noteworthy because, in pursuing their own motives and interests, they also provide jobs and income, open up markets, and introduce improved ways of doing things. Except for certain examples of collective endeavor—roads, canals, dams, airports, railroads, and public buildings—Idaho's growth and development have been the result of individual decisions to exploit natural resources, initiate new businesses, build new plants, and produce goods and services that people are willing to purchase. The flexibility and freedom of American institutions have offered opportunities for Idahoans—idealists, inventors, innovators, organizers, financiers, or just ambitious young people—to serve themselves, their families, and the citizens of the state, nation, and world.

There was an unprecedented blossoming of Idaho entrepre-

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neurship in the late 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. A few men (the "giants" seem to have been men, but women also achieved significant entrepreneurial gains) amazed the editors of *The Wall Street Journal*, *Fortune*, *Forbes*, *Business Week*, *Dun's Review*, and other prominent national business newspapers and magazines. Robert Smylie, who was governor during most of these years (1955–66), attributed Idaho's unexpected rise to business prominence to three factors: the increased ability of Idaho banks to put together major loans, the establishment of the Idaho Department of Commerce and Development in 1957, and the newfound confidence of Idaho capitalists in promoting development in the decades after World War II.[1]

This period from 1955 to 1980 was a critical turning point in the state's economic life—a climacteric, a decisive period in the development of Idaho's commerce and industry. The principals, each of whom has maintained a healthy relationship with the growing community, have built personal economic empires. The free-wheeling Idaho society has fostered the ultimate expression of such personalities and goals.

BOISE CASCADE

Late in 1956, officials of Boise Payette Lumber Company replaced John Aram as president with thirty-six-year-old Robert V. Hansberger, manager of a small pulp mill at Albany, Oregon. A farm-born engineering graduate of the University of Minnesota with a subsequent MBA from Harvard, Hansberger had worked as an assistant to the executive vice president, divisional chief engineer, sales executive, and budget director for Container Corporation of America in Chicago until 1954, when he went west to manage the lumber and paper firm that later became Western Kraft.

At the time Hansberger became president of Boise Payette the lumber industry, the paper industry, and the company were

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burdened with overcapacity, declining prices, and intense competition. In fact, Boise Payette, as mentioned in Chapter Twenty-six, was cutting its timber in preparation for liquidation. An optimist and an aggressive leader, Hansberger, who looked a little like movie star Yul Bryner, persuaded the stockholders to go into debt to build a pulp and paper mill that could make use of the waste wood chips and sawdust. Boise Payette did not have the capital assets to build the mill, nor enough waste wood to feed it. Undaunted, Hansberger pored over maps, devised a method to obtain control of large stretches of timberlands in southwestern Idaho and south-central Washington, and proposed a merger with two other lumber companies holding substantial acreages that faced the same problems as Boise Payette. One of the companies, Valsetz Lumber Company, declined the offer; the other, Cascade Lumber Company of Yakima, Washington, agreed. Boise Cascade Corporation was the result. Two years later Valsetz also joined.

Boise Cascade borrowed $7 million to build a small pulp and paper mill and a corrugated-box plant on the Columbia River at Wallula, Washington, close to the apple, pea, and potato growers who were ready carton customers. Hansberger next acquired a chain of forty-one lumberyards in Washington and northern Idaho. He also constructed a plant at Burley to make corrugated shipping containers for the nation's frozen potato products industry. Acquisitions proceeded rapidly, and within ten years Boise Cascade, an almost totally integrated forest-products business—that is, owning everything from trees to trucks that hauled the finished products—was one of the nation's fastest-growing companies. In 1965 the company was selling more than $400 million worth of products and earning $17 million, compared with $35 million in sales and $2 million in profits in 1955. By 1965 the company had 60 manufacturing plants and 104 retail and wholesale distribution centers in the United States, in addition to interests in mills and plants in six other

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countries. To keep the enterprise moving forward, Hansberger was in the air much of the time. The company had two planes and four pilots, and Hansberger kept them busy. As a *Business Week* writer who followed him around for a week in 1963 reported: "It is not unusual for him to do business in San Francisco one day, fly all night to New York, and have his secretary and staff working simultaneously with him so that he can lay down in New York in the morning the results of the previous day's business in San Francisco."[2]

Bob Hansberger guided Boise Cascade until 1972. By that time the company had expanded thirtyfold and its annual sales reached more than $1.6 billion. Hansberger had hired dozens of ambitious MBA graduates from Harvard and Stanford, he had given them considerable leeway in what was called "free-form" management, and he had demonstrated a financial wizardry that eastern brokers had not expected from an Idahoan. In its expansion, however, the revitalized company had ventured into land development and home-building in California, an investment that turned into a disaster. The company was forced to write off more than $300 million in assets in 1971–72 and Hansberger resigned. Having fallen in love with Idaho, Hansberger remained in Boise to oversee interests combined under Futura Industries Corporation that included two metal-fabricating firms, several dude ranches, and part ownership of a golf-equipment manufacturing operation.

Boise Cascade chose as its new leader John B. Fery, its forty-four-year-old executive vice-president. Within two years Fery had the company back in the black, insisting that Boise Cascade concentrate on its basic line of business—timber operations—"businesses we know something about." Grandson of the Austrian-born pioneer artist John Fery, who is mentioned in Chapter Thirty, and the son of a forester, Fery grew up in western Washington, graduated from the University of Washington and Stanford, and then went to work for Boise Cascade under Hansberger. Overcoming its financial setbacks of the early

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1970s, Boise Cascade, under Fery's leadership, emerged as one of the nation's premier forest-products companies. Its operations in the 1980s included an annual 3-million-ton paper industry, a large carton and corrugated-container division, an office-products division, and a lumber products and residential-construction section that accounted for sales of $4 billion in 1990. Plants and outlets in thirty-five states, as well as in Canada and Europe, included sixteen sawmills, fourteen plywood producers, fourteen paper mills, and twenty-two container factories. The company employed 27,000 workers. Boise Cascade owned 3 million acres of timberland and worked several million additional leased or contracted acres.

Boise Cascade's and Potlatch Forest, Inc.'s, prospects were greatly enhanced when University of Idaho scientists, in cooperation with the Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management, and these major companies, bred taller yellow pine seedlings with a higher survival rate and white pine seedlings capable of resisting blister rust and other diseases. Genetic research introduced straighter trees that provided superior lumber. Proven tree-seed farming methods developed improved varieties for restocking burned or cutover lands. Congress facilitated the implementation of some of these changes with the adoption of national forest management legislation in 1976.[3]

John Fery, who is committed not only to Boise Cascade but to Idaho's quality of life, has been a strong supporter of the Boise Future Foundation at Boise State University and the Idaho Community Foundation, a recently organized funding vehicle for Idaho's social, educational, and cultural needs. An avid outdoorsman, Fery describes Idaho as "a land of high altitudes and low multitudes."[4]

J. R. SIMPLOT COMPANY

As noted in Chapter Twenty-four, John Richard (J. R.) Simplot got an early start in business. As a young teenager he

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sorted potatoes for a local firm of potato buyers, fed cull potatoes to a drove of pigs he bought, purchased seed potatoes and rented land to grow the crop, and with a partner bought an electrically driven potato sorter in Ashton. The two later flipped a coin to see which one would keep it. Simplot won the toss. Physically strong, vigorous, quick to move and decisive in manner, he was as much at home on a horse as in an executive suite. The fiery competitor soon became the biggest rancher and feedlot operator along the Snake River Plain. By the end of World War II, as described earlier, he had become the nation's largest supplier of dehydrated potatoes and operated a million-dollar fertilizer plant at Pocatello.

In 1957, the same year Hansberger founded Boise Cascade, Simplot met Ray Kroc of McDonald's Fast Foods Restaurants. Simplot assured Kroc that he could make frozen french fries as tasty as fresh ones. The two struck a deal and Simplot has supplied about 80 percent of the fries served by McDonald's in the years since.

Wall Street could not believe that an empire as large as the one "Jack built" could have been based on potatoes. By the end of the 1960s Simplot's private conglomerate included six potato plants (the three largest at Burley, Heyburn, and Caldwell); two immense fertilizer plants; and many mining operations, ranches, and other enterprises in thirty-six states, Canada, and Europe and Asia. He processed more "spuds"—2.5 million pounds, enough to fill sixty freight cars, daily—than anyone else in the world. He also grew more wool and potatoes, ran more cattle (270,000) and sheep, owned more land (160,000 acres), and employed more people (6,600) than any other person in Idaho. With sales of $200 million per month, his personal wealth was estimated by *Fortune* at $200 million. He has never found it necessary to "go public." He has made the decisions, and he has enjoyed doing so. Simplot is a singer, as anyone who listens to him skiing down a slope or riding up a moun-

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tain at the break of day can testify. He also hunts, fishes, golfs, swims, and sails. He has an infectious sense of humor, and a booming voice; he does not smoke and seldom takes a drink. He serves on the board of several private and public corporations.

In 1978 Simplot expanded from fries to "chips." As the computer industry was getting started he made a major investment in Micron Technology Inc., a manufacturer of memory chips. Still resisting the sale of his $1.8 billion-a-year Idaho agribusiness, Simplot, who in 1990 was eighty-two, and whom *Fortune* regards as the richest man in Idaho, says simply, "I'm just an old farmer who's been a little lucky. . . . The smartest thing I did was hang on—not sell out—just keep building things bigger and bigger."[5]

Because of Esther Simplot's interest in the arts (she had pursued an opera career in New York before her marriage to Simplot in 1972), the Simplots have suported the Boise Opera, the Boise Art Museum, and the American Festival Ballet. Esther Simplot has spearheaded efforts to establish a permanent home or institute for the performing arts in Boise—a place where dance, opera, and music groups can share administrative costs and practice facilities.

ORE-IDA FOODS, INC.

In 1934 brothers Nephi and Golden Grigg of Nampa developed land on the Vale (Oregon) Irrigation Project and grew sweet corn that they sold door-to-door. At the end of World War II they joined with Ross E. Butler, a native of Manard (near Fairfield) and graduate of the University of Idaho, to form Grigg Bros. Produce; they bought transport trucks and hauled the produce to California. Contracting with Oregon and Idaho farmers to grow their products, they shipped freshly packed corn to Portland, Salt Lake City, and Butte. By 1948 the Grigg Brothers Produce Company was shipping corn to Washington, D.C., New

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York City, and Los Angeles. In 1949 the Griggs leased a bankrupt quick-freeze plant in Ontario, Oregon, to freeze corn on the cob; two years later they purchased the plant and formed Oregon Frozen Foods Company. To extend their processing season they added potatoes to the frozen line; spuds were the major money crop in eastern Oregon as well as in southwestern Idaho. As their methods of processing and marketing became more sophisticated, the Griggs's business flourished. With 100 employees they formed Ore-Ida Potato Products, Inc., in 1952. They also organized the Oregon Feeding Company to use the waste from the plant as livestock feed.

Starting with raw potatoes, the company took the produce from processing to quick freezing, to zero storage, and finally to national markets—the beginning of frozen french-fried potato production. Ore-Ida started researching original and new products. In addition to regular-cut and crinkle-cut french fries and shredded and southern-style hash browns, in 1953 they developed "Tater Tots," potato puffs that are small round bite-size shredded potatoes which can be baked in an oven to a golden brown, fried, or deep-fried, with natural, bacon, or onion flavoring. They became enormously popular with restaurants and the general public.

In 1961, when Ore-Ida was producing one-fourth of the nation's 350 million pounds of finished potato products, and the 1,300 employees were receiving $3 million in pay, the company went public under the name Ore-Ida Foods, Inc. That year a $2-million plant was added in Burley; a second Burley facility opened in 1964. In 1962 the product line was expanded by processing and marketing french-fried onion rings and fresh-frozen chopped Idaho-grown onions. Ore-Ida was named as the official supplier of instant flake and quick-frozen potatoes to the Century 21 exposition at the 1962 Seattle World's Fair. Sales continued to increase, to $31 million in 1964, with a net income of $1.3 million. The company now looked to expansion into the Midwest and East.

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In an attempt to revive the Michigan potato industry, Ore-Ida contracted for potato acreage around Greenville, Michigan, and transferred several Idaho and Washington farmers and their families there to grow russet Burbank potatoes. A grower-exchange program was initiated in which selected Idaho and Michigan farmers were transported in the company plane from one state to the other to observe farming techniques and solve special problems. The company began construction on a processing plant at Greenville on land donated by the city. Michigan-grown potatoes started through the factory in August 1965.

Later in 1965 the Griggs and other investors exchanged their interests in the growing company for stock in the Pittsburgh-based H. J. Heinz Company, "The King of Ketchup." The company would now operate as a wholly owned Heinz subsidiary under the name Ore-Idaho Foods, Inc. The former management would remain for at least two years. In a revolutionary expansion move, the new Ore-Ida established a national retail brand for its frozen potato products. Emphasis was placed on commercial sales to restaurants and institutions rather than the consuming public. The brand became synonymous with retail frozen potatoes, and by 1970 annual income had surpassed $175 million. Heinz believed in decentralized management and left most of the direction to loyal Ore-Ida officials.

In 1968 Boise became the company's new home, locating the headquarters close to the producing area and to the necessary transportation facilities. In 1979, when the company built its own distinctive headquarters in the Parkcenter office development along the Boise River, Ore-Ida had become the nation's largest diversified frozen-food company with more than 350 separate items from frozen pizzas to cookies to vegetables. Potato products accounted for three-fourths of the selections. By 1990 the company employed more than 4,000. The company began sponsorship in 1984 of Ore-Ida's Women's Challenge, a world-class cycling competition solely for women.[6]

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ALBERTSON'S

Joseph A. Albertson, who came with his parents from Oklahoma to Caldwell at age three, worked as a young man on a ranch, cleared land of sagebrush six feet high, and milked cows (six each night and morning). In 1927 at the age of twenty-one he was hired by Safeway, where he remained twelve years, managing stores in Boise, western Kansas, Emmett, Meridian, and Ogden, Utah. In 1939 Albertson joined L. S. Skaggs with a combined investment of $25,000 and they established their own self-service store. Albertson used his own $5,000 in savings and borrowed $7,500 from his aunt to fulfill his half of the bargain. When the first store opened in Boise, Albertson—the store operator—worked eighteen hours a day. To compete with the six Safeway stores in the Boise area, he offered his customers extras: the first in-store bakery, the first magazine rack, automatic doughnut and popcorn machines, and ice cream made by Albertson right on the store premises. He sold the largest ice cream cones in the area, survived a five-month price war, and ended up with a healthy profit. Within a year Albertson-Skaggs opened a second store at Nampa and a third in Boise. The nucleus of a supermarket chain was established.

The Albertson-Skaggs partnership was dissolved in 1945 and Albertson's was incorporated. By 1959, when the corporation went public, Albertson's had fifty-one stores, mostly in the Far West. The corporation had divisions for chickens and turkeys, a brooder farm and an egg farm. In 1970 Albertson's formed a partnership with Skaggs Drug Stores—which originated in the 1915 American Falls venture described in Chapter Twenty-two —to operate combination food-drug units. The football-field-sized stores, stocked with 30,000 items, were immensely successful. Shoppers not only bought food but also kept pushing their carts up and down other aisles, picking off cosmetics, perfumes, pharmacy products, camera supplies, electrical equipment—goods with higher profit margins. Ironically, this blend-

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ing of food and drugs in one store was so successful that after seven years the two firms divided their fifty-eight jumbo-size stores in what they called an "amicable separation." Albertson's thereafter maintained twenty-nine of these formerly joint stores in the West and Southeast.

Albertson's continued to build and add stores and in 1974 reached its first $1 billion in sales. By the end of 1978 the figure surpassed $2 billion, and in 1983 sales exceeded $4 billion. By 1985 the firm employed 35,000 people and operated 434 retail outlets in 17 states. These included 81 superstores, 90 combination food-drug units, and 263 conventional supermarkets and other stores. By 1990 Albertson's was the sixth largest supermarket company in the nation and the nineteenth largest merchandising firm. The company operated 540 stores in seventeen western and southern states, employed 55,000 people, and grossed $7 billion.

Joe Albertson's success may be attributed to four factors. He worked hard; he believed in hiring high-quality executives and letting them run the company; he admonished all to give tender, loving care to customers; and he tried to run a big store that had low prices, convenience, and wide selection, and at the same time a specialty store in terms of quality, personal service, and specialized attention.

Albertson, who died in 1993, and his wife, Kathryn, whom he married in 1929, have made generous gifts to many Idaho philanthropic causes.

The other large merchandising firm, Safeway Stores, Inc., goes back to Marion Barton Skaggs and his grocery store in American Falls in 1915. In 1926 he merged his 428 stores with Sam Seelig's California-based business to form Safeway. By 1931 there were 3,500 retail outlets. The firm moved overseas in the 1960s with store operations in Great Britain, Germany, and Australia. By the 1970s Safeway was the world's largest food retailer.

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MORRISON-KNUDSEN

Harry W. Morrison, perhaps the most world famous of all of Idaho's entrepreneurs, was a dynamo and a superb organizer who contracted for many substantial projects—in Idaho and elsewhere. But contractors, unlike the industrial and mercantile executives described above, do not turn out the same product or service twice. No two buildings, bridges, roads, or dams are alike. The contractor sets up a factory to make one product in one place at one time, then dismantles it completely when he has finished. His bidding is risky and the inevitable gains and losses have to be spread over a number of jobs.

Major projects may go on for several years. Even before the first shovelful of earth is turned, the contractor has to establish a firm price for the job—with only a glimmer of what may happen to wages and the costs of material. One serious mistake in judging costs can finish his company.[7]

A contractor, of whom Harry Morrison was surely one of the top two or three in the nation, has to be a construction stiff, finance man, designer, politician, and human-relations expert. He has to know more engineering than his engineers, more about costs than his accountants, be his own chief salesman, know the details on progress at dozens of different projects, travel 200,000 miles a year, and survive on a few hours of sleep each night. "He had to be able to deal, equally well, with bankers, working stiffs, clients, project engineers, his competition, and officials of foreign governments. If he slips up anywhere along the line, he doesn't stay big."[8]

Morrison enjoyed his work; he claimed it was his hobby, but he also devoured mystery novels, organized barbershop quartets, and sang and played the guitar dressed in a white suit at company picnics in Municipal Park in Boise. With his own private plane, Morrison was "on the go" 80 percent of the time. His wife of forty-three years, Ann Daly, who was constantly at his

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side and traveled the globe to visit the far-flung projects of the company, was born and raised in Idaho and published a book of her travels, *Those Were the Days* (1951), which *Time* described as "a letter from home to 5,000 children spread around the world." In Ann Morrison Park in Boise is a bronze plaque with the inscription: "She knew the shrines, the people, the cities of faraway lands . . . yet dearest of all was this, her home, the place she knew as Boise the Beautiful." After her death in 1957, Harry married Velma Shannon; she was largely responsible for the opening of the Morrison Center for the Performing Arts in Boise in 1984.

Morris H. Knudsen, who was the first president of the firm, relinquished the presidency to Morrison in 1939; Morrison retained the position until 1960, when he became chairman of the board, and he served in that capacity until 1968.

Having started at the bottom, Morrison, the younger of the two men, knew his business from the ground up; he was willing to take risks on bidding for contracts; he worked for the firm; he was not insulated by a heavy organization; and he was never far from the flying dirt. Morrison got along well with labor because he was loyal to the company's employees, just as he expected them to be loyal to their boss. He was socially mobile; that is, he easily made the shift from the excavation site to the embassy reception.[9]

During the 1960s and 1970s, Morrison-Knudsen continued to expand in its traditional work—the large-scale, complex construction jobs. In 1964, for example, M-K's restless, far-flung organization was building something—a factory, a missile base, a pipeline, an airport, a power plant, tunnels, a bridge, a dam—at 317 locations in the United States and thirty-two other countries.[10] In 1964 the company recorded about $320 million in gross revenue.

Morrison-Knudsen also became involved in shipbuilding, contract coal mining, commercial real estate development, coat-

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ing steel pipe for offshore oil and natural-gas lines, aircraft maintenance and repair, locomotive rebuilding, fabrication of steel, and power-generating units. A subsidiary built a 125-acre industrial park and office complex that eventually housed Ore-Ida, Albertson's, and other Boise businesses.

With many projects worldwide, M-K decided in 1969 to centralize most of its international management operations in a massive headquarters complex in Boise. With approximately 30,000 employees in 1990, about half international and half domestic, the M-K operation grossed $2 billion per year—more than double the revenues of Idaho's state government. Morrison died in 1971, aged eighty-five. *Time* magazine called him "the man who has done more than anyone else to change the face of the earth."[11]

Subsequent presidents of Morrison-Knudsen have included John Bonny, Bertram L. Perkins, William H. McMurren, William J. Deasy, and William M. Agee. Agee, who was president in Idaho's Centennial year, grew up in Boise near J. R. Simplot and took his first corporate plane ride on a DC-3 with Harry Morrison; Morrison-Knudsen had an interest in Agee's father's steel fabrication business. A graduate of the University of Idaho with an MBA from Harvard, Agee was initially employed in the accounting department at Albertson's, then worked for Robert Hansberger in the expanding days of Boise Cascade. He was thus under the influence of several of Idaho's extraordinary entrepreneurs. Agee, who became chief executive officer of Bendix Corporation when he was only thirty-eight, is expanding M-K's interests into light-rail transportation, waste disposal, and the design and construction of the Super Collider.

In June 1991 the Texas High Speed Rail Authority picked Texas TGV, a consortium led by Morrison-Knudsen, to build the 200-mph train line connecting the state's largest cities—and to build the $6-billion project without public money. During the same month M-K was chosen to lead a $1-billion joint venture to design, build, and operate a toll road that would be the main

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route between metropolitan Denver and the new Denver International Airport, which was scheduled to open in 1993.

SUN VALLEY

In 1936 W. Averell Harriman developed Sun Valley as an attraction for national and international luminaries—European and Asian royalty; stars of screen, opera, and ballet; nationally famed authors and sportspersons. The resort featured the first "chair-type lifts" in the world, and a summer season was opened in 1938 that offered swimming, horseback riding, fishing, hunting, archery, tennis, and a nine-hole golf course. A stewardship of Union Pacific Railroad, the resort was noted for its high quality accommodations, food, entertainment, and sports, but it was not a money-maker. The corporation is said to have lost a half-million dollars each year—a fine tax write-off but still no delight to the board of directors.

In 1964 Union Pacific asked the Janss Corporation to assess the condition of the Sun Valley complex and present plans for a major restoration. Janss estimated that a total facelift would cost $6 million, a price Union Pacific was unwilling to pay to revive a property that had never yielded a profit. Bill Janss, who thought the potential was good, made the railroad an undisclosed offer; Union Pacific accepted.

Janss, a champion skier, took over sole ownership in 1968 and changed the tone of the resort from a gathering place of the rich and famous to an appealing area where the average family would want to spend their vacation. Condominiums were built near the lodge (the first condominiums in Idaho), a new mall was built to make the resort more self-sufficient, new runs were built, and new lifts installed. In 1977 Janss sold the Sun Valley Corporation to Earl Holding, native of Salt Lake City and president of Little America Hotels and Resorts and an executive of Sinclair Oil Corporation. Holding and his wife, Carol Orme Holding, who worked with him on the project, suspended the

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building policy; there would be no more condominiums or private residences constructed within the complex. Thousands of trees and shrubs were planted along ponds and housing areas, restaurants were renovated, the lodge was completely reroofed, and the remodeled lodge dining room was furnished with crystal chandeliers from Venice and silk wall coverings and draperies from England. All the rooms were remodeled and refurnished, marble bathrooms emplaced, and electric heat and television cables installed in each room. The ski lifts, which include three high-speed quad lifts, in 1990 could transport 22,000 people each hour. Excellent ski instructors are available, horse trainers direct dressage exercises, swimmers enjoy the outdoor heated pools (with water maintained at 100 degrees for winter comfort), hikers scale the mountains, and skaters skim over the ice at the rink. There are dazzling ice shows, sleigh rides are popular, and shoppers fill the mall. There are several elegant restaurants on Mt. Baldy.

Sun Valley Resort has the world's largest automated snowmaking system, all computerized, which covers 435 acres—over half the groomed area on Mt. Baldy. The sophisticated system has built-in temperature and humidity control and three cooling towers that cool 2,800 gallons of water per minute to thirty-two degrees or less. Water from the Warm Springs side of the mountain and a private well on the river side is processed by the $8-million machine to create consistently good snow conditions from a dense base to a very light powder. The system is reliable and gives the resort confidence in making reservations for guests to ski.[12]

TRUS-JOIST CORPORATION AND COEUR D'ALENE RESORT

Arthur Troutner, an architect and self-taught engineer who had built a number of futuristic edifices in the Boise and Sun

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Valley areas, invented an open-web, lightweight truss or joist that combined wood with webbing of hollow steel tubing. In 1960 he joined with Harold Thomas, a forester who owned a business selling lumber and glue-laminated beams, to form the Trus-Joist Corporation. The firm built headquarters in Boise in 1964. Further inventions by Troutner have resulted in a joist series and a lumber manufactured with veneer running in parallel grain permanently bonded under heat and pressure in a continuous process. The high-grade laminated structural product is marketed directly to builders of roofs, floors, and windows. The firm's special lumber is used in the electric-utility industry for transmission towers, cross arms, and transformer racks; concrete forming; highway signposts; furniture frames; bleacher seats; and spars for crop-dusting airplanes. By 1990 TJ International, as the company was renamed, had 1,500 employees at its thirteen plants in the United States and others in Canada and Asia.[13] Its president since 1979 is Walter C. Minnick, a native of Walla Walla, Washington, who had earlier served as an assistant to the President of the United States. Minnick has also been active in the Bogus Basin Recreation Association, The Wilderness Society, Boise Future Foundation, Idaho Conservation League, and the Nature Conservancy.

The enterprise and ambitious building plans of a father-and-son team, Burl and Duane Hagadone, remade central Coeur d'Alene. In the early 1930s Burl Hagadone, a native of Kootenai County whose family moved to Coeur d'Alene when he was a young boy, became publisher of the *Coeur d'Alene Press*. He also was co-owner and president of publishing companies in The Dalles, Oregon; Flagstaff, Arizona; and Santa Maria, California; and joined with Scripps League Newspapers in the operation of radio stations at Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, and Pocatello. In addition, he owned part of Inland Empire Stores in Kellogg and Wallace and Newport, Washington. As editor and investor he pioneered the development of irrigation in north Idaho and the

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introduction of natural gas as a source of energy. His son Duane—at times a controversial figure—inherited the *Coeur d'Alene Press* and other holdings; collected additional properties in the area, including a large apartment complex; and built the Coeur d'Alene Resort—a world-class hotel, restaurant, and convention center with a floating golf course out on the lake. The $60-million Coeur d'Alene Resort blends big-city lifestyle with an Idaho setting rich in natural beauty and outdoor attractions. Hagadone also is part owner of other accommodations in northern Idaho and has provided assistance to the Kutenai tribe in constructing and operating a prize-winning inn in Bonners Ferry. The Coeur d'Alene Resort and nearby Silver Mountain ski area are to northern Idaho what Sun Valley is to southern Idaho.

IDAHO POWER COMPANY

Political scientists have often noted that one of the most powerful political forces in the Gem State is the Idaho Power Company. The company captured the national spotlight in the 1960s during the Hells Canyon public/private power conflict. The story of Idaho Power is centered on Sidney Zollicoffer Mitchell, who grew up on a plantation in Dadeville, Alabama. When he was seventeen, Mitchell was appointed to the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis; he graduated in 1883 and spent two years at sea during which time he installed an incandescent lighting system on the U.S.S. *Trenton*. In 1885, he resigned his commission to work for Thomas A. Edison, who had just opened his Pearl Street electric generating plant in New York City. After intensive training in electric-current generation technique and management in the infant electric-power industry, Mitchell moved to Seattle as sales agent of the Edison Electric Light Company for the Pacific Northwest. Since the Northwest had no electric plants that could use Edison's equipment, Mitchell,

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who was only twenty-three, proceeded to organize electric companies and help them install the generators, transformers, motors, and control apparatus he was marketing. He established the Northwest Electric Supply and Construction Company, which, in the next two years, organized electric lighting companies in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and British Columbia.

Mitchell built two early plants in Idaho, at Hailey and on the Ridenbaugh Canal in Boise, both in 1887.[14] In 1892 the Edison companies merged with Thomson-Houston Company to form the General Electric Company, which Mitchell joined. In 1905, with General Electric's backing, Mitchell set up a holding company, the Electric Bond & Share Company, and served as its president until his retirement in 1933. In return for a fee, Electric Bond & Share, which became the largest holding company in the industry, provided financial, managerial, accounting, and technical assistance to operating companies that served small towns and cities. Drawing on his experience in the Pacific Northwest, Mitchell consolidated a number of small, contiguous operating companies, enabling them to achieve economies through common management to take advantage of large, centrally located turbine generators that could handle diverse "load" conditions.

An example of the service of Electric Bond & Share was the organization in 1915 of Idaho Power Company. In common with the proliferation of electric facilities elsewhere in the nation, plants were built with money from promoters in Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York, and New England to serve many new communities along the Snake River Plain. Companies were established, they were acquired by other companies, and they provided power for the operation of irrigation pumps, concentrating mills, interurban railways, and businesses and homes in the growing towns and cities. Between ruthless competition and the heavy costs in acquiring new technology, most of the companies ended up in receivership. The 7,000 investors in the

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bankrupt companies could pocket their losses or work out a combination that would furnish hope of recompense.

Dismayed that the whole economy of southern Idaho was in danger, based as it was on irrigation, Calvin Cobb, editor of the Boise *Idaho Statesman*, appealed to Mitchell (whom he had known since 1887) to work out a reorganization. Ten unrelated generating units stretched from American Falls to Rupert, Burley, Twin Falls, Buhl, Castleford, and on to Mountain Home, Boise, Nampa, Caldwell, Payette, and Weiser and ultimately connected with the coastal service in Portland. The earnings of these companies that served 31,000 business and residential customers were miniscule—far less than the interest charges on their bonds. Seven of the companies, with outstanding securities having a face value of $49 million, were in receivership in the U.S. District Court in Boise; the other three, seriously wounded, were expected to follow.

Mitchell recommended a complete integration of all the companies and elimination of destructive competition, duplicated facilities, and personnel. The new company would take title to the property of all the companies free and clear of existing liens so financing could be raised. Mitchell insisted that the original directors of Idaho Power be chosen by vote of the customers and that the president be elected by residents of the communities served. In this way the common Idaho fear of being dominated by Wall Street—something of a "folk enemy"—would be avoided. The first president of Idaho Power was Frank F. Johnson, a vice president of Boise City National Bank, who ran Idaho Power until his death twenty-five years later.

Johnson, who was reared in Colorado as the son of a surveyor and mining engineer, moved to Idaho in 1887 when he was twenty-five and served as assistant cashier of the Bank of Murray. He later established the Bank of North Idaho at Murray; moved to Wallace, where he founded the First National Bank of Wallace; and removed to Boise in 1910 to serve as cashier and vice president of Boise City National Bank. He helped organize

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the First National Bank of Twin Falls and the Farmers State Bank of Nez Perce. Under the expert counsel of Sidney Mitchell, Johnson's focus was to reconcile the various business, financial, and regional interests involved in the operation of Idaho Power. Once the stockholders and bondholders had been induced to participate, Idaho Power Company took title to all the properties of the predecessor companies on July 31, 1916. The principal role of Electric Bond & Share was that of an investment engineer and banker. The reorganization was a success. Since then the company has furnished unlimited power to the residents of Idaho at low rates.

After World War II Idaho Power built six dams along the Snake River and in 1955, led by Tom Roach, was awarded federal licenses to create dams at Brownlee, Oxbow, and Hells Canyon. The company also cooperated in providing power to water the arid land of the Snake River Plain by pumping from the Snake River as well as from underground sources. By the mid-1980s nearly 2 million acres were under irrigation pumping. Idaho Power's cheap hydro power has helped develop one of the nation's largest irrigation empires and promoted the development of industrial products from agricultural crops. The utility has established parks and recreation areas at dam sites and built nesting places on its high-voltage lines for birds of prey. It funds fish hatcheries that protect and increase the runs of salmon and steelhead from the Pacific Ocean to their spawning grounds in the central Idaho mountains.

Idaho is also served by Utah Power and Light, which has four plants in Idaho; Washington Water Power Company, with customers in northern Idaho; Pacific Power and Light, with customers in the Sandpoint area; Citizens Utilities Company, serving Wallace; and several municipal and cooperative systems, including those of Idaho Falls, Weiser, Soda Springs, Bonners Ferry, and the towns of Burley, Declo, Heyburn, Rupert, and Albion.

