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CANYONLANDS NATIONAL PARK, ARCHES NATIONAL PARK, AND
NATURAL BRIDGES NATIONAL MONUMENT
HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

FINAL REPORT
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This page will be filled out in the final report after the Field Work to be sure to include all park staff members involved in the project.

INTRODUCTION

This narrative history of Canyonlands National Park, Arches National Park, and Natural Bridges National Monument contains the basic components for such a study as outlined in National Park Service Guideline NPS-28 for historic cultural resources. The narrative overview of the history of the parks and the lands around them, the bulk of this report, has been done for a number of reasons. First and foremost it provides a regional context so that the history of the parks is not evaluated in a vacuum created by the lines drawn by park planners or Congress that may or may not have any historical basis. Second, it facilitates the evaluation of sites recorded under Option A of this contract by helping to place the resources recorded in the field into larger regional, state-wide, or national contexts. This leads directly to their evaluation for the National Park Service List of Classified Structures and the National Register of Historic Places. Also, this study serves as a supporting reference in the preparation of any National Register of Historic Places forms that might be deemed necessary after the field work and evaluation process has been completed.

The second use of this study will be by members of the park staffs in executing their duties. First, this study and the results of the Option A contract work will allow resource managers to set their priorities for historic resource manage-

ment. Ancillary to that, the combined package will help in other resource management decisions by outlining which resources need to be protected and which ones do not have historic values. Secondly, the parks' interpretative staffs may find information useful to their programs in the narrative study or possibly sites they wish to include in future interpretative programs. The final purpose of this study, to create a lengthy, annotated bibliography, not only helps with this work but identifies sources that can be used for site-specific research. Further, the bibliography may prove of value to future researchers interested in the parks and the region.

Two factors contribute to the accuracy or inaccuracy of available local histories of southeastern Utah. The first is the ever-present, though sometimes subtle, Mormon bias that crops up in many accounts. This frequently leads to veneration of some historical characters, not due to actual deeds, but because of religious affiliation. The second comes from the fact that many area occupants did not take the time or have the inclination to keep accurate records. When such a situation existed it opened the door for legends to grow, and if repeated often enough these half-truths became accepted as fact. For example, in southeastern Utah outlaws such as Butch Cassidy or Bill McCarty were present, but exactly what they did, where they stayed, or who they saw will probably never be known, as their type of business did not lend itself to extensive or accurate record keeping. Further, the human nature of area residents entered the

picture as some of those individuals wanted to be known to have associated with such colorful characters, feeling such a tie might add to their stature in the local community. Finally, the problem of incomplete records for some facets of the area's history means that information has to be gathered from potentially less reliable sources or filled in after the fact by depending on memory as expressed through oral or written memoirs. The most glaring example of the lack of records comes from the creation of Canyonlands National Park. In the words of Lloyd M. Pierson, a park ranger at Arches National Park at the time:

First of all most, if not all, of the government documents of that period [MISSION 66] in the files at Arches and Canyonlands National Parks have been destroyed. Apparently a clerk sent to a school on files management took it upon herself to apply literally the "save it three years only" directive and threw out all this material.¹

Such gaps in the historic record, no matter how carefully reconstructed later, can never be fully filled. Despite these problems, evaluation and organization of existing information can help provide a useable narrative.

Thematic studies of history and cultural resources create a convenient tool not only for the preparation of contextual evaluations, but also act to clarify events and provide a continuity often lost when history becomes nothing more than lists of names and dates. Finally, the thematic approach tends to create a history that includes not only the great or near great, but also frequently the unknown, or at least descriptions of their lifestyles.

After examination of the history of southeastern Utah two underlying theses become apparent. The first is that the natural isolation and rugged terrain of the region meant that it was one of the last areas in Utah to be settled, and moreover people there tended to be much more susceptible than other Utahans to outside influences, such as those from the neighboring Colorado mining towns of the late nineteenth century. The second thesis applicable to the study area is that through much of its Euro-American history local economic activity tended to be dominated by one industry or another and any changes in that industry, be it cattle raising or uranium mining, could and frequently did have dire consequences for the area. This led to a boom and bust cycle experience in local history, including the parks. Often times the boom and bust went hand in hand with the control outside forces had in regional affairs, such as a glut on the Chicago beef market, or during the 1950s when the Atomic Energy Commission first caused and then ended the uranium boom. These two theses, trends or characteristics, by whatever label, run through all the themes used in this study.

For Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges there are ten themes which have been identified through the secondary and primary research completed for this study. Those themes include: 1) Early Exploration and the Fur Trade; 2) the Early Settlement of Utah and the Mormon Frontier; 3) the Cattle Frontier and the Early Settlement of Southeastern Utah; 4) the Outlaws of the Region; 5) Early Mining, Oil Exploration, and

Lumbering in Southeastern Utah; 6) the Development of Transportation and Southeastern Utah's Isolation; 7) Livestock Raising and Settlement After 1900; 8) the Conservation Movement and the Growth of Federal Influences in Southeastern Utah; 9) World War II and After; 10) the Development of the Region's National Parks and Monuments: World War II and After(See Figure 1). Within each of these there are sub-themes, such as in exploration, the fur trade serves as a sub-theme, being viewed mostly as a different type of exploration, thus an associated sub-theme within the larger theme. The same type of relationship exists in other themes as well, such as the sub-themes of settlement and ranching that in the history of southeastern Utah tend to constitute one theme.

The first theme, exploration and the fur trade, spans more than two centuries, from the mid-eighteenth century Spanish expeditions to the area through the work of the United States Geological Survey of the 1950s looking for uranium. The theme encompasses explorations of two distinct types. First, those performed from the 1700s through the Civil War tended to focus on locating travel routes to and across the region, and aside from some visits into the lands of the modern parks, had very little impact on the parks. The second phase, starting after the Civil War (1865) de-emphasized finding routes. Instead these explorations focused on accurate mapping of the area and evaluating the quantities and types of natural resources, from water to uranium, available for economic development. As a direct result of those

efforts much information on Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges became available to the public. The notable exception came from railroaders who hoped to use the Colorado River's canyon as a route to the Pacific.

During the first phase of exploration Spaniards led the way through their control of the region until the Mexico gained her independence in 1821. That date marked the beginning of Anglo-American exploration and travel into the region when fur traders and trappers began to use the Old Spanish Trail as a route to the Great Basin from Santa Fe and Taos, New Mexico. The fur trade came to an end during the 1840s, but within a few years other explorers, some representing the United States government and others from the Mormon Church, traversed the study area, including the first recorded visit to what became Canyonlands National Park. After the outbreak of the Civil War and the early Mormon failures at settlement in southeastern Utah during the 1850s exploration of the region halted until the late 1860s. Maj. John Wesley Powell's 1869 trip down the Green and Colorado Rivers marked the beginning of the second phase of exploration that continued for nearly a century. These expeditions came to the region to find resources and accurately map the lands. They collectively added hundreds of volumes of information to the then growing pool of knowledge about southeastern Utah.

The second theme, the settlement of Utah and the Mormon frontier lasted from the 1820s through the 1880s. The early date for beginning this theme was chosen because an understanding of

the Mormon experience before their migration to Utah in 1847 is necessary to understand roots of the characteristics typical of Mormon settlement throughout Utah. For southeastern Utah, the Mormon experience can be divided into two distinct periods, divided by the Civil War much as exploration was. During the late 1840s and into the 1850s the Church followed an aggressive policy of colonization of the lands of modern Utah and beyond. Conflicts with the local native American populations, however, forced a retrenchment of settlement by the 1860s. The second phase began during the 1870s, as once again Church leaders under Brigham Young sought to expand their area of influence. For the study area this included a colony, the Peace Mission, at Bluff as well as other settlements that grew after 1880. By that date, however, large portions of southeastern Utah had already been occupied by other, non-Mormon, Anglo-Americans.

The third theme, the cattle frontier and early settlement, is one of the most important for the study area's history. Despite all the explorations or church-sponsored attempts at settlement no group was more responsible for the tone of late nineteenth century development in southeastern Utah, including the lands of the modern parks, than the cattlemen. From the 1870s through the early decades of the twentieth century, stock raisers struggled with the natural environment as well as wildly fluctuating markets to make a living. The cattlemen arrived in the area from a variety of other locations including Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and elsewhere in Utah. Initially, most of them

ran only small herds, but by the mid-1880s many of the pioneers had sold out to larger companies, such as the Carlisles or the Pittsburgh Cattle Company. This trend was reversed by the end of the century as the large corporations, unable to stay solvent, gave way again to smaller operations.

At the same time that the large companies developed the Mormon Church again sent colonies of farmers into the region to settle. But within a few years these agriculturalists all but gave up the plow for the branding iron. With the arrival of the Mormons the circle of outside influences that so dominated the region's early history stood complete. The influence that stands out most in the minds of modern local residents, however, was the Texas cowboy. Hundreds of those cowpokes came to the area with the large cattle companies. As outsiders who shared almost none of the same values as the Mormon population, the cowboys came to be viewed as the cause of a variety of local social problems from drunkenness to murder. The other impact of the cattle frontier on the region was to force solutions to the long-pending Indian question, sometimes through violence, other times through negotiation.

The next theme, the outlaw period, is closely associated historically with the cattle frontier. Spanning approximately twenty years from the 1880s through the early years of the twentieth century, this phase of local history is very colorful even though it is of minimal significance in the parks' or area's overall history. Criminality in southeastern Utah has been

associated closely with the influx of Texas cowboys because many of these same herders became minor or amateur malefactors, getting into fights of stealing a few head of cattle now and then. By and large though they tended to remain amateur outlaws. The other group, the professionals, such as the McCarty family of the La Sal Mountains or later Butch Cassidy and his Wild Bunch, also were associated locally with the cattle frontier because some of the professionals used jobs as cowboys as a cover to hide behind. The other association the study area, particularly the detached portion of Canyonlands National Park, has with the outlaw period comes from its proximity to Robbers Roost, a well known area used as a hideout by murders and bandits traveling the Outlaw Trail to escape capture. No other stop, except perhaps the Hole in the Wall locale of Wyoming, or Brown's Hole on the Colorado-Utah border, are more widely associated with the infamous law breakers of the "Wild West" than Utah's Robbers Roost. Many of the criminals of the era passed through the study area and no doubt a number of them took advantage of the hundreds of canyons and caves within the parks for shelter during their getaways.

Coincidental with the outlaw period, the early phase of mining and lumbering development occurred in southeastern Utah. This constitutes another, albeit minor, theme in the region's history. The early mining history of the region typifies the impacts of outside influences -- namely the Colorado-San Juan mining boom, on the region. Prospectors drawn to that area

searched southeastern Utah as well, hunting for the "mother lode." Also, the mining camps of Colorado offered markets for the beef and other products of the study area. Lumbering on the other hand, remained a strictly localized industry to provide building materials and some fuel for nearby residents until coal from mines elsewhere in Utah, hauled by rail, made a different type of fuel available before 1900.

Transportation development in southeastern Utah, whether it was the railroad hauling coal or the modern super highways, constitutes the next, very important theme for regional history. As with much of the West the availability or lack of transportation dictated many of the developments that occurred in the study area. The isolation, measured by standards of miles or days of travel from other areas, to southeastern Utah acted to discourage settlement just as did the lack of great tracts of arable land and water. Starting with the Old Spanish Trail during the early 1800s that skirted modern Arches National Park, through the next eighty years the study area remained, to borrow a cliché, off the beaten path. By the later date, after the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad built its line north of the study area, some roads and trails had been built but once the railroad became available much travel was reoriented north and south from the rail line at Thompson's Springs. After the turn of the century this trend continued with the construction of automobile highways as exemplified today by the route of Interstate 70. Even the great rivers, frequently seen as avenues of

commerce for other areas, proved to be nothing more than impediments to travel in southeastern Utah. They could not be successfully navigated by boats capable of carrying goods and people and their steep canyon walls and limited number of fords further limited the choices of routes for road builders. Nevertheless, local residents tried unsuccessfully to use the rivers as avenues of commerce at different times.

The next theme, livestock raising after 1900, tends to be nearly all inclusive of the parks' and study area's history from 1900 through the end of World War II. During this period ranching went through a second evolution as the era started with a number of small ranches scattered throughout the study area, some of which remained small, while others were consolidated into larger holdings. Typical of that trend toward growth, the Scrup-Sommerville and Redd ranches, in their respective periods, ranked among the largest livestock holdings in Utah. From 1900 through 1945 livestock raising dominated the economic life of the region; towns existed to serve the ranchers and many fortunes rose or fell in direct relation to beef or wool prices. The second feature of southeastern Utah stockraising that differentiated the twentieth century from the nineteenth was the growth and then decline of dryland farming and sheep raising. The dryland boom proved to be short as crop prices and rainfall declined after 1920, forcing many farmers out of business. After synthetic fibers became available, decreasing the wool market, sheep raising lost some of the importance it enjoyed briefly. The

other factor that impacted local ranching and life during the twentieth century has been the growing role of the federal government in the area.

The federal government and the growth of the conservation movement is the other prominent theme in the twentieth century history of southeastern Utah, as indeed it is for much of the state and the West. Beginning during the closing years of the nineteenth century, the federal government changed its philosophy about Western lands from unregulated use and abuse to one of preservation and controlled use to halt the rapid degradation of America's natural wealth. This philosophical reorientation led to the creation of federal timber reserves (National Forests), federal development of water resources and the preservation of America's scenic, scientific, and cultural heritage through the National Park Service. In southeastern Utah this new trend became apparent only after the turn of the century. But from Theodore Roosevelt's administration on through World War II and beyond, the federal government's role in the region has grown. The Great Depression and relief programs of the 1930s solidified this relationship.

The next theme, southeastern Utah's history since World War II, tends to be a continuation of certain trends, such as the importance of grazing or the relationship with the federal government, as well as the addition of new factors. The most dramatic developments of the post-war period have been the growth of the energy industry, first uranium mining and secondly, oil

and natural gas well drilling, and the development of a tourist industry based on the outdoor recreation opportunities offered by southeastern Utah. The federal government played an active role in stimulating and/or controlling those new industries.

Of the federal agencies active in the region after World War II none has had a greater stabilizing influence than the National Park Service and its work to develop recreation-tourist facilities. Before World War II both Arches and Natural Bridges National Monuments existed, but their use by visitors remained small because of access and facility limitations. Under the leadership of Conrad L. Wirth the National Park Service undertook a massive program, known as MISSION 66, to upgrade and expand America's national parks and monuments. In the study area this led to vast improvements in roads, campgrounds and other facilities at Arches and Natural Bridges. At the same time Wirth also encouraged further studies that resulted in the establishment of Canyonlands National Park in 1964. Seven years later Arches National Monument became Arches National Park, and along with Canyonlands and Natural Bridges, the three became the cornerstone of southeastern Utah's modern tourist industry.

Chronologically the themes outlined above tend to overlap at a number of points in time. In the earliest period, approximately 1760 through 1821, only one theme, Spanish exploration, applies. Starting with Juan de Rivera's 1765 trips to southeastern Utah, Spanish involvement continued in 1776 with the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition. From then until the 1810s,

traders out of New Mexico frequented the area, developing the Old Spanish Trail as a trade route to central Utah and the Pacific coast. During the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s, the Hispanic traders were joined by a number of other Euro-Americans -- the fur trappers and traders.

By the 1840s the fur trade went into a decline, and with it traders ceased to use the Old Spanish Trail. But during the later years of that decade, 1847 specifically, the Mormon migration to Utah began. It was not until the 1850s that the Mormons made their first attempts to settle southeastern Utah with the Elk Mountain Mission' (Moab) that was founded and failed in 1855. The 1850s also witnessed a few federal explorations of the region, such as Captain J.M. Macomb's. The area had belonged to the United States since the Mexican Cession of 1848.

The first six years of the 1860s marked a time of inactivity in the Anglo-American history of southeastern Utah. By the end of the decade, however, federal exploration resumed in the area with expeditions led by John Wesley Powell, George Wheeler, and Ferdinand V. Hayden. .

The 1870s started as a continuation of the explorations of the 1860s, but before the decade ended the first permanent settlers, mostly cattlemen, had arrived and set up ranches from the La Sal Mountains and Moab south to what is now the Navajo reservation. Many of them came to take advantage of markets offered by the then developing Colorado mining camps nearby.

The 1880s witnessed the further development of ranching and town building in the region, notably the founding of Bluff in 1880 as the Mormon Peace Mission. Cattle began to graze the some areas of the modern parks by the beginning of the decade, if not earlier. In 1889 exploration of the Colorado River by the Denver, Colorado Canyon & Pacific Railroad took place. Six years earlier the Denver & Rio Grande had finished its line north of the study area leading to new developments in transportation and road building. The other theme associated with the 1880s, the outlaws, proved to be rather short lived, ending as a period by 1900 or soon thereafter.

Southeastern Utah during the 1890s witnessed a number of changes and events that appeared comparatively minor at the time, but that set the stage for a number of important future activities. Among these the decline of the large cattle companies, prevalent during the 1880s, and the re-emergence of the smaller ranches, as well as a trend toward more sheep on the local ranges marked the decade as one of adjustment. Equally, the beginning of uranium mining in the region dates to the 1890s as do the beginnings on the national level, of federal efforts at resource conservation and protection. For Utah 1896 became a very important year with the granting of statehood by the national government.

The new state and its southeastern corner entered the twentieth century with optimistic hopes for the future. In the first decade of the new century Utah received its first National

Monument when President Theodore Roosevelt set aside Natural Bridges in 1908. This became the beginning, albeit small, of southeastern Utah's modern tourist industry. During the previous two years the President had established La Sal and Monticello National Forests. All these happenings marked the 1900s as the first of many decades of federal involvement in the region.

The 1910s, punctuated by World War I, marked a short-lived boom for southeastern Utah. Sheep, wool, and cattle prices reached new highs that encouraged more grazing both in and outside the modern parks. Also, the inflated wartime prices led some people to attempt dryland farming and others to propose massive irrigation systems for farmers. As the weather and markets changed for the worse by the early 1920s both of those phases passed. In 1912 the first bridge over the Colorado River at Moab opened, putting an end to thirty years of ferry service. Two years earlier Al Scorup became the first area resident to buy a car, but he had few places to drive it. During 1911-1912 the Kolb brothers took their eventful photographic trip down the Green and Colorado Rivers and four years later Bert Loper became active in boating, together those events marked the modern beginnings of tourism on the area's rivers.

Following the excitement of World War I, the 1920s appeared rather tame for the study area, especially as meat prices began to decline. During the decade, however, some progress was made in other areas of endeavor. For example, the first complete mapping of Cataract Canyon took place, oil and natural gas

discoveries were made in what is now Canyonlands National Park, and in 1929 President Herbert Hoover proclaimed Arches National Monument. Also of great importance, the first monies to develop auto highways in the region became available. Despite those advances the decade closed on a sour note with the Stock Market Crash of October, 1929.

The 1930s, the Great Depression decade, marked new lows for the region's economy and new highs in federal activity as President Franklin D. Roosevelt set his New Deal in motion to speed economic recovery. Millions of federal dollars were pumped into Utah through agencies such as the Civilian Conservation Corps, to build roads, make range improvements, study Arches National Monument, and for a variety of other purposes. Also, as part of this effort a new agency, the Grazing Service (modern Bureau of Land Management) took control of most of the remaining public land in southeastern Utah in 1934, including most of what became Canyonlands National Park, and set about to stop further deterioration of the range through grazing controls. The decade ended with the study area still firmly locked in the grip of the Depression.

The next decade, the 1940s, started slowly for residents of the region, but by the end of it the entire area was in the midst of a boom of unprecedented proportions as uranium fever gripped the Colorado Plateau. The uranium boom continued into the mid-1950s fed by a number of bonuses from the Atomic Energy Commission. Also, oil and natural gas exploration, an on again-off

again business since the 1890s reached new highs. Finally, in 1955 National Park Service Director Wirth launched a ten year improvement program known as MISSION 66. It led to vast improvements at Arches and Natural Bridges National Monument. The establishment of Canyonlands National Park in 1964 came at a time of transition in the National Park Service from development(MISSION 66) to preservation. This and the 1950s construction of Glen Canyon Dam and the impoundment of Lake Powell led directly to the expansion of tourism as an industry of major proportions in southeastern Utah.

The continuation of the tourism and oil and natural gas industries, despite the retrenchment of uranium mining, marked the 1960s and 1970s. Southeastern Utah approached a new economic stability without the extreme boom and bust cycles of earlier years. Booms and busts still occur, however, due to other industries, especially tourism, these cycles do not have the severity they once did. In 1971 tourism received another boost when Arches National Monument became Arches National Park through an act of Congress. The vacation industry, as exemplified by the National Park Service's contribution to the region, became one of the economic mainstays of the study area during the 1970s and early 1980s. Presently, the region looks forward to the continued flow of tourists and other, more stable sources of income to avoid the previous economic ups and downs that plagued the first one hundred and ten years of intensive Anglo-American occupation.

Endnote -- Introduction

1Lloyd M Pierson, "New Park Studies at Canyonlands National Park, 1959 and 1960, and Events Leading Up to Them," mss, p. 1.

CHAPTER ONE

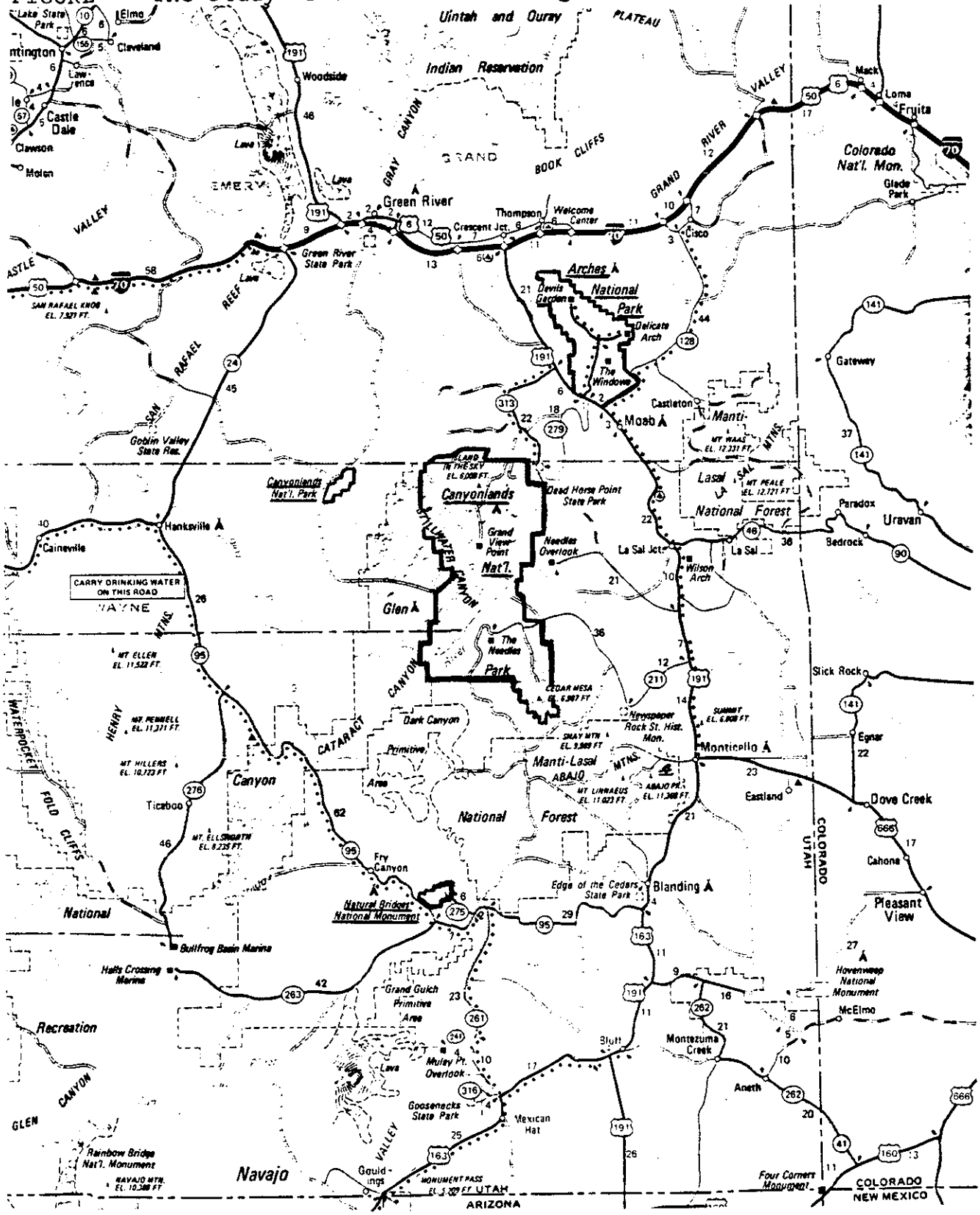
THE AREA OF CANYONLANDS, ARCHES, AND NATURAL BRIDGES

Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges are located in an area known as the Colorado Plateau region of southeastern Utah. The Colorado Plateau is one of three major physiographic provinces within Utah. The Rocky Mountain Province is in northeastern Utah and includes the Uinta and Wasatch Mountain Ranges. Western Utah contains the Basin and Range Province characterized by deserts and mountain ranges. The Colorado Plateau Province, in east-central and southeastern Utah, stretches south of the Uinta Basin into Arizona.¹ That region contains a variety of classically beautiful natural features including canyons, mesas, arches, deserts, bridges, and slick-rock. Those landforms, common throughout the entire study area, have made the Colorado Plateau well known for its varied natural landscape. The Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges study area is bounded by the Abajo Mountains (Blue Mountains) on the southeast, the Henry Mountains on the west, and the La Sal (Elk Mountains) on the east. Farther west of the area lies the San Rafael Reef and Swell, an area of nearly impassable, inhospitable, but scenic badlands. North of the study area lies the Green River desert that extends into the northern edges of Arches National Park. The northern edge of that desert is clearly defined near the study area by the Book Cliffs that rise dra-

matically from the desert floor. Higher plateaus lie farther north and south of the region.² (See Figure 2)

The Colorado Plateau is named for the Colorado River which traverses the area approximately from northeast to southwest. This river and its tributaries have dominated the erosion activity which, along with the wind and weather has formed the modern landscape. The Colorado River meets with its major tributary, the Green River, in Canyonlands National Park. The Colorado-Green River confluence divides Canyonlands National Park into three separate, distinct areas. Island in the Sky and White Rim lie between the two rivers. East of the Colorado River lies the Needles and Salt Creek with their canyons and mesas. The Maze lies to the west of the rivers. Within Canyonlands National Park every canyon, arroyo, slope, or wash eventually leads to the Colorado River. In Arches National Park the Colorado River forms a portion of the eastern and southern boundary.³ Arches is not divided by river courses, but rather, the various formations have provided the major subdivisions. These divisions include the Devils Garden in the northeast, Klondike Bluffs to the west, Salt Valley in the north-central and northwest section, Petrified Sand Dunes and the Windows lie in the southeast section of the Park. The washes, creeks, and arroyos of Arches National Park flow to the Colorado River eventually. Natural Bridges, much

FIGURE 2 The Study Area And Its Setting



smaller than the other two parks, also depends on the presence of canyons and erosion for its scenic attractions, even though it is not on a major river. Thanks to the carving erosional action of the Colorado and Green Rivers the geologic structure has been revealed for scientists to study the rich and varied geologic history of the area.

The majority of geologic activity shaping the earth's surface occurred in the Precambrian period, approximately four and one-half billion years ago. This represents the first, geologic time division. During this time the surface of the then molten earth cooled, forming the crust. Much volcanic activity took place worldwide, with resultant lava flows causing numerous changes in the structure or textural composition of rocks due to heat, pressure, and chemical action. The Paleozoic Era, which followed the Precambrian, has been divided into seven periods by geologists. These man-made demarcations include the Cambrian (600 million years ago); Ordovician (500 million years ago); Silurian (425 million years ago); Devonian (405 million years ago); Mississippian (345 million years ago); Pennsylvanian (310 million years ago); and Permian (280 million years ago).

The Cambrian or first period within this era was characterized by shallow seas which covered large areas and left the first abundant records of early marine life. Varied geologic activity continued through the Pennsylvanian period, when great coal-forming fern swamps flourished along with the first reptiles. Within the study area, at Cataract Canyon, geologists have found

evidence of this marine basin. Known specifically to the Colorado Plateau as the Paradox Formation of the Hermosa Group, these present day water level rocks provide evidence of the Pennsylvanian Period. Travelling up the hillside one can see sandstone, shale, and limestone that indicate the Honaker Trail formation.

