

From Controversy to Compromise to Cooperation: The Administrative History of Canyonlands National Park

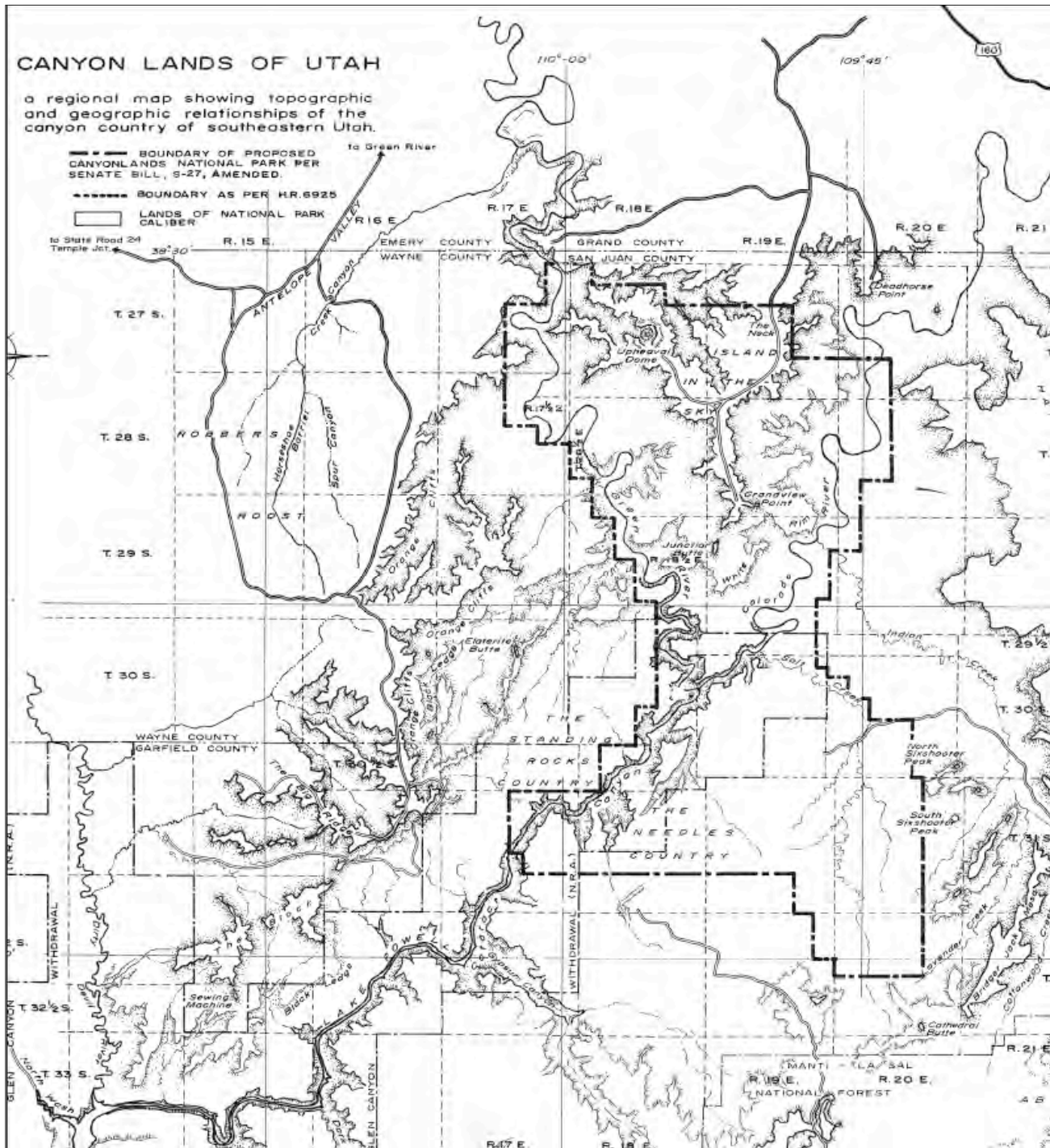
Samuel J. Schmieding, Ph.D



***From Controversy to
Compromise to Cooperation***

a regional map showing topographic and geographic relationships of the canyon country of southeastern Utah.

***** BOUNDARY AS PER H.R.6925

☐ LANDS OF NATIONAL PARK CALIBER

***From Controversy to
Compromise to Cooperation:
The Administrative History of
Canyonlands National Park***

Samuel J. Schmieding, Ph.D

National Park Service, 2008

Samuel J. Schmieding, Ph.D, biographical information/academic affiliations etc.

Copyright page

Cover: Bates Wilson at Shafer Point looking at the
Colorado River an the eastern part of the Canyonlands
Basin. C 36552.223, SEUG Photographic Archives

Design and layout by Randolph Jorgen

Contents

vi	•	<i>List of Illustrations</i>
ix	•	<i>Acknowledgments</i>
xi	•	<i>Chronology of Important Events</i>
I	•	Introduction
13	•	Chapter One—Finding Terra Incognita: The Exploration and Settlement of Canyon Country
47	•	Chapter Two—Defining Canyon Country: Natural Bridges to the Escalante and Beyond
81	•	Chapter Three—Contested Place: The Political Creation of Canyonlands National Park
117	•	Chapter Four—Starting from Scratch: The Foundation of Canyonlands National Park
155	•	Chapter Five—Changing Directions: Canyonlands in the Age of Environmentalism
193	•	Chapter Six—Surviving the 1980s: External Threats to the Park and Reorganization
233	•	Chapter Seven—Reaching Maturity: Park Development, Salt Creek, and Learning the Resource
277	•	Afterword
285	•	Appendix A—Canyonlands National Park visitation
286	•	Appendix B—Canyonlands Complex/Southeast Utah Group visitation
287	•	Appendix C—Visitation at Cave Springs and The Neck, 1963–1964
287	•	Appendix D—Canyonlands National Park, visitation by types of visit
288	•	Appendix E—Visitation on Bureau of Land Management lands
289	•	Appendix F—Visitation at Dead Horse Point State Park
289	•	Appendix G—Visitation at Newspaper Rock State Park
290	•	Appendix H—Grazing allotments, Canyonlands National Park
291	•	Appendix I—Mineral, oil, and gas leases, Canyonlands National Park
292	•	Appendix J—Road inventory, Needles District
293	•	Appendix K—Road inventory, Island in the Sky District
293	•	Appendix L—Road inventory, Maze District
295	•	<i>Bibliography</i>
305	•	<i>Index</i>

Illustrations

Note: The terms “Canyon Lands” and “Canyonlands” are used in the list of illustrations and in the narrative. The former refers to both the canyon country of southeast Utah and the region near the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers before the 1964 creation of Canyonlands National Park. The latter term was the proper name used to reference the park and region after that time.

Figures

- 1 1857 G. K. Warren map of trans-Mississippi American West • 16
- 2 Images of Canyon Lands from 1859 Macomb Expedition • 19
- 3 1860 C. H. Dimmock map of Canyon Lands and Southeast Utah • 20
- 4 John Wesley Powell • 20
- 5 Thomas Moran lithograph of Powell Expedition on Colorado River • 22
- 6 Thomas Moran lithograph of Buttes of the Cross • 21
- 7 Images of “Land of Standing Rocks” from Powell expeditions • 24
- 8 Thomas Moran and William Henry Holmes images of Grand Canyon • 26
- 9 Geologic drawing of Canyon Lands region • 28
- 10 1886 Clarence Dutton map of Colorado Plateau • 27
- 11 Rancher John Scorup • 32
- 12 Ranch house in San Rafael Desert • 33
- 13 Junction Dam site • 35
- 14 Emery Kolb photograph of “The Land of Standing Rocks” • 36
- 15 Willis Lee photograph of Owachomo Bridge • 48
- 16 Windows formation near Moab • 51
- 17 U. S. Geological Survey sketch and photograph of Canyon Lands • 53
- 18 1935 NPS map of Lower Colorado River Exclusion zone • 55
- 19 1936 map of proposed Escalante National Monument • 56
- 20 Aerial images of Canyon Lands from Escalante surveys • 59
- 21 1938 map of proposed Escalante National Monument • 59
- 22 Ranching in Canyon Lands • 63
- 23 1944 map of proposed Grandview National Park • 65
- 24 1936 Wilderness Society map of roadless areas in United States • 62
- 25 Needles formation in Interior Department report • 66
- 26 Dark Canyon Dam site • 68
- 27 Map of Upper Colorado River Basin reservoir sites • 68
- 28 Bates Wilson and Alan “Tug” Wilson • 83
- 29 Needles region • 84
- 30 Glen Canyon before Lake Powell • 87
- 31 Road building in Canyon Lands region • 85

- 32 1959 National Park Service survey of Needles region • 90
- 33 Kent Frost and Canyon Lands • 91
- 34 1960 NPS survey of “Land of Standing Rocks” • 93
- 35 1960 map of Utah State Parks proposals in Canyon Country • 95
- 36 Helicopter on 1961 Interior Department survey • 96
- 37 Frank Moss, Bates Wilson, and Stewart Udall • 96
- 38 1961 Interior Department map of proposed national park • 98
- 39 1961 National Park Service map of proposed national park • 98
- 40 Lynn Fausett paintings of Canyon Lands • 101
- 41 Charles Eggert filming in Canyon Lands • 102
- 42 1963 map of proposed Canyonlands National Park •
- 43 1964 map of Canyonlands National Park • 104
- 44 1965 photograph of Canyonlands Complex staff • 119
- 45 Tangren homestead at Anderson Bottom • 121
- 46 1964 map of oil and gas leases in Canyonlands National Park • 122
- 47 Historic map of cattle ranching in Canyonlands region • 123
- 48 Missile launch safety and evacuation zones • 124
- 49 Early Canyonlands infrastructure • 125
- 50 Electrical generation and well drilling • 126
- 51 Road construction in Island in the Sky District • 127
- 52 Proposed visitor center at Squaw Flat • 129
- 53 Map of development concepts for Canyonlands National Park • 128
- 54 1965 Utah Department of Transportation map of Canyon Country • 130
- 55 Four-wheel-drive vehicle on road in Chesler Park • 131
- 56 NPS survey team in Virginia Park • 136
- 57 Proposed Squaw Flat-to-Confluence road • 138
- 58 Proposal for expanding Canyonlands National Park • 142
- 59 Canyonlands Complex Superintendent Robert Kerr • 156
- 60 Kirk Cabin in Upper Salt Creek Canyon • 157
- 61 Grazing allotments in expanded Canyonlands National Park • 158
- 62 Grazing and fencing • 159
- 63 Island in the Sky visitor contact station • 160
- 64 Maze District facilities at Hans Flat • 162
- 65 Electrical generation and water storage facilities at Hans Flat • 163
- 66 Maze District geography • 162
- 67 Apartment building at Hans Flat • 165
- 68 Transportation concepts for Greater Canyonlands Region • 168
- 69 Road survey marker at Big Spring Canyon • 169
- 70 Archeological resources • 170
- 71 Calm and white water recreation • 172
- 72 Canyonlands Complex Superintendent Peter Parry • 175

- 73 Wilderness plan for Canyonlands National Park • 179
- 74 Development plans from 1978 Canyonlands General Management Plan • 177
- 75 National map of potential sites for nuclear waste repository • 194
- 76 Southeast Utah map of potential sites for nuclear waste repository • 195
- 77 Activities at Davis Canyon nuclear waste repository site • 196
- 78 Exploration activities at Davis Canyon site • 197
- 79 Exploratory shaft for Davis Canyon repository • 197
- 80 Nuclear waste repository concept • 201
- 81 Bumper sticker opposing Canyonlands nuclear waste repository • 204
- 82 Audibility impacts from repository on visitors to Canyonlands • 205
- 83 Tar sands deposits in Utah • 206
- 84 River runners at Potash on Colorado River • 208
- 85 Trash from Friendship Cruise • 209
- 86 NPS patrol boats at Canyonlands • 210
- 87 NPS fly camp at Spanish Bottom • 211
- 88 Damage from all-terrain vehicles • 211
- 89 Backcountry foot trail issues • 212
- 90 Archeological resources • 214
- 91 Historic resources • 215
- 92 Southeast Utah Group Superintendent Harvey Wickware • 217
- 93 Southeast Utah Group Superintendent Walt Dabney • 234
- 94 Existing facilities in Needles District • 235
- 95 “Alternative A” for proposed development in Needles District • 236
- 96 Completed Needles District visitor center • 237
- 97 Proposed developments in Needles District • 239
- 98 Backcountry motor vehicle road issues • 240
- 99 Backcountry foot trail issues • 242
- 100 Angel Arch and Angel Arch Canyon road • 243
- 101 Vehicle access issues in Salt Creek Canyon • 243
- 102 Road in Lower and Middle Salt Creek Canyon • 246
- 103 Virginia Park closure sign and Jasper Canyon • 244
- 104 Desert bighorn sheep • 249
- 105 Backcountry infrastructure • 256
- 106 Cryptobiotic soil and pothole ecology • 252
- 107 Archeological resources • 253
- 108 Canyonlands completion project • 258
- 109 Potash mining and processing plant • 259
- 110 NPS jet boat on Colorado River • 255

Acknowledgments

Any major history project requires cooperation and assistance from many different people and institutions, as well as the understanding of family and friends. This history of Canyonlands National Park has been no exception and could not have been completed without help from the respective staffs of the archives researched, the project's oral history interviewees, the National Park Service (NPS) Southeast Utah Group (SEUG) in Moab, Utah, the NPS Intermountain Region (IMR) Office and NPS Technical Information Center (TIC) in Lakewood, Colorado, the NPS-IMR Support Office in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and the staff of Canyonlands National Park.

My gratitude must first extend to the Southeast Utah Group. Eric Brunnemann, former chief of the SEUG Cultural Resources Division, and Jerry Banta, former SEUG superintendent, asked me to do this history based on my dissertation. Chris Goetze, present chief of the SEUG Cultural Resources Division, diligently oversaw the entire project, and Vicki Webster, SEUG's Museum Curator, managed an exceptional archives that provided a solid research foundation, and both worked very hard during the arduous editing and revision process. I also must thank former SEUG Ecologist Charles Schelz for allowing me to accompany his monitoring teams in the field as well as for his friendship, and Diane Allen, former Chief of Interpretation at Arches National Park for providing lodging in her home. Special thanks must also go to Penny Jones, SEUG's administrative secretary; Paul Henderson, Chief of Interpretation at SEUG; Paul Cowan, former Chief of Concessions at SEUG; Gary Cox, Maze District ranger; Neil Herbert, SEUG's audiovisual specialist; Gery Wakefield, SEUG's GIS specialist; and many others.

Equally important were records found in the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) at the Federal Center in Lakewood, Colorado, both the NARA archives section (records

before 1965), and the Federal Records Center (FRC) which had records for Canyonlands from 1965 to the present. NARA's holdings could not have been navigated without help from NARA archivists Eric Bittner, Richard Martinez and Marene Baker, and the FRC staff, especially John Mangers and Martha Bell. Also in the Federal Center, the United States Geologic Survey library and photographic archives proved helpful, and I give thanks to former photographic archivist Joe McGregor, former archivist/librarian Carol Edwards, and present photo archivist Colleen Allen.

Dr. Art Gomez from the NPS-IMR support office in Santa Fe provided invaluable insight on the project's outline and intellectual content, and aided my communications with NPS personnel. Barbara Stanislawski, former IMR support office librarian helped with pre-Canyonlands NPS history in Utah by providing files from the IMR archives. The park's technical history was aided greatly by TIC's microfiche files and library, and I must thank former TIC manager Jeanette Wesley, TIC librarian Carol Simpson, archivist Scott Pawlowski and records manager Charis Wilson. The NPS-IMR office also allowed access to files in certain divisions, with the cultural resource files provided by IMR Archeologist Dr. Adrienne Anderson especially helpful.

The Utah State Archives was also very helpful, especially its governor's papers, with thanks to former archivist Michael Church. I must also thank the staffs of the university archives visited during this project. The University of Utah Special Collections had important political and cultural collections, with archivist Walter Jones deserving special thanks. The Brigham Young University Special Collections also contained important collections, with archivist John Murphy deserving extra thanks for helping me find pertinent records and allowing me to stay at his home. The Utah State University Special Collections helped on the subject of environmental activism in Utah, with thanks extended to manuscript archivist

Steve Sturgeon. I also thank the family of Bates Wilson for allowing access to their father's private papers held in Tucson, Arizona.

Last but not least, I give heartfelt thanks to my mother Sylvia Schmieding for her emotional and financial assistance, my sister Molly Schmieding for her overall support, and to my canine companions, Taurus and Sabrina, for their unconditional love during the years I worked on this project. I am also grateful for my friend and house sitter Chris Thomas, who allowed me to travel on long research trips and know that my home and canine children were in good hands.

Chronology of Important Events

- 1776–77:** Franciscan priests Escalante and Dominiguez explored Greater Canyonlands region.
- 1830s:** Trappers including Denis Julien traveled throughout Greater Canyonlands region.
- 1853:** Captain John Gunnison led Pacific Railroad Survey expedition of the 38th Parallel produced first scientific analysis of region south of the Book Cliffs and north of Canyonlands.
- 1855:** Mormon Elk Mountain Mission attempted to settle in the Moab Valley, staying several months before conflicts with Ute Indians forced the missionaries to withdraw from region.
- 1859:** San Juan Exploring Expedition led by Captain John Macomb entered the Canyonlands basin; expedition geologist John S. Newberry performed first scientific analysis of basin.
- 1869:** John Wesley Powell led his first expedition down the Green and Grand Rivers.
- 1871:** Powell led second river expedition; first photographs taken of the Canyonlands basin.
- 1874–75:** Powell's expedition and geologic reports published in magazine and book form contained first detailed printed descriptions and lithographs of Greater Canyonlands region.
- 1876:** San Juan Exploring Expedition report published; document's lithographs based on J. S. Newberry's sketches resulted in the first color art of Canyonlands region to appear in print.
- 1885:** Ranching began in Indian Creek watershed near future site of the Dugout Ranch.
- 1889:** Robert Brewster Stanton led railroad route survey expedition through Canyonlands.
- 1903–04:** Monticello and La Sal National Forest Reserves created.
- 1907:** Natural Bridges National Monument created.
- 1909:** Rainbow Bridge National Monument created.
- 1911:** Ellsworth and Emery Kolb led photographic and motion picture expedition on Green and Colorado Rivers; the name "Maze" first used to describe canyon country west of the rivers.
- 1911:** First General Land Office cadastral survey performed in the Canyonlands region.
- 1926–31:** United States Geological Survey performed three studies of geology and mineral resources in the Greater Canyonlands region; reports published between 1933 and 1946.
- 1926:** Oil found at Shafer Dome on the Colorado River; economically unfeasible to extract.
- 1928–1931:** Claflin-Emerson archaeological expeditions worked in the Canyonlands region at Horseshoe Canyon, along the Green and Colorado Rivers and in the "Needles" region.
- 1929:** Arches National Monument created.
- 1935:** First National Park Service survey of "Escalante" region, including Glen Canyon, Cataract Canyon, Canyonlands basin, Waterpocket Fold and San Juan River Canyon.
- 1936:** First Escalante National Monument concept introduced that covered more than 6,000 square miles and included the entire Greater Canyonlands region; plan harshly criticized in Utah.
- 1936:** The Wilderness Society designated 8.8 million acre "Colorado River Canyons" region extending from Glen Canyon to Book Cliffs as largest roadless tract in continental United States.

- 1938:** Second Escalante National Monument concept introduced that covered 2,450 square miles region along narrow swath surrounding Colorado River; revised plan severely criticized.
- 1940:** Second Escalante concept repackaged as a “recreation area” by the NPS and Interior Secretary Harold Ickes; bills died in Congressional committees before reaching floor for vote.
- 1942–43:** Escalante surveys continued with more emphasis placed on the Canyonlands basin as a region distinct from the rest of the Greater Canyonlands region.
- 1942–43:** Photographs of the Escalante region and Canyonlands basin appeared in National Parks Association journal; first photos of the region to appear in widely-distributed periodical.
- 1944:** Proposal for “Grandview National Park” circulated internally at National Park Service regional and national offices; plan never released to general public.
- 1944:** *Life Magazine* published first photos of Canyonlands region in a popular magazine with a national circulation in article on the Colorado River Basin.
- 1949:** Superintendent Bates Wilson transferred from El Morro N. M. to Arches N. M.
- 1950:** *Recreational Resources of Colorado River Basin* published; emphasis on Canyonlands basin as distinct area within the Greater Canyonlands region supported by text and photography.
- 1951:** Bates Wilson visited the Canyonlands backcountry for first time with small group.
- 1952:** *National Geographic Magazine* article on southeast Utah published which focused on the Canyonlands basin had the first color photos of the region to appear in a national magazine.
- 1956:** National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management agreed to first of several memorandums of understanding regarding management of the Canyonlands region.
- 1957:** Needles and Grandview Recreation Area concepts discussed at National Park Service as either stand-alone park units or extensions of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area.
- 1959:** First National Park Service survey of Canyonlands region focused on the Needles area.
- 1960:** Senator Wallace Bennett (R-Utah) introduced first “park” bill for Canyonlands region which designated a Needles National Recreation Area.
- 1960:** NPS Planner Leo Diederich conceived basin-wide park concept in Canyonlands region.
- 1960:** John F. Kennedy selected Arizona Congressman Stewart Udall as Interior Secretary.
- 1961:** Udall read NPS report on Canyonlands region; flew over Canyonlands in April with Reclamation Chief Floyd Dominy on return to Denver from inspection of Rainbow Bridge N.M.
- 1961:** Udall led political and media junket to the Canyonlands basin in July, then announced plan for a “Canyon Lands National Park” as part of a “Golden Circle” of tourist destinations.
- 1961:** Udall withdrew one million acres of the Canyonlands region from entry.
- 1962:** First Canyonlands park bill introduced by Utah Democratic Senator Frank Moss that encompassed approximately 330,000 acres.
- 1964:** Canyonlands National Park bill encompassing 257,400 acres passed after three-year political tussle; signed into law on September 12 by President Lyndon Johnson.
- 1964:** Bates Wilson named superintendent of Canyonlands National Park in October while remaining superintendent of Arches N. M. and Natural Bridges N. M.; the three park units administratively encompassed what was called thereafter the “Canyonlands Complex.”
- 1965:** Canyonlands staff set up residences/offices in January at Squaw Flat and Willow Flat.
- 1965:** Master Plan for Canyonlands completed in September that included large visitor centers, hotels, marinas, paved roads and an “amphithorium” at Grandview Point.
- 1967:** Bates Wilson named N.P.S. Utah State Director; remained Canyonlands superintendent.

- 1968:** Bates Wilson and others at the National Park Service expressed reservations about the Canyonlands Master Plan and began to recommend scaling back park development plans.
- 1968:** Edward Kleiner began landmark ecological studies in Chesler and Virginia Parks.
- 1970:** National Environmental Policy Act signed into law.
- 1971:** Canyonlands National Park enlarged by 87,000 acres that included the Maze and Land of Standing Rocks, Davis and Lavender Canyons, creating a park totaling 337,540 acres.
- 1972:** Bates Wilson retired from NPS; Robert Kerr named Canyonlands superintendent.
- 1973:** River management planning process began; problems developed in devising human carrying capacities on rivers and creating a balance between commercial and private use.
- 1974:** Wilderness planning process began for Canyonlands National Park.
- 1975:** Grazing phased out from the original 257, 400 acre park by September.
- 1975:** Robert Kerr transferred; Peter Parry named Canyonlands superintendent.
- 1978:** Canyonlands General Management Plan officially accepted.
- 1980:** Department of Energy announced plans for siting a nuclear waste dump at one of three sites in the Greater Canyonlands including one at “Gibson Dome” outside the Needles District.
- 1981:** Exploration for tar sands development began west of the Canyonlands basin.
- 1984:** Canyonlands first backcountry management plan completed.
- 1986:** Davis Canyon eliminated as candidate for nuclear waste repository site, ending six years of lobbying by the NPS, state of Utah and others in opposition to the selection.
- 1986:** Canyonlands Complex hired its first archaeologist.
- 1987:** Peter Parry retired from NPS; Harvey Wickware named Canyonlands superintendent.
- 1988:** Congress appropriated funds for major Needles District front-country development.
- 1989:** Canyonlands National Park celebrated its 25th anniversary.
- 1989:** Canyonlands Complex officially re-organized as the Southeast Utah Group.
- 1990:** Phase I of Needles Visitor Support Facilities began.
- 1991:** Harvey Wickware retired from NPS; Walt Dabney named SEUG Superintendent.
- 1995:** Backcountry Management Plan approved for Canyonlands National Park and Orange Cliffs region of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area.
- 1995:** Environmental groups filed suit against National Park Service for the 1995 Backcountry Management Plan provisions that allowed motor vehicle access into certain sections of park.
- 1997:** Phase IV of Needles Visitor Support Facilities completed.
- 1998:** U.S. District Court ruled Salt Creek closed to motor vehicles above Peek-a-Boo Camp.
- 1999:** Walt Dabney left the NPS; Alford J. (Jerry) Banta named SEUG Superintendent.
- 2002:** Vanishing Treasures program began funding cultural resource staff positions at the Southeast Utah Group, significantly expanding SEUG’s capabilities in this area.
- 2002:** Final Environmental Impact Statement for Salt Creek completed; findings supported the closure of region to motor vehicles above Peek-a-Boo Camp.
- 2002:** Jerry Banta retired from NPS; Tony Schetzle named SEUG Superintendent.
- 2004:** U.S. District Court ruled to keep Salt Creek closed above Peek-a-Boo Camp.
- 2006:** Tony Schetzle left SEUG; Kate Cannon named SEUG superintendent.

Introduction

WHEN PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON signed the bill designating Canyonlands* as the nation's 31st national park on September 12, 1964, in addition to continuing the late John F. Kennedy's conservation agenda he was connecting with a rich American tradition. Occurring precisely one century after Yosemite was carved from the public domain and given to California as a state park, the addition of the spectacularly-eroded sedimentary badlands surrounding the confluence of the Colorado and Green Rivers in southeast Utah to the national park system was another example of conservation ideals leading to the preservation of a place with exemplary geological, biological, cultural or aesthetic qualities. Displaying creative geomorphic processes, great ecological diversity, a distinctive genre of beauty and diverse human history ranging from Archaic times through recent American pastoral and mining cultures, Canyonlands National Park was an important addition to America's national park system and canon of sacred landscapes.¹

*Note: The terms "Canyon Lands" and "Canyonlands" are used in the list of figures and in the narrative. The former refers to both the canyon country of southeast Utah and the region near the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers before the 1964 creation of Canyonlands National Park. The latter term was the proper name used to reference the park and region after that time.

Despite possessing such impressive qualities evident to the present-day mindset, the region that became Canyonlands National Park traveled a circuitous path to park status. Described as scientifically and aesthetically exceptional by explorers John Strong Newberry and John Wesley Powell, the Greater Canyonlands region remained an anonymous part of the Colorado Plateau until after World War II. Obscured by its remote geography, Mormon provincialism and fame of more accessible Plateau landmarks, the area was known only by a few ranchers, prospectors and scientists who viewed the region largely in utilitarian terms— forage for livestock, oil and gas for extraction, or water for storage and power—while practically ignoring aesthetic or ecological values. Discovered in the 1930s by the National Park Service (NPS) and conservationists who were enthralled by canyon country's beauty, geomorphology and open spaces, the region between Glen Canyon and the Book Cliffs was earmarked in 1935 by the NPS for reservation as the Escalante National Monument, then identified in 1936 by The Wilderness Society as the largest roadless tract in the continental United States. Encompassing more than 6,000

square miles in its original form, the rise and fall of the Escalante concept from 1935 to 1940 revealed the limits of preservationism and New Deal political capital, the importance of developing constituencies to support controversial policies and the contentious nature of Utah politics. The 8.8 million acre “Colorado River Canyons” region in The Wilderness Society study introduced canyon country to the American preservation movement and elevated the value of sedimentary aesthetics in western culture. When combined with the flooding of the Greater Canyonlands’ lower half behind Glen Canyon Dam, the failed Escalante proposals and conservationism’s discovery of canyon country dramatically altered the historical context and dynamics of scarcity that would influence how the National Park Service and American society classified and valued canyon country in the future.²

From the Escalante surveys emerged a park concept centered on the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers when NPS planners proposed a “Grandview National Park” in 1944 for the triangular-shaped region north of the rivers. Despite the increasing popularity of Grandview and Deadhorse Points, the idea was not made public and became buried by the politics of World War II and the Cold War, the fight over dams in Dinosaur National Monument and canyon country’s anonymity. Kept alive by the Escalante concept’s latent power and Arches National Monument Superintendent Bates Wilson, who promoted the virtues of canyon country after his 1949 arrival in southeast Utah, the idea of a park in the area re-emerged at the Park Service during discussions in the 1950s on how to protect the region from grazing and the extractive industry. When accords between the National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management (BLM) designed to mitigate damage from grazing and mining proved ineffective, the NPS proposed to create a recreation area from noncontiguous areas near select features in the basin that contained the future Canyonlands National Park. Followed by more Park Service

surveys and disagreements between the NPS and the BLM over management of the region, the conservatism of the Eisenhower administration and Utah society ensured that the Park Service could only watch until the political winds shifted.³

Park Service fortunes changed in November 1960 when NPS planner Leo Diederich conceived a regional park for the Canyonlands basin and the Democrats won the White House. New Interior Secretary Stewart Udall read a Park Service report on the area just before an April 1961 inspection of Rainbow Bridge National Monument, prodding him to request an overflight of Canyonlands on the return flight to Denver. This produced a profound historical irony whereby Udall emotionally responded to canyon country’s beauty as Reclamation chief Floyd Dominy described the virtues of another dam site. Upon his return to Washington D.C. the Secretary began planning how to create a national park in the region. Propelled by JFK’s “New Frontier” optimism, Udall led a political junket to Canyonlands basin in July 1961 where he proposed a “Canyon Lands National Park” as part of a “Golden Circle” of tourist destinations. Initially conceiving a one-million-acre park, Udall with legislative support from Senator Frank Moss (D-Utah), met stiff resistance from Utah Republicans led by Senator Wallace Bennett and Governor George Clyde. This resulted in a political fight featuring vitriolic charges by the Republicans and counters by the Democrats that also revealed the era’s shallow conservation ethic. Pared down to a fraction of its original size, the park proposed in legislation had by 1964 become so encumbered by concessions to grazing, mining and hunting interests that it would have been a multiple-use area unattractive as a park. The bill was rescued during congressional hearings by an unlikely figure, Wayne Aspinall (D-Colorado), the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee Chairman who was behind many western water projects including Glen Canyon Dam. He argued successfully that national parks should

not contain large multiple-use areas. Congress removed the more onerous provisions from the bill signed by the President, although the 1964 boundaries of Canyonlands National Park had little correlation to the geographic basin and left out several important areas, including the Maze.⁴

The planning and administration of Canyonlands National Park

Canyonlands' founding concept was thus similar to other western national parks, a wilderness reserve with engineered access corridors that enabled comfortable scenic experiences, the mix of "esthetics and economics" outlined at the 1915 National Parks Conference by pre-NPS General Superintendent Mark Daniels. Epitomized by the Mission 66 program initiated shortly before the Canyonlands idea was born, the uneasy union between utilitarianism and preservationism in the National Park Service mission to protect and promote—what NPS founder Stephen Mather called the "double mandate"—would continue in the new park with paved byways and human amenities existing amidst monumental scenery and wilderness.⁵ Conceived by NPS Director Conrad Wirth to address decaying park infrastructure and post-war increases in visitation, Mission 66 resulted in new roads and upgrades to old ones, improved or enlarged campgrounds and hostleries, and expanded Park Service employee roles. Described in its 1965 Master Plan, Canyonlands National Park would have paved roads in the front- and backcountry, state-of-the-art visitor centers and deluxe lodging. An aerial tramway was even considered for the Needles District, a "Disneyesque" intrusion into the park's primitive heart. This centerpiece in the "Grand Circle" adventure as conceived by the NPS and purveyors of commercial tourism would also connect with regional transportation systems via spur roads leading from highways on the bench lands east and west of the Colorado and Green Rivers between Glen Canyon Dam and Arches

National Monument. One design even called for a bridge between the Needles and Maze regions over Cataract Canyon.⁶

Conceived on the cusp of two contrary epochs in history, this built-up vision of Canyonlands collided with postmodernity's more holistic ethic. Created two years after Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* critiqued industrial society's treatment of the planet, one year after Glen Canyon Dam began flooding the lower half of Greater Canyonlands, nine days after the Wilderness Act gave preservationism added cultural legitimacy and four years before Edward Abbey's *Desert Solitaire* framed southeast Utah's postmodern regional identity, Canyonlands National Park came to be seen by most Americans as a place where wildness should be the guiding value.⁷ Mission 66-inspired plans for the new park were thus deemed inappropriate by a new wave of park managers and conservationists. With the normal problems in developing a remote region merging with fiscal constraints connected to the Vietnam War and demands from many other new park units, Canyonlands remained underdeveloped as new values took root, the Master Plan was shelved and the park expanded to include the Maze, Land of Standing Rocks, Lavender and Davis Canyons. By the time Utah politicians and business leaders complained about slow park development, the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) had passed and conservationism was evolving into environmentalism, creating the volatile mix of legal mandates and social activism that has characterized the management of Canyonlands National Park and Utah's public lands ever since.

Because the park's creation and growth paralleled the rise of environmentalism, the history of Canyonlands illustrates how the Park Service integrated changing legal and social paradigms into policy and operations as well as how rural citizens reacted to the loss of political and economic power to urban-based preservationism. Beginning with a debate over plans for a paved

highway through the Needles to the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers and south to Natural Bridges National Monument, the administration of Canyonlands in the post-NEPA, post-Earth Day era has been dominated by legislative mandates and compliance tasks, battles with interest groups across the political spectrum, and a park staff stretched thin between operational needs and bureaucratic chores. Whereas NPS managers previously based decisions on a blend of park needs and agency directives with some deference to political and business concerns, NEPA introduced a democratic process dominated by urban demographics and environmental values. Balancing both preservation and development needs relating to the agency's mission and vision for each park, the Park Service struggled to implement NEPA's provisions systemwide and Canyonlands became a forum to test its application. From 1972 to 1978 this included river, wilderness and transportation planning as well as the General Management Plan (GMP) concept, processes involving meetings, mailings, hearings and comment periods that extended key decisions from months to years. This resulted in the 1978 completion of Canyonlands' GMP, the park's central planning document that did not resemble the 1965 Master Plan in concept or scope. There would be no large visitor centers, amphitheaters, hotels or marinas, and paved roads including the controversial Confluence Road were not to enter the backcountry as Canyonlands was to remain largely a primitive park.⁸

The dramatic departure from plans used by advocates to sell the Canyonlands concept in the early 1960s exacerbated trust issues between the federal government and southeast Utahns. Ever since the Escalante National Monument controversy, locals were wary about changes in the status of National Forest Service or Bureau of Land Management (BLM) lands. Relatively small park units like Zion, Bryce, Arches, Natural Bridges and Capitol Reef were acceptable to Utahns as the cost of economic

progress, while large reserves like the Escalante or Canyonlands were something quite different. First challenged in the early twentieth century when the National Forest Service began managing range and timber lands in southeast Utah, the sense of entitlement toward public lands in the rural West and Utah was further pushed after 1934 when General Land Office lands were transferred to the Grazing Service. Although federal policy over the next thirty years was essentially "multiple use" in nature and unobtrusive compared to recent times, libertarianism maintained a strong niche in Utah. The Escalante National Monument and original Canyonlands National Park concepts were "proof" of what could happen. Viewed by most southeast Utahns as a compromise between economics and preservation, Canyonlands in its 1964 and expanded 1971 versions was accepted because of expected future developments and economic growth. When the 1965 Master Plan was overturned and visitation to the park remained sluggish, Utah citizens and politicians felt betrayed and claimed that environmentalists had taken over the Park Service, with the rationale that the agency was following the law and democratic processes falling on deaf ears.

Mistrust of the National Park Service also emanated from the region's religious culture. More conservative than Mormons from the Wasatch Front, southeast Utah Mormons hold demographic super-majorities in most areas, retain more traditional cultural norms, dominate local political and economic life and have a stronger sense of the schism between Mormons and non-Mormons. This is especially true of San Juan County. Created after the Hole-in-the-Rock expedition traveled in 1879–80 through the Colorado River's rugged canyon country to the San Juan River, the county has cloaked itself in what historian Charles Peterson calls the "Hole-in-the-Rock mystique." An independent culture often at odds with urban society, Mormon and non-Mormon alike, San Juan County and its residents have also opposed federal policies from the early twentieth

eth century forest reserve withdrawals through the Escalante and Canyonlands proposals. Although the geographic basin containing Canyonlands National Park is split between five counties—San Juan, Grand, Garfield, Wayne and Emery—most of the park is within San Juan County, a fact often invoked by county leaders during debates over grazing, mining, or park development. When the Park Service located the headquarters for Canyonlands, Arches and Natural Bridges in Grand County's Moab, its reasoning based on administrative and geographic variables was of little solace to San Juan County which saw the issue in terms of lost dollars, respect and community pride. The fact that Moab has been historically friendlier to tourism and outsiders was largely incidental.⁹

Canyonlands National Park has also been affected by the ascension in western culture of the Colorado Plateau's sedimentary aesthetics to a place alongside alpine landscapes. Starting with John Wesley Powell's explorations of the Colorado River Basin, the Plateau began to be portrayed as a uniquely beautiful place. Powell formed a template for adventure in an American context, Thomas Moran's paintings and sketches connected the region with cultural romanticism, and in *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District*, Clarence Dutton and William H. Holmes merged aesthetic appreciation, geologic understanding and artistic excellence. Travelers, writers, artists, filmmakers, photographers and promoters who followed from Charles Lummis to John Ford, nurtured romance and myth while extending knowledge to the region's lesser-known locales which included the Greater Canyonlands. This evolution reached an apex in the writings of Edward Abbey who combined brilliant prose and strident politics to frame canyon country's modern regional identity. In the 1968 book *Desert Solitaire: A Season in the Wilderness*, Abbey merged his experiences as a ranger at Arches National Monument and traveler across the Plateau into a series of essays on geology, biology, politics and place that also attacked industrial society and the

National Park Service. Six years later in *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, a novel describing the activities of four mythical ecoterrorists, Abbey blended his passions for the Plateau with anger toward technological excess and its affect on wilderness, using the character Bishop Love based on San Juan County's well-known commissioner Calvin Black, as the story's main antagonist.¹⁰

Fermenting during Canyonlands' first fifteen years, these political and cultural forces collided in the 1980s after release of the park's General Management Plan. Negative reactions to the GMP in southeast Utah merged with the "Sagebrush Rebellion" and Reagan-era resourcism epitomized by Interior Secretary James Watt, to create an atmosphere openly hostile to preservationism. The Energy Department soon forwarded proposals for a nuclear waste repository outside Canyonlands' Needles District and a huge tar sands extraction and processing operation west of the Canyonlands basin on Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and BLM lands. The gravest threats to any unit of the national park system since dams were proposed for Grand Canyon in the 1960s, the waste dump would have destroyed the integrity of Canyonlands National Park while tar sands operations would have damaged the region's primitive value and future NPS plans to expand the park. The resulting political fight dominated Canyonlands' agenda in the 1980s and led to a truce between the National Park Service and environmentalists who buried differences over park development to form an alliance against the plans. The nuclear waste dump was eventually shelved for political reasons while market forces killed the tar sands idea. The two proposals also demonstrated how the merger of narrow technocratic perspectives and partisan politics can create plans bereft of common sense or good science, and revealed the desperation of southeast Utah's political elite, who supported the projects in pursuit of short-term economic gain regardless of long-term costs.¹¹

Despite the omnipresence of the waste dump and tar sands issues in the 1980s, Canyonlands National Park continued to move forward. The problem of determining commercial and private use numbers for the park's rivers was resolved, a framework for managing the park's backcountry uplands was formed, cultural resource management was energized through hiring the park's first archaeologist and the Island in the Sky road project was finished. The Canyonlands Complex that included Canyonlands, Arches and Natural Bridges was reorganized as the Southeast Utah Group (SEUG), and Canyonlands received congressional funding for development in the Needles District which included a visitor center and administration building, entrance station, maintenance facility, residence area and upgraded campgrounds. The park also enjoyed relative political tranquility for a few years. Pro-development interests pleased by the Needles project stopped complaining, and environmentalists fatigued in the aftermath of the nuclear waste dump and tar sands crises largely remained on the sidelines as construction in the Needles District frontcountry proceeded.¹²

Dramatic rises in visitation and resource impacts soon plunged the park back into controversy. Based in the carrying capacity ideal so difficult to define during river and backcountry planning efforts in the 1970s due to its novelty, a weak scientific database, NEPA's untested nature and the Park Service's shift toward a "greener" ethic, calculating appropriate numbers for the backcountry uplands was harder in the 1990s because of a large jump in visitation, its more complex resource base and the many interest groups wanting to maintain access. Although the 1995 Backcountry Management Plan (BCMP) contained more restrictive campground and backcountry regulations, a better permitting and reservation system for private and commercial use and improved educational programs on backcountry ethics, it barely addressed the controversial road issue. First used by motor vehicles in the 1950s when Bates Wilson and guides led tourists and gov-

ernment officials with jeeps into the Canyonlands basin during an era when off-roading was introduced to American society, these cattle trails turned four-wheel drive roads were crucial to promote the park concept and provide recreational opportunities in the region. Other than spurs leading off Canyonlands' backcountry circulation roads and Salt Creek Canyon above Angel Arch Canyon, the Park Service had not closed many roads or restricted day use in the decades since the park's creation, despite potential conflicts with the 1916 NPS Organic Act and opposition inside and outside the agency to so many vehicle corridors existing within primitive areas that otherwise had few human imprints.

The debate eventually focused on Salt Creek Canyon and the limited vehicle access allowed by the 1995 BCMP. Challenged in court by environmental groups who said even restricted vehicle use in the canyon caused "permanent damage" and violated the 1916 Park Service Organic Act, their suit also claimed that many of the park's other backcountry roads were illegal. Agreeing that vehicle use in Salt Creek Canyon was contrary to the 1916 act, the U.S. District Court ruled the NPS had to close the canyon to motor vehicles above Peek-a-Boo Springs until more scientific studies were done, but did not agree that other park roads should be closed. The first step in a decade-long process that included legal maneuvers and a long Environmental Assessment process which supported the first court ruling, Salt Creek remained closed despite attempts by San Juan County and off-road vehicle groups to legally challenge the closure ruling based on a R. S. 2477 right-of-way claim. Increasing problems with aircraft overflights after 1990 merely added to a growing list of challenges to park resources and Park Service legal authority in southeast Utah.¹³

Despite the political and legal conflicts, the last twenty years saw Canyonlands National Park mature in key areas. Completion of the Island in the Sky District mesa top project in the 1980s,

the Needles District visitor support facilities in 1997, and gradual upgrades to the Maze District support facilities at Hans Flat, gave Canyonlands an infrastructure commensurate with what is expected of a major national park. Propelled by legal, monitoring and protection needs, agency directives and academic research, science flourished and the NPS Northern Colorado Plateau Inventory and Monitoring program began. Interpretation made strides due to the success of the interagency Moab Information Center and its Monticello counterpart, more published material on the region, better signage and exhibits, and natural history education programs involving the Park Service with local schools. Cultural resource management also began receiving the attention it deserved when the Vanishing Treasures program funded cultural resource positions at SEUG, allowing for improved operations and maintenance as well as an inventory of the park's riparian corridors. The Southeast Utah Group also became more adept at balancing operations and planning in a mini-regional office responsible for individual park units and public relations in a region where trust was a scarce commodity. However, despite these positive trends, Canyonlands remained overshadowed by the West's more famous parks in the struggle for funding and cultural recognition, and was constantly reminded that it was surrounded by a mistrustful rural society dominated by old-school resourcists who would not be overly bothered if the Canyonlands region was opened to grazing, mining, oil and gas exploration as well as motor vehicle access.¹⁴

Conceptualizing and creating an administrative history for Canyonlands National Park

Canyonlands National Park occupies a unique place among America's western national parks. Created just four decades ago, the park does not possess a heroic age like Yosemite, Yellowstone, Mount Rainier or Grand Canyon, although Bates Wilson's exploits to promote

Canyonlands while administering other park units remain legendary at the National Park Service. Nor is there an era of classic architecture to anchor a grand history of park development. Canyonlands' historical significance is instead based on what did not occur; the region's late discovery by western society, the failed Escalante National Monument, and relative dearth of development since the park's creation. These factors make Canyonlands an ideal vehicle for analyzing the social and political shifts of the last fifty years relating to public land management in the United States, and how the environmental age affected the planning, development and political culture of a national park.

This is primarily an administrative history produced for the National Park Service to help the agency better understand Canyonlands National Park. However, the region's poorly-developed historiography, the complex mythology surrounding canyon country and late creation of the park, suggests that coverage extend beyond the park proper. In *Polishing the Jewel: An Administrative History of Grand Canyon National Park*, Mike Anderson focused on the administrative aspects of park history without creating much context because of Grand Canyon's mature historical legacy developed in thousands of written works. Similarly, in *Petrified Forest National Park: A Wilderness Bound in Time*, George Lubick could focus on the park without framing each issue because the 35th parallel region has been written about extensively from the time of nineteenth century exploration through the heyday of the Santa Fe Railroad and the Fred Harvey Company.¹⁵ The Greater Canyonlands and the Canyonlands basin has a rich lived history from the Archaic era through the last 150 years of exploration, science, ranching and mining. Yet, the region's oral and written history has not been well-synthesized, leaving the Park Service, visitors, and locals open to partisan interpretations emanating from southeast Utah's polarized political climate.

The reports of Captain John Macomb and J. S.

Newberry from the 1859 San Juan Exploring Expedition published in 1876, exploration narratives and scientific reports from J. W. Powell and the Powell Survey published from 1874–1882, and the unpublished journals of Robert Stanton’s 1889–1890 river expedition, provided glimpses of canyon country. However, the region was obscured by society’s focus on Grand Canyon, landmarks near the 35th parallel, and the parks of southwest Utah.¹⁶ Twentieth century exploration by the Bureau of Reclamation, U. S. Geological Survey (USGS), U. S. General Land Office and river runners added specialized knowledge on the riparian and upland zones of the Canyonlands basin, but did not relate a distinct sense of place.¹⁷ Other literature on southeast Utah consists of locally-produced biographies or autobiographies, romantic outlaw lore, family histories and accounts of Mormon settlement. The memories of cowboys, ranchers, and miners often went unpublished.¹⁸ The first historical synthesis of the region, Gregory Crampton’s 1964 *Standing Up Country*, brought attention to canyon country and slickrock landscapes, but its coverage stopped shortly after 1900 and was broad in geographic scope. Charles Peterson’s 1975 history of the La Sal National Forest, *Looking to the Mountains*, was the first book to analyze southeast Utah land management issues, but its focus on territory managed by the U.S. Forest Service effectively excluded canyon country. Two recent histories, Gary Toppings’s *San Juan Country*, and James Aton and Robert McPherson’s *River Flow - ing to the Sunrise*, are outstanding examples of interdisciplinary environmental history, but they cover areas south of the Canyonlands region. Art Gomez’s 1994 study of the Four Corners, *Quest for the Golden Circle*, provides strong analysis of regional economic and land-use issues germane to tourism and Canyonlands National Park, but the book stops in 1970 and possesses such a broad comparative scope that canyon country’s backcountry receives only superficial coverage.¹⁹

Because the region’s historiography is poorly

integrated, Edward Abbey’s romantic vision and political ideology in *Desert Solitaire* and *The Monkey Wrench Gang* often serve as an introduction to southeast Utah for the National Park Service and public alike. This can create narrow cultural perspectives and even intolerance toward traditional rural economies and beliefs, exacerbating the defensive nature of the region’s dominant Mormon culture which sees the recent influx of federal agencies, environmentalists, tourists and urban values as a threat to its social and economic survival. Although the Park Service has become more adept at operating within southeast Utah’s political culture, most managers and rangers at Canyonlands are from outside Utah and rarely stay more than a few years. With these factors in mind, this project is intended as both serious history and instructional tutorial, a scholarly document accessible to non-academic readers that merges broad historical trends involving the National Park Service, federal government, urban society, rural Utah and canyon country, with a detailed analysis of Canyonlands National Park.