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LESS DRAMATIC, SMALLER ENTERPRISES

In 1900 George L. Crookham II married Grace Steunenberg, a sister of Governor Frank Steunenberg, and in 1911 founded a seed business in Caldwell. Popcorn was first featured; sweet corn seed and onion seed were soon added. By 1931 the firm ranked first in the nation in the production of hybrid sweet corn seed, all produced in Treasure Valley.

In 1929 George Crookham III assumed ownership of the company and developed additional hybrids. He also served as Caldwell mayor, as a state legislator, and as chairman of the Idaho Water Resource Board. By 1990 the Crookham Company was shipping 6 million pounds a year to seed companies in the United States and to many countries in Europe and Asia. Crookham allocates about $1 million a year to research, constantly improving hybrid products. In addition to sweet corn, the company is also first in the nation in the production of hybrid popcorn seed, hybrid onion seed, hybrid carrot seed, and lettuce seed. New corn hybrids represent a major breakthrough, being sweeter than other varieties and having a shelf life of fifteen days.[15]

Idaho's other large seed business, Rogers Brothers Seed Company, now Rogers NK Seed Company, originated in New York in 1876 and built the nation's best-equipped seed plant at Idaho Falls in 1911. Other large seed plants were subsequently constructed in Twin Falls and Nampa. Southern Idaho is an excellent area for seed production because the dry climate produces disease-free seed of exceptional quality. In 1990, the Company expanded its focus beyond large seed when it merged with the Vegetable Seed Division of Northrup King, a sister company. Now, in addition to peas, beans, corn, and dry beans, Rogers NK is a leading supplier of seed for thirteen small seeded crops including broccoli, brussels sprouts, cabbage,

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cantaloupe, carrots, cauliflower, cucumbers, peppers, radish, spinach, squash, tomatoes, and watermelon. The company has developed numerous new varieties that meet users' requirements for cultivation, handling or processing, and consumption.[16]

Mining has always played an important role in the Idaho economy. By incorporating some remarkable new approaches to metal production developed by private and government researchers, most of Idaho's mining districts have remained in operation. Some, of course, have shut down, like the large, now outdated Bunker Hill smelter at Kellogg that closed in 1981. Kellogg residents have diversified and expanded their options by developing a magnificent ski resort. After one hundred years, with workings extending far below sea level, Idaho mines have produced about $5 billion worth of ore.

Many of the nearly 3,000 miners in Idaho in 1990 were involved in large open-pit ventures that process a high volume of low-grade ore by utilizing new equipment and chemical processing systems only recently available. With the assistance of sophisticated sampling procedures developed by the Bureau of Mines and Geology at the University of Idaho and the U.S. Geological Survey, and by innovations in technology, miners have operated open-pit systems at Delamar, Stibnite, Thunder Mountain, Volcano, and Clayton. Not far from Leesburg an open-pit operation promises to surpass all of Idaho's previous gold production, including that of Boise Basin.

Sunshine Mining Company descends from the discovery in 1884 of a silver-bearing lode on Big Creek, near Kellogg. The company's shafts and workings extend to a depth of 6,000 feet (3,300 feet below sea level), and Sunshine—which moved its headquarters from Kellogg to Boise in 1984—has produced 300 million ounces of silver, more than the combined total of all the mines in the famous Comstock Lode of Nevada. As a by-product of the ore the company produces antimony, used to harden lead and as a fireproofing agent for textiles. A recently constructed

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refinery has a daily capacity of 50,000 ounces of silver and 1,200 ounces of gold, in addition to 7,000 pounds of copper. Aware of environmental problems in both air and water, the company completed a thirty-five-acre impoundment pond in 1979 to control water pollution. Its refineries are equipped with a process that virtually eliminates emission of sulfur dioxide into the atmosphere.

The largest domestic producer of new silver, Hecla Corporation, has continued to expand and has moved its headquarters to Coeur d'Alene. The company's Lucky Friday shaft, reaching down 7,700 feet, is the deepest shaft in the world outside South Africa. The company has broadened its holdings to include ranches, the Escalante silver mine in Utah, and other properties.

One entrepreneur who began work for Hecla and subsequently took advantage of opportunities to create new enterprises in north Idaho was Harry F. Magnuson. Born in Wallace, son of a Scandinavian butcher and a mother of Italian ancestry who was born in Harrison (just north of Chatcolet on Lake Coeur d'Alene), Magnuson studied at Idaho State University and the University of Idaho and, as part of his active duty with the Navy during World War II, earned an MBA at the Harvard Business School. After three years of service as a naval supply officer in the Pacific, Magnuson returned to Wallace and opened an accounting office. When the mining industry went into a decline after the Korean War, Magnuson purchased Golconda Mining Company stock; when the company began to earn profits in the 1960s he acquired properties in Wallace—including the First National Bank of Wallace, which has since expanded to a dozen branches under the name First National Bank of North Idaho. (FNB was taken over by First Security in 1992.) As earnings increased, Magnuson engaged in land developments, including the University Inn of Moscow and shopping centers in Lewiston and Coeur d'Alene. When the Bunker Hill Company curtailed operations in Silver Valley in 1982, Magnuson and three other Idaho businessmen joined to purchase the Bunker Hill facilities

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and mines. Dedicated to the preservation of Wallace despite declining mining fortunes, Magnuson received the Idaho Distinguished Preservationist Award in 1989 and was chairman of the Idaho Centennial Commission.

Since 1970 Idaho has also developed a significant computer-products industry. American Microsystems of Santa Clara, California, established a plant in Pocatello in 1970. Hewlett-Packard, another California firm, followed, opening a larger plant in Boise in 1975; by 1990 it employed 3,000 there. The company produces magnetic disc drives, mass storage systems, and laser printers in Boise. Micron Technology, Inc., another notable Boise corporation, started in 1978. A Zilog plant was established in Nampa in 1979. All together, by 1990 Idaho had eight such plants, each with more than one hundred employees. J. R. Simplot, whose spirit of innovation helped finance the start-up of a micro memory chip firm, contributed $5 million to establish the Simplot/Micron Center for Technology at Boise State University in 1988.

New technology, influenced as it has been by scientific research and industrial innovation, has likewise contributed to Idaho's transportation, communications, and banking. Airports in Boise and Pocatello, constructed originally for military purposes, were enlarged and improved to serve many other cities. Such sophisticated facilities have enabled corporate administrators like those of Boise Cascade and Morrison-Knudsen to remain in Idaho and yet manage sprawling operations in many other states and nations. Improved highways have aided not only the building industries but also the tourist trade.

Idaho's first telephone exchange was opened in Hailey in September 1883, a second in Boise that December. By 1890 the state's exchanges consisted of about 500 subscribers each of whom paid $150 per year for service. Nationwide telephone service was routed through Salt Lake City in 1915. Rocky Mountain Bell, which bought up most of the smaller exchanges in 1898, became part of Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph

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(later known as Mountain Bell) in 1911. Long-distance lines were strung across southern Idaho in 1928 and 1929. Mountain Bell converted to dial telephones in 1952 and in 1965 instituted direct dialing of long-distance calls from Idaho to any place in the United States. The first electronic switching system in Boise was installed in 1970 and was updated with a digital system in 1982. In 1985 Mountain Bell put into operation in Idaho a light-guide cable system based on fiber optics that included a 270-mile long-distance link between Boise and Pocatello. Instead of electricity this system uses laser-generated light in tiny glass fibers to carry telephone conversations, video, and data. Strung in a cable one-half inch in diameter, the fibers, as thin as human hair, carry as many messages as seven copper cables each the size of a man's forearm. At one time Mountain Bell also used the light guide to carry local calls.[17]

The first telephone operator in Hailey in 1883 was twelve-year-old Nathan Kingsbury, an apprentice for the *Wood River Times*. Kingsbury, who later became vice-president of American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T), was author of the 1913 Kingsbury Commitment with the U.S. Justice Department that crafted the interconnected telephone network that linked the United States until federal courts forced the breakup of the giant corporation in January 1984. In 1987, Mountain Bell, of which southern Idaho was still a part, became U.S. West, headquartered in Denver. At the time Mountain Bell had 260,000 Idaho customers, with about 500,000 telephones in service, all south of the Salmon River. Those north of the river were covered by General Telephone Company (twenty-eight communities, including Moscow); Pacific Northwest Bell (eight communities, including Lewiston); and smaller independent telephone companies. Some southern Idaho communities also had independent companies. Rupert and Paul, for example, are served by Project Mutual Telephone Company, organized after construction of the Minidoka Dam drew settlers to the region.

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The operations of Idaho First National Bank, First Security Corporation, First Interstate Bank, and various local banks were revolutionized by computer equipment that utilized transcontinental automatic tellers in accessing deposits. First National, chartered to assist miners and mining-town businesses in 1867, grew out of B. M. DuRell's and C. W. Moore's 1864 Boise and Silver City banking services. After its brief suspension in 1932, First National resumed business, changed its name to Idaho First National, and established a statewide branch-banking system. It became the principal affiliate of Moore Financial Group, a holding company formed in 1981 and recognized as one of the top 100 banks in the nation with $3 billion in assets. In 1976 ground was broken for the nineteen-story Idaho First Plaza, tallest structure in Idaho, the Moore Group's headquarters. By 1990 seventy-four branches of the bank, now West One, were located around the state, with others in Utah, Oregon, and eastern Washington.

First Security Corporation, whose charter traces back to the Anderson Brothers Bank of Idaho Falls, founded in 1866, was organized as America's first multiple-bank holding company in 1928. Principal owners were Marriner and George Eccles—sons of David Eccles, who had earned a large income supplying lumber to Wood River mines and the Utah and Northern and Oregon Short Line railroads in the 1880s and by manufacturing lumber in Oregon from 1888 until his death in 1912. In the years that followed, Marriner and several associates acquired seventeen banks in Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming and organized First Security Corporation to manage them. By 1990 First Security Corporation had eighty branches in Idaho, extending from Bonners Ferry near the Canadian border to Preston on the Utah-Idaho boundary. The IBM system installed in its central operations system in 1983 is said to be one of the most advanced in the world. With $7 billion in assets, First Security is also among the largest banks in the nation.

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The Bank of Idaho originated in 1957 with the merger of Continental State Bank of Boise, First National Bank of Caldwell, and the Bank of Eastern Idaho in Idaho Falls. In 1964 Western Bancorp constructed the thirteen-story Bank of Idaho headquarters building in Boise. The next year the bank joined Western Bancorporation, founded the previous year. With a national charter obtained in 1973, the firm became known as First Interstate Bank of Idaho in 1981. First Interstate Bancorp now operates in thirteen western states and has thirty-four international offices. The eighth largest banking organization in the United States, First Interstate was the first in Idaho to install fully automated day and night tellers, then known as "Ida." Using the newest technology, the bank constructed a million-dollar data-processing facility; in 1978 the bank established a communication network that connected all branch terminals and offices. The system allows tellers to check customer accounts in any First Interstate Bank.

The largest state-chartered bank in Idaho during the 1980s was the Idaho Bank & Trust Company, with assets approximating $500 million. Its story is one of systematic expansion. This bank opened in 1934 (after the passage of the branch-banking law of 1933) with the merger of four banks: State Bank of Blackfoot, founded in 1904; Bear Lake Bank of Paris, organized in 1905; Burley National Bank, opened in 1919; and the Power County Bank of American Falls, dating back to 1924. The Paris branch was closed in 1934, as was the bank in American Falls; the assets were moved to Pocatello, the new headquarters of the bank, which at the time of organization had assets of $1.5 million. By 1949 deposits exceeded $18 million. There were dramatic increases in facilities and deposits in the 1950s. Branches were opened in Paul, Chubbuck, Westwood Village in Pocatello, American Falls, Boise, Caldwell, Lewiston, and Nampa. In 1973 Idaho Bank & Trust acquired the Bank of Central Idaho, with branches in Grangeville, Kooskia, and Riggins.

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In 1975 other branches were opened in Boise, Burley, and Pocatello, and in 1977 the bank acquired the First Bank of Troy with branches in Moscow and Plummer. Headquarters were moved to Boise in 1982, at which time the bank had twenty-five branches in Idaho and a computer center in Pocatello.

On October 16, 1988, Idaho Bank & Trust became a part of Key Bank Corporation, a multi-billion-dollar, multiregional bank holding company serving customers and businesses in smaller cities and towns along the country's northern tier. Headquartered in Albany, New York, Key Bank has 600 full-service branches in the northeast and northwest. In 1991 Key Bank of Idaho became Idaho's fourth largest bank as it took over the Treasure Valley Bank locations in Cascade, McCall, New Meadows, Midvale, Weiser, Fruitland, Emmett, and Boise. Key Bank then had thirty-nine branches in Idaho, with assets in excess of $825 million.

MICROENTERPRISES

Although giants like Morrison-Knudsen, Boise-Cascade, J. R. Simplot, and Albertson's and their executives may get most of the national attention, one must not overlook the role of hundreds of microenterprises in providing modest primary and secondary incomes for Idaho's citizens. Lumped together, these "Lone Rangers" in economic development furnish the state with a sizable share of its total income. They include persons with small sewing jobs, furniture makers, toy-makers, pushcart peddlers, small factory owners—free enterprises in their most basic and spontaneous form. They are a business counterpart to subsistence farming, an alternative to welfare dependency. Some are sole sources of income; others consist of people earning second incomes out of their homes by selling dresses, caring for children, styling hair, writing for a newspaper, teaching a prekindergarten class, repairing electronic equipment, or painting

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portraits. These small undertakings, important to the individuals served, also deserve mention in Idaho's history.

CONCLUSION

As Idaho approached its centennial year, the state was becoming less and less a producer of raw materials to be exported for processing elsewhere. Instead, the state's people were demonstrating different kinds of skills that are of value to the nation. Tourism is a fast-growing industry; manufacturing is also prospering. Light industries have increased momentum; the state's economy has become more diversified and more stable. As always, the state has benefited from infusions of eastern and coastal capital, and from helpful federal programs. Clearly, thanks to its amazing private entrepreneurs, Idaho is making more of her own way.

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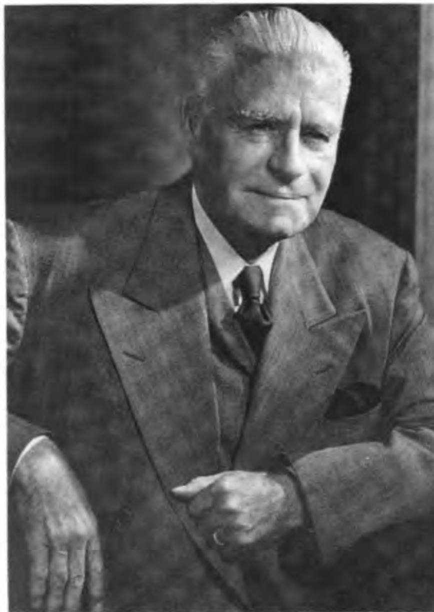

146.

147.

148.

146. Harry W. Morrison of Morrison-Knudsen Company, 1950, was a prominent Idaho businessman. *Time* carried a similar photo on the cover of its May 3, 1954, issue, which referred to Morrison as an "ambassador with bulldozers." ISHS 76–28.31C.

147. Robert V. Hansberger, president of Boise Cascade, played a significant role in the development of the modern timber industry. ISHS 72–190.16.

148. Jack Simplot (ca. 1940), founder of J. R. Simplot Company, made frozen potatoes for all of America. ISHS 77–2.45.

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149.

150.

149. Joseph A. Albertson (ca. 1970), founder of Albertson's Inc., founded the grocery chain that has spread throughout the nation. ISHS 75–127.1.

150. W. Averell Harriman, founder, and Steven Hannagan, the original publicist who gave Sun Valley its name, observe lodge construction in 1936. ISHS 80–37.102.

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CHAPTER THIRTY

Art and Literature

THE ARTISTIC TRADITION

WHEN John C. Frémont conducted his expeditions to the Far West he took along Charles Preuss, a cartographer trained in Europe. Preuss not only prepared valuable maps of the vast domain beyond the Missouri but also executed sketches, including a view of American Falls in 1843. In the same tradition, George Gibbs and William Henry Tappan accompanied the U.S. Army's Regiment of Mounted Riflemen (the Cross Expedition) as they traveled on the Oregon Trail to Fort Vancouver in 1849. Tappan provided the earliest interior and exterior views of Fort Hall and Fort Boise, while Gibbs made the first extant drawing of Shoshone Falls. An artist who illustrated northern Idaho with graphite portraits and wonderful and sensitive scenes of Coeur d'Alene Indian life in the 1840s was Nicolas Point, native of France, the Jesuit missionary who opened Sacred Heart Mission in 1842.

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The next three artists who captured on canvas scenes of early Idaho were among America's most talented. John Mix Stanley, an itinerant artist since 1835, was selected to accompany Isaac Stevens on his government-sponsored railroad survey to the Pacific in 1853–54. Although a graphic realist, Stanley also produced idealized interpretations, such as his scene *On the Snake River*, hoping Congress could be persuaded that the Northwest was a worthwhile destination. Another member of the Stevens railroad survey was Gustavus Sohon, native of East Prussia, who came to the United States in 1842 when he was seventeen. After he enlisted in the U.S. Army and served with Stevens's party, Sohon was assigned to Lieutenant John Mullan's party commissioned to develop a viable railroad route through northern Idaho. Sohon explored the difficult terrain of the Coeur d'Alene Mountains in 1853–54 and left watercolor and pencil drawings of the Mullan Road, of Indian life, and of the Coeur d'Alene Mission, as well as maps and other illustrations.

Another contemporary, George Catlin, was the first artist of any importance to pictorially document the culture of the American Indian. An accomplished watercolorist, Catlin visited Idaho's mountain country in 1855. He declared the Salmon River Valley "one of the most verdant and beautiful valleys in the world." His painting of a Crow village set against the rugged Salmon River range is one of his most captivating.[1]

Among artists who recorded the early mining rushes to Idaho was Charles Ostner, a native of Austria who arrived in 1862. He painted portraits, mining scenes, and landscapes with animals. He also left in Boise an equestrian statue of George Washington that he carved in 1869. An oil of Main Street in Boise that was painted in 1864 by Arm Hincelin is in the collections of the Idaho State Historical Society. A house, sign, and ornamental painter who worked in Boise, Hincelin depicted the wide expanse of the street, with men driving ox-teams, horses, and covered wagons; men conversing while leaning against a guard rail;

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and such merchant signs as "City Brewery," "Oregon Tailor," "Tin Shop," "Chop House," and "Livery and Feed Stable." A historical record of life in the Boise Basin was provided by Margaretta Favorite Brown, a native of Pennsylvania who moved with her husband, Jonas W. Brown, to Idaho City in 1864 and Boise in 1882. She painted miners and merchants, landscapes, and scenes from daily life as well as moralistic murals for the walls of The Good Templar's Hall in Boise.

After the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, leading eastern pictorial magazines sent artist-reporters to the West to cover the "frontier territories." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly* carried lithographs that depicted the triumphs and struggles of Western settlers. Perhaps the most famous artist who visited in Idaho during this period was William Henry Jackson, who not only made photographic reports for *Harper's Weekly* but also produced vibrant paintings of landmarks such as Fort Hall. Thomas Moran, an English native who had been with Jackson on the Hayden survey of the upper Yellowstone in 1871, painted Shoshone Falls and the Tetons—works that are among the treasures left by this dean of American landscape artists.

In the same tradition was Mary Hallock Foote, a novelist and illustrator who married a mining engineer and spent the years 1885 to 1893 in Idaho, where she wrote and sketched not only for her novels and stories but also for *Century Magazine*. Her illustrations vividly capture the Idaho landscape and the nature of frontier life. Well before her marriage and move to Idaho Mary Hallock provided illustrations for Albert D. Richardson's *Beyond the Mississippi* (1867), referred to in Chapter Eleven.

Other painters of Idaho scenes at the turn of the century included James Everett Stuart (grandson of Gilbert Stuart, who painted America's most famous image of George Washington); Henry L. A. Culmer, a Utah artist who left a memorable scene of Shoshone Falls; Ella Knox Parrish, one of Idaho's few native

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pioneer artists; Mrs. M. J. Bradley, whose painting *Gem, Idaho and Gem Mill* is a thoughtfully delineated look at a bustling Idaho mining town in the 1890s; Abby Rhoda Williams Hill, who painted canvases of Idaho scenes for the Northern Pacific Railway Company; and John Fery. Born in Austria in 1859, Fery conducted tours and hunting trips in the Far West for European nobility and was employed as an artist in 1910 by the Great Northern Railroad to produce promotional paintings. He painted more than three hundred monumental paintings of western scenes displayed in railroad stations, hotels, and banks along the Great Northern line. They include magnificent paintings of Lake Pend Oreille and other Idaho panoramas.

Although Idaho has fostered no real art communities like those in many states, artists have always lived and worked here. Exhibitions were held in Boise as early as the 1870s and displays were mounted at territorial and state fairs. Amateur and professional Idaho artists exhibited their work in the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland (1905), Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle (1909), Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco (1915), Century of Progress at Chicago (1935), and New York World's Fair (1939). On October 17, 1898, the *Idaho Statesman* reported that in the art competition at the Intermountain Fair most of the prizes were won by Joseph Patrick McMeekin. Born in Dublin, Ireland, McMeekin had migrated with his family to the United States in 1872. Between 1890 and 1910 he lived with his sister's family on a homestead on Millet Island in the Snake River near Hagerman, and left paintings of farmers clearing sagebrush, spring plowing, livestock huddled against winter winds, and images along the Snake River—including paintings of Shoshone Falls and Twin Falls that were exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.[2]

Two of McMeekin's peers were Idella Rogers Chester and her daughter Ruperta Chester. A native of Quebec, Idella came to the United States after a divorce and in 1895 married Horace

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Chester, a miner in Atlanta, Idaho. She painted not only numerous landscapes of the Atlanta area but also homes, businesses, and local persons. On one occasion she painted a canvas of a semi-nude woman and sold it to a wealthy miner. When she discovered it was hung in the town saloon she marched down to the bar and demanded it back. On another occasion she interrupted a gathering of imbibing locals, who offered her a drink. She took the jug over her shoulder and walked back to her house with the jug turned upside down, liquor dripping all the way. Nobody challenged her. Her daughter Ruperta, also a painter, left realistic paintings of stamp mills, miners' cabins, and features of the mining town.[3]

One contemporary of the Chesters, George Schroeder, settled in Heyburn and Burley in 1906 and rendered views of the Sawtooth Range and other Idaho landscapes; the paintings adorned the Governor's Special Train that toured the eastern states in the early 1910s to advertise the wonders of Idaho. Other painters of this period were Cecelia May Southworth Beach, of Burley, who painted wildflowers and landscapes; Selma Calhoun Barker, of Bellevue, who painted cowboys and other western subjects; Marie Irvin, the first interior decorator in Boise; and Sara Annette Bowman, an art instructor at the University of Idaho.

During the 1920s and 1930s several ambitious local artists attended the Art Institute of Chicago and the Art Students League in New York, expanding beyond the frontier focus. The Federal Art Program of the Works Projects Administration assisted local artists during the depression. Under the direction of Professor Theodore J. Prichard of the University of Idaho, seventeen artists were employed. Murals were commissioned for Idaho post offices and other public buildings, the Boise Gallery of Art (now the Boise Art Museum) became a permanent exhibit space hosting regional and national shows, and the traditional Idaho regionalist paintings were complemented with works by artists influenced by Monet, Van Gogh, and Cezanne.

Among those who participated in the WPA artists' program

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were Cecil Smith, reared on a ranch at Carey, who attended the Chicago Art Institute, worked as a cowboy, drew hundreds of sketches of cowboy life including freighting and muleskinning, exhibited widely, and received recognition in the United States and Europe; Ethel Lucile Fowler, native of Nebraska, who exhibited with the Boise Art Association in its early days and who, during her thirty years in Idaho, painted portraits, local scenery, flowers, and still life; and Alfred Dunn, raised in Twin Falls and graduate of the University of Idaho, who was a professor of art at Moscow from 1941 to 1974. Dunn's watercolors depict life in Idaho's small towns and the variety of the state's natural terrain. Dunn also designed artwork for University of Idaho publications.

Another participant in the WPA program was Archie Boyd Teater. Born in Boise, Teater spent much of his youth in the Hagerman Valley. Under the WPA program he painted mining and lumber camps in Boise Basin and occasionally panned for gold along the Snake River. A prolific painter of landscapes, portraits, and still lifes, Teater worked in a studio designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, one of two Wright structures in Idaho, jutting over the cliff rim of Snake River Canyon above Hagerman.

Still another participant in the Federal Arts Program was Fletcher Martin, resident of Emmett, who competed in the "48 States Competition," a contest to design a mural for a post office in each state. Martin's winning design for the Kellogg post office depicted two husky miners carrying an injured worker on a stretcher from a mineshaft. The mining community thought this equating of work and catastrophe was intolerable, so Martin was forced to replace it with a more palatable scene: the discovery by Noah Kellogg and his burro of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan claim.[4]

A contemporary of these artists was Minerva Kohlhepp Teichert. Raised on an isolated farm in the Fort Hall Bottoms near American Falls, she moved with her husband across the border to Cokeville, Wyoming, in 1927 when their home was in-

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undated by the American Falls Reservoir. In addition to rearing five children and serving as a ranch wife, Teichert wrote *Drowned Memories* (1926) and *Romance of Old Fort Hall* (1952) and painted numerous murals—purchased for LDS Church buildings and for schools—that feature pioneers with oxen and Indians on the open range. Her narrative-like murals are full of movement and force.

Other painters of the "modern" period include Helen Hoff Aupperle, of Idaho Falls, who taught high school art classes and widely exhibited her paintings, which usually featured Indian festivals, dances, ceremonies, and personalities; and James Castle, who was born deaf in Garden Valley, Idaho, and was never able to read, write, or use sign language. He communicated visually. His drawings impart an ominous and quiet drama to everyday objects and scenes and show a sophisticated approach to space and tone. He exhibited in many western states in addition to Idaho.

Stalwarts in Idaho's art community in recent decades have been art instructors at the state's colleges and universities: Mary Kirkwood, Arnold Westerlund, and George Roberts, at the University of Idaho; Thomas Raymond Nielson, Idaho State University; Oliver Parson, Ricks College; Conan Mathews, Boise Junior College; and Max Peter, the College of Idaho now The Albertson College of Idaho.

In its centennial year, among Idaho's ten outstanding artists were Fred Ochi in Idaho Falls; Malcolm Renfrew, in Moscow; Don "Bemco" Bennett and Will Caldwell, in Ketchum; Richard Brough, formerly of Salmon Hot Springs; John Dawson, who designed the 1990 Idaho Centennial postage stamp; and John Killmaster, at Boise State University, who does acrylics and painted metal. John Takehara is an acclaimed ceramicist at Boise State University, Ed and Nancy Kienholz are recognized environmental sculptors living in Hope, and Rod Kagan is an innovative metal sculptor in Ketchum.

The most widely known sculptor with Idaho origins was

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Gutzon Borglum, born in Ovid, Bear Lake County, in 1867. Robust, flamboyant, celebrator of America and the West, Borglum created one of the monumental patriotic shrines of the United States on Mount Rushmore, South Dakota. He was the son of Jens Møller Haugaard and Christiane Michelsen Borglum, natives of Hjørring, Denmark, who converted to Mormonism and moved to the Bear Lake Valley in 1865. They built a log cabin at Ovid, about five miles north of Paris, where Gutzon was born. (Some Bear Lake oldtimers later identified the place as St. Charles.) When the boy was about two years old the family moved to Ogden, Utah, where his father could take advantage of employment in building the transcontinental railroad. Later, after the completion of the railroad, the Borglums took the train to Omaha, remained there for a year or two, and then moved to St. Louis, where Jens Borglum went to the Homeopathic Medical College. After graduation in 1874 he returned to practice medicine in Omaha and Fremont, Nebraska. Some of the Borglum relatives remained in southern Idaho, however. Jens's sister Maren, who married Hans Christian Sorensen Høgsted (later anglicized to Hegsted), a friend of the family in Denmark, migrated to the upper Snake River Valley in 1880. Their son, Victor Hegsted, led in the settlement of Rexburg and served as a legislator. Their grandson, D. Mark Hegsted, a University of Idaho graduate and professor of biochemistry at Harvard, became an international nutrition expert and consultant.

Meanwhile, Gutzon Borglum studied art in California and in Europe and became an internationally renowned sculptor. At Rushmore, his most famous project, he carved out of a granite mountain the massive busts of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Thomas Jefferson, and Theodore Roosevelt, symbolic of the nation's most remarkable human endeavors. The monument was dedicated by President Calvin Coolidge on August 10, 1927. Visitors experience a feeling of reverence and awe—a reminder of American patriotism that will weather the millennia.

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Increasing attention has been given in recent years to folk arts and material culture, aspects of aesthetics in which Idaho has a rich and expressive tradition. Art is not limited to drawing, painting, and sculpture; good taste and design can also create beauty in the simple, homely things of life. County fairs, museums, private homes, and folk art exhibitions feature objects that demonstrate the yearning for beauty. Hand-tooled leather saddles, exquisitely patterned quilts, hand-wrought gates and fences, Norwegian embroidery, Nez Perce baskets and beadwork, richly decorated cradleboards, braided horsehair bridles, well-shaped duck decoys, tablecloths, parfleches, rag rugs, miniature hay derricks, whittled caricatures, elegant bedsteads and lounges—all of these reflect artistic skill. Whether for the home, for work, for recreation, for ceremony and celebration, or for personal whimsy, the objects have been shaped with an eye for the aesthetic. The products of Idaho blacksmiths, tinsmiths, potters, furniture makers, housewives, needleworkers, quilt-makers, carvers, and gravestone engravers often represent the articulation of an intelligent, if not academically acquired, design skill. As in all countries and states, folk art is part of Idaho's artistic tradition.

THE LITERARY TRADITION

For thousands of years Idaho's literary output consisted of the folktales and legends of her aboriginal inhabitants. This was an exclusively oral literature, delivered by an elderly man or woman as both instruction and entertainment. The tales, often called myths, were, of course, different for each band or tribe; they passed on the values and beliefs of the group and gave moral instruction to its members. Such stories explained the creation of the world and its beings, the significance of rituals and customs, and the religious meaning of birth, death, and other natural occurrences. The myths also were the means of

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teaching children proper behavior, the habits of animals, the location of food resources, how to use tools and implements, and the geography of the region. The stories helped to induce pride in their people and invoked supernatural powers in behalf of their survival. Myths displayed the negative, comical, and delightful aspects of earthly existence.[5]

A principal character in many Idaho stories was Coyote, the transformer-trickster who changed himself, animals, and natural objects into their present form. As one writer suggested:

> Coyote and his kin [raven, rabbit, blue jay] represent the sheerly spontaneous in life, the pure creative spark that is our birthright as human beings and that defies fixed roles or behavior. He not only represents some primordial creativity from our earlier days, but he reminds us that such celebration of life goes on today, and he calls us to join him in the frenzy. In an ordered world of objects and labels, he represents the potency of nothingness, of chaos, of freedom—a nothingness that makes something of itself. There is great power in such a being, and it has always been duly recognized and honored by Indian people.[6]

Much as Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck, Kermit the Frog and Big Bird talk to children in our day, animal characters instructed Indian children in why things are the way they are, and what one must strive to do in life. They did so in a religious setting. The titles of these spiritual and artistic stories, grouped according to Indian nation, illustrate some of their subject matter.[7]

Kutenai: "Coyote and Buffalo," "Origin of the Seasons," "Wolf," "Skunk," "Frog and Antelope."

Pend Oreille (Kalispel): "Coyote, Wren, and Grouse," "Coyote and Mountain Sheep," "Coyote and His Teeth," "Coyote and the Snake-Monster," "Coyote and the Shellfish Women."

Coeur d'Alene: "Chief Child of the Root," "Origin of Indian Tribes," "Story of Lynx," "Catbird," "Thunder."

Nez Perce: "Mosquito and Coyote," "The Glutton," "How Bear Led a Boy Astray," "Coyote and His Guests."

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Shoshoni: "The Sun," "The Weasel Brothers," "The Sheep Woman," "The Bear's Son."

Northern Paiute: "The Creation of the Indian," "The Theft of Pine-Nuts," "The Stars," "Some Adventures of Coyote."