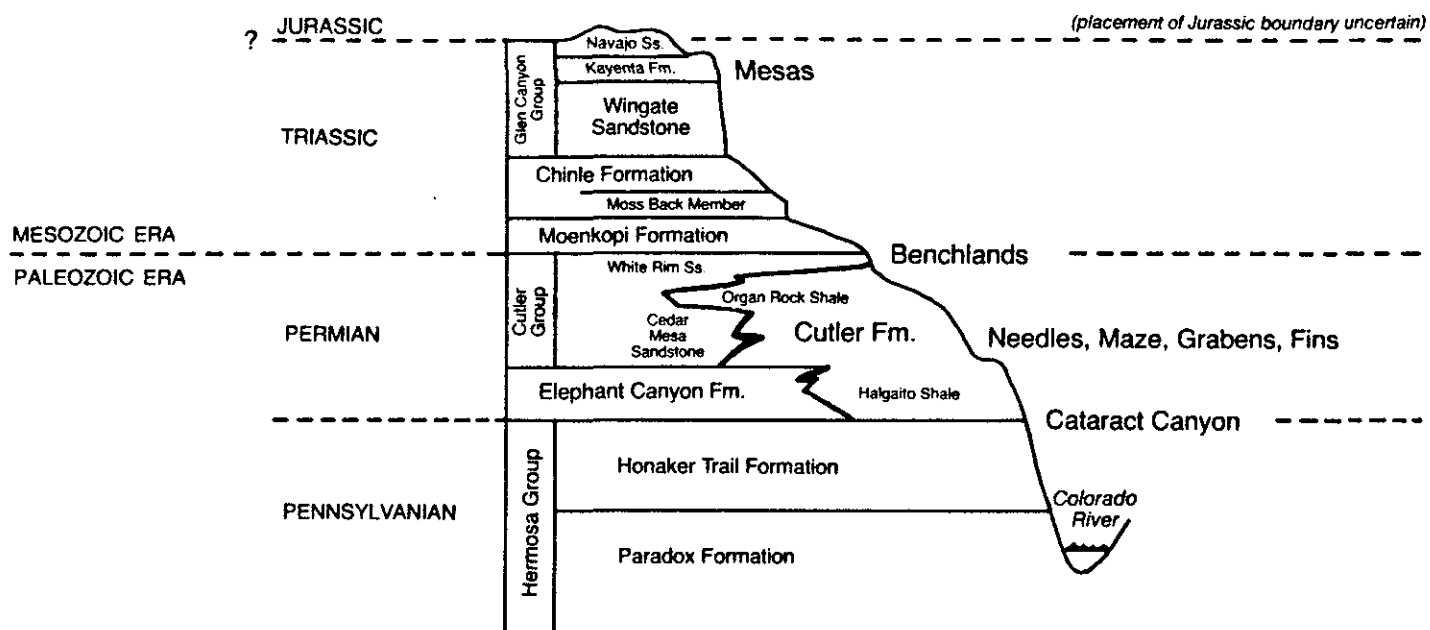
The subsequent Permian period rocks provide evidence of cyclical ocean presence into and out of the region. This movement created some of the beautiful formations in the study area, including the Needles and Maze. Increased reptile life and greater numbers of ferns and conifers characterized this period. The Permian period is the last within the Paleozoic era. A time gap of thirty million years between the Permian and Triassic period of the Mesozoic era is steeped in mystery as a result of excessive erosion that destroyed all the geologic clues. No evidence remains of this time within the study area.

The Mesozoic Era followed the Paleozoic and scientists divided this era into three periods. Much evidence of this Era can be found throughout the study area. The Triassic period, characterized by the earliest evolution of dinosaurs, also witnessed the earliest development of some insects. Extensive volcanic activity took place in the eastern part of North America. Within Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges geologists credited this period with a number of formations near the mesa tops, including the Moenkopi, the Chinle, and Wingate.

These formations have yielded abundant evidence of a shallow sea and the fossil record indicates it teemed with life.

The Upper Triassic and later Jurassic (180 million years to 230 million years ago) periods are indicated in the buttes of the region. During these periods the Sierra Nevada mountains to the far west were uplifted and primitive birds appeared. In the later Cretaceous period, approximately 135 million years ago, the Rocky Mountains rose to the east and dinosaurs reached maturity and began to die out. Coincidental to the extinction of the gigantic reptiles, small, primitive mammals appeared. Within Arches, the Mancos Shale and Dakota Sandstone formations date to this period, while other evidence of these times probably has eroded away. (See Figure 3) The final and most recent Era, the Cenozoic is composed of two periods, the Tertiary (65 million to 10 million years ago) and Quaternary (600,000 to 12,000 years ago). These periods saw rapid development of more complicated mammals, including early man, and the continued uplifting of western North America including the Rockies. In the Quaternary period glaciers covered much of northern North America and northwestern Europe. At that time frequent volcanic activity rocked the western United States. At the end of the period giant mammals became extinct while human cultures developed and spread. During more recent periods the action of freezing water in rock fissures has caused giant rock slabs to fall from cliff faces and fins, and this, combined with continued wind and water erosion, have formed many of the spectacular features such

FIGURE 3 Geologic Time Chart



From: Trimble, "View-Day"

as the arches and natural bridges that made Arches National Park and National Bridges National Monument famous. These interesting and breathtaking features of the study area have defined and limited usage through recent history of the area by man.⁴

Aside from geologic characteristics that led to land form restrictions, the climate of the area also resulted in delayed permanent settlement by Euro-Americans. The modern climate of the region is arid with hot, dry summers and cold, dry winters. Total precipitation averages approximately five inches per year. One author states that Arches National Park averages 8.5 inches per year. Snowfall averages slightly more than 4 inches per year. The precipitation range from 5 inches to 8.5 inches per year limits the types of flora and fauna that inhabit the region. Precipitation in the summer and fall is primarily from thunderstorms. These downpours frequently turn the dry washes, arroyos, and canyons into dangerous torrents of flash flood water. Observers have noted that in the summer the moisture from these storms can evaporate or be absorbed within a few hours, leaving no evidence of the passing of the storm except for water collected in depressions in the slickrock. The final weather characteristic, spring and summer windstorms, can pick up the fine sand particles and turn them into clouds of blowing dust.⁵

Annual temperatures in southeastern Utah average slightly more than 50 degrees Fahrenheit. Lows reaching only into the teens are common in January while in July and August temperatures occasionally can go well above 100° F. This high temperature

average, combined with limited rainfall result in hot, dry summer days. This, accompanied by the seasonal winds, create unenviable conditions that many Euro-Americans found unappealing. Since many did not find the climate conducive to extensive settlement it served to enhance the natural, wilderness isolation of the region.⁶

Reliable, permanent water sources exist in the two rivers which cross the area. The Colorado River, approximately 1,450 miles long, provides water to Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, California, and Mexico. As the river flows around Arches National Park and through Canyonlands National Park it is located in deep canyons that are not suitable for construction of irrigation systems. Furthermore, today usage of the Colorado River water is restricted by the Colorado River Compact of 1922. This document divides the water of the Colorado River between two areas, the Upper Colorado and Lower Colorado River Basins. States within each basin then decided water allocations among themselves. As a result all water has been allocated and most diverted to a variety of users. (See Figure 4). The Green River, as a major tributary of the Colorado, is also affected by the Colorado River Compact. Prior to the Compact irrigators attempted to build their dams and canals in the region, but the area of Canyonlands National Park, Arches National Park, and Natural Bridges National Monument proved, as stated earlier, not easily adaptable to water diversion technology for local use because of the high canyon walls which

FIGURE 4 The Colorado River System



From: David Lavender, Colorado River Country, p. 1.

surround the rivers. This lack of irrigation compounded the minimal water availability problem and with the canyons of the region, all those factors severely curtailed permanent, large-scale, irrigation systems or their resultant settlement in the region. Even though there are a handful of permanent water sources such as Hatch Wash or Salt Creek in the Needles District of Canyonlands National Park, most washes and creeks that cross the study area, do not provide a reliable, continuous water supply beyond small dams for livestock and catch ponds.⁷

Despite limited water supplies, a variety of animals have utilized the area of Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges. The earliest faunal inhabitants of the area include dinosaurs who, based on the paleontological record, occupied portions of Arches approximately 230 million years ago. Remains of these reptiles have been found at Yellow Cat Flat, near Wolfe ranch and near Dalton Well. The variety and scope of these fossils are limited in the study area, but in the same formations farther east, near Fruita, Colorado, rich diverse finds have been discovered. It is indeed likely that a variety of dinosaurs, including Iguanodon, a plant eater, and a number of meat eaters, once roamed the area. Along with reptilian remains, evidence of prehistoric plant life remains locked in the fossil record.⁸

Animal and plant life recorded by modern man in the Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges area is wide, reflecting a variety of types. The range of plants may surprise those unfamiliar with the region given the difficulties of life on

the Colorado Plateau. Because of the limited water supply in the area plant and animal life is primarily similar to the flora and fauna of other desert habitats. Records of animals sighted in Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges indicate a great diversity. Those observed species include hummingbirds, kangaroo rats, coyotes, snakes, porcupines, mountain lions, big horn sheep, little brown bats, canyon mice, skunks, squirrels, owls, canyon wrens, gray foxes and mule deer, amongst others. Twenty or more species of reptiles thrive in the area from the collared lizard to the venomous faded midget rattlesnake or the mesa verde night snake and the non-venomous gopher snake. The Colorado and Green Rivers contain fifteen varieties of fish including the Colorado squaw-fish and introduced species such as the channel catfish.

Plant life is also surprisingly varied. The plant life in the study area has also adapted to the limited water with juniper, yucca, and pine trees the most common in the region. Approximately forty-five percent of Arches, has been defined as pinon-juniper woodland. Within the pinon-juniper woodlands is a peculiar type of soil known as cryptogamic soil. This variety of soil is common to the Colorado Plateau and other arid regions. The soil is well adapted to the arid environment because it absorbs moisture and resists erosion due to its peculiar composition of sand, lichen, moss, algae and fungi. Cryptogamic soil is remarkably well suited to the Canyonlands, Arches and Natural Bridges region. It is very fragile and literally scars

when walked on or driven over, with the impressions taking years to recover. Other plants found in the region include Devil's Claw (cactus), Blackbrush, and Fremont cottonwoods. Euro-Americans introduced Tamarisk, a hearty desert plant which has flourished along stream beds in the study area. In the recent past, early settlers, however, described portions of the study area as covered with thick grass, sagebrush, and rabbit brush. The grass grew stirrup-high. This high grass appealed to early cattlemen who moved into the area during the middle-to-late nineteenth century to take advantage of low cost grazing possibilities. They proved to be the beginning of one large wave of people to move into the region.⁹

The earliest evidence of human inhabitants of the present day southwestern section of the United States date to approximately 25,000 years ago. These Paleo-Indians were nomadic and wandered throughout the area for four thousand years, until approximately 7,000 BC. Evidence of their presence has been found and classified as belonging to the Folsom period. The next group to occupy part of Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges were the hunters and gatherers known as Archaic or Desert Culture indians. These people lived in the area for approximately 5,000 years, until 3,000 years ago. There are a few extant remains of this group. Archaic Indians, hunters and gatherers, followed seasonal movement patterns to exploit various food supplies.

After the Archaic period little human occupation is recorded until approximately 1,000 years ago. At that time the Anasazi

and Fremont peoples entered the region. These two different groups lived in a similar agricultural manner and frequently traded with each other. These prehistoric Indians vanished from the study area for unknown but heavily speculated reasons. Those two groups are known in the study area for the rich store of Indian pictographs and petroglyphs which they left. This remaining evidence of these peoples has long attracted scholarly attention to the area.

Historically recorded Indians in the Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges region include the Utes, Navajos, and Paiutes. The Utes moved into the area and controlled the eastern one half of Utah and central and western Colorado. They lived in the north/northeastern sections of southeastern Utah. The Utes, a nomadic people, lived in small, family centered groups. A subsistence lifestyle characterized these hunting and gathering people. The Utes hunted small herds of buffalo for many years, north of Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges before acquiring horses. The introduction of the horse and metal tools, by the Spanish, aided Ute defenses but did not change their basic lifestyles except that with the horse, hunting became more efficient and as a result by the nineteenth century the horse was a highly prized possession. Bow and arrow, clubs, and throwing sticks remained the primary tools used for hunting by Utes who did not adopt firearms until later. (See Figure 5)

The Navajo Indian frontier was located in the southern portion of the study area. The Navajos, only a partially nomadic

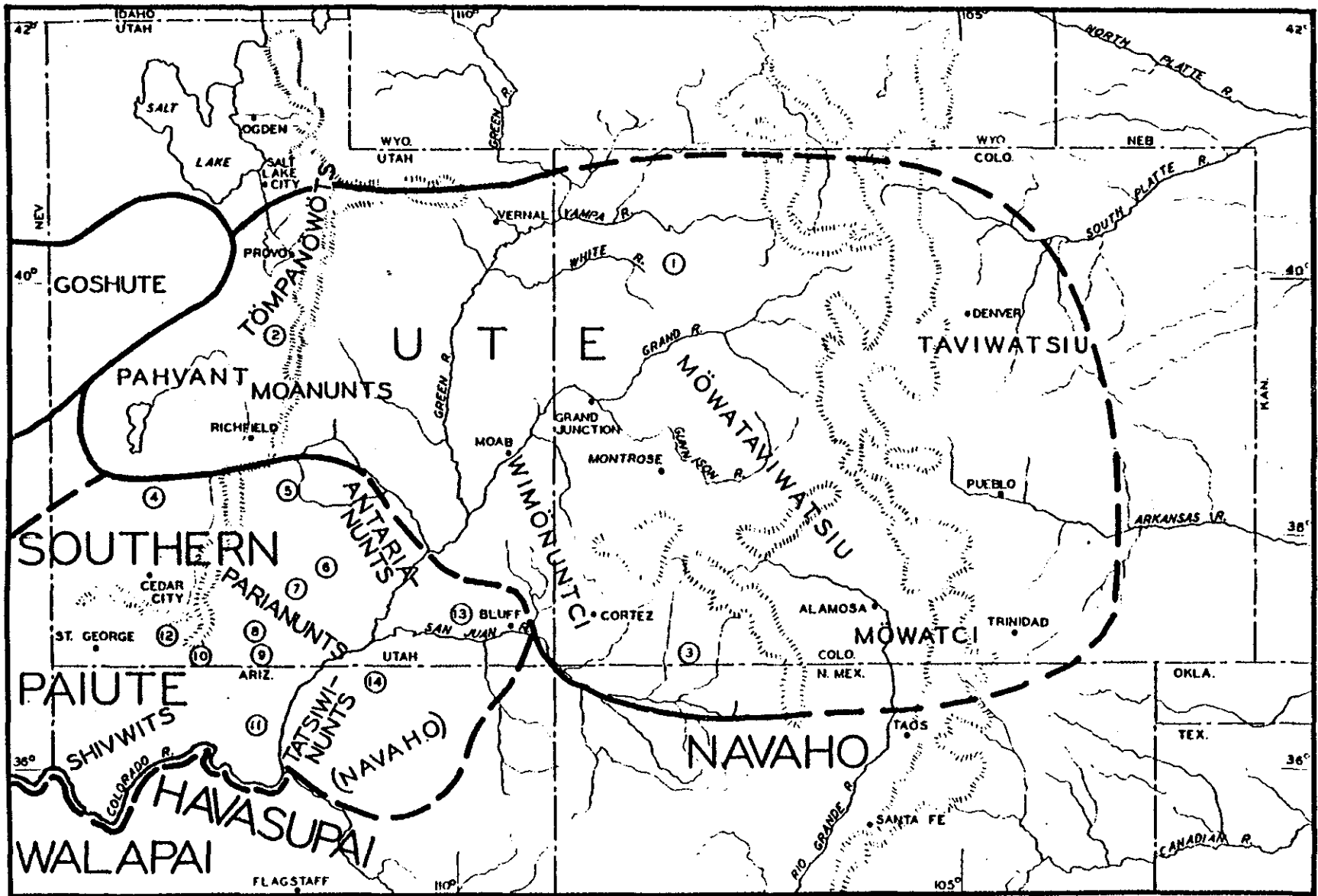


FIGURE 5 The Indians of Southeastern Utah
From: Grady, et al., *Green River*

people, engaged in agricultural activities including raising sheep and goats as a food source and to supply fibers. Their presence in the study area has not been completely researched, yet evidence does remain of their occupation of the southern area and raids into lands farther north. A reputed Navajo burial site was discovered in Arches in 1916 but was not thoroughly investigated by archeologists until after it had been vandalized by amateur artifact collectors. Navajo lifestyles reflected their more sedentary existence and were somewhat sophisticated, indicating a higher standard of living than their Ute or Paiute neighbors.¹⁰

The third Indian tribe in the area were the Paiutes. These Indians were located to the west and southwest of the Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges area. Like the Utes, the Paiutes adapted to the environment by rotating locations with seasonal food availability. The Utes, Navajos, and Paiutes had good survival skills for the area and adapted to the limited water, wildlife, and flora.

As early occupiers of the region the Utes, Navajos, and Paiutes came into contact with each successive Euro-American group who sought to visit or occupy the area. Relations between the three tribes and others in the region have been filled with tension since earliest history.¹¹ Those tensions flared into occasional violence near, but outside the modern parks. The last Paiute "outbreaks" occurred after 1900.

Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges are characterized by a natural and historic isolation. The geologic vagaries combined with the aridity of the region have limited permanent settlement until the nineteenth century when Mormons, cattlemen, and sheepmen began to face the challenges of the environment. The Utes, however, did have contact with others who travelled through the region beginning in the mid-sixteenth century. Despite the number and variety of these early visitors to the area, permanent, white settlement did not occur until three centuries later. Finally, by 1850 settlement of other areas, including northern Utah and western Colorado affected the region. While physically isolated and not permanently settled Native American life in the Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges area was affected by a variety of other factors from the mid-sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Those earlier Euro-American movements in and out of the region provided the background for nineteenth century settlement attempts as much as does the historic landscape of the study area.

Endnotes -- Chapter One

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³Stephen Trimble, "The Hundred-Billionth Day at Grand View Point: An Introduction to Canyonlands," Plateau 52 (March 1980): 3-4, hereafter cited: Trimble, "View-Day."

⁴John F. Hoffman, Arches National Park: An Illustrated Guide and History (San Diego, CA.: Western Recreation Publications, 1981), pp. 9-14, hereafter cited: Hoffman, Arches; and Trimble, "View-Day," pp. 4-13.

⁵Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Grand Memories (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1972), p. 72, hereafter cited: DUP, Grand; and Hoffman, Arches, pp. 4, 6, 23; and L. F. Hintze, Geologic Highway Map of Utah (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Geology Studies, 1975), pp. 12-24; and James L. Baer and J. Keith Rigby, Geology of the Crystal Geyser and Environmental Implications of Its Effluent, Grand County, Utah (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), pp. 15-32.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Norris Hundley, Jr., Water and the West (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975), chapters 1, 2 and 3; David Lavender, Colorado River Country (New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1982), chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4; Robert G. Dunbar, Forging New Rights in Western Water (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), chapters 2 and 15; and Melvin T. Smith, "The Colorado River: Its History In the Lower Canyon Area," (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1972), pp. 1-35.

⁸Hoffman, Arches, p. 35; and Jim Madsen, "Updated Priority Lists of Paleontologically Sensitive Formations in Utah." Division of State History Memorandum, 1980.

⁹Crampton, "Sites," p. 66; DUP, Grand, p. 9; Hoffman, Arches, pp. 48, 50, 51; and Tanner, Far, p. 28.

¹⁰Gregory C. Thompson, "Utah's Indian Country: The American Indian Experience in San Juan County, 1700-1980," in Alan Kent Powell, ed., San Juan County, Utah, People, Resources and History (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1983), pp. 52-55; and Tanner, Far, p. 28.

¹¹Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

SPANISH AND AMERICAN EXPLORATION AND THE FUR TRADE

The vast canyon country of the Colorado Plateau has been a source of curiosity, excitement, and interest to Europeans and later Euro-Americans since the mid-sixteenth century. As part of the Spanish colonial empire the region was explored in a cursory manner by Spanish military and ecclesiastical expeditions. Later journeys by other Euro-Americans, including fur traders, Mormon and federal explorers, greatly expanded knowledge of the area.

The first reported Europeans to approach the area were twelve Spaniards under the command of Capt. Garcia Lopez de Cardenas. Cardenas led a scouting party toward the area, but probably not into it, as part of a larger exploration under the command of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. In 1541 Coronado's troops were searching for the famed seven cities of Cibola. The wanderings of Coronado and his men formed the basis of the Spanish claim to southeastern Utah. Coronado's nearly fatal failure to discover the famed lost cities led to a century of inactivity by Spain on its northern frontier in the New World.¹

By the middle of the seventeenth century Spain had pushed settlement into New Mexico. During that period soldiers and missionaries established outposts along the Rio Grande River. In 1680, chafing under Spanish rule, the Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande Valley revolted against colonial authority. Spanish

officials, located in Mexico City, appalled by the violence of the revolt, sent military expeditions to regain control of that portion of their New World empire. After the Pueblo Revolt ended Spanish traders ventured farther north out of New Mexico. The revolt and a general Native American hostility perceived by the Spaniards tended to keep them from venturing the hundreds of miles from Santa Fe to the Colorado Plateau canyon country. It was not until the middle 1760s that the Spanish visited southeastern Utah.

The Spanish government encouraged these explorations into southeastern Utah during the 1760s. Spanish trade and contact with the Utes increased European knowledge of the area and spread new technology to the Indians. One early Spaniard in the area may have been Juan Maria Antonio Rivera. Rivera, sent by the governor of New Mexico in 1765, searched for silver in southwestern Colorado during the summer of that year. On his second expedition during the fall of 1765 Rivera may have reached the southern bank of the Colorado River near Arches National Park. From there the record of his trip becomes clouded and it remains unknown, but unlikely, that the little band actually made the journey into any of the present-day parks. Later, other trappers and traders such as Pedro Mora, Gregario Sandoval, and Andres Muniz wandered through southeastern Utah after Rivera's return to New Mexico. Like Rivera, their record is unclear and whether they were actually in Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges remains unknown.²

The next major Spanish exploration to the northern reaches of the Spanish frontier occurred in 1776 when Fathers Dominguez and Escalante traveled throughout western Colorado and eastern and central Utah. Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Fray Francisco Atensio Dominguez followed the established trader's route north and northwest out of Santa Fe, New Mexico until reaching the Grand (Colorado) River near present day Grand Junction, Colorado. The party continued north and northwest before leaving Colorado and then headed west, crossing the Green River north of modern, Jensen Utah. From there they continued on to central Utah before giving up their attempt to get to California. Near Cedar City the party turned southeast toward New Mexico, crossing the Colorado River in an area south of modern Canyonlands National Park. The party did not visit the lands of Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges, but skirted the entire region of southeastern Utah. The padres did little to encourage further exploration and settlement of the Colorado Plateau region. Escalante's personal diary and a map of the Colorado Plateau region by Bernardo de Miero y Pacheco, the expedition's cartographer, contributed to our early knowledge of the region.³ However, the failure of Dominguez and Escalante to find an easy route from Santa Fe to California while on this journey led to examination of other routes.

That thrust eventually resulted in the Old Spanish Trail being routed through present-day Moab as a means of making this arduous journey. While the names and dates of the first Euro-

peans to travel what became popularly known as the Old Spanish Trail have been lost to history it is certain that the trail became popular after the Dominguez and Escalante expedition reports were made public. What became referred to as the Old Spanish Trail served as a route to California for both Spanish officials and traders. One of the earliest travelers on the same route may have been Montrose Herman Waugh who left an inscription in rock fifteen miles north of Moab not far from modern Arches National Park in 1753.⁴

In 1813 the first recorded trip up the Old Spanish Trail was undertaken by Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia. Arze and Garcia traveled from New Mexico into central Utah. During the period from 1825 to 1845 an annual caravan-style trade developed between New Mexico and California through the canyon country area over the Old Spanish Trail.⁵ A small part of the trail crossed Arches National Park, but did not touch the other parks. In addition to the California trade, Hispanics engaged in trade with area Utes during this period. Part of this Spanish interest was to find slaves. The Mormon Church finally ended the slave trade during the 1850s marking the end of Hispanic-New Mexican involvement in the area for approximately fifty years. Thereafter few, if any, Hispanics appeared in the region until the late nineteenth century, and then, in a very different capacity.⁶

The United States recognized southeastern Utah as a Spanish possession in 1819 when both nations signed the Adams-Onis Treaty. Foreign control did not stop adventurous Americans from

traveling on the Colorado Plateau region during the early 1800s. Trappers came into the area searching for valued beaver pelts. Fashion dictated beaver felt hats and as a result the demand for pelts was strong. This, combined with relaxed trade restrictions after 1821 when Mexican Independence was recognized by Spain, brought increasing numbers of Americans into the area. In 1824 three groups of trappers were known to have been in southeastern Utah working the streams north and west out of Taos. The trappers were William Wolfskill and Ewing Young, who were credited with reviving interest in the Old Spanish Trail, and Etienne Provost; and Antoine Robidoux's Brigade. Robidoux later established Ft. Robidoux near modern Delta, Colorado, and Ft. Uinta farther north near modern Vernal, Utah. He led many trapping parties into the southwestern Colorado-southeastern Utah area. The fur trappers came into southeastern Utah from both the east and the south. Trappers, frequently influenced by foreign events, rejoiced at the end of Spanish restrictions and increased market demand that opened the area up to exploitation.

Trappers outfitted themselves in Santa Fe and in St. Louis. St. Louis, by this time, had evolved into a major center of far western frontier commerce because of its location on the Mississippi River near the mouth of the Missouri River. This location allowed the town water access to the Gulf of Mexico and beyond. William Ashley, one individual who rose to prominence, centered his operations in St. Louis. Ashley and his partner, Andrew Henry, formed the Ashley-Henry Outfit that later became the Rocky

Mountain Fur Company. In 1824 Ashley prepared to lead an expedition to the Rocky Mountains for the 1825 season. In that year Ashley and a small party boated down the Green River south from Wyoming, but did not reach the study area.⁷

While these and other trappers hunted in the region and no doubt either saw or heard of the Green and Colorado Rivers in modern Canyonlands and Arches National Parks, only one left a readily identifiable record. Denis Julien, a licensed trader out of St. Louis in the early 1800s, first traded with the Sioux and Iowa Indians in the Midwest. By the 1830s Julien had moved west and south into southeastern Utah. While in modern Utah and Colorado Julien began the habit of scratching his name and the date into rock faces. In and near Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges, Julien left five "1836s" alone. He also marked 1837 and 1838 dates along the Colorado River. He left an 1844 date in Arches National Park. Julien went as far north as the Green River in modern Dinosaur National Monument, apparently while working for Robidoux at Robidoux's other post, Ft. Uinta. Further information about Julien is undocumented, however, he is representative of many who hunted and trapped in southeastern Utah. Others in the area at approximately the same time included William Becknell, 1821 pioneer of the Santa Fe trade, and William Heddest, who along with Antoine Robidoux frequently are called the "Three Trappers" by some historians. Their wanderings in the region began in 1824 and continued until the 1840s. In 1825 chroniclers reported Jedediah Smith to be trapping the area.

These, and many others who have gone unrecorded, helped revive old trade routes and caused increased awareness of the region. Not one of them recommended or chose to make a permanent settlement in the area.⁸

With the decline of the fur trade during the 1840s as a result of fashion changes which promoted the silk hat, not the beaver, government expeditions began to replace the mountain men, in the West. While the area would officially belong to Mexico until the end of the Mexican War in 1848, American interest in the region continued. Early United States military explorers sought a better understanding and knowledge of the western part of the continent. Southeastern Utah proved to be one of the last areas of the West to receive official attention. Between 1843 and 1845 John C. Frémont of the U. S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers came into the region. Frémont made two explorations searching for alternative routes to the Pacific Coast. Frémont's party demolished once and for all the myth of the San Buenaventura River of southeastern Utah, that was said to have provided a direct water outlet to the Pacific Ocean. Rumors of its existence had abounded for many years. Charles Preuss, Frémont's cartographer, provided reasonably accurate detail of the region, even though the party stayed well to the north of the study area.⁹

Americans failed to utilize this information until the 1850s when Lt. John W. Gunnison of the Topographical Engineers led a survey party searching for transcontinental railroad routes.

Gunnison passed north of present day Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges, through modern Green River, Utah. The Gunnison expedition did not go as far south as Moab but, important for later developments, identified the future site of Green River City as a good river crossing for a railroad. The route identified by Gunnison roughly corresponds to the present line of the Denver & Rio Grande Western through eastern Utah. Gunnison died at the hands of Indians in central Utah and it fell to his assistant Lt. Edwin G. Beckwith to prepare the official reports.¹⁰

The Mormon War of 1857-58 kept the army in Utah and led to further explorations as a result of the need for adequate and safe supply lines to furnish the troops with necessary materials. The army sent Captain J. N. Macomb to explore the Green River and Colorado Plateau in 1859 to find wagon routes from New Mexico to Utah. Macomb's expedition failed to succeed in its mission, however, the cartographer F. W. Egloggstein made the first accurate maps of southeastern Utah. Dr. John S. Newberry, a geologist with the Macomb expedition, contributed the geographical and geological information. While exploring the junction of the Green and Colorado, Macomb was impressed with the scenery and wrote glowingly of the prehistoric sites of modern Canyonlands National Park. While this information helped further American knowledge, the general report was not beneficial to the immediate future of the region. Macomb stated, "I cannot conceive of a more worthless and impracticable region."¹¹

Also, during the early 1850s a number of government sponsored expeditions sought information on the Colorado River system. In particular, these individuals were concerned with the navigational possibilities offered by the river. Just prior to the Mormon War Lt. Joseph C. Ives of the Topographical Engineers attempted to explore the Colorado River by steamboat. His party unsuccessfully attempted to go upriver from Ft. Yuma, Arizona Territory. Following that, Lt. Sylvester Mowry of the Artillery attempted an expedition utilizing the Colorado and overland travel to reach Salt Lake City. He was only moderately successful. These government surveys in the 1840s and 1850s mark the first phase of officially sanctioned United States interest in the region. Further efforts by the federal government would not occur until after the Civil War.¹²

In the years following the Civil War (1861-1865) the United States government financed a number of expeditions to explore the western United States. This was a continuation of earlier policy but the emphasis was no longer in just acquiring information, but now explorers attempted to gather as much information as possible to aid settlement of the region. Two major parties of explorers penetrated southeastern Utah--one on land and one explored the waterways. In 1869 Ferdinand V. Hayden devoted his time to surveying plateau regions. Most of his parties' efforts were focused outside Utah but several expeditions touched southeastern Utah. In 1875 James L. Gardner, a geographer, and Henry Gannett, later head of United States Geological Survey, worked in

the La Sals charting peaks and drainages. The group went on to the Abajo (Blue) Mountain Range, but had to flee when attacked by hostile Indians. In 1876 two other explorations of the Abajos were attempted, but only a superficial examination resulted because of weather delays. The Hayden survey parties explored southeastern Utah as far west as the Bluff/Moab longitude.¹³

At the same time John Wesley Powell and his parties were exploring the Green and Colorado Rivers. Powell, a Civil War veteran who had attained the rank of major, and lost an arm in that conflict at Shiloh, commenced his examinations at Green River City, Wyoming, two weeks after the Golden Spike was driven at Promontory Summit, Utah. His journey downstream began uneventfully, but soon the white waters of the upper Green River at Lodore Canyon made it into an adventure for the exploration party. During this trip Powell entered Canyonlands National Park on July 17 and later spent twelve days floating and portaging through the forty (40) miles of Cataract and Glen Canyons. The 1869 expedition ended at the mouth of the Paria River. Unfortunately, Powell did not have a cartographer with him, only former Denver newspaper man O.G. Howland whose maps were lost after Powell's 1872 journey.