To accomplish these goals the project is divided into seven chapters that cover three historical epochs, an introductory chapter describing Euro-American society’s early interactions with the Canyonlands region, two chapters on the further discovery of canyon country by American culture and the National Park Service that resulted in the creation of Canyonlands National Park, and four chapters detailing the administration of the park. Although park administrative histories often begin with natural or cultural history overviews, integrating more political, cultural and economic analysis than usual was deemed necessary to frame Canyonlands’ unique history. Chapter One looks at the relationship between exploration, science and American society from 1850 to 1880, early Mormon settlement and the demographic, economic, and political foundations of San Juan, Grand, Wayne, Emery and Garfield counties, and early twentieth century exploration by scientists, engineers and adventurers. Chapter Two

focuses on early federal land management in southeast Utah, covering the creation and administration of the La Sal National Forest as well as Natural Bridges, Rainbow Bridge and Arches National Monuments, science's categorization of canyon country, Colorado River Basin planning, and most importantly, the Escalante National Monument. Understanding the history behind the Escalante concept is essential for interpreting the legacy of the National Park Service in southeast Utah. Chapter Three centers on the person and career of Bates Wilson, analyzing how the Canyonlands area was introduced to mainstream society, fought over, and then made into America's first national park in seventeen years. Describing in detail the political fight from 1961 to 1964 that resulted in the creation of Canyonlands National Park, this chapter creates a solid foundation for comprehending the next four decades of park history.

Having analyzed the historical background and creation of Canyonlands National Park, the remaining chapters describe park administration and development. Chapter Four covers the era between the park's 1964 inception and Wilson's 1972 retirement, focusing on the difficulties of creating a working park in a rugged locale with scant funds, the steep learning curve for park staff in a region of which relatively little was known, and the politics surrounding the 1971 park expansion. The Park Service also realized during this period that the 1965 Master Plan was inappropriate for Canyonlands National Park. Chapter Five traces the park's next eight years dominated by planning and compliance issues in the wake of NEPA and a growing environmental movement that produced debates over river management and the Confluence Road. This resulted in completion of Canyonlands' General Management Plan in 1978 that ensured Mission 66 was dead at the park, angered the pro-development lobby and exacerbated local manifestations of the Sagebrush Rebellion. Chapter Six covers the 1980s and focuses on threats to Canyonlands from

Energy Department plans to site a nuclear waste dump and tar sands complex on the east and west sides of the Canyonlands basin, as well as responses by the Park Service, the State of Utah, local citizens and environmentalists. This chapter also covers the completion of the Island in the Sky road system, river and backcountry planning, resource management and the reorganization of the Canyonlands Complex into the Southeast Utah Group. Chapter Seven addresses the planning and construction of the Needles District Visitor Support facilities, the development of the 1995 Backcountry Management Plan and conflict over vehicle access to Salt Creek Canyon that resulted in legal action over interpretation of the NPS Organic Act and R.S. 2477 claims from San Juan County and off-road vehicle groups. The last chapter also covers the continued maturation of park administration, maintenance, resource management, planning and community relations.

Despite improved public relations aided by cooperative programs between the Park Service and local educators as well as the "Canyonlands Country Partnership" symposium, Canyonlands was a park born in conflict that remains in politically contested waters. Although readers might have the impression this history was accentuated for dramatic effect, extensive research revealed events that are often understated in their intensity. It is also this author's belief that the primary educational value of Canyonlands National Park to the National Park Service, environmentalists, politicians, commercial interests and the public resides in what lessons can be gleaned from the park's colorful history and its unique mix of geography, ecology, politics, economics and culture.

End notes

1. P. L. 88-590, 88th Congress, S. 27, September 12, 1964, An Act "To provide for establishment of the Canyonlands National Park in the State of Utah, and for Other Purposes;" *U.S. Statutes at Large* 13 (1864): p. 325.
2. Minor Tillotson, "Inspection Report on the Colorado River Exclusion," August 1935; attached to George Olcott, Planner, National Park Service (NPS) to Jesse Nusbaum, Superintendent, Mesa Verde National Park, memorandum, December 21, 1942; folder 10, accession 17522, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area Archives; "Proposed Escalante National Monument, National Park Service," 1936; folder 14, box 13, Henry Blood Papers (Blood Papers), Utah State Archives; "Draft Proclamation, Escalante National Monument," Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior to Franklin Roosevelt, President of the United States, October 1938, folder 47, box 18, Blood Papers; Robert Marshall and Althea Dobbins, "Largest Roadless Areas in the United States," *The Living Wilderness* 2 (November 1936): 11–13. Political pressure forced the Escalante National Monument's size reduced to 2,450 square miles in 1938, changed to a recreation area proposal of the same size in 1940, and killed that same year before being voted on in Congress.
3. "Recommendations for a National Park at the Junction of the Green and Colorado Rivers, Utah," attached to Ben Thompson, Chief, Branch of Lands, NPS to Conrad Wirth, Ass't. Director, NPS, memorandum, September 11, 1944; folder 601.12, box 172, National Park Service, National Archives and Records Administration-Denver (NARA-D); "Memorandum of Agreement, Bureau of Land Management and National Park Service Relating to the Administration of the Dead-Horse Point-Junction Butte Recreation Area, Utah," August 5, 1958; folder 124, Canyonlands National Park Administrative Collection, 1934–1995 (CANY 36607); Thomas Allen, Southwest Region (SWR) Director, NPS to Conrad Wirth, Director, NPS, memorandum, June 1, 1960; attached, "Proposal to Include Needles Area within Glen Canyon Recreation Area," June 1, 1960; Allen to Wirth, memorandum, August 12, 1959; attached, "Report of Needles Area, Utah," August 12, 1959; folder 659, CANY 36607.
4. Thomas Allen to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, December 20, 1960; attached, "Report on Study of the Land of Standing Rocks," with "Note on Mr. Diederich;" folder 660, CANY 36607; Interview by author with Stewart Udall, Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 7, 2000; Sam Schmieding Oral History Collection (SSOHC), Northern Arizona University Special Collections; Hugh Miller, Ass't. Director, SWR to Conrad Wirth, July 21, 1961; folder 124, CANY 36607; "Canyonlands National Park—Conference Report," *Congressional Record—House*, 88th Cong., 2d sess., September 3, 1964; pp. 21557–661. Udall's order to withdraw one million acres in the Canyonlands region came on September 17, 1961, invoking a firestorm of opposition from Republican opponents.
5. Mark Daniels, *National Parks Conference, 1915, Proceedings*, pp. 15–17; Hilary Tolson, *Laws Relating to the National Park Service* (Washington: GPO, 1933); "Mission 66: To Provide Adequate Protection and Development of the National Park System;" Typescript, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Initiated in February 1955, Mission 66 was a ten-year program designed to improve park infrastructure and expand visitor capacities. Due to auto travel, cheap gas and good roads, from 1955 to 1974 attendance at national parks rose from fourteen to forty-six million.
6. The circuit concept was first applied in 1928 to regional tourism by writer Rufus Steele who described southwest Utah's Zion, Bryce and Cedar Breaks as the "Celestial Circuit," a tag that often included Grand Canyon's North Rim. When arguing the virtues of Canyonlands National Park in 1961 at Anderson Bottom on the Green River during the political and media junket to promote the park idea, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall used the name "Golden Circle" to describe places in the Four Corners region that included Mesa Verde, northwest New Mexico, northern Arizona, Canyonlands National Park, Arches and Capitol Reef National Monuments, and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. After 1965 the term "Grand Circle" came into popular usage when referencing the "Golden Circle" region.
7. Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962); Edward Abbey, *Desert Solitaire: A Season in the Wilderness* (New York: Ballantine, 1968); P. L. 88-577, "An Act to Establish a National Wilderness Preservation System for the Permanent Good of the Whole People and for other purposes," September 3, 1964.
8. "Master Plan: Canyonlands National Park," September 9, 1965; folder, "Master Plan," box 1, Region 49, Records of the Bureau of Land Management, NARA-D; "An act to revise the boundaries of Canyonlands National Park in the State of Utah," P. L. 92-154, November 12, 1971; "Canyonlands National Park, General Management Plan," National Park Service, October 1978; P. L. 91-190, "National Environmental Policy Act," January 11, 1970.
9. Charles Peterson, *Looking to the Mountains: Southeastern Utah and the La Sal National Forest* (Provo: Brigham Young UP, 1975), p. 44; David Miller, *Hole-in-the-Rock* (Salt Lake City: U of Utah P, 1959).
10. Before Powell's famous expeditions of 1869 and 1871,

the Grand Canyon was called the “Big Cañon” and was considered a barrier, not a desired destination. Powell’s written works and Thomas Moran’s lithographs appearing in magazine and book form from 1874 to 1880 made the “Grand Canyon” famous, and Moran’s 1874 “Chasm of the Colorado” painting transferred the nineteenth century romantic sense of the sublime to the big canvas and eastern American audiences. Moran painted Grand Canyon twenty more times during the next four decades and captured its emotional essence, and his increasing familiarity with the Canyon’s geomorphology produced more realistic images in his later works. Clarence Dutton provided an “aesthetic tutorial” in *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District* (Washington: G.P.O., 1882) on how to understand the aesthetics and geology of the Grand Canyon, Zion Canyon and the Grand Staircase. William Henry’s Holmes’ geologically-precise color drawings in *Tertiary History* were the realist counterparts to Moran’s romanticism, an important contribution in the era before color photography. Whereas Grand Canyon was famous from Powell onward, Canyonlands remained almost unknown, a fact attractive to Abbey and other lovers of canyon country who wanted something less “monumental,” more primitive and less crowded.

11. *Draft Environmental Assessment, Davis Canyon Site, Utah* (U.S. Department of Energy, Office of Civilian Radioactive Waste Management, 1984); *Final Environmental Assessment, Davis Canyon Site, Utah* (U.S. DOE: 1986); “Tar Sand Triangle Designated Tar Sand Areas;” “Land Description to Accompany Plat of November 8, 1980,” folder N3615, Southeast Utah Group Central Files (SEUG-CF); “An Act to facilitate and encourage the production of oil from tar sand and other hydrocarbon deposits,” P. L. 97-78, November 16, 1981, *United States Statutes at Large, Laws and Concurrent Resolutions Enacted During the First Session of the Ninety-Seventh Congress of the United States of America*, 1981, V. 95, Pt. I (Washington: GPO, 1982). In addition to the preferred Davis Canyon site, Lavender Canyon to the east was also considered. The following areas in Utah were designated as tar sands areas: P. R. Spring, 273,950 acres; Sunnyside and Vicinity, 157,445 acres; Asphalt Ridge-Whiterocks and Vicinity, 41,935 acres; Circle Cliffs, East and West Flanks, 91,080 acres; and the Tar Sands Triangle, 157,339 acres. Other proposed federal government projects during the 1980s included a nuclear power plant near Green River, Utah, and a missile launch site near Goblin Valley State Park just north of Hanksville, Utah.

12. “Rehabilitate 26.4 Miles of Road System, Island in the Sky District, Canyonlands National Park,” Draft Task Directive, April 1983; folder 277, CANY 36607; “Final Construction Report on Utah Canyonlands NP, Project 11 (3) and 114 (1), Island in the Sky, Grading, Base, and

Asphaltic Surfacing, Grand and San Juan Counties,” January 5, 1993; folder D 30, ISKY Road Project, SEUG-CF; Harvey Wickware, Superintendent, Canyonlands National Park (CNP) to Lorraine Mintzmyer, Director, Rocky Mountain Region (RMR), NPS; folder 117, CANY 36607; *Environmental Assessment, Visitor/Park Support Facilities, Squaw Flat, Canyonlands National Park, Utah*, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, May 1990.

13. *Canyonlands National Park and Orange Cliffs Unit of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Backcountry Management Plan*, January 6, 1995; “SOUTHERN UTAH WILDERNESS ALLIANCE, a non-profit corporation, Plaintiff, v. Walt Dabney, in his official capacity as superintendent of Canyonlands National Park, Joseph Alston, in his official capacity as superintendent of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area; John Cook in his official capacity as Regional Director of the National Park Service, Defendants, and The Utah Trail Machine Association, The Blue Ribbon Coalition; The High Desert Multiple Use Coalition, the United Four Wheel Drive Association of U.S. and Canada; and the Historic Access Recovery Project, Defendant-Intervenors;” pp. 1205–1209; *Environmental Assessment: Middle Salt Creek Canyon Access Plan*, National Park Service, U.S. Dept of Interior, NPS, July 2002.

14. *Northern Colorado Plateau Vital Signs Network and Prototype Cluster Plan for Natural Resources Monitoring*, Volume I, NPS; Reorganization Proposal, June 11, 1987; Revision of Reorganization Charts,” February 20, 1988; folder 112, CANY 36607. Canyonlands was one of nine park units classified under the Vanishing Treasures program on the Colorado Plateau that included forty-eight park units in Arizona, California, Nevada, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas and Wyoming.

15. Michael F. Anderson, *Polishing the Jewel: An Administrative History of Grand Canyon National Park*, (Grand Canyon Village. Arizona: Grand Canyon Association, 2000); George Lubick, *Petrified National Forest National Park: A Wilderness Bound in Time* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996).

16. John Macomb, “General Report,” in *Report of the Exploring Expedition From Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West, in 1859* (Washington: GPO, 1876); John Strong Newberry, “Geological Report,” *Report of the Exploring Expedition from Santa Fe*; John Wesley Powell, “The Cañons of the Colorado,” *Scribner’s* 9 (January 1875): 293–310; “The Cañons of the Colorado: Second Paper,” *Scribner’s* 9 (February 1875): 394–409; “The Cañons of the Colorado,” *Scribner’s* 9 (March 1875): 523–37; “The Ancient Provinces of Tusayan,” *Scribner’s* 10 (October 1875):

193–213; “An Overland Trip to the Grand Canyon,” *Scribner’s* 11 (December 1875): 659–78; John Wesley Powell, *Exploration of the Cañons of the Colorado and its Tributaries: Explored in 1869, 1870, 1871, and 1872* (Washington: GPO, 1875); Robert Brewster Stanton, Field Notes, Stanton Papers, Division of Archives and Manuscripts, New York Public Library. Stanton’s account was finally published in 1965 as *Down the Colorado*, ed. Dwight Smith (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1965).

17. Eugene Clyde La Rue, *The Colorado River and its Utilization*, USGS Water Supply Paper 156 (Washington: GPO, 1916); Arthur A. Baker, *The Oil and Gas Possibilities of the Moab District, Grand and San Juan Counties, Utah*, USGS Bulletin 841 (Washington: GPO, 1933); Baker, *Geology of the Green River Desert-Cataract Canyon Region, Emery, Wayne, and Garfield Counties*, USGS Bulletin 951 (Washington: GPO, 1946); Edwin T. McKnight, *Geology of Area Between the Green and Colorado Rivers, Grand and San Juan Counties, Utah* (Washington: GPO, 1940); Julius Stone, *Canyon Country: The Romance of a Drop of Water and a Grain of Sand* (New York: Putman, 1932); E. L. Kolb, *Through the Grand Canyon from Wyoming to Mexico* (New York: MacMillan, 1915).

18. Faun McConkie Tanner, *The Far Country: A Regional History of Moab and La Sal, Utah* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing, 1976 [1937]); Cornelia Adams Perkins, Marion Gardner Nielson and Lenora Butt Jones, *Saga of San Juan* (Mercury Publishing, 1968 [1957]); Charles Kelly, *The Outlaw Trail: A History of Butch Cassidy and the Wild Bunch* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska Press, 1996 [1938]); Pearl Baker, *Robber’s Roost Recollections* (Logan: Utah State UP, 1991 [1976]); Richard F. Negri, Ed., *Tales of Canyonlands Cowboys* (Logan: Utah State UP, 1997).

19. C. Gregory Crampton, *Standing Up Country: The Canyon Lands of Utah and Arizona* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1964); Charles Peterson, *Look to the Mountains: Southeastern Utah and the La Sal National Forest* (Provo: Brigham Young UP, 1975); Gary Topping, *Glen Canyon and The San Juan Country* (Moscow: U of Idaho P, 1997); James M. Aton and Robert S. McPherson, *River Flowing to Sunrise: An Environmental History of the Lower San Juan* (Logan: Utah State UP, 2000); Art Gomez, *Quest for the Golden Circle: The Four Corners and the Metropolitan West, 1945–1970* (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1994).

Finding Terra Incognita: The Exploration and Settlement of Canyon Country

.....

.....

.....

FAR FROM THEIR HUMBLE ORIGINS in the Wind River and Never Summer Mountains of Wyoming and Colorado, the Green and Colorado Rivers meet deep inside southeast Utah's canyon country. Encased in cavernous gorges, the greenish-grey and reddish-brown waters of the now substantial streams initially form a straight line after converging before blending into a murky tan as a placid Colorado heads toward the violence of Cataract Canyon, the temporary hydrological quietude in sharp contrast with a jumbled landscape outside the inner canyon which reveals a dizzying array of geologic shapes and earth processes. The surrealist sculptures of the Needles, the desultory labyrinth of the Maze, the lonely isolation of the Land of Standing Rocks, the graceful curves of Salt Creek Canyon and tabular elegance of the surrounding sandstone cliffs, combine to create a fantastic pastiche of form and color; the "ten thousand forms" and "strangely carved rocks we do not understand" described by John Wesley Powell. Only the La Sal, Abajo and Henry Mountains on each horizon provide triangulation to a sense of the geologically and aesthetically familiar.¹

Characterized by extreme aridity, wide temperature variations, a dearth of arable soils, scant forage, few usable mineral resources and terrain difficult for travel, the Canyon Lands region has constrained human use from Archaic times to the modern era.² Peripheral to Fremont, Anasazi, Ute and Navajo societies, this domain was a hinterland outpost, place of refuge or repository of myth to pre-modern cultures. Even when Europeans brought more advanced technologies, these sedimentary badlands remained far outside western social and economic systems. Avoided by Spanish and Mexican trade routes and only briefly visited by American explorers, this now-celebrated landscape at the heart of the Colorado Plateau that includes Canyonlands National Park was known only by a few ranchers, outlaws, prospectors, and Ute and Navajo Indians. Eloquent descriptions of the area's scientific and aesthetic qualities by scientists and adventurers were obscured by its geographic remoteness, the fame of Plateau geographies to the south, and Utah's cloistered Mormon society. Yet, within this demographic and cultural vacuum was born an interpretive scheme for canyon

country based on the merger of science and romanticism that began to elevate the region's value as physical nature and conceptual wilderness, ironically just as surveyors and engineers discovered its potential roadways, dam sites and mineral deposits.

Discovering canyon country: “Worthless lands” or sublime nature?

Conquest and acquisition between 1790 and 1854 increased the United States' landed estate in North America from 832,000 to more than 3,000,000 square miles. Modeled after James Cook and Alexander von Humboldt, American explorers cast in Enlightenment garb from Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to John Wesley Powell were vital to this process. Merging a growing belief in science with the role of the explorer as hero, these explorers who embodied the “Second Great Age of Exploration” described by historian William Goetzmann used systematic methods to analyze the natural and human world in contrast to the *ad hoc* efforts of the post-Columbian era's first 250 years. By combining empiricism with romanticism and nationalism, American exploration provided heroes and dramatic literature to a national culture in need of both, created a perception the republic's expansion was virtuous, energized American science and introduced novel geographies to western culture including the Colorado Plateau.³ Exploration also created a foundation for discussing the uses of America's public lands—conservationism in both its preservationist and utilitarian forms—and solidified the marriage of science with the romantic admiration of nature as the interpretive framework for natural history and beauty later adopted by the National Park Service and popular culture from John Muir through Edward Abbey.

Although a brief “enlightenment” under Carlos III in the late 18th century catalyzed Spanish science, Iberian exploration north of the present-

day U.S.-Mexico border was done by clerics. Epitomized by Tomás Garcés' 1776 voyage to the Grand Canyon and Hopi villages, and the circumnavigation of the Colorado Plateau by Silvestre Escalante and Francisco Domínguez in 1776–77, these Franciscan explorers saw the world as either Christian or heathen, with “natural” causes emanating directly from God. Their observations explained and justified their worldview and described exploitable human societies, minerals, transportation routes and agricultural sites, but their reports contained little information useful to science.⁴ Historically important as the first written document on much of the Colorado Plateau—including the Greater Canyonlands region—Escalante's journal only provides a sketchy image of regional geography.⁵ This was reflected by Bernardo Miera's 1777 map of New Spain's northern territory. Although it was an improvement over maps that merely guessed about what lay north of Spain's colonized areas, Miera's map also mixed geographic knowledge with mythology, especially in the future Utah.⁶ Spain's inability to transcend such medieval worldviews led in part to the loss of their American colonies, a point underscored by the German explorer Alexander von Humboldt. Following four years of field work in South America, Humboldt's 1803–04 research in New Spain's archives resulted in the 1811 *Essay on New Spain*, the first scientific synthesis of the region. In 1804 while en route to Europe, the baron met American leaders including Thomas Jefferson, shortly after Lewis and Clark left St. Louis. His sharing of research on the future American Southwest symbolized a shift from a declining empire and anachronistic worldview to something new and dynamic.⁷

Despite Humboldt's brilliance, thin Spanish data only allowed the baron to make educated guesses on what lay north of Spain's northern colonies. Because the nonsystematic observations and writings by trappers in the years after Humboldt left many holes in geographic knowledge of the West, American explorers confronting the Colorado Plateau in the age of

Manifest Destiny were truly entering *terra incognita*. Lt. John C. Fremont did identify the Great Basin as a geographic province and passed by Utah's High Plateaus and the Uinta Basin in 1844, but he could only speculate on the region south of Lodore Canyon on the Green River to "which the trappers usually apply the name of canyon country."⁸ Lt. James Simpson's 1849 exploration of Navajo country introduced science to Canyon de Chelly and Chaco Canyon while his military attachment underscored the relationship of exploration to conquest.⁹ Lt. Lorenzo Sitgreaves crossed the southern Plateau from Albuquerque to California in 1851 to locate a wagon route, a feat repeated by Lt. Amiel Whipple during the 1853 Pacific Railroad Survey of the 35th parallel. These latter expeditions ensured that northern New Mexico and Arizona would be the primary location for roads and initial contacts between American society and the Plateau.¹⁰ Lt. Joseph C. Ives' 1857–58 assessment of the Colorado River's navigability and his expedition geologist John Newberry's analysis of the Grand Canyon and the Colorado Plateau introduced the region to modern science, but did not extend knowledge north of the Grand Canyon or Hopi villages.¹¹

The 1853 Pacific Railroad Survey expedition of the 38th and 39th parallels under Captain John Gunnison performed the first scientific work in Utah's canyon country. Taking the middle route in the railroad surveys—the others covered the 32nd, 35th, and 41st parallels and another between the 47th and 49th parallels—Gunnison, Lt. E. O. Beckwith, artist R. H. Kern and a military escort left Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in late June for the Arkansas River headwaters. They crossed the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, San Luis Valley and Cochetopa Pass, then followed the Gunnison River to the Grand (Colorado) River. Traveling between the Book Cliffs and La Sal Mountains, Gunnison described a desert "crossed with great labor and difficulty" that he deemed "utterly valueless for occupation by civilized man." Reflecting the era's blend of utilitarian and romantic sensibilities, he also

found the region visually satisfying. "Desolate as the country over which we have just passed," he wrote, "the view is still one of the most beautiful and pleasing I remember to see." Gunnison singled out scenes by the Green River suggesting "columns, shafts, temples, buildings, and ruined cities," "turret shaped heaps" of black and red rocks skirting the La Sal Mountains, and the "immense beds of sandstone" of the San Rafael Swell.¹² Geologic processes like uplift and folding were mentioned, as was mineral composition, but Gunnison's analysis was elementary. The area's perceived potential for transportation, science or scenery was hurt by the deaths of Gunnison, Kern, botanist Jacob Creutzfeld, guide Jacob Cotter and four others at the hands of Ute Indians three weeks later which delayed the expedition's report and cast a pall over the route. Gunnison's assessment of the area persisted: a stark area with interesting geology that did not include knowledge of the areas that became Canyonlands and Arches National Parks.

The first written account of Canyonlands came instead from Mormon missionaries. As part of Brigham Young's plan to locate settlements in arable valleys, along transportation routes, and at strategic points of defense, William Huntington and eleven men from Manti, Utah traveled to the San Juan River in 1854 to locate farmland and open trade with the Navajos. In May 1855, Alfred Billings and Oliver Huntington led forty-one members of the Elk Mountain Mission to colonize Spanish (Moab) Valley. Although they reported early success with the Utes, conflicts arose that resulted in the death of four Mormons and abandonment of the colony. These problems reflected ongoing stresses on Ute society in the Intermountain West that had led to the 1853–54 "Walker War" between the western Utes and Mormons. The missionaries' geographic descriptions also illustrated the culture gap between science and the Latter Day Saints.¹³ Whereas Gunnison used empirical observation, the Mormons had a folk perspective that was grounded in a religious mandate.

Elk Mountain diarists described rock art as evidence of “Lamanite” presence, geology was identified only by basic shape and color, and geography by Mormon names.¹⁴ Billings’ description of Canyonlands from Elk Mountain (La Sals) is thus hard to decipher. “After we got to the top of the mountain, from here you can see to Sanpitch Mountain, the Rone to the Patomuakas to the Bread Fruit to the Cupabo Peak and trace Grand River where it first enters the valley to where it and the Green come together,” he wrote, also identifying “the Navajoe country” and the “course of the St. John’s River.”¹⁵ Circumscribed by a national culture that placed great importance on official exploration, it is symbolic of future conflicts in southeast Utah that the Elk Mountain Mission is often passed off as a footnote in non-Mormon historical interpretations of the region.

Enormous holes remained in the nation’s geographic database. The biggest gap centered on the Colorado Plateau was revealed in G. K. Warren’s 1857 “Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean.”¹⁶ The first true scientific map of the Trans-Mississippi West, Warren’s map synthesized data from previous surveys and maps in a series of median estimates to create an improved cartographic picture. Humboldt’s 1811 map in the *Essay on New Spain* had been long considered the most accurate map available, although unreliable for higher latitudes. Efforts from John Melish’s 1816 continental map through Fremont cartographer Charles Preuss’ 1848 map of the Intermountain West made improvements, debunking the single-ridge mountain range theory and increasing understanding of watersheds.¹⁷ However, Warren’s map had shortfalls. Fairly accurate on mountains and rivers in the Far West and Midwest, less so in the Central Rocky Mountains and Northern Great Basin, the map showed the Colorado Plateau to be practically empty. Surrounded by crude estimates of Utah’s High Plateaus on the west, an overly wide swath portraying the Uinta Mountains on the north and



Figure 1: G. K. Warren, “Map of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean,” 1857. The blank spot in the middle of the map that includes the Colorado Plateau is labeled “unexplored” (magnified text was entered manually). Arizona State University Special Collections.

reasonably accurate locations for topographic features near the 35th parallel, most of the Plateau was labeled “unexplored” with a speculative Colorado River flowing through a featureless terrain. Part of a strategy to “leave the map blank” for areas on which “we possess no information,” in contrast to the Spanish, who filled cartographic holes with guesswork and legends, Warren put no El Dorados, Anian Straits, or Rio Buenaventuras in the region, opting for legitimate scientific inquiry to later fill the gaps.¹⁸

Propelled by transportation and security issues in the wake of the transcontinental railroad dispute and Mormon War, the 1859 San Juan Exploring Expedition under Captain John Macomb of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers produced the first scientific observations of the Canyonlands basin. Ordered to determine the course of the San Juan River to its merger with the Colorado River, locate the confluence of the Green and Grand Rivers, scout the Old Spanish Trail, create a better map of the region and locate possible routes for a road between New Mexico and southwest Utah, the expedition was successful on all counts except the last.¹⁹ In addition to the discovery that transportation options were limited in the region, the expedition made

strong contributions to geology, paleontology, geography and archaeology, and created a baseline in American society about historical discovery, cultural entitlement and valuation of the region.

Having worked on improving New Mexico's road system since arriving in 1856, leading the San Juan Expedition was Macomb's last task before reassignment. Given \$20,000 in late 1858 for personnel, transportation and equipment, on July 13, 1859 Macomb, physician/geologist John S. Newberry, topographer Charles Dimmock, assistants James Vail, Francis Fisher, and Louis Dorsey, several packers and a military escort commanded by Lt. M. Cogswell of the 8th Infantry left Santa Fe.²⁰ Using a route approximating the Old Spanish Trail, the expedition traveled from Santa Fe to Abiquiu, up the Chama River Canyon, over the continental divide to the San Juan River, up the Animas River into Colorado, between Mesa Verde and the La Plata Mountains, northwest up the Dolores River Valley and west into Utah toward the Colorado River. Reaching Ojo Verde Spring near Casa Colorado Rock on August 20, the expedition rested one day while a small lead team prepared to locate the confluence of the Green and Grand Rivers.²¹

On the morning of August 22, Macomb, Newberry, Dimmock and three others traveled over a high plateau (Dry Valley) by what Newberry described as "wonderful buttes of sandstone" before entering "La byrinth Canyon" (Hart's Draw). After struggling through the canyon's dense flora, quicksand and large rocks, the team camped near the sandstone cliffs on the edge of Canyonlands basin.²² The next day they traveled toward the Grand River over the broken landscape between Lockhart Canyon and Indian Creek, with their attempt to reach the confluence ending several miles short at a point above the Grand's inner gorge, gauged by Dimmock to be 375.75 miles from Santa Fe. After hitting the many dead ends typical of travel in canyon country, the team was forced by intense heat

and shortages of water and forage to return to Ojo Verde short of its goal.²³ Two days later, the expedition headed south toward the Abajo Mountains, San Juan River and Monument Valley, before traveling southeast past Nacimiento Mountain towards Santa Fe.

When relating his impressions of the Canyonlands, Macomb stated, "I cannot conceive of a more worthless and impracticable region than the one we now found ourselves in." Epitomizing economic utilitarianism and historian Alfred Runte's "worthless lands" thesis that refers to the selection of national park lands, Macomb was merely relating the engineer's perspective about terrain with little value for transportation that was also dangerous due to the "precipitous nature of the route" and lack of "sufficient pasture."²⁴ Even with modern technology and knowledge, the Canyonlands region is perilous to road builders and tourists alike, a reality magnified greatly in antebellum times. Macomb's assessment also reflected the Great American Desert mythology started by Zebulon Pike and Stephen F. Long in 1806–07 and 1820–21, respectively. Antithetical to more humid landscapes east of the Mississippi River, and in the Rocky Mountains, Oregon or California, this "desert" defined by aridity and scant flora was not deemed economically useful nor did it fit into western categories of beauty centered on pastoral or alpine ideals.²⁵ Based in geographic ignorance and biological survival, the myth also had biblical overtones; this desert was a purgatorial wasteland crossed en route to the "promised lands" of Oregon and California. With the Colorado Plateau in the early stages of discovery and given a national culture ignorant of continental geography still connected to traditional land use and aesthetic values, Macomb and most Americans would not be able to celebrate a place they could not utilize or understand.

Contrasting Macomb's dour assessment, Newberry was ebullient about the region's scientific and aesthetic qualities. Having accompanied Ferdinand Hayden and Fielding Meek to Kansas

and Nebraska in 1854, Col. Robert Williamson and Lt. Henry Abbott to California and Oregon in 1856–57 and Ives in 1857–58 to the Grand Canyon, the doctor was an expert on western geology who realized the Plateau's value to science as well as its economic limits. A devotee of British geologist Charles Lyell's uniformitarian theories during an era when catastrophism was losing credibility, Newberry was the first scientist to study the region using uniformitarian precepts. This involved analysis of stratigraphy and fossil history, the physical geography of mountains and watersheds, as well as minerals and rocks.²⁶ "Perhaps no portion of the earth's surface is more irremediably sterile, none more hopelessly lost to human occupation," he wrote. "Though valueless to the agriculturalist, dreaded and shunned by the emigrant, the miner and even the adventurous trapper, the Colorado Plateau is to the geologist a paradise. Nowhere on the earth's surface, so far as we know, are the secrets of its structure so fully revealed as here."²⁷ Newberry also understood the Plateau's value as scenery and forum for interpreting natural history long before tourism was an industry or admiration was often expressed toward arid landscapes. He said that the "attention of every traveler over the central plateau of our continent is attracted to the Cañons which give character to the scenery that are sources of unending wonder and interest," especially after realizing they were created by the "erosive action of running water."²⁸

Continuing his analysis of Plateau geology that began with Ives, Newberry classified rock types and developed a remedial stratigraphic nomenclature for Canyonlands that served as a baseline for future geological study.²⁹ However, the new field of geomorphology and the few cultural analogues available in western culture to explain the dizzying array of shapes before his eyes turned the doctor into a mere awestruck observer. Of the spectacular vista, he wrote:

The great Cañon of the Lower Colorado with its cliffs a mile in height, affords grander and more

impressive scenes, but having far less variety and beauty of details than this. From the pinnacle on which we stood the eye swept over an area some fifty miles in diameter, everywhere marked by features of more than ordinary interest, lofty lines of massive mesas rising in successive steps to the frame of the picture, the interval between them more than 2,000 feet below the summits. A great basin of sunken plain lay stretched before us as on a map. Not a particle of vegetation was anywhere discernible; nothing but bare and barren rocks of rich and varied colors shimmering in the sunlight. Scattered over the plain were thousands of the fantastically formed buttes to which I have so often referenced in my notes; pyramids, domes, towers, columns, spires of every conceivable form and size.³⁰

Newberry was especially impressed by the "forest of Gothic Spires" extending like a "belt of timber for several miles," the Needles of today. Claiming that nothing in "nature or art offers a parallel to these singular objects," he used architectural analogy like Clarence Dutton did when describing Grand Canyon in the 1880s, claiming "some idea of their appearance may be gained by imagining the island of New York thickly set with spires like that of Trinity Church."³¹

Problems in conceptualizing the terrain of the Canyonlands area extended to illustrations in the expedition report. With photography not available due to the spoilage of needed chemicals, lithographer T. Sinclair's color images based on Newberry's sketches ranged from the relatively accurate to surrealistic distortion. Including illustrations of the Rio Chama, Dolores River Canyon, Casa Colorado, Monument Valley and Shiprock, the book's images of the Canyonlands basin—"Labyrinth Creek" and "Head of Cañon Colorado"—were especially revealing.³² Similar to Ives' Expedition artist F. W. Egloffstein's difficulties in portraying Grand Canyon, illustrators of that era struggled to represent places beyond their experiences and cultural backgrounds.³³ However, the subsequent histo-



"Head of Canon Colorado"



"Head of Labyrinth Creek, Looking Southeasterly"

Figure 2: Lithographs from 1859 San Juan Exploring Expedition. These lithographs by J. J. Young were based on drawings by J. S. Newberry and were published in the *Report of the Exploring Expedition from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado River of the West, in 1859* (Washington: GPO, 1876). They illustrate the problem in the pre-photography era of transferring imagery seen in the field through the cultural filters of artist and lithographer to final product.

ries of Canyonlands and Grand Canyon unfolded quite differently. Whereas the Grand Canyon became an American icon, its tabular, terraced forms the exemplar of sedimentary geomorphology, Canyonlands remained unknown because of geographic isolation, difficulty in categorizing its eclectic forms and a lack of follow-up illustrations. Even when southeast Utah was discovered by mainstream American society a century later, the landscapes of Canyonlands struggled to find a cultural niche, while the more singular forms of Arches National Park—namely Delicate Arch—and Monument Valley became symbols of the region's aesthetics.

Newberry also contributed to archaeology and paleontology. With archaeological science—a discipline then called ethnology which blended archaeology and cultural anthropology—not well developed in the United States, his analysis of ruins and artifacts by the Animas and Dolores Rivers as well as Labyrinth Creek extended knowledge of pre-Columbian civilizations into Utah. Describing the size, shape and function of major structures, and the location of pottery and lithic scatters, Newberry was an advance guard for the discipline's future focus on the Four Corners and demonstrated how theories popular in the 1840s connecting "vanished" peoples with Aztecs were replaced by

Puebloan-based theories.³⁴ The doctor also discovered "saurian" remains in western Colorado, compared the fossils found with other findings he made across the West, and sent them to the Smithsonian for analysis by noted paleontologist Joseph Leidy.³⁵ Newberry even produced the first written account of Monument Valley, describing "castle-like buttes and slender towers" about "1,000 feet in height" like the outline of some "Cyclopean city," almost a century before the valley was discovered and popularized by Hollywood and the print media.³⁶

Despite the importance of Newberry's work, the only published document from the San Juan Expedition before 1876 was Dimmock's 1860 shaded relief map. Hired by the U.S. Sanitary Commission of the West during the Civil War, and Columbia College as professor of geology and paleontology after the war, Newberry did not finish his geological report—the expedition's central document—until 1875, with 1,500 copies of the San Juan Expedition report published the next year. Unlike the classics of pre-Civil War exploration—the journals of Lewis and Clark, Pike and Fremont, and the Pacific Railroad Survey and Colorado River Expedition reports—the delayed publication, its limited run and fame of John Wesley Powell and Grand



Figure 3: C. H. Dimmock, “Map of Exploration and Surveys of New Mexico and Utah,” 1860. Although the San Juan Exploring Expedition located the confluence of the Green and Grand (Colorado) Rivers, the expedition learned little about canyon country outside the corridor along which it traveled. Their route is indicated by the line coming from the southeast that later heads west to the confluence of the two rivers. The expedition’s return route is indicated by the line heading south by the Abajo Mountains that then turns southeast along the San Juan River.

Canyon relegated the Macomb expedition and places that they encountered to obscurity.³⁷ Newberry’s sentiment expressed in 1861 to Smithsonian Institute Secretary Spencer Baird, that the Canyonlands contained the “wildest and most fantastic scenery to be found on the surface of the globe,” would not resonate with a wider audience until the 1930s when the National Park Service discovered and promoted canyon country during the effort to create the Escalante National Monument.³⁸

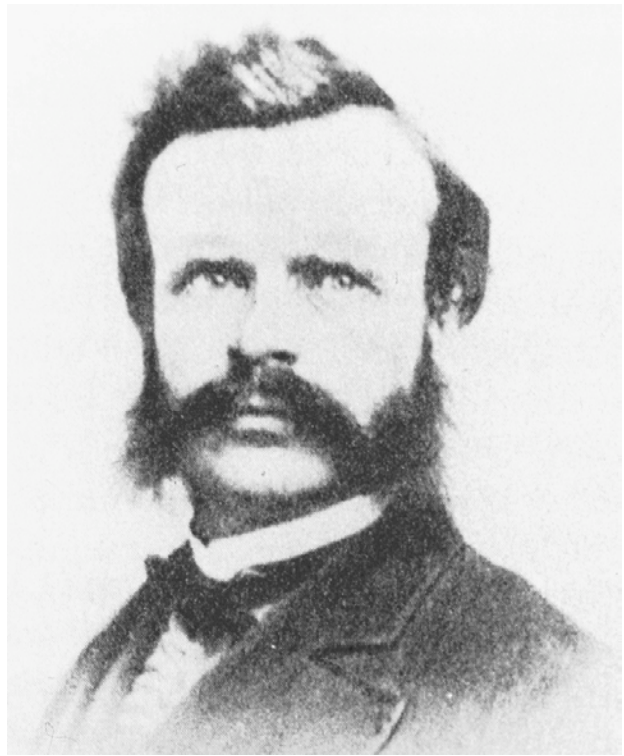


Figure 4: John Wesley Powell, in 1869 after his first Colorado River expedition. Utah State Historical Society.

John Wesley Powell: Science, popular culture, and the valuation of geographies

When looking at the “unexplored” spot on Warren’s map, Major John Wesley Powell was driven by the same curiosity and desire for recognition that motivated other explorers. Preparing in 1867–68 by reading government reports and studying areas east of the Green River, Powell believed a voyage through the Colorado River Basin would be a “book of revelations in the rock-leaved Bible of geology” that would show the “Grand Cañon to be a series of Cañons.”³⁹ From the famous 1869 river expedition to the end of the Powell Survey a decade later, the Major’s work revealed the geographic complexity of the Colorado Plateau and gave him a workshop to formulate geologic theories and develop a concise language for describing earth processes. Powell also performed baseline ethnographic studies of the Paiutes and Utes, societies later buried by western culture’s

romantic mythology centered on Puebloan and Athabascan peoples.

Although Powell's contributions to science were many, to understand the valuation of Plateau geographies relating to the future designation of national parks, the Major must be analyzed as a cultural icon and literary figure. Over a decade of adventurous exploration and pedantic surveys on the Plateau Province, Powell's actions and words shaped the nation's geographic iconography during an era when Yellowstone and Yosemite became its first major parks.⁴⁰ Although federal preservationism did not extend to the Plateau for decades, places highlighted by Powell became the region's signature landscapes; the "Big Cañon" was transformed into the Grand Canyon, Mukuntuweap Canyon and the Pink Cliffs, the future Zion and Bryce Canyons. When combined with transportation systems that favored northern Arizona and southwest Utah, places like Glen Canyon and Canyonlands were destined to be lost in a vast region full of more accessible locales.

Contrasting the San Juan Expedition's anonymity, everything about the 1869 Colorado River Exploring Expedition was publicized. Following the lead of John C. Fremont, the Major became another Humboldt, an American Odysseus performing a hero's trial on the nation's River Styx who found "treasure" in the form of romantic adventure and empirical science. Knowing that the 1869 expedition had done little to advance scientific knowledge due to survival issues, the loss of journal notes and staffing by non-scientists, Powell returned in 1870 to look for the three men missing since leaving the first expedition in the Grand Canyon and to plan for resurveying the river and studying the Colorado Plateau uplands.⁴¹ During the next decade the Powell Survey studied Plateau geology, hydrology and ethnology, including Clarence Dutton and Grove Karl Gilbert's work in theoretical and economic geology, the Major's geologic and ethnologic studies, and

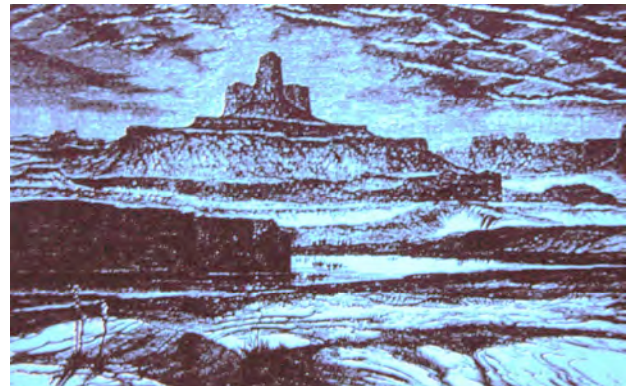


Figure 5: Thomas Moran, "Buttes of the Cross in the Toom-pin Wu-near' Tu-weap," figure 19, *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West*.

Thomas Moran and William Henry Holmes' art work that related the region's aesthetics to a national audience. Occurring when Powell's star was rising toward a place of political power as director of both the U.S. Geological Survey and U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, the Survey's work was highlighted in USGS publications and the popular media that provided a prominent forum for the Colorado Plateau and the Geological Survey's early focus on theoretical geology.⁴²

The mythology surrounding Powell and the Plateau has been shaped by the Major's popular narratives. Initially producing a six-page article on the 1869 expedition for W. A. Bell's 1870 *Tracks Across North America*, Powell was motivated by Interior Secretary James Garfield's request for a report to justify Congressional appropriations and 1871 expedition photographer

E. O. Beaman's series in *Appleton's Monthly*, writing several works that have framed perceptions of the Plateau through the present.⁴³ Starting with a five-part series in *Scribner's* magazine, Powell expanded the *Scribner's* articles and added several scientific monographs to produce *The Exploration of the Colorado River of the West*. Merging his journal notes with those from members of the 1869 and 1871 river expeditions into a narrative masquerading as one voyage, Powell created a dramatic tale set in an almost mythic landscape aided by Moran's art

work, overshadowing the book's monographs on history, geology, biology and ethnology.⁴⁴ Structured as a prototypical "hero's trial," Powell separated from the known world, experienced a series of tests, then returned home. The landscapes of the Green and Colorado Rivers were divided into places of hardship or respite; the violence of Lodore and Desolation Canyons followed by the quietude of Labyrinth and Stillwater Canyons; the drops of Cataract Canyon before a peaceful Glen Canyon allowed the men to prepare for the tests of Marble and Grand Canyons. Because the book was published when the nation was consolidating its conquests and believed that bigger was better, dramatic rapids and big canyons would be prioritized by readers over quiet interludes, the wild rapids of Cataract and Grand Canyon highlighted over the placid waters of Canyonlands basin and Glen Canyon.⁴⁵ Reprinted in a slightly altered form for popular publication in 1895, Powell's narrative remained the centerpiece of the Plateau's literary identity and number one seller on the region until the 1968 publication of Edward Abbey's *Desert Solitaire*.⁴⁶

Although Powell's narrative was geared toward drama and the Grand Canyon, his descriptions of the Canyonlands basin are noteworthy. This included the "figure eight" of Bowknot Bend, the "exquisite charm" of Labyrinth Canyon, the "beautiful red sandstone" of the Toom'-pin wu-near' Tu-Weap (Land of Standing Rocks), the Buttes of the Cross, Stillwater Canyon and the terrain near the confluence of the Green and Grand Rivers. The entire region impressed Powell as a bizarre and beautiful place climaxed by the vista near the confluence, with the latter prodding him to write one of the more compelling passages in American exploration history.⁴⁷ He wrote:

What a world of grandeur was spread before us. Below was the Cañon through which the Colorado runs; we could trace its course for many miles, and at points catch glimpses of the river. From the north-east came the Grand through a

Cañon that seemed, from where we stood, bottomless. Away to the west were lines of cliffs and ledges of rock; no such ledges as you may see where the quarryman splits his blocks, but ledges from which the gods quarry mountains; not cliffs where you may see the swallow build its nest, but where the soaring eagle is lost to view before he reaches the summit. Between us and the distant cliffs were the strangely-carved and pinnacled rocks of the "Toom-pin Woo-near Too-weap." Away to the east a group of eruptive mountains were seen—the Sierra La Sal. Their slopes were covered with pine, and deep gulches were flanked with great crags, and snow-fields were seen near the summits; so the mountains were uniform—green, gray, and silver. Wherever we looked there was a wilderness of rocks—deep gorges where the rivers are lost below cliffs, and towers, pinnacles, and ten thousand strangely carved forms in every direction, and beyond them mountains blending in with the clouds.⁴⁸

Figure 6: Thomas Moran, "Running a Rapid," figure 28, *Exploration of the Colorado River*.