As presented, these stories were imaginative, inventive, and flexibly oriented to the intended audience. There was an aesthetic effect along with the religious and educational in this literature. Collections of the tales, even in cold print, are marvelously instructive of how Indian cultures worked.[8]

Early explorers who left literary accounts of their travels through what we now call Idaho include, of course, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, mentioned in Chapter Four; Washington Irving's *Captain Bonneville*, described in Chapter Five; and Narcissa Whitman, from whose diary quotations were taken in Chapter Six. Many other Overland Trail diaries also capture a sense of Idaho's terrain. Later, several distinguished literary figures—Richard F. Burton, Robert Lewis Stevenson, Oscar Wilde, Rudyard Kipling—traveled in the American West, but none left memoirs of Idaho. A few travelers did make comments as they journeyed through the territory. The following is typical: "High and barren for the greater part, suited, as a rule, for nothing more than cattle-runs, conducted on a large scale, too vast for anyone but a great capitalist to occupy."[9] The following are representative samples of those who left published accounts of their Idaho sojourn.

Charles Nelson Teeter, born in 1832 in Genoa, Cayuga County, New York, the eldest son in a family of seven, went with his family to Wisconsin when he was ten. He helped his father on a farm, served as a raftsman on the river, taught school, and in 1862, age thirty, headed for the Colorado mines. Learning in the spring of 1863 that a mining camp had been opened in the Boise Basin, Teeter immediately left with others, arriving in "Bannack or Idaho City" in June 1863. His experiences during the next two years were later described in a journal, published by the Idaho State Historical Society under the title *Four Years*

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of My Life.[10] Teeter's experiences with Indians, drunken miners, wild animals, and wilderness preachers are simply and honestly recorded. A similar first-person account of Boise Basin in 1863 is by C. Aubrey Angelo, a correspondent for the *Daily Alta California*, a leading San Francisco newspaper, who joined the rush to Idaho and left his journalistic impressions. One of several "literary" newspaper reports, his impressions were published in *Idaho Yesterdays* during the centennial of Idaho Territory.[11]

In 1865 Speaker of the House Schuyler Colfax, editor Samuel Bowles of the Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican*, and reporter Albert Richardson of the *New York Tribune* made a trip across the continent that involved journeying in Idaho. Bowles waxed ecstatic about Shoshone Falls, ranking it as the world's greatest "in majesty of movement and grandeur of surrounding features."[12] Richardson's description of Idaho was not uncharacteristic.

> We were now in Idaho, barest and most desolate of all our Territories, with vast rolling wastes of lava, sand and sage-brush. But its lack in agriculture is more than counterbalanced by its richness in minerals. Here, as in Dante's Inferno, "not green but brown the foliage." Yet this nutritive bunch-grass, requiring no rain, keeps the stage-horses fat, and often subsists great herds driven hither to escape the drouths of California. Here is the world's pasturage. Hundreds of valleys await the tinkling sheep-bells; cattle shall browse upon a thousand hills. . . . Governor Caleb Lyon, in one of his messages, characterizes Idaho as a "land of Italian summers and Syrian winters." The summers may outshine Araby the Blest; but I think he should have said Siberian winters.[13]

In 1866 two influential British writers and opinion makers, William Hepworth Dixon and Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, made their way into Idaho. Dixon, editor of the distinguished London literary magazine *The Athenaeum*, had written biogra-

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phies of Francis Bacon and William Penn, social commentaries on prison life and poverty among the working classes; he spent the summer of 1866 in America with Dilke, the twenty-three-year-old son of the proprietor of *The Athenaeum*. Dixon wanted the English readers of his two-volume *New America* to realize what it meant to be in a region with a ratio of four males to one female. "At the wayside inn," Dixon wrote, "when you call for the chambermaid, either Sam puts in his woolly head, or Chi Hi pops in his shaven crown. Hardly any help can be hired in these wastes; Molly runs away with a miner, Biddy gets married to a merchant."[14]

A New England visitor was John Codman, a retired clipper-ship captain who decided in 1874 to maintain a vacation home at Soda Springs, where he spent his summers for the next two decades.[15] Codman, who had traveled all over the world, was particularly impressed with Idaho stage-drivers:

> Our driver was an energetic fellow. He whipped, clubbed, swore, and yelled steadily at the "cussed" team. His swearing was something stupendous and perfectly exhaustive of Heaven, Earth, and Hell, and of all their inhabitants. No words could do it justice. But the climax was reached when it began to snow thickly, and some of us were staying along ahead of the wagon through a deep gorge in the hills [Codman was on the way to Caribou Mountain]. All at once, within ten rods of us, a grizzly set up a tremendous growl that drowned out the swearing of our driver. We just dropped on all fours and crawled back to the wagon, into which we tumbled rather quickly. We . . . drove along until we came to the place where he [the bear] was. When he heard the wagon coming he trotted out within two or three rods ahead of us. Then our driver set up a yell and commenced to swear in a style that exceeded all his previous efforts, and actually scared the grizzly so that it fairly made him turn tail and put for the woods.[16]

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More important to Idaho history-lovers are two books by missionary bishops, both Episcopalians: Daniel S. Tuttle served in Idaho from 1867 to 1886, Ethelbert Talbot from 1887 to 1898. Tuttle, a native of Connecticut, was elected at age twenty-nine to serve as bishop in Montana, with jurisdiction in Idaho and Utah. During his first two months in Idaho he held services in Boise, Silver City, and Idaho City and organized a parish school in Boise. Beginning in 1870, he spent each summer in Idaho. In his *Idaho of Yesterday* Thomas Donaldson recalled his first meeting with Bishop Tuttle, who was busily at work on the cellar of a new wing for the chapel in Boise:

> The digger was a man of six feet in height and with whiskers of the style the English call "Picadilly Weepers." A tam-o'-shanter hat lolled on his head. With shovel in hand, he leaped from the hole and smiled at me. . . . "Glad to meet you, Mr. Donaldson," smiled the bishop. It was a hearty handshake he gave me, and then he chatted briskly for fifteen minutes. I said good-by, and Bishop Tuttle jumped into the hole and commenced digging again. I formed my opinion of him right then and there and never had reason to change it. I reasoned that if a bishop of a silk-stocking church could, and was willing, to handle a shovel in a public place he would certainly be able to touch the hearts of his people; sincerity and common sense made him outrank any churchman in the territory. . . . Bishop Tuttle was the best and most convincing pulpit preacher I have ever heard. . . . He fairly lifted me into space above earth by his eloquence and affectionate reception of the applicants.[17]

Tuttle, who had physical as well as mental strength, preached in log cabins and saloons and ate alkali dust in the deserts as he traveled by stage and horseback and afoot to fifty locations in Idaho. He left Idaho in 1886 to become Bishop of Missouri. From 1903 to 1923 he was presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.[18]

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Bishop Talbot, who replaced Bishop Tuttle in Idaho and also had charge of Episcopalians in Wyoming, wrote *My People of the Plains*, in which he discussed Chief Washakie, an Idaho mining camp, the Coeur d'Alene country, and the people "in my flock." His descriptions of religion and life in Idaho mining camps are vivid and informative.[19]

Some of the most vivid personal experience accounts are by women. Among these are Annie Pike Greenwood, Nelle Davis, Inez Puckett McEwen, and Grace Jordan.

Annie Pike Greenwood's *We Sagebrush Folks* is an account of the settlement and development of the Minidoka reclamation project. The book covers the 1910s, 1920s, and early 1930s. Annie Pike was born in Provo, Utah, in 1879, the daughter of Dr. Walter Pike, first superintendent of Utah's state mental hospital, and a Mormon mother who had given up her Mormonism when she married non-Mormon Pike. A graduate of Brigham Young Academy (later Brigham Young University), also a student at the Universities of Utah and Michigan, she worked for the *Salt Lake Tribune* and a Los Angeles newspaper before marrying Charles O. Greenwood in 1905. They soon moved to Idaho, near Acequia in Minidoka County, where they remained as farmers until the 1930s, when they lost their farm, and separated. Annie Greenwood then lived in Ogden, Utah, and finally in Sacramento, California, where she died in 1956. For some years she taught the one-room school in Acequia.

We Sagebrush Folks gives an authentic account of the daily life of farm families in southern Idaho. The book discusses schools, birth, death, recreation, outdoors, sex (surprising in this kind of book, written as early as 1934), the impact of World War I, politics, religion, and economics. Sympathetic with their neighbors' struggles, the Greenwoods were caught up in the farmers' cause. He was twice elected to the Idaho legislature; she wrote honest articles for national and local magazines about the farmers' vicissitudes. Exciting and interesting, her book was nevertheless a plea on behalf of the women and children on

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farms. Though often discouraged, she loved Idaho and its people and described them accurately and with spirit.[20]

Stump Ranch Pioneer, by Nelle Portrey Davis, is the true story of dustbowl refugees who carved out a home for themselves as stump ranch farmers in the Idaho panhandle. Born in Sidney, Nebraska, the fourth of eight children, Nelle Portrey began writing while still a teenager. Her family moved to Kiowa County, Colorado, in 1920. In 1936 she and her husband, Norman Davis, lost their 160-acre sheep ranch near Eads, Colorado, and moved with $160 in their pockets to "Welcome Ranch" in Boundary County, Idaho. Their experience is a testament to the American ability to overcome hardship through hard work and persistence. Nelle's writings for national and local magazines contributed substantially to the family's income. In 1947 the family moved to Eastport, northeast of Bonners Ferry, and established a second Welcome Ranch—a guest ranch on the Moyie River. *Stump Ranch Pioneer* celebrates the traditional American virtues of industry and inventiveness. It is a charming and informative story of neighborliness, resourcefulness, and tenacity.[21]

Inez Puckett McEwen was born in Iowa; came to Idaho as a child; spent years in California studying at the University of Southern California and Scripps and Pomona colleges; and taught in a southern California high school. In 1943 she settled down on a ranch at Cedar Draw, near Wendell, Idaho. Her book, *So This Is Ranching*, is a humorous account of southern Idaho ranch life in the 1940s.[22]

Another woman's experience on an Idaho ranch is recounted in *Home Below Hell's Canyon*, by Grace Edgington Jordan. During the depression days of the early 1930s Len and Grace Jordan and their three small children moved to a sheep ranch on the Idaho side of the Snake River gorge just below Hells Canyon. Short of cash but long on ingenuity, the Jordans raised and stored their food, made their own soap, and educated their chil-

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dren. This is an intensely human account of their experiences before they were thrust into the national spotlight with Len Jordan's election as governor and later as United States Senator. *Home Below Hell's Canyon* tells much about sheep ranching in the 1930s and 1940s.

Born in Wasco, Oregon, Grace Jordan earned a bachelor's degree in English from the University of Oregon and taught at the Universities of Oregon, Washington, and California before she moved to Idaho in 1933. She was not disturbed by the isolation she would expect at Kirkwood Bar, the name she gave to the ranch. The family lived at Kirkwood for seven years. After moving from there, she wrote a novel, *Canyon Boy* (1960) about the area. Still later, she wrote a book about her husband's service as senator entitled *The Unintentional Senator* and a book about the Brown family of McCall entitled *The King's Pines of Idaho.*[23]

We come now to Idaho's writers of fiction. We shall have room to mention only a few—those who became important figures in the history of American literature.

The first was Mary Hallock Foote, a proper Victorian lady who became wife, mother, novelist, and artist in the Far West, with a residence in Idaho from 1884 to 1895. Although she wrote many books and numerous articles, the most interesting to Idahoans is *The Chosen Valley*, first published as a serial in the *Century Magazine* and in 1892 as a book. She wrote much about Idaho miners, dam-builders, irrigators, and farmers. Her husband, Arthur D. Foote, a first cousin of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, was a mining engineer who, after reaching Idaho, became interested in supplying water to thirsty deserts. Her other Idaho novels included *Coeur d'Alene* (1894), *The Desert and the Sown* (1902), *A Picked Company* (1912), and *Edith Bonham* (1917). She also published many short stories, some of which are in *Exile* (1894), *The Cup of Trembling* (1895), and, for children, *The Little Fig-Tree Stories* (1899).

Born in 1847 on a farm near the Hudson River town of Milton,

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near Poughkeepsie, New York, Mary Hallock was reared in a Quaker home. After her graduation from the Poughkeepsie Female Collegiate Seminary, she went to the School of Design for Women at the Cooper Union in New York City. By the 1870s she was doing professional work as an illustrator. When her best friend married Richard Watson Gilder, one of the most influential literary figures of the oncoming generation, she came to have undreamed-of opportunities. Gilder became acting editor of *Scribner's Monthly* and founding editor of its successor, *Century Magazine*, one of the top literary magazines in the nation.

In 1876, when Foote came west to a California quicksilver mine as a bride, Gilder encouraged her to write about her new environment and to furnish illustrations. She became a leading national writer and illustrator of scenes that were "authentically western." When the Footes moved to Leadville, Colorado, in 1879, she began books and stories that featured an attractive, well-educated young eastern mining engineer as hero, a young eastern-type woman as heroine, and coarse western men or depraved easterners as villains.[24]

The Footes established their home on the outskirts of Boise in 1884; it was, Mary Foote wrote, "a very proper, decent little town [about 2,000 people] quite unlike the wild [mining] camps where my married morals have been cultivated . . . a little oasis in the desert."[25] Her reminiscences are a fairly pungent account of pioneer Idaho life.

Arthur Foote had made the decision to build an irrigation system in the canyon and valley of the Boise River. He and others organized the Idaho Mining and Irrigation Company to deliver water for irrigation and also for the Snake River gold placers. It was not a good time to launch a major enterprise, however—the country experienced a depression in 1884—and Foote eventually lost his investment. The two then went to Grass Valley, California. She died in 1938.

In 1972 Wallace Stegner, making use of the Mary Hallock

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Foote-Helena Gilder correspondence, won the Pulitzer Prize for his novel *Angle of Repose*, a fictional account of the life of Mary Hallock Foote. The book has high value as a novel, but it is not a factual account of Foote and her career, in Idaho or elsewhere. Her reminiscences, published as *A Victorian Gentlewoman in the Far West*, are a delightful story in their own right.

In 1885 Mary Foote was, for a period, in Hailey; she may have met the parents of Ezra Pound, who was born there that year. The Pounds moved two years later to Pennsylvania, where he grew up. But this world-famous poet, literary critic, and translator, about whom more has been written than about any other Idaho-born writer, is almost always introduced by the words "Idaho-born," which suggests that a paragraph about him is in order.

After graduating from the University of Pennsylvania, Pound taught at Wabash College for a while but was asked to resign for being "a Latin Quarter type" and went to Europe in 1908. There, in Italy, he published his first volume of poems, *A Lume Spento*. He went on to London, where he became prominent in literary circles and published three other volumes of verse. He and others founded the Imagist school of poets, who advocated the use of free rhythms and concrete images, and he championed the work of avant-garde writers like James Joyce and T. S. Eliot. His later poetry demonstrated his knowledge of medieval literature and troubadour ballads. He did translations of Chinese and Japanese poetry that show great skill and tenderness. In 1920 he left England for Paris, where he formed part of the group of American expatriates who included Gertrude Stein and Ernest Hemingway. He had enormous influence on Hemingway, who later also had a connection with Idaho. Pound remained in Paris until 1924, when he went to Italy for most of the rest of his life. He established poetic journals and published anthologies. Often regarded as his major work is the "Cantos," which, in addition to poetic distinction, incorporated details and quotations

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from ancient, Renaissance, and modern history of the Western world and of the Orient. Pound also became preoccupied with economics, embraced free credit theories, and was convinced that modern credit capitalism was a failure. He gave at least partial support to the programs of Benito Mussolini in Italy. Having broadcast over Italian radio during the Second World War, he was charged with treason in 1946 but found unsound of mind and confined to a mental hospital until 1961, when he returned to Italy. He died in 1972 at the age of eighty-seven.[26]

A very different kind of writer, but also with a prodigious output, was Frank Robertson, a writer of Westerns.[27] Robertson was born near Moscow in 1890. His parents were converted to Mormonism when he was a boy, and in 1901 they moved to Chesterfield, in southern Idaho, a village of about three hundred people. After the rich topsoil of the Palouse, young Frank was not impressed by Chesterfield, a dryfarm region. He herded sheep, did freighting, and became a migratory worker at age fourteen. He married a local girl, farmed in Chesterfield, and began to submit stories and articles to Western magazines. He wrote about 100 Westerns and hundreds of stories in the years that followed, with titles like *Foreman of Forty Bar*, *Boss of Tumbling H*, *Clawhammer Ranch*, *The Boss of the Flying M*, *Wildhorse Henderson*, *Riders of the Sunset Trail*, and *The Fight for River Range*. Many of his novels were translated into German, Czech, Hungarian, Swedish, and Dutch. He also wrote juvenile books, *On the Trail of Chief Joseph* (1927) and *Sagebrush Sorrel* (1954), both of which won prizes. His autobiography, *A Ram in the Thicket*, is a gem. Nebraska writer Mari Sandoz wrote of it:

> It's been a long time since I read a book with the authentic smell and feel of this one. It has the freshness, the wry humor, the off-hand understatement in even the most appalling situations, that are the essence of our High Coun-

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try. The book has so much that is peculiar to the life of this man and his time and place, and very much, too, that is universal. I think it will be good reading fifty years from now.[28]

Another writer born in Moscow, and former student at the University of Idaho, was Carol Ryrie Brink. She published several novels of distinction, including an Idaho trilogy: *The Buffalo Coat* (1944), *Strangers in the Forest* (1959), and *Snow in the River* (1964). She attained greatest fame, however, for her juvenile and junior books, of which *All Over Town*, *Two Are Better Than One*, and *Louly* have Idaho settings. One of them, *Caddie Woodlawn* (1935), received the Newbery Medal as the "most distinguished contribution to American literature for children" in its year of publication. Other books were selections of the Junior Literary Guild and Children's Book Club. The University of Idaho awarded her an honorary Doctor of Literature degree in 1965.

A contemporary of Carol Brink who was also a student at the University of Idaho was Talbot Jennings. Born in Shoshone in 1894, raised in Caldwell and Nampa, he left his classes at the University of Idaho to fight in World War I. After the war he returned to Moscow, completed a degree in English, went on to earn an M.A. at Harvard, and returned to the University of Idaho to teach. After two years he went to the Yale Drama School, where Eugene O'Neill and John Mason Brown had also studied, then taught at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. After writing for the professional theatre in New York, in 1934 he went to Hollywood to write screenplays. He remained there for the next thirty years, creating scripts for such well-known films as *Mutiny on the Bounty*, *Northwest Passage*, *Across the Wide Missouri*, *The Sons of Katie Elder*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Anna and the King of Siam*, and *The Good Earth*. He won an Academy award for his script *So Ends Our Night*. Jennings also received

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an honorary doctorate from the University of Idaho, in 1970.

In more recent years a member of the Coeur d'Alene Nation, Janet Campbell Hale, has written several highly acclaimed young-adult novels. Born on the Coeur d'Alene Reservation in northern Idaho, she grew up mainly on the Yakima Reservation in Washington. She worked as a waitress; picked cherries, apricots, and peaches; stripped hops; painted; wrote poetry; read serious books; and then went to the University of California at Berkeley, where she received the B.A. She later received the M.A. from the University of California at Davis. Her books include *The Owl's Song* (1974), a novel about fourteen-year-old Billy White Hawk, who leaves his Idaho reservation in search of a better life in California only to find hatred and hostility there that he finds increasingly difficult to cope with; *Custer Lives in Humboldt County and Other Poems* (1978); and *The Jailing of Cecelia Capture: A Novel* (1985) that is the story of the struggles of a young Indian woman in a large city. Her poems and short stories have been widely anthologized and published in various journals and magazines.

A second native American writer born in Idaho was Mourning Dove (Hum-ishu-ma), the literary name of Christine Quintasket, born in a canoe near Bonners Ferry in 1888. Although she and her husband were migrant laborers, she took along an old manual typewriter and managed to write in the evenings. Her book *Cogewea, the Half Blood* (1927) is now recognized as the first novel by a Native American woman. Her book *Coyote Stories* (1933) contains the traditional tales of her tribe, the Okanogan. She died in 1936 at the age of forty-eight.[29]

Dwight William Jensen, a recent author of juvenile and adult literature and the author of an Idaho history, wrote *There Will Be a Road* (1978) about two young men who spend the winter in the Idaho mountains cutting trees for posts, living in a dugout, and ultimately fighting for their lives in a blizzard.

In the view of many, Idaho's greatest home-grown literary fig-

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ure was Vardis Fisher. Fisher was born in Annis, Idaho, and grew up on an isolated homestead in the so-called Antelope country of southeastern Idaho. He graduated from Rigby High School the same year that Philo Farnsworth, as a student in chemistry there, invented television (see Chapter Twenty-one). Fisher went on to the University of Utah and University of Chicago and after completing a Ph.D. taught at the University of Utah, where one of his students was Wallace Stegner. Fisher left Utah to teach at New York University, where he formed a lifelong friendship with southern novelist Thomas Wolfe. In 1931 he returned to Idaho to live in Boise and the Hagerman Valley the rest of his life.

A product of a Mormon household far removed from a Mormon wardhouse, Fisher began to write such powerful novels about the Mormon countryside as *Toilers of the Hills* (1928), *Dark Bridwell* (1931), and *In Tragic Life* (1932). The last was the first in the Vridar Hunter autobiographical tetralogy that went on to include *Passions Spin the Plot* (1934), *We Are Betrayed* (1935), and *No Villain Need Be* (1936). In 1935 Fisher became director of the Idaho Writers' Project and Historical Records Project of the New Deal's Works Progress Administration and published *Idaho: A Guide in Word and Picture* (1937), the model for other state guides; *The Idaho Encyclopedia* (1938); and *Idaho Lore* (1939). He also wrote a light-hearted Idaho novel, *April: A Fable of Love* (1937).

In 1939 Fisher published *Children of God*, a historical novel about Mormonism that won the $10,000 Harper Prize. Other western novels that followed were *City of Illusion* (1941), about the Comstock Lode, and *The Mothers: An American Saga of Courage* (1943). Fisher began a twelve-volume series that he called the *Testament of Man*, which traced the development of the human race from prehistoric times to the twentieth century, and then returned to western-based novels: *Pemmican* (1956), about the Hudson's Bay Company; and *Tale of Valor* (1958),

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about the Lewis and Clark Expedition. His last novel, *Mountain Man: A Novel of Male and Female in the Early American West* (1965), was later filmed under the title *Jeremiah Johnson* and has been widely distributed and viewed. With his wife, Opal Laurel Holmes, he also wrote *Gold Rushes and Mining Camps of the Early American West* (1968).[30]

Fisher was an "honest" writer and rebelled against the hardships and repressive effects of the frontier. He wrote:

> If there is any general theme running through my novels, it must be this, that the human race has been betrayed by an assumption of compensatory virtues which are beyond fulfillment, and in self-defense has fled into countless evasions that have become so indelibly fixed in patterns that it is difficult to get out of them or understand what they have been doing to us.[31]

Because he was critical of Idaho frontier life and the Puritan rigidity of his family and church standards, he was regarded by many Idahoans as a controversial writer. He had a vivid style and clearly drawn characters and showed prodigious scholarship and understanding of civilization in the *Testament of Man* series. As he grew older, Fisher was able to look at Mormon and frontier values with greater appreciation. The last volume in his *Testament of Man* series, *Orphans in Gethsemane*, is a restructuring and rewriting of the Tetralogy—with a mellower look at his childhood and young manhood.

Fisher also produced *Sonnets to an Imaginary Madonna* (1927), considered by some as the finest book of verse by an Idahoan. His "power of imagery, command of language, technical knowledge of form, and general power to stir the imagination" demonstrated remarkable creative powers.[32] Fisher died in 1968.

Idaho has been home to one other literary figure of international importance: Ernest Hemingway.[33] Hemingway was born

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four years after Fisher, in Oak Park, Illinois. The son of a small-town doctor, he reported for the *Kansas City Star* until World War I. Because of an eye defect he was not inducted, but he volunteered as an ambulance driver in France and in the Italian infantry, where he was wounded just before his nineteenth birthday. While working in Paris as a correspondent for the *Toronto Star* after war's end, he joined the expatriate circle that included Gertrude Stein and Ezra Pound. He began to write short stories and novels that attracted attention. His first major work, *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), made him a spokesman for the "lost generation" of American expatriates. There followed *A Farewell to Arms* (1929) and several volumes of short stories. He wrote *Death in the Afternoon* (1932) about bullfighting, and *Green Hills of Africa* (1935) about big-game hunting. He served as a correspondent on the Loyalist side during the Spanish Civil War, and from this experience came a great novel, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940). The last two chapters of this novel were written in Sun Valley, during which time he gained an appreciation for Idaho. In particular, he liked the pheasant hunting.

A foreign correspondent during World War II, Hemingway settled in Cuba, where he wrote the celebrated short novel *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952), a parable of man against nature, for which he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1954. When Fidel Castro assumed control in Cuba in 1959, Hemingway moved to Idaho, where he lived until his self-inflicted death in 1961.

Hemingway's writings, composed in a simple, terse style, glorified virility, bravery, stoicism, and other primal qualities.[34] Idaho's eminent literary historian, Richard Etulain, suggests that some of Hemingway's popularity was his fascinatingly active life. "He went everywhere, did everything, and, above all, experienced all things."[35]

L. J. Davis, a Boise native living in Arizona, has written fine novels about Idaho. Marilynne Robinson, who grew up in Coeur

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d'Alene, published *Housekeeping* (1980), a novel set in Sandpoint, her birthplace, which won both the Hemingway and Rosenthal prizes. Several other novelists and poets of the present are doing creditable work.

Idaho has had two Pulitzer Prize winners for historical writing. The first was Lawrence Henry Gipson, mentioned in Chapter Twenty-seven, who won the prize in 1962. The second, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, won the prize in 1991 for her book *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard Based on her Diary, 1785–1812*. She had previously won the Bancroft and John H. Dunning awards, and the Joan Kelly Memorial Prize in Woman's History—all top prizes in the field of American history. Her book was praised for its imaginative use of the "minutiae regularly recorded in Martha Ballard's diary to construct an intricate mosaic of life on the . . . frontier." Ulrich's interpretation of data "discloses the operation of a female economy, reveals the importance of the midwife in the life of a rural community, and provides insight into gender roles and relationships."[36]

Ulrich had previously written the well-reviewed *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England* and many professional articles. She was born in St. Anthony but grew up in Sugar City, where her father, John Kenneth Thatcher, who had a master's degree from the University of Idaho, was principal and later superintendent of schools. He was a state senator from Madison County for eight years and a member of the State Board of Education and the board of the Idaho Falls Vocational-Technical School. Ulrich graduated from Sugar-Salem High School and the University of Utah and later completed her doctorate at the University of New Hampshire. Her grandfather was John B. Thatcher, who gave Thatcher, Idaho, its name; her ancestors were also among the early settlers in Teton City and Idaho Falls.

Inez Callaway Robb was a prizewinning reportorial writer who grew up in Caldwell, worked for the *Idaho Statesman*, joined the

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staff of the New York *Daily News*, and was a roving reporter for the International News Service from 1938 to 1953. One of the first woman war correspondents during World War II, she went on to become a nationally syndicated writer and her column appeared regularly in 160 newspapers for another decade. She wrote a widely acclaimed book, *Don't Just Stand There* (1962), a collection of her best columns that give a picture of her childhood in Caldwell and Boise, her beginnings as a newspaperwoman, and her happy married life. She reveals her enchantment with the scenic wonders of America and her firm stand on equal rights for men. The book is lively, provocative, and witty.

Another Idaho writer, Rosalie Sorrels, who grew up in Boise, lives in a cabin alongside Grimes Creek in Boise County. She has written and performed songs of her own composition, her haunting voice breathing life into the Idaho experience. Her Idaho songbook is entitled *Way Out in Idaho*. Mother of five, Sorrels has made sixteen records.

Finally, Idaho has produced writers of history—custodians and recorders of the territory's and state's conscience, experience, and wisdom. They have included the elders who transmitted the oral history of native peoples to their children and grandchildren; early residents who left diaries, letters, reminiscences, and personal histories of the events in which they participated; and more recent observers of the Idaho scene who felt an obligation to "write up" events in which they had a personal interest. They sometimes spoke several languages (especially Indian tongues), were often successful businessmen, and were active in the territory's and state's political life. They rode on Idaho's mountain trails, fished in its streams, felt the wind in their faces, and played poker with frontier roughnecks. By recognizing their responsibility to tell the territory's and state's story as they had witnessed its unfolding, they helped unite Idahoans by reminding them of their common origins and experiences.

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Idaho's historians have included John Hailey, whose *History of Idaho* (1910) was commissioned by the state legislature and contains detailed and authentic coverage of each legislative session; William J. McConnell, whose *Early History of Idaho* (1913), also published by authority of the state legislature, is especially rich in discussing the lawlessness in the Boise Basin in the 1860s and 1870s; and Hiram T. French, author of a three-volume *History of Idaho* (1914) that, in addition to two volumes of biographies, provides excellent treatment of the history of the various cities and counties and agricultural development.

The first major history of the state written by a professionally trained historian was *History of the State of Idaho* (1918) by Cornelius J. Brosnan, long-time professor of history at the University of Idaho. An informative four-volume *History of Idaho* was published in 1920 by James H. Hawley, prominent lawyer, mayor of Boise, and governor (1911–15). Byron Defenbach published a three-volume work, *Idaho: The Place and Its People* (1933), that concentrates on the territorial period.

The most definitive history of the state, the one used by all historians and researchers in the thirty years after its publication, is the three-volume *History of Idaho* (1959) by Merrill D. Beal and Merle W. Wells. Beal taught at Ricks College and Idaho State University and wrote *A History of Southeastern Idaho* (1942), *"I Will Fight No More Forever": Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War* (1936), and many articles. Merle Wells was director of the Idaho State Historical Society from 1969 to 1975 and state historian from 1959 until his retirement in 1989, and has published a half-dozen books and hundreds of articles on elements of Idaho history. Their *History of Idaho* covers almost every aspect of life—economics, politics, education, fine arts, religion, and sports. The body of their work and the contribution it has made to Idaho have earned both authors honorary degrees from the University of Idaho.

The national bicentennial occasioned a series of state histories under the sponsorship of the American Association for State

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and Local History. Idaho's history was written by F. Ross Peterson, a native of Montpelier and professor of history at Utah State University. Peterson's charming *Idaho: A Bicentennial History* (1976) pays special attention to the impact of the state's physical environment.

Idaho's centennial in 1990 promoted the writing of an additional volume, Carlos Schwantes' *In Mountain Shadows*, published in 1991 by the University of Nebraska Press. The book is amply illustrated and written in spritely style by this professor of history at the University of Idaho. Colorful personalities and raging controversies accent this fine Idaho history.

There are also excellent books for young people, especially those taking junior high school classes in Idaho history. Those still widely used in 1990 included Dwight William Jensen, *Discovering Idaho: A History* (1977) and Virgil M. Young, *Story of Idaho* (Centennial [3d] edition, 1990).

All of these historians have assiduously tried to get the facts right and at the same time tell a coherent story. They are fully conscious of the diversity and multidimensional nature of human experience and of the relativity of values, cultures, and traditions.[37]

Clearly, Idaho is not New England. Its settlement has been too recent, its energies too largely devoted to survival, to support a "flowering" such as Van Wyck Brooks chronicled for Massachusetts and her neighbors. Nevertheless, for a sparsely inhabited western state, Idaho has performed well in the literary arena. Its writers, especially when we include both those born in the state and those who later moved there, are far from insignificant. And prospects for the future are bright.

CHAPTER THIRTY: SOURCES

The section on Idaho's art history is based primarily on Sandy Harthorn and Kathleen Bettis, *One Hundred Years of Idaho Art, 1850–1950* (Boise: Boise Art Museum, 1990). I have also made use

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of entries in Lamar, ed., *Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West*; Robert Taft, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850–1900* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953); Paul Rossi and David C. Hunt, *The Art of the Old West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971); Larry Curry, *The American West: Painters from Catlin to Russell* (New York: Viking Press, 1972); William H. and William N. Goetzmann, *Looking at the Land of Promise: Pioneer Images of the Pacific Northwest* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1988); William H. and William N. Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1986); Phil Kovinick, *The Woman Artist in the American West, 1860–1960* (Fullerton, Calif.: Muckenthaler Cultural Center, 1976); and William H. Gerdts, *Art Across America: Two Centuries of Regional Painting*, 3 vols. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1990), esp 3:98–101.