On the second trip (1871-72) Powell repeated much of the experience of the first from Green River City, Wyoming. During 1871-1872 season the Major had three map experts, Almon H. Thompson, Stephen V. Jones, and Francis Bishop as members of the party. Bishop's maps ended at Lee's Ferry where the cartographer

left the group. These maps, incomplete as they were, offered the first good record of the Green-Colorado River system. Powell's book Arid Lands (1879) delineated the irrigable lands of southeastern Utah along the rivers - lands then already occupied or soon to be by Mormon pioneers. Powell criticized these Mormon efforts as too individualistic, expressing the opinion that until they learned better cooperation their irrigation works would remain small.¹⁴

As the result of the efforts of Powell, Hayden, and others, by 1880 a reliable, comprehensive picture of the area of Canyonlands and Arches emerged. Both the Powell and Hayden surveys, however, missed the wonders of Arches and Natural Bridges even though they were very close to those attractions. But the new flood of information provided an excellent resource to anyone interested in the area. These explorations represented a continuation of earlier Spanish and American efforts to understand and evaluate the area of southeastern Utah. Others explored the area and also left inscriptions as well as adding to the knowledge of the region.

Following the earlier explorers and settlers into southeastern Utah came the cadastral surveyors. Beginning in 1880 and continuing sporadically thereafter, the United States General Land Office hired surveyors to extend the standard township-range grid into the region to allow land claimants to legally describe the parcels of land they sought title to under the various federal land disposal laws of the era. These surveyors did not

cover the entire study area but they did provide more information about it and more importantly, at least historically, their work helped facilitate the process of settlement.

The next exploration party to traverse the area came searching for a railroad route from Colorado's Western Slope to the Pacific Ocean. During 1889 a group of ambitious railroad builders chartered the Denver, Colorado Canyon & Pacific (D,CC&P) Railroad with the goal of building a rail line parallel to the Colorado River. Starting in March, 1889, a party of surveyors and engineers led by Robert Brewster Stanton left Grand Junction, Colorado, on a preliminary investigation with the real work not beginning until May when Stanton, D,CC&P President Frank M. Brown, and sixteen others left Green River, Utah, on their trip to the Gulf of California. During May the group passed the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers, leaving inscriptions there before continuing on through Cataract Canyon and arriving at Lee's Ferry in early July. From there the party pressed on, eventually reaching the Pacific Ocean in April of 1890. There the railroad project ended, never being built.¹⁵

The twentieth century exploration efforts have been wide ranging, encompassing scholarly as well as government and private endeavors. Archeologists began researching the study area in the early 1900s when Dr. Byron Cummings, followed by the staff of the Peabody Museum (Harvard University) and groups from the University of Utah came into the region. These and other scholars have contributed much to geologic and prehistoric

knowledge of the regions. Also, in the early 1900s Emery and Ellsworth Kolb, professional photographers, commenced a photo expedition along the Colorado and Green Rivers which passed through southeastern Utah. They left an inscription in Cataract Canyon to mark their descent down the Colorado River.¹⁶

Beyond its scientific and scenic values, interest in the region also focused on possible dam sites to provide water and flood control as well as hydroelectric power and stable water supplies for domestic and municipal use. Both the Bureau of Reclamation and the United States Geological Survey explored the area near the confluence of the Colorado and Green Rivers as possible locations. The search for dam sites resulted from demands for Colorado River water diversions during the first twenty years of the century as California grew in population and sought any available water supply. The Bureau of Reclamation reduced speculation of dam possibilities after the Colorado River Compact of 1922 which set up elaborate apportionments and the legal facilities for water diversion. The idea of damsites has re-surfaced since then in order to make full use of the water allocations.¹⁷

At approximately the same time, the 1920s, the United States Geological Survey began mapping efforts in southeastern Utah. In 1914-15 Eugene La Rue mapped much of the Colorado River and in 1921 he finally mapped Cataract Canyon. It was not until the uranium boom of the 1950s that the Geological Survey extensively mapped the entire area.

During the 1930s a number of expeditions to Arches National Monument took place. The Arches National Monument Scientific Expedition of 1933 attempted to conduct a baseline study of the area and resulted in a systematic mapping and naming of landforms within the Park. National Geographic magazine and the Smithsonian Institution conducted expeditions during the early twentieth century as well. The later years of the 1930s slowed further exploration because of the Great Depression and World War II continued the halt in exploration activities in the area.

After World War II, however, the needs of the post-war military resulted in a boom in uranium, oil, and natural gas. The search for these substances resulted in much of the area being studied, walked across, and photographed by the United States Geological Survey. As scientists and prospectors sought strategic natural resources they contributed to the general knowledge of the area. Archeological efforts continued, including Jack Rudy who in 1953 excavated sites in Beef Basin near Canyonlands. Also, in the 1950s, the National Park Service began to reconsider the possibility of creating a Canyonlands National Park. A number of studies revolved around that issue.¹⁹

Exploration of the region has been varied. Since early Spanish explorers the region has been crossed and re-crossed by travellers and explorers each seeking their own goals. Only with permanent settlement in the late nineteenth century, however, did the true value of the region start to become known and appreciated.

Endnotes -- Chapter Two

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CHAPTER THREE

EARLY SETTLEMENT AND THE MORMON FRONTIER IN SOUTHEASTERN UTAH

The westward advance to the arid desert of the Great Basin by pioneer members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints can be viewed as both typical and atypical of the spread of American settlement westward. The movement west in search of religious freedom dates to the early Pilgrim and Puritan settlements of New England. Also typical of the American experience was the Mormon selection of an isolated area far removed from governmental intervention. The unusual features of the Mormon migration, in terms of the trans-Mississippi westward movement, include the continuing commitment to religious ideals and the deliberate colonization programs of Mormon church leaders to send groups into unsettled areas as the number of Saints in Utah grew. This included the region of southeastern Utah. The presence of the Mormon Church has and continues to be a major influence in the area, impacting the lands of the parks and their development.

The westward movement was the culmination of many years search for acceptance and sanctuary by the Mormons. The journey actually began in 1820 when fourteen-year-old Joseph Smith had a vision. In it he was exhorted not to be concerned with existing churches that had strayed from the true faith. Three years later the Angel Moroni reportedly appeared before Smith and told him that a stone casket containing metal plates was to be found near

Palmyra, New York. The plates contained inscriptions of the true beliefs. Smith unearthed the plates but did not remove them until 1827 when he began the task of translation. Smith completed the transcription and published it as the Book of Mormon in 1830. He and a few assistants undertook to organize the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints that same year.¹

The church grew slowly as members found themselves to be the subject of relentless persecution. Under the direction of Smith the center of the Church moved to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831. Local opposition to the Mormons led them to move farther west to Missouri six years later, where their beliefs again earned them the wrath of local residents. A retreat east to Illinois in 1839 and their settlement at Nauvoo seemed to bring a respite from past troubles; however, that proved to be short-lived. Internal and external tension in 1843-44 resulted in a split membership and the eventual death of Joseph Smith and his brother. Brigham Young assumed the Church presidency and then led the migration west in 1846-47 to the isolated valley of the Great Salt Lake.

The Mormon migration to Utah shared another, subtle trait with the Puritans and Pilgrims -- moving beyond the effective control of their governments to seek religious freedom. In 1847 when Brigham Young led his followers to the Great Salt Lake the lands were Mexican territory but the government authorities had been routed from Santa Fe by United States forces. Within a year as a result of the Mexican War, the United States gained sov-

ereignty over Utah and nearly all of the modern American southwest.²

The first major Mormon efforts in Utah centered around establishing a successful community in the Salt Lake Valley. Explorations to seek other areas for potential settlements began by the end of the decade. These advance parties were to determine the suitability of a vast region throughout modern Utah and beyond for settlement. An ever widening cordon of outer settlements circling Salt Lake City resulted. In 1854 William D. Huntington and Jackson Steward, at the behest of the Church, went to the Moab area as part of these exploration efforts. Acting on the report of Huntington and Stewart, a Mormon General Conference the next year called for new settlements in southeastern Utah.³ The Elk Mountain Mission near the site of modern Moab began to be organized in early 1855.

Under the direction of Alfred N. Billings forty men left Manti, Utah, to settle the Moab region and proselytize the Indians in May of 1855. Their arrival in the Moab valley resulted in a flurry of activity to build a fort, irrigation ditches, plant crops and establish friendly contact with local Indians. Despite the settlers' best efforts, the Native Americans resisted their entreaties. By September Indian relations had deteriorated to the point of violence. Attacks on the cattle herd and hunters led to a seige of the fort. Later that month survivors abandoned the mission and returned to Manti. As a result of this failure the Church abandoned its efforts in

southeastern Utah until the 1870s, recognizing the problems of Indian hostility and the fact that the lands of that portion of the Colorado Plateau appeared to have little practical use.⁴

From the middle of the 1850s until the 1870s the Mormons redirected their efforts away from southeastern Utah. Even though little settlement took place, the area of southeastern Utah was not deserted. Indian tribes remained in the area and their presence continued to discourage Euro-American settlement. This situation gradually changed as more support for Indian removal from their lands emerged. The Uinta Reservation was established in 1861 by President Abraham Lincoln, but the Utes were not removed to the reservation at that time. This situation changed in 1865 with the Spanish Fork Treaty. Terms of this agreement included removal of central Utah Utes to the Uinta Reservation and promises of equipment, money, and supplies for the Indians. The failure of the Senate to ratify the treaty resulted in much ill will and sporadic violence.⁵

The federal government's attempts to enforce the unratified treaty and Ute Indian resistance resulted in the Blackhawk War. Peace came in 1867 when a compromise was reached and the Utes agreed to removal. Many of the Native Americans were dissatisfied with this new lifestyle and frequently left the reservation. On more than one occasion during the late nineteenth century the Utes ventured south into the study area from their lands to the north of the Book Cliffs. Conditions slowly improved for the reservation Utes until 1879 when White River

Utes and Uncompahgre Utes from Colorado found themselves removed to the Uinta-Ouray Reservation in the aftermath of the Meeker Massacre. Reservation stability, constantly threatened by illegal hunting, grazing and mining, caused by trespassing whites led to many unanswered complaints from the Utes. Eventually the Utes banded together and sought legal redress. The matters, finally resolved through the courts in 1950, found the Utes awarded \$32 million for payment of lands relinquished as a result of the unratified 1865 Treaty.⁶

In southeastern Utah the removal of the Uncompahgre Utes in 1879 opened up peaceful settlement opportunities, even though Paiute bands, then without a reservation, occasionally broke the peace. Their activities and raids by Navajos out of Arizona proved to be minor compared to other Western Indian Wars. Frequently, by the 1880s and 1890s the Native Americans were no more than a nuisance, but the threat of violence was never very far from the settlers' minds. Church President John Taylor's call for men to move into San Juan County to permanently settle aided this movement toward peace. As a result of this exhortation in the summer of 1879, Andrew P. Schow, Charles Hall, and Reuben Collett explored for a new route to southeastern Utah. They laid out the Escalante trail which led to the building of Hole-in-the-Rock Trail later that year. Earlier efforts at settlement have been recorded. In 1874 Crispin Taylor and George and Silas Green searched the Spanish Valley for grazing land. In December, 1878, Walter Moore arrived at Moab and bought a

Frenchman's claim to the old Mormon Fort. William Granstaff, a mulatto, and a man known only to history as "Frenchie" had been living in the ruins of the old Elk Mountain Mission, known by the 1870s as the Old Mormon Fort. At the same time Fred Powell set himself up on 160 acres south of present day Moab to farm. Also in 1878 the Thomas Maxwell family of ten became the first permanent settlers of La Sal. The next year Jeremiah and Lorenzo Hatch and their families arrived in the Moab Valley to settle what was then known as Plainfield, Paiute County, Utah.⁷

The 1880s witnessed a larger immigration of farmers and ranchers into the region. By this time, however, a handful of cattlemen and outlaws had already been using the area for their own needs. In April, 1880, Mormon colonists arrived at Bluff. They were exhausted from the trip which took six months, not six weeks as originally anticipated. Much of this delay came from lack of an easy route to the area and the need for the pioneers to construct the Hole-in-the-Rock trail.

Among the other settlers who moved to Bluff under Mormon president Silas S. Smith's leadership were Platte D. Lyman who would become important in the local ranching business and Lemuel H. Redd, Sr., who's descendents still remain an important force in southeastern Utah affairs. Also, Jense Nielsen, a Danish immigrant and assistant to president Smith, became the first Mormon bishop of Bluff. These people became the leaders of the eighty families called by the Mormon church to found the Peace Mission. Smith, called by the church for other work, left the

group in 1880 and leadership fell to Jense Nielsen and others as these pioneers struggled to hold on against the forces of nature and the Paiutes and cattlemen who viewed the settlers as an intrusion. The Bluff colony became the "mother colony" for San Juan County late in the century, providing colonists for Verdure, Monticello, and Blanding. Indians, Colorado and Texas cattlemen all continued to oppose this early Mormon settlement.⁸

Residents of Bluff encountered a number of problems but most of them remained firm in their commitment to the town. Originally built as a mission to encourage peaceful settlement among the Navajo Indians, the town was constructed as a hollow square to offer protection from the natives. After working very hard to build irrigation canals the colonists watched helplessly as the ditches were ruined by severe weather. Spring rains in 1884 flooded and destroyed the ditches. The settlers quickly began rebuilding. This was not the first time residents of the town faced problems with their irrigation system as the San Juan River had previously overflowed several times and destroyed the system and slowed their construction work. When San Juan County was organized territorial officials selected Bluff as the County Seat. The community, along with Monticello and Blanding, were typical of Mormon missionary settlements all over the West after the establishment of Salt Lake City in 1847.⁹ During the 1880s events north of the pioneer settlement continued at a faster pace as well.

By the early 1880s Moab was a growing town of twenty settlers including a handful of Mormons. While conclusive evidence is lacking it appears that some of Moab's early Mormon settlers were polygamists. In 1880 Church General Authorities member Erastus Snow appointed A. G. Wilson as presiding elder. The number of families in and around Moab continued to grow so that by 1880 the first formal school district was organized and Moab's continued existence seemed assured. Typical of many western pioneers, early settlers of Moab proved to be great boosters of their town. They wrote to relatives elsewhere and encouraged them to move to Moab for its rich land and abundant range. Some of the range they indirectly referred to included modern Canyonlands National Park. Among other things they pointed out that lands near the Colorado River were well suited to peach trees, the first of which had been planted in 1879. These pioneer growers and their trees provided the nucleus of a famous valley industry by 1900. At the same time George F. Powell planted the first grape vines which also developed into an important agricultural commodity for late nineteenth century Moabites. This type of irrigated agriculture was tried on bottom-lands along the Colorado and Green Rivers in modern Canyonlands National Park with only limited success.¹⁰

The decade of the 1880s could be viewed as the first boom period for southeastern Utah. Growth in the region continued to be rapid. Between 1880 and 1890 territorial officials formed three counties, San Juan, Emery and Grand, in southeastern Utah,

reflecting this growth. Along with increased population came the accoutrements of civilization, such as post offices and organized school systems. Other activities available after an enlarged population was present included weekend dances and socials and the presence of organized LDS (Mormon) activities which were a socially stabilizing factor in most communities, such as Moab. Another symbol of a town's maturity, a well equipped general store, was welcomed by men and women alike.¹¹

In the late 1880s Frederick I. Jones and several followers responded to a lack of available land and other pressures by splitting off from Bluff. They travelled only a relatively short distance and founded the town of Monticello. Verdure, founded at the same time, became primarily a ranching town. The frontier remained strong when Utah statehood was granted in January, 1896, by an Act signed into law by President Grover Cleveland. The territorial stage of government ended, but much of Utah remained to be permanently settled, including most of the study area and the modern park lands.

The rigors of day-to-day life in southeastern Utah are not to be ignored. Among the dangers of frontier life were lack of transportation and medical facilities, amenities that only came after the population grew much larger. The weather, often harsh, made cultivation of crops difficult. Like settlers at Bluff, early Moab area residents felt that irrigation would be the solution, but the rock walls of the canyon areas made it difficult to move water up from the river over the necessary

distances. Early settlers tried to overcome this by building a series of irrigation ditches on creeks. Even these frequently did not offer a solution to this problem because spring floods with abnormally powerful water flows damaged or destroyed the meager irrigation systems almost yearly. Spring floods on the San Juan River all but destroyed Montezuma, leading to the town's eventual abandonment. In the early twentieth century several pipeline companies, such as the Moab Irrigation Company, came into existence and offered better technology. But, this did not lead to the massive spread of farming in the area. Nearly all the land of the modern parks never fell to the plow.

The difficulties of frontier life resulted in all members of the family working to secure the economic well being of the group. The demands of rural life were relentless--animal care, garden planting, watering and harvesting, development of irrigation supplies, chores around the home such as cooking, baking, child rearing, sewing, candlemaking, washing and cleaning. While so called women's work centered around the farmstead and house and men's work around the outside or out buildings, there was a great deal of just work, done by either sex.¹²

Despite everyone's best efforts little could alleviate the hardships of pioneer life if measured by modern standards. Work started at dawn and continued until evening with breaks for breakfast, lunch, and supper. Meals most often consisted of some type of meat, sometimes fresh from a recent slaughter or hunt, or, more often, dried, salted or smoked. Bacon was very

popular. Homemade bread adorned the table nearly every day. Fruit, either dried, preserved or if in season and available, fresh; and vegetables rounded out the menu. More often than not the fruit came from the homsteader's orchard or berry patch, store-bought fruit often being too expensive. If those items were not available potatoes and/or dried beans appeared on the dinner plate. Beans also constituted the staple food of trail and camp travel while moving herds from range to range or to market. Those who intended to stay at their homesite for a number of years invested the time and effort to construct the refrigerator of the late nineteenth century--a root cellar. Canned foods, while available after 1875, were expensive and treated as luxuries rather than staples. If the pioneer diet pales by modern tastes so did their apparel.

Typical frontier clothes were not fashionable by everyday standards. Rather, they were functional. Men and boys usually wore trousers and shirts made of homespun or roughly woven fabrics. Women's and girls' fashions dictated a skirt and shirtwaist or dress, but many frontier women wore trousers because they were more practical for getting around in rough terrain and the voluminous skirts of the day had an uncanny habit of catching on fire when worn too close to an open flame. The dresses frequently seen on women in photographs from the period were the special clothes, reserved for events such as church, weddings, funerals, and the like. Even if the environment forced the women to make concessions in their everyday

apparel they did follow fashion trends avidly. At community gatherings new styles were discussed even if they were not copied.

Despite these strains the pioneers bore the stresses and pressed on to conquer the area's natural environment the best they could. These people frequently found their life punctuated by events beyond their control. Two of these around the turn of the century included the Panic of 1893 that all but ended mining in the Colorado San Juans, reducing local markets for farm produce and causing a number of other economic dislocations throughout Utah. Quite the opposite happened approximately twenty years later when World War I broke out in 1914, leading to abnormally high food, meat, and wool prices, stimulating the local economy. These two events serve as early examples of the boom and bust cycles typical of southeastern Utah's history through to the present, each boom or bust dependent on factors beyond the control of the local population.¹³

Endnotes -- Chapter Three

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CHAPTER FOUR
THE EARLY CATTLE INDUSTRY IN AND AROUND
CANYONLANDS, ARCHES, AND NATURAL BRIDGES

Before the Mormons and farmers arrived other Anglo-Americans already occupied the area. The cattlemen became the first individuals to utilize the newly vacated Indian lands as well as some lands still controlled by bands of native Americans. In this way, the area represented part of a Western trend to utilize previously ignored lands for cattle raising eventually including the lands of all three modern parks. This, the day of the cattleman with large herds of stock, tended by wonderfully eccentric cowboys, spread a new type of romance and legend that became uniquely American.

What evolved into the most important sector of southeastern Utah's economy during the late nineteenth century had humble beginnings in southern Texas where eighteenth century Spaniards introduced tough, adaptable cattle. Those ranchers learned how to utilize the open range and care for the animals. As emigrants from the United States moved into Texas and the Southwest they introduced new breeds of cattle and the herds rapidly expanded in the years prior to the Civil War. The problem of moving the animals to market was conquered by the so-called "Long Drive" to reach markets on the Mississippi River. While the Long Drive was only a temporary solution until rail connections expanded into the West, it captured the imagination of many and expanded with

the cattle industry after the Civil War. Parts of the trail drive remained for generations in areas removed from railroads, such as southeastern Utah.

In the years after the Civil War the cattle industry grew rapidly in the western United States. The construction of railroads across the great plains during the late 1860s helped stimulate the industry by providing better market access, as did the vastly enlarged herds that had grown from natural increase during the Civil War. While the use of free federal lands for grazing was an important part of the industry, claims to an adequate water supply soon became nearly as crucial to success. This was especially true in southeastern Utah where competition for the limited supply of water became acute and violence often broke out between competitors.¹

In the study area two major forces could be found behind early cattle development. Even though a few trail herds on the way to the California gold fields had wandered into the area to graze during the 1850s, development of grazing in southeastern Utah had to wait for resolution of the sectional tensions that led to the Civil War. Approximately ten years after the conflict ended in 1865, cattlemen, many from Texas, moved in from southwestern Colorado searching for more range lands. A second group moved from the Wasatch Front farther west and north in Utah. Both of these regions had become overstocked and overgrazed by the mid-1870s. Small stockmen, often cowboys with a few head of cattle, pioneered the industry in the study area. Many of these

small ranchers came at the same time as the second wave of Mormon settlers. Gradually, larger operators from Texas, New Mexico, or eastern Colorado came into the region. These cattle served many purposes: they provided meat, a product which was in great demand. Furthermore, they provided leather for doors, windows and clothes which helped ease the difficulties of early settlement. The combination of Texas ranching practices imported from Colorado and Texas merged with Mormon lifestyles and religious fervor to create a generally more temperate type of cattle experience for southeastern Utah. Even so, at times the popular image of the cowboy in the "Wild West" proved applicable.²

The cattle market of southwestern Colorado's mining camps offered a chance for profit to the southeastern Utah cattlemen of the 1880s. This helped to encourage the growth of the business since the distance to move the cattle was relatively short and the profits gained were large. A cow worth \$10 in Utah was worth \$25-\$35 in Montrose, Colorado, a profit large enough to encourage even the faint hearted to try cattle raising as a way of life.

The factor that made cattle rearing a particularly viable industry in southeastern Utah was the availability of rangelands. While at first glance the area of Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges appears too hazardous for cows, nevertheless, wily cattle were able to secure adequate forage and water in the region. The area of Canyonlands National Park east of the Colorado River became an important grazing area as did the land

between the Colorado and Green Rivers. Al Scorup, a pioneer who succeeded in livestock, for example, utilized what became Natural Bridges National Monument as range land. Later he and his company grazed much of the eastern portion of what became Canyonlands. Undoubtedly, cattle from other operators around Thompson's Springs wandered into Arches National Park as well.³

While economic, political, and religious factors motivating the growth of the cattle industry may have been somewhat different for southeastern Utah, the basic problems of the industry remained the same there as throughout the West. Two natural resources had to be available in abundant quantities to assure success--rangeland and water. Part of the local debates over water usage involved ranchers staking claims to range rights or as that developed, preemptive claims to water and lands with water. Equally as important and jealously protected were range lines or imaginary divisions between holdings. Usually not very effective, branding and barbed wire provided the best solutions to the problems of wandering and intermingled herds. The problems of wandering stock proved to be easier to solve than that of overgrazing. By the 1880s the last virgin land had been opened for grazing and combined with unfavorable weather, the conditions for a major economic downturn were present. But from 1875 to 1885 the local cattle industry enjoyed uninterrupted growth.

The earliest cattlemen in the region showed little concern about the future of their livelihood. These small operators

desired to take advantage of new opportunities anywhere they appeared. When the Tom Ray family moved into the region in 1876 from Tennessee they already found competition from William Granstuff, a mulatto known locally as "Negro Bill," and his friend "Frenchie" who were running a few head of cattle in Spanish Valley near present day Moab. The next year Peter Shirts (Shurtz) built a cabin where Montezuma Creek empties into the San Juan River to take advantage of natural grasslands and water supply. George and Silas Green, originally from Georgia, also spent the summer of 1876 running cattle in the Spanish Valley. They disappeared in the fall and were thought to have been killed by renegade Utes. A similar situation had occurred in 1875 when Crispin Taylor tried to run cattle. Taylor, however, had better luck. He escaped but the Utes kept his cattle. The next year Taylor organized a cattle drive to winter ranges at Green River.⁴

During the middle 1870s Mormon cattlemen began to appear in larger numbers. In June of 1875 Albert K. Thurber and the Richfield Cooperative herd moved into the region. At approximately the same time Hugh J. McClellan with his son Monroe accompanied by two nephews, George and Wilburn McClellan and Joel Clark brought a herd into the area. These individuals became the forerunners of many cattlemen who came into the Moab region in the 1870s. Gradually the isolation of the area was broken as these ranchers, along with farmers, began the slow, laborious process of settlement.

During 1878 and 1879 the Cornelius Maxwell family and the Bill McCartys settled near Coyote Creek. The McCarty's eventually expanded their herd to more than 2,000 cattle and moved to the La Sals for permanent range. At about the same time Joshua B. "Spud" Hudson moved into the area from Trinidad, Colorado. He bought 2,000 cows at approximately \$10 a head and began to use the available rangelands near what is now Monticello. Spud quickly realized the potential of southeastern Utah rangelands as he had originally passed through the area with cattle he later sold for five times their cost in Colorado. Also moving into the area was the group of Lester Taylor, Buddy Taylor, Art Taylor, and John Shafer who came in with a herd of 3,000 cattle. In 1885 Don Cooper and Mel Turner settled with two herds on Indian Creek and established what became known as Dugout Ranch. Nearby settled John E. Broom who planted an orchard, ran some cattle and grew hay rather than rely on winter pastures. He was an exception in this practice.⁶

The Mormon Church, seeing the success of the Indian Creek ranchers, tried a settlement in 1887 on the creek but could not attract enough families. It was abandoned within a few years. These ranches and settlers proved to be only the first on lands adjacent to Canyonlands National Park. Within five years ranchers occupied the best ranges.

Important parts of the cattle industry development at Canyonlands took place on the east side of Needles and at Island in the Sky where good, secluded rangeland existed. The entire

Canyonlands area grazed cattle by 1890, as the lands provided good winter range. By the middle 1880s the region was no longer an isolated segment of the state because its population had expanded and the railroad was near.

Development was speeded up when the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad arrived at Thompson's Springs (Thompson) in 1883. The presence of the railroad approximately twenty miles north of the northern edge of the study area meant a great deal to all local residents, but the stockmen in particular benefitted from its arrival. No longer did marketing mean long trail drives, rather the herds were moved to Thompson's Springs and then shipped to buyers as far away as Omaha or Chicago. Also, in-coming livestock no longer had to be brought over hundreds of miles of deserts to reach the grazing lands, they could now be shipped in on the railroad and then driven much shorter distances to the ranges. Travel time was reduced as were losses to the herds. Finally, supplies, such as barbed wire, could be imported to the region at much lower costs than when hauled by wagon from Grand Junction, Colorado, or Salt Lake City. In essence, even though the Denver & Rio Grande did not get closer than about twenty miles from the Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges region until after World War II, the railroad helped bring the region into the mainstream of American economic activity. Finally, the railroad, while easing the burden of isolation felt by earlier settlers, helped stockmen of the region to further develop their industry.

As the cattle industry matured, large owners or cattle companies became more common. As the small operator disappeared other changes evolved in ranching practices. By 1886 the large cattle companies had fenced critical points such as around home ranches and water holes. At approximately the same time a few farmers sought to take advantage of the burgeoning San Juan region of Colorado, and national markets. They soon tired of chipping away at the hard earth and left farming for livestock raising. This led to more and more people contesting the limited rangelands and competition grew. Some cattle companies, such as the Carlisles, faced with these threats found they had to resort to occasional mass killings of wild horses in order to survive and protect their range.⁷

The 1880s were the years of the large cattle companies in southeastern Utah and the Western United States. As part of this movement large amounts of Eastern and foreign capital flowed into constantly expanding cattle companies as investors searched for greater profits. In 1885 Charles Ogden and Jim Blood of the Pittsburgh Cattle Company bought out the Maxwells and three others in the La Sals. In 1887 the Silveys traded their ranch to the Pittsburgh Cattle Company which came to dominate the cattle industry in the La Sals. In 1895 Cunningham and Carpenter bought out the Pittsburgh Cattle Company and hired many local Mormons from the northern end of San Juan County to work for them.