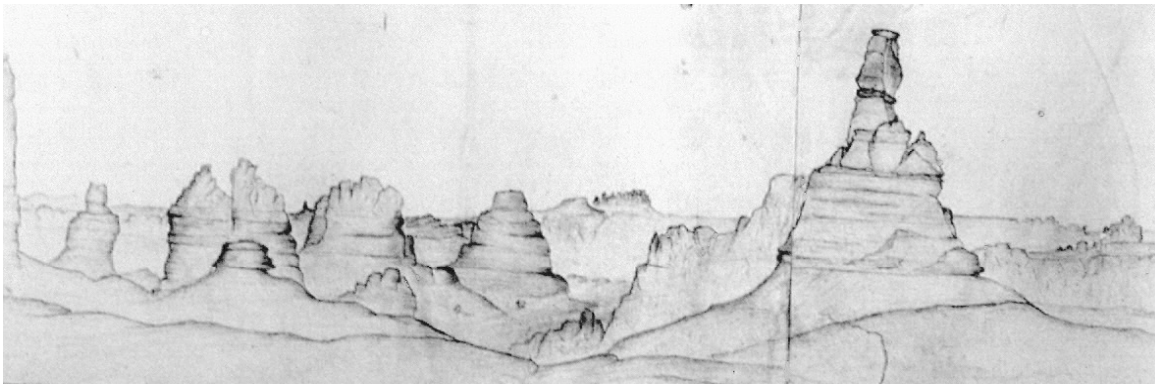
By describing the Canyonlands basin with such flourish, Powell even surpassed Newberry's eloquence in describing the region with a vividness recognizable to contemporary connoisseurs of canyon country. Yet, when faced with Canyonlands' novel geomorphology, a lack of cultural referents or scientific explanations forced a retreat to romantic generalities and crude analogies. After continuing through the dangerous rapids of Cataract Canyon—remembering that Powell had been on two river expeditions and knew the Colorado Plateau well including the Grand Canyon—the story recommenced as an adventure tale with himself as the main character.⁴⁹

Recounting the actual activities of Powell in Canyonlands basin demands departing from the Major's published narratives. Because Powell lost most field notes from the first expedition, to reconstruct the 1869 voyage one must reference the diaries of George Bradley and John Sumner, as well as Powell's own partial records; for the second expedition, the diaries of Francis Marion Bishop, Frederick Dellenbaugh and Frederick Clement Powell. What emerges is a view of people with different educations, world-views and field experiences who combined pedestrian chores with dramatic adventure and awestruck reflection. Whereas the first expedition was staffed by outdoorsmen and soldiers concerned chiefly with survival, the second voyage was manned by individuals with greater abilities to observe and accurately record natural history.

When the 1869 expedition entered Canyonlands in July they had been on the river for more than two months, were low on food and faced a long journey over unknown waters. "The whole country is inconceivably desolate," wrote Bradley, adding that the "sun shining on the sandstone heats the whole Cañon like an oven."⁵⁰ Although the arrival at Grand River and killing of two beavers produced a muted celebration, Bradley expressed the longings of a man far from home, "though a thousand spires

point heavenward all around us yet no one sends forth the welcome peal of bells to wake the echoes of these ancient cliffs and remind of happier if not grander scenes." Powell's July 20th entry (July 6th–19th were lost) noted the scene above the inner gorge that reflected his published description. "Pinnacles in the red sandstone," he wrote, alongside "terraces and monuments of the stages of erosion," while Bradley only said, "The scenery from the top is the same old picture of wild desolation we have seen for the last hundred miles."⁵¹ Sumner's journal described schedules, river miles, water conditions, geology, flora and food sources, but makes no value judgments on the terrain.⁵² Spending three days from the San Rafael to the Grand River and four days at the confluence, outside of Powell's focus on science, the men were concerned with resting, saving food stores and repairing boats. The Major's plan to stay at the confluence three weeks to study geology and observe an August 7th solar eclipse was not possible because of waning supplies and the long voyage ahead. On July 21st the group launched into the rough waters of Cataract Canyon, affirming their preconceptions that the Colorado was a "rushing, roaring mountain torrent" unlike the quiet waters near the confluence.⁵³ Eight days, many portages, several repairs and a few near disasters later, they entered Glen Canyon.

Whereas the 1869 voyage was a survival marathon, better staffing and preparation coupled with cooler weather and knowledge of the region allowed the 1871 expedition to perform better science and spend more time in Canyonlands. Arriving at the San Rafael River on September 4th, they spent ten days between there and Grand River, studying geology and archaeology, surveying the region as Beaman, Dellenbaugh and J. K. Hillers made a visual record. Four days at the junction of the Green and Grand allowed them to explore the Needles and Maze. In contrast to the 1869 expedition's grim resolve, the men also seemed to enjoy their time in Canyonlands. Water pour-offs after



Frederick Dellenbaugh, "Sinv-tu-weap." Dellenbaugh Papers, Smithsonian Anthropology Division Archives.

Figure 7: Images of the Land of Standing Rocks from Second Powell Expedition. The evolution of how the perception and representation of novel landscapes like the Canyon Lands region changed after the introduction of photography can be seen by comparing three images of the same view. Whereas Newberry's 1859 field sketches were the only source to inform the lithographer's work, photography allowed for more accurate depictions of geomorphology and aesthetics.



J. K. Hillers, "At the Junction of the Green and Grand on the Surface," 1871. USGS Photographic Archives, Lakewood, Colorado.



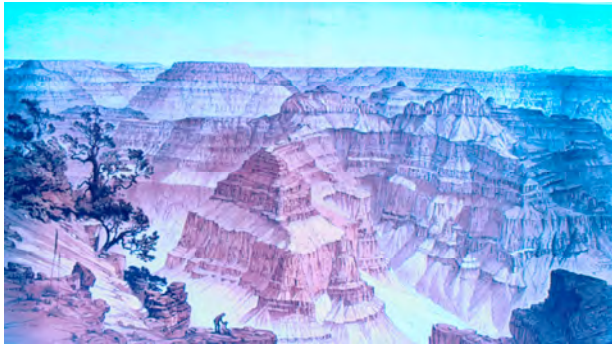
heavy rains were described by Bishop as a “torrent of dark umber shale, resembling more dust than water . . . rolling in a cloud of foam in one leap from top of the cliff down into the river.” One cascade among “a hundred” produced a “picture of unusual beauty and wildness.”⁵⁴ Dellenbaugh described the Lower Green River as the “most fantastic region we had yet encountered,” sentiments that became magnified near the confluence. The vista “revealed a wide cyclorama that was astounding. . . . Nothing was in sight but barren sandstone, red, yellow, brown, grey, carved into an amazing multitude of towers, buttes, spires, pinnacles, some of them several hundred feet high, and all shimmering under a dazzling sun . . . a marvelous mighty desert of bare rock, chiseled by the ages out of the foundations of the globe.”⁵⁵ The expedition left the confluence on September 21st, their assessment of the area second only to Grand Canyon in terms of scenery and scientific interest, with Lodore, Desolation, and Glen Canyons close behind.

Despite the Colorado Plateau’s growing fame, the lack of vivid illustrations did not allow readers to “experience” the region’s novel geographies. Improved technology allowed Powell to use photographers on the 1871 voyage, although their black and white images were grainy and possessed little depth of field. Beaman and Hillers’ photographs of Bowknot Bend, Buttes of the Cross, Doll House, Stillwater Canyon, Labyrinth Canyon, Cataract Canyon and the Needles were historically important as the first photos of Canyonlands, but do not show the area as geologically or aesthetically exceptional from other Plateau landscapes. Not appearing in print until the 1908 publication of *A Canyon Voyage*, Dellenbaugh’s tale of the second river trip, these photos were used as templates for Moran’s lithographs in *Scribner’s* and various government publications.⁵⁶ Reflecting Powell’s focus on Grand Canyon, the problem of making Canyonlands known was also expressed by the sheer number of images. The *Scribner’s* series had only one illustration of the

Canyonlands region—Buttes of the Cross—compared to thirteen of Grand Canyon.⁵⁷ The *Exploration* book also had images of Cataract and Gypsum Canyons and a bird’s eye geologic view of the region—as compared to fifteen of Grand Canyon—but did not convey Canyonlands’ essence.⁵⁸ Not until Dutton’s 1880 USGS report on Grand Canyon—a short version of his 1882 *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District*—was an image published that captured the feel of Canyonlands, “The Land of Standing Rocks” based on Hillers’ photograph of the Needles.⁵⁹

The “neglect” of Canyonlands also extended to art. After visiting the Grand Canyon in 1873 at Powell’s behest, Moran produced his 1874 masterpiece, “Chasm of the Colorado,” a painting hung in the U.S. Capitol building by his “Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone.”⁶⁰ Geologically and aesthetically truer than the distorted images of Ives Expedition artists F.W. Egloffstein and H. B. Mollhausen, Moran’s romantic vision became fused with the Powell narratives in the American psyche to make the Grand Canyon a repository for adventure, concepts of beauty, earth processes and cultural nationalism.⁶¹ Nothing similar happened with the Canyonlands region. The late publication and short run of the San Juan Expedition report combined with its stilted images of canyon country and a lack of ensuing artistic or photographic endeavors to bury the region under Grand Canyon’s substantial shadow. The only other art work on Canyonlands—sketches by Dellenbaugh from 1871—became mired in the Smithsonian’s archives and were not published for decades.⁶² Not until Utahn Lynn Fausett painted canyon country in the 1950s and 1960s did Canyonlands become a subject for a known artist, with his paintings of Angel Arch, Dead Horse Point, Chesler Park and Dugout Ranch some of the finest art ever produced on the region.⁶³

The problem of interpreting the Colorado Plateau’s unique qualities was addressed by Powell Survey geologist Clarence Dutton. Join-



Thomas Moran, "The Grand Chasm of the Colorado," "The Canons of the Colorado," Pt. 2, 1875, *Scribner's Magazine*.



William Henry Holmes, "Point Sublime Looking East," Plate II, *Tertiary History of the Grand Canon District*.

Figure 8: Images of the Grand Canyon

ing the Survey in 1874, Dutton authored *The High Plateaus of Utah*, *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District*, and *Mount Taylor and the Zuni Plateau*, monographs that addressed sedimentary, igneous and metamorphic geology as well as regional geography. Building on the work of Newberry and Powell, Dutton created a language for understanding and appreciating the region's novel landscapes with a creative blend of science and philosophy that formed an interpretive scheme later adopted by the National Park Service and other land management agencies as well as commercial tourism and mainstream culture.

Particularly revealing were Dutton's analyses of Utah's high plateaus and the Grand Canyon. Initially assigned to study the "high volcanic, tabular mesas" of southwestern and south-central Utah, regions Dutton felt were "destined to

become one of the most instructive fields of research for geologists," he departed from science's ascetic writing and analytical styles as well as his intended focus on igneous geology.⁶⁴ Fascinated by the sedimentary escarpments and canyons skirting the Markagunt and Paunsaugunt Plateaus—Zion, Kolob and Bryce Canyons—Dutton was most impressed by the view from the east edge of the Aquarius Plateau (Boulder Mountain):

The Aquarius should be described in blank verse and illustrated on a blank canvas. The explorer who sites upon the brink of its parapet looking off into the southern and eastern haze, who skirts its lava-cap and clammers up and down its vast ravines, who builds his camp-fire by the borders of its snow-fed lakes or stretches himself beneath its giant pines and spruces, forgets that he is a geologist and feels himself, a poet. It is a sublime panorama. The heart of inner Plateau Country is spread out before us in a birds-eye view. It is a maze of cliffs and terraces lined off with stratification, of crumbling buttes, red and white domes, rock platforms gashed with profound Cañons, burning plains barren even of sage—all glowing with bright color and flooded with blazing sunlight. Everything visible tells of ruin and decay. It is the extreme of desolation, the blankest solitude, a superlative desert."⁶⁵

An oft-cited passage used to illustrate the merger of science and "enlightened" nature philosophy, Dutton's impression of a vista that included the Waterpocket Fold, Henry Mountains, San Rafael Reef, the Escalante and Colorado River Canyons, was significant because of what did not follow. Because he was assigned to survey the Grand Canyon, Virgin River and Grand Staircase, Dutton was not able to investigate the region further. With no illustrations in *High Plateaus*, this image of canyon country remained a lone vision in Dutton's mind. Known only to a few ranchers, miners and engineers, the region received little notice until Park Service planners were impressed by the same view from the Aquarius Plateau during a 1934 survey

of the Waterpocket Fold that resulted in creation of a study team and the Escalante National Monument proposal.⁶⁶

During the survey of the Grand Canyon, Grand Staircase and Virgin River, Dutton continued his intellectual search while elevating the Canyon's status. Believing that western culture did not possess the tools to appreciate the Colorado Plateau's landscapes, which produced "feelings of disappointment and complexity," Dutton structured *Tertiary History* around a series of "tours" to Mukuntuweap and Paruntoweap Canyons, the Grand Staircase, Vermillion Cliffs and Grand Canyon designed to educate readers on the region's scientific and social import.⁶⁷ Dutton said the Virgin River Valley and Grand Staircase possessed "matchless beauty and majesty," but that they were secondary to Grand Canyon as "a private picture gallery would be to the wealth of art in the Vatican or the Louvre."⁶⁸ Calling the Grand Canyon a "great innovation in modern ideas of scenery," he claimed that although the "fame of the chasm is great so indefinite and meager have been the descriptions of it that the imagination is left to its own device in framing a mental conception of it." *Tertiary History* aided the learning curve with illustrations by William Henry Holmes. In contrast with the romanticism of Moran, Holmes' exacting realism accurately portrayed the geology and

aesthetics of Grand Canyon, exemplified by his drawings from Toroweap Point and Point Sublime.⁶⁹ Published when the public was starting to visit the Grand Canyon, Dutton augmented a process begun by Powell and Moran, with geography and economics ensuring that Grand Canyon, Zion and Bryce would become the Plateau's first "circle" tourist attraction.

Figure 9: Clarence Dutton, "Map Showing the Distribution of Volcanic Areas Around the Borders of the Plateau Country," *USGS 6th Annual Report*. This was the first map of the Colorado Plateau and details the region's watersheds and dominant rocks. Black indicates igneous activity and the light grey the sedimentary base rock that composes the majority of the province.



Because Dutton's sources for Canyonlands were secondhand—photos by Beaman and Hillers and writings by Newberry and Powell—it is unclear how the region would fare in his interpretive scheme. In *Mt. Taylor and the Zuni Plateau*, Dutton described canyon country as an area “cut by numberless tributary canyons, such as never seen elsewhere.” However, his lack of firsthand experience in the region did not allow him to match the vivid and poignant analysis in *Tertiary History*.⁷⁰ Canyonlands' eclectic geomorphology would need more creative explanations than those used to address the southwestern Colorado Plateau, although Dutton's thesis about western society's unpreparedness for Plateau geology would remain true. Similar geology and aesthetics to Grand Canyon are found in the Island in the Sky, Orange Cliffs and Canyon Rims areas of Canyonlands, and Dutton's theorem could be extended to the Needles, Grabens, Maze and Fins, although finding analogies to conceptualize these shapes would be difficult. Whereas landforms at Grand Canyon, Zion Canyon and Grand Staircase lend easily to architectural comparisons, the odd shapes of Canyonlands match few humanly recognizable forms. The cultural discovery and appreciation of canyon country did not occur in Dutton's lifetime, the region instead lost in a vast physical and conceptual wilderness, reserved as a countercultural landscape genre and place for those weaned on the writings of Bernard DeVoto, Wallace Stegner and Edward Abbey.⁷¹

Regional history might have been different had early government science focused on canyon country. In spring 1872, Powell Survey topographer Almon Thompson led a survey from Kanab, Utah to the junction of the Dirty Devil and Colorado Rivers. Including Frederick Delenbaugh and photographer J. K. Hillers, the team traveled across the Paria Basin, between the Aquarius and Kaiparowits Plateaus, through the Waterpocket Fold, down the Fremont River and north of the Henry Mountains to the Colorado River.⁷² Photographer William Henry



Figure 10: “Bird’s Eye View of Toom’-pin Wu-near Tu-weap, figure 62, *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West*. This image was important scientifically, but did not distinguish the “Canyon Lands” region from the rest of the Colorado Plateau.

Jackson led a Hayden Survey team in 1874 into southwestern Colorado past the La Plata Mountains and Mesa Verde and northwest to the Hovenweep ruins. In 1875 and 1876 Hayden Survey teams worked between the La Sal and Abajo Mountains, but not near the confluence. Grove Karl Gilbert's 1875–76 survey of the Henry Mountains produced breakthroughs in structural geology including the concept of the laccolith.⁷³ Visiting the Waterpocket Fold, Circle Cliffs and Escalante River Canyons, Gilbert did not go east of the Henrys, although the range's high peaks gave him an good overview of canyon country geography. It was also predictive of future dynamics that the mathematically-oriented Gilbert—in contrast to the more poetical Dutton—was the first scientist to

receive a close-up birds-eye view of the region. Basing his theoretical approach on geometric structure and function, Gilbert reflected a societal shift toward economic geology that came to dominate science and land-use planning in the decades that followed when canyon country was discovered by engineers, miners and ranchers but remained unknown to mainstream culture.⁷⁴

Between the 1869 expedition and end of the Powell Survey in 1879, Powell painted a clear picture of regional geology, and developed concise terms for describing geologic processes like uplift, synclinal and anticlinal folding, faults, lateral displacement and cliff erosion.⁷⁵ He also introduced terms to the geologic vernacular like the “base level of erosion” (the lowest point of erosion and level toward which streams trend) and definitions for river cutting and valley creation processes such as antecedent, superimposed and consequent.⁷⁶ Additionally, Powell’s work on the Plateau helped him bring into more common usage in science and popular culture terms that best explained the region’s geomorphic forces and landforms such as badlands, alcove lands, terraces, escarpments, buttes, cañons, buttresses, benches, towers, cuevas and mesas.

The Canyonlands area provided evidence for these concepts; the canyons between the White River Valley and confluence of the Green and Grand illustrated river cutting processes, structural uplift and Colorado Plateau stratigraphy; the Orange Cliffs and Labyrinth Canyon showed river cutting forces in relation to existing rocks; and the strange shapes of the Standing Rocks, Maze and Needles illustrated geomorphic processes. However, although Powell identified the “Cañon Lands” as a distinct sub-region of the Plateau, his focus on the Uinta Mountains and Grand Canyon combined with a lack of follow-up work by himself or other geologists in the “Cañon Lands” to ensure the region’s continued anonymity in both the scientific and popular realms.⁷⁷

Agricultural settlement, post-frontier exploration, and competing land use ideals

Shortly after the Powell Survey finished their 1879 season, the 250 members of the Mormon San Juan Mission left southwest Utah for Potato Valley near Escalante en route to the San Juan River. Having ignored known routes—one through the San Rafael Swell and down the Moab Valley, the other through Navajo country—group leaders believed a short-cut existed through canyon country. Based on geographic ignorance and advice from settlers in the Escalante area, the group traveled along the east flank of the Kaiparowits Plateau, reaching the Colorado River gorge in early December.⁷⁸ Despite facing a 1,500-foot drop to the river, with winter cutting off any escape and inadequate forage on the plateau to sustain their livestock, the missionaries cut a “road” in the sandstone through which they lowered their wagons, crossed the river and struggled over even more difficult terrain east of the Colorado before arriving on the San Juan River in April.⁷⁹ The fact that no one died qualifies the “Hole in the Rock” expedition as one of the most remarkable voyages in the annals of the American West. Underscoring the strength of a group bonded by faith and a common purpose, their safe arrival at the future site of Bluff, Utah also provided evidence to the missionaries that they were chosen to settle southeast Utah to fulfill their part in creating an earthly Zion. Creating what historian Charles Peterson described as the “San Juan Mystique,” the resultant cultural exceptionalism and geographic isolation combined to create the strident independence and provincialism still characteristic of San Juan County.⁸⁰

Choosing such a tough route also reflected the schism that existed between Mormons and non-Mormons. Although Brigham Young’s use of Fremont’s journals in 1845 to determine where to relocate his persecuted charges showed that Mormons were not averse to using data from

outsiders, Powell's *Exploration of the Colorado River* was too general to help the San Juan Mission, while Gilbert's *Henry Mountains* and Dutton's *High Plateaus* were not yet published nor did they address the region in question.⁸¹ Powell, Gilbert or Dutton might have advised against the route if asked, although their words could have fallen on deaf ears. Powell's good relations with Jacob Hamblin and the Mormon communities of southwest Utah were not the norm in the 1870s when the fever over plural marriage ran high enough to produce the 1882 Edmunds Act and anti-polygamy raids.⁸² The 1879 death of Brigham Young also produced a crisis in the Mormon world that amplified already inflamed reactionary sentiments in LDS society and underscored to Mormons why faith, providence and folk culture should be trusted over "Gentile" advice. The scientific management espoused by Powell just beginning to circulate in American society also introduced threatening concepts to Mormon communities surviving on faith and an economic shoestring.

How these issues relate to debates over public lands in Utah is illustrated by the contrasting views of Powell Survey members and Hole-in-the-Rock expedition members. Whereas Powell and Dutton created a formula for understanding and appreciating natural history that was part literary imagination, part science and part romantic primitivism, the San Juan missionaries were concerned with biological and economic survival so they could continue their communal life and spiritual mandate. Of the rugged country by the Colorado River, missionary Platte Lyman wrote that although "grass and willows which grow in small bunches here are very rank and still very green. . . . The country here is almost entirely solid sand rock, high hills and mountains cut all to pieces by deep gulches which in many places are altogether impossible. It is certainly the worst country I ever saw."⁸³ Powell's descriptions of a peaceful and beautiful Glen Canyon would be unrecognizable to people facing such harsh logistical challenges.⁸⁴ In contrast to scientific world views, nature was

seen by the "Saints" as a stage for the unfolding drama of a chosen people under the direction of an active, yet transcendent God. Although early Mormon ideology was already being softened by the gradual integration of secular social norms and practices, and the perceptions of Latter-Day-Saints were not qualitatively different than most Americans of that era holding traditional Judeo-Christian worldviews, providential explanations have remained more central to Mormon belief and practice through the present. Traditional Mormon norms have also retained their power longer in rural communities, especially in far southeastern Utah.⁸⁵

Bordered by the Navajo country on the south, Colorado on the east, and canyon country to the west, settlers in Bluff, Monticello, Blanding, Moab and Hanksville faced difficult economic prospects based on the high ratio of land in the "Cañon Lands" sub-region as defined by Powell in his 1878 *Report on the Arid Region*. Described as an "exceedingly desolate" region of "naked rocks of little value for agricultural purposes with no bountiful supply of water" and only "widely scattered" grasses for livestock, just 213,440 acres of the "Cañon Lands" were deemed irrigable. Notable was the absence of tracts in San Juan County, with Powell highlighting Moab Valley on the Grand River, Green River at Gunnison Crossing, Castle Valley west of the San Rafael Swell, the Fremont, Escalante, Paria, and Virgin Rivers and Kanab Creek.⁸⁶ Irrigation agriculture in far southeast Utah was only deemed possible on the San Juan River—mentioned but not analyzed in *Arid Region*—a stream unreliable for farming due to its frequent flooding and scant arable lands. These conditions forced most Hole-in-the-Rockers to move north near the Abajo Mountains.⁸⁷

Although similar problems exist across canyon country—Grand County centered on Moab Valley, Emery County on Castle Valley, Wayne and Garfield Counties on areas west of the San Rafael Desert, Henry Mountains and Waterpocket Fold—San Juan County was more

reliant on the Cañon Lands because it is further removed from mainstream systems and such a large percentage of its land is within the region. Garfield, Wayne, Emery and Kane Counties also have large chunks of land in the province, but their political, social and economic energies have often been focused elsewhere. During twentieth century land-use debates they were most interested in the High Plateaus, Bryce Canyon, Escalante Canyons, Grand Staircase, Waterpocket Fold and San Rafael Swell. The Cañon Lands region is so geographically and demographically peripheral to their constituencies and interests as to be virtually nonexistent in political and economic terms.

The Cañon Lands was instead the domain of San Juan and Grand counties. Although Grand County is on the periphery of the region, the relationship of physical geography with political, economic and transportation systems ensured that Moab, not Monticello or Blanding, would be the hub for regional tourism. Starting after completion of the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad in 1884 along the 38th parallel, the town of Moab was closer to regional transportation corridors than San Juan County, whose closest railhead was at Durango, Colorado—a dynamic that extended to the automobile age. Moab also had more progressive leaders who realized early on that the mining and ranching sector should be supplemented and used their geographic advantage to promote Moab as a tourist destination. Ironies born of history and geography continued during the twentieth century discovery of canyon country. Branching off Highway 50, the road paralleling the Denver and Rio Grande Western railroad, Highway 160 from Thompson Springs to Moab, provided the best access to the first popular overlook of the Canyonlands at Dead Horse Point. Visitors and National Park Service officials thus traveled through Grand County, spent their money and made political connections in that county en route to a vista in San Juan County and that overlooked scenic terrain in San Juan, Wayne and Garfield counties.⁸⁸

Grand County followed southwest Utah's precedent with tourism and national parks, albeit on a smaller scale. In Washington, Iron and Kane counties, more familiarity with urban society and stronger connections with economic and transportation systems created a relative openness to alternative economic strategies. Realizing agrarianism would not support growing populations in a region with a high ratio of marginal agricultural lands—an equation magnified in geologically spectacular areas—leaders in these counties worked with the railroads and National Park Service to form the economic and political landscape of the twentieth century. "Joseph's Glory" became Zion National Park; the Paunsaugunt Plateau's east escarpment, Bryce Canyon National Park; the top of the Markagunt Plateau, Cedar Breaks National Monument; and Kanab, the gateway to the Grand Canyon's North Rim.⁸⁹ The collaborative dynamic was poignantly demonstrated by the naming of Zion's major landmarks: West Temple, Mt. Kinesava, Great White Throne, Angel's Landing, Three Patriarchs and Kolob Canyons. Paralleling the naming process at Grand Canyon led by Clarence Dutton, Francois Matthes and Richard Evans, where place names conceived by people with classical educations resulted in use of the great religions, ancient mythologies, famous explorers and Indian tribes, Zion's nomenclature reflects Mormon history and beliefs.⁹⁰ This created a sense of pride and cultural ownership in local parks while diffusing the historical angst between Mormons and non-Mormons. Although there are key differences between the geographically remote and vast canyon country of southeast Utah and the more accessible and classically "monumental" landscapes of southwest Utah, historical precedents and comparisons are important. Whereas Grand County opened up to outsiders early, San Juan County only embraced parks and tourism grudgingly as an economic strategy well after World War II, by which time outsiders had largely defined the parameters of the region's debate over public lands.

Although canyon country remained outside mainstream society's knowledge and economic scope, the media provided glimpses into how the region was perceived. Reflecting Gunnison's mixed assessment, in an 1885 *Overland Monthly* article on the D & RGW Railroad, journalist Edwards Roberts described the Green River Desert as a "Sahara, parched and uninteresting," but that it also "excites and satisfies the appetite for the strange, the grand, and the beautiful." Where this beauty was found was not stated in the last article on southeast Utah to appear in a major journal for years. The media instead focused on the romanticized Arizona and New Mexico of Charles Lummis, the Santa Fe Railroad and the Fred Harvey Company. This "Southwestern Wonderland" featured Pueblo and Navajo Indians, antiquities and novel sedimentary landscapes centered on the Grand Canyon, the latter called "The Greatest Thing in the World" by Lummis.⁹¹

Utah was instead viewed by most Americans as a place of religious conflict, not natural beauty. For example, the lead article in the October 1876 *Harper's Weekly* led by a Moran image of Zion Canyon, "The Silver Mountains of Utah," addressed Utah geography and economics only after debunking Mormonism. Describing the conflict between "Mormon morals and Gentile laws" and the unfolding of a "morbid religious development," author J. H. Beadle described Utah's "embarrassment of riches, lofty mountains, alkali deserts and wild Cañons rich in natural beauty." He concluded that the territory would be better off with non-Mormon leadership.⁹² Indicative of attitudes shared by many Americans, the vitriol and prejudice expressed by Beadle that has continued in lessening degrees through the present has left a deep scar on the Mormon psyche and produced the mistrust of "Gentiles" still evident today throughout rural Utah.

Virtually unknown and almost inaccessible, the Cañon Lands instead became the domain of miners seeking gold, drillers looking for oil, out-

laws evading the law and ranchers seeking new ranges. From 1880 to 1910, overstocked ranges forced ranchers out of Grand Valley, the La Sal and Abajo Mountains, Castle Valley, Rabbit Valley and Boulder Mountain. La Sal National Forest managers reported in 1905 that the range was "so closely grazed it did not appear to have any forage other than browse which was closely cropped."⁹³ Initially moving to the high country outside the main river canyons—White Canyon, Elk Ridge, San Rafael Desert, Gray's Pasture, Big Flat, Orange Cliffs, Hart's Point and range between the Abajos and the Colorado River—the resource squeeze pushed ranchers into areas thought economically unfeasible. Using a model pioneered by Jim and John Scrup east of the Colorado, cattlemen and sheep herders alternated between the highlands in summer and bench lands surrounding the Colorado and Green Rivers in winter. Migration patterns and herd sizes were determined by forage and water conditions, with ranchers often traveling great distances from range to points of sale and transit on the D & RGW railroad. Although ranching was initially centered east of the Green and Colorado, an

Figure 11: John Scrup, 1930s, Salina, Utah. C 19227, SEUG Photographic Archives.





Figure 12: Abandoned ranch house near the San Rafael River built in the early twentieth century typified the hard life faced by ranchers in the region. Photograph by author.

influx of new settlers to Utah after 1900 forced more operations to the marginal lands west of the rivers.

From a ranching history that included names like Biddlecome, Chaffin, Holyoak, Tidwell, Kirk, Turner, Cooper, Murphy and Redd, the Scorups were the best known stockmen in canyon country. Jim and John Scorup based themselves in remote White Canyon to avoid conflicts with the Carlisle, Lacy, Pittsburgh, and Bluff Tiger outfits running 100,000 cattle in the 1880s and 1890s from the La Sals to the Abajos. Starting with a few hundred head in 1891, the Scorups utilized scant feed by staying near their animals and moving as water and forage needs dictated. This strategy used a vast area that included White Canyon, Elk Ridge, Dark Canyon, the Abajos, Beef Basin, Cottonwood and Indian Creeks. By 1915 they had 10,000 head on two million acres of Forest Service and General Land Office lands and 35,000 acres of private holdings near water sources. The Scorups partnered with Jim Somerville in 1919 and moved their headquarters to Dugout Ranch on Indian Creek in 1921, situating the Scorup and Somerville empire closer to start points for cattle drives, helping to maintain its economic dominance in ensuing decades.⁹⁴

Epitomizing hard work and risk-taking in a tough environment, the Scorups believed they should have a say in land use planning. When the

National Park Service proposed to create the Escalante National Monument in the 1930s, a reserve that would have included their traditional range, the Scorups strongly opposed the proposal based in common law notions of property rights and their historic use of the region. Their huge operation also poignantly illustrated why conservationism is necessary in the region's fragile high desert environs. In addition to negative impacts on backcountry pastures and water sources that are still evident today, their massive trail drives down Spanish Valley through Moab caused tremendous environmental damage.

Stricter ecological limits west of the rivers further limited ranching operations. Beginning in the 1880s with A. B. Buhr—the model for Zane Grey's Englishman in *Robber's Roost*—settlers entering the region were searching for ungrazed lands, or in the case of rustlers and bank robbers, refuge from authority. From relatively unknown outlaws like Al Akers, Kid Jackson, Blue John, Silver Tip, Jack Moore and Jack Cottrell to the legendary Wild Bunch of Matt Warner, Tom McCarty, Butch Cassidy and Harry Longabaugh, the pre-1900 demography of "Robber's Roost" was decidedly criminal. One niche in a series of hideouts between Wyoming and New Mexico tagged the "Outlaw Trail," the region's scant population and isolation provided safe havens in the form of homesteads fronting as legitimate operations to hide outlaws and ill-gotten goods. Only once did the law penetrate "The Roost" when a posse led by Grand County Sheriff Jesse "Jack" Tyler engaged in a March 1899 shoot-out with Silver Tip, Blue John and Ed Newcomb in Roost Canyon.⁹⁵ The outlaws escaped, and the hideout north of the Dirty Devil River faded into history and myth and legitimate homesteaders began using their trails, water holes and structures. This new generation included the Biddlecomes, Ekkers, Chaffins and Seeleys, many of whom remain in the area today. Arriving at Roost Canyon in 1907, Joe Biddlecome started the Cross S Bar Ranch, eventually building a large herd that he

left to his daughter Hazel and son-in-law Arthur Ekker, who ensured continuation of the ranching business. Hazel's younger sister Pearl Baker (Biddlecome) ensured that the family legacy was maintained through her work as a writer.⁹⁶

Concurrent with ranching's early history, industrial society entered the region in 1889–90 when Robert Brewster Stanton led a railroad survey of the Colorado River. Hired by President Frank Brown of the Colorado Canyon and Pacific Railroad Company to study the Green, Grand and Colorado Rivers from Green River and Moab to the Gulf of California, Stanton was the first since Powell in 1871–72 to explore the canyons. Although characterized as a failure due to its dubious goal of building a railroad through such rugged terrain and two boating accidents which claimed the life of Brown and two others, the expedition greatly increased knowledge of the Cañon Lands and marked a shift in how the region's natural resources were classified.

Two months before Stanton departed Green River, Utah with the main party, in March 1889, Frank Kendrick led a team from Moab on the Grand River to its confluence with the Green. The main party then spent six days in May between Green River and the confluence, analyzing river gradients, the shape of the river channel, its contour and relationship to canyon walls, the talus slopes and bottomlands; all as they related to a potential rail line. This was followed by a rough fifteen days in Cataract Canyon that underscored Stanton's engineering challenges and Brown's poor choice in boat design. Using Powell's notes for camp locations and "descriptions of the Cañon & its scenery," Stanton was not blind to aesthetics despite his main mission, often describing "beautiful and impressive scenes."⁹⁷ However, he epitomized the era's love affair with technological progress in which a railroad might be considered equally beautiful to wild nature.

With a vanishing "frontier" leading Americans to believe there were few forums remaining on

the continent for discovery and adventure, the Colorado Plateau was also introduced to the "post-frontier explorer." Beginning in the 1890s, this new genre of exploration involved river voyages, archaeological ventures, pleasure trips by wealthy easterners and fact-finding tours by promoters of tourism. Emblematic of this era was T. Mitchell Prudden, a New York-based pathologist and professor. First visiting the Plateau in 1892, with the help of the Wetherills of Mesa Verde fame who served as guides, Prudden spent most of the next sixteen summers in Grand Canyon, Glen Canyon, Monument Valley, Mesa Verde or southeastern Utah. His experiences in the region resulted in the publication of *On the Great American Plateau* in 1906, a book that extended the reading public's knowledge north of the region popularized by Lummis to the central Colorado Plateau uplands. Foreshadowing writer-philosophers like Edward Abbey, Prudden contrasted the polluted and crowded eastern cities with the "elemental life" and "genuine freedom" found on the Plateau.⁹⁸ *Great American Plateau* also had the first photos of Monument Valley and the southern slickrock country to appear in a major publication, however grainy and colorless.⁹⁹

Working as an amateur archaeologist, Prudden also symbolized the discipline's growing interest in southeast Utah and the Four Corners region. Beginning with the Hyde Exploring Expedition's 1893 visit to Grand Gulch, archaeology's interest in the region was initially low as sites like Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon garnered the most attention. This began to change after the Utah chapter of the Society for the Preservation of American Antiquities was created in 1906 to be headed by Byron Cummings. In 1907 the Society began cataloguing sites near Bluff, Utah in the McElmo Creek drainage before moving to White Canyon in 1908 and Navajo Mountain in 1909. Their work indirectly led to more concerted archaeological efforts in canyon country during the 1920s and 1930s as archaeologists looked for new areas to study.¹⁰⁰

The twentieth century also witnessed the introduction of southeast Utah's natural bridges to mainstream America. First discovered in 1903 by Stanton colleague Horace M. Long, with help from the Scorup's cowboys, the bridges of White Canyon fueled a rush to the region, culminating in the 1909 discovery of Rainbow Bridge.¹⁰¹ Beginning with a 1904 article by Long in *Century Magazine* detailing his White Canyon trip, several stories were published on the area's natural bridges, highlighted by 1907 and 1910 features in *National Geographic*.¹⁰² Despite comparisons with Virginia's famous Natural Bridge—covered by *National Geographic* in 1893 and *Atlantic Monthly* in 1898—the novelty of these discoveries wore off and these classically monumental features were soon lost amidst a vast wilderness visited only by a few wealthy adventurers.¹⁰³

Immediately after Stanton, few people floated the remote stretches of the Green and Colorado Rivers. Trapper-guide Nathaniel Galloway went from Green River, Utah to Lee's Ferry in 1895, the next year from Henry's Fork, Wyoming to Needles, California. Also in 1896, George Flavell and an unnamed companion traveled from Green River, Wyoming to Yuma, Arizona. In 1907, Charles Russell, E. R. Monette and Bert Loper made the voyage from Green River, Wyoming to Needles, California. Then in 1909, industrialist Julius Stone, Galloway, Charles Sharp, S. S. Deubendorff and photographer R. A. Cogswell completed the same journey. Publishing his journals as *Canyon Country: The Romance of a Drop of Water and a Grain of Sand*, only Stone from this era kept a full written and photographic record. The book was not published until 1932 and barely mentioned the "naked rock, hard, weird and fascinating in its strangeness" of the Canyonlands basin. Most revealing was Stone's claim that the "canyon section of the Colorado River" had one of the "largest concentrations of water and electrical power sites in the United States," an observation not lost on representatives of the burgeoning reclamation movement.¹⁰⁴



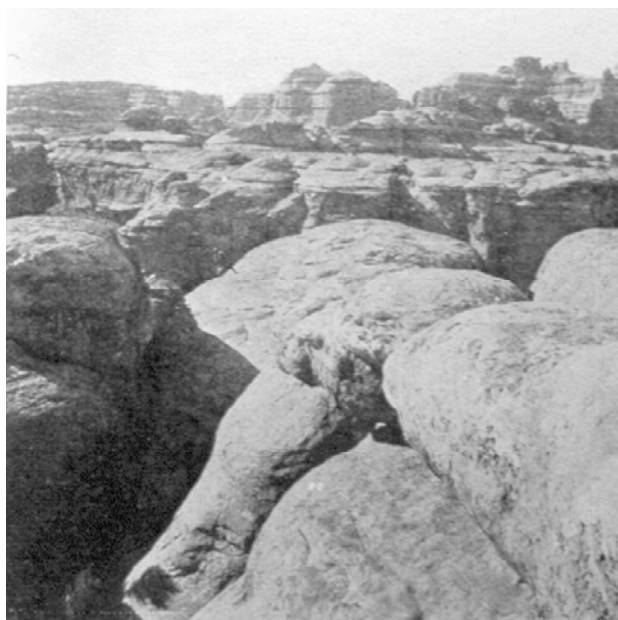
Figure 13: "Cross Section and Area, Junction Dam Site," Plate XIX, *Water Power and Flood Control of Colorado River Below Green River, Utah*, USGS WSP 614 (Washington: GPO, 1925). The map was inverted by the USGS during printing as the Colorado should be where the Green River is represented and visa versa.

Although the Colorado Basin river corridors outside the Grand Canyon remained unknown to the public, they were of central import to the United States Geological Survey and Reclamation Service. Beginning in 1889 when the USGS installed the first river gauges in canyon country, the region's streams were thoroughly studied. River gradients were catalogued, canyon corridors measured and geologic structure tested; all to determine where dams could be put for water storage, power production and flood control. Land values were gauged in materialist terms, with each canyon a potential hydrological and fiscal "bank" as ecological, biological and aesthetic values were ignored. By the mid-1920s the Reclamation Service had designated fifty-three dam sites on the Colorado and Green Rivers, including nine that would affect the Canyonlands basin and surrounding region: Mille Crag, Dark Canyon 1 and 2, Junction, Lower and Upper Moab, Nigger Bill, Castle Creek and Dewey.¹⁰⁵ Most of the later sites were surveyed by Eugene Clyde La Rue, a leading Geological Survey hydrologist during that era of river basin planning who epitomized utilitarian philosophy. Although he acknowledged the region's "mineral wealth and wonderful scenic beauties," La Rue claimed the "greatest development must come from its water resources."¹⁰⁶ Surveying the Green River in 1912

and the Grand River in 1914, he recommended a 270-foot dam be built at the confluence of the two rivers (Junction site) that would have backed up eight million acre-feet of water and flooded 127 miles of the Green and 110 miles of the Grand, including Moab Valley.¹⁰⁷ Later surveys and political decisions shifted the Bureau's preferences from the Junction site to an even higher dam at Dark Canyon that would have flooded a much larger area, including Cataract Canyon and the Canyonlands basin.

The tourist's eye came to canyon country in 1911 when Emery and Ellsworth Kolb retraced Powell's voyages. Bringing movie and still cameras, the Kolbs were "scenic photographers in love with their work, determined to reproduce the marvels of the Colorado's canyons." Reflected in their 1914 *National Geographic* article and 1915 book, *Through the Grand Canyon from Wyoming to Mexico*, the brothers brought a new perspective to the region and were the first to believe the Canyonlands area was worthy of special recognition.¹⁰⁸ Duly impressed by Labyrinth Canyon's "intricate system of dry, lateral canyons, and its reproduction of architecture," they were enamored by the terrain near

Figure 14: Emery Kolb, "The Land of Standing Rocks was Like a Maze," 1911. Kolb Brothers Photographic Collection, Northern Arizona University Special Collections.



the confluence, lauding formations to the west they tagged "the maze," the "great spires pointing heavenward" to the east appearing as a "city of churches;" and horizons framed by the La Sal, Abajo and Henry Mountains. From a "scenic point of view," they said that "the canyons of the Green River are second only to those of the Colorado itself," and that "surfeited globetrotters" will discover "what a wonderful region this is."¹⁰⁹ Although it remained buried by the difficulty of access, geographic ignorance and the omnipresence of Grand Canyon, the Canyonlands had received its first bump in the twentieth century toward recognition.

Another component of canyon country's future was identified when archaeologist Neil Judd led a National Geographic team in 1921 to the "Clay Hills" north of the San Juan River. Ever since he accompanied Byron Cummings in 1909 to Rainbow Bridge, Judd had wondered about the slickrock country north of Navajo Mountain. Traveling through a "veritable terra incognita," despite locating many archaeological sites, his main discoveries were philosophical and aesthetic. Judd claimed this vast wilderness of "unmapped mesas" and "endless distance of pink and brown sandstone" was an "indescribable force, infinitely magnified with greater distance and isolation from the usual haunts of men."¹¹⁰ Offering a new alternative to the monumentalism that attracted Cummings and others to the area, he described the emotive core behind regional concepts of parks and wilderness central to later debates over the use of canyon country. Antithetical to the utilitarianism expressed by Stanton and La Rue, Judd expressed the growing primitivism and love for sedimentary landscapes that blossomed when Canyonlands National Park came of age.

Similar to savants like Prudden and Abbey, Judd idealized a beautiful, yet ecologically harsh region where he did not live, a dynamic extended to people who could "experience" places by merely reading a book or magazine article or viewing a photograph. Although the relationship

between cities and wilderness is central to the national park concept and preservation in general, the chasm between urban ideals and rural societies is vast, with the idealistic zeal of the tourist, primitivist or land-use planner often slighting rural economics and tradition. The issue is further complicated by disagreements in urban-industrial society over proper uses for natural resources and public lands, ranging from pure preservation to major engineering projects and everything in-between. The twentieth century witnessed the unfolding of this debate as an increasingly mobile America discovered new forms of recreation and the Plateau's wilderness spaces, engineers planned major road projects and dams in the region, and rural societies held on to their shrinking piece of the agrarian dream. In canyon country, the "machine" was indeed entering the "garden" just as the parameters of said paradise were being defined, with the resulting tensions between preservationism and traditional economics and resource use producing a still unresolved conflict.

End notes

1. John Wesley Powell, *Exploration of the Colorado River and its Canyons in 1869, 1870, 1871, and 1872* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1875), p. 58.
2. The terms Cañon Lands, Canyon Lands, Canyonlands and canyon country will be used in this document. Cañon Lands refers to a geographic region designated by Powell in the 1878 *Report on the Arid Lands* report as the "Cañon Lands of Utah," a physiographic province centered on the Colorado River between the Paria River and the Book Cliffs. Canyon Lands is an Anglicized version of this term. Canyonlands or Canyonlands basin is used to designate the region containing Canyonlands National Park between the Orange Cliffs, Canyon Rims and Abajo Mountains, starting on the north at the confluence of the San Rafael and Green Rivers and Moab Valley on the Colorado River, and ending at Mille Crag Bend on the Colorado. Canyon country will be used generically to describe a landscape genre or as a euphemism for Canyon Lands when the term would otherwise be used more than once in a paragraph.
3. William Goetzmann, *New Lands, New Men: America and the Second Great Age of Discovery* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1995), p. xvii. First Age "reconnaissance" was characterized by moxie, instinct and religion, its science limited largely to navigation, astronomy and ad hoc observation. Second Age "exploration" occurred during and after the Enlightenment and used more systematic observational and analytical methods.
4. Spanish scientific exploration focused on Mexico and Central America outside Alejandro Malaspina's 1789–91 expedition up the Pacific Coast to Vancouver Island that resulted in Mariano Mozino's *Noticias de Nutkas*, one of few New World scientific documents to survive the Napoleonic Wars and decline of the Spanish Empire. The best book on Spanish science is Iris Engstrand, *Spanish Scientists in the New World* (Seattle: U of Washington P, 1981).
5. Elliot Coues, ed., *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garces, in His Travels Through Sonora, Arizona and California, 1775–1776* (New York: Francis Harper, 1900); Ted J. Warner, ed., Angelico Chazez, trans., *The Dominiguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition Through Colorado, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico in 1776* (U of Utah P, 1995).
6. Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, *Plano Geographico de la Tierra descubierta, novamante, a los Rumbos Norte de Noreste y Oeste del Nuevo Mexico, 1777*; University of New Mexico Special Collections.

7. Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, 4 vols. (London: 1811); Thomas Jefferson to Alexander von Humboldt, May 16, 1803; Albert Gallatin to WIFE, May 26, 1804, qtd. in Helmut de Terra, *The Life and Times of Alexander von Humboldt, 1769–1859* (New York: Knopf, 1955), pp. 180–81.

8. John C. Fremont, “A Report on the Exploring Expedition to Oregon and Northern California in the Years 1843–1844,” June 1, 1844, *The Expeditions of John Charles Fremont*, vol. I, eds. Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1970), p. 708.

9. Frank McNitt, ed., *Navajo Expedition: Journal of a Military Reconnaissance From Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Navaho Country Made in 1849 by James H. Simpson* (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1965). Colonel John Washington took 337 men to scout Navajo Country and confront the Navajo militarily, which he did at Canyon de Chelly.

10. Lorenzo Sitgreaves, *Report of an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers* (Washington: Beverly Tucker, 1854); Amiel Whipple, “Survey of the Route Near the 35th Parallel of North Latitude from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, vol. II, in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economic Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean*, (Washington: Beverly Tucker, 1854).

11. In the *Report on the Colorado River of the West* (Washington: GPO, 1861), Newberry described the Colorado Plateau as the Colorado Plateaus. In the *Report on the Explorations of the San Juan Expedition* published in 1876, he used the singular Colorado Plateau. John Wesley Powell often called the region the Plateau Province, with his usage gradually changing to the Colorado Plateau during the Powell Survey in the 1870s. The boundaries of the physiographic province defined by the Survey were similar to commonly accepted twentieth century boundaries.

12. E. G. Beckwith, “Report of the Explorations for a Route for the Pacific Railroad by Captain J. W. Gunnison, Topographical Engineers, near the 38th and 39th Parallels of North Latitude, The Mouth of the Kansas River, Mo., to the Sevier Lake, in the Great Basin,” *Pacific Railroad Surveys*, vol. 2 (Washington: Beverly Tucker, 1854): pp. 61–63, 65. Using data not destroyed during the Ute raid, Beckwith reconstructed Gunnison’s report as best he could.

13. Alfred Nelson Billings, “Journal of the Travels of the Elk Mountain Mission,” Oliver Huntington, “A Sketch of the Elk Mountain Mission,” History Division, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Salt Lake City.

14. Billings, “Journal of Elk Mountain Mission,” p. 3; Hunt-

ington, “Sketch of Elk Mountain Mission,” p. 5. According to *The Book of Mormon*, Lamanites were a remnant tribe from Israel for which the golden plates found by Joseph Smith were intended. After separating from the Nephites (another “lost” tribe), the Lamanites wandered in search of spiritual salvation. One role of devout Mormons was to carry a message of redemption to these tribes.

15. Billings, “Journal of Elk Mountain Mission,” July 24, 1855, p. 16. “Sanpitch” is the Wasatch Plateau and the “Rone” is the Roan Cliffs, while other names are more speculative. The “Patomukas” and “Bread Fruit” mountains, and “Cupabo Peak” are most likely the San Rafael Swell, Grand Mesa, Uncompaghre Plateau and Rocky Mountains.