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Sources on Indian myths and legends include Walker, *Myths of Idaho Indians*; "Visioning: Oral Literature of Idaho's Indian People"

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in James H. Maguire, ed., *The Literature of Idaho: An Anthology* (Boise: Boise State University, 1986), 3–37; "World View," in Walker, *Indians of Idaho*, 158–65; Richard Erdoes and Alfonso Ortiz, eds., *American Indian Myths and Legends* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984); William R. Palmer, *Pahute Indian Legends* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1946); Joseph Bruchac, Gerald Vizenor, and Arlene B. Hirschfelder, "Indian Literature and the Oral Tradition" in *Halcyon: A Journal of the Humanities*, published by the Nevada Humanities Committee in 1990, 35–61; Ake Hultkrantz, "Mythology and Religious Concepts," and Sven Liljeblad, "Oral Tradition: Content and Style of Verbal Arts," in D'Azevedo, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians: Great Basin*, 630–59; and Sven Liljeblad, "The Oral Traditions of the Shoshoni and Bannock Indians of Idaho," *Rendezvous: Idaho State University Journal of Arts and Letters* 6 (Spring 1971):1–11.

Travelers' accounts, narratives of personal experience, and sources on creative works of fiction and their authors are listed in the appropriate footnotes.

Splendid compilations on Idaho literature are Maguire, ed., *The Literature of Idaho: An Anthology*; and Ronald E. McFarland and William Studebaker, eds., *Idaho's Poetry* (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1988). Also helpful are J. Golden Taylor, *The Literature of the American West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1970); J. Golden Taylor, et al., *A Literary History of the American West* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1986); and Dexter Fisher, ed., *The Third Woman: Minority Women Writers of the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1980), esp. 39–43, 54–57, 106–8.

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151.

152.

155. Vardis Fisher, of pioneer Idaho parentage, became Idaho's most noted writer of fiction. ISHS 77–90.1.

156. Merle W. Wells (ca. 1982) is recognized as long-time Idaho State Historian and State Historic Preservation Officer. ISHS 82–2.42.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

Idaho's Ethnic Heritage

For thousands of years Idaho was the homeland of aboriginal peoples who hunted in its mountains and labyrinthine valleys, fished along its mountain creeks and rivers, and dug for roots on its arid plains. Then, starting about 1860, Idaho was invaded by diverse peoples from California, the Pacific Northwest, Utah, the Southern Confederacy and border states, and New England and the Old Northwest. These new citizens represented a variety of cultures: Protestants from the backcountry of Appalachia and the Southern Highlands, New York-New England descendants of English Puritans, Virginia descendants of Cavaliers and their farm laborers, Hispanics from the Southwest, frontiersmen from the Midwest and Great Plains, and Mormon farmers and craftsmen from Utah, many of whom were themselves new converts from Scandinavia, Wales, and England.

This pluralism, this lack of a common culture, resulted in a general tolerance for different faiths and values, a respect for

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individual differences, a belief in private enterprise, and a diversified democratic society. Inevitably, differences existed—among whites, Chinese, early Americans, and African-Americans—among nationalities with their differing languages, religions, customs, and social institutions. The state's history might well have been expected to be one of friction and strife.

But all of these differences were overshadowed by the common experience of new and old residents with the environment, whether along the Clearwater, Boise, Owyhee, Snake, Bear, or Salmon. The isolation, the struggle with nature, and the unpredictable opportunities fostered a resourcefulness, self-reliance, and spirit of working together. Nature was spectacularly beautiful, but the state's difficult terrain, its aridity, meant a constant struggle for survival. There were pockets of incredible wealth in rich underground deposits, but the expense of extraction was prohibitive, the market was 2,000 miles away, and there was always the danger of skullduggery or attack by hostiles in the wilds. Cooperation was not a luxury; it was absolutely necessary.

The territory continued to attract new residents from many countries and states. Although the vast majority were from the American Midwest and Plains states, significant numbers came from Europe, Asia, Mexico, and Canada. Idaho is proud to boast that different cultures have prospered together without being overwhelmed. Those groups of greatest significance in the state's history will be reviewed briefly in this chapter.

NATIVE AMERICANS. The first people to live in Idaho were, of course, the Native Americans.[1] In 1990 there were approximately 12,000 Native Americans living in Idaho, about the number present when Lewis and Clark passed through the region in 1805–6. During the decades that followed that first white contact, these native peoples retained their distinctive cultures, languages, and traditions. Despite the efforts of the dominant white society to assimilate them, the Native Ameri-

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cans still cherish a respectful attitude toward the land and try to maintain some of their traditions.

The Indian response to white occupation shifted with the changing face of white policy. The first phase began in 1867 when Congress created a Peace Commission that dropped the treaty as a negotiating instrument with the various tribes and substituted agreements that required the approval of both houses of Congress. Such an agreement, designed to force the Indians onto reservations, was approved at Fort Laramie in 1868. The Quaker or Peace Policy that sought to "conquer by kindness" followed. Indians were taught white practices, elementary education was provided for children, and annuities were proposed to help the Indians become self-supporting. Unfortunately, Congress allowed the agreements to languish without ratification or appropriations, and some hard-liners continued to demand extermination. In 1869 Congress appropriated money and created the Board of Indian Commissioners, consisting of prominent Quakers, Episcopalians, and others, to oversee the disbursement of Indian funds. Methodists supervised the Fort Hall Agency, Presbyterians the Nez Perce Agency, and Roman Catholics the Colville Agency that included part of northern Idaho. Unfortunately, religious influences on Indian administration did not measure up to expectations, and the reservation system proved ineffective. As the years passed the entrenched bureaucracy of the Indian Service demonstrated both incompetency and dishonesty, Indian rations fell below subsistence levels, and reservation land was mined and farmed and grazed by whites with the right connections. Church representatives continued to push for crop agriculture, private property, education, and Christianity over traditional Indian religion and land uses.

In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Severalty Act, in which Indians were each given a standard 160-acre allotment of land and the rest of their property was made available for use by

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whites. Of the approximately 138 million acres in Indian hands at the time, about two-thirds, including most of the best land, had passed into white possession by 1934. Whites continued to believe that communal ownership of property had deprived the Indians of the self-interest that was essential to "civilized" advancement. Programs continued to provide Christian education—mission schools, reservation schools, and off-reservation boarding schools—to instruct boys in farming and trades and girls in skills that would make them good housekeepers and farmers' wives. One praiseworthy step was the employment of Indian policemen and judges. Another came on June 2, 1924, when Congress gave full citizenship to all Indians.

Nevertheless the "civilization program" had hamstrung one way of life without replacing it with one more satisfactory. With the onset of the Great Depression the time was ripe for a new approach. In June 1934 Congress passed the Wheeler-Howard (Indian Reorganization) Act, which enabled tribes to purchase additional land, made loans available for tribal business ventures, gave Indians preference in employment, and permitted tribes to draft constitutions that would establish self-government. Under the leadership of Commissioner John Collier, Indian cultures enjoyed a new respect as Native Americans were given a larger voice in their own affairs. Infant mortality dropped, food production increased, and the Native land base expanded. A program was launched to relocate reservation Indians to urban centers, but it never achieved much success. There were many problems—infant mortality, disease, and alcoholism. County and state governments were asked to assume a larger role in providing Indian health care and education.

In 1946 Congress created the Indian Claims Commission to settle tribal claims against the government. In the many suits filed by Indians and their lawyers, some sizable judgments were rendered in their behalf. Nevertheless, the Indians suffered the dubious distinction of being the most depressed American minority.

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The strategy of government Indian policy in the last three decades has been to encourage self-determination. Substantial sums were committed to develop an improved system for Indian social, economic, and political growth; many federal programs were turned over to Indian control. Native Americans were appointed to policy-making positions in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Efforts also were made to attract tourists and light industry to reservations.[2]

Within this general framework, Idaho's natives have tried to make the best of their diminished property. The Nez Perce, who once shared about 14 million acres between the Clearwater and Salmon and from the Bitterroot Divide on the east to the mouth of the Snake River on the west, were limited in 1863 to an 800,000-acre reservation, later reduced through allotment to about 200,000 acres. Similarly, the Coeur d'Alene were restricted in 1885 from 4 million acres between the Clearwater and Pend Oreille rivers of Idaho and reaching into Montana and Washington to 345,000 acres around the town of Plummer. By 1990 Indians retained ownership of only about 58,000 acres. Various bands of Shoshoni, who once ranged all over south and central Idaho, down into the Great Basin and north to Canada, were placed on the 1.8 million-acre Fort Hall Reservation, now only 500,000 acres, which consisted of more than half the total reservation land in Idaho. Among those gathered together at Fort Hall were the Bear Lake Shoshoni, the Lemhi Shoshoni, the Sheepeaters or Mountain Shoshoni, and the Northern Paiute Bannock. The Boise, Bruneau, and Weiser Shoshoni—all Northern Shoshoni—were sent in 1869 from Boise Valley to Fort Hall, and the Mountain Shoshoni group of Weiser "Sheepeater" Indians followed shortly before 1900. The Western Shoshoni, who lived primarily in Nevada, reside on the 300,000-acre Duck Valley Reservation in southern Idaho and northern Nevada with some Northern Paiute from central Oregon. A Northern Shoshoni band from Bruneau Valley is also located at Duck Valley. (The Kutenai and Kalispel did not sign a treaty for

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a reservation within Idaho and have petitioned for recognition and land, as have the Delaware, who came into Idaho during the trapper era and have lived as a people in Payette Valley for more than 100 years, but more self-consciously since 1922.) In the case of each nation or tribe, the reduced acreage granted to the Indians made traditional food sources unavailable or insufficient.[3]

More recently, the Nez Perce have won important legal claims—payment for the loss of traditional Indian fisheries at Celilo Falls due to the construction of The Dalles Dam on the Columbia River and for losses from royalties for gold found on Indian land. Still working through the courts are suits for the protection of their salmon runs and fishing rights on the Clearwater, Snake, and Salmon rivers and their tributaries. The tribal council has pushed to create employment to support the 3,000 members by developing timber and limestone resources. They have sought to keep alive the Nez Perce language, to change the approach to Native American history in Idaho public schools, and to introduce Nez Perce history, culture, and language into the instruction their own tribal members receive. They have also enriched their cultural days and powwows with dances, songs, and feasts that honor the traditions of their people.

There are only about eighty members of the Idaho Kutenai tribes, most living in the Bonners Ferry area. In recent years, this small group has built thirty homes, a community building, a school, and the elegant forty-eight-room Kootenai River Inn. They have improved their educational system, held regular culture days and pow-wows, and helped the teachers of non-Indian children to prepare sessions on Indian history and culture.

The 900 Coeur d'Alenes on the reservation readily adapted to a farming and ranching lifestyle and embraced the Catholic faith. Obtaining an award from the Indian Claims Commission for land the tribe had owned, they used the money to buy additional property. Some $500,000 of this fund was invested in a

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six-thousand-acre farming venture that proved successful. The largest Indian-owned farm in the nation, the property grows winter wheat, lentils, spring wheat, and spring barley. Its earnings support construction, logging, hog-raising, and a gasoline station. The Coeur d'Alene hold an annual Indian Fair, with handicrafts, arts and agricultural displays, horse-racing, and other sports. Each July they celebrate Wha-Laa Days with a powwow. The tribe has kept oral histories of tribal elders and prepared slide shows to commemorate their Coeur d'Alene heritage. A Native American who is a former chairman of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe, David J. Matheson, currently (1991) serves as deputy Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. Matheson, born on the Coeur d'Alene Reservation in Plummer, attended the University of Washington. He has responsibility for the day-to-day operations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and is expected to stimulate much-needed economic development on tribal lands in the United States.

The 3,500-enrolled members of the Shoshoni-Bannock nation, sometimes called the "Sho-Ban," have developed economic activities that employ its members and bolster the tribe's economy. The tribal-owned Shoshone Bannock Trading Post Complex includes a grocery store, gas station, restaurant, and arts, crafts, and clothing store. A museum displays Indian baskets, pottery, clothing, and photographs. The tribe also derives income from the Gay Mine, a phosphate mine leased to the J. R. Simplot Company, and also owns and operates a 1,500-acre farm on which they raise potatoes, grain, and hay. Its 300-head buffalo herd supplies the buffalo burgers sold at the tribe's Oregon Trail Restaurant. With its profits the tribe has completed a $12 million housing improvement and development project. Its young people are encouraged to continue education beyond high school and bring back their advanced training to the reservation to help strengthen and broaden the tribe's many enterprises. The Shoshone-Bannock Indian Festival and All Indian Rodeo,

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held each August, features a parade, art show, food booths, recreational gambling, softball tournament, Indian games, dance competition, drum and singing contests, and a Miss Shoshone-Bannock contest.

The 2,000 Western Shoshoni and Northern Paiute on the isolated Duck Valley Reservation depend heavily on the Owyhee River diversion dam and canals to carry water to their farming tracts. Wildhorse Reservoir was completed in 1937, and the tribe for many years has been farming 11,000 acres of land. The Duck Valley people have retained some of their traditional crafts and customs including willow baskets, cradleboards, and rag rugs.

FRENCH CANADIANS. The first ethnic group to follow Indians in settling present-day Idaho were French Canadians.[4] Several, including the husband of Sacajawea, were in the Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery. Others were fur traders with the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company who remained in the area when the two companies consolidated. Among these were Michel Bourdon, who came with David Thompson in 1808, and François Payette, who traveled with John Jacob Astor's company and later was postmaster at Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort Boise. French Canadians also found representation as Catholic priests. Andre Zapherin, for example, was assigned to Boise Basin and Alex J. Archambault to Idaho City and other mining and farming camps in the region. The impact of French Canadians is clear from many Idaho names: Coeur d'Alene, Pend Oreille, Nez Perce, and Payette River. Godin Valley in Custer County was named for French Canadian (actually an Iroquois) Thyery (Henry) Godin, who explored the country with Donald Mackenzie in 1820 and named the river and mountains after himself. The river was later renamed Lost River. Pattee Creek in Lemhi County recognized Joseph B. Pattee, who came into the area as an employee of the

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American Fur Company and later settled on land at the mouth of the stream.

Many French Canadians joined the rush to Boise Basin with the mining boom of the 1860s. One of these was Joseph Perrault, from Montreal, who went to California, Walla Walla, Lewiston, and finally to Boise, where he became assistant editor and part owner of the *Statesman*. Lafayette Cartee built the first sawmill and quartz mill at Rocky Bar, moved with his family to Boise in 1866, and was appointed the first surveyor general of Idaho Territory.

French Canadians homesteaded land throughout the region. Frenchman's Island in Minidoka County was named for two French Canadians who filed a claim on the island. One of them ran a ferry across the Snake called "Frenchman's Ferry." A group of Quebec and Montreal natives moved to the Deer Flat area south of Nampa in 1903 and established a barber shop, bakery, carpenter shop, and farms. At the 1980 reunion of descendants of the original French Canadian settlers held at Saint Paul's Church and Lakeview Park in Nampa, the crowd numbered more than 300.

The north Idaho community of Colburn, nine miles north of Sandpoint, was named in Anglicized form for John Courberon, a French Canadian who worked for the Great Northern Railroad. From St. John the Baptist, Quebec, five of the thirteen children of the Poirier family moved into north Idaho and made it their home. A cove, falls, creek, and dam bear the name of Albeni Poirier. Beginning in 1883, he and a brother ran a cattle ranch in Spirit Valley. Later, the brothers built a road from Rathdrum to Albeni Falls, and the site became the headquarters for navigation of Priest River. Albeni Poirier built a small hotel, boarding house, and saloon just below the dam located there. The Poirier family now operates a museum that traces the history of the Blanchard community and the family farm.

In 1910, Idaho counties included 202 French Canadians in

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Kootenai, 115 in Shoshone, and 140 in Bonner. Other populations were in the lumbering counties of Latah, Nez Perce, Boundary, and Benewah.

BRITISH ISLANDERS. The British had, of course, been in the Oregon country with the fur trade. They had explored the land, named geographic features, directed international attention to the region, operated trading posts at Fort Hall and Fort Boise, and indirectly paved the way for subsequent American settlement.[5] Most of the large percentage of British migrants to Idaho, mirroring mainstream American society, assimilated easily. They did not retain ethnic enclaves, were not subjected to the job discrimination that others experienced, and were sometimes referred to as "invisible immigrants." The three exceptions were the Cornish, Welsh, and Irish. The Cornish came in comparatively large numbers to work in the mines and concentrated in Silver Valley and the Owyhees. The Welsh came directly from their homeland or indirectly through Utah to settle in Malad Valley and Bear Lake Valley in the 1860s and 1870s. The Irish worked in Idaho mining camps, some as prospectors, others as shoemakers, grocers, saloonkeepers, butchers, and livery operators.

The discovery of gold in Idaho during the 1860s coincided with a depression in the mines in Cornwall, and hence many of the miners were attracted to Idaho. They were often referred to as "Cousin Jack," a complimentary nickname that suggested they had a cousin back home ideal for a vacant mining job.[6] Most of them, however, stayed in the United States and sent for their families.

Because of their experience and their strong sense of family and social stability, the influence of the Cornish in mining camps was often out of proportion to their numbers. Many of them were Methodist, and they filled in as lay preachers when formally trained ministers were not available. (One of the ministers was John Andrewartha, who served in Rocky Bar and At-

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lanta.) They refused to work on Sunday, formed church choirs and brass bands, and sponsored such recreational activities as wrestling matches. They also favored their own foods—meat and vegetables wrapped in pie crust, called "pasties." Some of the men rose to political prominence, such as legislators Richard Tregaskis and Luke Williams.

The Welsh who were not Mormons were dominant in mining areas in north Idaho. Wardner, the first mining town in the Bunker Hill region, was made up mostly of Welsh miners who had worked the Cornwall tin mines. They later moved to Kellogg. Most were single men, lived in boarding houses, and were sometimes the butt of jokes by other miners because of their difficulties with the English language. A group of Welsh and Cornish miners from Butte worked in the mines at Gibbonsville in Lemhi County during the peak mining years of 1880 to 1906. A few Welsh also settled in American Falls, one of whose children was blue-eyed, red-haired David Davis, elected governor of Idaho in 1919.

The Irish sometimes favored settling together because of the strong anti-Catholic sentiment among Americans. In his statistical study of Idaho mining camps in 1870 and 1880, Elliott West discovered that one in four miners and one in four of the skilled persons in mining towns were Irish. Most were males; in Boise County, for example, Irish men outnumbered women 285 to 37.[7]

Half the miners in the Wood River area in the 1880s were also Irish, and they likewise comprised a substantial proportion of the military in territorial Idaho. These Irish also contributed individually. Robert Dempsey, a glassblower in Ireland before he came to Idaho, mined, worked as an Indian interpreter, and established a trading post near Blackfoot on the Snake River. He founded the town of Dempsey, which later became Lava Hot Springs. Another early resident was an Irishman named Murphy who built a toll gate and charged a fee for using his private road near the present town of McCammon.

Irish women also were enterprising. Anna, Margaret, and

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Mary O'Gara, sisters from County Cork, operated a rooming house and restaurants catering to timber workers in St. Maries. Witty, amiable, and "respectable," the O'Garas did not hesitate to do a little bootlegging on the side. As Ruby El Hult reported, once when officers raided their place, Margaret "poured her whiskey into a clean and sterile chamber pot and placed it under the bed. The officers found it but did not recognize its contents as whiskey." During another raid Margaret "brought her small whiskey keg into the kitchen and spread her voluminous skirts around it. There she stood adamant while officers searched the quarters."[8]

As part of labor-union activity, which they sometimes dominated, the Irish were highly visible in activities on St. Patrick's Day. Fenian Clubs, Irish Clubs, the O'Conner School of Dancers, and other such organizations allowed immigrants from the Emerald Isle to continue to celebrate their own culture and history.

CHINESE. The next national group to come to Idaho in force were the Chinese.[9] As we saw in Chapter Eleven, many Chinese fortune seekers followed the gold boom to Idaho in the 1860s. By 1870 there were 4,274 in Idaho, more than one-fourth of all the people in the territory. That year, approximately 60 percent of all Idaho miners were Chinese. They were also packers, cooks, domestics, merchants, doctors, launderers, and gardeners. Of the 445 Chinese men and 8 Chinese women living in Pierce in 1870 the average age was approximately thirty-two years; one to eleven people lived together in households. The group consisted of 411 miners, 14 gamblers, 3 hotel cooks, 3 blacksmiths, 3 gardeners, 2 laundrymen, and 1 each as clerk, trader, hotel keeper, merchant, hotel waiter, barber, doctor, and Chinese agent. One was a brothel-keeper, and eight women were listed as prostitutes.

Substantial numbers of Chinese worked in all Idaho mining

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districts, not only in the 1860s but also in the 1870s and 1880s. Many "celestials" grew fruits and vegetables for mining camps, hauling them in two large hemp baskets equally balanced on either side of a heavy, wooden shoulder yoke, or in a wooden vegetable cart. Several communities boasted Chinese gardens. The community known today as Garden City was so named in honor of the Chinese who lived and worked there. In Lewiston, Boise, St. Maries, and elsewhere Idahoans were eating Chinese food well before the East or Midwest acquired a taste for it. C. K. Ah-Fong of Boise was a well-known herb doctor, duly licensed by the territory.

Some 4,000 Chinese worked on the construction of the Northern Pacific Railway; others worked on the Oregon Short Line, Great Northern, and Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul and their branches. They also helped build the railroad and bridge at American Falls and worked in the railroad shops at Eagle Rock and Pocatello.

The number of Chinese in Idaho declined after 1870. There were 3,379 in Idaho in 1880; 2,500 in 1890; and 1,500 in 1900. Part of the reason for this decline was the anti-Chinese sentiment of the 1880s mentioned briefly in Chapter Eleven. In 1890 the Idaho legislature barred Chinese or "Mongolians" from holding mining lands. In 1897 the legislature restricted them from any mining activity. They suffered from several savage attacks; dozens were killed in prejudicial violence. Their religions, customs, clothes, burials, manners, queues of hair, insistence that their bones be transported back to China—all were ridiculed. The Chinese population declined everywhere except Boise, which was known as Cowrie City, the central Chinese community. Boise's Chinatown was first located on Idaho Street between 6th and 8th streets. About 1900 city authorities demanded that it be moved to 7th and Front streets, where it remained for the next seventy years.

After World War II the American attitude toward Chinese

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changed. As allies in the war they were viewed positively. Those born in the United States saw themselves as American citizens and worked to bring family members from "the old country." The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was repealed in 1943, making naturalization possible. Nevertheless, Idaho's Chinese population remains small. In 1980 only 625 people in the state claimed Chinese ancestry. They still have the traditional Chinese New Year, which is celebrated throughout the day and night with firecrackers, roast-pig dinners, Chinese and American candies, and special Chinese whistles. Paper dragons are popular in city and national parades, and Chinese paper lanterns adorn local festivities.

THE MORMONS. An extended essay on the Mormons in *The Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* written by Dean May, a historian formerly of Middleton, Idaho, suggests that the Mormons have always regarded themselves as a people in the same sense that Jews, blacks, Hispanics, and Basques are considered a distinct people. The history of prejudice toward the Mormons in Idaho clearly fits into the perspective of ethnic relations.

The case for understanding Mormons as an ethno-religious people rather than simply as another religious group rests on many considerations. Mormons have (or at least used to have) a distinctive vocabulary, shared history, unique theological beliefs, definite in-group boundaries (prohibitions on the use of alcohol, tobacco, tea, and coffee), emphasis on in-group marriage, and a strong sense of peoplehood, which includes the "brother" and "sister" terminology. Mormons' bloc settlement, their modified self-sufficient economy, their gradual identification with Idaho, and their rural-urban transition all parallel the experience of many other ethnic groups in Idaho. Their agricultural skills, English-language background, and knowledge of western culture made their transition easier than that of many

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others, but the broad process of adjustment and accommodation was similar to other ethnic groups. Like others described in this chapter, the Mormons were gradually accepted into the larger society because of their economic contribution, their growing political power, and their own accommodation to the underlying values of the dominant society.[10]

Mormons who settled in Idaho were, in approximately equal numbers, British, Scandinavians, and Americans. A substantial number of the British were Welsh, who settled in the Malad Valley, Bear Lake Valley, and Iona.[11] Many of the Welsh spoke Cymric, were clannish, and expressed their fierce nationality in their music, poetry, and the perpetuation of their language and national customs. They celebrated Saint David's Day (first two days of March); held "eisteddfods" for the development of their literary, theatrical, and musical abilities; and organized Cambrian societies. Census figures of Malad Valley showed 400 Welsh in 1890. The people were zealous Mormon converts, and one reason is that their religion helped them preserve their language and customs. Mormon scriptures were published in Cymric, and Mormon communities vied for Welsh settlers because this would assure, or so they believed, good singers for the choir. The person who gave the Mormon Tabernacle Choir national status was Evan Stephens, a Welshman whose family settled in St. John, just north of Malad. That singing tradition continued; the Welsh chorus from Malad was invited to sing at the two inaugurations of Governor John V. Evans, of Welsh Mormon heritage, in Boise.

Another large group of Mormon settlers in Idaho were Scandinavians.[12] Some came directly from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark; others went to Utah in the 1850s and 1860s, worked on the Utah and Northern Railway, and then relocated in the upper Snake River area. Scandinavians represented about one-third of all the Mormons who settled in Idaho in the last third of the nineteenth century. Scandinavians from Utah's Brigham

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City and Hyrum established St. Charles and Ovid in Bear Lake Valley in 1864, Mink Creek in 1871, Weston in 1875, and Driggs in the 1890s. In 1890 almost 1,000 Mormon Danes were located in Oneida, Bingham, and Bear Lake counties. They were farmers, stockmen, craftsmen, or worked for ranchers, the railroad, and the U & I Sugar Company. They were good builders of homes, business establishments, flour mills, bakeries, and power plants.

Many of the Scandinavians brought with them a folk tradition of celebrating May Day Eve with bonfires, merrymaking, group singing, and speech-making, followed the next day by a colorful Maypole dance and feast. The children might pick spring flowers and fill May baskets and place them on the steps of friends' and neighbors' homes. In some communities attention was paid to Midsummer Day, "Midsommarfest" (June 24), a celebration of the summer solstice—the beginning of summer in the Northern Hemisphere—that dates back to pre-Christian times. It was a time for visiting friends and relatives, enjoying traditional foods, wearing traditional costumes, singing folk songs, and performing folk dances. There were picnics, parades, and pageants. In some communities this holiday was postponed and celebrated in connection with Mormon Pioneer Day on July 24; in others, Midsummer and May Day Eve were celebrated together. In still others the celebrations were scheduled on June 14, the day the Mormon mission opened in Scandinavia in 1850. Scandinavians enjoyed dances, music festivals, and theatrical performances throughout the year and had a salutary influence on the communities in which they settled.

The minutes of meetings of Mormon men and women in these ethnic villages where Danish, Norwegian, or Swedish was still the predominant languages are fascinating reading, weaving, as some of them did, a mixture of English and Danish, Norwegian, or Swedish. Many residents left life histories similarly charming. Many poems included plays on words. It has been written:

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"Then Danish speech falls on the ear, The sweetest sound a soul can hear."[13]

A third important group of Mormons were the Swiss, who settled villages in the Bear Lake Valley (including Bern and Geneva) in the 1860s and 1870s. Farmers and stockmen, they accumulated large cattle herds, made Swiss cheese and butter, held Swiss Days, and continued to maintain their traditions and customs.[14] Most of Idaho's Swiss settlers were Mormons. There were 249 Swiss natives in Bear Lake County in 1890, 362 in 1900. There were also 219 Swiss in Fremont County in 1910.

Bern was founded by John Kunz in 1873 when he was called by Brigham Young to raise cattle and make cheese for the local settlers and for export to Salt Lake City. Geneva was founded by Henry Touvscher in 1879. Both towns enjoyed Swiss yodeling, sauerkraut parties, and competition in handcrafted articles.

SCANDINAVIANS. Like the Mormon Scandinavians, their fellow nationals of other faiths also adapted well to the Idaho settlement process.[15] In 1900 Scandinavians constituted approximately one-fourth of the total foreign-born in Idaho. They included not only Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes but Finns as well. Finnish immigrants came in smaller numbers than the other three but were nevertheless an important segment.

Most non-Mormon Scandinavians had migrated first to Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, where they worked in the forests, before moving on to north Idaho to become loggers. Some worked in north Idaho mines during World War I, settling in Coeur d'Alene, Wallace, Potlatch, Moscow, Bonners Ferry, Sandpoint, and Troy. Maintaining cultural ties for many years, they sponsored group excursions, held midsummer festivals, and organized ethnic clubs. Norwegians celebrated Norwegian Independence Day (May 17); Swedes celebrated Walpurgis Night or Spring Festival (April 30) with singing, folk dancing, bonfires, and Swedish-style refreshments. Some communities

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included both of the two denominational Lutheran churches.

New Sweden, west of Idaho Falls, was a result of the formation of the Great Western Land Company, which constructed the Great Western and Porter irrigation canals in 1895. The settlers built a Lutheran church and large barns even before they finished their houses. By 1919 about 12,000 acres had been cleared and a system of dams and reservoirs established, and settlers filled up the area. The New Sweden Pioneer Association was formed to "keep alive the old memories of pioneer days" and to operate the New Sweden School.[16] Residents celebrated occasionally with potluck picnics, Swedish accordion music, square dances, horse-drawn wagon rides for children, a midsummer pole raising, and folk music.

Other communities of non-Mormon Swedes were in Firth, Minidoka County, and Nampa. Swedish children in Minidoka sometimes complained that other children laughed at their Swedish dialect, clothing, and food; their parents laughed right back at the Missouri dialect, Ozark dress, and cornpone and "chittlins" of their southern neighbors. Among the traditional foods of the Minidoka Swedes were clabbered milk; "valling," a dish made from potato starch with nuts and raisins; fruit compotes; "sill" or salt herring; head cheese; "kalvost" or milk pudding; and "skorpor," a rusk (sweet raised bread dried and cooked again in the oven). The large Swedish community around Nampa had gone first to Illinois and then moved to Canyon County. They also had an active Scandinavian Society.

Most Finnish immigrants came to Idaho between 1890 and 1920, the majority of them settling in Silver Valley in north Idaho and in Long Valley in central Idaho; most of those in north Idaho were miners from Minnesota and Wisconsin. Politically active, the north Idaho Finns constructed six workers' halls within a forty-mile radius of each other but built no church. In Enaville, their chief center, they held workers' meetings and performed monthly amateur plays sometimes infiltrated with socialist doctrine. Many of them sympathized with the In-

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dustrial Workers of the World. There were dances at the halls, weddings, basket socials, and dramas. They organized athletic teams and held track meets in which only Finns participated. Once, when loggers were moving logs down the North Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River, a group of Finnish women came to loudly protest their use of dynamite—it scared the setting hens off their nests and killed the embryos in the eggs.[17]

The Long Valley Finns, primarily at Elo in a high mountain valley, were farmers and loggers. More conservative and religious, they worshipped in the Suomi Synod of the Lutheran Church. Because Finnish is not a Germanic-based language, as is English, the Finns had difficulty learning English.

A well-known Finnish cultural artifact was the sauna, which contained two rooms, a dressing room, and a steam room with a wood-burning stove. Several apple-sized rocks were heated on the top of the stove with a water barrel nearby. Tiered benches were built around the wall, and the hardiest bathers sat on the highest bench where the temperature was hottest. The men often hit themselves with branches to stimulate their circulation. After sufficient steaming, they raced out and dove into a nearby lake or river to cool off. Saunas were heated Saturday nights. When the men had finished and the temperature had cooled somewhat, women used the sauna.

Another Finnish custom was celebrating "Juhannus," or St. John's Day, on June 24 (the equivalent of the midsummer festival), commemorating the return of summer. An all-day picnic included music, footraces, speeches, and food and drink. The community band played, a church choir sang, and the children recited verses.

The Finns in both north and central Idaho, adults and children, knew or soon learned how to ski. They fashioned their skis from red pine and old leather harness straps.

WESTERN EUROPEANS. The Germanic peoples who came to Idaho were from Holland, Prussia, various states of

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southern and western Germany, diverse sections of the Austrian Empire, Switzerland, and the Volga and Black Sea areas of Russia where Germans had moved generations earlier yet retained their identity.[18] There are problems in categorizing these people because "Germans," of whom 5,221 were listed in the 1910 census, might have been listed separately in the census under Russians, Prussians, Austrians, or Dutch (often confused with Deutsch). Many of Idaho's foreign-born Germans came from the Midwest rather than directly from Europe; the peak year of German immigration to the United States was 1882. Many of them fled their homeland to avoid lifetime military conscription.