The LC (Lacey) Ranch, another large outfit, operated in the Bluff area during the 1880s. Originally formed in the 1870s

by I. W. Lacey, his wife continued its operations as it expanded in the 1880s. The LC outfit drove cattle directly from the Texas panhandle to the Recapture Wash range. The outfit summered near Blanding. Also arriving in the region during 1883, Eli Iliff and Harold Carlisle of the English and Scottish backed Kansas and New Mexico Land and Cattle Company purchased 7,000 head of cattle to run in the Blue Mountain area. This represented a significant investment. The Carlisle herds steadily grew in the area north of present day Monticello. A loosely organized group of Texans, the "Texas Outfit" or officially the Elk Mountain Cattle Company, used the Elk Mountains for rangeland in the 1880s.⁸ Another of the large cattle operators was J. A. "Al" Scorup, who eventually became one of the best known cattlemen in southeastern Utah after 1900, started as a cowboy. Working with his brother Jim in the White Canyon area, Scorup gradually increased the size of his operations. In the late nineteenth century Jim Scorup is credited by one author as rediscovering the natural bridges of Natural Bridges National Monument where they grazed cattle. Experiencing a number of reverses the Scorups left the area at the end of World War I.⁹

Farther north and west of Scorup, Preston Nutter used the area between the Colorado and Green Rivers in the 1886-1893 period, and Nutter described it as wonderful rangeland. Unfortunately the large cattle companies faced major problems in the 1890s that even the use of such "wonderful" land could not offset. A ten year dry spell beginning in 1893 hurt the cattle-

men and many sold out to smaller operators. During the hard winter of 1893-94 the Bluff Pool lost half of their 1300 head herd. The pool members sold out in the spring to Scorup. Weather acted against all of the ranchers. The Carlisles, the LC and the Texas Outfit all sold out to local settlers at the same time. The Carlisle operations once centered near Monticello and run primarily by Texans had attempted to upgrade its stock in the late 1880s but the range competition plus the wild antics of the cowboys helped force abandonment. This constituted only one example of the end of century reappearance of the small rancher, who found himself benefitting at least to a limited degree from the large companies' misfortune. In 1895-96 other Moab area cattlemen sold their herds to Montana stockmen. In southeastern Utah several of these cattlemen switched to sheep. Some of the large companies, such as Norman Taylor's Taylor Livestock Company, survived into the 1900s but only by adjusting to the changed economic conditions. An unusual event took place when D. L. Goudelock settled at the head of Cottonwood Creek in 1895 and started a ranch. What set Goudelock apart from his neighbors was he started ranching when many others were giving up on livestock, and in an area many others had avoided. Five years later he merged with Mel Turner and D. M. Cooper to form the Indian Creek Cattle Company. The Scorups' hard luck reduced their herd and this was much more typical than Goudelock's experience of setting up a new ranch during these years.¹⁰

While the cattle industry witnessed the reemergence of the small, local company during the 1890s another source of competition for the limited grasslands also came to be felt. By 1895 sheep were making significant inroads on the cattle ranges of the area. In that year the Taylors, formerly cattlemen, brought the first large, commercial sheep bands into the La Sal Mountains. Quickly the numbers of woolies grew and soon sheep outnumbered cows in the area. A number of former cattlemen in the Moab area turned to sheep raising after 1900. By 1908 175,000 head of sheep were listed by the Grand County assessor. The reason for this dramatic shift can be found in the economics of sheep raising. Sheep, while marketable for their meat, also provided a source of annual income -- wool -- as they matured for market. This sheep-caused competition for rangelands further injured the ailing cattle industry. A de facto sheep deadline existed north of Bluff during the 1890s. Custom limited sheep to the lands north of the line and cows south. No major violence erupted but on occasion threats filled the air. By 1910 the picture changed somewhat with both cattle and sheep being run on many ranches.¹¹

The major difficulty for both cattle and sheep by the close of the nineteenth century proved to be the deterioration of already poor quality rangelands. While the area has always been somewhat inhospitable there had been certain choice rangelands. Dry Valley between the La Sal and Blue Mountains was said to have had grassland stirrup high when cattlemen arrived in the 1880s.

This, however, was an exception. Much of the rangeland around Moab, at its best, could support only two cows or two horses per square mile. Not until range conservation practices of the twentieth century would the situation improve. Nevertheless, the majority of land in modern Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges was used for cattle and sheep grazing.

The early twentieth century saw the reemergence of a boom period. Small, local ranchers remained the norm, but consolidation and growth continued, such as the Scorup-Somerville Cattle Company. Another example bridging the period from late nineteenth century to early twentieth century, the Shafer Ranch in 1914-1915 bought greater rangelands and consolidated its holdings in Island in the Sky of modern Canyonlands National Park. The difficulties the ranch faced in their locations, narrow trails, inaccessibility, cattle falling off canyon edges were great but they persevered. Other small ranchers faced similar problems but they raised cattle and sheep successfully in the area.¹²

One aspect of the early cattle industry in the study area and throughout the West has captured the imagination of millions worldwide - the American cowboy. Immortalized by film, books, and television the life of John Wayne shows little semblance to that of working cowboys who spent their lives as hired hands on horseback with a boring, dusty job. Relations between the cowboys and other settlers were not always smooth. Friction was common and a constant source of potential trouble. The wild

Texas cowboys of the larger cattle outfits became infamous for upsetting the settlers. The reputation of the cowboys for being reckless, arrogant, and lawless frequently proved to be well deserved since some cowboys did cross the line to become outlaws. The reverse could also be true as there were some intermarriages of Mormon women with cowboys in San Juan County, but frequently the couple moved out to Moab or east to Colorado. The life of the southeastern Utah cowboy may have been harder than that of their counterparts elsewhere, with many who worked in the canyon areas living in caves and other natural shelters as protection from the elements. Food was basic, generally sour-dough bread, beans, dried fruit and venison, with occasional beef from injured cows. The distinctive dress of the cowboy-the "ten gallon hat," bandana, chaps, and spurs was often replaced by an overcoat and derby as more practical for some of the duties of a working cowboy. Whatever the dress it was usually filthy as dust, wind, and sweat tended to be more common than bathing. The rugged, hard lifestyle contained little of the dime novel romance so often associated with it, yet many were attracted by the lifestyle.¹³

Early cattle ranching, was often fraught with danger, yet proved to be equally rewarding for those who took advantage of the free range to make a fortune. Not until the twentieth century and the emergence of Al Scorup did southeastern Utah have a cattle baron comparable to Colorado's John Wesley Iliff or a ranch like Texas's XIT. The southeastern Utah cattle industry

went through three phases of development beginning with the Texas "wild cow" invasion. The second phase started when Mormons and small ranchers became the primary utilizers of the area; the third phase, at the close of the century and thereafter, is characterized as one of consolidation during which large ranches became the norm for economies of scale while a few small ranches continued. The three parks, particularly Canyonlands and Arches, shared in this cattle and sheep experience.

The early cattlemen constituted the vanguard of settlement and worked hard to conquer the terrain to provide themselves with a livelihood. Among the legacies of the cattle industry in southeastern Utah are a number of place names, such as Grey's Pasture, Shafer Trail, and Dead Horse Point in or near Canyonlands National Park. Cattlemen and their families, even though they went through booms and busts in southeastern Utah, added to the economic stability to the area.

In summary, the cattlemen found a use for an especially harsh land, but in so doing began a pattern of regional economic activity dependent upon outside forces for economic survival, namely, the national cattle market. As a result boom/bust cycles became common for both small and large outfits. The presence and successes of cattlemen encouraged others to come to the area, either to help on the ranches or to supply them. Finally, the merging of Mormon and non-Mormons in the local cattle industry gave rise to the "Mormon" cowboy, something of a hard-riding, hard working but not hard drinking individual.

Endnotes -- Chapter Four

¹Charles S. Peterson, Look to the Mountains, Southeastern Utah and the La Sal National Forest (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1975), pp. 80-82, 98, 79-80, 17-28, hereafter cited: Peterson, Look.

²Ibid., and Don D. Walker, "The Cattle Industry of Utah, 1850-1900: An Historical Profile." Utah Historical Quarterly 32 (Summer 1964), pp. 190-193, hereafter cited: Walker, "Cattle."

³Peterson, Look, pp. 81-82; Walker, "Cattle," pp. 182-193; and Charles S. Peterson, "San Juan: A Hundred Years of Cattle, Sheep and Dry Farms," in Allan Kent Powell, ed., San Juan County, Utah, People, Resources and History (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1983), pp. 172-173, hereafter cited: Peterson, "San Juan."

⁴Daughters of the Utah Pioneers. Grand Memories (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Co., 1972), pp. 9-12, hereafter cited: DUP, Grand; and Franklin D. Day, "The Cattle Industry of San Juan County, Utah." (Master of Arts Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958), pp. 16-22, hereafter cited: Day, "Cattle."; Faun McConkie Tanner, The Far Country: A Regional History of Moab and La Sal, Utah (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1976), pp. 65-75, III-114, hereafter cited: Tanner, Far. Negro Bill is also referred to as "Black Bill" or in some local inscriptions as "Nigger Bill."

⁵Peterson, Look, pp. 29-30; Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Rainbow Views (Springville, UT: Art City Publishing Co., 1953), pp. 19-22, hereafter cited: DUP, Rainbow; Peterson, "San Juan," pp. 174-175.

⁶Tanner, Far, pp. 68, 181; Day, "Cattle," pp. 17-18; Peterson, Look, pp. 81-82; and James Sheire, Historic Resource Study Cattle Raising in the Canyons (Denver: National Park Service, 1972), pp. 8-12, hereafter cited: Sheire, Canyonlands.

⁷Peterson, Look, pp. 94-96, 51; Peterson, "San Juan," pp. 174-175.

⁸Tanner, Far, pp. 68, 181; Day, "Cattle," pp. 17-18; Peterson, Look, pp. 81-82; and Sheire, Canyonlands, pp. 8-12.

⁹Walker, "Cattle," pp. 195; Day, "Cattle," pp. 31-33; Sheire, Canyon; and Don D. Walker, "The Carlisles: Cattle Barons of the Upper Basin," Utah Historical Quarterly 32 (Summer 1964), p. 268-284; hereafter cited: Walker, "Carlisles."; Everett L. Cooley, "An Overview of Utah's Cattle Industry," Utah Historical Quarterly 32 (Summer 1964), pp. 179-181; and Neal Lambert, "Al Scorup, Cattleman of the Canyons," Utah Historical Quarterly 32 (Summer 1964), pp. 301-320, hereafter cited: Lambert, "Scorup."

¹⁰Sheire, Canyonlands, pp. 22-23; DUP, Grand, pp. 78-79; Lambert, "Scorup," pp. 308-310; Walker, "Carlisle," pp. 275-283; and Tanner, Far, p. 181.

¹¹Tanner, Far, pp. 86-88; DUP, Grand, pp. 80-81; and Peterson, "San Juan," pp. 181-183.

¹²Tanner, Far, p. 186; and Sheire, Canyonlands, pp. 24-26.

¹³Tanner, Far, p. 177; and Lambert, "Scorup," pp. 306-308.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE OUTLAWS OF UTAH'S CANYON COUNTRY

As peculiarly American as the cowboy is, so the outlaw of the West is as well. He or she fulfills somewhat the same romantic spot in the mind of people interested in the West as Robin Hood does for those of medieval England. This is especially true for the bandits that once inhabited southeastern Utah. Viewed as a quixotic segment of the "Wild West" the cowboy-outlaw period, while brief, lasting from 1880-1905, furnished material for hundreds of movies, books, and television programs. The late nineteenth century history of the Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges region contains incidents involving a number of outlaws from the very well known to the almost unknown.

Several factors attracted these bandits to southeastern Utah. First the area's isolation, being far removed from centers of activity and civilization, particularly legal forces for many years acted as a magnet. Second, the canyons, valleys, and mountains of the region offered dozens, if not hundreds of good hiding places where an outlaw could remain hidden for weeks or months at a time without discovery. Third, a number of ranches in the area offered legitimate employment opportunities to those taking a break from their illegal pursuits without too many questions. As a result, frequently the line between outlaw and cowboy became blurred. These factors served to increase the

popularity of the Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges area for lawbreakers. While never a hotbed of criminal activity like Robbers Roost to the west or Brown's Hole to the north, the area of Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges did witness a number of incidents of law breaking and probably even more visits by those seeking to evade the legal machinery of territorial Utah. The western, detached area of Canyonlands National Park, probably saw even more of this activity because of its proximity to Robbers Roost.

Two different groups or segments of outlaws developed during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century in southeastern Utah. The first group, composed of the amateurs who lived in the area, tends to be less well-known, but often just as disruptive to the fledgling social order of the region. For the most part the amateurs can be defined as those attempting to make an honest living in the region and who thusly did not engage in illegal activities full time. They took advantage of opportunities which arose and limited their criminal activities to rounding up a cow or two that may or may not have been strays. These newly acquired assets could be butchered or have their brands altered to merge with another herd. Valuable cattle, horses, or sheep often changed owners in this manner. Many local residents frequently accused Tom and Billy McCarty of using these methods to increase the size of their herds in the La Sals. The McCartys were not alone in giving natural increase a helping hand. By the beginning of the twentieth century the practice had

become fairly widespread. The notable exception can be found in the Mormon settlers who were not usually involved in these amateur type activities. Outsiders carried the stigma of outlaws, not the loyal LDS ranchers, at least according to the Mormons' collective view of history. Even so, they only occasionally hunted down the "gentile" rustlers and then frequently because of other, more violent, transgressions.¹

What appears from the historical record is a subconscious dual value system for the region. Certain types of activity, such as the theft of one or two cattle could be accepted or at least ignored while larger thefts or crimes of violence that led to bodily injury or death brought the wrath of the community down on the perpetrator. Further evaluation also indicates that a given criminal's background tended to impact the ferocity of the reaction with Texans and outsiders much more likely to run afoul of the law than local residents doing the same thing.

Part time rustling became an ingrained way of life for certain area residents. As an example, initially the McCartys were a mix of the amateur and professional, ending their careers as full-time outlaws. Their ranch was near the famous Robbers Roost and not too far from one of the major crossings of the Colorado River. Originally founded by Dr. William McCarty in 1877 the ranch was profitable and became well known. The doctor and one son, George, left within a few years of establishing the ranch and relocated to Oregon. Bill and Tom McCarty thusly gained control of the ranch. During the first five years after

its establishment the ranch proved profitable and the brothers gained a fairly affluent standing. They utilized some of the best rangelands and had fine herds of cattle and horses. After selling their ranch in 1885 to the Pittsburgh Cattle Company the brothers became more active as outlaws, however, reports differ as to the extent of their criminal activities before the sale of the ranch. Another interpretation holds the McCartys always dabbled in stock theft, but once off their ranch with little to do, they became more involved in other criminal activities. By the summer of 1889 Tom gained a reputation as a bandit after his involvement in a bank robbery at Telluride, Colorado. Bill, not to be outdone by his brother, took up with the infamous Cole Younger gang in Missouri and Kansas. He took an active part in their work and as a result eventually was sentenced to the Minnesota penitentiary for murder. Minnesota authorities later released Bill and he returned to the La Sals of Utah. Upon their reunion, Tom and Bill resumed rustling cattle and horses. At various times during the 1880s the McCartys joined up with their brother-in-law Matt Warner in criminal activities.²

Warner, born in 1864 at Ephraim, Utah, was the son of a Mormon bishop and his fifth wife. After leaving home at an early age, Warner became involved in cattle rustling near Brown's Hole, Colorado, but returned to Utah after a few years. During the intervening time Warner met up with Robert Leroy Parker, better known as Butch Cassidy, and introduced Tom McCarty to Butch. They became known to themselves at least, as the "The Invincible

Three." The McCartys and Matt Warner serve as examples of those who graduated from amateur to professional status. While their occasional partner never really could be called an amateur.

Of all the professional outlaws operating in southeastern Utah, Butch Cassidy is the best known. Originally from Beaver and later Circleville, Utah, Cassidy has been characterized as friendly, a generally well-liked man. This friendliness made his career easier as his numerous friends were always willing to help Butch evade the law. Also, because of his personality he assumed something of a Robin Hood aura. Butch first worked with Tom McCarty and Warner in 1889 when they robbed the bank in Telluride, Colorado. After that success the group took to the Outlaw Trail for their escape.

The McCartys for all their early talk of invincibility, found that indeed that was not the situation. The Telluride bank robbery, mentioned earlier, was the first "bank job" for Cassidy and after fleeing Colorado the bandits went to the Carlisle Ranch near Monticello and then followed the Outlaw Trail into Brown's Hole, Colorado. The group split apart after Telluride with Butch going on to a colorful career. The McCartys continued robbing until September 1893 when Bill was shot by W. Ray Simpson, a hardware store owner, after robbing a Delta, Colorado, bank. The Delta robbery marked the end of the McCarty gang, leaving Matt Warner and Butch Cassidy temporarily without associates. Cassidy went on to Wyoming, spending part of the 1890s as a guest of the state penitentiary. Warner, even less luck, spent a number of

years in prison before trying to resume a normal life in the 1920s in Salt Lake City.³

The Outlaw Trail, the avenue of escape for many professional outlaws, was utilized for many successful "get-aways" went from Landusky, Montana, south to Hole in the Wall, Wyoming, through Rock Springs, Wyoming, and Brown's Hole, Colorado, crossed present day Dinosaur National Monument, crossing the Green River there, then southwest through Vernal, Utah, on to Green River, Utah. As a community on the railroad, the town of Green River, Utah, enjoyed, or was plagued by, a reputation as a safe haven for those on the run during the late nineteenth century. From that town the Outlaw Trail went south and into the infamous Robbers Roost in southeastern Utah.

Robbers Roost was one of the three major stops on the Outlaw Trail. Located on a plateau just west of Canyonlands National Park it is an isolated site which provides a great view in all directions, making undetected entry into the area impossible for law enforcement personnel. First used as a hideout in the early 1880s, a number of outlaws drifted into the Roost including Jack Moore, Joe Walker, the McCartys, and Tom Dilley. Just as the Roost was well known among the criminal population, so it was amongst law enforcement officers as well. Grand County Sheriff Jesse Tyler frequently sought stolen horses there as did others. Another favorite hideout was Dead Horse Point, located near the northern edge of Canyonlands National Park. Also, within Canyonlands some outlaws may have used the few stretches of quiet

water in the Colorado River as crossings to make their way west to Robbers Roost. Butch Cassidy and his associates used the crossing as well as Robbers Roost when they came through the region. Despite their reputation as hardened criminals, Cassidy and his compatriots were known for never robbing a lone individual, just railroads, banks, and other businesses, and they never killed in the course of their activities.⁴

In the late 1890s, after the loss of the McCartys and some time in the Wyoming State Penitentiary, Cassidy set up a new gang, the Wild Bunch. This group, usually made up of five members, terrorized the railroads of Utah and Wyoming into the early twentieth century. The core of the Wild Bunch was composed of Cassidy, Harry Longabaugh, Ben Kilpatrick, Bill Carver and Harvey Logan. The group had a number of hideouts, most of which already were well known, including Robbers Roost. After a rather abysmal failure to rob the Denver & Rio Grande near Grand Junction, Colorado, Cassidy and his compatriots began a series of spectacular robberies, aimed at the Union Pacific Railroad. After several such robberies in Wyoming, the Union Pacific began retaliatory action. The railroad established new policies designed to protect express shipments. Particularly colorful, and adding to the mystique surrounding the Wild Bunch, the railroad created a "rolling posse;" excellent horsemen and trackers that rode the line in special cars ready to begin the pursuit within minutes or hours of a robbery. Adding strength to the operation, the trackers and professional lawmen of the

"rolling posse" were recruited from among the most well known and feared law enforcement officers in the West. In addition to the "posse," the railroad also hired Pinkerton agents to provide protection to Union Pacific cargoes. The "posse" did chase the Wild Bunch on more than one occasion, and their tenacity finally encouraged the gang to find new targets. The combined pressure of the "posse" and the Pinkertons led the Wild Bunch to split up by the end of 1902 with mystery surrounding what finally became of Butch Cassidy, leaving future generations to ascertain whether he died in South America or returned to the United States and lived out his life under an assumed name in the Pacific Northwest.⁵

Other professional criminals who made no pretense of a lawful career also utilized the region. The location of Moab and the natural hideouts of the canyons made southeastern Utah popular as a secure, isolated hideout without zealous law enforcement. Outlaws could safely hide in the remote areas for weeks or months and did so. If a source of income were needed, area ranches provided some opportunity. Many of the outlaws who passed through the region of Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges, worked as cowboys for local ranchers when they were between "jobs" of a more lucrative type. A number of area ranches were reputed to be hideouts for bandits because it was well-known that they hired outlaws as cowboys. In the eyes of many residents one of the most notorious ranches for this practice was the LC Ranch. The fact that outlaws were hired as

cowboys did little to improve the image of hired help in Mormon residents' minds. The idea of a cowboy with an itchy trigger finger may or may not have been accurate but generally cowboys were not viewed highly in southeastern Utah. During the 1870-1890 period, the cowboys of the Blue Mountain area, for example, had a reputation for being wild, arrogant, and lawless.⁶

Local crime, less glamorous than the Wild Bunch and often less well reported, was also part of the frontier experience. Cowboys, in particular, caused frequent drunken brawls in Moab and other towns. To a certain extent the cowhand binges tended to be part of a self-fulfilling prophecy in that townspeople, particularly Mormons, expected that type of behavior and often may have reported exaggerated tales of what actually happened leading to an escalation of the tensions between themselves and the cowboys. Shots were fired but killings were infrequent. Attempted murder may also have been common.

Gradually, however, law and order came to southeastern Utah and threatened the popular hideouts such as Robbers Roost. This slow and painful, often fatal process took more than twenty years, before, as one Mormon author described them, the "human rattlesnakes" were exterminated. During the late 1880s Dick Butt was elected sheriff of San Juan County and earned a reputation as a relentless manhunter and force for law and order. Through diligence and hard work Sheriff Butt began the task of bringing effective law enforcement to the area. Residents who were tired of the lawlessness aided the sheriff and supported his tough

policies. Sheriff Jess Tyler of Grand County also worked to eliminate the outlaws. He frequently led posses into the canyons and to Robbers Roost to look for stolen stock.⁷

While Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges had no notable criminals as permanent residents, there can be no doubt that at least Canyonlands, if not all of the parks, were visited by criminals on the trail escaping the law. This led even to the point of possibly developing a river crossing in modern Canyonlands to get to Robbers Roost from the east. For the most part, the area had a brief period of lawlessness. Initially at least, the local citizenry displayed a tolerance for violence, possibly because they could not spare the time and expense of a manhunt, trial and incarceration for the theft of a horse or a few cows, given the other harsh realities of life. However, the same difficulties of life in the region and the determination of the early farmers and stockmen showed little tolerance for extensive criminal activity. Even though this period of "Shoot em Ups" did occur, for the most part the canyons and routes of southeastern Utah served outlaws when they sought peace and quiet not notoriety or further pursuit by the law.

Endnotes -- Chapter Five

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²Pearl Baker, The Wild Bunch at Robbers Roost (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1965), pp. 15-16, hereafter cited: Baker, Robbers; Albert R. Lyman, Indians and Outlaws, Settling the San Juan Frontier (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1962), pp. 74-76, hereafter cited: Lyman, Indians; and Charles Kelly, The Outlaw Trail, The Story of Butch Cassidy (New York: Bonanza Books, 1959), pp. 17-18, hereafter cited: Kelly, Outlaw.

³Kelly, Outlaw, pp. 18-25; and Baker, Robbers, pp. 20-32.

⁴Kelly, Outlaw, pp. 29-35; Baker Robbers, pp 30-35.

⁵Kelly, Outlaw, pp. 18-30.

⁶Ibid., pp. 29-35.

⁷Ibid., pp. 46-90; and Lyman, Indians, p. 45.

CHAPTER SIX
EARLY MINING AND LUMBERING
IN AND AROUND THE CANYONS

Livestock raising and agricultural activity constituted the primary means of livelihood for the people of Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges and the lands around them during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During that same period a number of individuals attempted to make their living from two other sources--mining and lumbering. These activities date to the time of the first permanent white settlement. Mining has punctuated the history of the region with brief outbursts of excitement over the years. The early mining period dates from 1883 to 1911 and lumbering dates from the 1870s until the 1920s.

Precious metal mining booms occurred fairly frequently in southeastern Utah although the amount of metal discovered remained minimal. The number of these booms is not surprising given the level of gold and silver mining activity in the neighboring San Juan Mountains of Colorado. Mining activity began in Colorado during 1859 with the discovery of gold by W. Green Russell near present day Denver. While the resultant boom in 1859-60 was largely fiction, continued success greeted miners in outlying mountain areas. The nature of the industry changed in the meantime and with it the chances for success by the lone prospector with burro, pick, and pan decreased dramatically. The California gold rush, ten years earlier, had been

founded upon dust and nuggets. This form of the resource was easily obtained through the process of placer mining which combined dirt with water to wash away all except the gold. There were many variations on that general method but the cost outlay for equipment and the geologic expertise necessary was minimal. Obviously, placer mining appealed to the unskilled since neither capital nor experience were necessary.

Placer mining as a technique was quickly replaced by hard rock or quartz mining practices in the Colorado mountains and elsewhere by the 1860s with a few exceptions where water was plentiful. Even though hardrock mining required money and technology to tap into the lodes of quartz beneath the earth the amount of gold recovered generally proved to be greater than placer mining. Equipment for finding, digging, processing and then transporting the ore required vast sums of capital and the lone prospector, often nearly destitute, had great difficulty competing against the well financed mining companies that came into existence. Despite these problems, Colorado miners were luckier than most, having a choice of searching for gold or silver. Their work spread statewide by the late 1870s and the successes in southwestern Colorado's San Juans encouraged prospectors to continue their efforts in southeastern Utah.¹

The southern San Juan Mountains of Colorado continued to provide a basis for much silver mining in that state in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the optimism spawned by the discoveries there spread over into southeastern Utah despite

only limited success in that region. North of the Glen Canyon area prospectors remained busy during the period. Joseph Burkholder searched in the canyonlands west and southwest of Moab in 1879 but found little in the way of precious minerals. A number of other miners were out at the same time but they also had only limited success. As that happened, the Rico, Colorado, newspapers carried stories of mineral discoveries in the La Sals and Blue Mountains. At the same time James Merrick and Ernest Mitchell were searching for a lost mine. Unfortunately they were killed by Indians but had many good ore samples when their bodies were discovered. The source of their ore, however, was never determined. While some other prospecting occurred, most of the area remained grazing country.²

Hopeful miners wandered the San Juan, Colorado, and Green Rivers searching for either gold or silver. After previous setbacks, some discoveries were made and a small boom area associated with this phase of activity developed. Little came of these promising reports except for some placer gold found along the Colorado River. Cass Hite, a Colorado River prospector and hermit, spread the word that gold was to be found in the banks of the Colorado River during the early 1880s. Thousands flooded into the area only to be disappointed when little gold was found. Not to give up, Hite continued his searches. Hite's second so-called discoveries produced a second boom ten years later, but again little gold was panned. Some other miners found float gold along the Colorado River from Dirty Devil to Lee's

Ferry. The gold proved to be very difficult to recover and little came of the discoveries.

In that region some placer prospecting took place near the Green River and south of Moab on the Colorado during the 1870s, but little was found and a boom did not occur until the 1880s. Prospectors discovered placer gold in southeastern Utah in 1883, at the same time as discoveries in northeastern Arizona. As it turned out, though, the rush proved to be short lived. Placer mining boomed again in the early 1890s along the San Juan River, but as before this boom fizzled. As a result miners shifted their emphasis to Glen Canyon where mining activity lasted until the twentieth century. Neither prospectors nor mining companies made any great discoveries.

Elsewhere and as the Hite 1880s discoveries became public, other hopeful bonanza kings also found traces of gold. Their finds led to the establishment of the first mining district in the area, the Henry Mountain Mining District, formed in December, 1883. Four years later miners banded together, creating the White Canyon Mining District. These mining districts provided a solution in the form of a quasi-governmental body to protect the miners' claims. District members discussed issues such as size of claim, water rights, and boundaries with neighboring claims. A sense of order resulted from what could have been a chaotic situation.³

Along with gold, rumors of silver mines in and around Navajo Indian lands near Natural Bridges National Monument persisted.