16. G. K. Warren, “Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, to accompany the Reports of the Explorations for a Railroad Route,” 1857; Arizona State University Special Collections; also found in National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C. (NARA-W).

17. John Melish, “Map of the United States with the contiguous British and Spanish Possessions,” Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington DC; Charles Preuss, “Map of the Oregon and Upper California from the Surveys of John Charles Fremont and Other Authorities,” 1848, Records of U.S. Senate, NARA-W.

18. G. K. Warren, “Method of Compiling the Map, with List of Principal Determinations of Longitude,” *Reports of Exploration and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad From the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, vol. 12 (Washington: Beverly Tucker, 1859), pp. 92–115.

19. A. A. Humphreys to J. N. Macomb, April 6, 1859; Macomb Papers, NARA-W (Macomb Papers).

20. John Macomb to A. A. Humphreys, October 26, 1858; Humphreys to Secretary of War, J. B. Floyd, April 6, 1859; Humphreys to Macomb, April 6, 1859; Humphreys to Macomb, April 11, 1859; Macomb Papers. Macomb estimated the expedition would take ninety days, cost \$19,525 and need three hundred soldiers. The U.S. War Department gave Macomb \$20,000 to hire personnel, obtain transportation, purchase equipment, horses and mules. Staffing included one physician/naturalist at \$150 per month, one topographer at \$125 per month, one assistant astronomer/meteorologist at \$125 per month, one guide at \$125 per month, packers, herders and other assistants. The expedition used one transit, one telescope, one sextant, two boxes of chronometers, one prismatic compass, two odometers, six pocket compasses,

one reconnoitering glass, two cistern barometers and two syphons.

21. "San Juan Expedition, Field Notes by J. S. Newberry," Macomb Papers.

22. *Ibid.*, August 22, 1859.

23. Dimmock Field Notes, Macomb Expedition of 1859, Manuscripts Division, Rodgers Family File, Series I, Volume 17, Library of Congress. Moab writer Fran Barnes traced Macomb's route when researching *Hiking the Historic Route of the 1859 Macomb Expedition* (Moab, Utah: Canyon Country Publications, 1859). He provided descriptions and analysis showing where the expedition went and challenged claims that it reached the confluence.

24. Captain John Macomb, "General Report," November 1860, in *Report of the Exploring Expedition From Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West, in 1859* (Washington: GPO, 1876), p. 6. The "worthless lands" thesis postulated that lands with significant economic value are rarely included in parks or monuments, and was first introduced as a concept by Alfred Runte in his book, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1997); pp. 60–97.

25. Zebulon Pike, *The Expedition of Zebulon Pike*, ed. Donald Jackson, vol. II (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1966), p. 312; Stephen H. Long, "General Description of the Country Traversed by the Exploring Expedition," *An Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819 and 1820*, vol. II (Philadelphia, H.C. Carey and I. Lea, 1823), p. 355. Pike's "sandy wastes" description was amended by Long who said the Great Plains were "wholly unfit for cultivation . . . an insuperable object in the way of settling the country."

26. By the 1850s, catastrophism was challenged by advances in geology that historicized earth history and biology, with catastrophism serving as a scientific analogue to creationism. Lyell's *Principles of Geology* was the key book behind this shift with the first three volumes published in the 1830s providing the foundations for uniformitarianism. During his geological studies in the western United States, Newberry became convinced of the school's credibility.

27. John Strong Newberry, "Geological Report," *Report of the Exploring Expedition from Santa Fe*, p. 54.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

29. Using European classifications—Carboniferous instead of the Pennsylvanian-Mississippian tag later used in North American geology—Newberry divided the Valley of the Colorado including the Canyonlands basin into seventeen layers—five Cretaceous, one Jurassic, seven Triassic and four Carboniferous—that totaled more than 5,000 vertical feet. Using a combination of color, shape, and texture, he also identified rocks including sandstones, shales, limestones and cherts, simple mineralogical/rock designations that became more sophisticated in later years.

30. Newberry, "Geological Report," p. 96.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

32. "Head of Cañon Colorado," Plate VIII; "Head of Labyrinth Creek," Plate VII, in Newberry, *Report on the Exploring Expedition*. Other images in the report were "Near Vado Del Chama," Plate II; "Rio Dolores & Sierra de la Plata," Plate V; "Casa Colorado and La Sal Mountains," Plate IV; "Lower San Juan Looking West," [Monument Valley], Plate IX; "The Needles, Looking Southwesterly," [Shiprock], Plate X. The images were all based on sketches by Newberry and completed by lithographer T. Sinclair in Philadelphia.

33. F.W. Egloffstein, "Big Cañon from Mouth of Diamond River," Plate IV; "Big Cañon," Plate IX, *Report on the Colorado River of the West*.

34. Newberry, "Geological Report," p. 88. The ruins named "Surouaro" by the Utes are found on the Dolores River near the "Valley of the Ancients," and are described on pages 88–89; ruins and pottery in "Labyrinth Canyon" on page 95. On August 3, 1859, Newberry sent a letter describing the ruins and region's natural history to Spencer Baird, Director of the Smithsonian Institution via Ute Agent Joseph Pfiefer, who had left the expedition near Mesa Verde to return to Santa Fe; Spencer Baird Papers, Smithsonian Institution Museum of Natural History Archives.

35. J. S. Newberry, "Geological Report," pp. 91–92; Newberry to Joseph Leidy, February 8, 1860; Joseph Leidy Papers, Academy of Natural Sciences Archives, Philadelphia (Leidy Papers). On Feb. 8, 1860, Newberry sent Leidy three boxes with "saurian" remains from Cañon Pintado.

36. Newberry, "Geological Report," p. 100.

37. Meriwether Lewis, *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark: To the Sources of the Missouri, Thence Across the Rocky Mountains and Down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, Performed During the*

Years 1804–5–6, (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskip, 1814); Zebulon Pike, *An Account of the Expeditions to the Source of the Mississippi, and Through the Western Parks of Louisiana, to the Sources of the Arkansas, Kans, La Platte, and San Juan Rivers; During the Years 1805, 1806, and 1807, And Tour Through the Interior Parts of New Spain in the Year 1807* (Philadelphia: C. C. Conrad, 1810); John Charles Fremont, *The Expeditions of John C. Fremont*. Many editions were issued of Fremont's original expedition notes and journals by trade publishers from 1846 to 1847 in New York, Washington, Baltimore, England and Germany.

38. Newberry to Baird, October 1, 1859, Leidy Papers.

39. J. W. Powell, "Report on his Explorations of the Rio Colorado in 1869," in W. A. Bell, *New Tracks in North America* (1870), pp. 559–64.

40. Yosemite was given to California in 1864 by the United States to serve as a state park, then made into a national park in 1890. Yellowstone became the nation's first national park in 1872.

41. Powell's surviving notes from the first expedition cover July 2nd to August 28th, 1869. A duplicate set had been kept on separate boats in case of accidents, although during the hurried departure of William Dunn and the Howland brothers in the western Grand Canyon, the notes were not divided equally. Powell also kept a brief geological journal from the first expedition that he merged with observations from the second river expedition and the Powell Survey. Both sets were reprinted in William Culp Darrah, ed., *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15 (1947): 125–33, 134–39.

42. Dutton's monographs, articles by Gilbert and Powell, and Powell's annual reports focused attention on the Colorado Plateau. Included in the *Second Annual Report of the USGS to the Secretary of the Interior, 1880–1881*, are descriptions by Powell of his work in the Uinta Mountains, Dutton's *Tertiary History of Grand Cañon* and *High Plateaus of Utah*, Gilbert's *The History of Lake Bonneville*, and notes on the Plateau's value to geologic science. This USGS focus on the Plateau lessened over time, although Dutton's *Mt. Taylor and the Zuni Plateau* was published in the 6th Annual Report of the USGS, and cartographic work in the region from 1881–86 was highlighted.

43. E. O. Beaman, "The Cañon of the Colorado and the Moqui Pueblos," [Introduction and Chapter I], *Appleton's Journal* 11 (April 18, 1874): 481–84; [Chapter II], *Appleton's* (April 25, 1874): 513–16; [Chapters III and IV], *Appleton's* (May 2, 1874): 545–48; [Chapters V and VI] *Appleton's* (May 9, 1874): 590–93. Beaman described the Canyonlands region in Chapter III, pp. 545–46, detailing "pinnacles,"

"buttes," and "grotesque and fantastic forms" that reminded him of Irving's "Ruins of the Alhambra." Beaman's writing lacked the descriptive clarity of Powell and the articles were accompanied by poor quality lithographs.

44. John Wesley Powell, "The Cañons of the Colorado," *Scribner's Monthly* 9 (January 1875): 293–310; "The Cañons of the Colorado: Second Paper," *Scribner's* 9 (February 1875): 394–409; "The Cañons of the Colorado: Third Paper," *Scribner's* 9 (March 1875): 523–37; "The Ancient Provinces of Tusayan," *Scribner's* 10 (October 1875): 193–213; "An Overland Trip to the Grand Canyon," *Scribner's* 11 (December 1875): 659–78; Powell, *Exploration of the Cañons of the Colorado and its Tributaries: Explored in 1869, 1870, 1871, and 1872* (Washington: GPO, 1875); An abridged report, "Exploration of the Colorado of the West and its Tributaries," was also presented to Congress, 43 Cong, 1 Sess., House Misc. Doc. 300, (1875).

45. *Exploration of the Cañons of the Colorado* was organized as follows: Chapter I—The Valley of the Colorado; Chapter II—From Green River City to Flaming Gorge; Chapter III—From Flaming Gorge to the Gate of Lodore; Chapter IV—The Cañon of Lodore; Chapter V—From Echo Park to the Mouth of the Uinta River; Chapter VI—From the Mouth of the Uinta River to the Junction of the Grand and Green; Chapter VII—From the Junction of the Grand and Green to the Mouth of the Little Colorado; Chapter VIII—The Grand Cañon of the Colorado [End of River Expedition Narrative]; Chapter IX—The Rio Virgen and the U-In-Ka-Ret Mountains; Chapter X—A. H. Thompson, Report on a Trip to the Mouth of the Dirty Devil River; Chapter XI—On the Physical Features of the Valley of the Colorado; Chapter XII—On the Physical Features of the Valley of the Colorado, Continued; Chapter XIII—Abstract of Results of a Study of the Genera, *Geomys* and *Thomomys*. In the six-page article in Bell's *Tracks Across North America*, Powell spent one page on Canyonlands and two on Grand Canyon.

46. The 1895 edition was published as *Canyons of the Colorado* by Flood and Vincent of Boston and contained nearly identical geologic, ethnographic and historical analyses. This edition was re-published in 1961 by Dover as *The Exploration of the Colorado River and its Canyons*.

47. Powell, *Exploration of the Cañons of the Colorado*, pp. 52–56. The expedition passed the San Rafael River on July 14, entered the Canyonlands basin and reached the confluence of the Green and Grand River on July 17, 1869. Passages are found in "Canyon of the Colorado," Pt. II, pp. 394–96; and *Canyons of the Colorado*, pp. 199–209.

48. Powell, *Exploration of the Cañons of the Colorado*, pp. 58–59; “Cañons of the Colorado, Pt. II,” p. 397; *Cañons of the Colorado*, pp. 212–13. The first expedition stayed at the junction from July 18–21, 1869.
49. Powell, *Exploration of the Cañons of the Colorado*, pp. 60–67.
50. “George W. Bradley’s Journal,” ed. William C. Darrah, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15 (1947): 49–50.
51. “Bradley Journal,” July 18, p. 51; July 20, p. 53; “John Wesley Powell’s Journal,” July 20; *Utah Historical Quarterly*, p. 19.
52. “J. C. Sumner’s Journal,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15 (1947): pp. 113–24. Sumner’s journal covers July 6 to August 31, 1869; with the passage through Canyonlands from July 14 to 28 on pp. 114–16. Despite its dearth of descriptions beyond basic natural history, Sumner’s record helps reconstruct the expedition’s daily activities.
53. “Bradley Journal,” July 16, 1871, p. 50.
54. “Captain Francis Marion Bishop’s Journal,” September 7, 1871; ed. Charles Kelly, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15 (1947): 199–200; “Journal of Walter Clement Powell,” *UHQ* 16 (1949): 257–489.
55. Frederick Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage* (Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1984), p. 116. [Orig. pub. by Dellenbaugh, 1908]. “Journal of John Wesley Powell,” *Smithsonian Journal of History* 3 (1968): 1–44.
56. Dellenbaugh, *Canyon Voyage*; “Dellenbaugh Butte,” p. 103; “Labyrinth Canyon–Bowknot Bend,” p. 110; “Stillwater Canyon,” p. 111; “Cataract Canyon,” p. 118; and “Cataract Canyon,” p. 119; Photos by E. O. Beaman. Between Green River, Wyoming, and the bottom of Cataract Canyon, Beaman took 132 photographs, 10 in the Canyonlands region. U.S. Geological Survey Photographic Archives—Denver.
57. “Toom-Pin Wu–Near-Too-Weap,” Powell, “Cañons of the Colorado,” *Scribner’s* (February 1875): 394.
58. Thomas Moran, “Buttes of the Cross in the Toom-Pin Wu–Near Too-Weap,” Fig. 19; “The Heart of Cataract Canyon,” Fig. 20; “Water Basin in Gypsum Cañon,” Fig. 21; “Birds-Eye View of the Toom-Pin Wu–Near Too-Weap,” Fig. 62; in Powell, *Exploration of the Cañons of the Colorado*.
59. The same image again appeared in *Canyons of the Colorado* labeled “Land of the Standing Rocks,” p. 205.
60. Thomas Moran, “Chasm of the Colorado,” 1874, U.S. Capitol Building. Moran produced twenty-five more paintings of the Grand Canyon in his lifetime. For more on Moran’s works of the Grand Canyon, see Stephen Pyne’s *How the Canyon Became Grand: A Short History* (Viking: New York, 1998); or Amy Bassford, ed. *Home Thoughts from Afar: Letters of Thomas Moran to Mary Moran* (East Hampton Free Library, 1967).
61. F.W. Egloffstein, “Big Cañon from Mouth of Diamond River,” Plate IV, and “Big Cañon,” Plate IX, J. C. Ives, *Report on the Colorado River of the West*, Senate Executive Document, 36th Congress (Washington DC: GPO, 1861). These paintings epitomize perceptions that distort aesthetics and geologic realism characteristic of art from the Ives Expedition, with the lithographs and sketches by Egloffstein and Mollhausen emphasizing this point.
62. “Sketches of Grand Canyon [Colorado River] Frederick Dellenbaugh Papers, Smithsonian Anthropological Manuscripts. Dellenbaugh’s Canyonlands art includes “Dellenbaugh Butte,” “Sinav-to-Weap” or “Ghost-Land,” (Standing Rocks); “Labyrinth Canyon,” “Junction of Green and Grand Rivers” and “Cataract Canyon.”
63. Most of Fausett’s paintings have been sold or given to family members, although “Angel Arch” can be found at the Springville Museum of Art, Springville, Utah. Many of Fausett’s paintings were photographed by Fausett, and many of these transparencies are in the Lynn Fausett Collection, Brigham Young University Special Collections.
64. Clarence Dutton, *Report on the High Plateaus of Utah* (Washington: GPO, 1880), p. 16.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 286–87.
66. Accompanied by promoters of Wayne Wonderland National Monument (Capitol Reef), Yellowstone National Park Superintendent Roger Toll saw the same vista as had Dutton from 1,500 vertical feet lower. Whereas Toll was at 9,000 feet above sea level near the road that became Utah Highway 12, Dutton’s best view was from what is now called Chokecherry Point (10,770 feet) on the east edge of the Aquarius Plateau, also called Boulder Mountain.
67. Clarence Dutton, *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District* (Washington: GPO, 1882), p. 89.
68. *Ibid.* pp. viii, 51, 141.
69. William Henry Holmes, “The Grand Canyon From the Foot of Toroweap,” Atlas Sheet VI; “Panorama from Point Sublime,” “Three Parts, Looking East, Looking South, Look-

ing West,” Atlas Sheets XVI–XVIII, Dutton, *Tertiary History*.

70. Clarence Dutton, “Mount Taylor and the Zuni Plateau,” in *6th Annual Report of the United States Geological Survey to the Secretary of the Interior, 1884–1885* (Washington: GPO, 1886.), p. 117.

71. These three authors/activists represent a progression of land-use philosophies after World War II in relation to the American West and Colorado Plateau. Starting with DeVoto’s editorials in *Harper’s* “Easy Chair” columns and continuing with the books and essays of Stegner and Abbey, society concurrently discovered canyon country and a more radical brand of conservationism that after 1970 would be called environmentalism.

72. Almon Thompson, “Report on a Trip to the Mouth of the Dirty Devil River,” *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West*, pp. 133–45.

73. William Henry Jackson, *The Diaries of William Henry Jackson: Frontier Photographer, to California and Return, 1866–67, to the Central Rockies, 1873, and the Utes and Cliff Dwellings, 1874*, eds. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clarke, 1959), p. 213.

74. Grove Karl Gilbert, *Report on the Geology of the Henry Mountains* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1877); Charles B. Hunt, *Geology of the Henry Mountains, Utah, as recorded in the notebooks of G.K. Gilbert, 1875–1876* (Boulder, Colorado: Geological Society of America, 1988); Stephen Pyne, *Grove Karl Gilbert: A Great Engine of Research* (Austin: U of Texas P, 1980).

75. John Wesley Powell, “On the Physical Features of the Valley of the Colorado,” *Exploration of the Colorado River*, pp. 149–214. Powell described various modes of valley formation; transverse, longitudinal, diaclinal, anaclinal, anticlinal, cataclinal and monoclinal; calling them complex or compound processes depending on the combination of structural formations present.

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 203–04, 163–66.

77. Powell, *Report on the Geology of the Eastern Portion of the Uinta Mountains* (1876). Exploring the region in 1874 and 1875 with Henry DeMotte, a former colleague and paleontologist from Illinois Wesleyan University, Powell wanted to understand why the river had cut through large rock formations on the Uinta’s eastern flank. From this groundbreaking study emerged the important concepts of antecedence, consequent and super-imposition.

78. David Miller, *Hole-in-the-Rock: An Epic in the Colonization*

of the Great American West (Salt Lake City: U of Utah P, 1959). Miller claimed the best route would have been the northern one through the Moab Valley because the southern route through Navajo country did not possess enough water or forage to support such a large group. That the route taken was recommended by Charles Hall, Andrew Schow and Reuben Collett of Escalante is well known. Once the San Juan Mission realized the difficulty of the route over the Colorado, it was too late to turn back.

79. Miller’s *Hole-in-the-Rock* contains secondary analysis of the expedition’s motives and mission, the decision behind choosing the route, segments of the trip, as well as transcripts of diaries from expedition members.

80. Charles Peterson, *Look to the Mountains: Southeastern Utah and the La Sal National Forest* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young UP, 1975), p. 53.

81. John C. Fremont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, (Washington: 1844). Fremont’s 1842 notes were combined with notes from the 1843–1844 expedition and published in 1845, with editions that contained both expeditions later reprinted in trade publications. It is unclear which version Young read, although we know he was especially interested in Fremont’s 1843–1844 voyage that took him over South Pass, down the Bear River Valley, across Idaho and Oregon, south through California, and back through western Utah and the Uinta Basin. In addition to his journal notes, Fremont also made topographic maps of river basins and trails.

82. Anti-polygamy laws passed in 1862 were unenforceable, prompting Senator George Edmunds to introduce a bill in 1881 which passed in 1882. He introduced another bill in 1884 known as the “Utah Law,” which was passed in 1886 as the Edmunds-Tucker Act. Designed to prosecute people engaged in plural marriage and hurt the Mormon Church, polygamy raids ensued, causing hardship and resentment in LDS society akin to the 1840s when the murder of Joseph Smith resulted in the migration to Utah. In 1890 under the leadership of Woodrow Wilford, president of the Twelve Apostles, “The Manifesto” was passed. Paving the way for Utah’s statehood in 1896, it called for church members to follow the nation’s laws, although it did not rescind the divine provenance of plural marriage.

83. “Journal of Platte DeAlton Lyman,” Thursday, November 29, 1879, Miller, *Hole-in-the-Rock*, Appendix V, pp. 162–63. Covering the period from October 28, 1879 to June 2, 1880, the latter date being two months after the Mission’s arrival in Bluff, Utah, Lyman’s account is the only surviving journal that covers the whole expedition.

84. Powell, *Exploration of the Colorado River*, pp. 68–73.

85. For more on the relationship between Mormon cosmology and science, read Erich Robert Paul, *Science, Religion and Mormon Cosmology* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1992). The best work on the Mormon village is Lowry Nelson's *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Settlement* (Salt Lake City: U of Utah P, 1952).

86. Powell, *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1962 [orig. pub. by GPO in 1878]), pp. 119–20. Powell divided Utah into the following seven regions: Cañon Lands, High Plateaus, Tavaputs Plateau, Uinta Mountains, Wasatch Mountains and Basin and Range. Cañon Lands is the same region identified by Dutton as a sub-region of the Colorado Plateau, the others being the High Plateaus, Grand Canyon, Datil, Navajo and Mogollon Rim.

87. The best environmental history on the ecology of the San Juan River is James Aton and Robert McPherson's *River Flowing From Sunrise: An Environmental History of the Lower San Juan* (Logan: Utah State UP, 2000). For the definitive history of San Juan County, read McPherson's *A History of San Juan County: In the Palm of Time* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1996).

88. Dead Horse Point became known to tourists in the 1930s, with auto access possible over cattle trails that became graded roads. After Park Service aerial surveys of canyon country in 1936, the overlook was the first place visited by NPS officials between 1936 and 1944 during the Escalante National Monument debate, with the Grazing Service thereafter improving the road. For further reading on Moab and Grand County history, see Faun McConkie Tanner, *The Far Country: A Regional History of Moab and La Sal, Utah* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing, 1976); or Richard A. Firmage, *A History of Grand County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1996).

89. The Temples of the Virgin River were found by Nephi Johnson in 1858, with the name "Joseph's Glory" emanating from settler Joseph Black's ebullient descriptions in the 1860s about Zion Canyon's beauty. Bryce Canyon, named after Paria Valley settler Ebenezer Bryce, and Cedar Breaks, were initially administered by the U.S. Forest Service before being transferred to the Interior Department in the 1920s and 1930s. Having served as a hub for exploration of the Grand Canyon since Powell's day, Kanab residents began entertaining tourism as a viable economic alternative, taking the first automobile to the Grand Canyon in 1909 on a build-as-you-go road.

90. Dutton's influence at Grand Canyon can be seen in the presence of Egyptian, Hindu and Buddhist names.

Matthes added the Nordic names, Matthes' protégé Evans introduced the Arthurian literature tags, and Indian names were added after the 1919 creation of Grand Canyon National Park. The original Paiute name of Mukuntuweap given to the national monument in 1909 was changed in 1919 to Zion when it became a national park.

91. As part of the deal involving his being hired away from the *Chillicothe Daily Ledger* by the *Los Angeles Daily Times* in September 1884, Lummis walked from Ohio to California, sending reports to the Los Angeles newspaper from the field. This made Lummis a celebrity during which time he fell in love with New Mexico and Arizona that became his focus for the next four decades. Between 1891 and 1928 Lummis published seventeen books, most on the Southwest and California, including *A New Mexico David, and Other Stories and Sketches of the Southwest* (New York: Scribners, 1891); *Some Strange Corners of Our Country: The Wonderland of the Southwest* (New York: Century, 1892); *Gold Fish of Gran Chimú* (Boston: Lanson and Wolfe, 1896); *Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo* (New York: Century, 1925). Lummis' romanticism and canon of "sacred" landscapes is exemplified in the *Land of Sunshine/Out West* magazine he edited and published. The "Southwestern Wonderland" series focused on places he loved that became staples of Southwestern tourism and included the following articles: "The Greatest Thing in the World," *Land of Sunshine* 3 (September 1895): 195–198 [Grand Canyon]; "American Passion Play," *LOS* 4 (May 1896) [Penitentes of New Mexico]: 255–63; "Our First American Jewelers," [Pueblo Indians] *LOS* 5 (July 1896): 54–58; "The Cave City of the Tynuonyi," *LOS* 5 (June 1896): 34–37 [Archaeology]; "The Autograph Cliff," [El Morro] *LOS* 5 (August 1896): 101–05; "The City of the Cliff," [Acoma] *LOS* 5 (October 1896): 184–91; "The Best Blanket in the World," [Navajo] *LOS* 6 (December 1896): 8–11; "The Country of Standing Rocks," [geology in Navajo country] *LOS* (April 1897): 183–86; "The Artist's Paradise," [greater region] *LOS* 6 (May 1897): 232–39; and "The First American Potters" [living craftspeople and those of antiquity] *LOS* 7 (July 1897): 44–50.

92. J. H. Beadle, "The Silver Mountains of Utah," *Harper's* 53 (October 1876): 641–42. One of most virulent anti-Mormon writers of the era, Beadle also wrote *Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1870); and *Brigham's Destroying Angel: Being the Life, Confessions, and Startling Disclosures of the Notorious Bill Hickham, the Danite Chief of Utah* (New York: G. A. Crofutt, 1872).

93. Daniel K. Muhlestein, "The Rise and Fall of the Cattle Companies in San Juan, 1880–1900," unpub. ms., n.d., Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, pp. 24–25.

94. Robert McPherson, *History of San Juan County*, pp. 170–93; Land Claim Records, San Juan County Recorder's Office; Stena Scorup, *J. A. Scorup: A Utah Cattleman* (Privately published, 1944); K. C. Benedict, "A Utah Cowman's Legacy," *True West* 35 (December 1988): 48–51; Benedict, "The Legacy of John Albert Scorup," *Blue Mountain Shadows* 6 (Spring 1990): 12–20; Neal Lambert, "Al Scorup: Cattleman of the Mountains," *Blue Mountain Shadows* 6 (Spring 1990): 1–6. Operating initially as squatters, the Scorups and Somervilles purchased water rights around Dugout Ranch between 1920 and 1928, later extending their domain north toward Moab.
95. Charles Kelly, *The Outlaw Trail: A History of Butch Cassidy and the Wild Bunch* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1996 [Orig. pub. by Kelly, 1938]); Pearl Baker, *The Wild Bunch at Robber's Roost* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1989 [Orig. pub. by Baker, 1965]).
96. Pearl Baker, *Robber's Roost: Recollections* (Logan: Utah State UP, 1991); Richard F. Negri, ed. *Tales of Canyonlands Cowboys* (Logan: Utah State UP, 1997).
97. Robert Brewster Stanton, Field Notes Book No. 1, May 29, 1889, p. 29, Stanton Papers, Division of Archives and Manuscripts, New York Public Library; Robert Brewster Stanton, *Down the Colorado*, Dwight Smith, ed. (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1965), p. 42. Stanton's trip in Canyonlands is covered in Field Notes, Book No. 1, pp. 20–91; and in *Down the Colorado*, pp. 37–60. Despite the failed railroad scheme and Stanton's struggles with mining ventures in Glen Canyon, he remained fascinated with the region and compiled an enormous archive of historical data on the river and produced an unpublished manuscript of Colorado River history.
98. T. Mitchell Prudden, "A Summer Among the Cliff Dwellers," *Harper's* 93 (1896): 545–61; Prudden, "An Elder Brother to the Cliff Dwellers," *Harper's* 95 (June 1897): 53–62; Prudden, "Under the Spell of the Grand Canyon," *Harper's* 97 (1898): 377–92; Prudden, "Prehistoric Ruins of the San Juan Watershed," *American Anthropologist* 5 (April–June 1903): 224–88; Prudden "Circular Kivas of Small Ruins in the San Juan Watershed," *AA* 16 (April–June): 33–42; Prudden, *On the Great American Plateau* (New York: Putnam, 1906), pp. 3, 10, 91.
99. Prudden, *Great American Plateau*, "Sentinels of the Colorado Plateau," [Monument Valley], frontispiece; "Wayside Home on the Plateau," [Hogan in front of Mitchell Butte, Monument Valley], p. 22; "A Way between Lofty Mesas," [Navajo Mountain region], p. 52; "Miles of Gorgeous Pinnacles in Monument Valley," p. 87; *Letters and Correspondence of T. Mitchell Prudden* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1927).
100. Moving to Grand Gulch because Mesa Verde had already been heavily excavated by the early 1890s, in their first season the Hyde Expedition identified the "Basket-maker Culture." Although focusing on Chaco Canyon after 1896, the Hyde Expedition periodically returned to Grand Gulch. For more information, read James Snead, *Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology* (Tucson: U of Arizona P, 2001).
101. Horace Stone, "Utah's Natural Bridges," *Century* 53 (Aug 1904): 312–22; M. Byron Cummings, "Recollections of Discovery of Rainbow Bridge," *The Discovery of Rainbow Bridge: The Natural Bridges of Utah and the Discovery of Betatakin* (Tucson, Arizona: Cummings Publication Council, n.d.), p. 15; Neil Judd, "The Discovery of Rainbow Bridge," *The Discovery of Rainbow Bridge*, pp. 9–13. Judd's version was solicited by the National Park Service and stood as the agency's official version of "discovery" for seventy years.
102. "The Great Natural Bridges of Utah," *National Geographic* 18 (March 1907): 199–204; Byron Cummings, "The Great Natural Bridges of Utah," *NG* 21 (February 1910): 157–66.
103. Charles D. Walcott, "The Natural Bridge of Virginia," *National Geographic Magazine* 5 (July 10, 1893): 59–62; Bradford Torrey, "At Natural Bridge, Virginia," Part I, *Atlantic Monthly* 82 (July 1898): 112–21; "At Natural Bridge, Virginia," Pt. II, *AM*, 82 (August 1898): 257–68.
104. Julius Stone, *Canyon Country: The Romance of a Drop of Water and a Grain of Sand* (New York: Putman, 1932), viii, 68–78.
105. "Profiles of Green and Colorado Rivers," United States Geological Survey, 1921–1923; 30 sheets, Museum of Northern Arizona Archives. In a map produced by the USGS and Bureau of Reclamation in 1923, "Approximate Profile of Colorado and Green Rivers," dam sites included Williams River, Bulls Head, Boulder Canyon, Spencer Canyon, Diamond Creek, Girard, Marble Canyon, Cataract Canyon (Dark), Dewey, Green River Diversion Project, Rattlesnake, Minnie Maud, Brown's Park, Flaming Gorge and Kremmerling. This data was also published in Lewis R. Freeman, *The Colorado River: Yesterday, To-Day and To-Morrow* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1923).
106. Eugene Clyde La Rue, *The Colorado River and its Utilization*, USGS Water Supply Paper 156 (Washington: GPO, 1916), p. 9.
107. "Junction Dam," 1917, Box 67, Bureau of Reclamation Records, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver.

Defining Canyon Country: Natural Bridges to the Escalante and Beyond

.....

.....

.....

ENTERING THE TWENTIETH century, no place in the continental United States was any wilder, more remote or less known than Utah's Canyon Lands. An exception to Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis that America's frontier had closed, demographically, economically and socially, the region resisted most efforts at settlement or resource development. As prognosticated by Newberry and Powell, traditional economic formulae did not apply to this wilderness of rocks. Farmers found few arable niches, miners toiled to locate usable minerals and stockmen traveled great distances to find forage. Epitomized by Robert Brewster Stanton's failure to build a railroad along its river corridors, the urban-industrial machine also struggled with canyon country. Even the nation's increasingly affluent and mobile tourists barely knew the region, their appetite for the Colorado Plateau's exotic qualities satiated by the "Southwestern Wonderland" of Charles Lummis and Fred Harvey, geologic features on canyon country's periphery and popular interpretations of river exploration focused on adventure and the Grand Canyon. However, as transportation improved and urban-

ites yearned for wilder places, the cultural role of the Canyon Lands began to change.¹

Although preservationism in southeast Utah began with expressions of pure monumentalism at Natural Bridges, Rainbow Bridge and Arches National Monuments, improved knowledge of regional geography and society's growing interest in big wilderness prodded the National Park Service (NPS) and conservationists to look at canyon country in a new light. During new park area studies in the 1930s the NPS became so impressed by the vastness and unique beauty of the Canyon Lands region that they conceived the massive Escalante National Monument, a reserve larger than Yellowstone National Park extending from Glen Canyon to the Canyonlands basin. Facing strong political opposition, the Escalante concept failed despite reductions in its size and assurances from the NPS that grazing, mining and water projects would be allowed within its borders. The monument proposal and the 1936 Wilderness Society designation of the "Colorado River Canyons" as the largest roadless tract in the

lower forty-eight states combined to connect canyon country with values sacred to preservationism at the same time plans were being made to develop the water storage and hydropower potential of the Upper Colorado River Basin. These competing visions for canyon country would exist in parallel fashion during World War II and in the post-war era, positioning themselves for the fight to follow over the disposition of the region.

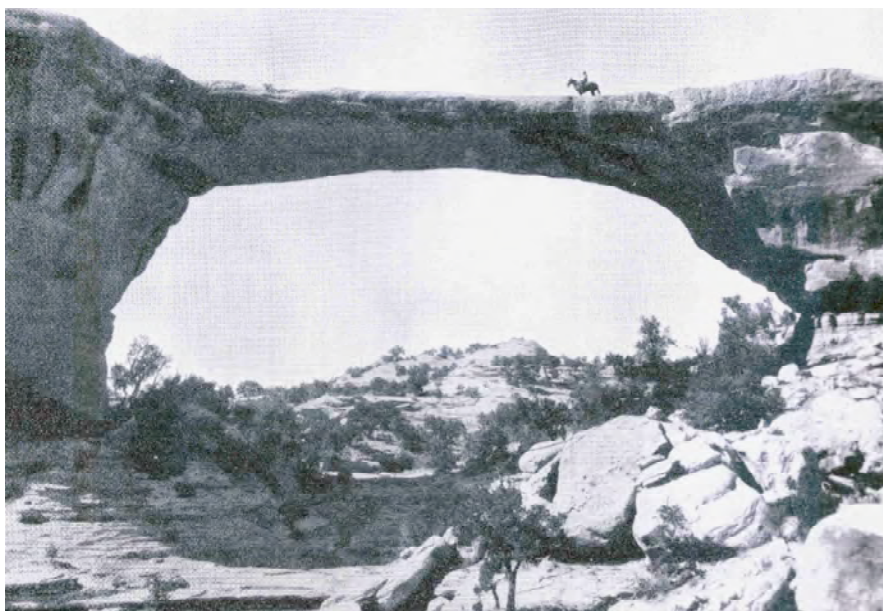
The National Park Service discovers the Canyon Lands of Southeast Utah

When Utah's natural bridges were discovered in the early 1900s, southeastern Utah was geographically, culturally and economically removed from the American mainstream. Just two decades after the Hole-in-the-Rock expedition, from railheads at Green River and Thompson Springs, Utah or Durango, Colorado, travelers faced long trips over muddy, rocky and sandy roads to Hanksville, Moab, Monticello or Blanding.² Ranching and farming had become more stable but remained risky because of the region's unpredictable climate and ecological limits. The "Wild West" was also alive and well, as the "outlaw trail" was not a literary construct from a Zane Grey novel but a reality etched upon the landscape, and relations between Indians and whites remained tense.³ To those living in the area without refuge in the proverbial parlor, urban concepts of scenery, adventure and preserved space were foreign, even maladroit, ideas. Surviving the "geological charnel house" of Utah as described by Wallace Stegner, was central to attaining the Mormon Zion. Withdrawing land to protect geologic or archaeological features was seen by locals

as a waste of resources or an intrusion by the U.S. government only two decades after the infamous polygamy raids.⁴ Southeast Utahns may have even agreed with the economic goals of the engineer-explorers running the rivers and tramping the uplands to survey for water projects and minerals, but mistrust of the federal government usually trumped such sentiments.

Therefore, when Theodore Roosevelt created Natural Bridges National Monument in April 1908, there were no cheering throngs in southeast Utah.⁵ Locals were wary because of the large withdrawals in 1906 and 1907 to create the La Sal and Monticello Forest Reserves, and ranchers were angry over grazing permits required on National Forest Service lands. Difficult to enforce because of thin ranger coverage and stockmen's unwillingness to comply, the new rules reflected an expansion of federal power. Although Natural Bridges' 2,740 acres was small compared to the 158,462 and 315,668 acres withdrawn in the La Sal and Abajo Mountains, respectively, the monument was seen by locals as the continuum of a process eroding their liberty to use the land as they wished.⁶ The negative reaction to conser-

Figure 15: Willis T. Lee, Owachomo Bridge, 1915. USGS Photographic Archives, Lakewood, Colorado.



vationism occurring across the West combined with Mormon defensiveness to create the prickly attitude federal land managers in Utah have dealt with ever since. Policies based on science and conservation philosophy could also appear to people guided by providentialism and self-sufficiency as little more than a conspiracy to take away freedoms earned through faith and sweat, a phenomenon not limited to Mormon societies.

Hired in 1908 as the La Sal Forest Reserve Southern District's first Supervisor-Ranger, John Riis arrived in Monticello to explain and enforce the new regulations. Grudgingly accepted in his official capacity, Riis was ignored socially, prodding him to explore the region's backcountry. From the edge of Shay Mountain in 1909, Riis received his first view of the Canyonlands basin:

Below me lay a weirdly beautiful landscape. A maze of tangled cliffs and canyons, serrated rock spires and turrets stretching westward as far as the eye could see into the setting sun. Somewhere in that uninhabited jumble of rocks the Green River and the Grand River joined to form the Colorado. For miles to the north and to the south the country was impassable, useless, barren. Yet, as the sinking sun drew distorted shadows across its twisted face there was an odd and impressive beauty about it. . . . Here and there its deep canyons hide the cliff-built homes and etched on their walls are the indecipherable record of their history. . . . It is a land to dream over, for in some indefinable way it seems to present the story of creation. . . . Dead it is and has been for thousands of years, yet it seemed to me that here the Creator had painted a vivid picture of time eternal that was good for man to see; a picture that has lived for centuries, and will live for countless more.⁷

Despite his emotional response to Canyonlands, Riis was managing Department of Agriculture lands on the principle of multiple-use espoused by family friend and personal hero, President Roosevelt, not the Interior Depart-

ment lands composing canyon country. This powerful vision thus receded into Riis' memory, not emerging until the publication of his memoirs decades later.

Whereas the Forest Service was active in southeast Utah, little happened at the area's national monuments. Archaeologist Byron Cummings' celebrated discovery of Rainbow Bridge in 1909 was followed by President Taft's 1910 proclamation of Rainbow Bridge National Monument, a 160-acre withdrawal that combined with Natural Bridges to give the region a certain identity in the national mind-set.⁸ However, these national monuments—the 14th and 25th created under the 1906 Antiquities Act—were monuments in name only, exotic destinations for wealthy adventurers, “paper parks” in the truest sense. Little changed after the National Park Service was created in 1916, with the agency's tiny budget not allowing coverage of all sixteen national parks and twenty-one national monuments in its charge. Natural Bridges did not appear in NPS reports outside tables listing agency holdings until the 1919 annual report when a Senate bill proposing to build a highway from Zion to Grand Canyon to Natural Bridges to Mesa Verde was analyzed, the first of many “circle” routes discussed over the next fifty years.⁹ In 1919 the Park Service acknowledged the problem of managing its remote monuments, stating that such units “do not require improvement or are not susceptible to development except at an enormous expense covering the cost of constructing many miles of roads and trails.”¹⁰ Geographic, economic and engineering factors behind this prospectus were magnified in southeast Utah, evidenced by the fact that other monuments in the report were made accessible much earlier than Natural Bridges.

The only Park Service presence in southeast Utah before 1935 was Zeke Johnson, rancher, guide and custodian of Natural Bridges National Monument. Visiting White Canyon in 1908 when looking for a shortcut to his mother's

home in Tropic, Utah, and in 1909 when leading business mogul H.W.Wanamaker and ex-Michigan Governor Thomas Giddings on a survey of potential rail routes, Johnson became an expert guide. Leading notable visitors like Rex Beach, Zane Grey, Charles Bernheimer, Horace Albright and Utah Governor Charles Mabery. Johnson helped introduce the area to the world. When the NPS needed a custodian for Natural Bridges, Johnson was the obvious choice. Although a rancher first, unlike most graziers he saw canyon country as scenery. Starting at the nominal NPS pay of one dollar a year, Johnson was custodian from 1923 to 1942, retiring at the age of seventy-three. Initially hauling water from the Kigalia Ranger Station on the Abajo Mountains, Johnson developed a water system from springs that worked in wet years. Rope ladders were built to access the bridges, a trail system was developed and roads were graded to allow automobile passage in good weather. Johnson also built a cabin for visitors where his wife served food and drinks, and the Johnsons lived in a canvas tent taken down each winter. These amenities and Johnson's backcountry knowledge would serve the Park Service well in the 1930s and 1940s during new area surveys in the Greater Canyon Lands.¹¹

During the 1920s the Park Service was focused on Zion and Bryce Canyon National Parks in southwest Utah and Mesa Verde National Park in southwest Colorado as the vast Canyon Lands wilderness remained a virtual nonentity to agency designs. Hovenweep ruins in eastern San Juan County became a national monument in 1923, but did not receive ranger patrols until 1936, based from Mesa Verde National Park or Aztec Ruins National Monument.¹² Rainbow Bridge received even less oversight, identified only by estimated visitor numbers in Park Service annual reports. Designed to improve management of the region's sixteen national monuments, creation of the Southwestern Monuments Group in 1923 changed little in southeast Utah. Based in Central Arizona near Casa Grande National Monument, the organiza-

tion run by the legendary Frank "Boss" Pinkley could barely cover the park units in Arizona and New Mexico with its limited resources, much less those in Utah reachable only with great effort over rugged roads or trails.¹³

Southeast Utah's role in Park Service plans changed after Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad Passenger Director F.W.Wadleigh notified NPS Director Stephen Mather in 1923 of strangely beautiful geologic formations outside Moab. First told by miner Alexander Ringhoffer, who spotted the rocks when prospecting in 1922, Wadleigh described "stupendous sandstone formations of very remarkable shapes" called "The Devils Garden, monoliths greater than found in the Garden of the Gods," and an arch he estimated to be the "fifth in size of the known natural bridges."¹⁴ After viewing photos of the area from Wadleigh and discussing the matter in-house, Mather asked the General Land Office (GLO) to survey the Devils Garden area. Performed in July 1924 by T.W. McKinley, the GLO survey confirmed the region's scenic qualities and the fact that economic resources would not be affected by limited Park Service withdrawals.¹⁵ The *Moab Times-Independent* noted that The Windows and Courthouse Towers were not mentioned in the GLO's report, prompting another survey and more discussions at the NPS about the size, location, and contiguous or noncontiguous nature of prospective monuments in the area.¹⁶

The Park Service recommended in 1925 that monument status be given to the Devils Garden and Windows, a request nixed by Secretary of Interior Hubert Work. Based on the Coolidge administration's policy to downsize government and Republican ideology that the public domain should be left open to economic development, the Secretary, who believed that small parks and monuments should be given to the states, was not sufficiently impressed by the region's scenic qualities to overcome these underlying philosophies.¹⁷ Despite support from the NPS and local business leaders and evidence on the



Figure 16: The Windows formations, one of which is depicted here, and the Devils Garden, were the first areas in the future Arches National Monument to be reserved as park units. Photograph by the author.

area's limited economic value, the monument proclamation drafted by the Park Service in 1926 went unsigned for three years. During this time the national media discovered the Devils Garden and Windows, the GLO did one more survey and the Park Service discussed the disposition of mining claims and grazing rights in the area.¹⁸ After Herbert Hoover appointed Ray Lyman Wilbur in 1929 as Interior Secretary, the NPS submitted a revised proclamation that April calling for a 4,520-acre Arches National Monument which the President signed.¹⁹ Composed of two withdrawals of 2,600 and 1,920 acres around the Devils Garden and Windows that reflected monumentalism's influence and an unwillingness to sacrifice economic potential, Arches was the first accessible park unit in canyon country and became a base for the Park Service that led to its discovery of the Greater Canyon Lands and the Canyonlands basin.

The region's limited economic utility was detailed in C. H. Dane's *Geology of the Salt Valley Anticline and Adjacent Areas*, the first geologic synthesis of the area between the Canyonlands Basin, Book Cliffs and La Sal Mountains. Doing their field work in 1928–1929, Dane's team analyzed stratigraphy, lithography and structure from the scientific and economic perspectives, concluding that “showings of oil and gas encountered so far have not been sufficient to warrant optimism for the results of future

drilling.”²⁰ Beginning in 1899–1900 near the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, oil and gas exploration moved close to the future Arches National Monument—at Salt Valley, Willow Flats and Cisco—although only the Utah Southern Oil Company's well in Salt Valley was adjacent to its boundaries. Gypsum, salt and potash were also identified in the region, but were considered problematic because of their geologic matrices and economic non-competitiveness with deposits closer to transportation routes and processing plants.²¹ Little was mentioned of the region's aesthetic qualities outside a brief discussion of “striking outcrops” in the Salt and Cache Valleys, the Richardson Amphitheater and the Colorado River Canyon.²²

Interfacing with Herbert Gregory's work near Glen Canyon and the San Juan River, and E. C. La Rue's analysis of the Green and Colorado Rivers, the United States Geological Survey (USGS) also surveyed the Canyonlands area. Geologist Arthur Baker directed work across the “Moab District” in 1926–1927, a region south of Moab that included Cane Creek, Hatch Point, Lockhart Canyon, The Needles, Beef Basin and Dark Canyon.²³ Also in 1926–27, E. B. McKnight studied an area between the Salt Valley Anticline, the Green and Colorado Rivers and town of Green River that included Dead Horse Point, Junction Butte, Upheaval Dome and the White Rim. Baker returned in 1930–1931 to study the “Green Desert-Cataract Canyon” region that included the San Rafael Desert, Land of Standing Rocks, The Maze, The Fins, Orange Cliffs and Dirty Devil River.²⁴ Although scientifically important, the main goals of the three surveys were economic. “The field work was undertaken to determine stratigraphic relationships and to map geologic nomenclature,” wrote Baker, and to “obtain data necessary for the administration of the laws pertaining to the development and utilization of public lands, especially occurrences of oil and gas.”²⁵ The surveys identified promising formations, oil seeps and tar sands in Elaterite Basin and the Green River Desert, oil beds by

the Cane Creek Anticline and Colorado River, and in the desert between Salt Wash Grabens (Arches) and town of Green River.²⁶ Baker and McKnight also found uranium in the Chinle and Morrison formations, although transportation problems and market considerations discouraged them from forwarding positive economic recommendations.

Analysis by Baker and McKnight's teams combined with earlier studies to produce the first comprehensive geologic picture of the region. However, in contrast to their nineteenth century predecessors little was said about aesthetics. Baker did mention a "picturesque series of towers and spires appropriately named the Needles," the "Organ Rock Tongue that forms the scenic features" of the Standing Rocks area, and the area's "vast panoramas," but such passages were buried under reams of empirical analysis.²⁷ McKnight said even less about appearances, despite working by some of canyon country's most impressive vistas. With no emphasis on scenery, the notes, maps and photographs from these surveys entered the USGS economic geology database and failed to make their way across the Department of Interior to help the NPS in its search for new areas.²⁸ Therefore, although Baker, McKnight and Dane added greatly to the understanding of the region's natural history, before preservationists knew of Canyon Lands or the area was added to the Colorado Plateau's list of known scenic attractions, the perspective of the geologist-engineer was already being processed by the extraction industry and their political allies.