Germanic people began coming to Idaho Territory in the 1860s as miners, investors, assayers, brewers, and bakers. In the 1880s other Germans joined the rush to Coeur d'Alene and nearby districts. Still others arrived when Indian reservation land was opened for settlement around the turn of the century. Groups of Germans worked in mines and on farms in Bonners Ferry around 1900; others maintained a German Methodist Church at Rathdrum. Post Falls, in Kootenai County, was named in honor of Frederick Post of Herburn, Germany, who moved to north Idaho in 1871. Frank Bruegeman, who lived in the Cottonwood area of Camas Prairie, wrote to a German-language newspaper in the Midwest and recruited a group of Germans from Illinois, who settled the town of Keuterville and built a Catholic church there. Others who settled around Cottonwood also built a Catholic church and parochial school. Another company of Germans formed the neighboring town of Greencreek, named after Greencreek, Illinois, from which they came. With so many German Catholics in the vicinity, they persuaded the Benedictine order to establish a convent, the Priory of St. Gertrude. Farther north, German Lutherans settled around Leland and Kendrick, and in their communities in Juliaetta and Cameron they built two churches.

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A small community of Germans from a drought-stricken area of Kansas settled Council Valley; others went to Minidoka County; still others to St. Maries and Moscow. There were Mormon Germans around Blackfoot, Rexburg, Iona, Soda Springs, the Bear Lake Valley, and Teton County. Russian Germans settled as groups in the Aberdeen (Mennonites), Dubois, and Tabor areas in eastern Idaho. Another group of German Russians was in American Falls, where Lutheran and German Congregational churches were built.

Germans were also early settlers of Boise, where there were 1,000 in 1900 and 6,000 in 1910—approximately 10 percent of the population. The young men organized a Turnverein, a club dedicated to physical fitness and patriotism. They sponsored picnics, gymnastic exhibitions, singing, and dancing. In 1904 the German-American architect Charles Hummel built a Turnverein Hall in Boise with a stage, a 400-seat auditorium with a 200-seat balcony, and an exercise area in the basement. The hall was sold in 1916 when Germans and their organizations became objects of suspicion during World War I.

The Germans made important contributions to Idaho music. Nearly every small town had a brass band. Towns with a substantial number of Germans celebrated Oktoberfest, the Feast of St. Nicholas, and May Day. During the 1930s an elite group of Germans and Austrians came to Idaho to teach skiing at Sun Valley Resort. As a result, German and Austrian folk-music festivals, decorations, food, and chalet architecture became prominent in the area.

In addition to Germans and Austrians, there were three unique Dutch communities in Idaho. One, founded in 1908, was on the Camas Prairie in Idaho County where the Dutch established Christian Reformed and Dutch Reformed churches in Grangeville. Some of these settlers moved to the Salmon Tract in south Idaho and founded the town of Appledorn, later changed to Amsterdam. They built a Dutch Reformed Church

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and parsonage. Although many later left for other settlements, enough Holland Americans remained to maintain its ethnic character. A third Dutch settlement is much more recent. It began in the 1970s when a group of Dutch dairymen left California and relocated in the Jerome-Gooding area where they continued their dairy product operations. Their Dutch Reformed church serves about 100 families around Jerome, Buhl, and Twin Falls.

Belgian, Luxembourg, and French immigrants have established no ethnic communities. A non-Mormon Swiss group settled Island Park in Fremont County in the 1880s. Although the company that attracted them, the Arangee Land and Cattle Company, went broke in 1898, many of the Swiss remained as homesteaders and ranchers. After World War I a group of about 120 Czechs moved to Castleford, in Twin Falls County, where they maintained cultural traditions through lodges and community celebrations. Senators William E. Borah and Henry Dworshak, although not of this community, were of Czech origin.

SOUTHERN EUROPEANS. Italians came to Idaho, mostly during the years 1890 to 1920, to mine, farm, ranch, construct railroads, and start businesses.[19] In 1910, 2,627 Italians in Idaho lived in enclaves in Kellogg and Wallace, Bonners Ferry, Naples, Lava Hot Springs, Roston in Minidoka County, and Mullan and east of Priest River. The largest concentration was in Pocatello, where as many as 400 families were supported by railroad jobs. Almost half of these left after workers lost a nationwide railroad strike in 1922.

With 1,860 Greeks working on railroad construction, about 40 percent of the total railroad work force in Idaho in 1910 consisted of Italian and Greek immigrants. Many of the Greeks, who lived where rail-line activity was busiest, also left the state in 1922 as the result of the strike. Most of the Greeks and Italians lived in the railroad center of Pocatello, although there were pockets in Boise, St. Maries, Potlatch, Sandpoint, Oro-

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fino, Wallace, and Rupert. In addition to railroads, they worked in sawmills and mines and opened small businesses such as shoe repair shops, restaurants, and saloons. The Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches played a central role in fostering an ethnic consciousness among the state's Italian and Greek citizens.

There were also Portuguese, mostly from the Azores, and some Syrians and Lebanese, particularly in Gooding County. The Basques, who are from northern Spain and southern France, are discussed below.

JEWS. Like the Mormons, the Jews are not, collectively, one ethnic group—they make up peoples from many nationalities and cultures. But in relation to the Gentile majority in the countries where they have lived, Jews have been treated as a distinct people. That ethnicity results from a combination of their religion, their European cultures, and their experiences in the United States.[20]

A few Jews, mostly single young men who were born in Germany (which included parts of Poland, Austria, and Hungary), spent a few years in the East and then ventured to Idaho in the 1860s and 1870s. Coming as peddlers, small traders, and wage earners, they quickly learned English, opened stores, and rose rapidly out of poverty. Others got their start in business as sutlers for the U.S. Army.

Larger numbers, mostly from Central and Eastern Europe, entered the territory and state between 1881 and 1919. They spoke Yiddish, shared a common European culture, and practiced a more conservative form of Judaism than did their German predecessors. As they settled in the Boise and Pocatello areas, their large numbers made possible a group ethnic identity.

Most of the Jews from Eastern Europe remained orthodox, obeyed dietary laws and laws of ritual and ceremony in their religious and personal lives, and held religious services in

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Hebrew. Members of the Reform sects came to the United States from Western Europe and brought a more liberal form of Judaism. Services were conducted in English, and they more easily acculturated to American society. As East Europeans made adaptations and adjustments to American life, in religion as in other aspects of life, they established Conservative congregations that were similar to the Reformed; both Conservative and Reformed represented an Americanization of Judaism. Whatever the form of their religion, Idaho's Jews celebrated such festivals as the Feast of the Booths, Hanukkah or the Festival of Lights, Passover, and such High Holy Days as Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashannah.

Among the early Jewish residents of Idaho was Robert Grostein, born in what later became Poland, who came to America at age four, went to California when he was nineteen, and in 1862 joined the rush of miners to Idaho and opened a store in Lewiston. For thirty-three years Grostein and his partner and brother-in-law Abraham Binnard, who joined him in 1865, ran a profitable business. Grostein built several public buildings and "one of the finest residences" in the city, owned 3,500 acres of farmland, and operated a branch store in Warrens that he supplied by using his 200 pack mules. Louis Grostein, possibly a nephew of Robert, operated stores in Elk City, Warrens, and Lewiston.

Joseph Alexander left Adelsheim, Germany, at age sixteen, worked in New York until he learned English, and in the 1860s moved to the Idaho gold fields and opened retail businesses in Lewiston, Genesee, and Grangeville. His partner was Aaron Freidenrich, who was born in Bavaria and went to Lewiston in 1868. He later opened a general store in Florence, then Warrens, and then moved to Grangeville.

David and Nathan Falk, brothers, were born in Eggenhausen, Bavaria. They came to the United States while still teenagers. In 1866 Nathan moved to Boise and worked as a bookkeeper for his brother, who had gone to Boise in 1864. In 1868 the two

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opened their own general store and five years later expanded to include a third brother, Sigmund.

Alexander Rossi was born in Zybrechken on the Rhine, came to the United States at age eighteen, worked in New York three years, joined the California gold rush in 1849, later went to Oregon City, and then in 1861 moved on to Lewiston. He went the next year to Idaho City, where he engaged in the lumber busi ness and operated an assay office. In 1865 he relocated in Boise and built that city's first sawmill with his partner Albert H. Robie, from Lewiston. Rossi headed the construction of the Ridenbaugh Canal, was the first assayer in charge of the Boise City Assay Office, and did survey work in Idaho and Oregon.

Later comers included Simon Friedman, a German native, who moved to the Wood River gold and silver district in 1881, opened a general store, and invested in mining property. Another was Nate Block, who was born in Omelno, Russia, came to the United States when he was twenty-two, and moved in 1909 to Pocatello, where he operated a clothing store.

Perhaps the most prominent immigrant was Moses Alexander, who came to Boise in 1891 and was later elected governor. We have described him briefly in Chapter Twenty. His election as governor in 1914 was astonishing to the Jews since there were not more than 250 voting Jews in the state. But a survey of Boise newspapers reveals that Jewish merchants were regarded as "pillars of the community," and their comings and goings were reported as regularly as those of other prominent citizens.

In 1895, at Alexander's suggestion, Boise Jews incorporated under the name Congregation Beth Israel. A temple was dedicated in 1896, with David Falk presiding over the services. It is the oldest synagogue in continuous use west of the Mississippi. In 1899 the first B'nai B'rith Lodge in Idaho was established. By 1912 there were enough orthodox Jews in Boise to organize Congregation Ahavath Israel, which built a synagogue in 1949. In 1990 the Reform and Orthodox groups were combined.

Pocatello, a younger community than Boise, established a

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Reform congregation about the time of World War I, a B'nai B'rith Lodge in 1923, and its first synagogue in 1947. In 1961 Temple Emanuel was built. Eli M. Oboler described Pocatello Judaism as "Conformoxaho," meaning part Conservative, part Reform, part Orthodox, "and a lot Idaho."[21]

JAPANESE. The first generation of Japanese immigrants made Idaho their home in the 1880s.[22] During the course of their lives in Idaho they lifted themselves, through back-breaking work, from the migrant laborers who followed the railroad and agricultural circuit to become successful merchants, tenant farmers, and other business people.

Most of the early Japanese migrants came from Hawaii, where they had contracted to work on sugar plantations. Many came with wives and families, and others sent for brides as soon as they could settle down. Most of the immigrants paid for their passage and had more money in their pockets than the average European immigrant. Japanese society thus took on an air of permanence unlike that of many other immigrants, even though the Issei, those born in Japan, could not own land or become American citizens.

The Japanese were not always welcomed. The *Idaho Daily Statesman* carried articles in 1892 supporting Mountain Home, Nampa, and Caldwell residents who had ordered "Japs" to keep out of the state.[23] Japanese immigration was, in fact, barred from the United States from 1924 to 1942. However, Japanese immigration had lasted for more than forty years (1882–1924), during which time the Issei could establish themselves, summon their families, teach their children Japanese traditions, and at the same time encourage their acculturation. Issei could not buy land, but they could and did lease it until 1923, when Idaho passed an act prohibiting Japanese from securing property. (The act remained on the books in Idaho until 1955.) Bonneville County had from 200 to 250 Japanese throughout 1900, 1910,

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1920, and 1930. By 1980 there were 2,066 persons claiming Japanese ancestry in Idaho.

When the Oregon Short Line began construction in 1882, recruiters were sent to California and Hawaii. Within two years 1,000 Japanese men were working on the line, and by 1892 there were about 3,500. Japanese labor camps sprang up along the line through south Idaho, with shop headquarters in Nampa and Pocatello. In 1900 Japanese railroad crews worked in Ada County, Rexburg, and St. Anthony. By 1900 about 3,500 men were building branch lines in south Idaho, such as those from Murphy to Nampa and Emmett and from Weiser to New Meadows. In north Idaho a high proportion of the work force on the three transcontinental railroads was Japanese. Their earnings were low—from $1.10 to $1.50 per day—and they were lodged in broken-down boxcars fitted with wooden bunks that accommodated from six to twelve men.

Many of the railroad workers took leaves of absence to work for Utah-Idaho Sugar Company and other firms in the sugar beet fields. In 1907 all the 4,000 acres of sugar beets in Idaho Falls, Sugar City, Blackfoot, and Moore were worked exclusively by Japanese. Thinning beets by stooping with a short-handled hoe, and topping by reaching down for each harvested beet and cutting off the top, were hard work—"the kind of work to break not only backs but spirits too."[24] But then, as Buddhists and Shintoists, the Japanese had learned to accept whatever happens, to show gratitude for what they had, and to know that everything would come out right. They were not afraid of hard manual labor. By 1910 about 1,000 Japanese in south Idaho were employed in thinning and topping sugar beets, building railroads, constructing irrigation ditches, working as domestic labor, and employed in such private businesses as supply stores, boarding houses, restaurants, barber shops, pool rooms, and tailor shops.

Because the Japanese had achieved, by the 1920s, a near balance of sexes, they were more easily able to retain their

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language and customs within the privacy of their homes, where the Butsudan shrine (representation of Buddha) commemorating ancestors had its niche. Traditional foods were served, and traditional marriages and funerals were held. The Japanese also had social gatherings, dinners, and annual picnics. They honored their elders and took care of each other. Although the men learned English, the women, more protected, had less opportunity to learn the language. The husband spoke Japanese with his wife in the home, thus helping the family retain its language. Many adopted the dominant religion of the region and affiliated with Christian denominations.

Japanese children (Nisei), being born here, had access to the vote, the right to own land, and the civil protections denied their parents. They formed the Japanese American Citizen League (JACL) to assist in the process of Americanization and to insure their civil rights. By the 1920s the Nisei outnumbered the Issei. Parents were caught between the desire to preserve traditional ways and the hope that their children would find success in America.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor that brought America into World War II, as described in Chapter Twenty-three, 110,000 Japanese from the West Coast were forcibly taken to war relocation camps in Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, and other places in the interior. These relocatees did not affect the permanent settlers in Idaho, who were, nevertheless, often subjected to prejudice, abuse, and hatred.

After the war, many of the internees remained in Idaho to make their home, especially in the Nampa, Caldwell, and Weiser areas. Work and educational opportunities gradually expanded, anti-Japanese legislation was repealed, and the people were allowed to live as they wished. In 1952 legislation made alien Japanese eligible for citizenship; Japanese immigration resumed. In 1955 Japanese Americans successfully obtained repeal of the Alien Land Law and in 1962 Idaho voters passed a

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constitutional amendment that deleted the section disqualifying Japanese from full citizenship rights.

BASQUES. The people who call themselves "Euskaldunak" or "speakers and lovers of the Basque language" are perhaps the most well-known of all of Idaho's European ethnics.[25] The Idaho Basques came from the Pyrenees in north-central Spain, mostly from farms and villages within a twenty-mile radius of the Basque capital of Guernica. Beginning about 1895 and continuing for another fifty years, they worked as sheepherders, ranch hands, and sheep shearers. Their life was lonely and isolated, something to which the gregarious and community-oriented Basques were not accustomed. They often took part of their wages in ewes that they ran alongside those of their employer. Once their own flocks were substantial, they broke away, seeking their own range by leasing from private landowners or moving onto unclaimed rangeland. Thus Basque-owned sheep outfits spread throughout southwestern Idaho. Most made certain their children received an education to obtain different work. Not many second-generation Basques are sheepherders.

Most Basques coming to Idaho were single, expecting to earn and save money and return home. But many remained, sent for families, and established ethnic centers in several Idaho communities. Boise was the center of Basque settlement in southwestern Idaho, and the southeastern section of the city's downtown came to be dotted with boarding houses and pelota courts. A Basque priest served the people's needs beginning in 1911, and the parish established the Church of the Good Shepherd in 1918. The enclave started to decline in 1920 as more Basques became "Americanized" and settled in other parts of the city. They abandoned their separate church and reaffiliated with other Catholics. Nevertheless, Boise still remains an important center for Basque life and culture and, drawing from smaller Basque communities in Mountain Home, Nampa, Hagerman,

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Twin Falls, Shoshone, and Hailey, boasts the largest concentration of Basques outside Europe.

Basques have contributed color and variety to Idaho life in the continued existence of Basque hotels and boardinghouses that feature delectable ethnic cuisine and informal, family-style atmospheres. The Basque boardinghouse was an important home away from home for Basque herders, and the women cooks and helpers treated all the men as sons or brothers. Towns like Shoshone had half a dozen such boardinghouses in the 1930s and 1940s. At Basque festivals, held annually in Boise, Mountain Home, and Shoshone, hundreds of spectators are treated to Basque cooking, athletic events (stone-lifting and woodchopping), and folk dancing. A Basque Museum and Cultural Center in Boise preserves artifacts, books, music, and other elements of Basque history to acquaint Idahoans and other visitors with their heritage. The Oinkari Basque Dancers have performed throughout Idaho and in festivals and tours throughout the nation.

HISPANICS. Idaho's largest ethnic group has its roots in Mexico and the American Southwest.[26] Many Hispanics and "mestizos"—people of mixed Spanish and Indian heritage—worked their way up from New Mexico prior to Idaho's gold rush of the 1860s. Once gold mining ensued, Hispanics arrived in Idaho Territory to work as miners and packers. Mexican miners worked placers in the hills near Idaho City; others found rich quartz deposits in the Salmon River mountains. Ramon Meras and Anthony Yane operated pack strings out of Lewiston; "Spanish George" ran a pack outfit out of Grangeville for twenty years; another group was based in the Loon Creek Mining District. Jesus Urquides had a large pack-string in the Boise district and built thirty cabins to house packers. He once moved nine tons of steel cable several miles in length up a mountain range to a mine in the Boise Basin. In Boise the enclave be-

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tween Main Street and the Boise River was known as "Spanish Town"; some of its buildings were still standing as late as 1972.

In the 1870s Mexican vaqueros—cowboys—were hired to work ranches in Owyhee County and elsewhere, where some acquired land and stock of their own. Joseph Amera raised hundreds of cattle near White Bird, and Guadalupe Valez had a large herd in south-central Idaho.

Hispanics were employed by the hundreds to lay railway track in Idaho in the 1880s and 1890s, and many found secure employment in railroad towns like Nampa and Pocatello. Others worked in north Idaho in the Bunker Hill mine and smelters. In this century the development of large-scale agriculture in south Idaho and its subsequent need for cheap labor encouraged Mexicans to come in large numbers. Hand labor was required to pick fruit, thin and top sugar beets, weed and harvest beans, and pick potatoes. Many of these farm workers later became permanent residents, and by 1920 Idaho had 1,125 residents of Mexican birth.

World War II generated a new demand for agricultural workers. Growers induced Congress to create the "bracero" program that allowed farmers to use Mexican nationals to harvest crops. Employers were required to pay transportation costs, cover living expenses, and provide proper treatment. The Forest Service also hired Mexicans to plant seedlings and fight fires; crews of Mexicans were paid to fight blister rust.

The construction and expansion of food-processing plants in Idaho in the 1950s and 1960s increased industry demand for laborers to work in fields and in the new factories. In 1950 only 326 persons of Mexican birth were counted as permanent residents; many had gone to California during World War II. By 1960, 2,241 were calling Idaho home. Although job opportunities expanded, difficult problems emerged. The migratory farm work, the language barrier, and little financial and counseling assistance combined to give Hispanics the highest school

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dropout rate in Idaho; as late as the 1980s less than 40 percent graduated from high school.

In 1990 there were about 65,000 Hispanics in Idaho, about two-thirds of whom were citizens. A developing industry, the production of hops—a labor-intensive crop—employs many Hispanics. In 1986 Anhaeuser-Busch established a camp for about 150 Mexicans working in the hops fields north of Bonners Ferry.

Concern has increased for the operation of "decent" and "sanitary" labor centers. The Twin Falls office of the Idaho Migrant Council has taken over the maintenance and operation of the labor center a mile south of Twin Falls that has housed migrants for decades. The dilapidated housing has been transformed into a model labor camp equipped with new insulation, wiring, bathrooms, kitchen cabinets, and doors and windows.

With more Mexicans establishing permanent residence in the state, the Idaho Association of Mexican Americans was formed in 1976 to perpetuate Hispanic customs among their children. There are now dozens of Mexican restaurants, local tortilla factories, and bilingual teachers, nurses, and store clerks in most southern Idaho towns. Spanish-language radio stations and churches flourish, and Mexican bands play for dances, weddings, and fiestas. Mexican Americans give strong emphasis to familial bonds, and extended families have gathered in many places, with parents, siblings, cousins, uncles, aunts, and grandparents. The importance of an extended family is reflected in the care with which Mexican Americans choose godparents for their children—someone to look after them in case of death of the biological parents.

Religion has played an important role in Mexican American communities. Although the vast majority are Roman Catholics, there are many who are Mormons, and some have joined the Assembly of God and other charismatic groups. In the Burley-Rupert area, for example, there were in 1990 eight Spanish-

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language churches. A large tinted picture of the appearance of the Virgin Mary to Juan Diego had a prominent place at the front of the Burley Little Flower church, and small statues of the Virgin graced the front or back yards of many Hispanic homes. A statue of the Virgin was in the center of the lawn in front of the Guadalupe Center in Twin Falls.

Recognizing that Mexican Americans are a permanent part of their communities, Anglos have learned to enjoy many local Hispanic customs: the celebration of quincineras (the rite of passage for young women); Our Lady of Guadalupe and Las Posadas holidays that begin the Hispanic Christmas; fiestas and celebrations honoring patron saints; Cinco de Mayo, celebrating the Mexican defeat of the French army in 1862; Mexican Independence Day, September 16; and such musical groups as "Los Pequeños Ballerinas" and "Ballet Folklorico de Pocatello."

BLACKS. Although their numbers have never comprised as much as 1 percent of Idaho's population, African-Americans have made important contributions to the state's history.[27] York, the personal servant of Captain William Clark, served with the government-sponsored expedition of Lewis and Clark. A few black explorers and trappers ventured into the area in the years that followed; and blacks mined in Idaho in the 1860s, even though whites in Boise County passed a law in 1863 to exclude blacks and Chinese from prospecting, and the territorial legislature considered a bill to prohibit black migration to Idaho.

Silver City reportedly had the largest concentration of black miners in the territory in the l860s, and there were pockets of blacks in Boise County, near Wallace in northern Idaho, and at the mining camp of Custer in Lemhi County. The territorial census of 1870 reported sixty "free colored" people in Idaho. Of the twenty who lived in Boise, some were barbers, others cooks. With the growth of stockraising, black cowboys were also attracted to Idaho in the 1870s.

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A few black converts to Mormonism came to the Salt Lake Valley in the late 1840s and later went to Idaho. Green Flake, for example, who drove Brigham Young's wagon to the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, later moved to Gray's Lake, near Idaho Falls, where he homesteaded and raised his family. Ned Leggroan, a former slave from Mississippi, also homesteaded in Bonneville County in the 1880s. Gobo Fango, orphaned in Africa, was smuggled into the United States by an LDS family in Layton, Utah. He herded sheep for the family north of Oakley Basin and was fatally shot there by a white cattleman in 1886.

Members of the Twenty-Fifth Infantry Regiment from Missoula, an all-black unit, were ordered to the Coeur d'Alene mining region in 1892 to crush the labor unrest. Seven years later, the Twenty-Fourth Infantry, another company of black soldiers, returned to the region to arrest striking miners. The Twenty-Fifth also fought devasting forest fire blazes near Avery and Wallace in 1910. One reporter wrote: "Black fire fighters made the mountains echo with their songs."[28]

The 1910 census indicates that most of the 651 black residents in Idaho were waiters, servants, barbers, farm and railroad laborers, and, in the case of employed women, domestic or personal servants. A few were farmers or miners. About half lived in Pocatello and Boise, where they worked for Union Pacific Railroad Company. Ten years later there were 920 blacks in Idaho. In Boise in the 1920s they worked in clubs and hotels and in homes as handymen and domestics. They ran barbershops, roominghouses, a pool hall, a grocery. The Owyhee Hotel in the 1920s had fourteen black waiters. The largest concentration of blacks in the 1920s, however, was in Pocatello, where the men worked as laborers in the railroad yards, on section gangs, and as porters. Black railroad workers for the Union Pacific in Pocatello refused to join the 1922 strike led by white employees because they were not allowed to be members of the union.

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As elsewhere, some prejudice and discrimination existed. The leading theater in Pocatello required blacks to sit on the left side of the theater; others reserved balconies for blacks and Indians. Yet blacks did have employment, lodges, clubs, and friends. They often sponsored educational events for blacks and whites. Social life usually centered around the church. Boise had an African Methodist Episcopal church and the Bethel Baptist Church, Pocatello the Bethel and Corinth Baptist churches.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, many blacks left Idaho. There were only 595 blacks in Idaho in 1940, four-fifths of whom lived in cities. Programs of the New Deal provided road-building and construction jobs and several all-black Civilian Conservation Corps camps. One of these was at Arrowrock Dam near Boise; two others were in Coeur d'Alene National Forest.

Idaho's African American population was 1,050 in 1950, some of them soldiers or former soldiers. Until the 1950s blacks were excluded from the YMCA and from working or dining in some restaurants. But in the years since World War II there have been black teachers in schools, black athletes at all the state's colleges and universities; and Les Purce became one of the first black mayors in the West when he was elected mayor of Pocatello in 1975. Purce, formerly a faculty member at Idaho State University and now president of Evergreen State College in Washington, served as chairman of the Idaho Democratic Party. Business, military, educational, and professional opportunities are now available to blacks in Idaho. There were 2,711 blacks in Idaho in 1980.

SOUTHEAST ASIANS AND FILIPINOS. The most recent ethnic group to come to Idaho were the Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, and some Filipinos.[29] Approximately 1,800 Southeast Asian immigrants were resettled in Idaho between 1975 and 1988. Living primarily in Boise and Twin Falls, they have found employment in fish hatcheries, food-processing

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plants, electronics factories, and service occupations and on farms. The women have made curtains and upholstery. Like other immigrants, they wish to assimilate but do not want to lose their culture. For instance, the Lao Association of Twin Falls sponsors cultural events as well as mutual assistance. There are traditional weddings, funerals, and New Year celebrations.

Some Filipinos came to Idaho in the early decades of the century as farm workers. By 1960 there were about 200 Filipinos in Idaho, most of them in rural areas. Since then, most of the immigrants have been professional people—nurses, engineers, business people. Half of the Filipinos in Idaho in 1990 lived in Boise or surrounding towns.

Idaho has been culturally rich from the time the first immigrants arrived. The state's history demonstrates that, despite occasions of intolerance and bigotry, the different cultures could prosper together without being submerged or crushed. The most compelling proof occurred as Idaho concluded its centennial celebrations in 1990 with the re-election of Pete Cenarrusa, a Catholic Basque, as secretary of state, and the election of Larry EchoHawk, an Indian Mormon, as the state's attorney general. Both their stories are satisfying to Idahoans.

Cenarrusa was born in Carey, the son of Basque immigrants, and graduated from Bellevue High School, then from the University of Idaho, where he was a member of the university's first national intercollegiate championship boxing team. After teaching at secondary schools in Cambridge, Carey, and Glenns Ferry, he became a Marine pilot during World War II, retiring with the rank of major, and then a farmer and sheep rancher in Carey. He was elected to the Idaho House of Representatives, where he served nine consecutive terms including three as Speaker of the House. In 1967 he was appointed Secretary of State to fill the unexpired term of Edson Deal, who had died, and was elected in succeeding terms so that, by 1990, when he was reelected, he had served as a continuously elected state official for forty years—longer than any person in Idaho history.

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Larry EchoHawk was born in Cody, Wyoming, one of six children of members of the Pawnee Tribe. He was educated in New Mexico and then attended Brigham Young University, where he played football and was named to the Academic All-Conference team. Like Cenarrusa, he served in the U.S. Marine Corps, then went on to earn a Juris Doctor degree from the University of Utah Law School and taught law at BYU, the University of Utah, and Idaho State University. He was named chief general counsel of the Shoshoni-Bannock tribe in 1977 and held that position for eight years. He was elected to the Idaho House of Representatives, served two terms, and then became Bannock County prosecutor. He was elected attorney general in 1990, the first Native American in U.S. history to hold statewide office.

Cenarrusa, seventy-three in 1990, represented an older generation, and EchoHawk, only forty-two at the time of his election, a younger. Early in 1991 *USA Weekend* featured EchoHawk on its cover as one of America's twenty most promising people in politics.

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE: SOURCES

The principal source for this chapter is the three-volume work by Laurie Mercier and Carole Simon-Smolinski, *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage: Historical Overviews* (Boise: Idaho Ethnic Heritage Project, 1990). I have even borrowed the title for this chapter from that valuable work. I hope the authors will regard my freely borrowing from their summary chapter as a complimentary acknowledgment of their valuable compilation. The particular sources on each section of this chapter are listed in the notes below. The third volume of their work is an extensive bibliography.

Also indispensable is Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

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153.

154.

153. Larry EchoHawk, elected Idaho's attorney general in 1990, occupied the highest political office ever held by a Native American. ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE, BOISE.

154. Pete Cenarrusa, a Basque from Gooding, served as Idaho's secretary of state beginning in 1971. ISHS 72–43.4.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

Search for Community

LIKE Americans elsewhere, Idahoans have struggled to maintain a sense of community. Crime, drugs, geographical rootlessness, and changing generational standards have militated against identifying oneself with a larger group. Yet centripetal forces have also been at work, strengthening the unity and sense of belonging. As the state changed from its predominantly rural status of 1890, the small-town-and-country relationship diminished but did not disappear. The spirit of fellowship and loyalty has continued to be expressed with undisguised enthusiasm. Idahoans do not like crowds but, independent as they are, they have developed enduring allegiances to their localities.

As it had been in the nineteenth century, life in Idaho in the first third of the twentieth century continued to be dominated by the horse. On farms horses pulled plows, planters, cultivators, mowers, and harvesters. People rode to the general store, to church, and to visit relatives in nearby towns in horse-drawn

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buggies, wagons, and stagecoaches. Children rode horses to school, to swimming holes, and to deliver milk. One heard sleighbells in the winter and the sound of passing teams in the summer. One sat on the porch on Sunday afternoon and watched the high-stepping elegantly caparisoned team of the local judge or bishop pull a democrat—a high, lightweight wagon with two seats—down the road to Main Street. The clop-clop of horses' hoofs was as much a part of Idaho village life as listening to the gossip in the local barbershop. The few automobiles were often mired in country roads, and RFD mail carriers frequently had to ford streams and ditches. By and large, each town or village furnished its own society and amusements.

A strong sense of community, a willingness to work together, was evidenced by road-building projects, church construction, the digging of irrigation canals, maintenance of public buildings, town picnics, Fourth of July parades, and occasional projects to render humanitarian assistance to people around the world—for example, earthquake victims in China and Turkey. Churches were the centers of social life, and bankers, physicians, and bartenders knew their clients by name.[1]

Community spirit was also evident in the many festivals developed in the years after statehood—celebrations that continue to this day. They include Soda Springs's two rodeos: the Henry Stampede and Stockmen's Reunion, the latter the fourth oldest rodeo in the Northwest; Old Settlers Day in Fairfield, celebrated August 15, a rodeo with horseracing and cowboy events; the Lewiston Air Fair, Dogwood Festival, Hydroplane Races, and Roundup; the Snake River Stampede in Nampa; International Folk Dance Festival at Rexburg; National Old Time Fiddlers Contest in Weiser; and the County Fair and Rodeo and Western Days at Twin Falls. Spencer hosts a Stockmen's Rodeo, Nez Perce sponsors the Lewis County Rodeo, and the War Bonnet Round-Up is held every year at Idaho Falls. There are winter carnivals in Sandpoint, McCall, and Grangeville; Lumberjack

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Days at Orofino; Mardi Gras and Beaux Arts Ball in Moscow; Massacre Rocks Rendezvous in American Falls; and Salmon River Days in Salmon. Burley sponsors the Speedboat Regatta; Sandpoint the International Draft Horse Show and Sale and an August music festival; Buhl the Sagebrush Days and Harvestfest festivals. The Shoshone-Bannock Indian Festival is held at Fort Hall; the Rendezvous-Pioneer Days Celebration in Lava Hot Springs; Arts in the Park and Old Time Fiddlers' Jamboree in Shoshone; and Boise River Festival in Boise. Septemberfest is in Kellogg, and Oktoberfest and Jazzfest in Coeur d'Alene. The famous American Dog Derby was held annually at Ashton from 1917 to 1951, attracting hundreds of mushers and a huge crowd of spectators.