Prospectors attempted to work the Navajo lands in northeastern Arizona and southeastern Utah but met with little success. As elusive as Indian silver, the stories of diamonds in the area also interested prospectors. These tales resurfaced periodically but nothing was ever found.⁴

Another gold rush of sorts occurred with only little more success during the 1890s. Robert Brewster Stanton, one of the planners hoping to build a railroad along the Colorado River from Grand Junction, Colorado, to southern California, the Denver, Colorado Canyon & Pacific Railroad, surveyed the Colorado River. The railroad never materialized. During the route planning work, however, Stanton discovered gold along the banks of the Colorado River. Recognizing the difficulty of mining the river he decided to find investors and establish a mining company to build a dredge to recover the gold. In 1898 the Hoskinini Company was formed and placed an experimental dredge in operation in Glen Canyon during 1901. The operation failed as the dredge filled with silt, marking the end of organized gold mining in southeastern Utah. Farther south, however, the American Placer Corporation plant at Lee's Ferry continued mining in the Colorado River until 1911. A few years earlier the Zahn Mining Company and Charles H. Spencer tried to dredge at Spencer's camp near Lee's Ferry but ended the operation in 1912, after a few years of unprofitable work. Most of the gold sites now rest quietly at the bottom of Lake Powell, including the Hoskinini dredge.⁵

In the nearby La Sal Mountains a new generation of prospectors made a few gold discoveries in the period 1897-1900. These isolated finds did not produce a boom or great wealth. Prospectors also continued to work in other areas of the region, but again without success. One, a J. E. Roberts, tried to mine just west of present day Arches National Park but found little.

While gold and silver mining generally met with only limited success in the area of Canyonlands, Arches and Natural Bridges, other types of mining activity did take place. Copper mining around Moab existed on a small scale, but never became profitable. Coal mining, more successful in what became Carbon County to the north and west of the study area, did not spread farther south even though people searched for the hydrocarbons. It was not until the post World War II era that mining became an important part of the local economy.⁶

In addition to mining, lumbering activities took place in nearby mountains. Lumbering, never became a major industry for southeastern Utah, as there were just not enough forests available to make large scale lumbering profitable. Nevertheless it remained viable on a small scale for local residents. Most activities remained oriented toward southeastern markets to provide building materials for the settlers. The distances between the area and transportation lines, translating into isolation from major markets, worked against development of a lumbering industry just as it also assured customers for the small sawmill operators.

The La Sal Mountains provided the major source of trees for the localized lumbering industry. In the period 1881-1940 more than twenty-eight different sawmills operated in the forest regions. The Mont Hill sawmill opened in 1881 and, became the first to take advantage of opportunities in the La Sals. By the 1890s Thomas "Hell Roaring Tom" Wilson, became the major figure in La Sal lumbering. Despite the meager stands he actually encouraged and worked to develop the industry. Despite this boost, lumbermen all but abandoned their activity before the United States Forest Service became involved with conservation and management of the resources during the first decade of the twentieth century.⁷

While the mining and lumbering industries of southeastern Utah could be described as still born into the twentieth century that result eventually would change, but not because of great precious mineral discoveries. Rather, energy minerals and potash became very important to the local economy, contributing their own excitement and a chance for a later generation to experience its own great rush. If, however, the early prospecting had located great bonanzas one thing is sure, the isolation of the area would have been broken by transportation companies. As it was, no great boom occurred and as a result neither did a transportation revolution. Instead, southeastern Utah remained relatively isolated, at the end, as it were, of a few trails and wagon roads.

Endnotes -- Chapter Six

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CHAPTER SEVEN

TRANSPORTATION AND THE ISOLATION OF SOUTHEASTERN UTAH

Southeastern Utah, as with much of the rest of the state and American West, depended on a number of factors, such as water or land, for settlement and development. Transportation constituted one very important consideration for Anglo-American settlers; they often were reticent to move to areas not served by either trails, roads, or by the late nineteenth century, railroads. For those who did choose lands without transportation, road construction became one of their first priorities, sometimes even as the first cabins were being built. The lands of southeastern Utah had very few natural travel routes which further complicated the problem of securing transportation, so that through much of the study area, including the parks, even the clearing or building simple wagon roads became an expensive, time-consuming process. The lack of transportation combined with the aridity and limited amounts of arable land made much of southeastern Utah undesirable for settlement. Even after the pioneers ventured into the area much of it remained isolated until the twentieth century with the spread of the automobile and new paved, state or federally built, highways.

The Spaniards of colonial Mexico and New Mexico appreciated the isolation of southeastern Utah first. Even though they claimed the region and some of their explorers, both military and ecclesiastical, ventured to and through parts of the study area,

they did little toward establishing transportation links with or through the region. Not until after the American Revolution and the famed Dominguez-Escalante expedition of 1776, that ended in failure, did Spaniards start to reevaluate parts of the study area for its travel possibilities. This new attention, however, came not from governmental officials, but rather from traders who needed a route to modern central Utah for use in the slave trade and also on to the Spanish settlements in California. Hostile Indians in modern Arizona made a direct route west to California too risky. Without such an overland route trade between New Mexico and the Pacific coast depended upon much longer and costlier overland treks to Mexican ports and then by coastal ships to California and return. What the traders hoped for instead was a trail they could follow out of New Mexico, north to avoid the hostile native Americans of Arizona, and then west to California suitable for mules, horses, and carts. This need led directly to the traders working to find a route, using known paths into southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah, and extending those on, water hole to water hole, ford to ford, north and west to the Pacific Coast.¹

This trail became known, after Anglo-Americans began to use it, as the Old Spanish Trail. The Trail ran through the study area from southeast to north-northwest, but only through a small part of Arches National Park, and not near the other parks. The trail reached Summit Point, dropped down into the Lisbon Valley went north along the route of Highway 191 to modern Moab where it

forded the Colorado River and crossed the edge of modern Arches National Park, before continuing north for approximately twelve miles and then northwest to Green River (City) and across the Green River at that point. Some earlier writers have argued that a variation of the Old Spanish Trail ran across Canyonlands crossing the Colorado River at the head of Cataract Canyon, but such claims have been refuted by further research. Later historians rightly argue that the Cataract Canyon crossing if used at all was utilized by outlaws, not Spanish traders, especially when much easier crossings were available in the vicinity of modern Moab.²

Even though explorers as early as the 1760s and Rivera's trip in 1765 broke the trail it did not see extensive use until the second decade of the nineteenth century. During 1813, the route through modern Moab and Green River, Utah, and on west made its debut as a trade route. Their success led others to follow the path so that by the 1820s annual caravans of two hundred to three hundred people and their herds of pack animals made the trek to and from California, taking woolen goods and blankets west, and returning with cattle and horses. The trade continued through the 1820s and into the 1830s as the annual caravans trekked through southeastern Utah.³

In addition to the growth of the trail's popularity among New Mexican traders they were joined more and more by Anglo-Americans during the 1830s. The Mexican Revolution had opened New Mexico to traders from the United States. From their new

outposts in Taos and Santa Fe, Anglo-Americans moved into areas previously closed to them by Spanish rule. In 1831, taking advantage of that changed situation, William Wolfskill and George C. Yount (or Young, by some reports) became the first recorded Anglo-Americans to follow the Old Spanish Trail from end to end. From that point in time until the early 1840s trade continued along the trail. During those later years the fur trade began to decline, limiting Anglo-American interest in the route. Also, trade flow changes avoiding the detour from Missouri to Santa Fe and then north and west to California led to fewer and fewer caravans using the trail. The result was that by the time of Mormon settlement the trail had been abandoned. Even so, the trail remained clearly defined on the landscape when the Mormon explorers first ventured into southeastern Utah during the 1850s and they frequently followed parts of it to the area.⁴

The end of the Old Spanish Trail marked the end of the first phase of transportation development in the region. It would be the 1870s before any new serious effort to open the region would take place. During those intervening years explorations continued but little progress toward opening or building new routes occurred. In 1877, when the San Juan mining district had begun to develop in neighboring Colorado, prospectors from the west, particularly California and Nevada, anxious to get there, sought routes across southeastern Utah. Their efforts led others, particularly Andy Menefee, who owned a ranch in the San Juans, to hack out a trail from his ranch to the Lisbon

Valley and from there take advantage of Indian trails north to reach the Moab area. By 1878 wagon drivers in large enough numbers penetrated the area so that in some places they found it necessary to build dugways to help get wagons past cliffs and steep grades.⁵ Also, where that type of solution proved impractical, other things were done, such as the "Jumping-off-Place" immediately west of Arches National Park on the route. There, where the thirty-two-foot drop in the cliff precluded a dugway, a clearing was chipped in the cliff, pulley blocks built, and the wagons and animals were eased down by ropes and pulleys rigged as a block and tackle system to the lower level before proceeding on in to Moab.⁶

This, while it appears dramatic, was a minor undertaking compared to what Mormon pioneers accomplished farther south. In 1879 a group of Mormons, called by the Church to set up the San Juan Peace Mission discussed earlier, left on what they felt would be a relatively short trip to their new lands. When they arrived at the place they hoped to cross the Colorado River there was no easy route from the cliffs to river ford. Instead, these settlers found they had to hack out a trail, the "Hole-in-the-Rock" Trail, then the only crossing of the Colorado River for three-hundred miles.⁷ The construction of this route has been described by many writers, but it is best summed up by Allan Kent Powell when he said it symbolizes the "commitment, dedication, and accomplishment in the settlement of the West."⁸ Despite this heroic effort, travelers abandoned the trail about eighteen

months after it opened and travel was rerouted via Hall's Crossing. Today all but the upper most parts of the Hole in the Rock are under the waters of Lake Powell.⁹

While those pioneers braved the trials of the Hole in the Rock trail other settlers worked on improving transportation networks--still in the form of roads and trails. Nothing brought the reality of their isolation home more forcefully than their mail service. Miles beyond the end of the nearest telegraph, they depended on mail for any word from the outside world. In 1879 the United States Post Office Department laid out a postal circuit route of seven hundred miles from Ouray, Colorado, to the settlers in the La Sals, Moab, and later Bluff and Monticello as part of a delivery round that took six weeks. The mail carrier, on horseback, followed Indian trails and what early roads there were to make his rounds. Despite such hardships the mail was delivered.¹⁰

Reacting to their isolation and the difficulties of carrying on communication or commerce with either the Colorado mining camps or other Utah settlements, early settlers of southeastern Utah set about to build roads. These roads connected one settlement with another, or gave herds paths to other ranges, such as into modern Canyonlands National Park, or the people access to natural resources, such as trails built from Moab to the La Sal forests for wood, or at Bluff for the same reason.¹¹ During the 1880s, as county governments were organized, the newly elected commissioners immediately found petitions for roads on

their desks. These pressures caused road building to be the top priority for counties throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The counties had only limited capital, but frequently allowed road work to be done in lieu of cash tax payments. County organizations and citizen participation built a number of roads in the study area. Nearly all these county roads led either east or west out of southeastern Utah to lands and cities already settled. None of the early roads crossed Arches, Canyonlands, or Natural Bridges. Rather, to penetrate those areas ranchers built their own roads or trails, such as the Murphy Trail, as the need arose.¹²

Whether the roads came into being because of a county or private individual, all the early road builders faced many of the same problems. The terrain, valleys, cliffs, solid rock, and lack of water all influenced how the roads were built. The obvious factor of only a limited number of passes and potential routes through or around the mesas, gullies, and washes dictated that the simplest or easiest route was not always the one chosen. The rocks themselves restricted much of the early road building. While they offered solid foundations they also acted as barriers. Blasting to widen a natural shelf for wagons to pass took time, but proved much easier than in those places where cribbing and fill had to be built to support the roadway. In some cases both techniques had to be used to build the trail or road successfully. Most of the work was done with hand labor, black powder, and a few animal drawn scrapers and plows. The

roads, in addition to being routed along the courses of least resistance, had to be routed to serve the needs of the local population, a need that was grossly redefined during the mid 1880s.

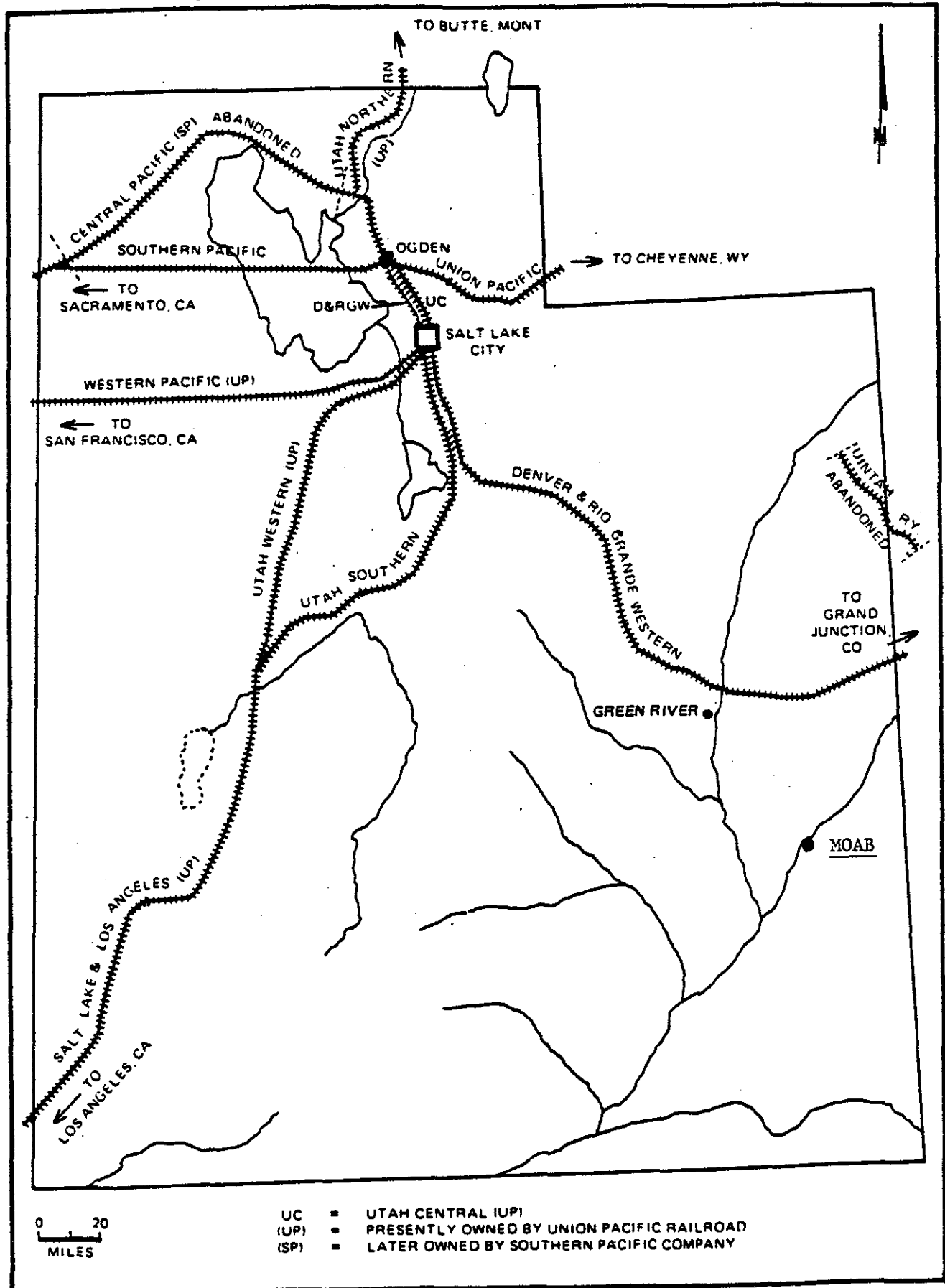
The force responsible for this redirection of travel and, to a certain extent thinking, in the region was the railroad. The railroad, the nearly mythical epitomization of civilization and progress to the late nineteenth century Westerner took the form of the Denver & Rio Grande (later Denver & Rio Grande Western) for southeastern Utah. This railway, originally planned by its founder William J. Palmer, to build from Denver south to the Rio Grande Valley of Texas and on in to Mexico, turned west during the 1870s as a result of corporate battles. Once headed in that direction, Palmer determined a connection to Salt Lake City to be a priority for his company. He ordered his associates to survey routes south and east from Salt Lake City to the Colorado (Grand) River Valley of Colorado. At the same time his engineers and construction crews also busied themselves building west from Leadville and Montrose, Colorado, toward Utah. The line from Leadville stalled but the other one continued on to Grand Junction, Colorado, and then on west. In 1882 as the Denver & Rio Grande line west was under construction, Palmer's associates formed the Rio Grande Western, a Utah corporation, that soon began work to meet the westbound line somewhere near the fledgling community of Green River City, Utah. In March, 1883, crews from the two companies met at a point thirteen miles

west of the Green River and its namesake town. The line it followed across eastern Utah proved to be very close to that first recommended by 1853 federal explorer Lt. John W. Gunnison during his work on the federally sponsored Pacific Railroad Survey.¹³ The rail company showed little interest in building south to Moab, but that did not mean they ignored the town or the valley around it (See Figure 6).

Quite the contrary, railroad officials realized that the lands of the study area could provide traffic, if they were more intensely settled and developed. As a result, throughout the 1880s until after the turn of the century, the Denver & Rio Grande included Moab and much of southeastern Utah in its promotional literature. The company never failed to include articles about cattle or sheep raising, fruit growing, or the other agricultural possibilities of the region, pointing out record peaches, grapes, or prize winning cattle raised there. Whether or not these stories convinced people to move to the area is open to speculation, but the other impacts of the new mode of transportation are not.¹⁴

The increased market accessibility with rails thirty-five miles north of Moab proved to be a boon for settlers of the study area. Thompson's Springs (Thompson), the closest station, became the contact point for the outside world for most of the study area. Telegraph and after 1903, telephone lines stretched south from Thompson's Springs to Moab. In addition, the railroad's benefits to stockmen, mentioned earlier, continued. The mail

FIGURE 6 The Railroads of Utah



From: Grady, et al., Green River

now could be delivered on a regular basis and with the telegraph that paralleled the tracks extended south to Moab, communications improved greatly. The railroad, which owned a number of coal mines in Emery County, Utah, also ended the local dependency on the then, rapidly depleting forests for fuel. Coal became the fuel for anyone and everyone who could get their wagon to Thompson's Springs to buy it. The local stage company quickly rerouted its wagons to connect with the railroad. The nearest stage station to any of the modern National Parks was at Court House Wash not far from Arches National Park. Finally, coincidental to the railroad, came the early development of mail order companies, Montgomery Wards, known by many as the less flattering "Monkey Wards" and Sears, Roebuck & Company. Through those sources and rail shipping all the wonders of the age of industry came to the homes and ranches of southeastern Utah. Much later the railroad brought in visitors to the area after it helped promote the idea of Arches as a national monument.¹⁵

The railroad, despite its proximity, did not stop people in Moab and farther south from using their trails and roads. By the 1890s three routes existed into southeastern Utah, one south out of Moab, making Moab a center of trading activity, a trail through the San Juan River valley, and the Dove Creek route near Monticello, something of a left over from the Old Spanish Trail.¹⁶ Moab, and its booster merchants, hoped that their route would be the favored one and further they constantly sought ways to create better transportation connections to the railroad

beyond the trail improvements. The foremost problem they faced was the Colorado River and the need to ford it. The logical solution, a ferry service, did not open until 1880. That year Henry Penney built a small boat and operated a carrying service across the Colorado at the site of the present highway bridge on the north side of Moab. Three years later Norman Taylor took over the service and tried to improve it. He and his family operated the ferry for fourteen years. In 1897, after complaints about the service from the public, Grand County purchased the ferry and kept it in business until 1912. That year the state road department built a bridge over the Colorado River at the site of the present replacement span that was built to carry the heavier traffic caused by the 1950s uranium mining activity.¹⁷

While the river presented an obstacle to travelers and their horses and wagons that called for a ferry or bridge, others saw in it a route of commerce. In 1888 Elmer Kane, Frank Emerson and Charles Duke rafted the Grand (Colorado) River from Grand Junction, Colorado, to Moab. They were followed by Francis and Will Shafter who floated the river from Cisco to above Moab. These individuals spurred interest in the travel possibilities of the rivers. This was reinforced in 1897 when two Glenwood Springs, Colorado, physicians tried to take a rowboat through Cataract Canyon that ended in failure.¹⁸ While these people showed more interest in the sporting possibilities of the local rivers, others saw the waterways as potential avenues of commerce.

Entrepreneurs felt confident that with the proper technology the Green and Colorado Rivers could be converted from obstacles to avenues of commerce. The first serious attempt came in 1891 when the thirty-five-foot long Steamboat Major Powell was launched to haul passengers and freight from the railroad at Green River City to Moab, following the Green and Colorado Rivers. Major Powell failed, becoming the first of many similarly ending attempts. Three years later the Major Powell's owners put a new engine in the boat, but the results were the same with Major Powell never reaching Green River before she was dismantled. In 1901 Denverite Frank H. Sommeril launched the steamboat Undine at Green River. This steamboat, fifty-six feet long, made the trip to Moab only to overturn upstream from Moab near Negro Bill Canyon on her return voyage. 1905 witnessed the last attempt, a water tube boat, with a then unconventional design. The boat left Green River but not far downstream the tubes clogged and it was abandoned as the crew walked back to town. Attempts to use the rivers as connections from Moab to the railroad did not end the interest in the rivers. During the 1920s the Moab Garage Company began running small boats up and down the Colorado River between town and the head of Cataract Canyon hauling supplies for oil drillers and others. The business continued until the Great Depression of the 1930s wiped out the oil business.¹⁹

As some individuals worked to try to develop a successful carrying trade on the rivers other continued and expanded the

recreational and sporting uses of the rivers. By 1907 Bert Loper--later to become a famous river runner and Cataract boat builder--Charles S. Russell, and E. R. Monett had finished their preparations and made the first pleasure run through Cataract Canyon. Four years later Ellsworth and Emery Kolb, photographers of the Grand Canyon, set out on a photo taking trip from Green River, Wyoming, down the Green River past its junction with the Colorado and on through modern Canyonlands National Park, ending their five-month expedition in January, 1912, at Needles, California. In 1916 Bert Loper and Ellsworth Kolb joined forces and boated the Colorado from Grand Junction, Colorado, to Moab, becoming only the second party to make that trip in thirty years. The Kolb's photos and other publicity the rivers of southeastern Utah received led to the development of a commercial tour business during World War I when David E. Rust took the first vacationers through Glen Canyon. From that point in time there was a slow but steady increase in river running until the Great Depression of the 1930s and then a near end in river running during World War II, when nearly all recreational travel ended due to the wartime gasoline and rubber restrictions.²⁰

Gasoline, by the 1940s, had become the fuel of transportation in southeastern Utah as it had throughout much of the West, a dramatic change in the forty years since the turn of the century. When 1900 arrived animal power remained unchallenged in the region and roads could best be described as treacherous.

A diarist, on his way to the Natural Bridges area, wrote in 1905, "Verdure was seven miles of bad road from Monticello."²¹ Roads remained a county responsibility until 1909 when the state started to take an interest in them. This was reinforced in 1916 when the first federal highway building money became available. Local road commissioners such as San Juan County's M. A. Barton viewed this new funding as a godsend and immediately began an aggressive campaign to get money for their counties in southeastern Utah. But was not until 1924 that the first impacts of the Federal Highway Act of 1921 were felt in southeastern Utah. That year money was appropriated and work began on grading an automobile road from Moab south to San Juan County and on to Arizona. Four years later the road from Moab to Monticello was completed, but improvements, particularly paving, did not start until 1938.²²

The increased interest in highways reflected the growing number of automobiles owned by Americans during the early twentieth century. The auto arrived comparatively late in the study area. In September of 1909 W. E. and C. C. Cameron from Nebraska arrived in Moab in a car, the first into the region. Not to be left out, well to do local residents took an interest and purchased their own cars, rancher Al Scorup being one of the first. He found almost no passable roads on which to drive it and his troubles were further complicated by the need to ship in gasoline with which to fuel it.²³ In other areas road improvements also took place, but because of ill feelings toward

Colorado over grazing not all the new highways became through roads along logical routes, rather many ended at the state line between Utah and Colorado.²⁴ From these early beginnings auto use spread through southeastern Utah and equally more important as increasing numbers of visitors arrived to see the natural wonders of the region. The first recorded auto trip to what became the modern parks took place in 1923 when visitors were taken to Devil's Garden. This happened six years before the land was proclaimed to be Arches National Monument. The first auto trip after the proclamation came in 1936. At that time Natural Bridges remained accessible only on foot or by pack animal and Canyonlands was nothing more than winter range for local stockmen.²⁵

Arches, however, did much after World War II to encourage the building of better roads. Moab businessmen, led by Moab Times-Independent editor Bish Taylor, lobbied the state for aid to build a better road to the monument, arguing better access would mean thousands of new tourists, which Moabites equated with even larger numbers of dollars flowing into their cash registers. Later, after World War II, the state did listen and improved Highway 191, but that came in response to the needs of the booming energy industry as much as for tourists. The final impetus for increased road building in southeastern Utah came from the oil and uranium booms of the 1950s and 1960s. The equipment needed to drill wells, operate mines, or haul out ores could not travel wagon roads or horse trails and the companies

found they needed to bulldoze and improve the roads to gain access to the minerals they sought. Much evidence of this can be found in Canyonlands National Park as many of the roads and jeep trails of today started as stock trails that were bulldozed by energy companies, the Atomic Energy Commission, and then inherited and either maintained or closed by the National Park Service.²⁶

Since the 1960s most road work in the region has been to improve the existing roads, making more of the area accessible to the tourist and his or her station wagon. The notable exception came with the opening of Interstate 70 through Green River, Utah, and the vastly improved driving conditions it offers for auto traffic. Much like the railroad nearly one hundred years earlier, the interstate skirts the study area, but also like the rail line it serves as an arterial highway with its feeders running south into Moab and other towns of the region.

Transportation, and its availability or lack thereof, remained one of the primary influences in the history of southeastern Utah from the time of the Spanish empire until recently. The presence of trails, roads, railroads, and finally highways helped determine what types of activities could profitably be undertaken there and tended to be both a response and a cause of the boom and bust cycles that typify the area's Euro-American history. For example, the railroad helped sustain the late nineteenth century livestock boom while the highway and road work of the 1950s came as a response to the energy boom of the

era. Transportation development left many marks on the land as generation after generation worked to improve or expand the road and trail network. In the twentieth century many local industries benefitted from the presence of the road system, among those possibly none more over a longer period of time than the stock raising business.

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¹⁸Hoffman, Arches, pp. 58-59.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 60; and Tanner, Far, pp. 229-234.

²⁰Hoffman, Arches, p. 60; Crampton, Standing, pp. 164-165; and W. L. Rusho, ed., "River Running 1921: The Diary of E. L. Kolb," Utah Historical Quarterly 37 (Spring 1969), p. 270.

²¹Steen, "Culmer," p. 67.

²²Haymond, "Roads," pp. 229-231.

²³DUP, Grand, p. 103; and Neal Lambert, "Al Scorup, Cattleman of the Canyons," Utah Historical Quarterly 32 (Summer 1964), p. 312.

²⁴Haymond, "Roads," p. 237; and Calvin Black, "San Juan County Roads and Resources," p. 247 in Allan Kent Powell, ed., San Juan County, Utah, People, Resources and History (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1983).

²⁵Hoffman, Arches, p. 71; Tanner, Far, pp. 238-243.

²⁶Lloyd M. Pierson, "The New Park Studies at Canyonlands National Park, 1959 and 1960, and Events Leading Up to Them," mss, pp. 5, 14, 23, 36-42.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SETTLEMENT AND STOCKRAISING AFTER 1900

The cattle and sheep industries of the late nineteenth century provided a pattern for twentieth century development in southeastern Utah. The decline of large ranch companies continued into the early twentieth century. Thusly, the character of the cattle industry changed by the reemergence of the small outfit. An agricultural boom during the period between 1900 and 1920 led directly to the increasing number of family owned and operated ranches. This growth of agricultural and stock raising activity temporarily enlarged the population and settlement of the study area and expanded general awareness of the region, causing a number of new settlers to seek out the area as a location for their homes.

One of the most well known small ranches, Wolfe Ranch, developed in lands that became Arches National Park during this period. Its namesake, John Wesley Wolfe, a Civil War veteran, arrived with his son Fred in 1898 to begin ranching. Nine years later Wolfe brought his daughter Flora Wolfe Stanley, son-in-law Ed Stanley, and their two children Esther and Ferol to live with him on the small ranch complex. Wolfe and his extended family eked out a living, but they were atypical of most area residents because Wolfe received a small disability pension from his service during the Civil War. Thusly, he did not have to totally depend upon his ranching expertise for survival. The ranch,

located on lands of minimal value for grazing, could not produce food or even enough cattle to generate sufficient income to feed the family. Further, Wolfe, unable to raise dairy cows on the small ranch, purchased his milk, food, and other simple goods from Sears, Roebuck & Company. Sears delivered the items to the railroad station at Thompson's Springs, north of the ranch. This purchasing of such a variety of goods was not all that typical but the fact is that the operation remained at a subsistence level at best was common. Wolfe sold out in 1910 to Tom Larson and with his daughter's family, returned to Ohio. A few years later Larson sold out to Marvin Turnbow who owned the property when it was acquired by the National Park Service in 1938.¹

The Wolfe Ranch is the best known small ranch in Canyonlands, Arches or Natural Bridges, but not the only one. Others also tried to make a living in the area of Arches. E. Plemenio Cordova and his wife, E. W. Cordova had a claim and a cabin within or very near modern Arches National Park. The Cordovas spent their summers at the ranch and raised chickens, cows, and hay. During the winters they stayed in Moab, Green River, or elsewhere. At best, they maintained a subsistence level operation until abandoning the claim in 1941. Like Wolfe, these earlier settlers hoped to make money but the local range and water supply could not support very large herds.²

As with earlier settlers, these later arrivals to southeastern Utah led anything but an exciting life. Rather, their

day-to-day existence was drab. Their diet, at least in variety, had improved with developments in food preservation technology, primarily reliable canning, either done at home or commercially. Canned fruits, vegetables, and meats started to replace dried varieties. As a result root cellars, orchards, and gardens became even more important. Despite that change in preserving, drying of foods and smoking of meats remained important and the foodstuffs thus produced remained present in the diet of most area settlers. The sun still dictated the workday as the seasons controlled the type of work from planting to harvesting or from moving stock from summer to winter range.