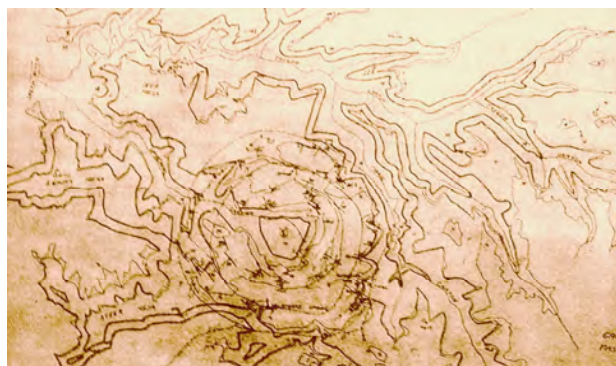
This dynamic reflected a materialistic society more enamored by Calvin Coolidge's aphorism "The business of America is business" than the reflectiveness of a Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, John Newberry or Clarence Dutton, and demonstrated how geologic science had become so economically focused. Yet, there were those in geology who prioritized theoretical science and aesthetics over utilitarian goals and agreed with the ideals of the National Park

Service and preservation movement. This was evidenced by University of Michigan geologist Dr. Lawrence Gould's support for the Arches National Monument proposal. In a letter to Utah Senator Reed Smoot that was forwarded to Mather, Gould described a region replete with "grand examples of stream erosion" as well as "fantastic, bizarre, and beautiful" rock formations.²⁹ A counterpoint to economic geology's utilitarianism, Gould represented those who wanted geology to reintegrate the romanticism of previous generations, an early manifestation of the challenge to materialism that flowered decades later with Edward Abbey and other post-modern writers and philosophers.

This challenge to economic geology was poignantly outlined by Willis Lee's *Stories in Stone*, published the year Work refused the Arches proposal and the USGS surveys began in the Canyon Lands. Having surveyed the West for the U.S. Geologic Survey over four decades, Lee asked his colleagues and the public to look beyond the material and economic aspects of the geologic sub-stratum to find the "romance in the rocks" manifest through their inspirational and educational qualities. He also noticed how America's mobility and changing values were reflected by an "increase in the number of our national parks, the establishment of a National Park Service, and the organization of park associations, the intelligent appreciation of natural scenery, as well as the desire to know something about its meaning and origin."³⁰ More than most other regions, the powerful examples of earth processes and aesthetics found on the Colorado Plateau underscored the pedagogical and emotional components of Lee's call for change. Liberally using the region to describe geologic structure and process, human perceptions and psychic needs, he referenced Grand Canyon, Natural Bridges, Rainbow Bridge, Monument Valley, Zion, Bryce and Petrified Forest, but not Arches or Canyon Lands. Reflecting geographic ignorance, the iconic power of already famous landscapes and the difficulty of fitting the eclectic geomorphology of



Arthur Baker, "South End of Devil's Pocket Graben," 1926. USGS Photographic Archives, Lakewood, Colorado.



Structure of Upheaval Dome, from topographic sheets, Edwin McKnight, *Geology of Area Between the Green and Colorado Rivers, Grand and San Juan Counties*, 1940. USGS Archives, Lakewood, Colorado.

Figure 17: USGS surveys of Canyon Lands

canyon country into familiar categories, the Canyon Lands remained unknown and uncelebrated.³¹

Discovering new places, big wilderness, and the Escalante National Monument

Although the monument remained underdeveloped for years, the creation of Arches marked the beginning of a new relationship between the Park Service and canyon country.³² Concurrent with efforts by Wayne County to promote "Wayne Wonderland" (Capitol Reef) as a monument, the Arches proclamation was part of a process whereby the Canyon Lands was encircled by prospective or actual monuments, making it inevitable the NPS would become curious about the vast wilderness surrounding the Green and Colorado Rivers. Although Natural Bridges provided a presence and operational base in San Juan County, Arches and Grand County's main town of Moab were more important to regional park development and tourism. In contrast to the more provincial San Juan County, Grand County, led by Moab *Times-Independent* editor Loren "Bish" Taylor and the Moab Lion's Club, openly embraced alternative economic strategies. When the Park Service was first interested in Arches, the *Times-Independent* devoted more copy to tourism and scenery than other rural Utah newspapers. This

progressive attitude combined with Moab's geographic advantage in relation to canyon country and transportation systems to ensure the town's future role as tourism hub and Park Service base of operations, a dynamic that played out during the debates over the Escalante National Monument and Canyonlands National Park.

The year 1929 also saw the Park Service increase its ability to investigate prospective parks or monuments when Congress authorized the hiring of specialists for such purposes. This replaced an *ad hoc* system directed by the Interior Department and carried out by NPS investigators based near areas under consideration. In addition to proposals forwarded by Congress or Interior, the Park Service would examine public lands to determine "whether there may be sections that should be reserved because of their scenic and scientific importance" alongside lands designated for "agriculture, mining, and commercial purposes." This was especially true in the Southwest, a region possessing "archaeological exhibits of great scientific significance."³³ Under the old system the NPS investigated eight new areas in 1928, six in 1929 and four in 1930, with the policy shift increasing these numbers to thirteen in 1931, thirty-five in 1932, twenty-one in 1933, twenty-three in 1934 and twenty-one in 1935. Drawn by the Colorado Plateau's unique attributes and

a desire to increase its profile in the region, the Park Service increased the number of surveys of prospective areas in the Utah part of the Plateau from two between 1928 and 1931 (Dinosaur in 1929 and Navajo in 1931), to five in 1932 (Kolob, Cedar Breaks, Johnson Canyon Pictographs, Arches and Wayne Wonderland [Capitol Reef]), two in 1933 (Nine-Mile Canyon and Yampa Canyons), two in 1934 (Wayne Wonderland and San Rafael), and four in 1935 (Wayne Wonderland, Green River, Zion/Kolob, and the Colorado River Exclusion area [Escalante].)³⁴

Supervised by Yellowstone Superintendent Roger Toll, the NPS new areas program led to the creation of Bandelier, Great Sand Dunes National Monument and the Painted Desert addition to Petrified Forest National Park, as well as Grand Canyon, White Sands, Death Valley and Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Monuments. Toll announced in 1935 that the following areas were being studied: the Colorado River Exclusion that included the Colorado, Green and San Juan Rivers; the canyons of the Green and Yampa Rivers; Wayne Wonderland or Capitol Reef; the Kolob Canyons; Organ Pipe Cactus; and the Kofa Mountains.³⁵ Reflecting a confident National Park Service supported by President Franklin Roosevelt's pro-conservation policies, the consideration of so many areas in the Colorado Plateau and Sonoran Desert was also indicative of shifts in concepts of beauty and what qualified an area for park or monument status. Cultural images of sedimentary landscapes were expanded by canyon country's geology and aesthetics, the biological park concept was extended to new regions and monumentalism was countered by park ideas defined by macro-geographies and wilderness expanses attractive to both recreation and science. These dynamics also marked the start of a battle between preservation and multiple-use interests over disposition of public lands as park and landscape ideals moved elevationally downward from alpine aesthetics and ecology to the arid zones of the Intermountain West.³⁶

Paralleling the early New Deal's lofty goals, the NPS new areas program peaked in Utah's Canyon Lands during the mid-1930s, continuing the discovery process begun at Natural Bridges and Rainbow Bridge. Beginning with a survey of the prospective Navajo National Park in 1931, Park Service inspectors visited Wayne Wonderland three times from 1932–1935, Arches National Monument in 1933 to study expansion and the San Rafael Swell in 1934 to consider monument status. This activity resulted in the creation of Capitol Reef National Monument in 1937 and the expansion of Arches in 1938, while the Navajo was rejected because of Navajo tribal opposition and the San Rafael because of a tepid grade from the NPS.³⁷ Yet, despite the agency's increased knowledge of canyon country, no one from the Park Service had seen the vast region surrounding the Colorado and Green Rivers between Arches and the Paria Plateau in northern Arizona.

The Park Service introduction to Canyon Lands occurred after Toll's 1932 visit to Wayne Wonderland. In a memo to NPS Director Horace Albright, Toll described the region, the desire of local boosters to have a monument centered on the Waterpocket Fold, and plans for a highway connecting Mesa Verde, Natural Bridges, Wayne Wonderland, Bryce, Zion and Grand Canyon. This memo also included an attachment on "Eastern Utah" that discussed the San Rafael Swell, Horseshoe Canyon and the Colorado River Wilderness. Referencing Powell, Dellenbaugh and others, Toll said of the latter area, "Along both sides of the Colorado River between Moab and Lee's Ferry Bridge, a distance of about 175 miles, there is an area of more than 10,000 square miles, an almost uninhabited wilderness, practically without roads, that is likely to contain places of spectacular scenery suitable for additional national monuments." He added that most of the land was "public domain, not within any national forest, Indian Reservation or other withdrawn area," making withdrawals "free from complications as to land status."³⁸ Returning to Wayne County in

1933, Toll and Wayne Wonderland booster E. P. Pectol followed Clarence Dutton's lead by climbing Boulder Mountain to survey the region. Suitably impressed, Toll related his impressions of the area to new NPS Director Arno Cammerer, describing a "vast panorama" with many "spectacular canyons and scenic areas" that included the Waterpocket Fold, Henry Mountains, San Rafael Reef and the Colorado River Canyons. He speculated that the region had enormous potential for parks and monuments, but stated that it was "seldom visited and little known" and suggested that NPS photographer George Grant visit the region.³⁹

Toll received support for his recommendation from geologist Harry Aurand in a 1934 letter extolling the attributes of canyon country. Having explored the region for many years when he worked for the oil industry, Aurand represented the minority opinion in geology, similar to Lee and Gould, which saw more than mere dollar signs in the rocks. He lauded the Park Service for establishing parks and monuments with "exceptional educational and recreational possibilities" that reflected values unappreciated by a society that saw "such projects as wastes of money, and needless withdrawal of the public domain." Aurand believed Muffin Butte, the Goosenecks of the San Juan River, the East Anticline by Mexican Hat, Dark Canyon, Wooden-shoe Canyon, Monument Valley and the Kaiparowits Plateau were all worthy of monument status.⁴⁰ Although Aurand's suggestions fell short of the regional park concept he had envisioned from Boulder Mountain, Toll forwarded the letter to Cammerer, adding that "I am inclined to believe the area of Southeastern Utah, including the Colorado from Green River to the state line and territory on both sides of the river, comprises one of the most scenic areas in the United States not now contained in a national park." Toll then recommended that the Park Service prepare to withdraw lands from the Colorado River Exclusion zone although he had only seen the region from afar.⁴¹

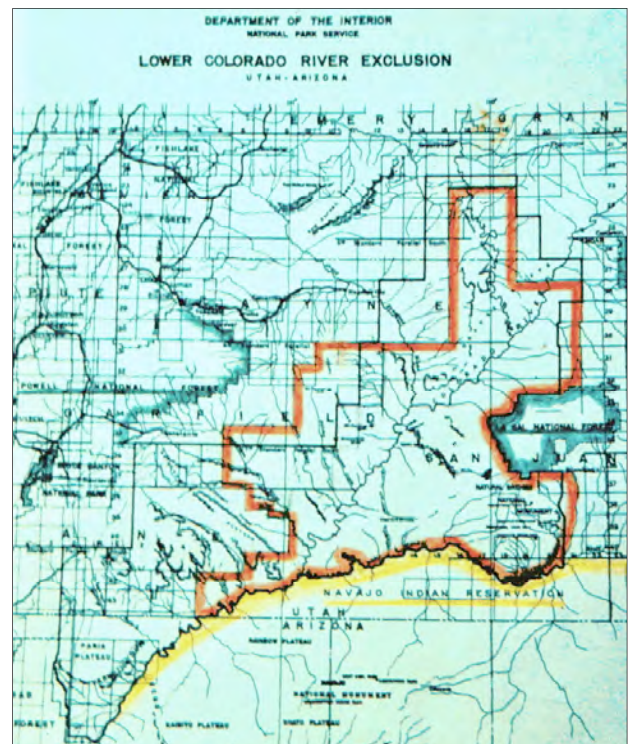


Figure 18: "Lower Colorado River Exclusion," 1935. Governor Henry Blood Papers, Utah State Archives.

Grand Canyon National Park Superintendent Minor Tillotson oversaw NPS surveys of the Colorado River Exclusion zone that were to assess boundaries, plan for development and use, and identify natural and cultural resources. Leading three inspection trips by air, auto and horse in the summer of 1935, Tillotson visited Glen Canyon, Navajo Mountain, Rainbow Bridge, the lower San Juan River, the Waterpocket Fold, Kaiparowits Plateau, the Escalante River Canyon, Cataract Canyon and the Canyonlands basin.⁴² Tillotson was so impressed by the region that he introduced the most ambitious proposal in agency history. "There is no single section of the entire southwest which offers a greater variety or a more interesting array of spectacularly scenic effects than does the area under consideration," he wrote of this "land of deep canyons, narrow gorges, terraced plateaus, cliff-bound mesas, tortuous entrenched stream meanderings, huge buttes and temples, weirdly-eroded formations, wind-swept desert-like slopes, standing rocks, high escarpments, natural bridges and colorings

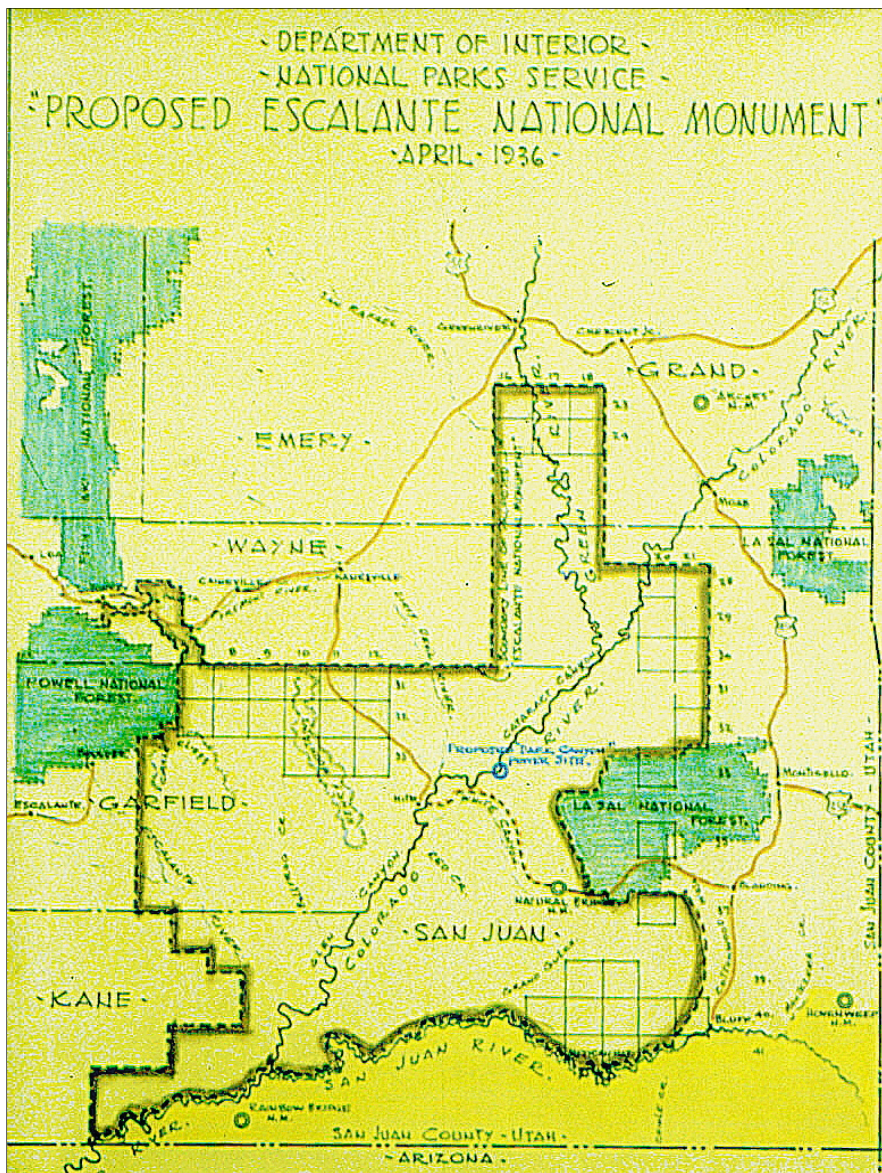


Figure 19: "Proposed Escalante National Monument," 1936. Governor Henry Blood Papers, Utah State Archives. The proposed monument was slightly larger than the "Lower Colorado River Exclusion." Most lands added were west of the Colorado River by the Waterpocket Fold.

so gorgeous as at times to seem almost gaudy and on a scale as to be difficult of comprehension."⁴³ Covering parts of six Utah counties from the Paria Plateau to the Book Cliffs, the withdrawal he proposed encompassed 167 townships, more than 6,000 square miles or 4.84 million acres in a swath of varying width surrounding the river corridors, and included Glen Canyon and the San Juan River Canyon north of the Navajo Reservation, the Kaiparowits Plateau, the Escalante River Canyons, the

Waterpocket Fold, Arch Canyon, Woodenshoe Canyon, Dark Canyon, Cataract Canyon and the Canyonlands basin.⁴⁴

Toll enthusiastically forwarded Tillotson's report to Cammerer on what he called one of the nation's "great wilderness areas and most important" of the six areas under NPS consideration. Toll claimed the area he named "Escalante" was not excessive in size, could be reduced in size twenty-five percent, but that "further reductions would omit valuable areas."⁴⁵ Recommending wilderness classification with minimal development, he suggested continuing the present grazing permits with the eventual goal of reduction or elimination, and to honor existing mining claims while allowing no new entries. Understanding the politics surrounding Colorado River Basin development under the 1922 Colorado River Compact and 1928 Boulder Canyon Project Act, Toll said the area should remain open to

water projects, that power generation was its "primary societal value" and that recreational, scenic, and scientific resources were secondary, with grazing and mining third.⁴⁶ The Escalante idea thus carried an asterisk, the main canyons to be sacrificed for dams and reservoirs, a point often ignored by recent "green" interpretations of history. During Tillotson's survey, Toll told Bureau of Reclamation Commissioner Elwood Mead of NPS plans and requested a list of "probable reservoir sites" in the region, the

“order in which they would be constructed and when additional dams would be needed.” Reclamation’s plans as of 1935 called for dams at Glen and Dark Canyons, although Mead could not make “any conclusions” on where future projects would be built until political and engineering issues were better understood.⁴⁷

With the Park Service committed to the Escalante concept, Tillotson revisited the region in October 1935 to study possible road corridors. Starting from Natural Bridges, Zeke Johnson and Tillotson traveled by horse down White Canyon to the Colorado River at Hite, returning through Farley Canyon. Although he failed to cross the Colorado River, Tillotson restated what southern Utahns and some NPS officials had long known, that a “more east and west route is highly desirable not only from the standpoint of Utah residents for a completion of the state highway system, but for park-to-park travel.”⁴⁸ Without adequate resources to build a long road over such rough terrain, the San Juan County Commission had asked NPS Director Horace Albright in 1931 for assistance.⁴⁹ Unable to help because of limits on Park Service authority to build more than entrance roads to established park units as well as the complex jurisdictional issues when a project crossed over Forest Service, General Land Office and state lands, three decades passed before a paved road traversed the region. These dynamics were interpreted by many residents in southeast Utah as proof the federal government was intentionally ignoring their needs, instead of a more complicated reality based on geography, economics and political priorities.

Toll joined Tillotson in December 1935 on a pack trip to the Paria Plateau to decide if the area should be included in the Escalante proposal. Despite being favorably impressed by the region, they decided the Paria should not be included.⁵⁰ The Park Service then presented Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes with a report in January 1936 that proposed to create

a 6,980 square mile reserve named the Escalante National Monument. In addition to citing traditional reasons for creating a park or monument—scenic, scientific and historic values coupled with educational and recreational uses—the report said that canyon country possessed an openness and geologic uniqueness beyond the conventional model. A dearth of private land in the proposed withdrawal made the plan attractive legally, while concessions to water development plans were hoped to undercut the expected political opposition. Propelled by New Deal optimism and its progressive conservation agenda, the Park Service prepared to introduce the plan into the public arena.

The rise and fall of the Escalante National Monument

Evidence that Park Service optimism over the Escalante idea would not be matched in Utah political circles came swiftly. Utah Governor Henry Blood voiced concern to his congressional delegation in January of 1936 about “certain paragraphs in the report of the Department of the Interior and National Park Service” describing studies of “lands along the Colorado and Green Rivers throughout most of their course in Utah with a view to their possible development as national monuments or parks.” Worried about southeast Utah’s natural resources, Blood claimed that Park Service control of the region could block water projects and various commercial uses, then asked Utah congressmen to investigate the matter.⁵¹ Senator William King (D-Utah) called Ickes in late January shortly after the Secretary had approved the Escalante National Monument proposal, asking that nothing be done to prevent the use of mineral lands or the development of water resources. Representative Abe Murdock (D-Utah) then met with Park Service officials in early February when he was apprised of the Escalante proposal’s details that included leaving the “area as primitive as possible,” gradually “excluding grazing from the area,” building “no more roads” and leaving the “development

of the area to the next generation.” Murdock retorted sharply that although he was “deeply interested in the scenic resources of our state,” perhaps we should “leave to the next generation the advisability of creating the monument.”⁵²

Blood’s concerns were underscored after receiving the Park Service report from Murdock, “Notes on the Proposed Escalante National Monument.” Encompassing 6,938 square miles, the prospective withdrawal contained 33,290 acres of patented lands and 38 sections or 24,320 acres of state school lands. This area also included fifty percent of Grazing Districts No. 5 and No. 6, and ten percent of District No. 7. The Grazing Service estimated that 463 families owning 26,290 cattle, 144,298 sheep, 2,618 horses and 534 goats were dependent on the region for year-round grazing that produced \$26,000 per annum in fees. USGS data on oil, gas and minerals showed the area had economic potential—oil with deeper drill depths and uranium with higher market prices—although the latter was downplayed because of the high cost of transporting raw materials to processing. Preservation was designated by the Park Service as the region’s primary value, “Preservation for all time and under proper control of the many scenic wonders and areas of archaeological importance.” Tourism was deemed a related secondary value that could “mean expenditures of large sums of money for the construction of roads, bridges, lodges, stores, etc.”⁵³ Concerned over potential mineral values, future water developments and unified federal control over such a large region, Blood, Murdock and other Utah interests prepared for a fight.

Despite political rumblings in Utah and the tragic death of Roger Toll in an auto accident, the Escalante National Monument’s first setback did not come from politicians but from the citizens of southeast Utah. Told of the monument proposal by the Grazing Service, the ranching lobby’s displeasure prompted the NPS

to schedule public hearings. At the June 8, 1936, hearing in Price, Utah the Park Service discovered the level of opposition, particularly from ranchers, a group they had put at the bottom of the economic food chain. NPS representative David Madsen started the meeting by touting the value of primitive areas and tourism while claiming grazing was on the decline, a position that produced angry responses from stockmen. Charles Redd of La Sal, and spokesman for the Grazing Service’s Regional Grazing Advisory Board, claimed the monument would bring economic ruin and “insisted that the people of this region, who pioneered the way by building roads and schools, be considered when their basic industry was in jeopardy.” Other attendees like Frank Martinez of the Associated Civic Clubs of Southeastern Utah, rancher J. A. Scorup and Moab publisher L. L. Taylor, expressed opinions on the economics of ranching, mining and tourism, but all opposed the Escalante Monument proposal as presented by the Park Service, asking instead for “responsible” development balancing scenery, grazing and mining.⁵⁴

The NPS cast a positive spin on the meeting, claiming “there was a friendly attitude toward the Park Service” and indications a “smaller area would be supported.” Madsen, Tillotson, Zion National Park Superintendent P. P. Patraw, and Rocky Mountain National Park Superintendent Edmund Rogers met in Salt Lake City that July to discuss various projects. After recommending that the Park Service policy disallowing commercial grazing be maintained, when addressing the Escalante National Monument they decided the boundaries included a “much greater area than is essential for park purposes” and suggested more studies be done to produce an amended proposal that only included areas “worthwhile as outstanding National Park features.”⁵⁵ To be assisted by Tillotson, Patraw, Madsen and Mesa Verde National Park Superintendent Jesse Nusbaum, NPS Planner Merle Sager was charged to oversee the work of amending the Escalante proposal.



Emery Kolb, Lower Millard Canyon and the Buttes of the Cross, 1936. Escalante National Monument files, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area Archives.



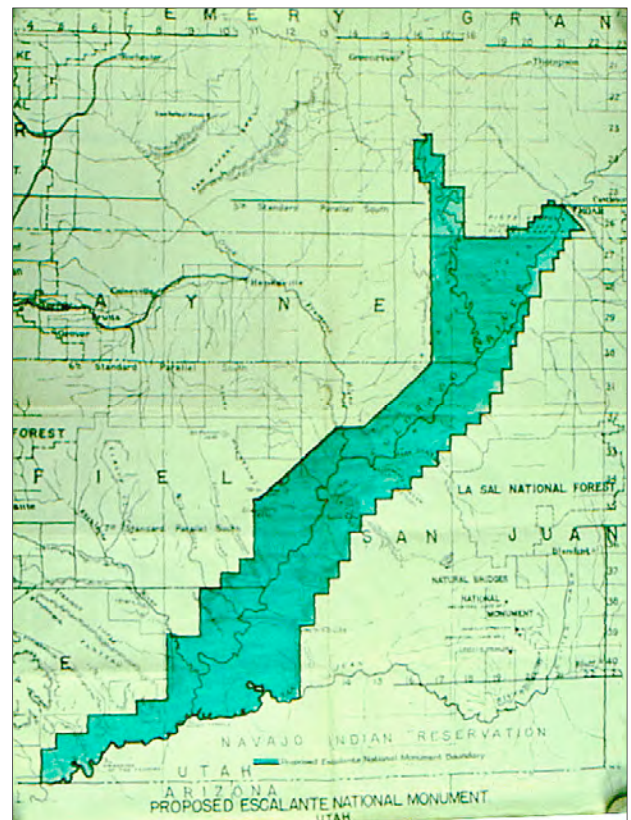
Emery Kolb, Needles region, 1936. Escalante National Monument files, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area Archives. The photo captures the "Needles" formations, Chesler Park (front-left) and Virginia Park (center-right).

Figure 20: Aerial Images of Canyon Lands from 1936 Escalante Monument surveys

Directed to reduce the monument's size but retain the regional concept, Sager resurveyed the Escalante area in late 1936 by auto and air. Claiming the "colorful, rugged canyons of the Green and Colorado Rivers" were alone "sufficient to merit favorably for national park purposes," he said other areas only possessed value as "wilderness areas." While the length of the monument along the rivers was maintained, its width was significantly reduced. This removed much of the Kaiparowits Plateau, Escalante River Canyon, Waterpocket Fold, Dark Canyon, Arch Canyon, Woodenshoe Canyon and Dirty Devil River. Cuts included parts of the Canyonlands basin—Salt Creek, Davis and Lavender Canyons, Lockhart Canyon and Orange Cliffs—although the Island in the Sky plateau, the Needles and Standing Rocks Basin were retained. Highlighting the Colorado River near Moab and Labyrinth Canyon on the Green River, Sager was most impressed by the Needles which he called a "galaxy of a million gray rock formations topped by objects of confusing complexity, pinnacles and ridges with horizontal bands of many colors interspersed with patches of colossal mushrooms," and the Grabens, "peculiar products of erosion like the cobblestone pavement on some ancient highway of the Gods."⁵⁶ Although the 1936 survey was similar to Tillotson's 1935 work in that it was a superficial study of a large region, Sager

added to NPS knowledge of canyon country and focused agency attentions on the Canyonlands basin.

Figure 21: Proposed Escalante National Monument, 1938. Although the length of the 1936 proposed withdrawal was maintained, its width was narrowed, including the basin that included the future Canyonlands National Park. Governor Henry Blood Papers, Utah State Archives.



Regarding wildlife, Sager's report said that "no part of the large area recently proposed as the Escalante National Monument is rich in native fauna." This claim reflected biology's ignorance of canyon country, the region's relative lack of megafauna, and the NPS focus on geology. The Rainbow Bridge-Monument Valley expeditions of the 1930s produced baseline data in geology, physiography, paleontology, archaeology and ethnology, but they worked in the northern Navajo country, serving mainly as a point-of-reference for future research in the Greater Canyon Lands.⁵⁷ Archaeology was also ill-suited to assess canyon country's resources despite decades of activity on its periphery and recent Peabody Museum-sponsored Claflin-Emerson Expedition. Between 1928 and 1931, Claflin-Emerson teams worked the Escalante River canyons, Waterpocket Fold, Book Cliffs, Dirty Devil River and Waterhole Flat, and Canyonlands basin at Barrier (Horseshoe) Canyon, Labyrinth Canyon, Indian Creek and Ruin Park. Although this added to knowledge of Fremont Culture and its interface with the Anasazi, the region's remoteness and archaeology's focus on the Four Corners delayed follow-up work. Not privy to Claflin-Emerson's findings, the NPS could only speculate about the region's antiquities.⁵⁸ Although the mysteries surrounding canyon country were central to its attraction, the lack of scientific knowledge on the region to support a Antiquities Act proclamation hurt Park Service efforts to create the Escalante National Monument as scenic values proved a weak counter to increasingly powerful political opposition.

Despite reductions in the Escalante's size to 2,450 square miles and NPS promises that water projects would be permitted, opposition to the monument grew. Governor Blood pressed Utah's congressional delegation and state agencies to act, ranchers and livestock organizations joined forces, reclamationists and utilities lobbied Congress and passed resolutions, and the extractive industry railed about lost economic potential.⁵⁸ Convinced by early

1938 that Ickes would soon submit a proclamation to President Roosevelt, opponents of the monument became frantic.⁵⁹ Combining legitimate concerns with half-truths and vitriolic accusations against the federal government, an onslaught of memos and reports from Utah officials created an ugly atmosphere that negated diplomatic efforts by the NPS and Interior.⁶⁰ Although worried about grazing and mining, Utahns were mainly concerned with legal rights to the rivers at a time when the division of Colorado River Basin water was still being negotiated among Upper Basin states under the Colorado River Compact and Boulder Canyon Act.⁶¹ Claiming the Park Service was premature to withdraw large tracts from a region that was only partly surveyed, opponents of the monument called for more studies of the Canyon Lands region before final decisions were made over land classification and use. Civic groups like the Moab Lion's Club and Federated Women's Clubs of southeast Utah added tourism to the economic issues that should be considered, creating a sort of "multiple-use goulash" in which every interest group wanted equal consideration.⁶²

Worn down by the attacks and hurt by FDR's loss of political capital because of the recent court-packing scandal and economic swoon, the Interior Department said in December of 1938 it was no longer considering the Escalante National Monument proposal.⁶³ A failure attributed to overly ambitious NPS plans that did not consider local and state interests or show good sense during hard times, in contrast to Zion and Bryce National Parks where Utahns were integral to park creation, the Escalante was imposed from the outside which indicated to the state's Mormon culture that non-Mormons did not respect their rights. These sentiments were underscored by the addition in July 1938 of 180,000 acres to Dinosaur National Monument and addition of 29,000 acres to Arches National Monument that November.⁶⁴ The Escalante debate also revealed the chasm between urban and rural values that have char-

acterized Utah land-use politics from 1900 through today, a dynamic revealed during the 1934 NPS survey of the San Rafael Swell. When learning of Park Service interest in the region for its scenic value, cowboy and survey guide LeGrand Swaysey said “I’ve been around here for years and I ain’t seen no scenery yet. . . . What I look for is water, grass, and wood.”⁶⁵ Although Swaysey’s colloquialism might be passed off as a quaint anachronism, such a view is grounded in the harsh realities of economic survival in the Colorado Plateau’s geologically spectacular areas. His comments also reflected the worldview of rural Utahns who have historically struggled to conceptualize the region’s landscapes from the preservationist perspectives of the writer, philosopher, tourist or Park Service planner.

The Escalante’s failure also demonstrated the relationship of the printed word and imagery to democratic processes in relation to the creation of constituencies for places and political causes. Whereas Zion and Bryce were well-known and possessed economic and geographic connections to the Grand Canyon, the canyon country of southeast Utah was unknown and disconnected from mainstream systems, a fact that did not change through exhortations about beauty and the import of the NPS mission. With little support in Utah, the Park Service needed a constituency for the Escalante that did not exist. Because of the region’s inaccessibility and popular culture’s comfort with known places like Grand Canyon, Mesa Verde, Zion, Bryce and the Painted Desert, neither the media or public knew the region. This was reflected by the *National Geographic Magazine*, a publication that had covered the Colorado Plateau since the 1890s and recently written about canyon country in Neil Judd’s 1923 story, “Beyond the Clay Hills.” In a major 1936 *National Geographic* feature on Utah’s scenery by Leo Borah, “Utah: Carved by Winds and Waters,” the coverage of southern Utah included Zion, Bryce, Arches, Capitol Reef and Monument Valley, but not Canyon Lands.⁶⁶

NPS photographer George Grant took hundreds of photos during the Escalante surveys, but they remained in agency archives until a 1943 *National Parks Magazine* three-part photo-essay. Even then, the articles’ ability to relate the essence of the region was limited by their lack of color, the magazine’s small audience and the Escalante’s political death.⁶⁷

Most conservationists were unaware of the Escalante region at a time when the Wilderness Society, Sierra Club and Utah’s Wasatch Mountain Club were forming their missions, focusing on alpine geographies and aesthetics, or in the case of the Sierra Club, re-integrating activism into what had become a hiking and mountaineering club. The *Sierra Club Bulletin* published only two articles from 1930 to 1940 on the Colorado Plateau, one in 1934 about climbing in Zion National Park, and another in 1940 by a young David Brower on the 1936 ascent of Ship Rock in New Mexico.⁶⁸ Yet, despite a 1941 Sierra Club trip to Arches and Natural Bridges, the group barely knew the Plateau. This was evidenced by Brower’s belief before a 1951 trip to Dinosaur National Monument that the region contained only “sand and sage,” a trip he later described as the “most remarkable scenic experience of my life.”⁶⁹ Even the Wasatch Mountain Club focused on alpine zones, with its knowledge of the Plateau limited to Zion, Bryce and the Grand Canyon, adding Capitol Reef, Arches and Natural Bridges in the 1930s, but not the Canyon Lands.⁷⁰ The *Living Wilderness*, the Wilderness Society’s magazine, gave even less notice to the Plateau. Not until the 1950s when the Dinosaur National Monument dam issue became a national cause and catalyzed a shift whereby sedimentary landscapes were given more consideration in terms of beauty and preservation values, did either organization focus attention on the Colorado Plateau.⁷¹

One conservationist did know the Escalante region and framed it in such a manner that had profound effects upon the future. Bob Marshall, legendary forester and Wilderness Society co-

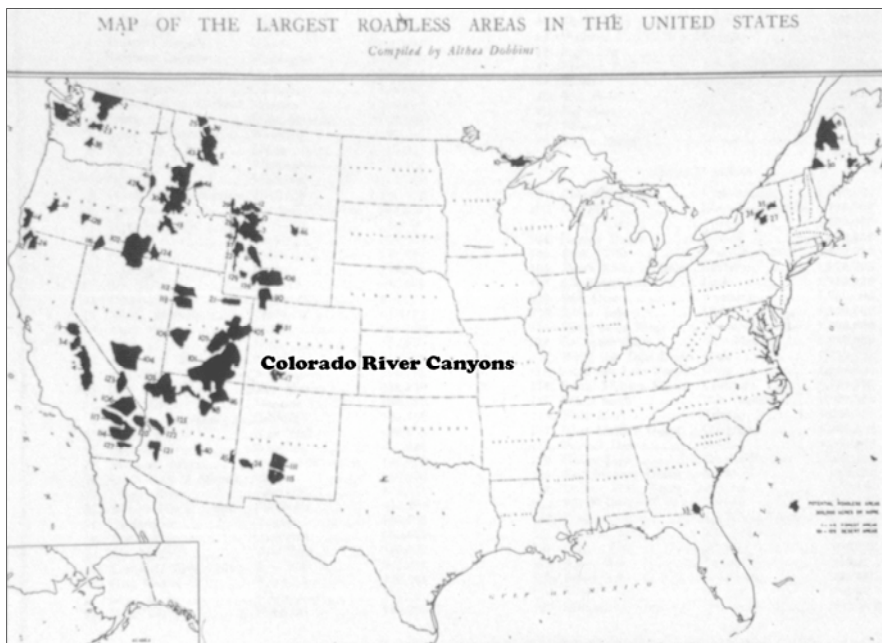


Figure 22: Althea Dobbins, "Largest Roadless Areas in the United States," *The Living Wilderness* 2 (November 1936).

founder, traveled extensively between the Book Cliffs and Glen Canyon in the early 1930s while serving as Chief Forester for the Navajo Nation. Describing "sensational red sandstone scenery and a complete absence of any signs of civilization," Marshall was overwhelmed by the region's beauty and wilderness qualities. This was followed by the Wilderness Society's 1936 study of roadless areas in the U.S. that identified canyon country as the largest such tract. Co-authored by Marshall and Althea Dobbins, "Roadless Areas in the United States" is a foundational document for American preservationism that imbued select areas with wilderness values and elevated the "Colorado River Canyons" to sacred status among conservationists as the largest roadless area at 8.89 million acres.⁷² However, outside the Wilderness Society and U.S. Forest Service (USFS), Marshall's voice was not heard during the Escalante debate, quelled by a fight between Interior and Agriculture resulting from Harold Ickes' attempt to transfer Forest Service lands to Interior, weak connections between conservationists and Utah, and Marshall's 1939 death. Marshall had wanted the USFS to turn the Escalante region into a primitive area like it did

with the "Piute Strip" south of Glen Canyon, but Forest Service Assistant Regional Forester Chet Olsen believed that the fervor over NPS plans would make any attempt to create a wilderness area appear like "another step toward a National Monument or Park." Aldo Leopold also wanted to help, but the famed conservationist did not believe he could help in Utah because "I am not well-acquainted there and cannot offer any names."⁷³ In addition to reducing the preservationist presence at the Forest Service, Marshall's passing

slowed the process of mainstream culture coming to know canyon country, whether connected to the roadless area ideal or National Park Service plans.

Geologist H. Dodge Freeman provided support for the Escalante idea in 1936 by advocating the value of big wilderness in an article appearing in rural Utah newspapers. "To me, the charm of the wilderness along the Colorado rests far more in its accessibility and freedom from trodden paths than in its admitted wonderful beauty," he wrote, asking readers "why shouldn't the government take steps to preserve such a territory by forbidding roads to enter it, just as it takes steps to create national parks for the opposite reason?" Brigham Young University Biologist Elden Beck took a more empirical tack in a 1938 letter to state and federal politicians. Objecting to the obstructionist tactics used by Escalante opponents, Beck believed the region's chief values were aesthetic and scientific and related to sustainable economics based in tourism.⁷⁴ Reflecting the "greener" viewpoints of recent times, Freeman and Beck's opinions were incomprehensible to most of their contemporaries and incongruous with American

pragmatism and Colorado River politics, and certainly with rural Utah culture. Not until the 1960s when Glen Canyon Dam was built, dams were considered for Grand Canyon and Canyonlands National Park was being debated, would the Greater Canyon Lands begin to be valued by the masses as preserved space.

The Park Service repackaged the Escalante idea in 1940 by proposing the 2,450 square mile region be made into a recreation area, believing that multiple-use provisions in such designations would assuage the opposition. This was mistaken, as sentiments against the Escalante remained strong. Opponents were angry over the extensions to Arches and Dinosaur National Monuments, and despite language in the Dinosaur proclamation ensuring that the 1920 Federal Power Act be respected, they viewed NPS rules and loss of sovereignty over the rivers as a threat. Discussed by Blood and Cammerer in February 1940, the Escalante National Recreation Area draft bill had language geared to allay concerns over development of the Colorado River Basin.⁷⁵ Although some Utahns believed the NPS had no hidden agenda and understood the difference between a monument and a recreation area, most did not trust the agency. Blood said he was “compelled to take the same stand I did in 1938.” L. C. Mont-

gomery, President of the Utah Cattle and Horse Growers’ Association, felt that assurance of continued grazing would have to be written into any legislation, while cattle baron John Scorup was “opposed to the creation of any monuments in Utah, or elsewhere, that would result in damage or loss to the livestock or any other industry.”

T. H. Humphreys of the Utah Water Storage Commission had the strongest words, claiming the NPS was hard to work with at Lake Mead National Recreation Area and other similar areas in California because of the “stringent rules and regulations under which they are administered,” adding he did not trust the National Park Service because of past “double-dealing by them.”⁷⁶

Senator Elbert Thomas (D-Utah) introduced a bill (S. 4140) in 1940 calling for an Escalante National Recreation Area with provisions for water development and continued grazing and mining. Concurrent with the introduction of a bill (H.R. 9351) that would enable the creation of recreation areas under the Antiquities Act, the Park Service hoped to withdraw the region under less restrictive premises and gain leverage for future action.⁷⁷ Despite initial support from Blood and Utah congressmen, opposition

Figure 23: During the 1920s and 1930s the Canyon Lands was grazed heavy in the cooler months, with the Needles region used by the Scorup and Somerville outfit based at Dugout Ranch. Although animal numbers were fairly small in the more scenic areas of the future national park, a park designation could threaten seasonal grazing patterns.

David Lavender, Devil’s Lane, 1938. C 19223, SEUG Photographic Archives.



David Lavender, “Lost Canyon Cowboy Camp, 1930s (n. d.). C 19227, SEUG Photographic Archives.



remained strong elsewhere. Claiming that the Park Service believed the “natural wonders of the West should be preserved for the benefit of tourists” with no regard for local needs, Humphreys said these bills were as “vicious as the Escalante Monument” proposals.⁷⁸ Prodding Utah politicians to reverse their position, Humphreys so infuriated Ickes that President Franklin Roosevelt intervened. In a July 1940 letter to Thomas, Roosevelt said the Water Storage Commission failed to “recognize the balance” being negotiated by planning the “appropriate recreational resources of the Colorado River Basin.” He added that the “Escalante National Recreation Area proposal was an enlightening example of the development of this broad planning policy which protects all valid existing rights and opens the way to additional uses.”⁷⁹

Tired of the political wrangling and attacks on the Park Service and Interior, the irascible Ickes exploded in several communiques with Utah officials. Criticizing Utah politicians, Blood and Humphreys in particular, Ickes said, “I am left with the alternative of asking that a national monument be set up in this area, or abandoning the area entirely.”⁸⁰ Realizing their precarious position due to the President’s power under the Antiquities Act, Utah officials carefully broached the subject with Ickes during the summer and fall of 1940 as S. 4140 and H.R. 9351 died without reaching committee. Late 1940 meant the administration had to focus on reelection and foreign affairs. When coupled with a concurrent Supreme Court decision on ownership of the Colorado River won by Utah, it was assured that the Escalante idea would not reemerge any time soon.⁸¹

Disappointed by the Escalante’s death, the Park Service and planner George Olcott worked throughout canyon country in 1942–43 to fulfill recreational planning requirements of the 1936 Parks, Parkway, and Recreation Area Study Act that demanded a close relationship between the NPS and Bureau of Reclamation. Traveling

throughout the Escalante region, Olcott was even more fascinated with the region near the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers than Sager had been in 1937, especially in the Island in the Sky and Needles areas of the future Canyonlands National Park.⁸² Referring to the Escalante as a “loosely defined portion of the Colorado River Basin,” he said the “peculiarly interesting and impressive types of scenery” characteristic of the area were magnified “near the Colorado and Green Rivers where the topography is most intricately, deeply and preciously dissected.” Speaking of a trip to Horse Mountain above Upper Salt Creek and the Needles, Olcott and NPS planner Paul Brown believed the “Escalante’s scenic experience was fully captured from that perspective.” Describing the Sixshooter Peaks, Castle Butte, the Needles, Junction Butte, Hatch Point, and the Book and Roan Cliffs on the horizons, they claimed “This should be the tourist’s introduction to the Escalante canyon lands . . . the desert wastes . . . serpentine canyons . . . and lavish display of fantastic scenery on the distant stage of the Escalante circus.” Equally impressed by Dead Horse Point, Brown and Olcott foreshadowed the Park Service’s future shift from the vast Escalante region toward the Canyonlands basin.⁸³

Beyond the Escalante: River basin plans, changing values, and finding Canyonlands

National Park Service Assistant Director Conrad Wirth was given a report in 1944 entitled “Recommendation for a National Park at the Junction of the Green and Colorado Rivers.” An effort to revitalize the Escalante idea, the proposal authored by NPS Lands Division Chief Ben Thompson outlined a park in the triangular region between the Green and Colorado Rivers that included Grandview Point, Dead Horse Point and Upheaval Dome.⁸⁴ The report also suggested reserving small, noncontiguous units in the following areas: Needles, Beef Basin, Dark Canyon, Kaiparowits Plateau, Rainbow Bridge

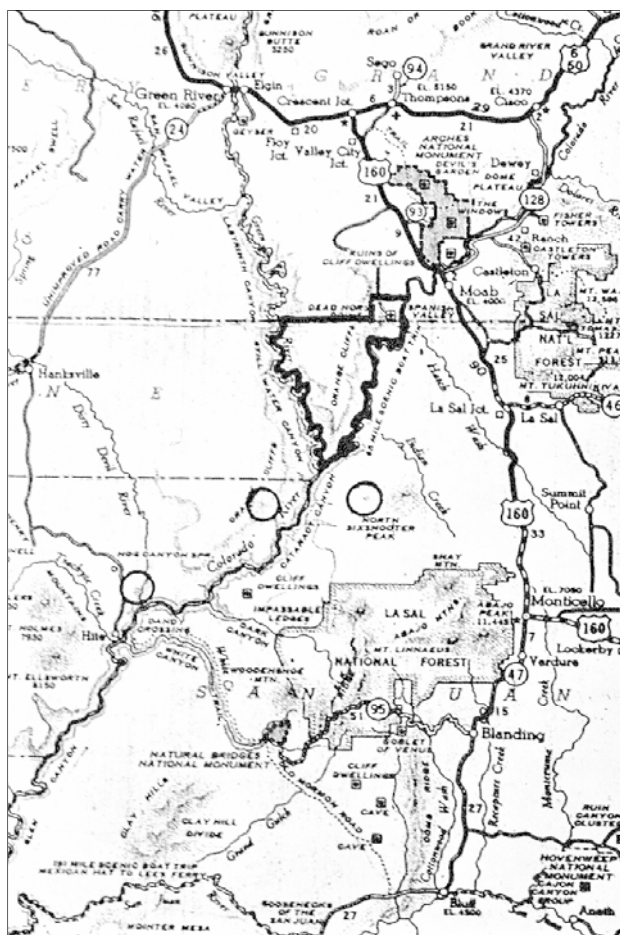


Figure 24: Map of Proposed Grandview National Park, 1944. National Park Service Files, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver. The main park area encompassed the Island in the Sky District of the future Canyonlands National Park. The “detached” units indicated by the small circles cover the Needles region and the lower canyon of the Dirty Devil River.

and Navajo Mountain.⁸⁵ Representing a retreat from the Escalante’s regional concept, Thompson suggested that the Park Service ask Representative Will Robinson (R-Utah) to sponsor legislation for a national park in the “area between the Green and Colorado Rivers in San Juan County with provisions authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to designate detached units of the park as centers for accommodations, comprising not more than four sections each, at other points of interest in the Canyon Lands of southeastern Utah.” He suggested the reserve be called “Grand View National Park” or some “more suitable name.”⁸⁶ Less ambitious than the Escalante National Monument,

the proposal faced similar problems: a society tired of economic depression and war unlikely to extend government aid beyond social necessities to preservationist goals, Utah’s historical resistance to outside pressures, and the lack of a large constituency that loved canyon country for its scenic, scientific and primitive qualities.

Intimately involved with the Escalante project, Mesa Verde Superintendent Jesse Nusbaum realized the importance of connecting politics and culture. In 1944 he told National Park Service Director Newton Drury of talks he had with Henry Hough, news manager for *Time-Life-Fortune* in Denver, and *Life* photographers Hansel Mieth and Dimitri Kessel. “I emphasized the fact few persons have any knowledge of the spectacular canyon country bordering the Colorado and Green Rivers,” recalled Nusbaum of a region the “Service had been studying for years called the Escalante.”⁸⁷ Visiting the Needles with Moab *Times-Independent* publisher L. L. “Bish” Taylor in 1944, Kessel was more impressed with Canyon Lands than Grand Canyon. “I suppose it will tickle your pride if I say the section between Moab and the junction of the Colorado-Green and immediate country below the junction made more of an impression on me than Grand Canyon” said Kessel in a *Times-Independent* article, an opinion he related to Grand Canyon National Park Superintendent Harold Bryant.⁸⁸ Enticing *Life* to run a photo essay and feature article, Kessel’s “The Colorado” was led by an aerial photo of the Green and Colorado River’s confluence and included four photos of the Needles, making it the first major magazine to cover the Canyonlands basin. However, the story’s ability to portray the area’s beauty and value as preserved space was limited by its black and white photography, a broad focus on the Colorado River Basin and the claim that the river’s highest value was to be found through water and power development.⁸⁹ Although occasional stories on southeast Utah appeared in *Life* and other periodicals in the 1940s, a comprehensive vision of the region remained far outside American culture.