In addition to fairs in most counties, Idaho had two "state fairs" that attracted large numbers of exhibitors and visitors: the Western Idaho State Fair in Boise in August, and the Eastern Idaho State Fair in September in Blackfoot.

Other twentieth-century festivals that have garnered attention throughout the state and the region are Pioneer Day (July 24) in Mormon communities, the Flower Show in Idaho Falls, the Cherry Festival in Emmett, Music Week in Boise (the first in the nation), Spud Day in Shelley, and the Spring Poetry Festival in Pocatello.

That the symbiotic small town-and-country arrangement that characterized territorial Idaho continued into the first three decades of the twentieth century is verified by census data. In 1890, the year statehood was achieved, Idaho had no "cities"—defined by the Census Bureau as places with more than 2,500 inhabitants. People lived in small mining towns, logging camps, railroad towns, trading centers, Mormon villages, or—in most cases—on scattered farms and ranches. Even by the middle 1920s Idaho had only two cities with more than 10,000 residents—Boise with about 21,000 and Pocatello with about 15,000. As late as 1930 only twenty Idaho communities quali-

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fied as urban centers. In that year, a little over one-fourth of Idaho's people (29 percent) lived in cities, with the remaining 71 percent in or near towns and rural villages.

The town-and-country arrangement that dominated Idaho lifestyles provided healthy values, democratic patterns of behavior, and a sound educational system. One of America's most penetrating social theorists, Thorstein Veblen, described the country town as "one of the great American institutions; perhaps the greatest, in the sense that it had and continues to have a greater part than any other in shaping public sentiment and giving character to American culture."[2]

The automobile, electricity, radio, and motion pictures wrought a revolution in the 1920s and 1930s. The adjustment, wrote Idaho historian Peter Buhler, meant electrically lighted main streets; the conversion of livery stables into garages; the gradual replacement of village blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and saddlemakers by machinists, mechanics, and upholsterers; the prevalence of interurban electric streetcars; the substitution of fire trucks for horsedrawn hand pumpers; the paving of main streets to accommodate the "Model T"; the family gathered around the radio to hear "Amos and Andy," "The Shadow Knows," and "One Man's Family"; and weekly visits to town movie theaters to view Al Jolson, Charlie Chaplin, and Mary Pickford.[3]

Not all towns were transformed, of course. Mining towns at higher elevations and remote logging settlements continued to be served by mule trains that brought supplies, equipment, and food; stagecoaches still transported passengers and mail to a few outposts; and winter mail continued to be delivered in mountain hamlets by men on skis accompanied by dogsleds.

A unique town in many respects was Potlatch.[4] Founded in 1905 at a bend in the Palouse River in northern Latah County, about twelve miles north of Moscow, Potlatch was owned by Potlatch Lumber Company. Part of the Weyerhaeuser syndicate,

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Potlatch was one of the West's largest lumber company towns. The company built not only the houses, but also the schools, the churches (one, later two, Protestant and one Catholic), hospital, hotel, bank, jail, opera house, library, gymnasium, and company store. Over and under the precisely laid streets were trees, water and sewer pipes, street lights, and electric power lines providing residents with the essentials of modern living. Although the term "company town" stirs memories of overpriced goods and credit policies keeping employees in debt, this stereotype was not true of Potlatch, where low prices prevented anyone "from owing their souls" to the company store. Potlatch historian Keith Petersen concluded that most town residents were proud of their community store; it generally served them well.

The town kept time with the rhythm of the mill, waking with the morning march of workingmen to the plant; taking noon lunch when the sawmill (largest in the world) paused at midday; and preparing for evening activities at the night whistle. The residents slept in company houses, sent their children to company schools, walked on company sidewalks, kept company yards, and shopped in the company "Merc." Yet there was diversity in the community.[5] Once a company attorney, William E. Borah, on more than one occasion, launched his campaigns at Potlatch during his thirty-four years in the Senate.

Since Potlatch had served its purpose of attracting and keeping a contented work force, the company made the decision to sell the town in 1951. Virtually everything—churches, schools, town hall—was sold or donated by 1954. The town declined to 880 people in a self-governing community, and by 1980 all the homes, businesses, buildings, and lots were privately owned. In 1983 the company announced permanent closure of the mill.[6]

The urbanizing process that was already under way elsewhere in the nation is evident in the decennial census for Idaho, beginning especially in 1930. Here are the urban (people in

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places with 2,500 or more inhabitants) and rural populations of Idaho for the years 1930 to 1990:

	URBAN		RURAL	
Year	*Number of people*	*Percent of total*	*Number of people*	*Percent of total*
1930	129,507	29.1	315,525	70.9
1940	176,708	33.7	348,165	66.3
1950	234,138	39.8	354,499	60.2
1960	276,258	41.4	390,933	58.6
1970	385,434	54.1	327,133	45.9
1980	509,805	54.0	434,233	46.0
1990	563,779	56.0	442,970	44.0

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. "Urban" means places with 2,500 or more inhabitants; all the rest are "rural." Beginning in 1970 the urban definition includes unincorporated places of 2,500 or more; this was not done for earlier decades.

Not until the 1960s did the number of Idahoans living in urban areas begin to exceed the number living in towns and villages and on farms and ranches. Even in 1990 Idaho retained many characteristics of a rural society, with only one city over 100,000 and only six over 25,000. Nevertheless, more than half of Idaho's residents in that year lived in what the Census Bureau called urban places—cities over 2,500, of which there were forty-two in 1990. Another thirty communities had 1,000 to 2,500 residents, and 108 had populations from 100 to 1,000. Of the 127 with population under 1,000, 89 lost residents between 1980 and 1990.

The urbanizing trend has occurred in all sections of the state, north as well as south, east as well as west. Urbanization has brought freeways, traffic jams, thousands of shoppers in suburban malls, the construction of central office buildings, urban renewal, sports facilities, convention centers, and larger airports.

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Annexation drives have sometimes accompanied the physical construction.

The progress in urban growth is dramatically illustrated in Boise:

Census Year	*Population*
1900	5,957
1910	17,358
1920	21,393
1930	21,544
1940	26,130
1950	34,393
1960	34,481
1970	74,990
1980	102,249
1990	125,738

While the state population rose 6.6 percent from 1980 to 1990, Boise's increased 23 percent.

In 1962 Boise reached U.S. Census Bureau status as a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. That growth brought frustrating efforts at civic planning and urban development. Transportation improvements included airport modernization and interstate highway construction. A veterans home, new schools, hospitals, parks, housing, sewage lines, and disposal facilities were built. A greenbelt development connected all of Boise's river-area parks. The LDS Church built a temple in Boise to meet the religious demands of more than 200,000 Latter-day Saints in the region. Forest Service lands were made available for a major expansion of Bogus Basin ski runs and facilities; popular as a regional winter resort, the nonprofit, community-managed area expanded to make available additional ski lifts, a ski lodge, and night skiing.

In addition to permanent migration to the Boise Metropolitan Area and other large cities, intermittent or short-term flows of

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population from the rural to the urban setting were set in motion. The same westerners who adamantly refuse to *live* in major cities make 150- or 200-mile shopping trips from Grangeville to Boise, from Mackay to Idaho Falls, from Stanley to Twin Falls, or from Bonners Ferry to Coeur d'Alene. In a reciprocal relationship, weekend recreation zones have been located beyond the range of daily commuting but clearly serve the populous areas. There are metropolitan connections to cities as superficially isolated as Sandpoint.[7]

Urban growth led to the expansion of suburban areas. Indeed, most of the urban increase has been registered in the suburban or fringe districts, not in the central city. The complex of suburbs around Boise, for example, most of them older towns at heart, has grown at a staggering rate and sprawled steadily into the once rural landscape. Although a majority of Idahoans are city-dwellers, they are in style suburbanites, fashioning the good life in split-level ranch homes with broad lawns and attractive patios. Along the fringes (and sometimes near the heart) of cities, large planned communities of condominiums, small single-family homes, and garden-apartment developments with their own shopping centers have mushroomed.

As urbanization and suburbanization have proceeded, Idaho's architectural styles have come to reflect both the old and the new.[8] Next to ostentatious new shopping centers are historic structures of another era. Images have become progressively more eclectic. Of particular note at the turn of the century was the construction in Boise in 1900 of the Idanha Hotel, a grand French chateau designed by Boise architect W. S. Campbell. The turreted, six-story hotel was joined in its Romance motif by the city hall and the Columbia Theater, both created by John Paulsen of Helena, Montana, who had an office in Boise from 1891 to 1893. Similar picturesque structures were the Seavers Building in Pocatello, the Hotel Moscow in Moscow, and the Northern Pacific Depot in Wallace. Other popular buildings

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were the Hotel Boise, an Art Deco design with vertical piers and decorative concrete panels that opened in December of 1930 in a gesture of faith by Boise's business community; the Bannock Hotel in Pocatello, completed in 1919, which according to the plans of Frank Paradice would have three towers, though only one was constructed; and the Union Pacific depot in Nampa, built in 1924–25, with a single round arch window as its main focus.

Boise City National Bank, built in 1890–92, referred to more recently as the Simplot Building, is a four-story structure styled in Richardsonian Romanesque by Boise architect James King. Trained in West Virginia, King came to Idaho to establish his architectural practice in 1888. He incorporated Boise sandstone in the building, taking advantage of its location to create a round corner similar to Marshall Field's department store in Chicago. In the next two decades other buildings in cities' business sections followed this example. Steel framing also was introduced to commercial construction during this period. Tested in Chicago in the 1880s, the new skeleton structure was a precursor to the simpler styles popular in the early twentieth century.

The Lewiston Normal School and the Boise Natatorium—a fanciful Moorish structure with towers, side wings, and keyhole arches—were both examples of important public projects. Another public commission was the Bear Lake County Courthouse in Paris, designed by Salt Lake City architect Truman O. Angell, Jr. These public facilities usually focused on space for foot traffic, a large reception or entertainment area, a central hallway, and perhaps a tower. The more compact rooms were for offices and instruction.

Residential areas were likewise eye-catching. Normal Hill in Lewiston (around the Lewiston Normal School) and the area surrounding the Academy of Idaho in Pocatello were indicative of distinctive architectural elements applied to residences.

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Exclusive neighborhoods included a parade of picturesque homes with crested towers, brick French Chateaux design, Romanesque arches, Palladian windows, Queen Anne shingles, and fanciful wood ornamentation.

While urban communities were expanding, the rural landscape was adapting as well. Traditional log construction, which had dominated in the early years of settlement, was replaced with frame farmhouses in which the interior floor plan was expanded with parlors, halls, and wings. These structures, too, benefited from advances in transportation, architectural publishing, and the trends in towns nearby.

In railroad towns, the commercial area expanded with mercantiles, office buildings, banks, hotels, stables, lodge halls, a city hall, sometimes a fire station, and the railroad depot. Depots were not always imposing. Through the 1890s railroads introduced cast-iron storefronts—cornices, window heads, and facades of galvanized sheet iron pressed to mimic carved stonework and enhance architectural designs. There are good examples in Hagerman, Bellevue, Oakley, Franklin, and Ketchum.

The Forest Service used standard plans and styles to create a distinctive image for its service facilities. The "Use Book" published in 1906 suggested: "Whenever possible cabins should be built of logs with shingle or shake roofs." Manuals also carried suggestions for administrative buildings, ranger housing, barns, blacksmith shops, fire lookouts and barracks, and called for attention to the local materials. One plan book advised: "If the timber on the site is predominantly conifer, a log building is the type; if broad leaf, a frame building is the proper one. If there is neither conifer nor broad leaf plainly in view from the site, a frame building is the type."[9]

Ranger stations were built in the Caribou, Challis, and Salmon national forests in the 1930s, and Sun Valley Resort was opened by W. Averell Harriman as the "St. Moritz of America." Recreational facilities near Yellowstone National Park, Island Park, and Targhee National Forest began to develop seri-

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ously in the 1940s. Private ranch resorts and dude ranches also became popular. Cottages, guesthouses, and barns were built in traditional log construction with green and white detail. Many summer homes began to dot the hillsides. Owners of such homes and resorts had been applying for permits to use public land since 1902. Private facilities from the Big Springs Complex to Yellowstone National Park employed mostly rustic designs with a touch of the bungalow, Colonial Revival, and Tudoresque motifs that became synonymous with recreation. Lakeshore property on Payette and other lakes flourished. Resorts were also established at Priest Lake in the Idaho panhandle.

The State Board of Education in the early 1900s published one-, two-, and three-room school plans that could be adopted by local boards and used in the system quickly and easily. A study of Boise schools by Suzanne Lichtenstein indicates that the school environment was initially designed with a primary emphasis on natural light and safety. Art and music rooms were a low priority, but student desks were arranged in each room to focus light over the left shoulder. To satisfy fire regulations, doors opened outward and stairs were at least five feet wide. As designs matured, the school plans shifted as well.[10] Spori Hall at Ricks College in Rexburg utilizes an early Beaux Arts design. The Lewiston Normal School, Albion Normal School, the Academy of Idaho at Pocatello, the state university at Moscow, and the College of Idaho at Caldwell all appeared in this burgeoning building period from 1890 to 1905. Boise Junior College and the dairy science building at the University of Idaho, built in the 1940s, reflected a neo-Gothic design.

Churches and hospitals also showed signs of change, and many echoed or duplicated styles used by similar groups elsewhere. The Mormon ward building in Boise's Fort Street neighborhood resembled a Georgian-period Colonial church. The LDS temple in Idaho Falls, started in 1940, served all Northwest Mormons and fostered an expanded sense of community. Delayed by World War II, the $750,000 building with its

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gleaming white cast stone and center spire was finally dedicated September 23, 1945. Neo-Gothic designs were created by Tourtellotte and Hummel for twenty Catholic churches, parish schools, and rectories, including St. Theresa's in Orofino (1937), St. Mary's in Boise (1937), St. Mary's in Moscow (1930), and St. Anthony's in Pocatello (1941). An excellent example of a Gothic structure is Holy Rosary Catholic Church in Idaho Falls (1947).

In 1889 the first Catholic bishop of Boise, the Right Reverend Alphonsus J. Glorieux, invited the Sisters of the Holy Cross in Notre Dame, Indiana, to establish Saint Teresa's Academy in Boise. With the encouragement of the Idaho State Medical Association, which was formed in 1893, the Sisters also founded Saint Alphonsus Hospital in 1894. The hospital, located at Fifth and State streets, had twenty-four beds. St. Alphonsus installed Idaho's first X-ray machine in 1900. By 1936 the hospital was treating more than 3,000 patients annually. As the medical needs of the region expanded, Saint Alphonsus in 1972 moved to a $14 million, six-story facility. By 1990 the hospital—then known as the Saint Alphonsus Regional Medical Center—had 269 beds and specialized in emergency care, neurology, kidney dialysis, mental health, orthopedics, ophthalmology, plastic surgery, and outpatient surgery. Like many other modern hospitals, it now has a complex of medical office buildings adjacent. The hospital operated a School of Nursing until 1969, when the program was transferred to Boise State University. It operates a Family Maternity Center, Geriatric Assessment Center, Health Promotion Institute, and Family Practice Residency.[11]

St. Luke's Hospital was opened in Boise in 1902 when Episcopal Bishop James B. Funsten converted a small cottage into a hospital with six beds. The hospital was expanded three times in the next five years, and in 1928 a four-story building was constructed at First and Bannock streets with 135 patient beds. St. Luke's Regional Medical Center, as it was known in 1990, had

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a bed capacity of 300 and served about 20,000 patients annually. It too has medical offices and outpatient facilities clustered around it. St. Luke's has concentrated on obstetrics, neonatal intensive care, pediatrics, and cardiac care, including open-heart surgery. Regionalization of cancer treatment came with the addition of the Mountain States Tumor Institute, established in 1969, which offers radiation therapy, chemotherapy, and surgery. In 1903 St. Luke's established a School of Nursing whose program was transferred to Boise State University in 1957.[12]

Hospitals that emerged soon after St. Alphonsus and St. Luke's were the Central Miners' Union Hospital at Wallace, the Wardner Hospital (which later moved to Kellogg), and the St. Anthony Mercy Hospital. Other hospitals were built in Ashton, Arco, Blackfoot, Rexburg, Pocatello, Montpelier, Jerome, Sandpoint, Moscow, Lewiston, Weiser, Caldwell, Nampa, Gooding, Salmon, and Hailey.

In the 1920s an imposing hospital was built by the Latter-day Saints on the east bank of the Snake River at Idaho Falls. This five-story structure with 135 rooms served the entire upper Snake River region. In 1952 the Magic Valley Memorial Hospital in Twin Falls ushered in a new era for medical care in that region. Other hospitals were constantly updating.

The Blackfoot mental-care facility, now called the State Hospital South, opened in 1881. During its first year sixty-six patients were received, fourteen were discharged, and five died. By 1900 the facility averaged 167 patients and by the 1950s about 713. In 1990, with different patterns of care for the mentally ill, the figure was less than 300. Another such facility, the State Hospital North, was opened in Orofino in 1901 and averaged about eighty patients. The state supports several regional mental health centers around the state that serve many outpatients.

Idaho has had a medical practice act since 1898; district medical societies operate in eight locations in the state. By

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1990 1,450 physicians were practicing in Idaho, the fewest per capita of any state in the nation—probably because of the isolation of many rural practices, the low Medicare reimbursement, and the absence of a medical school in Idaho. Prospective physicians in Idaho can compete for reserved places in area medical schools under various consortium plans.[13]

Architectural Modernism, growing out of an international culture and devoid of the ornamentation of previous periods, has had a profound impact on Idaho building styles, particularly since World War II. School systems, interstate freeways, commercial zones, and sprawling residential suburbs all have been marked by this movement.

International Modern designs include the boldly styled Federal Building in Boise, built in 1967; its concrete and other construction materials have no stated relationship with the Boise hills or environs. The cylindrical auditorium at the University of Idaho was an advance in campus design. The engineering of the roof of Kibbie Stadium at the University of Idaho, which spans 400 feet with trusses adapted from Arthur Troutner's lightweight steel-and-wood Trus-Joist system, earned its designers the Outstanding Civil Engineering Achievement from the American Society of Civil Engineers. During their years of expansion the College of Southern Idaho in Twin Falls, the Albertson College of Idaho in Caldwell, Northwest Nazarene College in Nampa, and Ricks College in Rexburg have all experienced significant campus construction with a modern flair. A number of large administration buildings and classrooms have dominated the university campuses, dwarfing some of the quadrangle structures that had been sufficient for half a century and had added to the campus landscape. Some campuses simply tore down the old to make way for the new.

Many Idahoans saw little value in the gaudy, excessive architectural styles of the past. Although temporarily out of favor, not all old buildings fell to the wrecking ball. A national effort at

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historic preservation reached Idaho in the 1970s following the passage of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act. The restoration program under Merle W. Wells, Idaho's historic preservation officer for two decades, had a major effect on preserving and restoring historic buildings.

Many observers have become concerned that urbanization and suburbanization have been accompanied by (but not necessarily as a cause of) changes in gender roles and family life. In 1990 more than half the married women in Idaho were employed outside the home. Children were often in need of the supervision provided by public and private day-care and pre-school centers. Families were less patriarchal. Communities witnessed sharp increases in crime and juvenile delinquency, higher divorce rates, drug addiction, and greater cosmopolitan diversity. (No cause-and-effect relationship is implied.) Idahoans, along with other Americans, seem to have a "cultural schizophrenia" or "bifurcation outlook" in regard to the role of women.[14] On the one hand, little opposition was manifested to the larger number of women working outside the home; on the other hand, women were expected to hold to the traditional roles of wife and mother. Caught between such earlier images of womanhood and the pressures of the workplace, women suffered mounting stresses evidenced in soaring rates of family breakup and addictions to tranquilizers and alcohol. The birth rate dropped as fathers and mothers tried to devote more time and energy to each child in the perilous journey from childhood to young adulthood. Help in childrearing and acculturation came from such organizations as public schools, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, YMCA, YWCA, 4-H, FFA, and churches. These institutions helped parents in maintaining standards of morality and patterns of correct behavior.

Strangely enough, religious activity increased. Many denominations recorded substantial gains. This may have been due in part to the social advantages of membership, but those attracted

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to the different religions say that their faith helps them to resist moral breakdown and adds meaning to their lives. There is no reason to doubt their sincerity.

Voluntary community activity, particularly by women, has also increased. Idaho women have, as we have noted in these pages, exercised leadership in many areas—religion, politics, education, music, art, literature, agriculture, business, the professions, and the family. From the time of early Indian settlement to the present, they have contributed individual and collective effort to worthy causes. As pioneers, immigrants, shopkeepers, farm housewives, and suburban mothers, they have helped to make Idaho a better place in which to live. Women of various hues and ethnicities, from aboriginal shamanesses of ancient times to the dual-role career woman and mother of 1990, have played memorable roles—sometimes created by them, sometimes forced upon them by society—in the significant social and political events of Idaho's history.

Although in many parts of the United States the sense of community tended to decline as society became more expansive and mobile, the problems of transportation and communication in territorial Idaho were such that modern developments actually strengthened the unity and sense of belonging of Idaho's residents. In contrast to earlier generations, there was no longer a strong yearning for separatism in northern Idaho, and Mormon settlers in the upper Snake River Valley felt a far stronger kinship with their native state. A witness of such commitment was evidenced when Idahoans all over the state participated enthusiastically in the centennial celebrations of 1990.

CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO: SOURCES

Many of the sources listed for Chapter Seventeen were also useful in connection with this chapter. Particularly valuable were: Stacy Ericson, ed., *The Idaho Small Town Experience: 1900–1925* (Boise:

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155.

156.

155. A common meeting place for men in the early years of the twentieth century was the village pool hall. At Matt's Place in Grangeville in 1916, Matt Geary is behind the bar; the man with the cue is Mort Martin. DONATED BY VERNA MCGRANE, UIL 5–117–3C.

156. The fire department, like this one in Twin Falls, was usually made up of community volunteers. BISBEE PHOTO, ISHS 73–221.407/A.

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157.

158.

157. Twin Falls residents celebrated their May Festival in 1910 with typical style. BISBEE PHOTO, ISHS 73–221.761/B.

158. *The Mikado*, produced in Twin Falls in 1912, drew on the theatrical talents of the residents for the cast. BISBEE PHOTO, ISHS 73–221.521.

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159.

160.

159. The streets of Preston in 1910 were similar to those in agricultural villages around the country. USHS.

160. For most of this century, as in this 1940 photo, Pocatello was Idaho's second largest city. USHS.

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161.

162.

161. Oinkari Basque Dancers in 1965 illustrate the diversity of settlers who continued to maintain their cultural heritage. UIL 6–78–2D.

162. The Nez Perce Rodeo, 1971, bespeaks the acculturation of north Idaho Native Americans. UIL 5–101–3A.

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163.

164.

163. In the foreground in this 1965 view of Idaho Falls is the Snake River and falls; in the left foreground is the LDS Temple; right foreground is the Idaho Falls Hospital. ISHS 78–2.108.

164. Now a seaport, Lewiston provides services for many people, including this splendid St. Joseph's Hospital, shown in 1969. WILSON, LEWISTON, PHOTOGRAPHER, UIL 5–7–3N.

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165.

165. The June 5, 1976, collapse of the Teton Dam damaged millions of dollars' worth of property in the southeastern Idaho communities downstream. ISHS 82–114.3/A.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

Politics, Economics, and the Centennial

POLITICAL PARADOXES

FROM just after World War II until January 1971—a total of twenty-four years—Idaho's governors were Republicans. The vagaries of Idaho politics are clearly evident in that Idaho elected Democratic governors for the next twenty-four. Some of the explanation for this paradox can be traced to Verda Barnes, a brilliant Idaho political analyst who never held office. She came from an active Democratic family in Fremont County. As a young mother she received a letter from Jim Farley, the Democratic National Chairman, asking her to get involved in Idaho politics. She accepted the challenge and spent the next thirty years shaping political thought and action in the Gem State. She became national vice chairman of the Young Democrats and then joined the staff of Glen Taylor in 1944 and moved to Washington. In 1957 Barnes went to work for Senator Frank Church as his in-house analyst. She kept him out of trouble at

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home and in front of the voters on all the right issues. She retired in the early seventies and died in May 1980—before Church's defeat that year. Above all, wrote Randy Stapilus, Barnes had "the political equivalent of a musician's perfect pitch: with a dozen phone calls she knew precisely what was happening in Idaho and how to deal with it."[1]

In 1970 Barnes persuaded Senator Church that his future was tied to a strong gubernatorial candidate. The two of them urged the nomination of Cecil D. Andrus, a "liberal" Democrat who was in the forefront of promoting environmental issues. Andrus, a friend of Church, and only forty years of age (Church was forty-six), was born in Hood River, Oregon, attended Oregon State University one year, and joined the U.S. Navy, where he served as a crew member of a patrol bomber in Korea. In 1955 he and his wife, Carol Mae May, went to northern Idaho, where he worked as a lumberjack and helped operate a sawmill at Orofino. He later sold insurance in Lewiston. "Cece" entered politics in 1960, when at age twenty-nine he was elected to the Idaho State Senate from Clearwater County. He became the Democratic gubernatorial candidate late in the 1966 campaign when the party's original nominee, Charles Herndon of Salmon, was killed in a plane crash. Andrus returned to the senate in 1968. Thanks to the effective work of Barnes and others two years later, Andrus received the Democratic nomination over conservative Max Hanson and went on to win the election over incumbent Republican governor Don Samuelson. Andrus was reelected in 1974 with a margin of 71 percent of the vote, the largest winning margin in Idaho history except for Frank Steunenberg's in 1896.

After the 1976 election of Jimmy Carter as president, Andrus resigned as governor to accept appointment as Secretary of the Interior in Carter's cabinet. Andrus was automatically replaced as governor by Democratic lieutenant governor John V. Evans, a native of Malad, who was subsequently elected governor in his

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own right in 1978 and reelected in 1982. Evans had attended Idaho State University and Stanford and served as an Army infantryman in World War II; he was a rancher and Malad banker and businessman. He had been active in Idaho politics for many years, serving as a state senator, 1953–57; senate majority leader, 1957–59; mayor of Malad, 1960–66; and senate minority leader, 1969–74.

After Andrus returned to Idaho in 1981, he established a natural-resources consulting firm and then, at the end of Evans' second full term in November 1986, was again elected governor. He was reelected in 1990.

Andrus and Evans were consistent advocates of an adequately funded educational system, took steps to build a stronger economy, and sought to strike a wise balance between the positions of "conservationists" and "developers." Both men championed local land-use planning laws and protection of wild and scenic rivers. Andrus served as chairman of the Western Governors' Association and the National Governors' Association.

Meanwhile, conservative Republicans strengthened their numbers in the legislature. Clashes were common between farm interests anxious to expand irrigation along the Snake River Plain and customers of Idaho Power Company preferring to assign water to hydroelectric generators. Contentious negotiation and litigation continued for several years.

In 1972, James A. McClure, a Republican, took Len Jordan's place in the United States Senate. A native of Payette, McClure served in the Navy during World War II, earned his law degree at the University of Idaho, and practiced law with his father in Payette. He and Andrus were both elected to the Idaho Senate in 1960. McClure served three terms in the state legislature and then in 1966 was elected congressman, a position he also held for three terms before successfully running for the Senate. Reelected in 1978 and 1984, he retired in 1991 to serve as a consultant in Boise and Washington, D.C. He served as chairman

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of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee from 1981 to 1987 and was also a member of the Appropriations and Rules committees.

Having served eighteen years in the Senate, including a term as chairman of a powerful committee (only the third Idahoan to serve as a committee chairman), McClure left his imprint on every major piece of energy, public-lands, and natural-resources legislation in those years. He was instrumental in creating the Hells Canyon National Recreation Area, arranging the Snake River water-rights settlement, and securing approval for the $6.6 million ski gondola for Kellogg, $8 million to pave the remote Forest Service road along the South Fork of the Salmon, and $1 million for the Fall River Electric Cooperative's hydro project at Island Park.

Idaho's other senator in 1990 was Republican Steve Symms, a native of Nampa who attended the University of Idaho, served in the U.S. Marine Corps, managed a family fruit ranch, and in 1972 was elected to Congress, where he served four terms before his election to the U.S. Senate in 1980. He was reelected in 1986 and retired in 1993.

Idaho's First District congressman in 1990 was Larry E. Craig, Republican, of Council, a graduate of the University of Idaho who was elected to the state senate in 1974 and served three terms. Craig was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1980, reelected in 1982, 1984, 1986, and 1988, and then was elected to McClure's Senate seat in 1990. When Craig moved to the Senate in January 1991, his place as representative was taken by Democrat Larry LaRocco, a Boise stockbroker. The representative from the Second District was Democrat Richard Stallings, a professor of history at Ricks College, who was elected in 1984 and reelected in 1986, 1988, and 1990, and who ran unsuccessfully for Symms's Senate seat in 1992.

Each of these men tends to demonstrate Idaho's tradition of choosing individualistic leaders who act independently from party-line political patterns.

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IDAHO'S CENTENNIAL-YEAR ECONOMY

The livelihood of the people of Idaho, like that of many other Rocky Mountain citizens, is based primarily on the production and processing of agricultural commodities, nonfuel minerals, and timber, and on such other sources of income as tourism and the federal government. Since Idaho's transportation system was designed to assist in the exploitation of its natural resources rather than to unify the northern with the southwestern and southeastern regions, the regions are not well tied together. Although Idaho is about the size of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and Northern Ireland, it has less than one-fiftieth of Britain's population and so provides only a minimal market for its own products; it must rely on out-of-state markets for its well-being. No section of the state is an important market for the output of any other region. Moreover, persons with the largest disposable incomes tend to buy the luxury items they can afford in Spokane, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Salt Lake City rather than at home.[2] Nevertheless, approximately 500,000 persons find employment in Idaho, of whom about 140,000 are in agriculture; 35,000 in mining, construction, transportation, and communications; 60,000 in manufacturing, including lumber and wood products; 80,000 in government; and the remaining 185,000 in trade, finance, and services.

AGRICULTURE. Idaho's largest industry is agriculture, and much of the state's activity is geared to agricultural production and related service industries. Most communities in the Snake River Plain, for example, are heavily dependent on agriculture. And the state's agriculture is as diverse as the state's geography; Idahoans receive revenues from many different crops and livestock products.

Idaho is a major producer nationally in eight crops including potatoes, with a production of about 100 million hundred-pound sacks annually—about 30 percent of total U.S. volume. The state also ranks first in barley production, with about 52 million

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bushels, almost one-fifth of the nation's total. Idaho ranks third among the states in the production of sugar beets (4 million tons annually), hops (4 million pounds), mint (1 million pounds), and onions (4 million hundredweight). The state ranks fourth in the supply of fresh plums and prunes (6,500 tons) and fifth in dry edible beans (2.3 million hundredweight). It is among the top ten states also in sweet cherries (2,300 tons), sweet corn for processing (170,000 tons), alfalfa hay (3.5 million tons), wheat (76 million bushels), and apples (135 million pounds).

Idaho also is recognized for many livestock products. The state ranks number one in trout (36 million pounds—85 percent of the national harvest). The state ranks fifth in American cheese (almost 100 million pounds); eleventh in honey (6 million pounds), sheep and lambs (300,000 head), and wool (1 million pounds); and thirteenth in milk production (2.7 billion pounds).

Cattle, potatoes, milk, wheat, barley, sugar beets, and hay, in that order, account for about 85 percent of all agricultural income. The total agricultural income from all sources exceeds $2 billion in 1990.

The vast majority of Idaho's 24,000 farms are small—operated by families who farm part-time and have off-farm sources of income. About 40 percent of all Idaho farmer heads of households have nonfarm occupations. Idaho relies more heavily than many states on non-family labor, partly because of the large number of farms along the Snake River that require much labor to move irrigation pipes. Nevertheless, 85 percent of all farms are individually or family owned; only 5 percent are corporate farms.

Geographical diversity is significant. Wheat is the major crop in the amply watered hills of north Idaho. The Palouse hills also lead the nation in the production of peas and lentils. Grass seed is grown on the Rathdrum Prairie in Kootenai County and the western part of Benewah County; high-quality wild rice is raised

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along the St. Joe and Coeur d'Alene rivers. Lewiston is a major trading center for the livestock industry of the Inland Empire.

Southwestern Idaho is a major cattle- and milk-producing area and is also an important supplier of sugar beets, potatoes, and seed crops. The region is significant in fruit growing—sweet cherries, apples, peaches, plums, apricots, and grapes—and also has a thriving wine industry.