At the turn of the twentieth century most of the area residents found that they were having a difficult time surviving financially. The worst problem revolved around ways to deal with the overgrazed ranchlands. Range management and improvement practices, a twentieth century phenomenon, that ranchers resisted, because it inevitably meant fewer cattle or sheep grazing each acre of grassland, only slowly took hold in southeastern Utah. Range management also involved governmental control of some type on federal lands and this intervention inevitably drew resistance as being not in the best interest of the western ranchers. To indicate the depth of feeling and misinformation circulating, some southeastern Utah ranchers, such as J. A. Scorup, erroneously believed that the brush and other growth that replaced the original grasses would actually increase range stock carrying capacity. But by 1900 southeastern Utah ranges had

suffered severely from overgrazing and only nearly emergency programs reversed the process of range destruction. That damage combined with the destruction done by lumbering and mining created erosion problems, especially given the area's soil structure characteristics and the shortage of water generally.³

In an attempt to compensate for these problems the United States Forest Service began to establish grazing policies to restrict access to federal rangelands and rehabilitate the lands. Local cattle and sheep raisers felt little impact from the early Forest Reserves set aside in 1891 and 1892. They also did not fully appreciate the potential impacts of the regulation and fee system. Southeastern Utah forests, La Sal and Monticello, set aside after 1900, proved to be unique in Utah in that instead of many grazing permits for small numbers of stock being granted, the rangers issued a small number of permits for large numbers of stock. This reflected another local trend toward fewer ranches, and therefore a smaller number of requests for grazing permits.⁴ The pattern of area ranches utilizing Forest Service lands for summer range and the canyon areas for winter range continued with the permitting system. While cattlemen felt threatened by grazing restrictions, they were not as endangered by sheep and sheepmen as others elsewhere found themselves to be.

By 1902 sheep, raised throughout Utah, formed an important part of the state's economy. The sheep population increased during the early twentieth century, especially in southeastern

Utah where the sheep population rapidly expanded. Sheep raising in the region had started during the late nineteenth century. In the winter of 1884-85 New Mexico sheep bands belonging to Daniel McAllister wintered near Bluff and within a few years as many as 10,000 head wintered in the region. The economics of sheep offer a ready explanation for the rapid increase in the number of woolies--each ewe provided two crops for the feed of one sheep. Many cattlemen converted to sheep after the Panic of 1893 reduced the market for cattle. For example, the Carlises sold out their cattle interests in the 1890s, and by 1911 were operating as Carlisle and Gordon, Inc., a sheep company. They raised sheep for approximately fifteen years until finally closing down their operation in southeastern Utah. The residents of Bluff organized a cooperative and bought out Carlisle and Gordon. Their efforts represent one of the last attempts at cooperative herding in southeastern Utah. For the most part, the Mormons gave up on these cooperative herding practices in the twentieth century as privately owned companies such as Redd Ranches or the Scrup-Somerville Cattle Company grew larger and were able to practice economies of scale.⁵

Sheep and cattle had co-existed for the previous twenty years and by 1910 grazing practices had stabilized without the bloody "sheep wars" common in other areas. Conflict did occur, most often when Utah sheepmen crossed over into Colorado to utilize rangelands. In the seventeen years between 1893-1910 more than three thousand head of sheep were killed and sheep-

herders found themselves threatened by Colorado cattlemen who resented the woolies invasion. In southeastern Utah sheep often grazed in the areas on both sides of the confluence of the Colorado and Green Rivers. The Lovelidges ran large numbers of sheep in the Island In the Sky area after 1900 even though cattle still used those lands. Despite this co-existence some cattlemen continued to resent scarce grazing lands being utilized by sheep. Cattlemen described the Bluff area, for example, as "sheep cursed" in 1905.⁶

Despite their antagonisms, a common danger to the cattlemen and sheepmen of southeastern Utah came from an unexpected source. Large numbers of farmers and their families relocated to the area after the turn of the century during the last of the great homesteading booms. The dryland farming boom spread throughout the Great Plains-Intermountain West from Canada south to Mexico. This wave of settlement, sparked by the publication of information by Hardy W. Campbell who characterized his ideas as "scientific dryland farming," led thousands west searching for an opportunity. Campbell and his followers promoted certain techniques as suitable for farming on arid lands. The movement found aid in congressional legislation which encouraged farming of arid lands. The Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 increased the size of homestead from 160 to 320 acres. The Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916 again increased the size, this time to 640 acres. Through these laws Congress gave tacit recognition that larger amounts of land were necessary to economically farm in

arid areas. Other legislation allowed homestead patents to be secured in less than the tradition five years and relaxed requirements on continuous occupation prior to patenting. These laws combined with the abnormally high prices for farm produce during World War I enticed tens of thousands of people to take advantage of federal generosity and new farming ideas.

Among those who took advantage in 1909 of new opportunities for federal lands were George McConkie and Walter Hammond from Moab. They began to dryland farm near La Sal, but they remained alone in their efforts for several years, as the dryland boom did not move into that region until the mid-1910s.⁷

In the San Juan County area the dryland farming boom was seen as a panacea for many problems. The increased population led to the founding of a new town, La Sal, in 1915. The many Mormons that came to La Sal planned to mix farming with grazing. While anticipating great riches from dryland farming, the Mormon settlers at La Sal eventually were hard pressed by the decline in agricultural prices in the 1920s after World War I demand had ceased. Most of the residents sold out, if lucky, or just walked away from their farms.

Twentieth century developments also continued the earlier trends of increased population, new towns and expanded prosperity. The dryland boom greatly increased Blanding's population, and during the 1910s the town grew rapidly. Originally established in the 1880s as Grayson, Blanding was re-established in 1897 but not until the early 1900s was success assured. The

reason for final success can be attributed not only to the dryland boom but to irrigation water availability from the Blue Mountains. The town received an additional boost in 1912 when many Mormons who had been in Mexico returned to the United States and nine families elected to relocate in Blanding.⁸

The boom impacted other areas as well. For example, Moab continued to be the major supply center with increased business activity, but many area residents continued to look to Grand Junction, Colorado, or Durango, Colorado, as trade centers. Along with the typical dryland crops of wheat, alfalfa, and corn area residents continued to tend peaches, pears, and grapes, for which there was a good market. Area farmers and boosters found their work aided by the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad which touted the area in its public relations dispatches and helped spur on the dryland boom.

The first years of Utah statehood and the twentieth century brought a number of new developments to southeastern Utah. Moab Light and Power was chartered in 1914 to provide electricity. The next year saw the chartering of Moab State Bank. Newspapers also began to flourish on the late nineteenth century frontier. Moab's first newspaper, the Grand Valley Times, began in 1896 and in 1917 faced competition from the Moab Independent. The number and variety of local businesses grew through this period as well. What began to develop in these early years has become a long tradition of Moab as the regional trade center of southeastern Utah.⁹

While growth in the area continued residents remained susceptible to many problems. Typhoid broke out in 1910 and many were stricken. The influenza epidemic of 1918-19 also took its toll, but generally the early years of the twentieth century were good for local residents. During World War I the demand for agricultural production helped the economies of the area. In the post-War period agricultural problems affected most rural Americans and southeastern Utah residents were not excepted. By this time, however, they enjoyed well established towns, transportation, water supplies, and electricity.¹⁰

As part of the dryland farming boom, the Denver & Rio Grande encouraged settlement of the region. Areas such as Canyonland's Anderson Bottom were again farmed and later abandoned. Despite emphasis on new techniques for arid lands, the continued need for water supplies remained. On washes of the Green River between Green River and Moab promoters planned to build a dam and use the river as a source of water. By 1908 an earthen dam had been built amidst much boosterism and optimistic talk. Many regarded this new dam as the solution to problems of constant, reliable water supplies. The dam broke later in the year and many of the dryland farmers left because of such limited water supplies. This gave only a hint of what was to come.

The dryland boom proved to be short lived, ending with the cessation of the hostilities of World War I. The decreased demand for foodstuffs compounded by the inadequacies of water and the failure of the "scientific" farming method caused many to

abandon their dryland farms, returning to their previous occupations or taking up ranching. "For Sale" signs became common on many farms but few buyers were found. In San Juan County the growth obtained in 1910-1920 was gone by 1925 when population was back to pre-war levels.¹¹ The Roaring Twenties with all its excitement and change, did not occur in southeastern Utah where an agricultural depression was beginning to be felt.

The attempt to change from farming to ranching only increased the problems of insufficient rangelands in the area. The harsh winter of 1919-1920 started to exacerbate the already potentially serious conditions by reducing the number of cattle. For example, the Scorup-Somerville operation lost 2,000 head. By the mid 1920s lower meat and wool prices combined with continued poor grazing conditions lead to an increasingly severe depression prior to the Stock Market Crash of October, 1929. Cattlemen managed to survive during the lean 1920s by resorting to different techniques. They drove their cattle the distance to Thompson's Springs to secure easier markets on the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad. Those who could afford to also used cattle trucks to get their herds to market. In the forefront of mechanized technology, some ranchers hired bulldozers and operators to clear many of their own roads in order to take advantage of new opportunities.¹²

At this time, as work moving herds became easier, one of the local companies needed both trucks and horses to operate their ranch. The Scorup-Somerville ranch, largest in the area, had

about two million acres running from the mouth of the Green River south to the mouth of the San Juan River. Despite these holdings they, along with everyone else who was ranching in southeastern Utah, found themselves hard hit by the poor economic conditions of the late 1920s. They also resorted to other methods to survive, such as in 1928 when they sold more than 4,000 head of cattle at reduced prices in order to pay off old debts and keep the operation going. Following on the heels of that situation, the Dust Bowl, as it was popularly known, plagued much of the West with high winds eroding already bare soil during the early 1930s. While this particular part of Utah did not have that severe a problem, abnormally dry conditions kept the spectre of dust bowls in everyone's mind. Unlike many, the Scorup-Somerville operation managed to hold on during the Great Depression in part because they grazed almost 7,000 head of cattle on United States Forest Service Land during the summer and in what would become Canyonlands National Park in the winter.¹³

Another large ranch that managed to survive during the difficult depression years of the 1920s and 1930s was started by Charlie Redd during this period. A member of a family who had pioneered the region during the 1880s, he began ranching during the 1920s with the La Sal Cattle Company and throughout the Great Depression he bought up area ranchers as they were forced out of business. The Redd Ranches eventually bought out Scorup-Somerville in 1965 to become one of the largest cattle companies in the United States.¹⁴

Despite these few examples of ranchers that survived the Great Depression with minimal damage, most did not. The depression had a severe impact on the economy of southeastern Utah and most of the West until World War II despite New Deal attempts to alleviate the problems. New Deal policies under President Franklin D. Roosevelt were designed to provide relief, recovery, and reform to ailing segments of the United States economy, particularly farmers and stockmen. The unhealthiness of the stock raising industry, while dating to the 1920s, when overproduction continued despite decreased post-war demand, became even worse during the 1930s. That fact combined with continued pressure by conservationists created an impetus to change management practices for the public domain. The idea was to expand the permitting system to allow the lands the opportunity to rejuvenate without constant grazing. The idea failed to gather support from westerners until the middle 1920s when the effects of the beginning agricultural depression were felt. In 1928 Congress reacted to conservation demands by creating an experimental grazing district--Mizpah-Pumpkin Creek--in southeastern Montana. Based upon the success in Montana and the general innovative spirit associated with the New Deal, Colorado Congressman Edward T. Taylor set out to frame a federal leasing policy. This idea, in the form of the Taylor Grazing Act, became law in June of 1934. Early the next year all remaining public lands came under the Grazing Service which began establishing grazing districts and quotas in the West. Lands under the

Grazing Service's control included nearly all of modern day Canyonlands National Park. Part of the machinery of Grazing Service administration included forming advisory boards, and giving local ranchers an input when grazing allotments and seasons were determined. While the new agency did reduce the overall use of the lands, it did so with rancher participation and in this way had a credibility that made it popular locally. The other reason local grazers supported the Service was because with the allotment and permit system outsiders could no longer invade the winter range, deplete it, and then leave. This control helped establish the idea of conservation in many local minds. While this and other legislation provided some assistance during the Great Depression it was not until United States entry into World War II that the economic situation improved for southeastern Utah and the rest of the country.

Wartime demands for footstuffs combined with declining European crop production helped farmers and ranchers in southeastern Utah by providing an expanding market for their produce. By 1944 Scorup-Somerville were grazing 7,000 head of cattle with federal permit, the largest single permit up to that time. The revitalized farm economy continued in the post-war period, aided by new government price supports. In the 1950s Scorup-Somerville leased range lands that became the Needles area of Canyonlands National Park. The Scorup-Somerville outfit utilized vast tracts of the public domain for grazing. The Scorup-Somerville cattle Company survived many hardships and lasted eighty years, until

purchased by Charles Redd's, Redd Ranches, that held the last grazing permits in Canyonlands National Park. Scorup himself died in 1959 and his death marked the end of the transition years of cattle raising from frontier enterprise to a big business.¹⁵

The post-World War II era was easier in other ways than the previous thirty years had been. Technological change was taking place which eased the burden of farm/ranch labor. As mentioned earlier, Al Scorup had tried cattle trucks during the Depression to move his herd to market and this practice continued. After World War II he hired bulldozers to build more roads. Scorup's check dams were now built by bulldozer and many remain in the Needles Area. The post-war period saw several changes in agricultural stock raising activity in the study area. Using new machines as well as improvements started in the early twentieth century in the fields of veterinary medicine and animal nutrition, local ranchers could produce better beef, wool, and mutton. In those parts of the region suitable for agriculture by the 1980s the major farm products were wheat, beans, and alfalfa (hay). Few farms provided one hundred percent of a families' income. Most farmers or ranchers were working their holdings on a part time basis with another, steadier job providing some income. This was part of an earlier economic trend which included such popular local figures as John W. Wolfe.

Another significant change was the decline in sheep raising as synthetic fibers replaced wool in many garments and household textiles. Once again cattle reign supreme in south-

eastern Utah, although in reduced numbers. Another factor that tended to control both cattle and sheep raising in the region--the federal government, either through the Forest Service or the Bureau of Land Management (formerly the General Land Office and Grazing Service) spent large sums of money on range improvements during the 1950s and 1960s. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, however, as the improvements deteriorated and budget cuts kept the agencies from repairing them, ranchers suffered as local carrying capacities decreased. Continued federal restrictions and the creation of Arches National Park, Canyonlands National Park, and Natural Bridges National Monument phased out to grazing in those areas. In 1975 the last Canyonlands grazing permit expired and was not renewed by the Park Service. Other federal projects, such as Recapture Dam, sought to stabilize the constantly fluctuating water supply to help local ranchers and farmers.¹⁶

The twentieth century witnessed many changes in the cattle raising and farming practices in southeastern Utah. The primary development was one of growing, continued federal intervention and direction. These changes were generally beneficial to the area's farmers and ranchers, but, those same individuals often bitterly resented the regulations as restricting individual efforts. Nevertheless, the federal presence remains strong in southeastern Utah.

Endnotes -- Chapter Eight

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²Arches National Park, Cordova Cabin File.

³Charles S. Peterson, Look to the Mountains, Southeastern Utah and the La Sal National Forest (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), pp. 178-180, 116-117, hereafter cited: Peterson, Look.

⁴Ibid., pp. 169-170, 175; Charles S. Peterson, "San Juan: A Hundred Years of Cattle, Sheep, and Dry Farms," p. 181 in Allan Kent Powell, ed, San Juan County, Utah, People, Resources, and History (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1983), hereafter cited: Peterson, "San Juan."

⁵Ibid., Charlie R. Steen, "The Natural Bridges of White Canyon: A Diary of H. L. A. Culmer, 1905," Utah Historical Quarterly 40 (Winter 1972), pp. 68-69, hereafter cited: Steen, "Culmer,"; and W. L. Rusho, ed., "River Running 1921: The Diary of E. L. Kolb," Utah Historical Quarterly 37 (Spring 1969), pp. 274-275.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Peterson, Look, 102-103, 90-91; Faun McConkie Tanner, The Far Country: A Regional History of Moab and La Sal, Utah (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1976), p. 88, hereafter cited: Tanner, Far.; and Roy M. Robbins, Our Landed Heritage (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), see chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6.

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⁹Tanner, Far, pp. 250-258.

¹⁰Peterson, "San Juan," pp. 183, 200-201, 179.

¹¹Ibid., p. 184, 186; and Tanner, Far, p. 193.

¹²Peterson, "San Juan," p. 191; Neal Lambert, "Al Scorup, Cattleman of the Canyons," Utah Historical Quarterly 32 (Summer 1964), pp. 312-314, hereafter cited: Lambert, "Scorup."

¹³Lambert, "Scorup," pp. 312-314.

¹⁴Tanner, Far, p. 185; and Peterson, "San Juan," pp. 199-200.

¹⁵Lambert, "Scorup," pp. 310-315.

¹⁶James Shiere, "Cattle Raising in the Canyons," Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1972, pp. 1, 20; and Preston J. Nielson, "A Perspective of the Agriculture and Livestock Industry in San Juan County, 1959-1982," in Allan Kent Powell, ed, San Juan County, Utah, People, Resources, and History (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1983).

CHAPTER NINE

THE GROWTH OF FEDERAL INFLUENCES IN SOUTHEASTERN UTAH

The federal government's influence in the area of southeastern Utah dates to before the Civil War, however, it remained minimal for many years. But, during the last decade of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century to the present day, its role in the region has constantly grown. Most of this involvement has revolved around the issue of conservation and resource management/development. This orientation marked a dramatic change in previous federal and national philosophy about the West and its resources. Until the 1890s governmental policy had emphasized use and when translated into action, abuse, of the public lands and resources. Reform in land laws began taking place in 1891 and this philosophy changed as the federal government took a greater responsibility for preserving some lands and accepting a need to manage them.

Utah, because of its peculiar history of federal intervention in local politics and personal affairs, primarily stemming from Mormon polygamist policies, already was accustomed to a federal presence by the time statehood was achieved in 1896. At the same time national policy makers sought to establish a policy of conservation through reservation of lands. News of land frauds, deforestation of entire mountains, near extinction of the once great buffalo herds on the Great Plains, and the erosion of thousands of acres of farm land shocked Midwesterners

and Easterners during the 1880s. Public speakers, reformers, and politicians all began to worry that if something was not done the once great resources and beauty of the West would be left despoiled for future generations. By 1890 two culprits had been identified -- the Desert Land Act and the Timber Culture Act. Both had been used by the unscrupulous to alienate and dispoil millions of acres of public domain. Lewis Payson, longtime conservationist and United States Representative from Illinois, sensing the time for change had arrived, introduced the General Revision Act to Congress during the 1890 session. Struggles to secure passage of the bill took more than a year, but in the end Payson and the pro-conservation forces triumphed. The law removed the most offensive laws or provisions from the statute books and gave the President sweeping powers to withdraw known forest lands from future private entry. Within a few months of its passage, agents for the General Land Office took to the field to locate suitable tracts for Timber Reserves, later to be known as National Forests, after control of the lands passed from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture.¹

Federal agents experienced almost immediate opposition to their work in many parts of the West, especially when lumbermen and stock raisers realized that along with reservation came restrictions on their previously unbridled use of the lands. Utah found itself untouched by the first rounds of withdrawals, and that combined with the local heritage of a federal presence led Utahans to be more supportive of the new policies than their

neighbors in Colorado or Wyoming. In 1897 Utah's apparent immunity from forest reserves ended when the Uinta and Fishlake Reserves, outside the study area, were set aside by presidential proclamation. This, combined with new regulations and further withdrawals in 1902, led to the first protests being heard from the Beehive State. The latest reservations include much of the eastern half of the state and this panicked the local population. While they remained sympathetic with the goals of the conservationists many in the region feared that such huge holdings would undermine the power of local decision-makers. The reservation boundaries were redrawn to a certain extent and for many the crisis passed. The apparent threat of federal "tree agents" controlling access to Utah from the east had been removed and the protests subsided. As the reserve policies developed Utahans supported conservation, but only on their own terms, especially if it could be shown to be positive for businesses that used the lands, such as the stockgrowers who grazed their herds on what were now Timber Reserves.²

The protests had died down in Utah and the residents had come to accept the new reservations and their regulations by the middle part of the first decade of the new century. This made President Theodore Roosevelt's January 25, 1906, proclamation of the 158,000 acre La Sal Forest Reserve go almost unnoticed through most of the state, especially since nearly 30,000 of the acres were in Colorado. The next year, on February 6, 1907, Roosevelt set aside 214,270 acres as the Monticello Forest

Reserve. Orrin Snow received the appointment as the first supervisor for the La Sal reserve and administratively the Monticello Reserve reported to the La Sal from soon after the time it was set aside. The Forest Service chose Moab, the largest town in the area, as the headquarters for the forests. Local reaction could best be described as suspicious. Moabites, Bluffites, and others remembered the federally sponsored polygamist hunts of twenty years earlier and even fresher in their minds, outcries from Colorado neighbors about the forest regulations. Supervisor Snow and his assistant John Riis, son of noted reform writer Jacob Riis, found that in addition to the physical problems of establishing national forests they also had a good deal of public relations work to do.³

Snow, as with many early forest supervisors, had both the Washington Office and the local population to try and please. These early supervisors attempted to fit local needs into the policy mandates formed at the national level. Supervisor Snow, while not busy surveying boundaries or examining range conditions, took time to help found the Southeast Utah Stockgrowers Association in November of 1907. He hoped the group could act as an unofficial advisory board to the Forests and work with them to control and allocate grazing. This group of local users would prove especially helpful as Snow worked to convince the area's residents to accept forest policies and the new relationship between the people and the land with the federal government in the middle. The cattle and sheep raisers recognized the fact

that local range conditions had deteriorated and with cooperation between themselves and the National Forests efforts to improve that situation did take place. In fact, range management and improvement became the number one priority for the period 1910-1930. The question of boundaries and adjustments to the forests also occupied a good deal of Snow's and his successors' time. Ranchers feared adjustments might take away even more grazing land. Some of them, such as Charles Redd, opposed them while others, such as P. T. Stevens who took matters into his own hands and fenced National Forest lands into his own. The end of the boundary debates did not come until 1923 when some lands were taken from the La Sal forest for Mancos Jim and Posey's band of Paiutes.⁴

Snow and his co-workers kept the idea of integrating the Forest Service into local life as part of the community in the forefront of their thinking and as a result by the 1930s they had achieved some success. Part of the reason for this philosophy can be found in the Forest Service's concern over another problem that impacted large segments of Utah's population -- flooding and water shed management. From the floods of 1884 that destroyed the Bluff irrigation system to the early twentieth century and recurring flood problems that stretched from Moab south to the state line, control of water became ever more important. Both physical safety and economics dictated that something be done. Forest Service policies that stressed watershed protection and enhancement to halt erosion struck a

responsive chord in Utah. The population realized that those same improvements could also help control the flood waters by slowing run off from the mountain slopes into the creeks such as Mill and Pack Creeks that in 1891 flooded, ruining irrigation systems and washing away many outbuildings in Moab. The watershed management programs, when explained in those terms, earned the Forest Service even more popularity with the area's population.⁵

While the Forest Service worked on some water problems in the study area another federal child of the conservation movement, the Bureau of Reclamation, also showed interest in other water resource possibilities. After passage of the Newlands Act in 1902 that created the Bureau of Reclamation, surveyors from the United States Geological Survey went to the field looking for sites for reservoirs, dams, and irrigation systems. In southeastern Utah they took note of the dramatic canyons, not for their scenery, but for their potential as lakes to store water. As late as the early 1920s this work continued in Cataract Canyon, marking the first complete mapping of the Colorado River in that locale. Work on suggested dams, such as the one at Glen Canyon, that had been discussed since the 1890s, did not take place until after World War II (1941-1945) because of a number of factors, some economic and other political. The foremost question, rights to water in the Colorado River, had to be sorted out among the states the river flowed through and this work, started during the early 1920s under the auspices of the

Colorado River Compact, was not completed until the late 1940s, when the Upper Basin states, including Utah, reached agreements about how much water each state should receive. Nevertheless, the early twentieth century Bureau of Reclamation surveys and talk about new water resources development excited local residents about the possibilities such new developments might offer.⁶

Another federal agency that had only meager beginnings in the region, but eventually became one of the more influential, was the National Park Service. National Park Service involvement began in southeastern Utah before formal creation of the Service in 1916. On April 16, 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt signed Proclamation 804 that set aside Natural Bridges National Monument under the Antiquities Act of 1906.⁷ For more than twenty years before the proclamation, the bridges had become part of local Blanding/Bluff folklore. Local native Americans told of the bridges and eventually in 1895 cattleman J. A. "Jim" Scorup "found" the bridges. Scorup became important in the future of Natural Bridges National Monument because he led the party of W. W. Dyar and Horace J. Long to the bridges in 1903. Long, who had been sent west to settle the affairs of the bankrupt Hoskaninni Mining Company, penned an article about the bridges for Century Magazine that the journal published in 1904, followed by a similar article in the September, 1904, National Geographic.⁸ These stories focused attention on the area. The Salt Lake Commercial Club, one group that recognized the tourist potential of the bridges, quickly formed an expedition to visit, report,

and photograph the natural features. The party, led by H. L. A. Culmer, visited all three bridges, then known as Edwin, Caroline, Augusta, with their guide, cattleman Al Scorup, leading the way. The Culmer expedition results led the Salt Lake Commercial Club to promote the idea of tourism to the bridges and added momentum to the growing movement for the federal government to protect the bridges. Their efforts to gain recognition and make appropriate illustrations eventually bore fruit when their pictures were published in the March, 1907, issue of National Geographic. The breathtaking renditions and national coverage encouraged Utahans Byron Cummings and Colonel E.F. Holmes to approach federal officials regarding creation of a National Monument. They found receptive audiences in the appropriate official circles, and with apparently little effort President Roosevelt was convinced to set the lands aside as a National Monument, making Natural Bridges the first National Park or Monument in Utah.⁹

Also noted by explorers who found the bridges were "Moki" Indian ruins in the locale. Archeologists from the University of Utah, the Carnegie Museum, and the American Museum of Natural History showed a great deal of interest in the remains of the ancient inhabitants and their discoveries led to both President William H. Taft in 1909 and President Woodrow Wilson in 1916 adding more land to the monument to include the Moki sites. Mr. Charles Burnheimer of the American Museum of Natural History spent the summers of ten years searching the area for Indian ruins. He and the other archeologists, as well as many visitors,

found the area all but inaccessible. Not until about 1945 was a road from Hite, Utah, to the Monument was opened.¹⁰

Operation of the new National Monument fell on the shoulders of Ezekiel "Zeke" Johnson, long-time local resident and accomplished outdoorsman. Johnson received appointment as the first custodian of the monument and interpreted his job to be one of helping the visitors by guiding pack trips from his headquarters in Blanding to the bridges and building footpaths to the bridges so "tenderfeet" could enjoy the spectacular sites presented them by nature.¹¹ While Johnson worked to make the bridges more accessible for the traveling public, farther north other discoveries were taking place that would eventually expand the role of the National Park Service in southeastern Utah.

Always looking for new sites to prospect, Hungarian-born Alex Ringhoffer moved to Moab in 1917. He and his family settled in to life there and it was his son, Arpod, who in 1922 or 1923 made the discovery that eventually led to the establishment of Arches National Park. The younger Ringhoffer, out on a deer hunting trip north of Moab, chanced to stumble into the Devils Garden. The elder Ringhoffer recognized the possibilities the harsh landscape offered as scenery for tourists, and in 1923 contacted Frank A. Wadleigh of the Denver & Rio Grande Western's Passenger Department. Wadleigh and an associate, George L. Bean, visited Moab and inspected the Ringhoffer discovery. Encouraged by what they saw, they returned to Denver and, while Ringhoffer made plans for a tourist hotel, Wadleigh wrote to

National Park Service Director Stephen T. Mather about the process for creation of a national monument. From late 1923 through October of 1924, Mather, the National Park Service and the General Land Office carefully examined the area. One of the forces that kept the process moving forward was the railroad. Wadleigh and others in Denver constantly reminded Mather of the possibilities offered by the site and began to mention the wonders in the road's tourist information brochures.¹²

Work by the federal government and talk of the activities of the Denver & Rio Grande Western stirred local speculation and interest in the possibilities a national monument might hold for increased tourist business. Dr. John W. "Doc" Williams, Moab's first doctor, who had been in the area since 1897 and L. L. "Bish" Taylor, took a leading role in boosting the national monument idea in Moab and organizing the local campaign to convince Washington officials of the wisdom of such an addition to the National Park System. From 1924 to 1929 Williams and Taylor continued their work as did the surveyors for the National Park Service and the General Land Office. Finally, their efforts were rewarded when President Herbert C. Hoover set aside 4,520 acres as Arches National Monument on April 12, 1929.¹³ The proclamation meant little at the time, especially with the monument's superintendent being Frank "Boss" Pinkley, who, like a circuit rider, headquartered in Coolidge, Arizona, had twenty-seven National Monuments under his control.¹⁴ Even if little

activity marked the beginnings of the new monument, the situation would change rapidly within a few years.