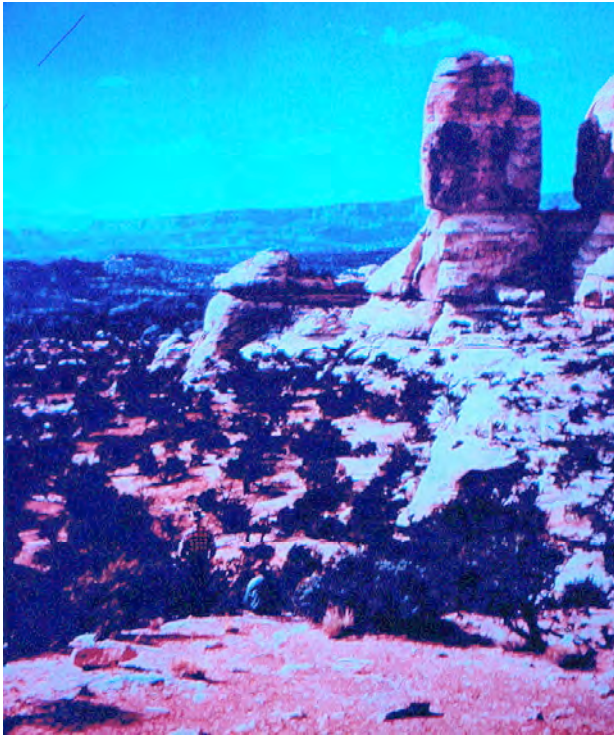


Figure 25: Frontispiece, *Survey of the Recreational Resources of the Colorado River Basin*. The placement of this large color photograph of an area south of the Needles at the beginning of the report and its large chapter on the “Canyon Lands of Utah” indicated that the Park Service was very interested in the region surrounding the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers.

The first extensive written and photo display of the Canyonlands basin appeared in the 1950 Interior Department report, *A Survey of the Recreational Resources of the Colorado River Basin*. Legislatively required by the Parks, Parkway, and Recreation Study Act of 1936, this followup to the 1941 *Study of the Park and Recreation Problems of the United States* synthesized work by the Park Service, Geological Survey and Bureau of Reclamation (BOR) in the Colorado River Basin.⁹⁰ Looking at both general land-use and recreation-specific issues, the *Survey* detailed the geographical, biological, archaeological, hydrological and recreational resources of the Colorado Basin, and discussed policy options ranging from dams and reservoirs to parks and wilderness.⁹¹ Reflecting the attention given the Canyon Lands by the Park Service in the post-Escalante era, the report gave this region of “vast and colorful deserts, mountains, canyons

and plateaus” more coverage than elsewhere on the Plateau and focused on the region near the confluence of the Green and Grand Rivers.⁹² Still used to designate the area from Lees Ferry to just south of the Book Cliffs on both the Green and Colorado Rivers, the term “Canyon Lands” was at that time also becoming analogous at the NPS with the area upriver from Cataract Canyon centered on the Canyonlands basin as it became apparent Glen Canyon would be sacrificed to reclamation.⁹³

National Park Service interest in the Canyonlands basin was reflected by the *Survey*’s long photo essay on the area, detailed descriptions on its major sub-zones and landforms, and planning outline for a future national park. Although the black and white images did not capture the region’s vivid hues, their sheer volume, broad coverage and lengthy descriptions told readers the area was special.⁹⁴ The “Grays Pasture-Junction Butte” region (Island in the Sky) was said to feature grand vistas at The Neck, Dead Horse Point, and Upheaval Dome, the latter called “the most unusual and dramatic geologic feature in southern Utah.” The “Indian Creek country” (Needles) beginning at the “monolithic guide post” of North Six Shooter Peak was described as featuring the “fantastic section of curiously eroded and faulted red, buff, and white rocks called the Needles” and the Salt Creek watershed’s “labyrinth of little valleys above which tower great sandstone domes and pinnacles.” The “Lands End/Orange Cliffs” and “beautifully weird Land of Standing Rocks” areas received less notice but were lauded for their wildness and rugged beauty. Areas recommended for park purposes in the *Survey* approximated the future boundaries of Canyonlands National Park—the Island in the Sky, Needles and Maze Districts, along with Beef Basin, Dark Canyon and the Orange Cliffs.⁹⁵ Portions of Glen Canyon were also included in the discussion, but the canyon country near the confluence was obviously considered by the Park Service in the immediate post-war era as the prime location in the region for a national park.

Repeating what Neil Judd said in 1923 about the Clay Hills area, the *Survey* said the most impressive feature of the Canyon Lands “was that of space,” a trait “accentuated by its varied landforms and high mountains to the east and west.” The recreational values of the Canyonlands basin were outlined as follows: Grays Pasture (Island in the Sky) area for its impressive views; Indian Creek (Needles) area for its mix of natural and human history; and Lands End/Standing Rocks (Maze) area for its solitude. The report was also influenced by the 1936 Wilderness Society roadless area study, stating, “the region is part of the largest section in the United States where there are no improved roads,” one reason why “so few people knew of these fine places.”⁹⁶ The report also said the crude highway system skirting canyon country could be connected to the Canyonlands basin on roads to the Grays Pasture, Needles and Land’s End/Standing Rocks areas. However, it emphasized roadlessness as a “great recreational asset” and that roads should be “constructed only when justified and in as inconspicuous a manner as possible.” Developments to support park operation were designated for The Neck, Squaw Flat and Land’s End, although little was said about their design or scope.⁹⁷ Physical roadlessness and conceptual wilderness had thus become the area’s defining traits to Park Service planners, ideals that later collided with the ambitious development schemes in the original Master Plan for Canyonlands National Park.

Although this NPS plan for the region was much less ambitious than the Escalante proposals, the utilitarianism and shallow conservation ethic dominant during the early Cold War era made any withdrawal for preservation purposes unlikely. Reflecting these values and the Bureau of Reclamation’s (BOR) powerful influence, the *Survey* presented dams and reservoirs as positive recreational resources unless they intruded on park units like the Bridge and Marble Canyon sites in Grand Canyon National Park or the Split Mountain and Echo Park sites

in Dinosaur National Monument. Water projects were valued by weighing the “recreational and scientific importance of the scenic, historic, geologic, archaeologic, or biologic features of the reservoir area,” effects the “project would have on important existing features of the reservoir area” and the “potential recreational values of the reservoir area.”⁹⁸ Using a formula that prioritized human needs and downplayed or ignored the intrinsic value of natural resources except when recreation or scenery was affected, Glen Canyon Dam and reservoir were classified as positives because they would give “access to the wonders of the canyons” while the dam’s height of 414 feet and reservoir pool level of 3,528 feet above sea level would not affect Rainbow Bridge National Monument.⁹⁹ Similarly judged, Dark Canyon Dam and reservoir would flood the “deadly rapids of Cataract Canyon responsible for the tragic endings of several canyon voyages.”¹⁰⁰ Nothing was said about the latter project’s effect on the canyon country upstream which included Moab Valley, although the reservoir would flood the region and force the relocation of Moab to what a 1925 USGS report had called “a higher and better location.”¹⁰¹ The 1950 *Survey* also failed to mention the Junction Dam site at the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers prominent in earlier river basin planning plans, a project that reemerged in BOR plans as a “replacement” for the Dark Canyon dam site in the early 1960s during the political debate over Canyonlands National Park.

Originally authorized by the Boulder Canyon Act of 1928, plans for the Upper Colorado River basin were formalized in a 1945 Bureau of Reclamation report that made Glen Canyon Dam the linchpin to upper basin development.¹⁰² Sited near Lees Ferry at the line designated by the 1922 Colorado River Compact that divided the river system’s upper and lower basins, Glen Canyon Dam and reservoir were to be a recreation area operated by the National Park Service. Having accepted the inevitability of a big dam being built in canyon country

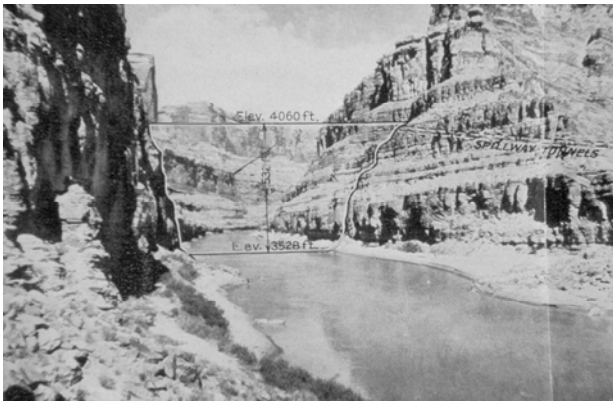


Figure 26: "Dark Canyon Dam Site," USGS Water Supply Paper 556.

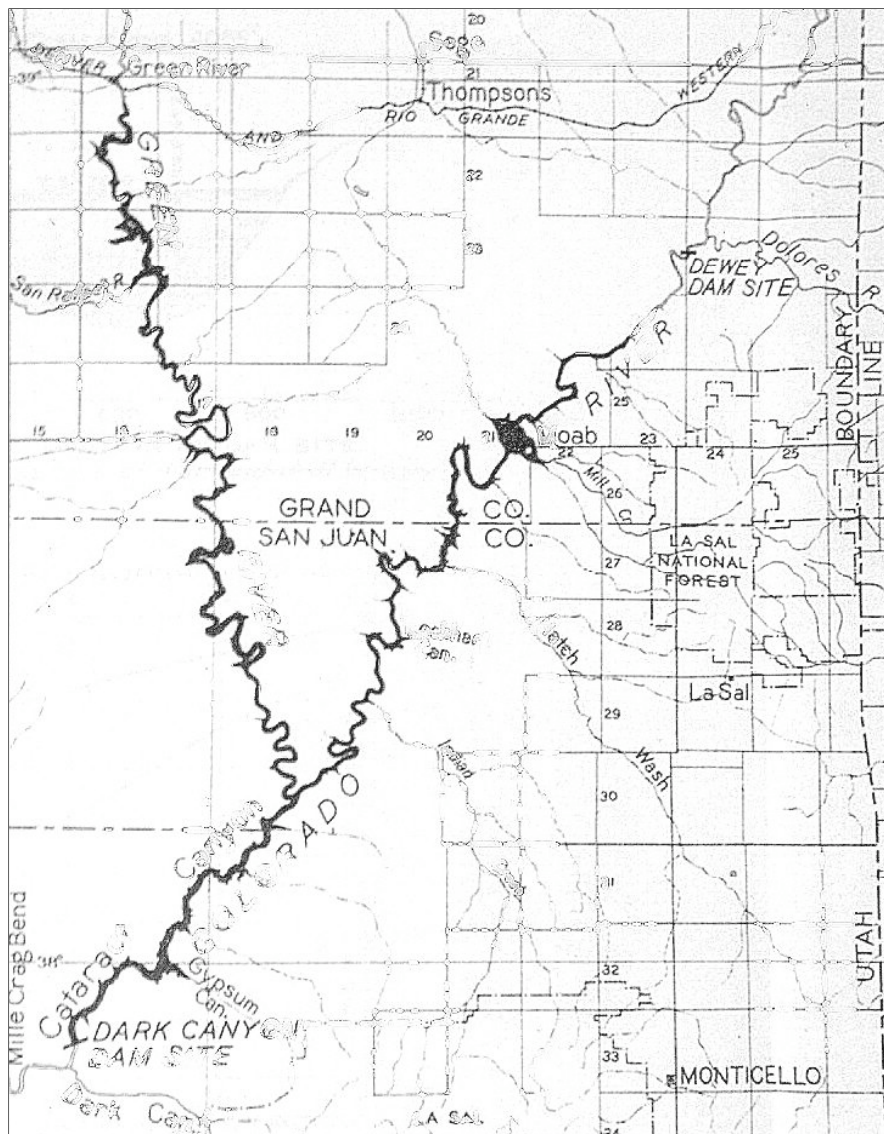


Figure 27: "Map of Reservoir Basin Above Dark Canyon Dam Site," USGS Water Supply Paper 556, 1925. Note how the reservoir extends far up the Green and Colorado Rivers, even creating a lake in the Moab Valley that would force relocation of the town.

since the Escalante era, most likely at Glen Canyon, the NPS decided to focus its preservation energies on saving areas that remained. In addition to Glen Canyon, BOR plans for the area surrounding the Canyonlands basin included large dams at Dark Canyon and Dewey Bridge, and two small projects at Hatch Canyon and Pack Creek. Legislatively mandated to collaborate with the Bureau in planning the Colorado Basin's recreational resources, the Park Service had little political power to stop water projects. Not only did the NPS have to work with the BOR, the pecking order at Interior

favored Reclamation, Americans were enamored with technology and conquering nature, and the NPS had no legal leverage like the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA).¹⁰³ Therefore, although they were distressed by the large dam projects planned for Grand Canyon, Dinosaur and Canyon Lands where the "mighty rivers responsible for this wilderness will become mill ponds," the NPS and preservationists could do little more than hope during the dam-building mania after World War II.¹⁰⁴

The Park Service was also hurt by its reliance on a human-centered conservation philosophy that slighted ecological values. This was evident in the Survey's analysis in which biological health was only mentioned in connection to water projects and resultant "recreational" values relating to human enjoyment. Using this standard, "wilderness" could be maintained in side canyons,

bench lands and plateaus, even when the river canyons were flooded. Primarily valued as scenery or psychological escape, physical nature received little ethical consideration until the “greenification” of the NPS and American society decades later. Until this shift occurred, any Park Service moral authority for preservation goals was based in human recreational and scenic needs, a weak counterbalance to the nation’s powerful technocracy epitomized by the BOR and its grandiose plans for the Colorado River Basin. Hence, the NPS faced a tough battle to keep the primitive nature of the Canyon Lands intact until the political climate was more favorable.¹⁰⁵

Post-war efforts to expand the national park system in southeast Utah began when Carbon County Chamber of Commerce President J. A. Theobald asked U.S. Representative William Dawson (R-Utah) in 1948 about upgrading Arches National Monument to a park and creating a Dead Horse Point National Monument. Theobald envisioned a regional network that included Mesa Verde National Park, Monument Valley and Natural Bridges National Monument, an early incarnation of the Grand Circle idea. Park Service Director Newton Drury liked the concept but said any new park areas should be eminently qualified per agency standards and needed “strong public support for the proposal, both locally and nationally.”¹⁰⁶ NPS Assistant Director Arthur Demaray suggested to Region III Director Minor Tillotson they approach Congressman Walter Granger (D-Utah) about Dead Horse Point and test the public mood about the subject of new parklands. Having witnessed the political debacle of the Escalante, Tillotson suggested waiting until relations between Utah and the federal government improved. “It is our thought that in view of the opposition which developed in connection with the Escalante project,” he said, “it would not be a good strategy now for the Service to actively engage in promoting the establishment of that area or the establishment of separate national monuments in the region.”¹⁰⁷

The Park Service instead focused on improving relations with the state government and pro-tourism allies like L. L. Taylor in Moab, who was then leading discussions to expand Arches and make Fisher Towers and Dead Horse Point into national monuments.¹⁰⁸ However, supporters of an expanded park system or any preserves were rare in Utah, a state unconvinced that a state park system was needed decades after the first national conference on state parks.¹⁰⁹ This attitude was evidenced by the fact that Utah’s state parks were overseen by the Department of Publicity and Industrial Development Commission, an entity that by its very name reflected multiple-use philosophy and an opposition to preservation goals. Anti-preservation beliefs were especially pronounced in southeast Utah, where an economy once centered in agriculture had become much more dependent on the extractive industry. Withdrawals for preservation purposes threatened perceived mining and agricultural futures, even in the economically marginal lands of the Greater Canyon Lands region. The small tourism industry appeared to be a weak replacement that also promoted “foreign” values and greater dependence on outside entities.

Expanding the Park Service base in Utah was further hampered by problems in adequately funding existing park units. Draconian fiscal reductions during World War II were not met with sufficient increases to keep up with rapidly escalating visitation that began in 1945 shortly after V-J Day.¹¹⁰ This was reflected at southeast Utah’s park units where, despite primitive roads and scant accommodations, visitation rose dramatically. Between 1945 and 1949, Arches saw a ten-fold increase and Natural Bridges a three-fold increase, although staffing was sparse and facilities rustic.¹¹¹ Similar scenarios across the nation prompted cries for increases in NPS appropriations to meet operational needs and catch up from decades of neglect, evidenced by Director Drury’s patriotic calls in his reports to Congress that it was America’s duty to take care of its natural and

historic heritage.¹¹² Although Congress began increasing Park Service appropriations in the late 1940s, southeast Utah remained a low priority until midway through the Mission 66 program in the early 1960s, while the big parks on the Colorado Plateau—Zion, Bryce, Grand Canyon and Mesa Verde—received the lion's share of funding. This created sentiments in Utah that the Park Service was not committed to the area, an attitude later evident during the debates over creating and planning Canyonlands National Park. Even in Grand County, where support for tourism and preservation was stronger, the lack of development at Arches two decades after its creation added to local skepticism. The monument's primitive nature, romanticized by Edward Abbey in *Desert Solitaire*, was for locals a sign of broken promises and unrealized economic potential.

Obtaining authorization to withdraw lands for new parks also worked at cross-purposes with the focus of the Mission 66 program. Taking care of established park units had to be prioritized over establishing new areas when convincing Congress to fund NPS requests. The Escalante and Canyon Lands concepts were made an even more difficult sell when considering the comparative valuation of geographic places and priority destinations relating to parks on the Colorado Plateau and across the West. Although the fantastic canyon country around the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers was known to Park Service planners, the only others who knew the region were the small numbers of tourists who ventured to Dead Horse Point, a few backcountry guides and hunters, and a cadre of ranchers and miners. The Canyon Lands' primitive qualities and its anonymity would, however, increase its value to urban America in the ensuing decades as concepts like roadlessness and wilderness became central to the ideology of environmentalism, and post-modern culture's new heroes were no longer symbols of political and economic conquest.

End notes

1. The term "Canyon Lands" will be used in this chapter to describe the same region Powell designated as "The Cañon Lands of Utah" in the 1878 *Report on the Arid Region of the United States*. By the early twentieth century, the term "Cañon" was anglicized, with the "n" and replaced by an "ny." The two word terminology was used until 1962–63 when the National Park Service merged them into "Canyonlands" as the name for the new national park.

2. Before Utah statehood in 1896, county courts were responsible for roads, and after 1896, county commissions. The first Utah law on roads was passed March 23, 1903, "An Act Providing for the Establishment, Construction and Maintenance of a System of State Highways." The State Roads Commission was created in 1909, consisting of the governor, state engineer, state treasurer and one member each from the University of Utah and Utah Agricultural College. Despite plans from the Federal Bureau of Roads and the national "Good Roads" program," there was little change in southeast Utah outside the 1909 Utah statutes that defined duties of county road commissioners and made provisions for collecting road taxes. For decades, the focus in Utah was on populated regions along the Wasatch Front and the corridor from Salt Lake City to St. George. The transportation network in southeast Utah was a mix of dirt roads between settlements, trails aiding ranching and oil exploration, and routes to railheads in Thompson, Utah, and Durango, Colorado. A call for road improvements began about 1910 after arrival of automobiles in Grand and San Juan counties, by which time a framework approximating today's road system was in place, including the Moab to Monticello to Blanding to Bluff route and the road from Moab to Thompson through Courthouse Wash.

3. Problems remained among Utes, Paiutes, Navajos and whites well into the twentieth century, culminating with the 1925 "Posey's War." Emanating from tensions over control of rangelands and deplorable living conditions of the Ute and Paiute Indians in southeast Utah, in early 1925 two young Ute males robbed a sheep camp, killed a calf and burned a bridge. Due to the local media's willingness to connect the Ute leader Posey with any incident and the desire of most whites to scapegoat Indians, local non-Indians sought to capture the boys and Posey. Organizing a posse, Utah Governor Charles Mabey called for a scout plane armed with machine guns and bombs. Posey and the band fought a rear-guard action while trying to reach the area north of Navajo Mountain, resulting in the wounding of Posey and rounding up of the band to be put in a barbed wire prison in Blanding, Utah. Posey died a month later.

4. Wallace Stegner, *Mormon Country* (University of Nebraska Press, 1970), p. 51.

5. "A Proclamation To Set Aside the Natural Bridges National Monument, Utah," April 16, 1908; *U.S. Statutes and Resolutions, 60th Congress, 1907–1909*, v. 35 pt. 2 (Washington: GPO, 1909): pp. 2183–84; Charles Kelly and Charlotte Martin, "Zeke Johnson's Natural Bridges," folder 59, Natural Bridges Administrative Collection (NABR 2631), Southeast Utah Group Archives. The monument was surveyed in 1909 by William B. Douglas of the General Land Office (GLO). Douglas outlined a monument of 2,740 acres and changed the names of Edwin, Caroline and Augusta Bridges to Owachomo, Kachina and Sipapu, respectively, because of a belief that nearby cliff dwellers were Hopi in origin. The first national monument created in Utah, Natural Bridges was the fifteenth created nationally since the Antiquities Act was passed on June 8, 1906.

6. "A Proclamation to create the La Sal Forest Reserve," January 25, 1906; "A Proclamation to create the Monticello Forest Reserve," February 6, 1906, *U.S. Statutes, 59th Congress, 1905–1907*, v. 34, pt. 3 (Washington: GPO, 1907): 3190, 3272; "A Proclamation adding certain lands to the Monticello Forest Reserve," *U.S. Statutes, 60th Congress, 1907–1909*, v. 35, pt. 2 (Washington: GPO, 1909): p. 2164; Charles Peterson, *Look to the Mountains: Southeastern Utah and the La Sal National Forest* (Provo: Brigham Young UP, 1975), pp. 123–30. In September 1904, Robert R. V. Reynolds of the Bureau of Forestry inspected the La Sal Mountains, followed by an inspection of the Abajo Mountains the next summer by Forest Assistant R. B. Wilson. Although overgrazing was a problem, stockmen opposed the reserves because of their regulations. The 158,462 acre La Sal Forest Reserve was created in January 1906, the 214,270 acre Monticello Forest Reserve in February 1907, with the latter adding 101,398 acres more in December 1907. The two forests were combined in July 1908 to create the La Sal National Forest. The first forest supervisor, Orrin Snow of Wayne County, received an assistant in 1907 and two seasonal rangers in 1908.

7. John Riis, *Ranger Trails* (Richmond, Virginia: Dietz Press, 1937), pp. 61–62.

8. "A Proclamation setting aside Rainbow Bridge National Monument," May 30, 1910, *U.S. Statutes, 61st Congress, 1909–1911*, vol. 1 (Washington: GPO, 1911): pp. 2703–04. The bridge was described as "an extraordinary natural bridge, having an arch which is in form and appearance much like a rainbow, three hundred and nine feet high and two hundred and seventy-eight feet span, of great scientific interest as an example of eccentric stream erosion..." It was located at "the south east corner of which bears from the 179th mile corner on the Utah and Ari-

zona Boundary, North 60 degrees, 25 minutes, 13 inches West 7 miles, 67.87 chains distant."

9. *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1918* (Washington: GPO, 1918), p. 118.

10. *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1919* (Washington: GPO, 1919), p. 126. Other national monuments mentioned in the NPS report were Pinnacles, Natural Bridges, Rainbow Bridge, Colorado, Papago, Saguaro and Capulin.

11. Kelly and Martin, "Zeke Johnson's Natural Bridges," folder 59, NABR 2631.

12. *Report of the Director of the National Park Service for 1918*, p. 35; *U.S. Statutes, 67th Congress, 1921–1923*,

v. 42, pt. 2 (Washington: GPO, 1923): pp. 2299–2300. Based at Mesa Verde National Park, Dr. J. Walter Fewkes of the Smithsonian Institution inspected Hovenweep in 1917, describing the "remarkable towers in the Hovenweep region" and suggesting they be protected to serve as a "worthwhile side-trip from Mesa Verde National Park." Hovenweep National Monument was created March 2, 1923, when Warren Harding signed the proclamation setting aside "four groups of ruins" (Hackberry, Keely, Ruin Canyon and Cajon Groups) near the Utah-Colorado border.

13. Hal Rothman, "Boss Pinkley's Domain," *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (Champaign: U of Illinois P, 1989), pp. 119–39. The original sixteen monuments under Pinkley in 1923 were as follows: Montezuma Castle, El Morro, Petrified Forest, Chaco Canyon, Natural Bridges, Tumacacori, Navajo, Gran Quivara, Rainbow Bridge, Papago Saguaro, Capulin Mountain, Casa Grande and Yucca House. Between 1923 and 1932 the following eight monuments were added: Carlsbad Cavern, Aztec Ruins, Pipe Spring, Hovenweep, Wupatki, Arches, Canyon de Chelly and White Sands. By 1927 Pinkley administered eighteen monuments visited by 270,000 people on a \$15,000 annual budget. Mesa Verde in 1927 received \$72,300 and was visited by 11,915 people.

14. F. A. Wadleigh to Stephen T. Mather, Director, National Park Service (NPS), November 2, 1923; Wadleigh to A. E. Demaray, Ass't Director, NPS, November 11, 1923; Stephen Mather to William Spry, Commissioner, GLO, November 22, 1923; folder 259; Arches Administrative Collection (ARCH 1860), Southeast Utah Group Archives.

15. T.W. McKinley, GLO to William Spry, September 26, 1924; folder 259, ARCH 1860. McKinley's survey took place July 12–14, 1924 and covered T 23 S R 20 E, Salt Lake Meridian. Regarding economic resources, McKinley wrote that “no forage grasses of any importance” were found, water tanks were “non-existent except after rains,” “no mineral bearing rocks” were located and the proposed withdrawal was not found to be in the “boundary of the oil fields” as defined in other reports. McKinley also identified transportation problems in reaching scenic attractions.

16. F. J. Safley, GLO to William Spry, June 26, 1925; Spry to Stephen Mather, July 17, 1925. Safley replaced McKinley, made positive recommendations on the region's scenic qualities, confirmed that the “Devil's Garden” and “Windows Sections” were different areas, recommended that both be set aside as monuments, agreed with McKinley's assessments that forage was practically non-existent and extractable minerals were unlikely to be found although eighteen people had recently filed oil, gas, or potassium claims in the region; folder 259, ARCH 1860.

17. Stephen Mather to E. W. Wadleigh, January 8, 1926; folder 259, ARCH 1860.

18. A. E. Demaray to Oliver J. Grimes, Secretary of State, Utah, June 18, 1926; folder 259, ARCH 1860; “Utah Has Glorious Rival to Garden of the Gods,” *New York Times*, March 9, 1926. GLO inspector A. D. Ryan submitted a report in June 1928 on the “Proposed Devil's Gardens and The Windows National Monuments,” confirming the Devil's Garden and Windows as separate areas and affirming the region's scenic qualities, scant minerals and forage.

19. Arno Cammerer, Ass't. Director, NPS to Stephen Mather, memorandum, March 27, 1929; A. E. Demaray to Holmes Lewis, Ass't. Secretary of the Interior (SOI), memorandum, April 8, 1929; Ray Lyman Wilbur, SOI to President Herbert Hoover, April 10, 1929; “A Proclamation to create the Arches National Monument, Utah, April 12, 1929;” *U.S. Statutes, 71st Congress, 1929–1931*, v. 46, pt. 2 (Washington: GPO, 1931): p. 2988. The proclamation set aside the “Devil's Garden” and “Windows,” describing them as “extraordinary examples of wind erosion in the shape of gigantic arches, natural bridges, windows, spires, balanced rocks, and other unique wind-worn sandstone formations, the preservation of which is desirable because of their educational and scenic value.”

20. C. H. Dane, *Geology of the Salt Valley Anticline and Adjacent Areas, Grand County Utah*, USGS Bulletin 863 (Washington: GPO, 1935), pp. 172–73.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 158–76. Major oil wells included the following: P.D. Jones, Duluth, Minnesota, 1899–1900, sec. 6, T 22S R 23E, 1,800 ft., no oil or gas, bad water; Western Allies, 1918–1919, sec. 5, T 23S R 20E, 825 ft., small showing of oil and gas; Utah Southern Oil Co., 1928–29, King No. 1, sec. 13, T 23S R 20E, no findings; Utah Southern Oil Co., 1932, Belsley No. 1, sec. 31, T 23S R 21E, 3,400 ft., light green oil estimated capacity of fifteen barrels a day; Crescent Eagle Oil Co., 1922–25, sec. 4, T 22S R 19E, 1922–1925, 4,000 ft., oil and gas found; Crescent Oil Syndicate, 1925–1930, sec. 27, T 21S R 19E, 2,200 ft., no findings; Utah Oil and Refining Co., 1924, sec. 10, T 21S R 19E, no findings; Armstrong Co., 1926–1927, sec. 9, T 22S, R 19E, 1,220 ft., saturated oil sand, no commercial findings; Big Six Oil Co., Randall No. 1, 1928, sec. 10, T 22S R 19E, 1,710 ft., no findings; Brendell Oil and Gas, No. 1, 1932, sec. 9, T 22S, R 19E, 3,400 ft., no findings; South Cisco Anticline, shallow wells reported showings of oil and gas, great potential. Concerning potash salts, deposits were reported near Crescent Eagle Well, T 22S R 19E, and the federal government potash test well, July–October 1931, 1,731 ft., sec. 13, T 23S, R 20E; while other test wells were drilled in T 23S R 21E near Arches National Monument.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

23. Herbert Gregory, *The Navajo Country: A Geographic and Hydrographic Reconnaissance of Parts of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah* (Washington: GPO, 1916); *The San Juan Country: A Geographic and Geologic Reconnaissance of Southeastern Utah* (Washington: GPO, 1938); Gregory and Raymond Moore, *The Kaiparowits Region: A Geographic and Geologic Reconnaissance of Parts of Utah and Arizona* (Washington: GPO, 1931).

24. Edwin T. McKnight, *Geology of Area Between the Green and Colorado Rivers, Grand and San Juan Counties, Utah* (Washington: GPO, 1940). McKnight identified grazing, water and mineral resources, Gray's Pasture and Big Flat for grazing and springs at Courthouse Spring, Brink Spring, Tenmile Wash, Tenmile Butte, Taylor Canyon and Upheaval Dome. The following wells were identified in the Courthouse-Green River District: Elgin Well, 1891, sec. 5, T 22S R 17E, 1,000 ft., no oil; Levi Well No. 1, 1912, sec. 25, T 23S R 18 E, 1,500 ft., showings of oil and gas; Moab Oil Co., Klondike Well, 1910–1913, sec. 26, T 23S R 19E, 700 ft., pockets of gas; Queen Well, 1910–1913, sec. 18, T 23S R 19E, 920 ft., showings of oil; Marland Oil Co., 1925–1926, sec. 35, T 21S R 16E, 3,820 ft.; and Prospect X-State Well, Prospect No. 1, 2,628 ft., no findings. The Colorado River District was more promising and included the following wells: Big Six Oil Co., sec. 34, T 25S R 21E, 1926–1928, 2,870 ft., showings of oil and gas, nothing commercial; Utah Southern Oil Co., Frank Shafer No. 1, 1924, sec. 31, T 26S R 21E, 5,000 ft., blowout, fire burned

rig, not able to recover oil, water problems; Shafer Dome, 1926–1927, sec. 16, T 27S R 20E, 5,862 ft., abandoned; Utah Southern Oil Co., J. L. Shafer No. 1A, sec. 25, T 26S R 20E, showings of gas and oil. McKnight found the northern region of his study to not be very promising for commercial productions of gas and oil, and said that the Colorado River and Paradox Formation were “structurally the most promising part of the area.”

25. Arthur A. Baker, *Geology of the Green River Desert-Cataract Cañon Region, Emery, Wayne, and Garfield Counties*, USGS Bulletin 951 (Washington: G.P.O., 1946), pp. 4–5.

26. Ibid; Baker, *Oil and Gas Possibilities of the Moab District, Grand and San Juan Counties, Utah*, USGS Bulletin 841 (Washington: GPO, 1933). In the “Green River Desert-Cataract Canyon” region, Baker identified two to three thousand cattle, thousands of sheep and the following oil and gas wells: California-Utah Oil Co., 1899, sec. 5, T 22S R 15E, 1,600 ft., showing of oil and gas; Des Moines Oil Co., Taker Well, 3.5 miles west of Big Flattop Butte, 2,750 ft., gas pockets and oil sands; Test Wells, Elaterite Basin, 1912, oil seeps near the White Rim Sandstone member of Cutler Formation; Union Oil Co. of Utah, later Texas Production Co, early 1920s, French Seep region, 2,250 ft., showings of oil and gas; Big Flattop Butte, 1927–1928, near crest of Sweetwater Dome, two miles east of Big Flattop, 2,875 ft., no findings; Phillips Petroleum Co, crest of Barrier Creek Anticline on Spur, 5,191 ft. Baker concluded that the region straddling the west Paradox Formation and was not promising, although he mentioned oil sands (tar sands) that interested oil companies several decades later. In the *Moab District*, Baker identified the same wells as did McKnight near the Colorado River, and these wells in the Canyonlands basin: Empire Gas and Fuel Co., sec. 6, T 30S, R 21E, 1926–1927, 4,163 ft., small showings oil and gas; Utah Petroleum Co., 1936, 1,645 ft., no findings; Deseret Petroleum Co., 1926, sec. 29? T 29S R 20E, 514 ft., no findings; Western States Petroleum Co., 1926, sec. 34, T 29S R 20E; Utah Southern Oil Co., Lockhart Dome, 1926, sec. 16, T 29S R 20E. Other wells in the Moab District were identified by Baker on Elk Ridge, Dark Canyon and just north of the San Juan Oil field.

27. *Moab District*, p. 30; *Green River Desert-Cataract Canyon Region*, pp. 7–8, 41.

28. The field notes and sketch maps of Baker, McKnight and their assistants are located in the Field Records Files, United States Geological Survey Archives, Lakewood, Colorado.

29. L. M. Gould to Senator Reed Smoot, February 1926, n. d., Smoot to Stephen Mather, February 13, 1925; Mather to Smoot, February 14, 1926; folder 259, ARCH 1860.

30. Willis T. Lee, *Stories in Stone: Telling of Some of the Wonders of Western America and Some of the Incidents in the History of Geology* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1926), p. xi.

31. Willis Lee died on June 16, 1926, shortly before *Stories in Stone* was released. Other publications by Lee include the following: *The Underground Waters of Gila Valley, Arizona* (Washington: GPO, 1904); *The Underground Waters of Salt River Valley, Arizona* (Washington: GPO, 1905); *Geologic Reconnaissance of a Part of Western Arizona* (Washington: GPO, 1908); *Guidebook of the Western United States. Part B, The Overland Route With a Side Trip to Yellowstone Park* (Washington: GPO, 1915); Willis T. Lee and F. H. Knowlton, *Geology and Paleontology of the Raton Mesa and Other Regions in Colorado and New Mexico* (Washington: GPO, 1917).

32. “New Arches National Monument,” *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1929*, (Washington: G.P.O., 1929), p. 5. The extensive narrative in the report on the new monument indicated the Park Service was very interested in Arches and the surrounding region.

33. “Inspections of Park and Monument Projects Expedited,” *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1930* (Washington: G.P.O., 1930); pp. 33–39.

34. “Reports on Proposed National Parks and Monuments and Existing National Monuments; folder Vols. III, A-6,” Roger Toll Papers, Denver Public Library (Toll Papers). NPS Ass’t. Director Cammerer told NPS Director Horace Albright in 1930 that “In the past, before such enabling legislation and funds were secured, it was the custom for the Director to consider for inspection only such projects as had been the subject of bills introduced in Congress, and referred for report by the Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands of the Senate or House of Representatives.” In addition to when bills were introduced or local interest expressed, this created a new category based on Interior or NPS interest in initiating a park study or proposal. In 1930 when Congress approved funding for the new program, one person at the NPS Lands Division oversaw new area surveys and ninety-two projects remained undone.

35. “Reports on Proposed National Parks, Monuments, Existing National Monuments; folder Vols. III, Toll Papers.

36. Arthur Demaray, Acting Director, NPS to Harold Ickes, SOI, memorandum, December 28, 1934; Arno Cammerer, Director, NPS, and F. R. Carpenter, Grazing Dept., NPS to Ickes, memorandum, April 23, 1935; folder 654,

Canyonlands National Park Administrative Collection (CANY 36607). Regarding grazing policies under the Taylor Grazing Act, Demaray said to Ickes if "In the classification of vacant, unappropriated and unreserved public domain for the purpose of establishing grazing districts, it is respectfully suggested that consideration be given to areas which are of national park quality, with a special eye on the canyon country of northwestern Colorado and eastern Utah." Ickes addressed the issue the next year about developing a procedure that "will neither impede the grazing programs nor adversely affect future creation or recommendations for the establishment of national parks."

37. Roger W. Toll, "Inspection of Navajo Country;" Toll to Horace Albright, memorandum, April 28, 1931; "Reports on Proposed National Parks and Monuments and Existing National Monuments, folder Vol. II, H-P, Toll Papers; Toll to Arno Cammerer, memorandum, April 19, 1934, "Inspection of San Rafael Area;" in "Reports on Proposed National Parks and Monuments and Existing National Monuments," folder Vol. III, A-6; Toll Papers. In 1931 Toll visited "Navajo Country," an area that included Grand Canyon, the Nava-Hopi Road, Petrified Forest, dinosaur tracks near Cameron, Arizona, Moenkopi, Tuba City, Shonto Spring, Marsh Pass, Kayenta, Oljeto Trading Post, Gouldings Trading Post, Monument Valley, Rainbow Bridge and Lodge, Wupatki National Monument and Meteor Crater. He recommended "an arrangement be made between the Indian Service and National Park Service for the establishment of a national park in the Navajo Country" as a unified whole or detached units that included Monument Valley, Navajo Mountain, Rainbow Bridge, Blue Canyon, Coal Canyon, the Goosenecks of the San Juan River, and the dinosaur tracks east of Cameron and those near Tuba City. The Navajo Tribal Council opposed the park idea, a stand they held until 1959 when the tribe created a tribal parks department. Regarding the San Rafael area, although recommended for monument status in 1911 by GLO surveyor W. L. Miller, Toll reported that "The area is scenic and there are parts of the San Rafael Canyon that are exceptional and impressive," but claimed that the lack of water makes the region problematic for recreational use and recommended against monument status.

38. "Inspection of Navajo Country;" Roger Toll to Horace Albright, memorandum, November 6, 1932; folder Vol. III, Toll Papers.

39. "Inspection Tour," November 1-13, Roger Toll and Ephraim Pectol; Toll to Arno Cammerer, memorandum, April 13, 1934; "Reports on Proposed National Parks and Monuments and Existing National Monuments; folder Vol. III, A-6, Toll Papers.

40. Harry Aurand to Roger Toll, March 19, 1934; folder 10, accession 17522, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area Archives (GCNRA-A).

41. Roger Toll to Arno Cammerer, memorandum, March 29, 1934; folder 10, accession 17522, GCNRA-A.

42. Other surveys in the southwest and their supervisors were as follows: Green River Canyons, Edmund Rogers, Supt., Rocky Mountain National Park; Wayne Wonderland and Kolob Canyons, P. P. Patraw, Supt., Zion National Park; and Organ Pipe Cactus and Kofa Mountains, Frank Pinkley, Supt., Southwestern Monuments.

43. Minor Tillotson, "Inspection Report on the Colorado River Exclusion," August 1935, attached to George Olcott, NPS Planner to Jesse Nusbaum, Supt., Mesa Verde National Park, memorandum, December 21, 1942; folder 10, accession 17522, GCNRA-A. According to several sources, the complete report from Tillotson has been missing since the 1970s, with fragments of the document found in various memos, letters and reports.

44. Roger Toll to Arno Cammerer, memorandum, September 21, 1935; folder 10, accession 17522, GCNRA-A.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 2. Toll rejected Colorado, San Juan, Green or Utah as monument names, deciding on Escalante after the eighteenth century Franciscan cleric/explore r. Powell named after John Wesley Powell was his second choice.

46. *Ibid.*, I.

47. Roger Toll, Supt., Yellowstone NP to Elwood Mead, Commissioner, Bureau of Reclamation, memorandum, June 10, 1935; Mead to Toll, June 26, 1935; "Map Showing Proposed Dam Sites for Power Development," Bureau of Reclamation, 1935; folder 10, accession 17522, GCNRA-A. Fourteen dam locations were identified on the rivers in the lower and upper basins, including these: Dewey, Dark Canyon, Glen Canyon, Redwall (two sites), Mineral Canyon, Ruby Canyon, Specter Canyon, Havasu Canyon, Bridge Canyon (five sites), Devil's Slide, Hualapai, Black Canyon (eight sites), Mohave and Parker. The first Glen Canyon Dam was to be 386 feet high with a pool level of 3513 feet above sea level and a reservoir with eight million acre feet of water. Dark Canyon Dam was to be 532 feet high with a pool level of 4,100 feet that would submerge much of the Canyonlands basin and town of Moab.

48. Minor Tillotson, Supt. Grand Canyon National Park to Arno Cammerer, memorandum, February 7, 1936; folder 10, accession 17522, GCNRA-A. Traveling from Grand Canyon to Goulding's Trading Post at Monument Valley on October 26, 1935, Tillotson met Zeke Johnson at Bland-

ing on October 27, and they both left for Natural Bridges the next day. They left Natural Bridges on October 29 and arrived at the Colorado River the next day. On October 31, they returned via Farley Canyon, returned to Natural Bridges on November 1, and to Blanding on November 2.

49. San Juan Country Commission Minutes, 1931, p. 114, book 5, Utah State Archives (USA). At a meeting on February 7, 1931, the San Juan Country Commission delegated Commissioner Karl Barton to invite Utah Governor George Dern, the Utah State Road Commission and NPS Director Horace Albright to San Juan County to discuss road issues and "scenic features to be made available to the public through the construction of highways."

50. Roger Toll to Arno Cammerer, December 30, 1935; folder 10, accession 17522, GCNRA-A. Toll and Tillotson spent December 6–10 on the Paria Plateau to decide if it should be added to the Escalante proposal, focusing on the following features in the area: Glen Canyon, Marble Gorge, Paria Plateau and Vermillion Cliffs.

51. Henry Blood, Governor, Utah to Senator William King, Utah, January 22, 1936; folder 66, box 12, Governor Henry Blood Papers, Utah State Archives (Blood Papers).

52. William King to Henry Blood, January 31, 1936; Abe Murdock to Blood, February 3, 1936; folder 66, box 12, Blood Papers.

53. "Proposed Escalante National Monument," National Park Service; folder 14, box 13, Blood Papers.

54. "Minutes of the Price Meeting," attached to C. P. Seeley to Sumner G. Margetts, December 15, 1937; Utah State Planning Board, Parks and Recreation Reports, Escalante National Monument; folder 14, box 13, Blood Papers.

55. "Excerpt from Salt Lake City meeting," July 13, 1936, in Merle Sager, "Escalante Recreation Area," Escalante folder 8, accession 17522, GCNRA-A.

56. Sager, "Escalante Recreation Area," pp. 1–43.

57. Ansel Franklin Hall, *General Report on the Rainbow-Bridge Monument Valley Expedition of 1933* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934).

58. Although he discussed work by the Wetherills, Hyde Expedition, McLloyd, Graham and Patrick around Grand Gulch, the only antiquities Sager mentioned were pictographs near Moab, though he did say, "Unquestionably, there are some archaeological features in the very inac-

cessible canyons which have not been tampered with." The main publication on the Claflin-Emerson expeditions was *The Ancient Culture of the Fremont River in Utah: Report of the Exploration Under the Claflin-Emerson Fund, 1928–1929*, Peabody Museum Papers, v. XII, n. 3. (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1954). Previous publications on the Claflin-Emerson work were the following: F. Beckwith, "Some Interesting Pictographs in Nine Mile Canyon, *El Palacio*, v. 33, nos. 15–16, (Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1931): 216–22; "Serpent Petroglyphs in Nine Mile Canyon," v. 33, nos. 15–16, *El Palacio*: 147–49; "Ancient Indian Petroglyphs of Utah," v. 38, nos. 6–8, *El Palacio*: 33–40; E. F. Claflin, *An Archaeological Reconnaissance into Southern Utah*, Manuscript, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, n. d. [circa 1930–33]; Noel Morss, "The Ancient Culture of the Fremont River in Utah, *Peabody Museum, Harvard University Papers*, v. 12, n. 3, Cambridge, Mass, 1931.

58. Folder 8, accession 17522, GCNRA-A; Henry Blood to Elbert Thomas, February 2, 1938; folder 47, box 18, Blood Papers. In his 1937 report, Sager said it was "folly not to recognize that the Colorado River will ultimately be developed" and the Park Service must "resign itself to the fact that most thinking people will consider the economic development of the Colorado of more importance to the Nation and Southwest than its importance for National Park purposes." This concession also made by Tillotson and Toll was believed by the NPS to counter arguments against the Escalante. It also challenges historical interpretations that view regional history through the lens of a "martyred" Glen Canyon which leads to the conclusion that if the Escalante National Monument had been created, Glen Canyon Dam would not have been built. The Sager report catalyzed dialogue between Utah political players that did not slow down until Interior dropped the Escalante National Monument proposal. Regarding grazing, in June of 1936, a committee was formed with representatives from Utah's three grazing districts, the Utah State Planning Board, Utah Cattle and Horse Grower's Association, the Utah Wool Grower's Association and southern Utah Civics Clubs.

59. "Draft Proclamation, Escalante National Monument," attached to Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior to Franklin Roosevelt, President of the United States, October 1938; folder 47, box 18, Blood Papers. The proclamation called for the withdrawal of 2,450 square miles under the Antiquities Act to protect subjects of "geologic and scientific interest," and stated that water projects would be permitted in the withdrawn areas.

60. Folder 47, box 18, Blood Papers. NPS Director Cammerer and NPS Assistant Director Demaray wrote many letters to Governor Blood, Senators King and Thomas, and Representative Will Robinson to allay fears, outline

NPS plans and challenge incorrect claims made by Utah officials. Although Blood was the center for communications at the state level, Utah Land Board Director Sumner G. Margetts and Utah State Geologist E. H. Burdick were also involved, challenging the Escalante proposition based on the ownership and use of river beds, water power sites, the Boulder Canyon Act, NPS grazing policy, the assessment of mineral values and proper use of the Antiquities Act.

61. Folder 47, box 18, Blood Papers. The Utah Land Board criticized NPS plans for these reasons: Such a large withdrawal demanded public hearings; federal control of large rivers precluded Utah from controlling waters in its borders; river beds were owned by the state; oil, gas, and minerals might be found; water power sites were subject to federal control and regulation; the Colorado Compact and Boulder Canyon Act called for Upper Basin development; the Antiquities Act did not apply to the Colorado River Canyons; and continued grazing rights had to be codified.

62. Mitchell Melich, Moab Lion's Club to Henry Blood, February 19, 1938; folder 47, box 18, Blood Papers. From the nine-point resolution, the first four were connected to tourism that was to augment the mining industry.

63. Oscar Chapman, Ass't SOI to Henry Blood, December 10, 1938; folder 47, box 18, Blood Papers.

64. "A Proclamation Enlarging Dinosaur National Monument—Colorado and Utah," July 14, 1938, *U. S. Statutes*, 1939, v. 53, pt. 3 (Washington: GPO, 1939): pp. 2454–55; "A Proclamation Enlarging the Dinosaur National Monument, Utah," *U.S. Statutes*, v. 53, pt. 3 (Washington: GPO, 1939): pp. 2504–05.