South-central Idaho encompasses highly productive irrigated farms and also excellent upland grazing regions. Sheep and wool production are prominent in Blaine, Gooding, and Minidoka counties, whereas in Twin Falls, Cassia, Jerome, Gooding, and Minidoka counties thousands of irrigated farms grow grain, beans, corn, and sugar beets. Idaho's famous potatoes are cultivated mostly in southeastern Idaho, where the summer days are sunny and the nights cool. Beef cattle, hogs, sheep, hay, and wheat are also abundant in the region; much of the wheat is produced by dry farming.

Because of the importance of agriculture, enterprisers in the state develop specialized machinery; chemical fertilizers and weed-killers; implements for planting, cultivating, and harvesting; and irrigation systems. Surface mines in Bingham and Caribou counties yield phosphate from which fertilizer is manufactured in plants near Pocatello and Soda Springs. Idaho maintains a large food-processing industry as well, with about twenty-five potato, sugar beet, and frozen-vegetable plants in the state that employ 16,000 people.

MINING. Since the discovery of gold along the Clearwater in 1860, Idaho has been a leading national producer of metallic minerals. The role of the state's miners was particularly crucial during World War II. Idaho's mineral production, which varies from $200 to $500 million annually, depends on prices, foreign production, the value of the dollar, and technological developments. The industry is highly competitive.

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Idaho is the leading U.S. producer of newly mined silver, accounting for almost half of national production, and the state is the second largest producer of rock phosphate. Idaho molybdenum accounts for 25 percent of the nation's output. The state ranks fifth in the production of lead, zinc, and gold and is the leading producer of antimony, pumice, and industrial garnets. It has significant reserves of cobalt, tungsten, mercury, uranium, copper, clays, and zeolites.

There is mining in every Idaho region. The most productive areas are Silver Valley, in Shoshone County, which has produced almost $5 billion in metals since 1884; the phosphate region in southeast Idaho, where six major mines produce about $100 million annually; and the central Idaho mountains in Custer County that produce molybdenum, silver, and other minerals. About 5,000 persons work in the eighty-three active mining and processing operations in the state.

TIMBER. In 1990 Idaho had ninety-one operating sawmills that furnish a variety of wood products, including five plywood mills, a wafer-board plant, and a particle-board plant. The state also has seventy or eighty other producers of wood products. Idaho's single pulp and paper mill, in Lewiston, is owned by Potlatch Corporation. Containers made from pulp and paper products are manufactured at plants in Nampa, Twin Falls, and Burley. Employment in the industry is approximately 13,000, and the industry is highly competitive because of automation. The largest companies are Boise Cascade, Potlatch, and Louisiana-Pacific. Although the state's forest industry is concentrated in the northern counties, the Boise area is also significant as the headquarters of Boise Cascade, TJ International, Idaho Timber Corporation, and Canfor U.S.A. Corporation.

MANUFACTURING. In addition to forest products and food processing, Idaho machinery businesses manufacture pump and irrigation equipment and farm implements, logging and sawmilling equipment and tools, and mining machinery. Idaho also

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has attracted high-technology firms that have grown rapidly in recent years. Hewlett-Packard's plant in Boise employs 3,500 workers, making printers and disk drives. Micron Technology in Boise employs 3,100 workers. Other firms include Advanced Input Devices in Coeur d'Alene (280 workers), Gould Electronics in Pocatello (900 workers), and Zilog in Nampa (425 workers). Electrical and non-electrical machinery and instrument manufacturers employ almost 10,000 workers in Idaho. About 3,500 persons are employed in chemical manufacturing plants, including those owned by J. R. Simplot Company, FMC Corporation, and Monsanto.

Printing and publishing is another important sector with 4,500 employees. Firms attracting national business include Caxton Printers in Caldwell, Pacific Press in Nampa, Commtek, Inc., in Boise, and Stylart Manufacturing in Rexburg.

One significant business development of the 1980s was the increase in companies trading on the global market. By 1990 Idaho businesses sold more than $1.3 billion abroad, creating jobs for some 40,000 Idahoans. A related source of income is the earnings of hundreds of Idahoans who work overseas for such firms as Morrison-Knudsen and who remit much of their earnings to their families in Idaho.

FEDERAL AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS. Employing about 12,000 people in Idaho, the federal government spends about 30 percent more in the state than it collects there in taxes. One reason is that the government owns and manages about two-thirds of the state's land. Another large expenditure provides support for several large enterprises, including Gowen Field, a major National Guard training facility; Mountain Home Air Force Base, with approximately 4,000 military and 500 civilian employees; the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory, with about 13,000 employees, both government and private; the Boise Interagency Fire Center, the national hub of the joint U.S. Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management, and National Park

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Service fire-control system; and the Forest Service and BLM, with employees in many small communities in the state.

The other public sector, the state and local governments, employs far more people than the federal government but is not a net source of outside income. Funding support of these entities and their activities comes from within Idaho; as much money is collected in the state as is paid out. Employing about 56,000 compared with only 12,000 by the federal government, state and local governments serve those engaged in agriculture, mining, forestry and fisheries, manufacturing, the service trades, and tourism. Their focus, defined by the citizens collectively, includes maintaining streets, parks, and libraries; keeping the peace; operating water systems; putting out fires; and teaching the young.

TRAVEL AND TOURISM. In recent years travel and tourism have become a significant contributor to the state's economy. Lodging, entertainment, restaurant and beverage establishments, sports facilities, transportation services, and consumer retail businesses have expanded and earn a substantial proportion of the state's total income. This expansion is evident in such locations as Sun Valley and Ketchum, Coeur d'Alene, Sandpoint, Riggins, and McCall. Expenditures for travel and tourism were estimated to be $1.5 billion in Idaho's centennial year, and employment approached 30,000 workers.

Tourism and travel are promoted by visitor and convention centers in Boise, Coeur d'Alene, and Pocatello; by such destination resorts as those at Sun Valley, Coeur d'Alene, Lava Hot Springs, Island Park, Cascade/McCall, and Sandpoint and Priest Lake; by the group-tour industry; and by the wide selection of outdoor recreation resources. Camping, boating, fishing—taking advantage of world-renowned trout streams—backpacking, and hunting attract thousands. Professional river-runners operate in twenty-two of Idaho's rivers. Special events

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that bring large numbers of visitors to the state include the Women's Bicycle Challenge, Burley Boat Regatta, Teton Hot Air Balloon Rally, Weiser National Old Time Fiddlers' Festival, Boise Shakespeare Festival, McCall Winter Carnival, and Lewiston Dogwood Festival.

TRENDS IN POPULATION. Idaho was one of the fastest growing states in the nation in the 1970s. During the 1960s the state experienced net out-migration as young people left the state for better job opportunities, but a flood of people returned in the 1970s to take advantage of new openings, particularly in machinery and transportation-equipment manufacturing. Coupled with a high birth rate, this in-migration caused a 23 percent increase in population—from 712,641 in 1970 to 944,127 in 1980. This boom period was followed, beginning by 1979, by a severe recession that eliminated 8 percent of the state's employment base. Several large manufacturing plants shut down or curtailed production. Once again, Idaho experienced net out-migration. The downturn ended in 1983, and employment levels resumed their climb to 1979 levels. The state, once more, began to enjoy a net in-migration—a large proportion of it from California.

Idaho's population in 1990 was 1,006,749, an increase of 62,622 over 1980. The ten largest cities in 1990 were:

City	Population
Boise	125,738
Pocatello	46,080
Idaho Falls	43,929
Nampa	28,365
Lewiston	28,082
Twin Falls	27,591
Coeur d'Alene	24,563
Moscow	18,519
Caldwell	18,400
Rexburg	14,302

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Forty-eight cities had more than 2,000 population and seventy-two more than 1,000 residents. Federal defense expenditures were a factor in growth of some of the cities, the rise of a leisure society was important in others, and in still others growth came from bursts of innovation and entrepreneurship.

One result of the 1970s and 1980s was the loss of population in rural areas. Although the state retained its essential rural character in 1990, some rural areas lacked adequate medical and dental care, children had to travel many miles to attend quality central schools, and rural underemployment continued to prevail.

POTENTIAL FOR THE FUTURE

Except for government spending, Idaho's future is largely dependent on the competitiveness of its farms and industries. Persons who have studied the state's economy are confident that Idaho is indeed in a strong, aggressive position. Of course, the state has abundant natural resources, an enormous advantage, but that is not enough. Japan, Switzerland, and Korea, for example, have fewer resources than Idaho, and yet they generate high and increasing income for their millions of people.

Most important in the modern world economy is the share of national and world markets that Idaho's businesses can command. On the assumption that what is good for its largest businesses is likely good for the state as well, economic consultants admonish the state and its elected representatives to create the proper environment in which Idaho businesses can grow and prosper. Regulations must not be too burdensome nor intrusive, taxes must not be too high, and the state must be aggressive in selling itself to other states and foreign countries. At the same time, the state must ensure that its businesses face enough "internal" competition to sharpen their fighting edge for "outside" rivalry.

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Conservative politicians seek to remove constraints, alleviate tax burdens, encourage private investment, and cut public spending. Liberals look more favorably on subsidizing and protecting firms with potential for growth. Business and economic consultants insist that competitiveness can only be achieved and maintained by continuous innovations in product and process. Problems arise when firms stop innovating, seeking instead to live off past accomplishments.[3]

There is no single "magic bullet" for rendering a state's businesses more competitive. With its comparative advantage in producing certain food products, chemicals, minerals, and wood products, Idaho is gaining an advantage in high technology. Companies in the state have been able to take advantage of advances in technologies of communication and transportation worldwide (via satellite, fax, fiber-optic cable, cargo ship, and container) as they go global—financing, designing, producing, and marketing their wares all over the world. The level of living of the states' citizens is coming to depend more on how the world economy values their labors than on the value of the corporate assets they own. Human capital—the skills, insights, and intellectual capacities of the state's work force—is replacing financial and physical capital as the key determinant of the region's wealth.

Idaho's status in the national and world economy ultimately turns on the quality of its work force, as well as the dexterity of its firms' managers. Its highly skilled workers—many of them cosmopolitan professionals in Boise and elsewhere linked to worldwide enterprises from desks and computer terminals in glass and steel high-rises—will reap the benefits of a rapidly growing world market for their designs, plans, inventions, and insights. In support, the state must ensure its citizens a good education, adequate training, health care, and the means of linking their skills to the wider economy through efficient systems of transportation and communications.[4]

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THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

During its centennial of statehood in 1990 Idaho and Idahoans, in a "celebration of one million," had a birthday to remember. Some 1,600 official centennial events were programmed in every corner of Idaho—events that celebrated the state's heritage and its unique place among the fifty states. The Idaho Centennial Commission, chaired by Harry Magnuson of Wallace, sponsored 175 local and statewide projects. The commission was funded by a budget of about $6 million, some $3.5 million of which was raised through sales of Centennial license plates. The second-largest source of funds was the sale of Centennial products, including state flags and the Centennial logo used by commercial firms that marketed baseball caps, T-shirts, sweatshirts, belt buckles, ornaments, pens, and other memorabilia. Private corporations also donated money, and the state legislature appropriated $100,000. Approximately another $12 million was raised by community fund-raisers for local projects.

Newcomers from California and elsewhere and fourth-generation Idahoans joined in celebrating the hundred years of progress that brought the state from covered wagons to jet planes; from 160-acre homesteads scratched out of sagebrush to miles and miles of potato, wheat, and sugarbeet fields irrigated with a complicated series of dams and ditches; from dusty stage stops to cities with gleaming towers and shopping malls; from the telegraph to the microchip.[5]

Festivities reached a high point on July 3, 1990, the hundredth birthday. Events included the conclusion of the Centennial Float through Hells Canyon; the Moscow premier of a centennial musical called "The River Song," about the Lewis and Clark Expedition; a celebration in Franklin, the first pioneer settlement; a week-long, seventy-mile trek across the desert from Rupert to Arco by wagon-weary travelers seeking to imitate the Oregon Trail emigrants; and a seventeen-leg steam train ex-

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cursion that left Montpelier and zigzagged through southern Idaho to Boise, where the main celebration was planned. Events in the state capital the day before included dedication of the county shields display along streets approaching the capitol, featuring designs from all forty-four counties; and an All-Idaho Homecoming Celebration that included street entertainment, a strolling supper, music, dances, and a Celebrate Idaho laser light show staged in The Grove. All the city's bells tolled at midnight to mark the end of the first century of statehood. With 20,000 revelers in the streets, this was the closest Boise ever came to Mardi Gras. Towns all over the state were decorated and draped in red, white, and blue.

On Statehood Day a day-long picnic at Boise's Julia Davis Park featured a birthday cake that fed 3,000, and a potato jamboree on the Capitol grounds was sponsored by state employees who washed, baked, transported, and served about 6,000 Idaho potatoes. A "potato" wearing black tights and Birkenstock sandals danced across the grounds, hugging children and extolling the virtues of the state's famous export. On the backside of his burlap sack were the words "Idaho No. 1."

At the Boise Convention Center 700 people attended a luncheon that marked the debut of the Centennial book *Here We Have Idaho: People Make a Difference*. Special guests were the 100 Idahoans the book profiled—from politicians to scientists to musicians. Among those honored was Walter Sparks of the University of Idaho's Research and Extension Center in Aberdeen, who developed storage techniques that allowed potatoes to be kept in storage for twelve months, cutting processors' costs to the minimum and thus keeping potatoes on the plate year-round. Other living Idahoans spotlighted in the book were Gretchen Fraser, Olympic gold medalist in skiing, woman pilot, and equestrian; Gene Harris, jazz pianist; Cort Conley, writer, publisher, and river runner; and Mary Brooks, who served eight years as director of the U.S. Mint.

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Featured on the luncheon program was storyteller and folk-singer Rosalie Sorrels of Robie Creek, who sang "Coming Home," a ballad of her own composition about returning to Idaho. At the luncheon Sorrels explained that her presentation represented the people from whom she collected songs and stories while traveling the state for an Idaho songbook.[6]

During the elaborate Statehood Day ceremony at the capitol, for which about 20,000 persons packed the steps and Capitol Park, an invocation was offered by Father Thomas Connolly of DeSmet; Richard Shoup, former Montana congressman and great-grandson of Idaho's first governor, George L. Shoup, read portions of a letter from his ancestor written shortly after Idaho became a state; and Robert Sims, dean of Boise State University's School of Social Science and Public Affairs, recounted the enactment of the Idaho Statehood bill in Washington, D.C. Governor Andrus, his voice hoarse after two weeks of giving addresses throughout the state, told the crowd: "There are many wonderful things about this celebration, but the very best thing is that, more than any event in our history, this one has brought Idahoans together as a people." Centennial Commission chairman Harry Magnuson added:

> Idaho's challenging geographical barriers have often been cited as one of the unfortunate drawbacks of living in Idaho. Yet we love this state, not in spite of its geography but because of it. The diversity of mountains and rivers, wilderness and deserts, and most of all, Idaho's peoples, are attributes of the state that are a continual source of strength. We're enriched by a renewing sense of discovery. Idaho is raw, untamed and unconquered, and the landscape instills a sense of humility in us. The spirit of the Centennial has regenerated us. It has bridged party lines, spanned the interests of all ages, transcended geographical barriers, taught our hearts, and instilled good will.[7]

As the thousands broke out in singing the state song, "Here We Have Idaho"—as if they had been rehearsed—some of

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the happy faces in the audience had tears on their cheeks.

The crowd was treated to a flyover by four Idaho National Guard F-4 Phantom Jets and a 43-cannon salute by the Guard's 148th Artillery. At the end of the hour-long ceremony, persons queued up to be served some of Idaho's birthday cake by Idaho's chief grocer, Joe Albertson.

The evening ended in an extravaganza of dancing and dazzling fireworks at Boise State University's Bronco Stadium that illuminated the night sky with spectacular bursts of color for thirty minutes. The dancing highlighted aspects of Idaho's culture: Native American dancing, Basque dancing, a Chinese dragon dance, square dancing, Irish jigs, tap dancing, ballroom dancing, and an old-fashioned two-step.

A moving part of the evening program, representative of Idaho's varied citizenry over the previous hundred years, was the naturalization ceremony for twenty-six persons who had been Poles, English, Filipinos, Vietnamese, Mexicans, and citizens of ten other countries.

The spectacular fireworks crackled to musical accompaniment, ranging from Neil Diamond singing "America" to a rousing rendition of "Stars and Stripes Forever." The memorable finale came when all 20,000 in the audience, furnished as they entered the stadium with candles and matches, lit their candles and joined in singing once again "Here We Have Idaho."

The next day, July the Fourth, an estimated 50,000 people lined the two-and-one-half-mile parade route to see the 63 floats and 214 entries, constituting the most colorful and magnificent parade in Idaho's history.

THE HISTORIAN'S VIEW

The Centennial celebration demonstrated that Idaho's future is unquestionably influenced by its past. There were visual and aural reminders of the important role that Native Americans played in assisting the early explorers, missionaries, and travel-

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ers; the influence of northern, southern, midwestern, and coastal Americans in establishing basic institutions and securing territorial status; the influx of large numbers of Mormons who swelled the population enough to permit statehood; and the labor of Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, Scandinavians, Germans, and others in building railroads and irrigation dams and reservoirs, cutting timber, and developing mines that launched the territory and state on the material progress that it continues to enjoy.

The celebration also awakened memories of the refractoriness of Idaho's voters. In 1953 they voted for anti-gambling candidates, the legislature outlawed slot machines, and the Supreme Court declared the acts unconstitutional. A generation later, in 1989, they voted for a state lottery. For decades the people relied on the property tax to provide strong local schools, and then in 1978 they voted for the One Percent Tax limit that threatened to suffocate many local school districts. They voted against right-to-work legislation in 1958 and 1982 and turned around to affirm it in 1986. Anti-liquor initiatives were defeated in 1942 and 1946. When the legislature voted in 1987 to raise the drinking age from 19 to 21, the bill was vetoed by the acting governor. When the "real" governor returned, a follow-up bill was approved and the governor signed it. In 1972 the legislature ratified the so-called Equal Rights Amendment; in 1977 a later legislature rescinded its ratification. At times Idahoans are quite predictable, at other times nothing short of cantankerous.

A major concern of Idahoans during the centennial year was safeguarding the state's beauty. With a booming economy and forecasts of growth twice the national average, Idaho has been "discovered." The pressing question is whether the people can preserve its vast landscapes, cascading water, and clear skies and still make a living. It will be hard to satisfy both the traditional view that rapid development is good and the environmental concerns of those who call for preservation and nonconsump-

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tive use of natural resources. Everyone seems to agree that the wilderness issues need to be resolved so Idaho's rural communities can plan for a stable economic future. But no consensus exists on what should be done. Should people be camping in forests rather than clear-cutting them? Floating their rivers rather than damming them? Conflict seems inevitable.[8]

The governor, legislators, state administrators, and the voters wrestle with problems like how best to protect the sockeye and chinook salmon that come upstream to spawn and the juveniles that head back to the ocean; whether to allow a large-scale residential development in a hitherto secluded wilderness area; whether to allow wolves into central Idaho grazing areas; whether to increase taxes in order to spend more money for higher education; how much to invest in advertising the state in national magazines; and what kind of an abortion law to adopt. Opinions on these and other pressing issues sway back and forth.

Certain institutions are so solidly established that they will always be with us; they give security that the future will not be entirely unlike the past. A central convention is the institution of property. Modern taxation, eminent domain law, zoning, land-use restrictions, and other regulations have reduced the scope of our private property rights, but our society continues to be motivated by the desire to acquire property, to engage in enterprises that will enable us to have more comfortable homes, more dependable automobiles, tastier and more nutritious foods, and more stylish clothes. With the blessing of abundant natural resources, much of it still unexploited, we have assurance that growth is still likely, that there will be economic improvement. The questions are how much and whether environmental concerns will also be protected. Whatever the problems, Idahoans continue to live peacefully and productively in a stable society.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE: SOURCES

A profile of Idaho in 1990, including government, education, economy, demographics, and recreation, is found in *Idaho Blue Book 1989–1990* (Boise: Office of the Secretary of State, 1990). The economic section, pp. 255–80, is extremely well written and informative, and I have borrowed heavily from it. Other information is provided by publications of the Idaho Department of Commerce, including especially *Idaho Facts* (Boise: Division of Economic Development, 1990). *Idaho's Economy* has been published quarterly by the College of Business at Boise State University since 1984 and contains industry reviews and state and national statistics with helpful interpretations of developments and trends. Also helpful are Harry H. Caldwell, ed., *Idaho Economic Atlas* (Moscow: Idaho Bureau of Mines and Geology, 1970); and Michael J. DiNoto and Joy Passanante Williams, "Idaho's Economy: A Look Under the Hood," in *Idaho: The University* 2 (March 1985):10–18.

The political picture is described in Randy Stapilus, *The Idaho Political Almanac* (Boise: Ridenbaugh Press, 1990), and Stapilus, *Paradox Politics: People and Power in Idaho*.

Environmental concerns are discussed in "Conservation of Natural Resources" and "Our Scenic and Recreational Resources," in Beal and Wells, *History of Idaho*, 2:361–92; Peterson, *Idaho: A Bicentennial History*, 182–92; William Ashworth, *Hells Canyon* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1977); Rabe and Flaherty, *The River of Green and Gold*; Jack G. Peterson, "Vision for the Future: Water in the Twenty-first Century," *Idaho Yesterdays* 30 (Spring-Summer 1986):71–76; and Ed Marston, ed., *Reopening the Western Frontier* (Washington, D.C., and Covelo, California: Island Press, 1989).

A companion book to Idaho Public Television's "Proceeding on Through a Beautiful Country: A History of Idaho" is Stacy, ed., *Conversations*. Including portions of interviews with 220 persons, the book looks at how Idahoans got where they were at the time of the Centennial, and what their outlook was for the future.

Articles in the state's newspapers have been helpful, as have publications of the Idaho Centennial Commission and broadcasts of the

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state's television stations. Other specific sources are indicated in the footnotes.

In preparing this chapter I have been stimulated by reading Hughes, *American Economic History*, esp. 577–85. Jonathan Hughes, raised in Twin Falls, was until his untimely death in 1992 a distinguished professor at Northwestern University.

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166.

167.

166. Cecil D. Andrus, governor of Idaho, 1971–77 and 1987–95, was Idaho's first four-term governor as well as United States Secretary of the Interior, 1978–82. ISHS 76–209.1.

167. The Coeur d'Alene Lake region, known for timber, marine, and mineral resources, is also a popular recreation area. UIL 6–41–2.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

Idaho: Today and Tomorrow

JUDGING by public opinion polls, visitors to Idaho, like the people, are impressed with what its citizens have accomplished, and believe the quality of life in the Gem State is attractive. But they are overawed by the scenery. They use words like "spectacular," "awe-inspiring," "breathtaking," and "magnificent." Part of the attraction of nature in Idaho is the difference in regions. Each part of the state is distinct in its geography as well as in its history, economics, and politics. A reflective trip around the state in 1990 not only gives one an understanding of the state in its centennial year and of its future potential, but also suggests the positive characteristics that illustrate how national, regional, and local issues can be addressed and resolved in a harmonious manner.

Idaho's eastern and northeastern border is well preserved and remains pristine. The Continental Divide constitutes 312 miles of Idaho's border. One of the great tragedies of the 1863 Congressional surgery that created Idaho is that the Teton Range is

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in Wyoming: the magnificent Yellowstone National Park and the border of the Teton Range, small parts of which are in Idaho, can be seen from Idaho but are hard to enter from the western side. These mountain vistas viewed from the Teton Valley, carrying a tributary of the Snake, have not changed much since trappers camped on their numerous streams. The Grand Targhee ski resort on the west side of the Teton Range boasts fine powder snow and enough distance from population centers to avoid crowded lift-lines. Skiing, hunting, fishing, backpacking, and camping are all part of the sport of Idaho.

Another trapper's tributary of the Snake in eastern Idaho is Henry's Fork, a fishing stream of rare productivity with waters cascading over two Mesa Falls, the upper one 114 feet high, flowing toward the Upper Snake River Valley. This stream originates at Big Springs, spawning ground for the kokanee salmon, and eventually feeds the spectacular Island Park reservoir, a way-station for numerous migrating ducks and geese and a popular summer retreat for many Idahoans.

The northeastern border leaves the backbone of the Rockies near U.S. Highway 93 at Lost Trail Pass and turns westward along the Bitterroot Mountains. This vast Idaho interior is a major collector for hundreds of brooks, creeks, and rivers that ultimately find their way to the Snake River. The imposing Salmon River and its drainage in central Idaho make up the largest block of federally legislated preservation land in the forty-eight contiguous states. This 25,000-square-mile region, larger than entire states and even countries, includes national primitive areas, recreation areas, national forests, and wilderness preserves. In numerous mountain ranges six peaks extend over 12,000 feet high and another fifty reach 10,000 feet. The mountain peaks, river canyons, and alpine valleys remain virtually unspoiled as places where the sights, sounds, and smells are timeless.

This part of Idaho has already experienced transitions from

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the frenetic activity of early mining areas to reverence for its natural splendor. The great mountain ranges—the Sawtooth, Salmon, White Cloud, Boulder, Big Horn Crags, and Lost River—demonstrate what geologists call batholith. These large granite upthrusts, exposed by glaciers and erosion, form majestic peaks that once contained vast mineral wealth. Well over $100 million worth of gold and silver was extracted from this area prior to 1900. From the Wood River mines on the east to Idaho City on the west, the region felt the prospector's imprint just as it had the trapper's and the Native American's before. But mining industries are now largely gone and nature has regained control.

Another great resource in Idaho's central mountains is the wildlife and game. Although Idaho abounds with deer and elk, rare species that risk extinction exist in the protected areas. Numbered among these are the mountain lion or cougar, whose predatory nature makes it an enemy to livestock owners; the lordly bighorn sheep, distinctively identified by circular horns; and the pronged mountain goat, whose shaggy coat gives protection from winter's icy blasts against mountain ridges. Moose and bear also roam the mountains. River wildlife still find a home in Idaho. Otter frequent the streams near the Middle Fork of the Salmon. Lightning quick, the otter can catch the fastest fish that swims but is usually spotted chuting into the water on slides nature built along the stream's banks. The lakes and streams abound with native trout that attract anglers from all over the nation.

The Salmon River country hosts one of nature's more spectacular dramas—or miracles. All five of the Pacific salmon species still attempt the arduous task of swimming back to their spawning ground in central Idaho. Not all make it; but after traveling nearly 1,000 miles, climbing eight ladders over dams, jumping up natural falls and various human hazards, the successful ones find the very stream where they were born. There they rest, spawn, and die. This sensational migration contains something

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both mysterious and victorious. The Frank Church "River of No Return Wilderness Area" preserves the Salmon and its most famous tributary, the Middle Fork. The salmon are not alone in navigating the dramatic waters. For rafters, the rivers provide some of the sport's most exciting, thrilling, and frightening white rapids. Regulated by licensing procedures, the raft operators introduce unbelieving enthusiasts to the vast wilderness river canyons.

Central Idaho will always be a center of environmental controversy. Timber harvests are regulated and reforestation is constant. However, the real conflict of the future may be balancing the needs for energy and water and the growing desire for wilderness, conservation, and preservation. While the Snake River is totally controlled from Jackson Lake to Hagerman, the wild and scenic Salmon runs free—as does the Snake for over 100 miles through Hells Canyon, the continent's deepest gorge at nearly 8,000 feet.

North of the Salmon River to the North Fork of the Clearwater is another stretch of Idaho wilderness that was the traditional home of the Nez Perce. Like other Native Americans, the Nez Perce lived in harmony with nature and viewed the animals, trees, grass, and fish as friends. The north Idaho forests of spruce, red cedar, white pine, and larch comprise 30 percent of the state's 54 million acres, making Idaho one of the nation's top timber states.

Northern Idahoans have lived with forest fires and logging for so long that they have become adept at managing their resource. This remote region of Idaho commands awe, and it is still fairly unknown. The Lolo Trail stretches from the Montana border westward along the ridges above the Lochsa River until it joins the Clearwater. Two of the great historic events in Idaho history are tied to this trail: Lewis and Clark used it in 1805 and again in 1806, and the great Chief Joseph and his band of Nez Perce fugitives fled across this trail toward Canada. There is a mysti-

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cal stillness about the trail that is able almost to freeze time.

To the north and west of the Clearwater away from the rushing streams and tree-covered slopes is one of Idaho's richest farming areas, the Palouse. This thick blanket of loam that surrounds Moscow and Lewiston provides fertile ground for abundant crops of grains and vegetables. These agriculturally rich rolling hills produce soft white wheat, peas, alfalfa, and other crops in amazing quantities. The Palouse country is a small agricultural interlude in the midst of timber, lakes, rivers, and wildlife. It also serves as a window to the northern panhandle, which is perhaps the most isolated of Idaho's regions.

Idaho's panhandle is rich in beauty and resources. The rivers and lakes are tied to the northern Columbia system, not the Snake. Its rounded tree-covered mountains surround three of the most beautiful lakes on the continent: Pend Oreille, Coeur d'Alene, and Priest. The surface of these three covers more than 150,000 acres. The elevation is so much lower than most of the rest of Idaho that the region's rainfall is greater and the overall climate is significantly milder. Still, there is considerable snow for winter-sports facilities.

The abundance of lakes and rivers in the panhandle also belies the comment that Idaho suffers from aridity. French Canadian missionaries and trappers, as well as the influence of Native Americans, are reflected in the place names—names that are a testament to the diversity of the region. Several of the northern lakes and streams have been reclaimed in recent years from near ecological death. Although the large lakes have always boasted great kamloops or mackinaw trout, the reality of mining and sewage pollution proved nearly fatal. The seriousness of the problem demanded a massive clean-up and control effort that succeeded.

Silver ore is still mined in the Kellogg-Wallace area, but its heyday is long past. Rich mining and labor history and lore still attract the scholar to the region, but the $2-billion lode is nearly

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played out. This gradual diminution of mining has been replaced by tourism and winter recreation in the area as Kellogg tries to take advantage of its proximity to Interstate 90. The expanding network of roads has made available many previously inaccessible areas.

Northern Idaho—rural and remote—remains a fish and game paradise, though not as rugged as the various national recreation and wilderness areas to the south. There are caribou and moose as well as grizzly bear; trappers seek marten, beaver, and mink. Dog-sledding contests in the winter hearken back to earlier days. In fact, the far north is a constant reminder of the need for ecological balance and care between man and nature.

The fastest route between the two extreme corners of Idaho takes a traveler through Montana for about 350 miles on Interstates 90 and 15. It is more than 700 miles from Bonners Ferry to Montpelier. However, the Bear River drainage shares with the north a legacy of environmental and ecological concern.

The Bear River does not connect to the Snake River system. When the river's waters turn south toward salty death in the Great Salt Lake, it is only a few miles from the Portneuf, a Snake River tributary. Nearly all of the rest of Idaho drains into the Pacific, but the Bear irrigates high mountain valleys in Wyoming, Idaho, and Utah. Like Pend Oreille, Coeur d'Alene, and Priest lakes in the north, Bear Lake, the crown jewel of the Bear River basin, is a natural lake of magnetic appeal. Like its sister waters it continues to be a battleground among environmentalists, developers, and managers. The region's phosphate-rich mountain ranges create problems similar to those of the silver and lead mines of the panhandle. The ore, taken from open-pit mines and processed in smoke- and slag-producing smelters to be used in many ways, provides needed jobs for an economically depressed region. Mine operators must adhere to legislation that requires certain degrees of restoration and reforestation, yet enforcement may not always be meticulous.

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Another similarity between Idaho's northern and southeastern extremities is their traditional ties of transportation, communication, economy, and culture to a population center outside the state. The northerners have looked to Spokane and the southerners to Salt Lake City as much as to Boise or each other. This too, is changing. Idaho is more unified now than at any time in its history. In part because of technology and transportation, the media have brought Idaho to all of the people. Citizens watch Idaho television stations and read Idaho newspapers. Boise is the capital of the entire state and is more dominant than Spokane and Salt Lake City. To be sure, these contiguous centers still impact the state, but not as they did even two decades ago. Not only have the media brought Idaho together, but the state's transportation system is more refined and accessible. Private, corporate, and governmental enterprises, as we saw in Chapter Twenty-nine, have also focused the state's regions on each other.