Six months and a few weeks after President Hoover's proclamation, the President found himself making an entirely different type of pronouncement. During October of 1929, the bottom fell out of the stock market and Hoover spent his time reassuring the nation that the disastrous decline would prove to be only a temporary period of adjustment and prosperity would return soon. Neither Hoover nor any of the nation's leading economic thinkers understood at the time that there were fundamental problems in the nation's business system of which the stock market failure was but one example. As the months slid past the country slipped further and further toward a depression. Locally, the first signs of economic hard times appeared as prices for livestock declined even lower than they had been; followed by ranchers skipping loan payments at banks and generally less money in circulation. Another sign came from the increased poaching of big game, such as deer, as local residents sought to supplement their food supply and conserve what money they had.¹⁵ The situation worsened and by 1932 the year of the next presidential election Utah and the nation were ready for a change in leadership.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a Democrat, campaigned on the promise of a "New Deal" for the American people and offered hope through the dark times. Little did the people of southeastern Utah realize that when the campaign rhetoric cleared that Roose-

velt's plans would have great impacts on them. Roosevelt, often referred to popularly as FDR, set the wheels of the New Deal in motion as he prepared to take office in March of 1933 and by the summer many of his plans, primarily focused on relief, economic recovery, and finally reform to the system to prevent future depressions, were ready to be implemented. Three in particular helped the National Monuments, National Forests, and people of the region--the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA).¹⁶

The FERA, funded to create jobs for those out of work, became involved in a number of projects in the region. Among their undertakings, highway improvements and conservation jobs took precedence in southeastern Utah. The FERA kept busy with money from the Federal Highway Commission working to widen and straighten some of the more traveled roads across the region, while other workers kept busy on watershed and range projects in the La Sal National Forest. Jobs in the National Forests also gave work to many young men in the Civilian Conservation Corps, organized by Army officers, but under the control of Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes. The CCCers built camps in the Moab area starting in 1933 at Camp Warner in La Sal National Forest, moving to Moab for the winter. From there the same enrollees then worked on trail improvements at Arches National Monument. Later the CCC roll at Arches would be greatly increased. Farther south, the CCC also maintained camps at Blanding, and north of

Monticello, Utah. Enrollees there worked on road improvements, National Forests and other public lands in that area. Eventually, the CCC would become the dominant federal depression agency in the region working on jobs for the Grazing Service after 1934, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the National Park Service as well as a continued presence in the National Forests. Locally, Moabites lauded the work of the CCC and opened their homes in hospitality for the young men when they came to town.

In Arches National Monument the CCC continued its presence through most of the 1930s. Their biggest project, to develop the headquarters area still in use today, took many years to complete. The stone custodian's house and the stone arch entrance bridge constitute two examples of the work of the young conservationists in Arches National Monument.¹⁷ The other federal relief agency that took an active part in the 1930s development of Arches National Monument was the Civil Works Administration (CWA), which funded a scientific expedition to the Monument during 1933 and 1934. Under the leadership of Frank A. Beckwith, a team of geologists and archeologists undertook a systematic mapping and information gathering effort that lasted nearly two years. By the end of its work, the Arches National Monument Scientific Expedition, as it had been named, had gathered vast amounts of data on the park that allowed the National Park Service to plan for future development of the area. The other happening of importance to the future of the Monument took place in 1938, when, on the recommendation of Roger Toll, Yellowstone

National Park Superintendent, who had examined much of the West for new park lands, and Secretary of the Interior Ickes, President Roosevelt signed a proclamation on November 25, that increased the size the of the Monument to 33,680 acres.¹⁸

The enlarged Arches proved to be only one scheme Secretary of the Interior Ickes had to protect the lands of southeastern Utah. In this effort Ickes built on an idea first put forth in 1931 by National Park Service director Horace Albright. Albright had proposed, without success, that Kolob Canyon on the Colorado River be set aside as a national park. The area, west of Zion National Park, was rejected by National Park Service attention on all of southern Utah eventually focused on the Moab-Monticello region. Under Roosevelt's Administration the concept of new parks in southern Utah was received more favorably and from 1933 through 1936 National Park Service planners frequently visited the southeastern corner of the state. This led to consultations between the Utah State Planning Board and the Secretary of Interior Ickes, who found support for a new park at the confluence of the Colorado and Green Rivers. Local resident felt that such a new recreation site would stimulate the sagging tourist trade. The state of Utah already had chosen a name for the proposed park - Wayne Wonderlands National Park. Their concept, however, proved to be very different from what Ickes, the staunch land protectionist sought. He proposed a 6,968-square mile national monument, to be named Escalante National Monument that encompassed all of modern Canyonlands National

Park. Public hearings held in Price, Utah, indicated that while the state and local population supported a new national park or monument they would not willing give up such a vast area. Rather, they wanted the lands to remain under the Grazing Service's control and open to an array of resource development activities such as mineral exploration. The National Park Service and Ickes failed to understand the depth of regional feeling about the huge proposed withdrawal and continued with their plan. By 1938 the proclamation awaited President Roosevelt's signature, but opposition remained strident from Western politicians. Utah Governor, Henry H. Blood, argued that too many water development sites and natural resources would be put off limits. Even local women's clubs echoed the same concerns. Roosevelt, the politician, facing a Congressional election in the fall, put off any proclamation indefinitely. Ickes continued to work on the idea but could not convince its opponents to drop their arguments. Finally, in 1942, in response to wartime needs for minerals found in the proposed national monument, Ickes dropped the proposal.¹⁹

At least part of the opposition to Ickes' Escalante National Monument came because of another federal development that had taken place during the 1930s -- creation of the Grazing Service. Established in 1934 by the Taylor Grazing Act, the new Department of Interior agency was given control of vast tracts of public lands, including thousands of acres in southeastern Utah, to

manage their use for ranchers, hoping to conserve and improve the range, as mentioned earlier.

The last new federal agency to have an impact on the region before World War II also stressed conservation -- the Soil Conservation Service (SCS). In April, 1940, southeastern Utah landowners voted to create a Soil Conservation District and once that had been accomplished, the SCS became active in managing and improving both public and private lands in the area.²⁰

The forty years from the turn of the century to 1940 marked a period of vast change for southeastern Utah, particularly in the view of natural resources held by the local population. This change in attitude can be directly related to the increased presence of federal resource conservation and protection agencies in the area during that period. Starting with the Forest Service in the early years of the century, followed by the Grazing Service, Soil Conservation Service and National Park Service, permanent federal involvement in the region became a fact of life by the 1940s. Emphasizing the increased interaction of the national government and local residents, the bureaus and administrators created as temporary measures to cure the 1930s Great Depression spent millions of dollars and man-hours in the area on a variety of public works and conservation projects. While their efforts did not cure the Great Depression they did alleviate much of the suffering. As events soon proved, the real cure came with the increased business activity resulting from the outbreak of World War II in Europe in September, 1939.

Endnotes -- Chapter Nine

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¹³Mather Correspondence File, Arches National Park; and Hoffman, Arches, pp. 62-63.

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¹⁹Elmo R. Richardson, "Federal Park Policy in Utah: The Escalante National Monument Controversy, 1935-1940," Utah Historical Quarterly 33 (Spring 1965), pp. 109-133.

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CHAPTER TEN

WORLD WAR II AND AFTER

America's struggle with the Great Depression during the 1930s caused the nation's leaders and people to concentrate their attentions on internal problems. While they were aware of growing international tensions few believed that the problems in Europe or the Far East would lead to global conflict. But, by the end of 1941 that was the situation as Hitler's armies controlled most of Europe and the Japanese fleet prepared for war with American, British, Dutch and Australian power. America had been preparing for war since 1940, but only with halting steps until after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. From that point until victory was achieved in 1945, the United States concentrated its agricultural and industrial might on winning the war and smashing the Axis Powers. Almost overnight the Great Depression vanished for southeastern Utah in hundreds of orders for every commodity from beef and wool to uranium and vanadium.

The war's impact on southeastern Utah, while negative for the casualties and disruption of lives, nevertheless proved to be positive not only during but after the war as well. The ranches and towns of the area noticed almost immediately the higher market prices for meat, wool, and animal by-products. Ranchers who had hung on through the desperate days of the Great Depression suddenly found they had extra money that went to paying

back loans and into the hands of merchants for supplies, and for some minimal luxury goods that were not rationed. The initial boom slowed somewhat by late 1942 and into 1943 as scarcities of some goods appeared and manpower became more critical as many left the area either to serve in the armed forces or take jobs at defense plants. In spite, or maybe because of those problems, local residents reacted positively to the calls for sacrifice on the home front. In Moab and elsewhere tin and scrap metal drives took place and everyone who could bought war bonds or savings stamps to help the cause. Red Cross and other service groups organized bandage rolling bees, ladies collected relief donations, and the entire region did what it could to help speed the war along. Prisoners of War (POW) were detained in San Juan County, and put to work where needed. Also, to help with the manpower problems many federal employees gave up their jobs and joined the armed services. By 1944 this process had continued to the point that the Forest Service decided to consolidate La Sal National Forest into neighboring Manti National Forest and have but one headquarters at Price, Utah. The move found support in Moab from none less than rancher J. A. Scorup. In November of 1944, the consolidation complete, people in southeastern Utah, while pleased by the sacrifice for the war, nonetheless lobbied for a separate identity for the forests in their area. Sensitive to public feeling, the Forest Service renamed Manti National Forest to Manti-La Sal National Forest and continued to have offices in Moab.¹ The reorganization of the

forests, the metal drives, and other activities all serve as examples of the impact of the global conflict on southeastern Utah.

Another, and possibly most dramatic, impact of World War II on the region took place after the peace treaties had been signed. In August of 1945, hoping to bring the war with Japan to a quick end, the United States dropped atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Not only did this end the war but in the huge mushroom clouds over the cities Americans ushered in the age of nuclear weapons. What only a handful of people in Moab or Monticello realized at the time was that within a few years their region would be overrun by prospectors living out the modernized version of the California gold rush. This time, however, they came in the jeeps and trucks, armed with their picks, shovels, and Geiger counters. The knowledge of radioactive minerals in the area, while seen by many during the late 1940s and 1950s as news, actually had been a well known fact to local residents for generations.

The first discoveries of radioactive minerals near Moab happened not far to the east of the La Sal Mountains in the Paradox and Sinbad Valleys of southwestern Colorado. Miners there, prospecting for gold and silver, found carnotite ore (uranium bearing rocks). During 1898 gold seekers in the La Sal Mountains found the same geologic formations and ores. Farther south, in San Juan County, Utah, John Wetherhill found uranium ore in his Blue Lizzard Mine, which he viewed as more of

a nuisance than benefit. As a result his mine remained undeveloped for forty-five years. Wetherhill's experience proved to be rather typical even though from 1898 until 1906 there was a small carnotite boom on the Colorado Plateau. This boom resulted from discoveries of radium X-rays and their uses by Marie Eve Curie and the development of new steel alloys that needed vanadium, another mineral found in carnotite ore, as a hardening agent.²

Those new discoveries suddenly created a commercial value for the carnotite, a necessary prerequisite for its extensive development. With this first boom came not only further prospecting, but also the emergence of mining companies. From 1898 through about 1910 the activity continued with new finds being made from near Moab south into San Juan County, Utah, and east into southwestern Colorado. In 1905 the United States Geologic Survey somewhat officialized the carnotite excitement when they sent field surveyors to Moab to search the surrounding country for likely looking rock outcroppings. Apparently encouraged by the Geological Survey findings Albert M. Rogers opened his Blue Goose mine in 1908, near Moab. In 1913, the Vanadium Ores Mining Company purchased mines at Sayers, on La Sal Creek, that held large ore deposits discovered thirteen years earlier. Standard Chemical Company, based farther south, became the other large producer of radioactive materials by that point in time. The Standard company refined the tons of ore to produce radium, which it then sold in Europe for \$120,000.00 per gram. With the

emergence of these large companies, southeastern Utah's first radioactive mineral boom passed as mining became a capital intensive business not the undertaking of a single prospector.³

Even though the discovery boom had passed, mining continued in the region. The economic impacts of the mining industry benefitted the area as the mineral companies maintained the largest payrolls in the region. The level of activity continued through the late 1910s due to the demands for hardened steel brought on by World War I. Even after the war ended and the fighting nations deactivated their large military establishments, southeastern Utah and southwestern Colorado producers continued to prosper, because of scientific research and medical demands for carnotite.⁴ This prosperity, however, ended nearly as quickly as it had begun. 1922 discoveries of radioactive pitchblende in the Belgian Congo and commercial development of those mines by 1923 saturated the world market and all but destroyed the industry in southeastern Utah. Within a few years nearly all the mills and mines had closed. By the late 1920s Union Carbide, through its subsidiary Vanadium Corporation of America, attempted to gain a monopoly of the carnotite business, or what remained of it. Their efforts led to a number of anti-trust suits that, combined with the Great Depression, ended carnotite production on the Colorado Plateau.⁵

The market began to rebound by the late 1930s and that, followed by the outbreak of World War II and new demands for

vanadium in military production, led to revitalization of the industry, but by corporations, not individual prospectors. The federally funded Metals Reserve Company let contracts to supply vast quantities of vanadium to it for distribution to manufacturers. That company's purchases continued until February, 1944. Thus, this second boom lasted almost until the end of the war in 1945.⁶

As mentioned earlier, the end of the war led to the re-evaluation of radioactivity and the potential of nuclear power. At first the United States' leaders, while appreciating the magnitude of the power they had unleashed, remained unsure of what to do about it. Through 1946 and 1947 the federal government attempted to devise methods to control the spread of nuclear power and for reasons of peace-keeping, protect the nation's nuclear monopoly through the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). By the later year, as international tensions grew between the United States and the Soviet Union, the government moved to speed up the production of nuclear weapons and to do so the AEC felt it necessary to stimulate production of uranium. Part of their effort included building uranium refining mills at Grand Junction, Colorado, and closer to the study area, at Monticello, Utah.

Another program to encourage uranium mining and the search for new deposits sponsored by the AEC included monetary incentives for both discoveries and ore delivered to the AEC mills. In themselves these federal payments stimulated the mineral

industry of southeastern Utah, but, it was not enough to cause a rush of prospectors. Rather, the massive influx of people combing the slick rock and canyons came only after a few lucky individuals found new claims and appeared to be well on their way toward millionaire status.⁷

Pratt Seegmiller, a part time prospector, in 1947 stumbled onto a huge deposit of uranium. His success encouraged others familiar with the Colorado Plateau region to try their hand at uranium hunting. Paddy Martinez, Joy Sinyella, and Vernon Pick found they had the same luck as Seegmiller and these combined success stories were enough to excite the popular imagination and cause a prospecting boom. Those early millionaires led thousands to the southeastern Utah-southwestern Colorado region. For example, through the end of 1947 only ninety-four uranium/carnotite claims had been recorded in San Juan County, Utah. The following year 292 prospectors filed the necessary papers with the San Juan County Clerk. From there the total continued to grow. By 1950 the U.S. Uranium Mining Company announced plans to build a concentrator mill at Moab and the next year the AEC raised the stakes by guaranteeing a minimum price of \$3.50 per pound (\$7,000 per ton) for 20% uranium content and \$.31 per pound for vanadium. This was accompanied a few months later in June, 1951, by another AEC announcement of a newer, larger discovery bonus system. Timed as if to allay any lingering public doubts about the fortunes to be made from uranium, in that year nearly destitute, unemployed petroleum geologist Charles Steen dis-

covered his Mi Vida mine. By September of 1953 Steen had taken out more than a million pounds of rich uranium ore, making him another of the lucky few to strike it rich in the 1950s U-boom. Headquartered in Moab, Steen became the example of every uranium prospectors' dream, striking it rich and building a mansion fit for a king.⁸

Representative of the boom caused by the AEC's bonuses and people like Steen's successes, in Grand County, Utah, during 1953, 14,232 uranium claims were filed. As large as that number might seem the total continued to grow as 15,305 new claims signified burgeoning mining activity in 1954. The boom, by then proceeding at full speed, included tens of thousands of people who for one reason or another felt they too would be lucky. For those who did not take to the field Geiger counter in hand, other opportunities presented themselves to participate in what was being called the greatest metal hunt of all time. Entrepreneurs, quick to recognize the potential offered by the "U-boom," organized companies and sold shares on many penny stock markets. As the investment mania spread, thousands of Americans who had read about the happenings in Moab, Monticello, or Grand Junction in Life Magazine or Readers Digest, found they could, if the stock brokers were right, cash in on the boom. As a result thousands of dollars poured in, frequently directly into the pockets of the promoters. Caught up in the excitement of the moment, few questions were asked and even fewer answers offered. When the boom went bust, however, these same people found their

savings gone and their stock certificates worth more as collector's items than investments. By 1958 the AEC had already stockpiled more than enough uranium for defense needs and most peacetime applications as well. That year, just as the commission had helped cause the boom, it also showed that it could end it, which they did when the AEC announced the end of discovery and development bonuses and new, restricted, purchasing policies. Under the revised rules only the large corporations with well developed mines stayed in production to meet the lower peacetime demands. Even that type of work slowed until a slight resurgence from 1968 through 1979, as peaceful uses for atomic energy expanded until the mishap at Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island nuclear plant during the later year.⁹

The 1950s "U-boom," while exciting to the imagination, also led to some very real problems and changes for the previously rather sleepy corner of Utah. Beyond the obvious tensions to the local social fabric caused by population increases measured in the thousands, such as inadequate schools, housing or law enforcement, other problems plagued town, city, and county governments. While many of the impacts appeared negative there was a counter-bearing positive side -- money. The prospectors, with their needs for shelter, companionship, and food stimulated local businesses, some less welcome than others. The rapid increase in taxable property added great sums to county treasuries; for example San Juan County, Utah, at the end of World War II the poorest county in the state, became the second

wealthiest during the boom. State and national governments pumped dollars in for road and bridge improvements and other similar projects. The AEC and mining companies also built roads or bulldozed and improved old stock trails into roads such as a one-lane road from the Shafer Trail to the mines near the confluence of the Colorado and Green Rivers, or the famous 4-wheel drive road, the White Rim Trail, in modern Canyonlands National Park. Finally, the "U-boom" led to much exploration and mapping of previously ignored parts of the region.¹⁰

The other force that fueled the post-World War II boom in southeastern Utah had a history much like that of uranium and it was related in other ways as well. Oil and natural gas development reached previously unimagined levels in the area after the global conflict as new technology allowing much deeper drilling became available. Like radioactive materials, the demand for petroleum leaped to new, higher levels as uses from fueling automobiles to plastics grew during the late 1940s and 1950s. However, by the time of the mid-twentieth century boom the industry already had a nearly sixty-year long history in southeastern Utah.

The late nineteenth century, the era of oil giants such as John D. Rockefeller and his Standard Oil Company, witnessed the early growth of a Western oil industry as manufacturing demands for the lubricant grew. Rockefeller's successes and the growing market encouraged dozens of people to think about the possibilities of oil being buried under layers of sandstone in south-

eastern Utah. One of these, Salt Lake City traction magnate and Utah politician, Simon Bamberger, took the first steps toward developing a Utah petroleum industry in 1891 when he financed drilling a well forty miles northwest of Moab, not far from Green River, Utah. This was the first such project attempted in Utah. The well proved to be a dry hole. As a result oil and natural gas development in southeastern Utah experienced a slow start as other wells were drilled, but not until 1910 did the first well actually produce anything more than traces of petroleum. That year drillers found natural gas in a well in the Green River desert north of the study area.¹¹

Success near Green River encouraged others to look farther south as an area for oil and natural gas wells. In August of 1920 Carter Oil Company representative Elam Emirich Jeal led a group of oilmen to Moab and from there they explored the banks of the Colorado River down to the confluence of the Colorado and Green Rivers. They found encouraging geologic formations and later that year the Big Six Oil Company found showings of oil on lands close to what became Arches National Park. From then until the 1930s oilmen continued to search the Colorado and Green Rivers. In 1924 the Cisco Gas Field north of Cisco, Utah, opened. During 1925 the Frank Shafer # 1 came in as a gusher in Shafer Basin near Cave Creek. Across the Colorado River, in Lockhart Basin, drilling also occurred. The Midwest Oil Company and Utah Southern Exploration Company financed much of this exploration. The Moab Garage Company probably prospered more

than anyone from the oil excitement by hauling supplies to the drilling sites along the rivers from Moab, as mentioned earlier. This first oil boom lasted until about 1927 when exploration ceased because, even though the wells produced oil, the volume of their flow was not great enough to offset the expenses of transportation and difficulties of production. The final blow came with the Great Depression.

Venture capital for oil exploration all but disappeared as even the major oil companies found it was all they could do to avoid bankruptcy.¹²

Like the "U-boom," another oil and natural gas boom took place after the end of World War II. New drilling technology allowing much deeper wells became available and it was applied to eastern Utah during the late 1940s. The first successful deep wells in the state came in before the end of that decade north of the study area in the Uinta Basin around Vernal, Utah.¹³ From there seismic crews and drillers moved south. Not until 1957 did the first commercially viable oil field in southeastern Utah develop--the Aneth Field in San Juan County which had a number of wells producing in excess of five hundred barrels a day. By then the scientists were combing the entire Colorado Plateau, including the future Canyonlands National Park, drilling test holes, bulldozing roads, and exploring the region. While the Canyonlands lands became off limits during the 1960s, outside its boundaries work continued. Moab entered its second post-war mineral boom, uranium the first and oil and natural gas as the

second. The activity continued throughout the 1960s and 1970s with the level of activity being directly related to the world oil supply and prices.¹⁴

One other mineral, discovered through deep drilling, also became commercially viable after World War II -- potash. While its presence had been known earlier, not until a well had been drilled to a depth of three thousand feet in 1962-1963 and commercially viable deposits were found did the industry develop through the offices of the Texas Gulf Sulphur Company. That corporation built a large mining and refining complex at the site, offering employment to many in Moab and causing the Rio Grande Railroad to finally build a branch line to Moab. During the 1970s the company substituted solution mining to reduce costs and possibly combat water in the mine, and thusly keep the plant open.¹⁵

One final local industry came closer to realizing its full potential in southeastern Utah after World War II had earlier roots, but had to wait until after the war to expand and mature. Tourism, while starting with pleasure/sight-seeing expeditions soon after the turn of the century, remained of very limited economic benefit to southeastern Utah until the 1950s because of the inaccessibility of the region. People after World War I began to appreciate the natural beauty of the area, but only the hardest travelers dared venture over the primitive roads, and being miles from the nearest railroad, few sought out the canyon country on their vacations. After World War II, as

state tourism boards, including Utah's, took aggressive roles in promoting vacations, and better highways were developed to accommodate the ever-increasing number of auto-borne vacationers did southeastern Utah become an area for tourists. The publicity of the "U-boom," proposals for new recreation areas such as Glen Canyon Dam and Lake Powell combined with other factors kept the region in front of the traveling public's eyes.

During the late 1950s, after settlement of a number of issues regarding the rights to water in the Colorado River and the Upper Basin States, the Bureau of Reclamation began work on Glen Canyon Dam to entrap Lake Powell. News of the project, completed during the early 1960s, led people in southeastern Utah to prepare for the expected flood of tourists, water sports enthusiasts, and others that would pour into the region. Their expectations proved well founded as after Lake Powell filled boaters and others began to flock to the area by the thousands. Another tourist activity, unavailable before World War II because of the lack of technology, soon grew after the war as thousands of Americans purchased surplus or new jeeps and looked to areas of rugged, isolated terrain, such as southeastern Utah to go "four-wheeling." Many of these motorized adventurers used oil and gas or uranium roads to gain access to remote areas. Consideration of the popularity of this activity weighed heavily in the planning for a new national park proposed during the late 1950s near Moab, setting aside lands for people in their jeeps to

experience not only the thrill of four-wheel driving but also beautiful scenery as well.¹⁶

Tourism, be it in a jeep, by boat, or in the family station wagon has proved to be one of the more stable post World War II industries for southeastern Utah. While vacation related businesses have experienced rises and declines, these have not been as violent as those associated with uranium mining or petroleum. Those two energy related mineral industries have both experienced booms and busts during the past forty years, none more than the U-boom of the 1950s. That boom and bust, one of the most dramatic in American history, emphasized another fact of life in the region during the twentieth century as expressed through the control AEC officials held over uranium development --the continued, increased presence of the federal government in the day-to-day life of southeastern Utah and indeed much of the West. Of the forces of the federal government in the area, some good and some bad, none has been more positive for the local economy, primarily tourism, than the National Park Service and the sweeping changes it has made since World War II.

Endnotes -- Chapter Ten

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²Faun McConkie Tanner, The Far County: A Regional History of Moab and La Sal, Utah (Salt Lake City, Olympus Publishing Co., 1976), pp. 211, hereafter cited: Tanner, Far; C. Gregory Crampton, Standing Up Country, The Canyon Lands of Utah and Arizona (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1964, reprint 1983), hereafter cited: Crampton, Standing; and Gary L. Shumway, "Uranium Mining on the Colorado Plateau," pp. 269-272, in Allan Kent Powell, ed., San Juan County, Utah, People, Resources and History (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1983), hereafter cited: Shumway, "Uranium."

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⁴Tanner, Far, p. 216; and Shumway, "Uranium," p. 270.

⁵Tanner, Far, pp. 217-219; and Shumway, "Uranium," pp. 278-279.

⁶Shumway, "Uranium," pp. 277-280.

⁷Ibid., pp. 282-284.

⁸Ibid., pp. 285-289; and Tanner, Far, pp. 214-219.

⁹Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Grand Memories (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1972), p. 91, hereafter cited: DUP, Grand; Shumway, "Uranium," pp. 289-296.

¹⁰DUP, Grand, pp. 59-61; Jay M. Haymond, "San Juan County Roads: Arteries to Natural Resources and Survival," pp. 239-241 and Gary L. Shumway, "Blanding: The Making of a Community," pp. 148-150, both in Allan Kent Powell, ed., San Juan County, Utah, People, Resources and History (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1983); and Lloyd M. Pierson, "The New Park Studies at Canyonlands National Park, 1959 and 1960, and Events Leading Up to Them," mss, p. 5, hereafter cited: Pierson, "New Park."

¹¹Tanner, Far, pp. 223-224; and C. Gregory Crampton, "Report on the History and Historic Sites of Southeastern Utah and North America," mss, 1964, p. 14.

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¹³William D. Byrd, Oil Impregnated Sandstone Deposits of Uintah and Grand Counties, Utah (Salt Lake City: Utah Geological and Mineralogical Survey, 1970), see entire volume.

¹⁴Tanner, Far, pp. 225-226; Pierson, "New Park," p. 18; and Don Kemner, "Brief History of Montezuma Creek," pp. 303-305, in Allan Kent Powell, ed, San Juan County, Utah, People, Resources and History (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1983).

¹⁵Tanner, Far, pp. 222-223.

¹⁶Pierson, "New Park," entire volume; Haymond, "Roads," p. 234.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHEASTERN UTAH'S NATIONAL PARKS AND MONUMENTS AFTER WORLD WAR II

The National Park Service fared no better than other domestic agencies during World War II as federal budget priorities emphasized wartime needs. Programs that did not contribute to victory did not do well at appropriation time. That decreased funding, while halting many of the projects aimed at developing the two national monuments, Arches and Natural Bridges, did not really interfere with visitor access. Gasoline and rubber rationing combined with other restrictions on "non-essential" travel nearly ended tourism in southeastern Utah, including the monuments. The enforced travel cutbacks and other deprivations led to a pent up desire to travel in America that burst like a dam after the war ended.

Americans, during the late 1940s after demobilization occurred, bought cars and revived the tradition of the auto-borne vacation. Spending their winters pouring over road maps, tour books, and guides to America's vacationlands, families across the nation prepared for the next great adventure. Many, intrigued by the images of the "Wild West" popularized by the new medium of television as well as the movies, the lure of southeastern Utah's scenery, and the romance of the much publicized "U-boom" spent their summers in the study area. This trend continued as the number of tourists grew during the 1950s. The swelling flood of

travelers put strains on the small, inadequate visitor facilities of many western national parks and monuments, including those in southeastern Utah. By the mid-1950s the problems attendant with the enlarging visitor numbers caused problems for the staffs of Arches National Monument and Natural Bridges National Monument and other parks.¹

Responding to public complaints, poor publicity, such as articles in the widely-read Readers Digest, and reports from the field, National Park Service Director Conrad L. Wirth began framing plans to alleviate the situation. By 1955 the National Park System had been suffering for fifteen years from the tremendous budget cuts of World War II. While other agencies recovered and even enjoyed expanded funding, the National Park Service seemed neglected by Congress after the war. By the mid-1950s, in the opinion of Wirth and others, the situation had assumed crisis proportions. The National Park Service Director and his staff identified the crux of their problem to be the lack of an on-going development program that could be assured of Congressional funding year after year. To remedy this situation, Wirth and his advisors devised a ten-year plan for system wide improvements of national parks and monuments, as well as the establishment of new parks. That effort, known as MISSION 66, named for the target completion date of 1966, sought to create completely modern parks in time to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of the National Park Service. Wirth felt confident that such an all-encompassing program would catch

the eye of Congress making the struggle for appropriations much easier. As events unfolded his optimism proved correct.²

The special task-force staff that Wirth assembled to direct MISSION 66 set about to identify the systemwide problems that could be most easily addressed. Among those, inadequate visitor facilities; substandard employee housing for park staff members; the need for more and better roads; new methods for dealing with park concessioners and a host of other problems were addressed. To accomplish its goals, the Service recognized the fact that each park had different needs based on its location, mission, and visitation. As a result the MISSION 66 committees adopted flexible national standards, such as for employee housing, that could be used throughout the system with only minor modifications. Yet the standards did leave enough room to accommodate the needs of each different park or monument. Further, these same designs could be easily extended to any new parks and monuments added to the system,³ as happened in southeastern Utah.