65. "Inspection, San Rafael Swell," attached to Roger Toll to Arno Cammerer, memorandum, April 19, 1934; folder Vol. III, A-6, Toll Papers.

66. Neil Judd, "Beyond the Clay Hills," *National Geographic Magazine* 45 (March 1923): 269–301; Leo Borah, "Utah: Carved by Winds and Waters," *NGM* 55 (May 1936): 577–623.

67. George Grant, "The Country Beyond," Pt. I, *National Parks Magazine* 16 (Oct-Dec 1942): 13–16; "The Country Beyond," Pt. II, *NPM* 17 (Jan-Mar 1943): 17–20; "The Country Beyond, Pt. III, *NPM* 17 (Oct-Dec): 15–18. The articles contained photographs of Glen Canyon, Navajo Mountain, Escalante Canyon, Lee's Ferry, Arch Canyon, Moab Valley, Cataract Canyon, Fisher Towers, Orange Cliffs, Labyrinth Canyon and the Canyonlands basin.

68. C. C. Presnall, "An Ascent of West Temple," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 19 (June 1934): 38–41; David Brower, "An Ascent of Shiprock," *SCB* 25 (July 1940): 1–7.

69. "Arches Narrative Report," Henry Schmidt, *Southwestern Monuments Report*, August 1941; National Park Service Intermountain Support Office Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico; Interview by author with David Brower, May 8, 2000, Moab, Utah; Sam Schmieding Oral History Collection, Northern Arizona University Special Collections (SSOHC-NAU). Schmidt said forty-three Sierra Club members visited Arches and thirty-eight club members visited Natural Bridges. Neither canyon country in general or the "Escalante" was mentioned in any Sierra Club or Wasatch Mountain Club publications in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s.

70. Formed as a recreation and conservation organization in 1924, the Wasatch Mountain Club sponsored at least one trip a year to southern Utah. The first trip in 1924 was named "17 in 24" and went to Zion, Bryce and the North Rim of Grand Canyon. By late 1920s and early 1930s, the club was taking trips to Capitol Reef, Arches and Natural Bridges, but not the Canyon Lands, nor did the club mention the Colorado and Green River canyons in its official publication, the *Wasatch Rambler*. Wasatch Mountain Club Collection, University of Utah Special Collections.

71. Between 1935 and 1955, with the exception of the Dinosaur Monument dam controversy from 1950 to 1955, the *Sierra Club Bulletin* published the two climbing articles and seven others on desert locations. Other than Dinosaur-centered stories in the 1950s, *The Living Wilderness* published one story on arid regions—about the African desert.

72. Robert Marshall to "Friend," October 26, 1935, folder 177, box 7, The Wilderness Society Papers, Denver Public Library Special Collections (Wilderness Society Papers); Robert Marshall and Althea Dobbins, "Largest Roadless Areas in the United States," *The Living Wilderness* 2 (November 1936): 11–13. To qualify as "roadless," an area had to be least 300,000 acres or 21.5 square miles in forested regions and 500,000 or 27.5 square miles in desert areas. The study identified seventy-seven roadless areas in the lower forty eight states—forty eight forest and twenty nine desert locations—with the "Colorado River Canyons" being the largest at 8.89 million acres.

73. Chet Olsen, Ass't. Regional Forester, U.S. Forest Service to Hugh Calkins, Soil Conservation Service, January 14, 1940; Aldo Leopold, Professor of Wildlife Management, University of Wisconsin to Robert Sterling Yard, The Wilderness Society, December 13, 1939; folder 176,

box 7, Wilderness Society Papers.

74. H. Dodge Freeman, "Plead for Preservation of Colorado River Wilderness," *Moab Times Independent*, June 11, 1936; D. Elden Beck to Senator William King, December 12, 1938; folder 47, box 18, Blood Papers.

75. Arno Cammerer to Henry Blood, February 1, 1940; folder 23, box 25, Blood Papers.

76. Henry Blood to Arno Cammerer, February 6, 1940; L. C. Montgomery to Blood, February 21, 1940; J. A. Scorup to Blood, April 27, 1940; T. H. Humphreys to Blood, February 27, 1940; folder 23, box 25, Blood Papers.

77. Elbert Thomas, S. 4140, "A bill relating to conservation operations of the Department of the Interior pursuant to Reorganization Plan No. IV," *Congressional Record—Senate*, 76th Cong., 2d. sess., June 13, 1940, p. 8304; John DeRouen, H.R. 9351, "A bill to amend the act for the preservation of American antiquities," *Congressional Record—House*, 76th Cong., 2d. sess., April 11, 1940, p. 4400.

78. T. H. Humphreys to Henry Blood, May 24, 1940; Humphreys to Blood, June 24, 1940; Humphreys to Blood, July 11, 1940; folder 23, box 25, Blood Papers.

79. Franklin Roosevelt to Elbert Thomas, July 15, 1940; folder 25, box 23, Blood Papers.

80. Harold Ickes to Elbert Thomas, July 24, 1940; folder 24, box 25, Blood Papers.

81. *United States v. Utah*, 285 U.S. 64.801.

82. George Olcott and Herbert Butterfield, "Report on Field Investigations of the Escalante Region," June 1943; folder 654, CANY 36607.

83. Paul Brown, "A Narrative Report of the Trip to Horse Mountain and a Gallery Seat in the Escalante Area," July 1943; Brown to George Olcott, July 28, 1943; folder 654, CANY 36607.

84. The "Cañon Lands" defined by Powell was the region south of the Book and Roan Cliffs, east and south of Utah's High Plateaus, and was centered on a wide swath around the Green and Colorado River Canyons above their confluence, Cataract Canyon and Glen Canyon, Capitol Reef, Goblin Valley, White and Arch Canyons, and the Escalante River Canyons. Powell's "Cañon Lands" was essentially the area used in the first Escalante proposal.

85. "Recommendations for a National Park at the Junc-

tion of the Green and Colorado Rivers, Utah," attached to Ben H. Thompson, Chief, Branch of Lands, NPS to Conrad Wirth, Asst. Director, NPS, memorandum, September 11, 1944. Attached to the report was a Shell Oil road map with a hand-drawn outline of the proposed monument, as well as a communication from Jesse Nusbaum on the importance of media exposure; folder 601.12, New Areas, box 172, National Park Service Files, National Archives and Records Administration-Denver (NPS-NARA-D).

86. "Recommendations for a National Park at Junction of Green and Colorado Rivers," p. 2.

87. Jesse Nusbaum to Newton Drury, Director, NPS, memorandum, August 24, 1944; folder 601.12, new areas, box 172, NPS-NARA-D.

88. Loren Taylor, "Colorado River," *Moab Times-Independent*, May 18, 1944.

89. Dmitri Kessel, "The Colorado: A Wild and Beautiful River is Put to Work for Man," *Life* 17 (October 23, 1944): 72–86.

90. *A Survey of the Recreational Resources of the Colorado River Basin*, United States Department of the Interior (Washington: GPO, 1950). The report was compiled from studies done in the 1930s and 1940s and contributors included Conrad Wirth, Lawrence Merriam, Minor Tillotson, George Olcott, Neal Butterfield, Philip Kearney, Lowell Sumner, John Kell, Howard Young, George Ingalls and Frederick Law Olmstead.

91. *Recreational Resources* is broken into these chapters: Colorado River Basin; Geology; Plant and Animal Life; Prehistory of Man; Factors Determining Recreational Benefits of Reservoirs; Potential Reservoirs; Grand Canyon; Canyon Lands of Southeastern Utah; Dinosaur National Monument; and Conservation of Recreational Resources.

92. *Recreational Resources*, pp. 149, 151. The chapter on the Canyon Lands of Southeastern Utah was forty pages long, the chapter on Grand Canyon, twenty pages, and the chapter on Dinosaur National Monument, eleven pages.

93. *Recreational Resources*, pp. 184–85. Although the Dark Canyon site was mentioned in the 1950 report and in earlier documents, Glen Canyon had long been the prime dam site in canyon country and Dark Canyon second.

94. "View west over Colorado River to Orange Cliffs and the Henry Mountains," Frontispiece; "Junction of the Green and Colorado Rivers," p. 152; "Colorado River from Deadhorse Point," p. 154; "Shafer Canyon from

Deadhorse Point during January storm," p. 155; "View Southeast from Upheaval Dome," p. 156; "View South from Upheaval Dome," p. 157; "View Southwest from Upheaval Dome," p. 158; "Monument Canyon and Indian Creek country east of Colorado River from Junction Butte," p. 159; "White Rim Sandstone caps the dark red towers of Monument Canyon," p. 160; "Junction Butte from the rim of Green River Canyon near the Junction of the Green and Colorado Rivers," p. 161; "Junction Butte and Gray's Pasture Plateau from south of the Needles," p. 162; "Beef Basin and Horse Mountain," p. 166; "The Approach to the Needles labyrinth from Indian Creek, La Sal Mountains," p. 167; "The Needles Area," (aerial), p. 168; "The Needles from the air and intricate pattern of green, yellow, buff, pink and red," p. 169; "The Needles Area cut from Cutler Sandstone," p. 170; "Land of Standing Rocks, looking northeast toward Elaterite Butte and Land's End Plateau," p. 171; *Survey of Recreational Resources*.

95. *Recreational Resources*, p. 153 (Island), p. 162 (Needles), p. 172 (Lands End/Land of Standing Rocks.); Map—"Canyon Lands of Utah Suggested Plan for Recreational Use," Plate 9; The "labyrinthine" canyons in the report referred to the Salt Creek drainage which included Salt Creek, Horse, Davis, Lavender and Lost Canyons. Not until Bates Wilson explored the region in the 1950s would these canyons become well-known. After World War II when the NPS was studying the Canyon Lands and planning for parks units in the area, the nomenclature for the Canyonlands basin and districts of the future national park was not fully formed. The following names were already in common use: Grays Pasture, Upheaval Dome, Dead Horse Point, Grandview Point and Junction Butte, Lands End and the Standing Rocks, while the term "Beneath the Ledge" was used by ranchers and the BLM to describe the bench lands west of the Green and Colorado Rivers. The Needles was applied to the same formations as today, although the "Land of Standing Rocks" or "Standing Rocks" was occasionally used in personal correspondence and the media to describe "the Needles," a usage that disappeared in the 1950s. (See Ray and Virginia Garner, "Land of Standing Rocks," *Arizona Highways*, May 1950). "The Island in the Sky" and "The Maze" would not appear in official usage until the 1960s, although the latter name was first used by the Kolb Brothers in the 1910s.

96. *Recreational Resources*, pp. 109, 151.

97. *Recreational Resources*, p. 186. Scenic Roads in the "Canyon Lands" region were listed as follows: Utah Highway 95; U.S. Highway 160 and Utah Highway 47 from Moab to Monticello; Utah Highway 128 from Moab to Dewey Bridge; U.S. Highway 89 from Kanab to Toquerville; a dirt road from Escalante to Boulder to Tor-

rey, Utah; Highway 44 from Vernal to Linwood. "Recreation Centers" in the Canyon Lands region were listed as follows: The Virgin River Valley Communities, and Moab, Vernal, Torrey, Escalante, Blanding and Kanab.

98. *Recreational Resources*, p. 109.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

100. *Ibid.*

101. E. C. La Rue, *Water Power and Flood Control of Colorado River Below Green River, Utah*, USGS Water Supply Paper 614 (Washington, GPO, 1925), pp. 40–48.

102. *The Colorado River: "A Natural Menace Becomes a National Resource:" A General Plan for the Development and Utilization of the Water Resources of the Colorado River Basin for Irrigation, Power Production, and other Beneficial Uses in Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming*, Project Planning Report No. 34–8–1 (Denver: Bureau of Reclamation, October 1945). The report epitomized the utilitarianism then guiding the BOR and American society that transformed the region into a calculus of interchangeable parts to fulfill a scheme of water storage, flood control and power production, with no concern for ecological integrity or aesthetics.

103. The NPS and BOR began a series of cooperative agreements in 1941 whereby the Park Service would plan and manage recreation at selected reclamation projects. By the late 1940s, 135 sites were under investigation.

104. *Recreational Resources*, p. 185.

105. *A Natural Menace*, pp. 142–143, 161.

106. J. A. Theobald, Carbon County Chamber of Commerce to Congressman William A. Dawson, Utah, May 15, 1948; Dawson to Newton Drury, May 19, 1948; Drury to Dawson, June 14, 1948; folder 656, CANY 36607.

107. Associate Director, NPS to Region III Director, NPS, memorandum, June 15, 1948; Region III Director, NPS to Associate Director, NPS, memorandum, July 7, 1948; folder 656, CANY 36607.

108. Russell Mahan, Custodian, Arches National Monument to Minor Tillotson, Region III Director, memorandum, July 9, 1948; folder 656, CANY 36607.

109. Freeman Tilden, *The State Parks: Their Meaning in American Life* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1962). The idea of NPS Director Stephen Mather, the first National Conference on State Parks was held in January of 1921 in Des

Moines, Iowa at the request of Iowa Governor W. L. Harding, at which time nineteen states already had state park systems. Although there was clamoring in Utah during the 1920s and 1930s to create such a system, one was not created until the late 1950s when Utah created a state parks commission and an administrative department.

110. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 1946* (Washington: GPO, 1947), pp. 307–08. In his 1946 annual statement to Congress, the Drury said “millions of Americans, freed of war-time controls on travel, poured back into the national parks and monuments the past year.” This began after V-J Day, with records broken for visitation. From a war time low of 1,575 employees at the NPS, 1945–46 saw the addition of 220 permanent employees (career) and 1,524 seasonals. With the CCC camps closed, NPS regulars had a much larger work load in all areas of park management.

111. Attendance for Utah national park units was as follows: In 1945–1946; Arches—1,371 (3,786 in 1940–41); Natural Bridges—413 (618 in 1940–1941); Hovenweep—132 (296 in 1940–1941); Capitol Reef—no figures available; Zion—137,987 (190,016 in 1940–1941); Bryce Canyon—73,780 (124,098 in 1940–1941); In 1946–1947; Arches—3,080; Natural Bridges—959; Hovenweep—132; Capitol Reef—no figures available; Zion—223,155; Bryce Canyon—132,461; In 1947–1948; Arches—6,807; Natural Bridges—1,190; Hovenweep—156; Capitol Reef—no figures available; Zion—285,728; Bryce Canyon—166,136; 1948–1949; Arches—11,335; Natural Bridges—1,154; Hovenweep—198; Capitol Reef—no figures available; Zion—306,366; Bryce Canyon—179,406. Figures were compiled from both the Southwestern Monuments Annual Reports and NPS Annual Reports, 1945–1949.

112. *Report of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 1947* (Washington: GPO, 1948) p. 328. NPS Director Drury (1940–1951) used his annual messages to Congress to make patriotic calls for supporting the nation’s natural and cultural heritage by adequately funding the Park Service. Calls for budget increases started in 1947 when the NPS outlined funds the agency believed were necessary to improve and maintain infrastructure to meet the increased visitation and raised social expectations after World War II.

108. Ellsworth and Emery Kolb, “Experiences in the Grand Canyon,” *National Geographic* 26 (August 1914): 66–122; E. L. Kolb, *Through the Grand Canyon from Wyoming to Mexico* (New York: MacMillan, 1915). The Kolbs used the term “Grand Canyon” as a catch-all title in the article for the entire canyon system of the Colorado and Green Rivers, although they differentiate portions of the river basin in their narrative.

109. *Through the Grand Canyon*, pp. 115–116, 122–125.

110. Neil Judd, Beyond the Clay Hills, *National Geographic* 45 (March 1921): 275.

Contested Place: The Political Creation of Canyonlands National Park

.....

.....

.....

BETWEEN THE ESCALANTE SURVEYS of the 1930s and Colorado River Basin studies of the 1940s, the Canyon Lands ascended from obscurity to the most attractive wilderness parkland in the continental United States. Despite the region's importance to the National Park Service, the technocratic mentality dominating American society and controlling congressional purse strings in the early Cold War era prevented major preservation efforts in canyon country as Park Service Director Newton Drury's call to save the country's natural heritage often fell on deaf ears. These dynamics combined with the weighting of Colorado River Basin planning priorities toward major water projects to ensure the Bureau of Reclamation's (BOR) dominance in regional development. While the Park Service was just learning canyon country, the BOR and United States Geological Survey (USGS) were transforming decades of study into a matrix of prospective sites for dam construction, water storage and power production deemed essential to strengthen American society and develop the West. Faced with such harsh political realities, the NPS

had to focus on protecting existing park units and locating adequate funding in the hard times before Mission 66.

Despite a bleak prognosis that included the loss of Glen Canyon to reclamation, a truncated Escalante concept remained alive at the Park Service. Highlighted in the *Recreational Resource* studies, the canyon country near the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers became central to NPS plans in the region. Aided by Arches National Park Superintendent Bates Wilson, who relentlessly promoted the Canyonlands region to his superiors and the media, NPS designs for a recreation area between the Green and Colorado Rivers expanded toward the Needles and Land of Standing Rocks. Contrary to the multiple-use policy supported by the BLM, reclamationists, grazers, miners and most Utahns, park creation faced long odds in the conservative Eisenhower years. However, things changed after 1960 when the Kennedy administration, led by Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, called for more parks and recreation. First viewing the Canyonlands during a flight from Glen

Canyon to Denver in May 1961, Udall announced that “Canyon Lands” would be the next great national park. The three-year tussle over what became Canyonlands National Park in September 1964 was important in determining future land-use philosophies and practices on public lands; the meaning, planning and management of national parks; and the cultural place of Utah’s canyon country in the canon of America’s sacred landscapes.

Discovering the Canyon Lands: Bates Wilson, the Park Service, tourism, and the media

When Bates Wilson transferred to Arches National Monument from New Mexico’s El Morro National Monument in March 1949, he could not have predicted the dramatic changes of the next quarter century. Starting his Park Service career in 1942 as superintendent of Arizona’s Organ Pipe National Monument, Wilson’s move appeared as just one more transfer in an NPS world characterized by constant personnel shifts. Arches would be a click of the turnstile on an upward path leading to a park superintendency or high-level administrative post. Instead, Wilson was so impressed by southeast Utah that he stayed for the rest of his career, becoming what Park Service employees call a “homesteader” and the leading advocate for the future Canyonlands National Park. Other famous places were connected with iconic figures before they became national parks: John Muir and Yosemite, Enos Mills and Rocky Mountain, James Hill and Glacier, John Wesley Powell and Grand Canyon. Canyonlands had Bates Wilson, a manager who performed the high-wire act of administering two national monuments while exploring and advocating the establishment of a new park. Although “homesteading” is a dubious career strategy at the National Park Service, having a long-term presence in the region proved to be the necessary ingredient for creating a park in canyon country amidst Utah’s conservative political climate.

Framed by the post-war tourism boom and need to upgrade park infrastructures systemwide, Wilson’s mission upon arrival at Arches involved the daunting task of improving the services at a large and relatively undeveloped monument with little manpower or funding. He was also made the superintendent of Natural Bridges National Monument, an upgrade from the custodian status held by his predecessors at Arches and Natural Bridges. Nothing was said in Wilson’s marching orders about investigating new park areas, although his fascination with the Canyon Lands dovetailed perfectly with dormant Park Service designs for the “Escalante” region.

Wilson may have read the Escalante reports or the *Recreational Resources of the Colorado River Basin*, but there is no evidence he was steeped in NPS planning history. His interest in the Canyon Lands likely began in 1949–50 atop the Island in the Sky plateau, during chats with Arches maintenance worker Merle Winbourne, who hunted in the Needles area, on an overflight with a pilot or through local lore. Having seen the fantastic landscapes of canyon country from afar, Wilson began exploring the vast area between his managerial responsibilities at Arches and Natural Bridges. Described as a “restless person” by son Alan “Tug” Wilson, it was his “quest for new information and places that led to the exploration and creation of the park we now call Canyonlands.”¹ Starting by exploring the Canyon Lands in the early 1950s with his family and local Explorer Scout troops, Wilson soon became the resident expert and guide for the region.

Raised on a ranch outside Silver City, New Mexico, Bates Wilson helped run a ski resort as a youth, worked with the Civilian Conservation Corps and served with the Navy Seabees in World War II. This background produced a proficient horseman and mechanically adept person, vital traits for exploring Utah’s red rock wilderness.² Wilson still recognized his neophyte status in canyon country and procured



Bates Wilson cooking in Dutch Oven, Squaw Flat Camp, 1959. C36552.266, SEUG Photographic Archives.



Tug Wilson's jeep on Elephant Hill, 1950s. Bates Wilson Family Papers.

Figure 28: Bates Wilson and Alan "Tug" Wilson

rancher/trapper/guide Ross Musselman in 1950 to lead his first trip into the Needles. Although ranchers and oilmen had carved out crude roads and located water sources, conditions were similar to what Macomb and Newberry had faced: little food or water and dangerous terrain. Joined by Wilson's cousin Robert Dechert, a lawyer from Philadelphia, and his thirteen-year-old son Tug, Musselman led the group on pack horses down Indian Creek to

Dugout Ranch. Over the next four days they visited Davis Canyon, Squaw Flat, Lower Salt Creek Canyon, Devils Lane and the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers. Despite being hit by a storm that dumped nine inches of snow and running out of food because blowing sand ruined inadequately sealed stores, the Wilsons developed an insatiable appetite for canyon country. Bates began guiding scout trips, scientific expeditions, media tours, personal friends and National Park Service surveys, while Tug helped out with the "Tug Wilson Guide Service."³

Bates Wilson also learned that the Canyon Lands were well-suited for jeep travel, a crucial realization because of the region's strictures on pack animal use coupled with recent advances in four-wheel drive technology.⁴ Jeep travel allowed exploration of canyon country from different entry points and created a precedent for how people accessed the area.⁵ This transportation mode also affected future park planning in that road corridors were allowed in *de facto* and designated wilderness, an exception to standard NPS policies regarding motor vehicles and primitive areas. The food debacle also impacted Bates Wilson, who vowed to not let such a thing happen again. In addition to his extensive knowledge of regional geography and history, Wilson was legendary for backcountry cuisine, featuring Dutch oven cooking. Scenery, great food, laughter and Bates' favorite libation, Jim Beam bourbon whiskey, were memorable signatures of Wilson-led trips.⁶

In 1951, Bates Wilson led the first Explorer Scout group to the Needles. Using jeeps donated by Moab residents and stereoscopic aerial maps from the U.S. Army, they visited Horse Canyon, locating Tower Ruin and Fortress Arch. "We spent the winter months pouring over the aerial photos looking for shafts of light or shadows that indicated an arch or pinnacle," recalled Tug. "We also charted jeep trails and tried to determine where we might locate rock art and Anasazi ruins." The Wilsons soon extended

their knowledge to include Davis and Salt Creek Canyons, Elephant Canyon, Chesler Park, the Confluence and Devils Lane. During a 1953 trip, Wilson and the Scouts located Druid Arch in Elephant Canyon and Angel Arch in Salt Creek Canyon, the latter becoming a popular destination and the region's signature icon. The scout trips also connected local communities with places they knew only through cowboy lore or exploration narratives. Parents garnered pride in places visited by their children, and the scouts developed an appreciation for canyon country. Whereas Wilson led non-Mormon groups, Mormon Explorer Scout troops connected with local LDS wards also explored the region. Reflecting Utah's dual social structure, the two existed in relative isolation with the cultural ownership of places manifest through the naming of geographic features often producing parallel sets of names.⁷

In 1952, Bates Wilson led University of Utah archeology graduate student Alice Hunt, the wife of noted geologist Charles Hunt, into Salt Creek and Horse Canyons. Reflecting science's ignorance of the area, Hunt was the first archeologist to work in Canyonlands basin since Noel Morss decades before.⁸ Studies by Carling Malouf of Horseshoe (Barrier) Canyon in 1940 and Gordon Baldwin of Beef Basin and Dark Canyon in 1946, were outside the basin.⁹ After Hunt, Explorer Scouts supervised by Wilson charted sites in the Needles area for University of Utah archeologist Jesse Jennings, the last such work in the region until Lloyd Pierson's 1959 study of the Needles and Beef Basin.¹⁰ Not until Floyd Sharrock's 1966 survey in Canyonlands National Park was more archeology performed in the area, underscoring the late discovery of a region that contained some of the world's finest rock art and was an important interface zone between the Fremont and Anasazi cultures.¹¹ Caused by archeology's focus on the ruin complexes to the south and American society's poor understanding of regional geography, this lack of knowledge about the area's antiquities reflected how

Canyonlands National Park was initially classified, managed and perceived. Spectacular geology was the draw for the Park Service and tourists, wilderness and open space the context, with archeology an addendum to the main attractions.

Figure 29: Scenic photographs of the Needles region. Although these locations in the Needles District of Canyonlands National Park are well-known today, before the exploration of the region in the 1950s by Bates Wilson, the NPS, Kent Frost and tourists, they were known only to the region's cowboys and aboriginal inhabitants. Photographs by the author.

Angel Arch



Elephant Canyon



Chesler Park



Concurrent with Bates Wilson's entrance into canyon country, the Park Service revisited the Escalante area. In October 1951, Jesse Nusbaum told Region III Director Minor Tillotson to recommend national monument status for Dead Horse Point, and Wilson suggested the overlook be considered as a detached unit of Arches National Monument.¹² NPS Director Conrad Wirth addressed the issue in early 1952, stating, "It seems clear that the scenic qualities of this section of the Colorado River are so important that they deserve some kind of protective status," adding that the agency was "publicly on record as to the scenic and recreational importance of a larger area within which Dead Horse Point is only a dot." Surveys were performed near Dead Horse Point, and Wirth recommended creating a multiple-use recreation area that included Dead Horse Point and Grandview Point and extended to the Green and Colorado Rivers, essentially the Island in the Sky District of today.¹³ Water projects would be under Park Service oversight, as would the patenting and recovery of minerals, which would be managed as they were at Death Valley, Organ Pipe and Glacier Bay National Monuments. A temporary measure to mitigate damage from the extraction industry, a recreation area could be changed later to a park or monument.

With the intention of creating a recreation area, the Park Service asked the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) to "earmark for possible recreational uses" the region between the Green and Colorado Rivers, including the mesa top from Grandview Point to Dead Horse Point, or at a minimum the dramatic vistas. Stating that most of the region was covered by oil, gas and potash leases as well as water power sites, the BLM said they had no authority to withdraw lands and suggested that a survey be performed. Wirth asked the Bureau to consider three options—a state park, national monument or recreational area—and suggested a cooperative agreement be made between the National Park Service and Bureau of Land Man-

agement to minimize damage until a decision over disposition was made.¹⁴ Though hardly optimum conditions for a prospective park area, limited political capital forced the Park Service to compromise, a fact made clear during the ensuing field study involving the NPS, BLM and Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). As expected, the AEC wanted no lands withdrawn that might interfere with uranium prospecting and mining.¹⁵ A memorandum of agreement was drafted in 1953 between the NPS and BLM calling for preservation of the high plateau overlooks, oversight of road building connected to mineral exploration and extraction, administration of mining and oil activities to mitigate damage to scenic resources, and the development of recreation facilities.¹⁶ The BLM would provide labor and money; the NPS, consultation and planning. However, the agreement was not signed until 1956 and the Bureau's fiscal and staffing limits coupled with their hostility toward preservation goals, made the accord all but worthless and forced the Park Service to consider other strategies.

Whereas the Park Service tried keeping what little momentum it possessed in the "Canyon Lands" region, immediately after World War II the agency was more concerned with surviving understaffing, repairing a decrepit infrastructure

Figure 30: Road to Upheaval Dome, Dead Horse Point Area, 1961. The NPS was concerned about impromptu roads being built to aid mining and oil exploration activities in the region. C 36552.434, SEUG Photographic Archives.



and asking Congress for money. Director Wirth spent the first five years (1951–56) of his tenure dealing with these problems and developing the Mission 66 program.¹⁷ Creating new parks was not a priority. The agency was also focused on fighting threats to existing park units from logging, mining, grazing and water projects, with the dams planned for Dinosaur National Monument being the most prominent example.

When the Bureau of Reclamation unveiled its plans for the Colorado River Basin in 1945, the Park Service noted water projects that would intrude on park units. Debate ensued between the BOR and NPS over dams planned for Grand Canyon National Park and Dinosaur National Monument, with Park Service concerns expressed in its annual reports and the 1950 *Survey of Recreational Resources*. The NPS claimed that projects affecting park units were not justified outside of a national emergency, its arguments based on human scenic and recreational values. When dealing with non-park areas like Glen Canyon, Cataract Canyon and Canyonlands basin, the Park Service's reliance on humanistic values was problematic, as utilitarianism's "greatest-good-for-the-greatest-number" mantra attached to scenery in the service of human psychological needs made a weak argument in the technologically obsessed Cold War era. Although the 1956 Upper Colorado River Storage Act kept dams out of Dinosaur, half the Escalante region was sacrificed for the Glen Canyon Dam and reservoir with little opposition from conservationists or the Park Service. Dams were not authorized for Cataract Canyon and the Canyonlands region because of access problems to the Dark Canyon and Junction Dam sites, high construction costs in both locations and redundancies in terms of basin-wide water storage and power production.¹⁸

The debate over Colorado River development also occurred when the media and publishing industry were developing better and more cost-effective methods of color filming and

printing. This was noted by the National Park Service and conservationists who were looking for ways to portray the beauty of little-known places and promote political causes. Although most articles on the debate over dams in Dinosaur used black-and-white art, a color movie from independent film-maker Charles Eggert, *Wilderness River Trail*, proved effective in advertising the obscure unit of the park system.¹⁹ Conservation groups also produced *This is Dinosaur*, a book edited by Wallace Stegner that contained essays from writers, scientists and activists as well as a large photographic folio. Helping turn the tide against the dam projects, the film and book also created a precedent revisited by conservationists in the 1960s during the debates over Canyonlands National Park, the dams planned for Grand Canyon and the memorialization of Glen Canyon.²⁰

Before the Canyon Lands were well known, the Park Service relied on the print media and Bates Wilson to promote the region. Randall Henderson, publisher of *Desert Magazine*, visited the Canyon Lands many times and published four articles between 1940 and 1949 on ranching, archeology and adventure, the only popular journalism on the area before 1950 outside Kessel's 1944 *Life* article. However, the magazine's effectiveness in portraying canyon country's unique aesthetic was limited by the magazine's small circulation and the absence of color photos outside its cover art.²¹ *Arizona Highways* published the first piece on the region with color photography in May 1950, Ray and Virginia Garner's "Land of Standing Rocks." However, the article was outside the magazine's usual area of coverage and was not followed up for sixteen years.²²

National Geographic magazine was the first periodical to portray the Canyon Lands to a mass audience. When researching a 1947 *Geographic* piece on Arches National Monument, "Utah's Arches of Stone," Jack Breed saw the Canyonlands basin from Grandview Point. He inserted a photo from that viewpoint in the piece and

committed to an article on the area.²³ Researched with help from Musselman and Wilson, Breed's "Roaming the West's Fantastic Four Corners" was published in 1952 and contained a thirty-three image photo essay. Focused on the Needles and Monument Basin, the piece highlighted the Canyonlands region while giving significant attention to Capitol Reef, Cathedral Valley, the Valley of the Goblins, Natural Bridges and Glen Canyon.²⁴ Aided by the Wilsons and Utah State Aeronautics Board Chairman Harlon Bement, *National Geographic* led by their Foreign Editorial Chief Robert Moore returned in 1956 to do a story solely on the Canyonlands basin. However, the piece was not published until 1962 when the Canyonlands National Park debate was a hot topic, as *Geographic's* editors said it would be redundant to run an article on a recently covered locale.²⁵ Coverage of the Canyonlands from the Breed article until the early 1960s was limited to seven articles in *Desert Magazine*. The media collectively focused on the Needles, less on the Island and very little on the Maze, foreshadowing how the NPS prioritized areas for inclusion in the future national park.²⁶

Although Wilson barely knew the Canyon Lands, by 1952–53 he had been tagged by the Park Service and media as the region's preferred guide. Legendary guide Kent Frost first visited the Needles in 1940, but did not lead expeditions until 1956.²⁷ Already balancing his administrative duties with family life, Wilson was now responsible for exploring and promoting a vast, almost

unknown region. Though Wilson's guide work became a central part of his life, he received no financial help from the NPS until 1962 to alleviate his work load at Arches or Natural Bridges.

Despite these limits in relating the qualities of Canyon Lands to the world, powerful forces were coalescing that later emerged with great force. Director John Ford moved from Monument Valley to Professor Valley north of Moab in 1949 to film *Wagonmaster*, the first of three films he made in the area; *Life* used a color photo of Delicate Arch on their April 13, 1953 cover; and Edward Abbey arrived at Arches in April 1956 for the first of three seasons as a park ranger.²⁸ Ford's arrival signaled a shift in

Figure 31: Glen Canyon, Gene Foster, 1955. Gene Foster Collection, Museum of Northern Arizona. During the era when Canyonlands became known to mainstream society, Glen Canyon Dam was built and the canyon flooded. This changed the attitude of conservationists and American culture toward canyon country, a region which thereafter was highly valued for its unique beauty and wilderness attributes.



where the West's mythical center was located, Delicate Arch eventually became a symbol of Utah's wild beauty, and Abbey's philosophizing echoed the machinations of America's troubled industrial soul. Although Abbey was hardly mentioned by Wilson or Arches Chief Ranger Lloyd Pierson in their reports, the notes he jotted in his journal eventually became *Desert Solitaire*, the most influential book ever written on southeast Utah.²⁹

Mirroring Abbey's metamorphosis was the conservation movement's changing stance toward Utah wilderness. Shortly after the plans for dams in Dinosaur were cancelled, the discovery of Glen Canyon by conservationists as that dam was built increased the value of canyon country, even though most activists were not yet aware of the Canyonlands basin. The abstract values of roadlessness and wilderness merged with the soon-to-be-sanctified slickrock aesthetic to elevate canyon country's symbolic status long before the region was known to the masses. These forces merged to form a powerful regional identity for southeast Utah, a place that became important to urban-based interests ranging from commercial tourism to radical environmentalism, entities that helped create the cultural and political milieu from which Canyonlands Park later emerged.

Attempts to preserve the Canyon Lands: Studies, plans, and epiphanies

The 1956 cooperative agreement with the BLM was a turning point for the Park Service in the Canyonlands basin, although not how the NPS imagined. Instead of providing protection against abuses, the accord gave cover for resource-damaging practices.³⁰ Abetted by the Bureau's lack of oversight and propensity to favor resource use, uranium miners and oil exploration crews worked in the area with no regard for the fragile desert environs. Grazing was also a concern, although limited water and

forage kept numbers of sheep and cattle low in most areas. Despite repeated NPS requests for the BLM to honor the agreement, little changed. Adding to Park Service woes, Utah created a State Parks Commission in 1957 that was looking for new park areas.³¹ Dead Horse Point was atop the state's list, with the Needles a close second.³² Reflecting Utah's antipathy to preservationism, state park legislation included multiple-use provisions in its mission statement.³³ Witnessing damage to scenic resources on BLM lands and possible co-option of attractive park areas by Utah, the Park Service knew the time had come to act.

Before the Park Service realized the depth of its problems with BLM, it continued to study the "Dead Horse Point-Grandview Point-Junction Butte-Upheaval Dome" area. With Wilson now serving as the official NPS representative and guide, Park Service planners, architects, and administrators visited the region. A 1956 survey resulted in NPS recommendations for developing the region under the just-signed NPS/BLM agreement, and at a meeting attended by representatives from the NPS, BLM and the Moab Chamber of Commerce, it was decided that area roads would be upgraded and basic recreational facilities constructed. The Park Service acquired topographic maps and aerial photographs and performed more field work, resulting in the "Plan for the Development of Recreation Potential of the Dead Horse Point-Junction Butte Area, Moab, Utah." The report, completed in January 1957, detailed regional history, made planning recommendations and estimated development costs. Identifying local interest in a recreation area and Utah's strong belief in multiple-use, the plan also outlined prospective access roads, interpretative needs and support facilities. Although Utah did not yet have a working parks department, management by the state was recommended as the best short-term scenario.³⁴

Park Service Region III Director Hugh Miller was told in the fall of 1957 about Utah's plans

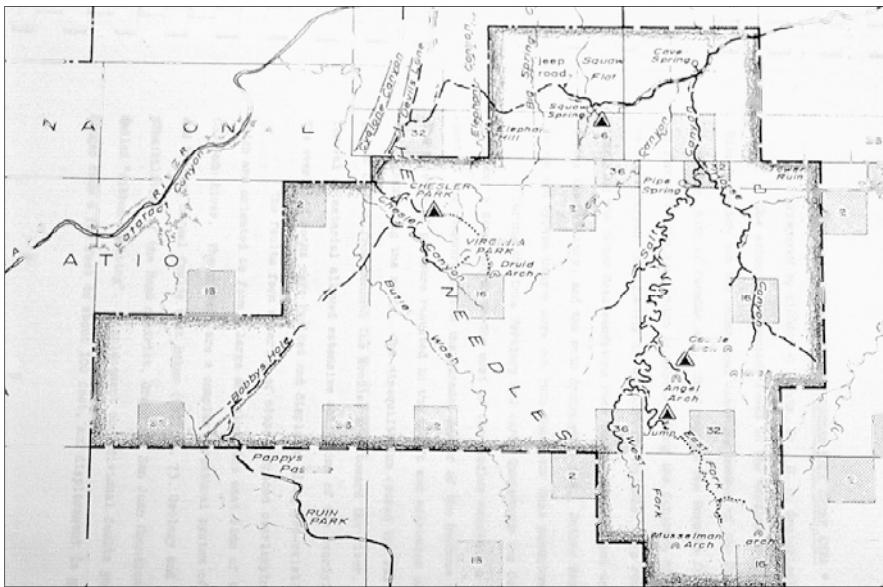
for the Canyon Lands by Chet Olsen, Director of the new Utah State Parks and Recreation Commission and former colleague of Bob Marshall at the U.S. Forest Service. Olsen said Utah was interested in “acquiring a state park in the vicinity of Dead Horse Point” that included “the Point and other overlooks.” Because Olsen wanted to include this information in a 1957 report to the Utah state legislature and NPS plans were not complete, Miller recommended to his superiors they support the state plan. Miller also told Director Wirth that the Park Service could continue planning for the region while Utah administered Dead Horse Point as a state park, and the NPS could take it over as a recreation area and eventually include it within a national park.³⁵ Stakes were raised when Olsen proclaimed the creation of Dead Horse Point State Park at the 1958 dedication for Arches’ new entrance road. NPS Region III officials tried to convince Olsen to have the Park Service take over the area, but agreed to let the state manage the park after meeting with Utah’s congressional delegation, Director Wirth, and Assistant Secretary of the Interior Roger Ernst.³⁶

Distressed by the further truncation of the Escalante region, the Park Service focused on the area between Dead Horse Point and the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area withdrawal. This involved solidifying agreements between the BLM and NPS, safeguarding the plateau south and west of Dead Horse Point, and extending legal protection to the rest of the Canyon Lands area.³⁷ Desecration of the region’s natural features to the point it would no longer qualify as a national park had long been a fear of the Park Service, and remained so until Canyonlands National Park was created. Communicating these concerns to the Bureau of Land Management resulted in amendments to the 1956 accord, but the BLM was unwilling or unable to implement the updated because of its philosophy and limited staffing. What protection did occur was based more on economics and environmental factors than any

contract, with the region’s rugged geography and ecological limits proving the best deterrent to excessive grazing or extractive industry abuses.

Amidst uncertainties over Park Service plans, Bates Wilson constantly reminded his superiors in Santa Fe and Washington about the Canyon Lands. He was most adamant about the Needles, where he spent much time when not at Arches and Natural Bridges. Concerned about stagnant NPS plans, environmental damage from oil and uranium exploration, and to a lesser degree, grazing, Wilson wrote Region III Director Hugh Miller in May 1957 about including the area in the national park system. Premising his comments with an overview of natural and human history and mention of *National Geographic* and *Desert Magazine* articles he had helped as a guide and with research, Wilson said, “For the past six years I have had the pleasure of exploring south and east of the junction of the Green and Colorado Rivers called The Needles, and as I believe that it qualifies in a great many ways I would like to recommend it for inclusion in the National Park System.” Region III Recreation Resource Planning Chief Leslie Arnberger told Wilson the Park Service had long known of these “superlative scenic attractions” and “would be making an investigation in the not too distant future.”³⁸ Following Miller’s suggestion, in 1958 Wirth scheduled a survey of the Needles. The survey was subsequently cancelled because the Director said the NPS had to first perform surveys of potential state parks in Utah before taking on new areas. Wirth also believed the Escalante studies by Tillotson, Sager and Olcott in the 1930s and 1940s were sufficient for agency purposes. “This comes as a real disappointment to me,” Arnberger said, claiming that he found Wirth’s decision “difficult to understand.”³⁹

Motivated by internal politics, rumors that Utah’s congressional delegation would introduce unfavorable legislation and a letter from Congresswoman Frances Bolton (R-Ohio) to



"Land Status, Boundary and Study Route, Needles Area, Utah," 1959. Folder 124, CANY 36607.



Participants in the 1959 "Needles Area" survey. C 36552.272, SEUG Photographic Archives.

Figure 32: 1959 National Park Service Survey of the Needles Region

Wirth, the Park Service soon rescheduled the Needles survey. Bolton, also a delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, was told by Ohioan Harriet Wieland after a 1958 trip to the Needles led by Kent Frost that the area "should be set aside as a National Monument for future generations of Americans to enjoy."⁴⁰ In four NPS and GSA motor pool jeeps, Wilson led a May 1959 survey attended by Harthorn Bill,

William Bowen, Paul Wykert, Les Arnberger and Lloyd Pier-son from the Park Service; Albert Albertson, former Dixie National Forest Super-visor representing the Utah Parks Commission; Baige Cook, Evan Rasmussen and Nick Cozalos from the Bureau of Land Management; Frank Jensen of the *Salt Lake Tribune*; and Frost. Unlike ear-lier trips that relied on stereo-scopic aerial photos, cowboy knowledge and moxie, Wilson now had USGS topographic maps although many back-country details remained unknown. The team visited Beef Basin, Ruin Park, Chesler Park, Elephant Canyon, Druid Arch, Virginia Park, Devils Lane, Devils Pocket, the Con-fluence, Squaw Flat, Horse Canyon, including Tower Ruin, Gothic Arch and Castle Arch, Salt Creek Canyon and Angel Arch, Lavender Canyon and Cleft Arch, adding to NPS knowledge of the Needles region which by then included most of its signature fea-tures.⁴¹

Kent Frost's role in main-stream society's discovery of Canyonlands and the devel-opment of a constituency in

favor of its preservation cannot be underesti-mated. From 1956, when he began commercial jeep tours, until Canyonlands National Park was created in September 1964, Frost took 138 trips and 593 people into the Canyonlands basin.⁴² Paralleling Bates Wilson's role as the official NPS representative, Frost was every person's backcountry guide, a regular guy from a local farming family who found joy amidst the



Kent Frost's "Ruby," the legendary Jeep that Frost used to lead tours into the "Canyon Lands" region. Bates Wilson Family Papers.



Bates Wilson and Kent Frost, Salt Creek Canyon. C 36552.775, SEUG Photographic Archives.

Figure 33: Kent Frost and Canyon Lands

region's sedimentary sculptures. Combining his passion with a desire to show people beautiful places while augmenting the family income, Kent and his wife Fern helped reveal Canyonlands to the world. The preferred commercial guide for official surveys, the media and tourists alike, Frost helped transfer the slickrock aesthetic and surrealistic sculptures of Utah's canyon country to everyone's living room. Long before coffee table books and tourist literature made these phenomenal

landscapes part of the global psyche, people around the world gazed at photos of canyon country taken during a Kent Frost-led tour.⁴³

The 1959 Needles survey resulted in the National Park Service and Utah Parks Commission both recommending park status for the region.⁴⁴ Confident after gaining Dead Horse Point, Chet Olsen notified the NPS before the survey of the Commission's intent to make the Needles a state park.⁴⁵ Utah congressmen also had just introduced legislation to remove the 640-acre limit on withdrawing federal land for state park purposes.⁴⁶ The Park Service responded by considering extending the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area to include 75,000 acres of the Needles. A more ambitious NPS plan was then discussed in August 1959 calling for a recreation area in the Needles and Salt Creek areas. Recreation area status would last five years, after which time the Needles would become a national park. Land values for prospective buyouts were estimated to be small, grazing would be allowed to continue and mining rights purchased. The accompanying report also identified why the Escalante concept failed and underscored the role of Bates Wilson in discovering and promoting the region.⁴⁷ The Park Service notified Utah's

congressional delegation of their plans, and the Canyonlands story was ready to move into the national arena.

Although it was too late in 1959 to introduce new legislation, the Park Service discussed these strategies for acquisition: a presidential proclamation creating a national monument under the Antiquities Act, congressional legislation of a national park, another cooperative agreement with the BLM or expansion of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. Invoking the Antiquities Act would inflame public opinion, sabotage future NPS plans in Utah, and was not doable under the Eisenhower Administration. Legislating a national park would require support from Utah's congressional delegation, something not possible at that time. More accords with the BLM were unappealing because of the Bureau's failure to support previous agreements. A recreation area thus became the favored option at the National Park Service, though Region III Director Thomas Allen claimed that "Recreation as commonly interpreted simply does not exist in the Needles."⁴⁸ Legislative authority was found in Section 8 of the 1956 Upper Colorado River Storage Act and historical precedent in withdrawals connected to other reclamation projects, while multiple-use provisions in recreation areas made the concept theoretically palatable in conservative Utah.⁴⁹

Early 1960 witnessed the positioning of political forces over Canyonlands that framed future Utah land use debates. Utah senators Wallace Bennett and Frank Moss talked with agencies and interest groups about parks in the region. The National Park Service and Utah state park officials continued talking about the Needles, the state of Utah land board voiced its opposition to any national park or recreation area, and Utahns became aware a national park was being considered. Although many Utahns initially supported the park idea, few understood NPS philosophy.⁵⁰ Commissioners from San Juan and Grand Counties told Bennett they favored a

national park if it contained multiple-use provisions like Utah's state parks. Bennett then asked Interior for clarification on Park Service policy and history.⁵¹ Such uncertainties were reflected in local newspaper opinion pages discussing whether the state or federal government should manage recreation in the region, with most pieces favoring the NPS because of Utah's slow development of Dead Horse Point and belief by some respondents that canyon country was of "national significance."⁵² However, such sentiments were often coupled to a mistaken belief that national parks were multiple-use areas, creating theoretical support for the NPS that soon vanished.

While Utah looked for ways to withdraw the Needles, the Park Service saw recreation area classification as an interim solution. Grazing was not felt to be doing serious damage, and the NPS could regulate mining similar to Lake Mead National Recreation Area. A superintendent and one ranger would be assigned at first, expanding to a staff of six in five years that included a naturalist, administrative assistant, laborer and seasonal ranger. Development would be minimal to keep with the area's primitive nature. Bates Wilson believed "jeep touring was a new concept in recreation" appropriate for the region, an assessment that led to problems in the future national park.⁵³ However, it was unclear that the Park Service had the legal authority to create a recreation area not directly connected with a reclamation project. The solicitor for National Parks found nothing in the record allowing "broader application" of recreation area classifications outside of facilities or areas near a dam or reservoir that were geared toward protecting fish and wildlife.⁵⁴

During negotiations over the Needles, the Park Service began looking at the Standing Rocks (Maze) region west of the Colorado and Green Rivers. Initially considered in terms of extending the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, the move inadvertently reversed twenty-five years of diminishing expectations from the once

grand Escalante concept to small, noncontiguous park units at Dead Horse Point, Grandview Point and the Needles. Although the 1960 Park Service expedition to the Standing Rocks was geared toward similar ideals, the survey and followup analysis led the NPS toward a regional concept that encompassed the entire Canyonlands basin.