When one moves west across southern Idaho, as the Overlanders did in the 1840s and '50s, the traveler passes through a land of infinite variety. There are awesome canyons, waterfalls higher than Niagara, ice caves not far from natural hot springs, underground aquifers bursting from sheer canyon walls, and the huge granite columns of the Silent City of Rocks. Above all, however, one is struck by the sweetness of green and productive valleys, more fertile and ripe than the Promised Land. There are fields of waving grain; endless rows of sugar beets, corn, beans, and potatoes; cheerful cherry orchards and heavy-bearing apple, peach, and prune trees; long gardens of carrots and tomatoes; and hundreds of acres of vineyards. Miles of sprinklers bring water to green alfalfa and clover. The traveler is entranced; he is in a land of unimaginable riches. Chicken farms, dairies, and cattle feedlots dot the landscape, as do wineries, canneries, milk condenseries, and fish hatcheries. In the southwestern corner are rugged, high mountain deserts and North America's tallest sand dunes. Peregrine falcons, golden eagles,

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and screeching owls are seen and heard. North of Boise, "City of Trees," one encounters lush forests, serene mountain lakes, and remains of prehistoric villages. The tensions of Idaho's conflicting responsibilities are clearly evident: to provide water and electricity for hard-working farmers and the industries that use their animals and produce; and, at the same time, to preserve the state's endowment of natural wonderwork for the enjoyment of kayakers, waterskiers, fishermen, and hikers—who may come from far places or head for the out-of-doors after work.

Diverse as are the regions, the larger communities and cities of Idaho, most of them within fifty miles of the Snake River, create a unifying factor. Idaho Falls depends on agricultural as well as federal energy spending; Pocatello on industrial and manufacturing growth; Twin Falls on agricultural prices; Lewiston on timber products; and Boise on all of the above as well as state government. If the cities create a unity that drives the state toward cooperation rather than competition, the character of the ethnically diverse people in the state also holds the state together. In their struggle to survive and coexist in a tough and harsh environment, multiple tribes of Native Americans displayed a strength and knowledge that served as a schoolground for successive waves of trappers, pioneers, explorers, miners, and self-sufficient farmers and ranchers. Assisted by ingenious private, state, and federal efforts, the settlers provided water to a thirsty volcanic soil deemed unproductive and uninhabitable. Idaho's rich and dramatic human saga is replete with success stories based on diligence, perseverance, determination, and cooperation. This willingness to individually and communally conquer a harsh and unrelenting environment is a part of Idaho's legacy. Idaho continues to be a place of discovery, conquest, and achievement. If Idaho follows its traditions, there will always be leaders with character and heart like Borah, Thomas, Ross, Smylie, Church, McClure, and Andrus to guarantee Idaho's place as sanctuary and as innovator.

More important, Idaho will remain a state where young

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people can still dream dreams, reach out to nature and each other, and see visions of a more perfect society. In fact, it is a place where one's soul can simultaneously receive inspiration and refreshment from the landscape. If our eyes and ears remain keen to the vistas and solitude, the natural beauty can remain permanent. As with other states, Idaho offers opportunity to use and not abuse, to reclaim and restore, the great gifts that nature bestows upon all its creatures. Romance continues to reside in her name—Idaho.

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APPENDIX A

Governors of the Territory of Idaho, 1863–1890

Governor	*Appointed*
William H. Wallace	March 10, 1863
Caleb Lyon	February 26, 1864
David M. Ballard	April 10, 1866
Samuel Bard	March 30, 1870
Gilman Marston	June 7, 1870
Alexander H. Connor	January 12, 1871
Thomas M. Bowen	April 19, 1871
Thomas W. Bennett	October 24, 1871
David P. Thompson	December 16, 1875
Mason Brayman	July 24, 1876
John P. Hoyt	August 7, 1878
John B. Neil	July 12, 1880
John N. Irwin	March 2, 1883
William M. Bunn	March 26, 1884
Edward A. Stevenson	September 29, 1885
George L. Shoup	April 1, 1889

Source: *Idaho Blue Book, 1989–1990*, 49.

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APPENDIX B

Territorial Delegates to U.S. Congress, 1863–1889

Name/Party	*Term of Office*	*Remarks*
William H. Wallace	3/3/1864 to 3/3/1865	elected 1863
Edward D. Holbrook	3/4/1865 to 3/3/1869	elected 1864; reelected 1866
Jacob K. Shafer	3/4/1869 to 3/3/1871	elected 1868
Samuel A. Merritt	3/4/1871 to 3/3/1873	elected 1870
John Hailey	3/4/1873 to 3/3/1875	elected 1872
Thomas W. Bennett	3/4/1875 to 6/24/1876	elected 1874, election challenged, unseated
Stephen S. Fenn	6/24/1876 to 3/3/1879	seated by Congress; elected 1876
George Ainslie	3/4/1879 to 3/3/1883	elected 1878; reelected 1880
Theodore F. Singiser	3/4/1883 to 3/3/1885	elected 1882
John Hailey	3/4/1885 to 3/3/1887	elected 1884
Fred T. Dubois	3/4/1887 to 3/3/1889	elected 1886

Source: *Idaho Blue Book, 1989–1990*, 38

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APPENDIX C

Elected Governors of the State of Idaho, 1890–1990

Note: *Party Designations:* (R) *Republican;* (D) *Democrat;* (P) *Populist*

Name/Party	*Term of Office*	*Remarks*
George L. Shoup (R)	1890 to 12/1890	elected 1890; resigned to become U.S. Senator
Norman B. Willey (R)	12/1890 to 1/1893	succeeded to office
William J. McConnell (R)	1/1893 to 1/4/1897	elected 1892; reelected 1894
Frank Steunenberg (P-D)	1/4/1897 to 1/7/1901	elected 1896; relected 1898
Frank W. Hunt (D)	1/7/1901 to 1/5/1903	elected 1900
John T. Morrison (R)	1/5/1903 to 1/2/1905	elected 1902
Frank R. Gooding (R)	1/3/1905 to 1/4/1909	elected 1904; reelected 1906
James H. Brady (R)	1/4/1909 to 1/2/1911	elected 1908
John M. Haines (R)	1/6/1913 to 1/4/1915	elected 1912

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Moses Alexander (D)	1/4/1915 to 1/6/1919	elected 1914; reelected 1916
D. W. Davis (R)	1/6/1919 to 1/1/1923	elected 1918; reelected 1920
Charles C. Moore (R)	1/3/1923 to 1/3/1927	elected 1922; reelected 1924
H. C. Baldridge (R)	1/3/1927 to 1/5/1931	elected 1926; reelected 1928
C. Ben Ross (D)	1/5/1931 to 1/4/1937	elected 1930; reelected 1932, 1934
Barzilla W. Clark (D)	1/4/1937 to 1/2/1939	elected 1936
C. A. Bottolfsen (R)	1/1/1939 to 1/6/1940	elected 1938
Chase A. Clark (D)	1/6/1941 to 1/4/1943	elected 1940
C. A. Bottolfsen (R)	1/4/1943 to 1/1/1945	elected 1942
Chas. C. Gossett (D)	1/1/1945 to 11/17/1945	elected 1944; resigned 11/17/1945
Arnold Williams (D)	11/17/1945 to 1/6/1947	succeeded to office
Dr. C. A. Robins (R)	1/6/1947 to 1/1/1951	elected 1946
Len B. Jordan (R)	1/1/1951 to 1/3/1955	elected 1950
Robert E. Smylie (R)	1/3/1955 to 1/2/1967	elected 1954; reelected 1958, 1962
Don Samuelson (R)	1/2/1967 to 1/4/1971	elected 1966
Cecil D. Andrus (D)	1/4/1971 to 1/24/1977	elected 1970; reelected 1974; resigned 1/24/1977
John V. Evans (D)	1/24/1977 to 1/5/1987	succeeded to office; elected 1978; reelected 1982
Cecil D. Andrus (D)	1/5/1987	elected 1986; reelected 1990

Source: *Idaho Blue Book, 1989–1990*, 49.

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APPENDIX D

United States Senators

Note: *Party Designations:* (R) *Republican;* (D) *Democrat;* (S.R.) *Silver Republican;* (P) *Populist*

Name/Party	*Term of Office*	*Remarks*
	FIRST POSITION	
George L. Shoup (R)	12/18/1890 to 3/3/1901	elected by legislature 1890; reelected 1894
Fred T. Dubois (D)	3/4/1901 to 3/3/1907	elected by legislature 1900
William E. Borah (R)	3/4/1907 to 1/19/1940	elected by legislature 1907; reelected 1912; elected by voters 1918; reelected 1924, 1930, 1936; died in office
John Thomas (R)	1/27/1940 to 11/10/1945	appointed to fill vacancy; elected 1940; reelected 1942; died in office

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Charles C. Gossett (D)	11/17/1945 to 11/5/1946	appointed to fill vacancy
Henry C. Dworshak (R)	11/6/1946 to 1/2/1949	elected 1946
Bert H. Miller (D)	1/3/1949 to 10/8/1949	elected 1948; died in office
Henry C. Dworshak (R)	10/14/1949 to 7/23/1962	appointed to fill vacancy; elected 1950; reelected 1954, 1960, died in office
Len B. Jordan (R)	8/6/1962 to 1/2/1973	appointed to fill vacancy; elected 1962; reelected 1966
James A. McClure (R)	1/3/1973 to 1/2/1991	elected 1972; reelected 1978, 1984
Larry Craig (R)	1/3/1991 to	elected 1990

SECOND POSITION

William J. McConnell (R)	12/18/1890 to 3/3/1891	elected by legislature 1890
Fred T. Dubois (R)	3/4/1891 to 3/3/1897	elected by legislature 1891
Henry Heitfeld (P)	3/4/1897 to 3/3/1903	elected by legislature 1897
Weldon B. Heyburn (R)	3/4/1903 to 10/17/1912	elected by legislature 1903; reelected 1909; died in office
Kirkland I. Perky (D)	11/18/1912 to 2/5/1913	appointed to fill vacancy
James H. Brady (R)	2/6/1913 to 1/12/1918	elected by legislature 1912; elected by voters 1914; died in office
John F. Nugent (D)	1/22/1918 to 1/14/1921	appointed to fill vacancy; elected 1918; resigned

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Frank R. Gooding (R)	1/15/1921 to 6/24/1928	appointed to fill vacancy; elected 1920; reelected 1926; died in office
John Thomas (R)	6/30/1928 to 3/3/1933	appointed to fill vacancy; elected 1928
James P. Pope (D)	3/4/1933 to 1/2/1939	elected 1932
D. Worth Clark (D)	1/3/1939 to 1/2/1945	elected 1938
Glen H. Taylor (D)	1/3/1945 to 1/2/1951	elected 1944
Herman Welker (R)	1/3/1951 to 1/2/1957	elected 1950
Frank Church (D)	1/3/1957 to 1/2/1981	elected 1956; reelected 1962, 1968, 1974
Steven D. Symms (R)	1/3/1981 to 1/2/1993	elected 1980; reelected 1986
Dirk Kempthorne (R)	1/2/1993	elected 1992

Source: *Idaho Blue Book, 1989–1990*, 38.

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APPENDIX E

United States Representatives

Note: *Party Designations:* (R) *Republican;* (D) *Democrat;* (S.R.) *Silver Republican;* (P) *Populist*

Name/Party	*Term of Office*	*Remarks*
AT-LARGE DISTRICT		
Willis Sweet (R)	1890 to 1895	elected 1890; reelected 1892
Edgar Wilson (R)	3/4/1895 to 3/3/1897	elected 1894
James Gunn (D-P)	3/4/1896 to 3/3/1899	elected 1896
Edgar Wilson (D-SR)	3/4/1899 to 3/3/1901	elected 1898
Thomas L. Glenn (D-P-SR)	3/4/1901 to 3/3/1903	elected 1900
Burton L. French (R)	3/4/1903 to 3/3/1909	elected 1902; reelected 1904, 1906

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Thomas L. Hamer (R)	3/4/1909 to 3/3/1911	elected 1908
Burton L. French (R)	3/4/1911 to 3/3/1913	elected 1910

TWO AT-LARGE SEATS

Addison T. Smith (R)	1/3/1913 to 1/2/1919	elected 1912; reelected 1914, 1916
Burton L. French (R)	1/3/1913 to 1/2/1915	elected 1912
Robert M. McCracken (R)	1/3/1915 to 1/2/1917	elected 1914
Burton L. French (R)	1/3/1917 to 1/2/1919	elected 1916

FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Burton L. French (R)	3/4/1919 to 3/3/1933	elected 1918; reelected 1920, 1922, 1924, 1926, 1928, 1930
Compton I. White (D)	3/4/1933 to 1/2/1947	elected 1932; reelected 1934, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1944
Abe McGregor Goff (R)	1/3/1947 to 1/2/1949	elected 1946
Compton I. White (D)	1/3/1949 to 1/2/1951	elected 1948
John T. Wood (R)	1/3/1951 to 1/2/1953	elected 1950
Gracie Pfost (D)	1/3/1953 to 1/2/1963	elected 1952; reelected 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960
Compton I. White, Jr. (D)	1/3/1963 to 1/2/1967	elected 1962; reelected 1964

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James A. McClure (R)	1/3/1967 to 1/2/1973	elected 1966; reelected 1968, 1970
Steven D. Symms (R)	1/3/1973 to 1/2/1981	elected 1972; reelected 1974, 1976, 1978
Larry Craig (R)	1/3/1981 to 1/3/1991	elected 1980; reelected 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988
Larry LaRocco (D)	1/3/1991 to	elected 1990; reelected 1992

SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Addison T. Smith (R)	3/4/1919 to 3/3/1933	elected 1918; reelected 1920, 1922, 1924, 1926, 1928, 1930
Thomas C. Coffin (D)	3/4/1933 to 6/8/1934	elected 1932; died in office
D. Worth Clark (D)	3/4/1935 to 3/3/1939	elected 1934; reelected 1936
Henry C. Dworshak (R)	1/3/1939 to 1/2/1947	elected 1938; reelected 1940, 1942, 1944
John Sanborn (R)	1/3/1947 to 1/2/1951	elected 1946; reelected 1948
Hamer Budge (R)	1/3/1951 to 1/2/1961	elected 1950; reelected 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958
Ralph R. Harding (D)	1/3/1961 to 1/2/1965	elected 1960; reelected 1962
George V. Hansen (R)	1/3/1965 to 1/2/1969	elected 1964; reelected 1966
Orval Hansen (R)	1/3/1969 to 1/2/1975	elected 1968; reelected 1970, 1972

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George V. Hansen (R)	1/3/1975 to 1/2/1985	elected 1974; reelected 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982
Richard Stallings (D)	1/3/1985 to 1/2/1993	elected 1984; reelected 1986, 1988, 1990
Mike Crapo (R)	1/2/1993	elected 1992

Source: *Idaho Blue Book, 1989–1990*, 39–40

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APPENDIX F

Idaho Population Growth, 1870–1990

Year	*Population*	*Increase: Number*	*Percent*	*Estimated Net Migration*
1870	14,999	—	—	—
1880	32,610	17,411	117	1,700
1890	88,548	55,938	172	34,200
1900	161,772	73,224	83	39,800
1910	325,594	163,822	101	104,100
1920	431,866	106,272	33	37,300
1930	445,032	13,166	3	-50,600
1940	524,873	79,841	18	-20,500
1950	588,637	63,764	12	-29,600
1960	667,191	78,554	13	-39,300
1970	713,015	45,824	7	-42,000
1980	944,127	231,112	32	130,000
1990	1,006,749	62,622	7	35,000

Source: *U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census*

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APPENDIX G

Data on Idaho Counties

County	*Year Established in Idaho*	*County Seat*	*Population in 1990*
Ada	1864	Boise	205,775
Adams	1911	Council	3,254
Bannock	1893	Pocatello	66,026
Bear Lake	1875	Paris	6,084
Benewah	1915	St. Maries	7,937
Bingham	1885	Blackfoot	37,583
Blaine	1895	Hailey	13,552
Boise	1864	Idaho City	3,509
Bonner	1913	Sandpoint	26,622
Bonneville	1911	Idaho Falls	72,207
Boundary	1915	Bonners Ferry	8,332
Butte	1917	Arco	2,918
Camas	1917	Fairfield	727
Canyon	1891	Caldwell	90,076
Caribou	1919	Soda Springs	6,963
Cassia	1879	Burley	19,532

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Clark	1919	Dubois	762
Clearwater	1911	Orofino	8,505
Custer	1881	Challis	4,133
Elmore	1889	Mountain Home	21,205
Franklin	1913	Preston	9,232
Fremont	1893	St. Anthony	10,937
Gem	1915	Emmett	11,844
Gooding	1913	Gooding	11,633
Idaho	1864	Grangeville	13,783
Jefferson	1913	Rigby	16,543
Jerome	1919	Jerome	15,138
Kootenai	1881	Coeur d'Alene	69,795
Latah	1888	Moscow	30,617
Lemhi	1869	Salmon	6,899
Lewis	1911	Nez Perce	3,516
Lincoln	1895	Shoshone	3,308
Madison	1913	Rexburg	23,674
Minidoka	1913	Rupert	19,361
Nez Perce	1864	Lewiston	33,754
Oneida	1864	Malad	3,492
Owyhee	1863	Murphy	8,392
Payette	1917	Payette	16,434
Power	1913	American Falls	7,086
Shoshone	1864	Wallace	13,931
Teton	1915	Driggs	3,439
Twin Falls	1907	Twin Falls	53,580
Valley	1917	Cascade	6,109
Washington	1879	Weiser	8,550

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2. Quoted in Bob Waite, "The Ethnic Experience in Idaho," *Snake River Echoes* 11 (1982):77.

3. Crowder, in *Idaho's Governors*, 98.

4. Brosnan, *History of the State of Idaho*, 361–65.

5. Ibid., 365–66.

6. Hawley, *History of Idaho*, 1:581.

7. Crowder, in *Idaho's Governors*, 100–101.

8. Ruckman, "Knit, Knit, and Then Knit," 30; *Pocatello Tribune*, January 5, 1919.

9. Ruckman, "Knit, Knit, and Then Knit," 29, based on report in the *Pocatello Tribune*, November 3, 1917.

10. Lovin, "World War Vigilantes," 6.

11. Hawley, *History of Idaho*, 1:582.

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13. Ibid., 6.

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14. Crowder, in *Idaho's Governors*, 101.

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2. Mowry, *The Urban Nation*, 34.

3. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 219.

4. Wells and Hart, *Idaho: Gem of the Mountains*, 125.

5. Mowry, *The Urban Nation*, 5.

6. *Rexburg Journal*, April 21, 1922.

7. T. C. Stanford to William E. Borah, May 26, 1922. The papers of Thomas C. Stanford are in the possession of Gwynn (Glen) Barrett, Boise State University.

8. Shideler, *Farm Crisis*, 196–97, 324; *New York Times*, January 28, 1922, 2; *Idaho Daily Statesman*, October 1, 1922.

9. Gilbert C. Fite, *George N. Peek and the Fight for Farm Parity* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 4.

10. *Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1919, 523, 660, 669; 1922, 595, 671, 687, 823, 871; Leonard Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), 94.

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3. The following account is based on Arrington and Barrett, "Stopping a Run on a Bank."

4. Malone, *C. Ben Ross and the New Deal in Idaho*, 39.

5. The report may be found among the papers of the Ross Administration, Box 27, folder entitled "Drouth Relief, 1932–1935," Idaho State Archives, Boise.

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6. The statistical information in the description of programs below has been compiled from Office of Government Reports, Statistical Section, Report No. 10, Idaho, Volume II (Washington, D.C., 1940). A photocopy of this 54-page mimeographed report is in the Utah State University Library, Logan, Utah.

7. Austin, "The CCC in Idaho," 14–15.

8. The information in this section comes from Dean H. Lundblad, "The Indian Division of the Civilian Conservation Corps" (Plan B master's thesis, Report No. 2, Utah State University, 1968); Final Report of the Director, 1933 to 1942, in Records of the CCC, Record Group 35, National Archives; and Office of Government Reports, Statistical Section, 1940, "Federal Loans and Expenditures 1933–39," Vol. II, Idaho, mimeographed copy in Utah State University Library, Logan, Utah.

9. The overwhelming majority of Idaho farmers favored these programs. In a nationwide wheat referendum in May 1935, Idaho producers voted 88 percent in favor of an AAA program. In October 1935, when corn-hog producers were asked if they favored a program for 1936, Idaho votes were 3,319 for and 425 against, a favorable majority of 89 percent.

10. Fisher, *Idaho: A Guide in Word and Picture.*

11. See Barrett, "Reclamation's New Deal for Heavy Construction," 21–27.

12. Keith C. Petersen, "Frank Bruce Robinson and Psychiana," *Idaho Yesterdays* 23 (Fall 1979):9–15, 26–29. See also Petersen's *Psychiana, The Psychological Religion* (Moscow: Latah County Historical Society, 1991).

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1. Bill Loftus, *Idaho State Parks Guidebook* (Lewiston: Tribune Publishing Company, 1989), 17–22.

2. Clark, "Idaho Made the Desert Blossom," 651.

3. Beal and Wells, *History of Idaho*, 2:270.

4. Brosnan, *History of Idaho*, 373D–73E.

5. Ibid., 373G–73I.

6. Clark, "Idaho Made the Desert Bloom," 641.

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7. Ourada, "Reluctant Servants," 9.

8. Busco and Alder, "German and Italian Prisoners of War in Utah and Idaho," 72.

9. Hausler, "History of the Japanese-American Relocation Center," 23.

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CHAPTER 25

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3. Blank, *Individualism in Idaho*, 2–7.

4. Duane A. Smith, *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps: The Urban Frontier* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967), 244.

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7. Peterson, *Idaho: A Bicentennial History*, 158.

8. Claudius Johnson, "Borah's Bequest to Democracy," *Idaho Yesterdays* 1 (Winter 1957–58):12.

9. I have borrowed heavily from the succinct biography of Borah by Merle Wells in Lamar, ed., *The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West*, 114–15.

10. See Malone's first-rate biography, *C. Ben Ross and the New Deal in Idaho*; also Malone's brief biography in Sims, ed., *Idaho Governors*, 130–37.

11. See Willard Barnes's biography of Clark in Sims, ed., *Idaho's Governors*, 138–44.

12. Robert C. Sims, "C. A. Bottolfsen," in Sims, ed., *Idaho's Governors*, 149.

13. *Idaho Pioneer* (Boise), October 18, 1940, as quoted in Peterson, *Prophet Without Honor*, 16.

14. Gunther, *Inside U.S.A.*, 108.

15. An excellent biography is Ross Peterson, *Prophet Without Honor*. Short biographies are in Peterson, "Glen H. Taylor: Idaho's Liberal Maverick," in *The Idaho Heritage*, 157–61; John Gunther, *Inside U.S.A.*, 107–13; and Stapilus, *Paradox Politics*, 81–85, 90–92.

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16. Stapilus, *Paradox Politics*, 101.

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21. Compare Merle W. Wells, "The Context of Gubernatorial Politics in Idaho," in Sims, ed., *Idaho's Governors*, 1–11.

22. Martin, "The Sectional State," 174–79.

CHAPTER 26

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2. Ibid., 534–50.

3. Henry L. Day, "Mining Highlights of the Coeur d'Alene District," *Idaho Yesterdays* 7 (Winter 1963–64):8–9.

4. "Sunshine Mining Company," in Wells and Hart, *Idaho: Gem of the Mountains*, 194.

5. "Hecla Mining Company," in ibid., 222.

6. "FMC Corporation," in ibid., 220–21.

7. Beal and Wells, *History of Idaho*, 2:310.

8. *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 3, 1948. Further information on the life and agricultural efforts of Julion Clawson is in clippings from the *Minidoka County News* (Rupert), *Salt Lake Tribune*, and other newspapers collected by Clawson's secretary, Anona Kunz Clawson, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City; and oral history interviews with Irwin Clawson, Yale Holland, and Rodney Hansen by Richard L. Jensen, James Moyle Oral History Program, LDS Church Archives.

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2. Church, *Father and Son*, 72.

3. Ibid., 56.

4. Ibid., 73.

5. Ibid., 72.

6. Peirce, *Mountain States of America*, 149. See also Peterson, *Idaho: A Bicentennial History*, 179.

7. Neal Peirce, *Mountain States of America*, (N.Y.: Norton, 1972) 147.

8. Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest*, 373–74.

9. Steiner, *Soil Conservation in the United States*, 94; see also, 60, 91, 106.

10. An excellent summary is given in Robinson, *Water for the West*, 106–8. The best treatment is F. Ross Peterson, *The Teton Dam Disaster: Tragedy or Triumph?* 66th Faculty Honors Lecture (Logan: Utah State University Faculty Association, 1982). See also Louis J. Clements, *Teton Flood Revisited* (Rexburg: Eastern Idaho Publishing Co, 1991).

11. Jordan, *The Unintentional Senator*, 152.

CHAPTER 28

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2. Quoted in Beal, *History of Idaho State College*, 127.

3. Ibid., 131.

4. Crowder, *Rexburg, Idaho*, 245–48. See also Ernest L. Wilkinson and Leonard J. Arrington, eds., "The Ricks College Controversy," in *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 3:156–75.

5. Petersen, *This Crested Hill*, 30.

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2. "An Idaho Woodsman Makes the Chips Fly," *Business Week*, October 12, 1963, 148.

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4. *Here We Have Idaho*, 72.

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8. Ibid., 172.

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10. "Builders of Anything, Anywhere," *Business Week*, December 5, 1944, 58.

11. "The Earth Mover," *Time* 63 (May 3, 1954):86.

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13. Wells and Hart, *Idaho: Gem of the Mountains*, 129; Wells, *Boise: An Illustrated History*, 198.

14. Mitchell's recollections are that the plant at Hailey was finished first, but his son's biography of his father says the one in Boise was completed on July 4, 1887, and the one at Hailey was finished by Christmas Eve of the same year: Mitchell, *S. Z. Mitchell and the Electrical Industry*, 48–49.

15. Wells and Hart, *Idaho: Gem of the Mountains*, 213.

16. Ibid., 231.

17. Ibid., 206–7.

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1. George Catlin, *Episodes from Life Among the Indians and Last Rambles Amongst the Indians of the Rocky Mountains and Andes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 147.

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4. Ibid., 101.

5. Walker, *Myths of Idaho Indians*, 7–8; Walker, *Indians of Idaho*, 158.

6. Introduction to "Coyote Laughs and Cries," in *American Indian Myths and Legends*, 335–36.

7. These and other stories comprise the text of Walker, *Myths of Idaho Indians*.

8. Bruchac, "Storytelling and Native American Writing," *Halcyon*, 40; Jon P. Dayley in *The Literature of Idaho*, 15.

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10. Charles Nelson Teeter, *Four Years of My Life or My Adventures in the Far West (May 14, 1862–December 13, 1865)* Thirteenth Biennial Report of the Board of Trustees of the State Historical Society of Idaho (Boise, 1932), 26–128.

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13. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi*, 494–95, 507.

14. William Hepworth Dixon, *New America*, 2 vols. (London, 1867), 2:21.

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17. Donaldson, *Idaho of Yesterday*, 61–62.

18. See Betty Derig, "Pioneer Portraits: Bishop Tuttle," *Idaho Yesterdays* 12 (Winter 1968–69):13–22; and Daniel S. Tuttle, *Reminis-*

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21. The introduction by Susan Hendricks Swetnam is very helpful.

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23. Jordan, *Home Below Hell's Canyon* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954, 1962).

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33. The essay "In Papa's Shadow," in Tim Woodward's *Tiger on the Road*, 190–205, has been very helpful. Also Carlos Baker, *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959); Hemingway, *How It Was*; Arnold, *High on the Wild with Hemingway*; and "Father L. M. Dougherty Talks About Ernest Hemingway," in *Rendezvous: Idaho State University Journal of Arts and Letters* 5 (Winter 1970):7–17. An excellent review of the Hemingway literature is Richard Etulain, "Ernest Hemingway and His Interpreters of the 1960's," in *Rendezvous*, 53–70.

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35. Etulain, "Ernest Hemingway and His Interpreters," 53.

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37. See Leonard J. Arrington, "Celebrating Idaho's Historians," *Idaho Yesterdays* 34 (Winter 1991):2–9.

CHAPTER 31

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2. See William T. Hagan, "United States Indian Policy," in Lamar, ed., *Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West*, 565–69; and William T. Hagan, *American Indians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

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4. See especially "Canadian and French Canadian Americans," in *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage*, 2:1–18.

5. See Bobbi Rahder, "Idaho's British Isles Americans," in *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage*, 1:8.

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7. West, "Five Idaho Mining Towns," 112.

8. Ruby El Hult, *Steamboats in the Timber* (Caldwell: Caxton Printers, 1953), 94–95.

9. Carole Simon-Smolinski, "Idaho's Chinese Americans," in *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage*, 1:7–43; Alfreda Elsensohn, *Idaho Chinese Lore* (Cottonwood: Idaho Corporation of Benedictine Sisters, 1970).

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12. Mary E. Reed, "Idaho's Northern European Americans," in *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage*, 2:31–44; Cleo J. Johnson, "The Scandinavian Organization," *Snake River Echoes* 11 (1982); William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957).

13. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 272.

14. See Carole Simon-Smolinski, "Idaho's Western European Americans," in *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage*, 2:36–45; Zina Kunz Hatch Fuit Cox, *The Hills of Bern* (Montpelier, ca. 1980).

15. See Mary Reed, "Idaho's Northern European Americans," in *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage*, 2:1–64.

16. Hal Cannon, "New Sweden Pioneer Day," in Attebery, *Idaho Folklife: Homesteads to Headstones*, 68–79.

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19. Laurie Mercier, "Idaho's Southern Europeans," *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage*, 2:1–53; Andrew F. Rolle, *The Immigrant Upraised: Italian Adventurers and Colonists in an Expanding America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968); and Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger Nichols, and David Reimers, *Natives and Strangers: Ethnic Groups and the Building of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

20. Carole Simon-Smolinski, "Idaho's Jewish Americans," in *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage* 1:1–35, an excellent essay. See also Juanita Brooks, *The History of the Jews in Utah and Idaho* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1973).

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22. Carole Simon-Smolinski, "Idaho's Japanese Americans," in *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage*, 1:44–89; Robert Sims, "The Japanese American Experience in Idaho," *Idaho Yesterdays* 22 (Spring 1978):2–10.

23. Issues of July 9, 26, 28, 1892.

24. Simon-Smolinski, "Idaho's Japanese Americans," 1:63.

25. See Laurie Mercier, "Idaho's Southern Europeans," in *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage*, 2:17–34; Pat Bieter, "Reluctant Shepherds: The Basques in Idaho," *Idaho Yesterdays* 1 (Summer 1957):10–15; Richard W. Etulain, "Basque Beginnings in the Pacific Northwest" *Idaho Yesterdays* 18 (Spring 1974):26–32; William A. Douglass and Jon Bilbao, *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1975).

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27. Laurie Mercier, "Idaho's African Americans," in *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage* 1:1–49; Mamie O. Oliver, *Idaho Ebony: The Afro-American Presence in Idaho State History* (Boise: privately published, 1990); Quintard Taylor, Jr., "History of Blacks in the Pacific Northwest, 1788–1970" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1978).

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28. Marvin Fletcher, "Army Fire Fighters," *Idaho Yesterdays* 16 (Summer 1972):12–15; *Idaho Press*, August 18, September 1–8, 1910, as quoted in Mercier, "Idaho's African Americans."

29. Laurie Mercier, "Idaho's Southeast Asian and Filipino Americans," in *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage*, 1:90–108.

CHAPTER 32

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2. "The Country Town," *The Portable Veblen*, Max Lerner, ed. (New York: Viking Press, 1961), 407, as quoted in Robert Sims, in Ericson, ed., *Idaho Small Town Experience*, 7.

3. Ibid., 2.

4. These paragraphs are based on Petersen, *Company Town: Potlatch, Idaho, and the Potlatch Lumber Company*, 98, 135.

5. Ibid., 141.

6. Ibid., 139, 206.

7. Abbott, in Nash and Etulain, *Twentieth Century West*, 89–90.

8. As with Chapter Seventeen, this section borrows heavily from Attebery, *Building Idaho*.

9. Attebery, *Building Idaho*, 125.

10. Ibid., 121, 133 n12.

11. "St. Alphonsus Regional Medical Center," in Wells and Hart, *Idaho: Gem of the Mountains*, 188–89.

12. Ibid., 184–85.

13. See also "Blue Cross of Idaho Health Service," in Wells, *Boise: An Illustrated History*, 157.

14. The phrases are from Malone and Etulain, *The American West*, 162.

CHAPTER 33

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2. Gregory A. Raymond, "Idaho: A Third-World Country?" *Idaho's Economy* 7 (Spring 1990):16.

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