The impact of MISSION 66 on Natural Bridges National Monument proved to be mostly in the area of improving facilities and access. During the early years of MISSION 66 Natural Bridges administratively reported to Arches National Monument and its dynamic Superintendent, Bates Wilson. Later, after the creation of Canyonlands National Park, the Monument reported to the Superintendent of the new national park. At Natural Bridges the National Park Service built new roads and upgraded both visitor

and employee facilities. The most dramatic change came in 1962 when President John F. Kennedy, at the behest of Director Wirth, added 5,236 acres to the Monument and deleted 320 acres, for a net increase of 4,916 acres. This made the Monument its present size of 7,435 acres. President Kennedy's action redefined the Monument's boundaries to include areas of scenic value and remove some excavated Indian ruins. Finally, many years after MISSION 66 ended, another dramatic change took place at Natural Bridges-- the installation of a photo-voltaic system to generate electricity. At the time of its installation it was the largest in the world.⁴

At Arches National Monument, as with Natural Bridges, the post-war years brought yearly leaps in visitation and a number of physical changes during MISSION 66. Possibly one of the most dramatic events, however, came before Conrad Wirth created the improvement program -- the appointment in April, 1949 of Bates Wilson as custodian of the National Monument. Wilson, well liked by the people of Moab and the National Park Service, proved to be an energetic administrator who did much more than oversee Arches.⁵ In retrospect, Wilson had so many problems at Arches, it is amazing that he could find the time to work with his other responsibility -- Natural Bridges National Monument, much less take a very active role in the popularization and planning for Canyonlands National Park, but he did. As an example of the extreme conditions at Arches National Monument during the 1950s, the Monument's offices remained in the surplus Civilian Conser-

vation Corps barracks. The Monument did not have a mile of paved road within its boundaries or a jeep to get around on the primitive dirt roads. Nevertheless, visitors poured in to see the wonders of the Monument. Possibly reflective of this trend, the first recorded fatality, Frederick Semisch, died in a fall from Landscape Arch on May 29, 1950. By the end of the decade there would be others.⁶

Desperately in need of improvements as envisioned by MISSION 66, Arches received many of them. During the late 1950s work began on a new visitor center and housing for employees. If the descriptions of life for employees given by then seasonal ranger and now noted environmental author, Edward Abbey, are close to accurate, the housing in trailers would have been considered substandard for many others. Abbey writes of an insect and mouse infested trailer, with rattlesnakes underneath and a less than dependable water supply. Another topic Abbey viewed as less favorably than his housing, the improvement and paving of park roads, nevertheless happened. In 1958 the first black-topped road opened for visitors. The National Park Service followed an on-going program to upgrade Monument roads through the remainder of MISSION 66.⁷ To go along with the new roads the National Park Service acquired a surplus military jeep in 1960 for Bates Wilson to use at Arches. No longer did he depend on borrowing his son's jeep to get to the remote parts of the Monument or surrounding region.⁸ These developments, as well as construction of other

new housing, better visitor facilities and the like continued on through the years of MISSION 66.

As physical improvements took place at Arches National Monument so did others that paved the way for later congressional action elevating Arches from a National Monument to a National Park in 1971. On the advice of Director Wirth and National Park Service planners, President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed a proclamation altering Arches' boundaries in 1960. After the end of MISSION 66, in January, 1969, during the lame duck period of his administration, President Lyndon B. Johnson exercised his executive powers to expand Arches from slightly more than fifty-two square miles to one hundred and thirty square miles. Two and one half years later Johnson's successor in the White House, Richard M. Nixon, signed the bill converting Arches National Monument to Arches National Park. This new addition to the circle of National Parks included the present one hundred and fourteen square miles.⁹ The 1971 legislation made Arches the second National Park in the Moab area.

The first national park to be created near Moab, Canyonlands National Park, developed at the time of Director Wirth's MISSION 66. More directly, in fiscal year 1957 Superintendents had been encouraged to suggest areas for new park studies slated to begin in 1958. Not one to pass up such an opportunity, Arches' Bates Wilson immediately recommended that the canyon country at Needles and around the confluence of the Colorado and Green Rivers be examined.¹⁰ Actually, that date is somewhat deceiving because by

then Wilson and the National Park Service had long been involved in popularizing the area as a center for outdoor recreation. During World War II the National Park Service had done recreation studies of the Colorado and Green Rivers for the Bureau of Reclamation. As part of their conclusions, National Park Service planners identified the confluence region as one of high potential for what they designated as Grand View National Park. This view reflected earlier interest in the creation of Escalante National Monument. Also, directly related to the Bureau of Reclamation and its interest in water development, storage, and recreation, the Reclamation planners continued with their efforts for Glen Canyon Dam and Lake Powell. By the 1950s, as work on the new reservoir proceeded, Moabites, Bluffites, and others became more and more enthralled with the possibility of tourism as an industry. At the same time the National Park Service continued to think about a national recreation area or park near the confluence, as did the state of Utah. It was in this fertile ground that Wilson began to plant his seeds for Canyonlands National Park.¹¹

Wilson, while fulfilling his responsibilities at Arches National Monument, found many excuses to travel the Needles and Island in the Sky areas of what became Canyonlands National Park. He started writing articles for travel magazines about the lands and also made himself available to lead trips into the area. Among others, Wilson helped noted archeologists Jesse D. Jennings and Jack Rudy, who undertook what proved to be the

beginnings of modern, intensive, on-going studies of Canyonland's prehistoric residents. As fame of the area spread during the late 1950s more and more local residents, such as the Moab Rotarians, not only came to support a new park but also worked at facilitating tourist travel in the area. Cooperating with the staff of Arches National Monument, the Rotarians undertook a signing program to direct travelers to points of interest. In 1959 Utah Parks Department officials recognized the value of the region when, with the help from the National Park Service, they established Dead Horse Point State Park.¹²

While the State officials and others moved ahead developing tourist recreation facilities, the Park Service began more intensive studies of Wilson's suggested Canyonlands National Park. In 1958 and 1959 planners from the Regional Office visited the area to see the wonders so frequently talked about. They began to think of a Needles National Recreation Area, primarily for jeepers and hikers. Later, this idea expanded to include other areas as the preservation and recreational values became more obvious in the Maze and Island in the Sky districts. While planners found that a new park that encompassed all those lands would impact uranium mining and grazing, they felt the benefits of a new park would offset the losses. Nearly all the lands for the new park would come from the Bureau of Land Management. A phased program to eliminate grazing by the early 1980s was framed to alleviate that impact on local stockmen. As it worked out the last leases expired during the mid-1970s. As for lost revenue

from uranium development, planners pointed out that the industry was depressed and the expected two million dollars generated annually from new tourism would more than offset the local loss of mining revenues.¹³

As the studies were completed and President Kennedy's administration took control of affairs in Washington, his new Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall, pushed the National Park Service and Congress to end the debates and delays, some caused by Utah politicians who feared loss of grazing and mining revenues, on the proposal for Canyonlands National Park. The administration sought quick approval. After his visit to the area in June of 1961, Udall returned to Washington and began a fervent campaign for the new park. Acquiescence and marginal support from the Moab area and the State of Utah, combined with urgings of Udall, eventually led to Congressional action and on September 12, 1964, President Johnson signed the bill that established the 330,212-acre Canyonlands National Park. Seven years later Congress revised the Park's boundaries to include 337,258 acres. The result, at least in the eyes of some local residents, of Canyonlands National Park, has been to give their economy a boost and increased the tourist industry in Moab, outfitting point for most part visitors and the site of the Park's headquarters.¹⁴

Once Canyonlands had been established it became the lead park of the three, Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges.

Nevertheless, all three continued to develop while serving the needs of the ever increasing number of visitors even after the end of the exciting period of MISSION 66. During the mid-1960s, as a nation-wide environmental protection movement gained momentum, some visitors and others complained of "over-development" brought on by MISSION 66. As these outcries increased National Park Service authorities turned to preservation as a philosophy rather than development. Canyonlands, caught in this philosophical transition in its infancy, did not evolve as originally anticipated, nor does it have any features that could be considered representative of the MISSION 66 phase of National Park Service history. Throughout the 1970s, despite the oil embargo and energy crisis, visitation at the parks remained strong, although not as heavy as forecast in the park proposals. Americans, continuing their love affairs with the automobile and the scenic wonders of the West sought out southeastern Utah as a vacationland. By the end of the 1970s and into the 1980s a new problem for the parks appeared in the form of reduced federal budgets that until now have not greatly impacted Arches, Canyonlands, and Natural Bridges. Awaiting the final results of those congressional efforts to balance the federal budget, the staffs of Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges look to their own future with an on-going dedication to service for visitors, their respective specialties, and the parks.

Endnotes -- Chapter Eleven

¹Conrad L. Wirth, Parks, Politics and the People (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), pp. 240-244.

²Ibid., pp. 237-255.

³Ibid., pp. 268-270.

⁴Lloyd M. Pierson, "New Park Studies at Canyonlands National Park, 1959 and 1960, and Events Leading Up to Them," mss, p. 20, hereafter cited: Pierson, "New Park.": Presidential Proclamation 3486; and No Author. Cultural Resources Management Plan, Natural Bridges National Monument, draft, October 1983.

⁵Pierson, "New Park," pp. 7-8.

⁶Ibid., pp. 10, 17-20; and John F. Hoffman, Arches National Park: An Illustrated Guide & History (San Diego, CA: Western Recreation Publications, 1981), p. 86, hereafter cited: Hoffman, Arches.

⁷See: Edward Abbey, Desert Solitaire: A Season in the Wilderness (New York: McGraw Hill Publishers, 1968); and Hoffman, Arches, p. 71.

⁸Pierson, "New Park," pp. 17, 20.

⁹Hoffman, Arches, p. 63.

¹⁰Pierson, "New Park," p. 11.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 3, 6-10, 35-36.

¹²Ibid., pp. 8-10, 17, 32.

¹³Ibid., pp. 30-34.

¹⁴Pierson, "New Park." pp. 18-20, 45-46; and 78 STAT 934, 12 September 1964; and 85 STAT 421, 12 November 1971; and Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Grand Memories (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Co., 1972), p. 71.

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this study two theses have been developed that give a cohesiveness to the otherwise widely disparate events of southeastern Utah's past. The first is that the natural isolation and rugged terrain of the region meant that it was one of the last areas in Utah to be settled and developed. Moreover the people there tended to be much more susceptible to outside influences, such as from the neighboring Colorado mining towns of the late nineteenth century. The second thesis applicable to the study area is that through much of its Euro-American history regional economic activity tended to be dominated by one industry or another and any changes in that industry, be it cattle raising or uranium mining, could and frequently did have dramatic local consequences. This led to a boom and bust cycle experience in local history. Often times the boom and bust went hand in hand with the control outside events played in regional affairs, such as a glut on the Chicago beef market or during the 1950s when the Atomic Energy Commission first causing and then ending the uranium boom. These two theses, trends or characteristics, by whatever label, run through all the themes identified in this study.

For the Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges area ten themes were identified through the research and writing done in this study. Those themes include: 1) Early Exploration and the Fur Trade; 2) the Early Settlement of Utah and the Mormon

Frontier; 3) the Cattle Frontier and the Early Settlement of Southeastern Utah; 4) the Outlaws of the Region; 5) Early Mining, Oil Exploration, and Lumbering in Southeastern Utah; 6) the Development of Transportation and Southeastern Utah's Isolation; 7) Livestock Raising and Settlement After 1900; 8) the Conservation Movement and the Growth of Federal Influence in Southeastern Utah; 9) World War II and After; 10) the Development of the Region's National Parks and Monuments: World War II and After. The lists of resources presently associated with the individual themes represent only preliminary evaluations that will no doubt change after the field survey has been completed.

The first theme, exploration and the fur trade spans more than two centuries, from the mid-eighteenth century Spanish expeditions to the area through the work of the United States Geological Survey during the 1950s looking for uranium. The theme encompasses explorations of two distinct types. First, those performed from the 1700s through the Civil War tended to focus on locating travel routes to and across the region. The second phase, starting after the Civil War (1865) deemphasized finding routes. Instead the later explorations focused on accurate mapping of the area and the evaluation of the quantities and types of natural resources available to support development. The one exception was the railroad survey of 1889. Those post-Civil War expeditions collectively added hundred of volumes of information to the growing pool of knowledge about southeastern Utah.

Only a limited number of resources associated with this theme have survived, primarily because the explorer and mountain man activities tended to be transient in nature. The bulk of the resources are inscriptions, from those left by fur trader Denis Julien to those left by Denver, Colorado Canyon and Pacific surveyors or the Kolb Brothers. A portion of the Old Spanish Trail, or at least a variation of it, may be near the Arches visitor center.

The second theme, the settlement of Utah and the Mormon frontier lasted from the 1820s through the 1880s. The early date for beginning this theme was chosen because an understanding of the Mormon experience before their migration to Utah in 1847 is necessary to understand the roots of the characteristics typical of Mormon settlement in Utah. For southeastern Utah the Mormon experience can be divided into two distinct periods, divided by the Civil War much as exploration was.

Since the only typical Mormon settlements close to the parks were located at Indian Creek, Monticello and Blanding, there are presently no resources clearly identifiable to this theme, even though many ranchers, such as the Scorup Brothers, were members of the Mormon church, so resources associated with them are at least secondarily associated with Mormon settlement.

The third theme, the cattle frontier and early settlement, is one of the most important for the study area's history. Despite all the explorations or church-sponsored attempts at settlement no group more than the cattlemen were responsible for

the tone of late nineteenth century development in southeastern Utah. From the 1870s through the early decades of the twentieth century, stock raisers struggled with the natural environment as well as wildly fluctuating markets to make a living.

At the same time as the companies of the 1880s developed, the Mormon Church again sent colonies of farmers into the region to settle. But within a few years these agriculturalists all but gave up the plow for the branding iron. With the arrival of the Mormons the circle of outside influences that so dominated the region's early history was completed. The influence, however, that stands out most in the minds of modern local residents was that of the Texas cowboy. Hundreds of these cowpokes came to the area with the large cattle companies. As outsiders who shared almost none of the same values as the Mormon population, the cowboys became the scapegoats for a variety of local social problems from drunkenness to murder. The other impact of the cattle frontier on the region was to force solutions to the long-pending Indian questions, sometimes through violence, other times through negotiation.

Presently, there are dozens of known resources associated with ranching within all three of the parks. These range in variety from ranch complexes like the Wolfe Ranch, to caves used as shelter, to fences, stock trails, and stock ponds. Few of these, however, have been adequately examined to be accurately dated. Further, many of these resources may have first been used

before 1900 but were reused and modified by later generations making accurate dating a problem.

The next theme, the outlaw period, is closely associated historically with the cattle frontier. Spanning approximately twenty years from the 1880s through the early years of the twentieth century, this phase of local history is very colorful even though it is of minimal significance in the area's overall history.

The major resource association the study area has with the outlaw period comes from its proximity to Robbers Roost, a well known locale used as a hideout by malefactors traveling the Outlaw Trail to escape capture. Many of the criminals of the era passed through the study area on their way to Robbers Roost and no doubt a number of them took advantage of the hundreds of canyons and caves for shelter in the parks during their get-aways. Only one resource, presently known, may have an association with this theme; a nearly undeveloped river crossing near Cataract Canyon.

Coincidental with the outlaw period, the early phase of mining and lumbering development occurred in southeastern Utah. This constituted another, albeit minor, theme in the region's history. The early mining history of the region typifies the impacts of outside influences--namely the Colorado-San Juan mining boom, on the region. Prospectors drawn to that area searched southeastern Utah looking for the "mother lode." Also, the mining camps of Colorado offered markets for the beef and

other products of the study area. Lumbering, on the other hand, remained a strictly localized industry to provide building materials and some fuel for nearby residents until coal from mines elsewhere in Utah and the railroad made a different type of fuel available. Presently, there are no resources identified with this theme within the parks. This may not change after the field survey given the overall lack of mining activity in Canyonlands, Natural Bridges, and Arches during this early period.

Transportation development in southeastern Utah, whether it be the railroad, hauling coal or the modern super highways, constitutes the next, very important theme for regional history. As with much of the West the availability of or lack of transportation dictated many of the developments that occurred in the study area. The isolation, measured by standards of miles or days of travel from other areas to southeastern Utah, acted to discourage settlement just as did the lack of great areas of arable land and water. Starting with the Old Spanish Trail during the early 1800s through the next eighty years the study area remained, to borrow a cliché, off the beaten path. By the later date, before the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad built its line north of the study area, some roads and trails had been built but once the railroad became available much travel was reoriented north and south from the rails at Thompson's Springs. After the turn of the century this trend continued with the construction of automobile highways as exemplified by the route

of Interstate 70. Even the great rivers, frequently seen as avenues of commerce for other areas, proved to be nothing more than impediments to travel. They could not be successfully navigated by boats capable of carrying goods and people and their steep canyon walls and limited number of fords further limited the choices of routes for local road builders.

The dozens of resources associated with this theme run the gamut from improved roads and stock trails to dugways to a reported segment of the Old Spanish Trail. Transportation related resources can be found in all three parks. On the Green and Colorado Rivers in Canyonlands National Park there are some inscriptions from river runners from 1891 to the present and a boat mooring.

The next theme, livestock raising after 1900, tends to be nearly all inclusive of the study area's history from 1900 through the end of World War II. During this period ranching went through a second evolution as the era started with a number of small ranches scattered throughout the study area, some of which remained small, while others were consolidated into larger holdings. From 1900 through 1945 livestock raising dominated the economic life of the region.

Dozens of resources associated with this theme from the Wolfe Ranch to fence lines and sheep herder inscriptions and broken down corrals exist. These resources can be found in or near all three parks. Also, any remains of post-1900 dryland homesteads found in the area may be associated with this theme.

Of particular importance are any associated with the Scorup operations at Natural Bridges and Canyonlands.

The federal government and the growth of the conservation movement is the other prominent theme in the twentieth century history of southeastern Utah, as indeed it is for much of the state and the West. The creation of federal timber reserves (National Forests), federal development of water and the preservation of America's scenic, scientific, and cultural heritage through the National Park Service all represent this theme. In southeastern Utah development of this theme became apparent only after the turn of the century. But from Theodore Roosevelt's administration through World War II and beyond, the federal government's role in the region has grown. The Great Depression of the 1930s solidified this relationship.

The few resources present from this theme range from the remains of the Zeke Johnson era at Natural Bridges to the stone arch bridge and custodian's house at Arches built by the Civilian Conservation Corps. Presently, no resources from this theme have been identified in Canyonlands National Park.

The next theme, southeastern Utah's history since World War II, tends to be a continuation of certain earlier trends, such as the importance of grazing or the local relationship with the federal government, as well as the addition of new factors. The most dramatic developments of the postwar period have been the growth of the energy industry, first uranium mining and second, oil and natural gas well drilling, and the development of a

tourist industry based on the outdoor recreation opportunities offered by southeastern Utah. The federal government played an active role in stimulating and controlling those new industries.

The most visible and widely noted resources associated with this theme are the numerous uranium prospect holes and oil well drill holes and equipment in Canyonlands and Arches. Also, ancillary to the mines and wells are the roads built to those sites. In some cases these later developments were rebuilding and modification of roads and trails built earlier for livestock operations.

Of the federal agencies active in the region after World War II none has had a more constant stabilizing influence than the National Park Service and its work to develop recreation-tourist facilities. Before World War II both Arches and Natural Bridges National Monuments existed, but their use by visitors remained small because of access and facility limitations. Under the leadership of Conrad Wirth, however, the National Park Service undertook a massive program, known as MISSION 66, to upgrade and expand America's national parks and monuments. In the study area this led to vast improvements in roads, campgrounds, and other facilities at Arches and Natural Bridges. More dramatic than all those MISSION 66 changes was the establishment of Canyonlands National Park during the period, in 1964, which assured preservation of the natural beauty of the confluence area of the Colorado and Green Rivers. Later, after the end of MISSION 66, Arches National Monument became Arches National Park and along with

Canyonlands and Natural Bridges the three became cornerstones of southeastern Utah's modern tourist industry.

Resources associated with this park development theme include Canyonlands National Park, but more specifically the visitor facilities in Arches and Natural Bridges and many of the paved roads in those two areas can be directly associated to the MISSION 66 era of National Park Service history.

At the present time the major problem with the knowledge of historic resources at Canyonlands National Park, Arches National Park, and Natural Bridges National Monument is the vast differences in the level of knowledge about specific resources. A few of the sites, such as Wolfe Ranch at Arches National Park, or the cowboy cave at Canyonlands, are very well documented, while the majority are at or barely above the identification level, such as the dozens of fences and corrals at Canyonlands. This can be traced to two factors. First, things associated with the Scorup cattle operations are well known because of local interest in J. A. Scorup. Second, National Park Service staff members have accumulated vast amounts of information on some resources, particularly Wolfe Ranch for interpretive purposes. As a result certain sites have much data but most have little or no information available about them. While this is to be expected, it does present problems for management of the resources as well as for the parks in general. Until this situation is corrected it will remain difficult to evaluate all the resources at the parks.

The second factor that impacts the level of resource knowledge is the accuracy of some of the information, or even the lack of information, available about the study area's and parks' local history discussed in the introduction.

At present the level of resources knowledge for most of the historic resources within the parks is at a level too low to make adequate professional evaluations of the resources vis a vis the criteria for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places (36 CFR 60.4). This situation is likely to change in the near future as this study is completed and the contextual and evaluational information it contains is combined with the results of the field survey. At that point both the significance and integrity of the historic resources of Arches National Park, Canyonlands National Park, and Natural Bridges National Monument can be evaluated, as defined by National Park Service Guideline 28 and the National Register of Historic Places criteria.

The present status of historic resources inventory, study and evaluation at the parks has been without a focus to the extent that the goal of a historic resources study should be the evaluation and subsequent nomination of worthy properties to the National Register of Historic Places. Secondary to that is the development of interpretive data, such as signs or information for use by National Park Service personnel when dealing with the public. Previous work at the parks has focused on the collection of data, apparently for interpretive purposes more than cultural resources management, and has not been carried out in a syste-

matic manner. As a result the body of knowledge contains much information, but lacks three major elements. The first is an overall synthesis of the area's history and the history of the parks. The second, closely associated with the first, is the lack of a regional historic context for the parks. The third is a general underestimation of the value of resources in the parks that reflect federal involvement, particularly the National Park Service, in the region's development during the twentieth century.

The first deficiency, an overall synthesis of the parks' history, will be corrected when this study is completed, at least to the present time. History, however, is a dynamic discipline and as new information becomes available the synthesis will need to be updated. The areas of concern most likely to witness significant new studies in the foreseeable future are the entire question of twentieth century Western history, as defined as the post-frontier period, the Great Depression, and New Deal in the region. The other area of concern will be conservation and natural resource planning after the efforts of the early twentieth century. The findings of such studies will have to be incorporated into a future synthesis of Canyonlands National Park's, Arches National Park's, and Natural Bridges National Monument's history.

The second deficiency that will be corrected by this study and incorporation of information from various early and presently on-going archeological survey reports will be the development of

thematic historic contexts applicable to the parks and their representative historic resources, but that are associated with regional events. Thusly, the broad patterns of history for the area will be identified, and resources associated to them, fulfilling that portion of the National Register of Historic Places criteria enunciated in 36CFR60.4. As a result, the themes will facilitate study and evaluation of historic resources. Until the contexts are established the evaluation of most of the historic resources of the parks can not be done adequately because their status as unique or representative examples of one or more themes(broad patterns) will not be readily or easily documented. At present, the study and evaluation seems to be taking place in a partial vacuum, relying on associations with significant persons or events rather than patterns. Assuming that a thematic association implies some type of significance, then each resource either associated or not with a significant person or event, but associated with a theme, can be evaluated on its own merits of integrity, architectural qualities, or informational potential as outlined in 36CFR60.4, as would the other resources only associated with significant persons or events.

The third inventory deficiency is the underestimation of the importance of National Park Service and other federal resources as potentially valuable historic resources. This is partially rooted in the lack of an overall regional context and also in the fact that many of the resources are used on a day-to-day basis. Frequently, as the old saying goes, famili-

arity breeds contempt, or at least a certain "taken for granted" attitude. Finally, the National Register of Historic Places criteria of a resource generally needing to be more than fifty years old has led to a slighting of modern resources. Of particular interest to Arches and Natural Bridges and the role of the federal government are those resources that can be associated with the Great Depression that have or soon will cross the fifty-year old threshold. Undoubtedly, as more historic research is done on the twentieth century West the appreciation, study, and evaluation of these resources will increase. Recognizing that this is likely to happen, any historic preservation plan developed for parks should include those resources or at least provisions for consideration of them in the future.

The final deficiency that needs to be addressed is the treatment of historic resources. Once the evaluation process is completed and the worthy properties have been identified, a cultural resources management plan can be developed that will outline the proper treatment measures, such as reconstruction, rehabilitation, excavation, stabilization, signing, and interpretive programs suitable for the individual resources. At present, the cultural resources management plans do not adequately address these concerns nor does the present level of effort meet legislative criteria for treatment should a number of sites be included in the National Register of Historic Places, primarily because to date there has been no systematic inventory and evaluation as will take place under Option A of this con-

tract. This area should be considered as part of overall development plans for the parks and very well may be impacted by considerations such as a changes in budgetary restrictions for both development and protection of cultural properties, and other resource values that might be negatively impacted by extensive historic resource development. Once the present historic resource study is completed a more comprehensive cultural resources management plan can be framed.

Within the parks there are two types of historic values that are not represented by extant resources, at least if defined in the traditional sense of a structure, building, or architectural/engineering feature. Some may be represented by sites and others not. The two categories are:

- 1) values representing momentary or transitory activities, and
- 2) locations that once were the site of an historic resource but that have had the resource razed or destroyed.

Within the first category there are a number of values present that can be associated with the themes and subthemes of local history. Foremost are those values associated with the exploration and fur trade and resource development, including the Green and Colorado Rivers. Most obvious are the locations like Cataract Canyon, named by John Wesley Powell on his expeditions through the area. In addition to the Powell trips those of the Denver, Colorado Canyon & Pacific Railroad Survey, the Kolb Brothers, and other, lesser known, explorers or earlier fur traders that passed through the area are associated with the

rivers. This important association continued on into the twentieth century with the United States Geological Survey's work on water and mineral resource development along the rivers. As a result of these associations both the Colorado and Green Rivers are extremely important to the area's history and thusly have high historic value even though they are not historic resources in the traditional sense.

Other historic values of lesser importance in the transitory category include the places used for grazing, as driveways for herds of cattle or sheep, sites where violent acts occurred, either in the conflicts with outlaws or others, and the temporary campsites of Euro-Americans in the area since the early 1800s or placer mining prospecting locations. By and large the historic value of those locations is less than the ones mentioned above because of three factors: 1) other, more complete and informative resources representing the same theme are extant elsewhere in the parks or region, 2) the event that took place at a site was either so common, making camp during a hunting trip for example, and/or hard to pinpoint as to make the cost of a search for the location unjustifiable when compared to the historic or informational value of it, and 3) the importance of the value is negligible when placed in the proper historic context.

The second type of value not represented or no longer represented by a historic resource is that of the once but no longer present category. Within this category there are two sub-classifications for addressing these values: 1) those associated with

the early settlement or development of the region, and 2) those associated with the early development of the parks. Presently, there is no way to estimate the number of resources that once may have existed that were associated with the area's early settlement and the development of the cattle industry. In many accounts there are references to we used this trail and then re-built it or moved our operations somewhere else. Presumably those earlier trails were either abandoned, or through later development, such as bulldozing, adapted to another use. Whatever became of them, the resource was lost, but the value remained. These generally are of comparatively little value because there are still resources extant in the area representative of the same settlement and development themes.

The other values that are present at Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges but not represented by as many resources as were at one time extant are those associated with the development of the parks. By the very nature of the park operation and later improvements made for the present visitor facilities, sites associated with the initial development and Great Depression era were lost, particularly many of the early buildings, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps barracks converted to a visitor center at Arches.

While a number of historic values are present in Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges that are not or no longer represented by historic resources, their relative value is low because of their nature, contextural associations, or the fact

that other resources representing the same theme(s) are extant in the parks. The major exception to this is the values represented by the Colorado and Green Rivers, primarily because of the numerous expeditions that followed and explored the rivers, including Powell and others. In consideration of future developments of and along the river these values should be taken into consideration.

The documentation generated by this historic resources study, aside from the formal reports, LCS and survey forms, and eventual nomination papers, should be filed at the park headquarters library in Moab with the other historic and cultural resources information in appropriate files. Copies of the reports, pertinent LCS forms and National Register forms should also be kept at the Arches and Natural Bridges visitor centers. Copies of the LCS forms, final report and National Register of Historic Places nomination forms should also be maintained at the Rocky Mountain Regional Office with their Canyonlands, Arches, and Natural Bridges files.

Western Historical Studies will also maintain archival copies of the final reports, forms, and nomination papers as well as a copy of the computer diskettes of the reports. A duplicate copy of the computer diskettes will be turned over to the Rocky Mountain Regional Office for their use or transmission to the parks. Also, the National Park Service should make copies of the final report and LCS forms available to the Utah State Historic

Preservation Officer(SHPO), if the SHPO so desires and the National Park Service concurs.