Already scheduled to lead a 1960 Needles expedition that was later cancelled, Bates Wilson was asked by Leslie Arnberger to add a Standing Rocks trip in May. Arnberger said he knew the trip would be a “tremendous burden upon you and your small organization,” telling Wilson that was the price for being the “world’s greatest expert on the Needles.”⁵⁵ The May 9–13 “Standing Rocks” expedition included Wilson, Allen Pierson, Wykert and Arnberger from the NPS; Robert Moore from *National Geographic*; Dean Guyman; Darwin Snell and Evan Rasmussen from the BLM; and Kent Frost and Art Ekker for transportation. After four days in the Land of Standing Rocks, Sunrise Valley, Cataract Canyon, Ernie’s Country and the Fins, the group headed south toward Hite and the Dirty Devil River. Areas north of the Standing Rocks region in today’s Maze District, Shot, Water and Jasper Canyons, and the South Fork of Horse Canyon, were not visited. Not overly impressed, Region III Director Allen told NPS Director Wirth that “While the Standing Rocks Country was quite interesting, it did not measure up with the significance of the Needles Area, nor did the more interesting features located lend themselves to being included in a separate area.” Allen recommended the Standing Rocks region be added to the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, but not be made a separate park or monument.⁵⁶



Figure 34: NPS survey team in the Doll House, May 1960. Bates Wilson Family Papers. This trip designed to assess the “Land of Standing Rocks” as a stand-alone park led to a decision that the entire Canyonlands basin should be considered for park status. Bates Wilson Family Papers.

Reviewing the Standing Rocks report and earlier studies during a visit in late 1960 to Dead Horse Point, Grandview Point and Upheaval Dome, NPS planner Leo Diederich conceived the first “Canyonlands” park concept. Viewing canyon country from the high plateau prompted Diederich to state the Park Service should “explore the possibilities of including the entire area called the Canyon Lands of Utah within the system.” Referring to the Canyonlands basin plus Cataract Canyon, Diederich drew a boundary from the upper end of Lake Powell on the south to Grandview Point and Upheaval Dome on the north, to Hart’s Point and Hatch Point east of the Needles and the Orange Cliffs on the west. Because of extractive industry activity, Diederich suggested immediate action be taken to save the region’s scenic and scientific values and wilderness qualities from further damage. Knowing of Utah’s opposition to national park policies, he recommended making a “Reserve National Park” that would “gradually extinguish non-conforming uses” and eventually evolve into a national park.⁵⁷ After reviewing Diederich’s recommendation, Allen amended his earlier statement about the Standing Rocks,

claiming that “consideration should be given to including it as part of a larger area . . . which might encompass an expansive part of the canyon country above Lake Powell including the Needles.”⁵⁸

Claiming Canyon Country: Washington politics and competing land use ideals

Wallace Bennett started the 1960 legislative process by sending a draft bill, “To Provide for the Establishment of the Needles National Recreation Area, in the State of Utah, and for Other Purposes,” to the Park Service for review. The NPS then forwarded the bill to the National Parks Advisory Board for consideration at their annual meeting. Containing a mix of preservation and multiple-use provisions typical of recreation areas, Bennett’s bill agreed in spirit with previous Park Service plans for the region and would be supported by multiple-use advocates. But the Advisory Board would not endorse the bill, stating that the area’s appeal was “inspirational rather than recreational” and “adverse uses would make such classification undesirable at this time.”⁵⁹ They added that “having considered the scenic and scientific values of the Needles region of Southeastern Utah,” we believe the region is of “national significance, suitable for and in need of preservation for public use as a unit of the National Park Service.” Discounting the Advisory Board rebuff and Republican loss of the White House, Bennett introduced S. 1239 in March 1961 to “create a Needles National Recreation Area.”⁶⁰ Notable as the first “park” bill applying to canyon country since the Escalante era, Bennett’s effort to gain the political high ground had no chance because of the Advisory Board recommendation and the Democrat’s own conservation agenda.⁶¹ The latter program included wilderness legislation and new park creation, both having been stifled for years by conservative interests in Congress and the White House.

Despite the Kennedy administration’s progressive historical reputation of forging toward the “New Frontier,” the 1960 Kennedy-Johnson presidential campaign did not possess a significant conservation component. That changed with JFK’s first cabinet selection of Stewart Udall as Secretary of the Interior. A born-and-bred westerner, Udall was familiar with issues foreign to the Kennedy brain trust like land use politics in states with a high ratio of federal lands. Having served six years on the House Interior Committee, Udall witnessed the failure of wilderness legislation and the difficult negotiations over the Upper Colorado River Project. Originally a conservation-oriented politician in the old sense of the term—a combination of preservationism and multiple-use resourcism under the “conservation” umbrella—Udall experienced a crisis of conscience along with much of America.⁶² Witnessing the reckless gobbling up of resources and damage to America’s wild spaces in pursuit of the “good life” and defeat of communism, the new Secretary underwent a catharsis concurrent with his rise to prominence. This resulted in the 1963 publication of *The Quiet Crisis*, one of the most important books written by a sitting politician.⁶³

Between Kennedy’s election and the implementation of a Democratic agenda, the future of the Canyonlands area remained in doubt as mineral development continued and the Utah State Park Commission eyed the Needles. The National Park Service released a draft management plan in December 1960 for the “Canyon Lands of Utah.” More of a prospectus than a concrete plan, the document indicated an increased NPS commitment to the region. Concurrently, the Utah Parks Commission applied to withdraw the Goosenecks of the San Juan River, Kodachrome Basin including Grosvenor Arch, Coral Pink Sand Dunes, Escalante Petrified Forest and six small areas around Utah. The *Salt Lake Tribune* then reported that the Commission was ready to withdraw 200,000 acres centered on Dead Horse Point. Although the Park Service viewed the report with skepticism

because of recent comments by Commission Director Harold Fabian lauding the Park Service and citing Utah's inability to develop the parks it already had, the NPS was worried about the concurrence between the state and the BLM over multiple-use philosophy. Region III Director Allen attacked the BLM in a memo to Director Wirth for ignoring previous agreements and speculated that the Bureau was conspiring to withdraw lands for state park purposes in violation of the Recreation and Public Purposes Act. Allen also suggested to Wirth that the Park Service intensify its planning activity and begin to think regionally when considering an enlarged Rainbow Bridge National Monument and other park units in the Greater Canyon Lands region.⁶⁴

Udall's involvement with Canyon Lands began indirectly in February 1961 when he ordered an eighteen-month moratorium on "non-mineral applications and petitions for public lands." Designed to stop "unethical land locators and promoters" and help the BLM catch up on 60,000 backlogged applications, the order provided a respite for the Park Service in the Canyon Lands region and at other prospective park areas. BLM then confirmed the NPS's worst fears when it announced it planned to withdraw 200,000 acres from Utah's Canyon Lands for "recreation" directed toward state park purposes, angering Park Service officials in yet another breach of the NPS-BLM cooperative agreements. Although news that "Utah's Canyon Lands" were being considered for addition to the National Park System as part of the new Interior Secretary's conservation agenda gave NPS officials hope, it was obvious decisive action had to be taken.⁶⁵

Wirth held a meeting on the matter attended by the BLM, NPS and Utah Senator Frank Moss and Congressmen David King and Blaine Peterson. Moss, King, and Peterson then sent a letter to Udall asking for action on Canyon Lands followed by a memo detailing Park Service history in the region and a proposal for a "National

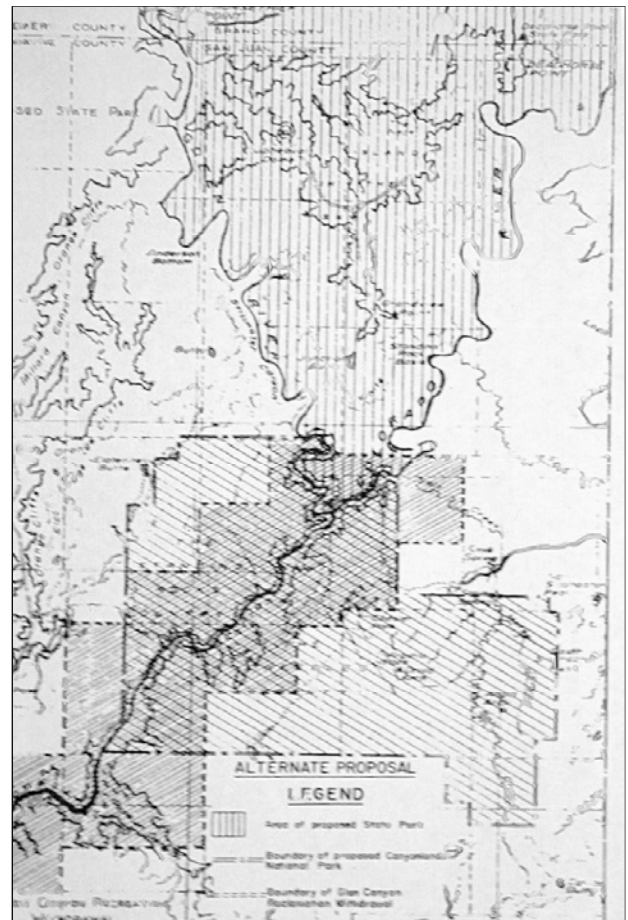


Figure 35: "Alternate Proposal," 1960. Folder 124, CANY 36607. This map contains proposed Utah State parks, one encompassing the Island in the Sky District of the future Canyonlands National Park, shown with vertical lines in the top part of the map, and another in the Needles area shown by diagonal lines in the bottom left part of the map.

Park Reserve" in an area they felt had "unparalleled National Park potential." Wirth suggested to Udall the Park Service prepare a new park plan, ask the BLM to enforce regulations and to schedule a trip with high-level officials.⁶⁶ A survey of Glen Canyon and Rainbow Bridge had already been scheduled for late April to be attended by Udall, Wirth, the President of the Committee for Outdoor Recreation, National Parks Advisory Board members, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, Utah and Arizona congressmen, and Park Service representatives.⁶⁷ Just before the Glen Canyon trip, Udall told Peterson in response to earlier queries that a trip was planned to the Canyon Lands for later that summer.⁶⁸



Figure 36: U.S. Army helicopter at landing at Chesler Park, Department of the Interior survey, July 4, 1961. C 365652.273, SEUG Photographic Archives.

Therefore, when Udall flew over the Canyon Lands with BOR Commissioner Floyd Dominy en route to Denver from Glen Canyon on May 2, 1961, he was already moving his conservation agenda in a preservationist direction in which canyon country would play a major role. What changed during the flyover was the Secretary's relationship with the region that was affected in a way that words and images from NPS reports could not achieve. Roughly analogous to the catharsis of Edward Abbey that resulted in the 1968 publication of *Desert Solitaire*, the striking

beauty of Canyonlands lit a fire within Udall that merged abstract notions about wilderness with something concrete and emotionally powerful, "a scenic masterpiece," as Udall described his first view of the region. "So we're flying along from Page to Denver at about 10,000 feet and he [Dominy] shows me the dam site," recalled Udall. "Here it is all spread out before me . . . the Canyonlands. . . . I thought God Almighty, if that isn't a national park then I've never seen one."⁶⁹

Failing to relate his feelings to Dominy, who was focused on promoting another dam project, Udall was so enthralled by the Canyonlands basin that after returning to Washington he began to move the political mountains necessary to create a national park in the region.⁷⁰ Udall first wrote Moss, describing "lands that have an extraordinary diversity of physical features, and a wild beauty and color which make them, in my opinion, superior to most of our National Parks." He then told Utah Democrats of plans for "a survey of this extraordinary area sometime this summer in order to make a recommendation to Congress that the choicest of these areas be pieced together to form a new national park." Areas to be visited during the survey included Cataract Canyon, the Needles,

Standing Rocks and the "V-shaped section north of the confluence."⁷¹

Figure 37: Senator Frank Moss, Arches National Monument Superintendent Bates Wilson and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall in the Needles region during 1961 survey. Bates Wilson Family Papers.



The "Needles Trip" from July 2–5, 1961, was attended by thirty-two people who went by boat, jeep and helicopter throughout the Canyonlands basin.⁷² Representatives from federal, state and local government agencies, the media, family members and locals, traveled down the Colorado River from Moab on July 2nd in thirteen motorboats. Camping the first night near the confluence of the Green and Colorado, on July 3rd

they headed up the Green River to Anderson Bottom, where they camped. Military helicopters took the group to Grandview Point the next morning, where they were taken by jeep to Upheaval Dome and Dead Horse Point. Helicopters took them to Chesler Park in the Needles that afternoon, where they camped. On July 5 the group hiked up Elephant Canyon to Druid Arch, then four-wheeled over Elephant Hill to Horse Canyon where they visited Ruin Arch and Castle Arch. That last day they also went up Salt Creek Canyon to Angel Arch, stopped at Cave Spring, then returned to Moab. Blessed with unseasonably cool weather, the trip went smoothly except for a foot injury to NPS planner William Bowen, who had to leave the party. Udall and the Park Service could not have hoped for a better result.⁷³

Because most attendees had never seen the Canyon Lands, the region's qualities connected them with the sense of wonder felt by most first-time visitors. Realizing the powerful effect the place was having on the group, Udall held a press conference on July 3 at Anderson Bottom where he unveiled a plan to make "Canyon Lands National Park" the centerpiece in a regional constellation of parks, monuments, and recreation areas he tagged the "Golden Circle." This was followed by visits to even more spectacular locations, an itinerary that underscored the validity of Udall's plan.

Arguments against the park idea seemed like empty words from believers in a dead religion, a dynamic underscored by an interchange on July 4th in Chesler Park. Republican Governor George Clyde—who participated in the trip's last half—was asked by a *Los Angeles Times* reporter why he opposed the park. In all seriousness, Clyde said, "You see, Utah is a mining state, and we might need these [the Needles] as building stone."⁷⁴ The aghast facial expressions from those who heard the Governor underscored the chasm between the extreme resourcism then permeating Utah political culture with most other forms of conservation-

ism. Clyde's words also served notice to Udall and Moss that they would be in for quite a fight.⁷⁵

Upon completion of the trip, Interior issued a press release that announced plans for a "New National Park in Southeastern Utah" covering 1,621 square miles, or 1,037,440 acres. With borders at Beef Basin on the south to just north of Upheaval Dome and the Wingate Sandstone cliffs on both the east and west, the withdrawal could either be a Park Reserve allowing mineral exploration and development or a National Park using a three-tier zoning scheme, with the strictest protections near prime scenic areas. In August, King and Peterson introduced the first national park bills applying to the region, H.R. 8573 and H.R. 8574, with both calling for a 300,000-acre park centered on the Needles and Grandview Point. Each bill would phase out grazing over twenty-five years and place mining under NPS oversight. Full of inconsistencies and legal loopholes, the bills revealed contradictions intrinsic to land use philosophy and practice in Utah and the Cold War era in general, and foreshadowed compromises with park philosophy made over Canyonlands to strike a political deal. The NPS followed with their own plan calling for a "Canyon Lands National Park" that was also 300,000 acres in size. The Park Service plan outlined five years of staff and capital costs, with the latter category including the construction of roads, trails, visitor centers, employee lodging, comfort stations and interpretive infrastructure.⁷⁶

The successful media trip and the public's positive reception to the "Canyon Lands" idea had the Democrats brimming with confidence. Moss told Udall in August 1961, "I think we have Bennett and Clyde on the run," even though his bill would not be introduced until early 1962.⁷⁷ Nothing was further from the truth, as Clyde and Bennett were preparing to counterattack. In addition to his embrace of multiple-use and opposition to preservationism, Bennett was stung by the failure of his previous bills because

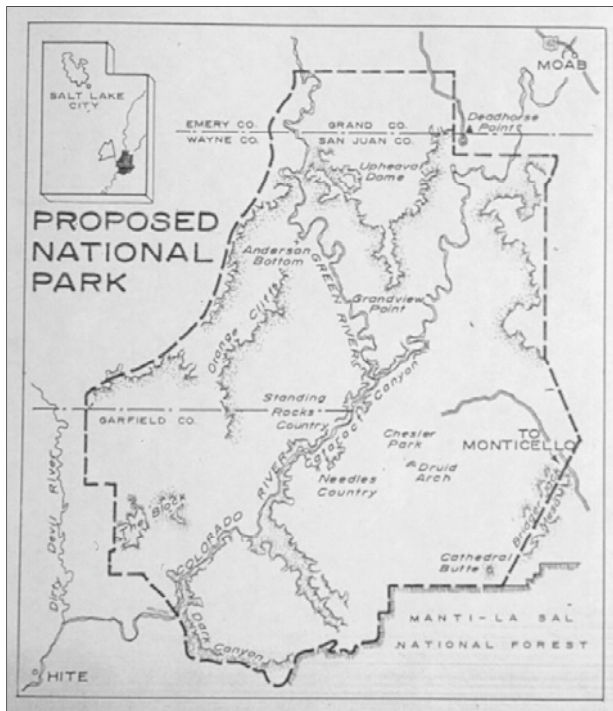


Figure 38: "Proposed National Park," July 1961. Folder 3415, SWR-NPS, box 89, NARA-Denver.

of the Republican's minority status. In addition to the death of S. 1239 and stagnation of S. 808 calling for a Utah Scenic Parkway system, Bennett tried portraying himself as a "parks person" by introducing legislation just five days after the July trip—S. 2233, S. 2234 and S. 2235—to upgrade Arches, Capitol Reef and Cedar Breaks National Monuments to park status.⁷⁸ Nine days later Bennett introduced S. 2280 that would provide \$80,000 to study the parkway idea, stating that Udall had ignored requests for a study because "He evidently did not deem it convenient to do so." Bennett claimed "more money was spent" on Udall's trips, "the second of which included 30 to 40 people, than it would cost to make the parkway survey." Bennett then introduced S. 2616 in September 1961 to establish Grand View, Needles and Upheaval Dome national parks which would total a scant 11,000 acres.⁷⁹

From fall 1961 to spring 1962 when Congress reconvened, the battle heated up. Shortly after Bennett introduced S. 2616, Udall directed the BLM to stop issuing user permits on more than

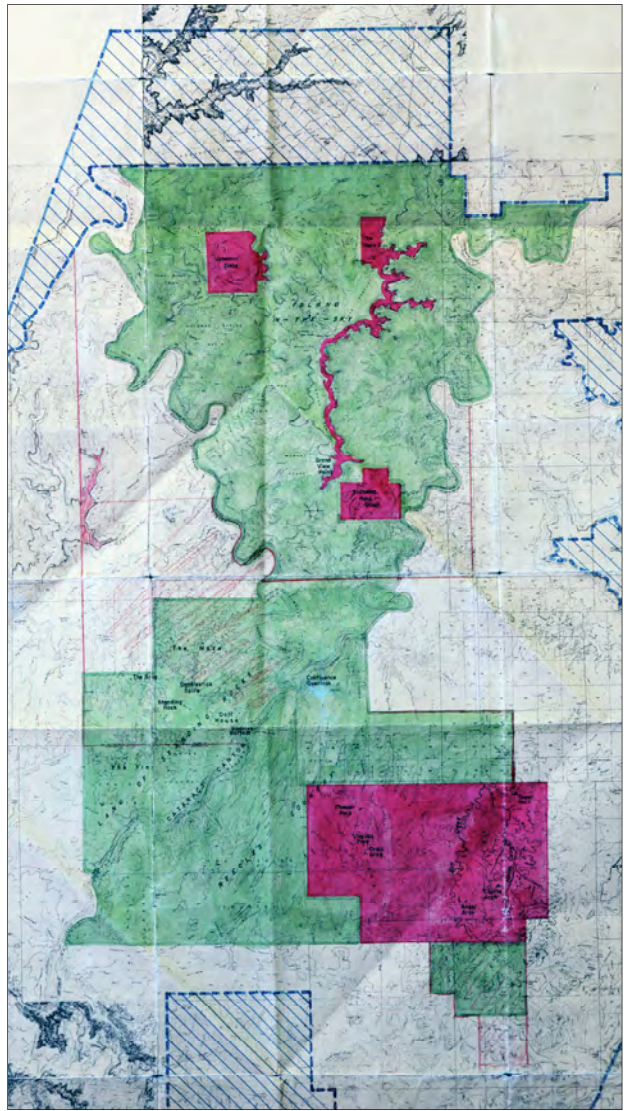


Figure 39: "Canyonlands of Utah," August 1961. SEUG Map Archives. This map was a response to opposition over the million acre concept. The dark zones (red) in the park boundaries indicated "park use," and lighter areas (green), "regulated use." Areas not darkened but within the million acre zone were for "specified multiple use."

one million acres in the "Canyon Lands" area that did not meet "the high public values of the land."⁸⁰ Calling the action an "arrogant flaunting" of the popular will, Bennett told Utahns they should resist the order or Utah would "become a Udall-created wasteland," a charge followed by a nasty exchange of words between the Senator and the Secretary. With public patience wearing thin, Clyde and Udall met in October to work out their differences. Instead of bringing the two sides closer together, the

meeting and ensuing communications created a wider schism and more hard feelings. Udall thought Clyde said he would support a large park with limited commercial use; Clyde thought Udall said he would accept a small park with unrestricted commercial use.⁸¹

The Secretary was even criticized by some conservationists. Devereaux Butcher, editor of the *National Wildland News*, said Udall was “going too far” by considering multiple-use for national parks. Udall stated that he did not believe multiple-use should regularly apply to parks, but that the Park Service historically had allowed nonconforming uses for defined periods. Sierra Club Director David Brower supported Udall on Canyon Lands, saying that he was “boiling mad” with park purists who insisted on “100% standards or forget about new parks.” Brower was himself embroiled in a crisis of conscience over compromises made during the Upper Colorado River Storage Project hearings in 1954–55 that had sacrificed Glen Canyon. The Sierra Club leader and his more radical ideological offspring would not compromise so easily in the future as the Park Service discovered during the planning and development of Canyonlands National Park.⁸²

The beleaguered Udall built a “conservation backfire” by enlisting author Wallace Stegner to build support for the Canyon Lands idea. A Utah native and graduate of the University of Utah, the non-Mormon Stegner claimed the Mormon Church was the biggest threat to national park legislation because of its conservatism, support for multiple-use policies and control over the state’s media, education system and political machinery. Stegner helped form a conservation council to mobilize public opinion under Democrat William Bruhn. Despite Stegner’s notoriety and support from the Kennedy Administration, the group was ineffective, as grassroots activism was years away from being a force on Utah environmental issues.⁸³ The Wasatch Mountain Club remained focused on mountaineering and recreation, and

the Nature Conservancy’s new Utah chapter was just defining its mission. Controversies over Colorado River development focused the attentions of the Sierra Club and Wilderness Society on the Colorado Plateau, but neither had a Utah chapter and their involvement with Canyon Lands involved testifying at public hearings. Even the National Parks and Conservation Association was limited to congressional testimony, press releases and one article in its magazine, as the group’s energies were focused on threats to existing park units like Grand Canyon and Rainbow Bridge.⁸⁴ The only real grassroots efforts on Canyon Lands came from the Desert Protective Council of Palm Desert, California. An offspring of Randall Henderson’s *Desert Magazine*, the Council wrote letters to political leaders, and the magazine published articles on the park proposal and the natural qualities of canyon country.⁸⁵

To support Interior’s stance, Udall hired the University of Utah School of Business Research to study the economics of a Canyon Lands National Park and the Golden Circle regional concept. Authored by Dr. Robert Edminister and Dr. Osmond Harline, “An Economic Study of the Proposed Canyonlands National Park and Related Recreation Resources” was released in March 1962. The report focused on expenditures and income in the public and private sectors as well as visitation in the park’s first five years, then extended the analysis in five-year increments toward a twenty-five year horizon. Using economic and demographic analyses of the Canyon Lands region as well as the Golden Circle’s (Four Corners area) fifteen counties, the report compared tourism with the extractive industry and agriculture and concluded that unless a very large oil strike occurred, tourism would provide a larger and more steady economic base for the region.⁸⁶

On March 19, 1962, shortly before the University of Utah report was released and nine days before congressional hearings on Canyon Lands began, Governor Clyde’s commission released

its report. Opposed to the 300,000 acre national park, the commission proposed a 102,000 acre “pure park” be surrounded by a 208,000 acre recreation area open to mining, oil drilling, grazing and hunting.⁸⁷ Bennett embraced the plan and promised legislation consistent with its findings, while Udall claimed the Clyde report was nothing but an “anti-park study thinly disguised.”⁸⁸ The final draft of the Edminster-Harline report was released one week after the governor’s report and two days before the hearings, prompting a claim by Bennett that Udall had released a report to Congress that Interior had not properly reviewed. Although the report was not the emotionally powerful document hoped for by Udall, its technical nature and economic analysis did support the pro-park position from an empirical perspective free from hyperbole and politics.

Exhausting all options: The final struggle to create Canyonlands National Park

Amidst the political mudslinging, the Park Service continued to prepare for a national park in the Canyonlands region from October 1961 to March 1962 when hearings began. The agency did more field work, devised preliminary plans, developed strategies for inholdings and discussed legislation.⁸⁹ Bates Wilson was finally given funding for another seasonal ranger at Arches, and Charles Eggert was contracted to make a film on the Canyon Lands. In a Democrat-sponsored bill, 32,000 acres were added in the Maze region, mining provisions were tightened and language was added on access roads.⁹⁰ A rim-to-rim regional park was also discussed, with sizes ranging from 920,000 to 1,040,000 acres. Used as a scare tactic by park opponents, the large park model was not seriously considered by the NPS after the level of opposition to the park was apparent. The Park Service instead devised a scheme within a million acre area whereby a series of concentric zones around prime “scenic features” would be managed as pure parks, with two zone classifications con-

taining progressively fewer restrictions radiating out from the scenic centers.⁹¹

Hopes that 1962 would be more civil than 1961 were quickly dispelled by Senator Bennett. Demonstrating the vitriol and half-truths he used throughout the Canyonlands affair, on the same day Moss introduced an amended version of S. 2387, Bennett claimed he had first conceived a park in the Canyonlands region during talks in 1959 with then-Interior Secretary Fred Seaton. The Republican Senator said Udall’s plan was so “bad the people of Utah and the Nation would suffer irreparable damage” and the Moss bill would permanently “lock up” resources and hurt Utah’s school kids. Citing known and potential potash, oil and gas deposits, and the increasing attractiveness of the Junction Dam site to Bureau of Reclamation plans, Bennett said the bill he introduced in fall 1961 was the responsible choice. Named the “string of pearls” plan, S. 2616 called for three noncontiguous areas totaling 11,000 acres connected by roads built by the NPS through lands zoned for multiple-use and with spurs leading to the parkways outlined in S. 808.⁹² Driven largely by partisanship, Bennett and his allies also based their rationale in a philosophy that saw the world as a series of disconnected parts to be re-engineered for human use. Mormon Utah’s historically difficult relations with the United States merely added fuel to the fire. Unlike parks in southwest Utah created with the help of state and church leadership, Canyonlands was imposed from the outside. This hurt chances of developing a collaborative spirit between Utah and the federal government and trumped potential connections with Udall’s Mormon heritage.

Senator Moss responded by quoting Kennedy’s 1962 State of the Union Address calling for the “expansion of our superb national parks and forests,” and an Outdoor Recreation Resources Commission report on the “Preservation of scenic areas, natural wonders, primitive areas, and historic sites of national significance.” Citing

economic and social needs, Moss pointed to jumps in visitation at U.S. Forest Service and National Park Service areas, and said he was introducing S. 2387 because “seldom has the National Park Service and Department of the Interior been so laudatory in urging such an addition.” Yet, despite his key role in the Canyonlands legislative process, Moss’ sponsorship was problematic. His utilitarian views and the realities of political survival in Utah pushed the bill away from traditional NPS policies. In addition to provisions in S. 2387 that allowed mining, grazing and hunting, before Senate hearings began, Moss had two 1,000-acre areas removed from the bill, one near Dead Horse Point that had a producing oil well and another in lower Cataract Canyon to avoid conflicts with upper Lake Powell.⁹³

Hearings on S. 2387 in Washington were held from March 29–30, 1962, before proceedings moved to Utah in April. Moss opened hearings by comparing Canyonlands with Grand Canyon and other American landmarks, his remarks aided by paintings of canyon country by Utahn Lynn Fausett that rimmed the chambers. Moss and Udall claimed that 330,000 acres was the minimum size needed to protect key scenic features, one percent of Utah’s land base and thirty-nine percent the size of Grand Canyon National Park.⁹⁴ They emphasized the lack of private land in the area and said that 26,000 acres of state school lands in the withdrawal would be exchanged for federal lands elsewhere. Multiple-use provisions were defended by citing precedents at Mt. McKinley and Grand Teton National Parks, with safeguards against abuses provided by Interior oversight. Traditional natural resources in the Canyonlands region were considered insignificant. Outside Salt Creek Canyon, the region was dry and lacked good soil for farming. Harvestable timber was only found outside the park above 8,000 feet in the Abajo, La Sal and Henry Mountains. Power sites on the Green and Colorado Rivers were low on the Federal Power Commission and BOR priority lists.⁹⁵ Even purported mineral



“Angel Arch.” Collection: Springdale Museum of Art, Springdale, Utah.



“Chesler Park.” Collection: Jean Atthowe, Stephenville, Montana

Figure 40: Lynn Fausett Paintings of Canyon Lands

deposits in the region were considered suspect.⁹⁶

Wallace Bennett responded by critiquing the Moss bill, taking credit for his park plans, and introducing Governor Clyde’s park plan. However, Bennett and Clyde were overshadowed by park supporters from national conservation and resource management organizations. Clyde was even treated rudely during his testimony by senators attacking the objectivity of his “bipartisan” committee’s findings and personal belief that national park standards could be maintained with unrestricted, nonconforming uses.⁹⁷ Returning to Utah for hearings in Monticello and Moab on April 20–21, the anti-park, multiple-use crowd found friendlier environs. Focused on concrete economic issues and less on abstract ideas, locals who testified ranged from the respectful to the openly hostile, wanting

to revitalize a depressed mining and agricultural economy. Most referred to the next oil or uranium strike and only a minority saw tourism as a viable long-range strategy. When the hearings moved to Salt Lake City on April 23, the pro-park supporters again dominated proceedings, underscoring the contrary world views and economic realities of urban and rural America. Whereas park advocates claimed that federal lands belonged to the nation, most Utah politicians, business leaders and rural citizens believed that residence and investments of labor and capital equated to a degree of ownership, and that preservationism in the form of a park denied them economic freedoms and access to a sort of intrinsic birthright. Ironically, anti-park representatives from the mining and petroleum industries were from urban-based companies.

The rest of 1962 saw S. 2387 fall victim to its own shortcomings, tepid Park Service support, partisan haggling in the Senate and House, Senator Bennett's bill and midterm election politics. The year's most colorful events instead revolved around Charles Eggert's Canyonlands film, *The Sculptured Earth*. Conceived by Stewart Udall who believed "If everyone could see it . . .

the controversy would evaporate," the film was made by Eggert in May and June of 1962 aided by Bates Wilson, Kent Frost and others.⁹⁸ Experiencing unseasonably cold and stormy weather, the film crew traveled by jeep, horse, plane and on foot to the Island overlooks, Upheaval Dome and the White Rim; the Orange Cliffs, Maze, Standing Rocks and The Doll House; Squaw Flat, Chesler and Virginia Park, Druid Arch and Elephant Canyon, Salt Creek and Angel Arch, Horse Canyon, the Confluence and the Grabens.⁹⁹ Despite the adverse affect on logistics and comfort caused by wet and blustery weather, Eggert parlayed the sharp contrasts provided by the climate to produce a beautiful and dramatic forty-five minute film. Combining music, narrative and imagery, *The Sculptured Earth* merged natural and human history with geology, archeology and biology to create a powerful message supporting the proposal to set aside the region as a national park, a place not to be valued merely in dollars and cents, but through beauty and inspiration.¹⁰⁰

Wanting to premiere the film in Salt Lake City, Udall asked the University of Utah if they could use its Kingsbury Hall Auditorium. Claiming that he could not support a political film during an election year at a taxpayer-supported facility, university president Ray Olpin—a political ally of Clyde and Bennett—declined the request. Although this position had some credence during an election season, similar to most instances of censorship, the refusal merely focused attention on the artistic production and anachronism of the censors. By the time Interior arranged to use the Utah Motor Hotel's 700-seat auditorium for an October 16 premiere, interest in the film was white-hot. With Udall delivering the introduction,

Figure 41: Charles Eggert with 16mm camera in May 1962 during the filming of *The Sculptured Earth*. Bates Wilson Family Papers.



The Sculptured Earth was shown to a packed house. The beauty of Canyonlands spoke volumes, and the reactionary stance of park opponents was revealed. Mormon Church President David O. McKay even said after seeing the film that “Bennett was on the wrong side of the road this time.”¹⁰¹ Upon Udall’s return to Washington, his staff greeted him with this handwritten poster spoofing the recent events in Utah:

NOW!
THE PICTURE THEY BANNED IN UTAH!

“EARTH AND THE SCULPTOR”
(FORMERLY THE SCULPTURED EARTH)

WHAT WAS THE MILE-HIGH SECRET THEY SHARED?

FRANK! REVEALING! STARK!

THE STORY ALL WASHINGTON IS WHISPERING!

– WHAT WAS THE GOVERNOR’S
STRANGE PRACTICE OF MULTIPLE USE?

– SHOULD A CABINET MEMBER FORGET
WHAT HE HEARD AT THE SUMMIT?

THEY DARED TO MAKE IT!

NO ONE UNDER 18 ADMITTED¹⁰²

Although the humor salved some of Udall’s frustration, Canyonlands was an increasingly sore subject for Udall, Moss and the Park Service. Fifteen months had passed since the 1961 media trip and announcement of Udall’s plan, and passage of a real park bill was nowhere in sight.

By late 1962 public opinion in urban Utah and outside the state was ninety-five percent in favor of the national park. Proponents were educated urbanites in the government and private sectors who emphasized the philosophical import of beauty, recreation and wilderness, although tourism-based economics was a factor. Opponents were Republican politicians, rural Utahns, or from the ranching and mining industries, their reasons based in economics

and the continuation of policies that allowed access to resources. The latter sentiments were strongest in San Juan County, from where most of the park would be withdrawn. Early in a downturn in the agricultural and mining sectors after a decade-long boom, the county’s economic future seemed threatened by the park. Most county citizens stated support for the park if multiple-use would apply and its headquarters were sited in Monticello or Blanding.¹⁰³ Although Grand County was also dependent on mining and ranching, opposition was less pronounced there because the county had little land in the proposed park and was interested in expanding its tourism economy.¹⁰⁴

Although Bennett knew that an updated version of his Canyonlands bill—S. 3744—originally introduced in 1961, had no chance in a Democratic Congress, he needed leverage to put friendlier provisions in future bills. Moss had already placated Republicans with the original and amended forms of S. 2387 by including non-conforming uses. Bennett wanted a smaller park, unrestricted mining, grazing and hunting, and rapid transfers of state and federal lands from Canyonlands and other Utah parks.¹⁰⁵ Referring to S. 3744 in relation to other park bills and congressional hearings, Udall stated, “No act could be more meaningless at this time,” and the only “motive I can ascribe for the introduction of this bill” so late in the congressional season was “to gain publicity for his political campaign.”¹⁰⁶ Bennett did win reelection over David King, who had vacated his House seat to run for the Senate. King’s former House seat was won by Republican Sherman Lloyd while Blaine Peterson lost to Republican Laurence Burton. With Utah’s pro-Canyonlands contingent gone from the House and increasingly unattractive national park bills evolving in the House and Senate, prospects for a true park in canyon country looked bleak.

The political ground got shakier after Moss introduced S. 27 in early 1963, a “considerably modified version of S. 2387 designed to take

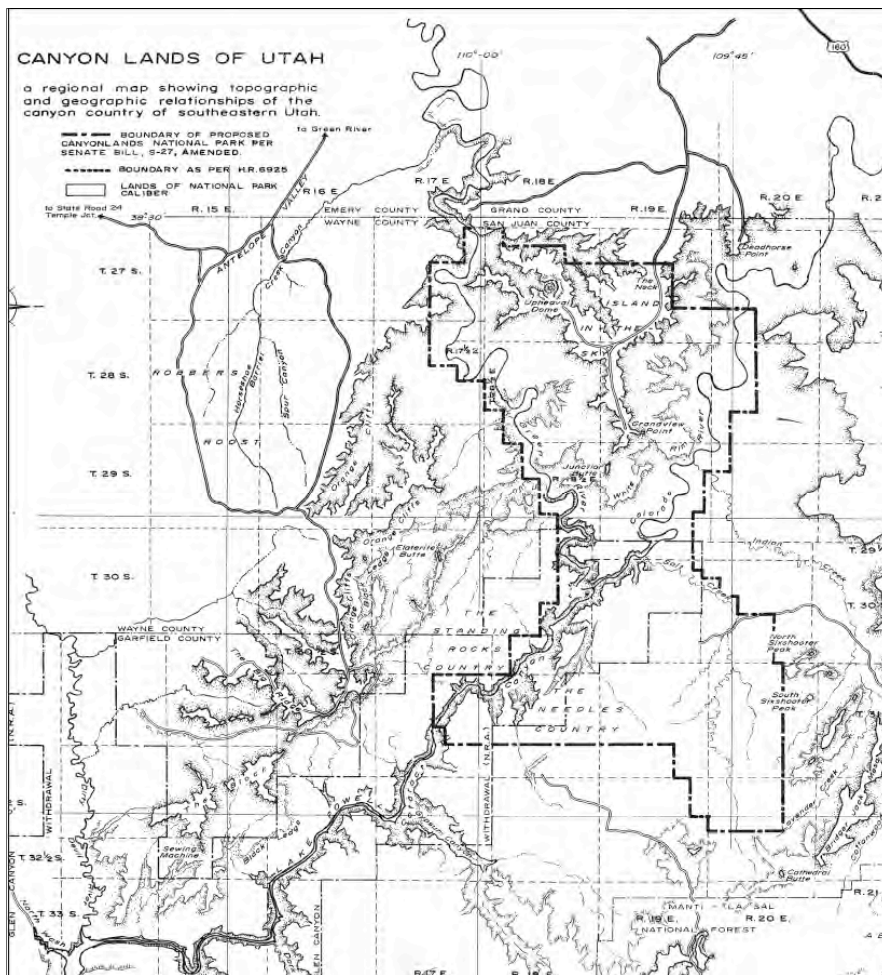


Figure 42: "Proposed Canyonlands National Park, S. 27 and H.R. 6925," 1963. NPS-TIC 164/7102.

some of the controversy out of Canyonlands." Despite NPS and Interior objections, the park was reduced in size to 253,000 acres. The Maze was removed because Moss claimed inaccessibility gave it *de facto* protection, as was the south Needles area to avoid the Abajo Mountains deer herd range. The last provision allowed for the elimination of hunting provisions in S. 2387, although mineral exploration and extraction were extended beyond the twenty-five year phase-out period.¹⁰⁷ Moss's retreat continued with S. 333, a bill designed to remove congressional responsibility for building protective dams in parks and monuments like the one designed to keep Lake Powell out of Rainbow Bridge, and S. 601, a bill that directed the Interior Department to manage the public domain under multiple-use principles analogous

to the 1960 Multiple-Use Sustained Yield Act for National Forest Service lands.¹⁰⁸

Utah Republicans parlayed new political capital into defining how the Canyonlands issue was resolved. While Bennett attacked indirectly by pushing park status for Arches and Capitol Reef, opening Dinosaur to hunting, changing federal-state land transfer mechanisms and funding a Utah parkway system, Burton used the departure of King and Peterson to introduce H.R. 6925. Similar to Moss's last Canyonlands bill, the main differences were "small boundary adjustments" and details over land transfers.¹⁰⁹ Utah's Republican-dominated state legislature then passed a resolution calling for size limits on wilderness areas and national parks.¹¹⁰ Meanwhile, S. 27

made it the Senate floor in August with these amendments: the deletion of 18,000 acres from the northeast corner and the addition of 19,000 acres on the south side for a 258,000 acre total; a 120-day deadline for state/federal land transfers; and almost totally open-ended mining and grazing with limited Interior oversight. Bennett then suggested requiring land transfers to be of equal value, eliminating Interior's authority to regulate mining, deleting 960 more acres on the northeast corner and not adding 19,000 acres in the southern Needles area to facilitate hunting.¹¹¹ With nobody happy about a park that would either be too small and too open to resource use, or too big and not open enough for resource use, in late 1963 the legislation stalled again.

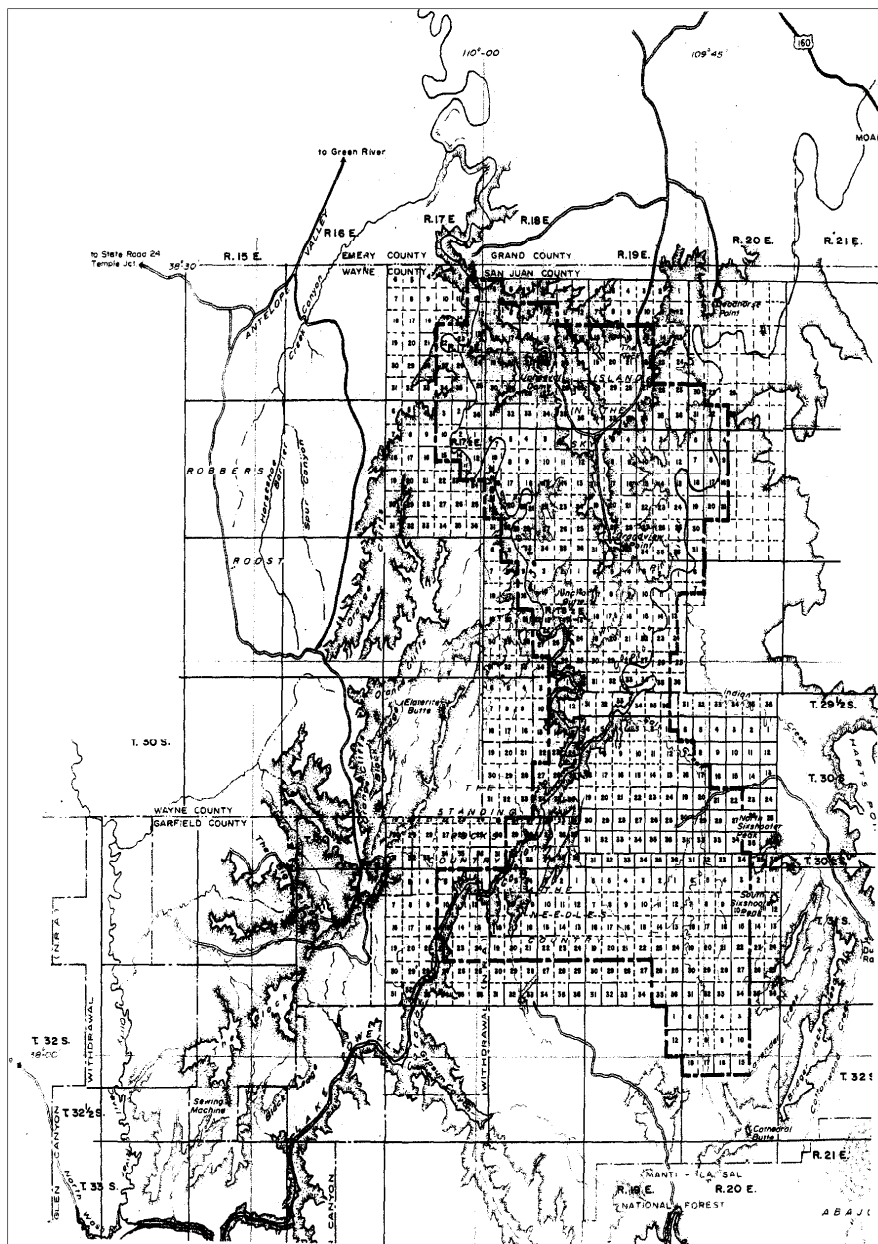
Not until August of 1964 did Congress move to resolve the Canyonlands issue. However, by the time S. 27 and H.R. 6925 went before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the bills were not recognizable to the original Canyonlands planners or attractive as national park legislation. Pared down to 238,140 acres, the park outlined in H.R. 6925 contained the following provisions: state/federal exchanges from lands of equal classification to be completed before the park was established; grazing rights for twenty-five years plus

those extended by inheritance; mineral exploration and leasing for twenty-five years with valid claims extending even further; hunting under Utah law along the rivers; and a predatory animal control program. The bill also included access roads from Utah Routes 160, 24 and 95, the latter route through the Manti-La Sal National Forest into the Needles becoming controversial in the 1970s during the planning of Canyonlands National Park.¹¹² These bad “park” bills had multiple-use and preservation policies mixed together, and their passage with-

out major revisions would have been disastrous to canyon country and set a dangerous precedent for national parks in general.

Salvation for the Park Service came from an unlikely source, Democrat Wayne Aspinall of Colorado, Chairman of the House Committee for Interior and Insular Affairs. Often cast as an unreconstructed resourcist by preservationist versions of history, meaning there was no water project he didn't like, Glen Canyon being the prime example, the man called “Mr. Chairman” pulled an eleventh hour surprise. Claiming the “only controversy of any consequence” over Canyonlands involved grazing and mining, Aspinall stated bluntly that “these uses are incompatible with national park status.” He emphatically concluded by saying “We cannot have a Canyonlands National Park with mining and grazing unless we are prepared to open other national parks to this same sort of activity. I for

Figure 43: “Canyonlands National Park,” 1964. NPS-TIC.



one, do not believe that the American people would or ought to tolerate anything like this.”¹¹³ Despite protestations from Lloyd over the removal of multiple-use provisions in S. 27 and H.R. 6925, and Bennett’s urging to “not give up without a fight” on keeping mining and grazing provisions, with Aspinall’s recommendations the bill went to a joint House-Senate committee. Moss concluded, “Although I regret the conference bill is somewhat less than adequate, I accept the conference bill in its present form.” Finally, on September 3, 1964, after three years of hardball politics and compromise, a Canyonlands National Park bill was sent to the White House for President Lyndon Johnson’s signature.¹¹⁴

When President Johnson signed P. L. 88-590 on September 12, 1964 creating Canyonlands National Park, there was ample cause for celebration at the National Park Service. Despite major obstacles, a national park had been created amidst the novel geography of the Canyonlands area. The park also escaped the ignominious fate of having multiple-use provisions within its enabling legislation.¹¹⁵ Yet, there was disappointment because of what was not included in the park. The Maze, Fins, Buttes of the Cross, Millard Canyon, Panorama Point, Lavender Canyon, Upper Salt Creek, Beef Basin, Ruin Park and Lockhart Basin; all were deleted because of partisanship and economic fears. The jagged borders following township and section lines around the 257,640 acre park were an injustice to the geographic basin framed by the Wingate Sandstone cliffs and everything in-between. However, similar to how the recently passed Wilderness Act represented a step forward in federal land use policy despite significant compromises from the initial vision introduced in 1955, a smaller-than desired Canyonlands National Park gave recognition to the area, protected many notable features and officially allowed the Park Service to enter the region.

End notes

1. Alan “Tug” Wilson, “Early Trips into the Needles: An Idea Takes Shape,” *Canyon Legacy* 1 (Fall 1989): 4.
2. Lloyd Pierson, “Remembering Bates Wilson, 1912–1983,” *Canyon Legacy* 3 (Winter 1998): 23.
3. Alan Wilson, “Early Trips into the Needles,” 5; Alan Wilson, interview with author, tape recording, Boulder, Colorado, July 9, 2003, Oral History Tapes and Transcripts from Administrative History Research (CANY 45551).
4. Wilson, “Early Trips,” 5; Wilson interview.
5. The Wilsons initially used jeeps owned by Moabites, Tug’s 1949 CJ3A jeep (later upgraded to a 1954 model), and after 1956, commercial guide Kent Frost’s jeeps. Not until 1960 did Bates Wilson have a jeep at Arches, previously having to rely on Park Service vehicles from Mesa Verde National Park or the government motor pool.
6. Folder, Wilson Planning Charts, Bates Wilson Papers, Wilson Family Collection (Wilson Papers). Wilson used graph paper to chart food purchases and meals under the categories of “Meat,” “Vegetables,” “Bread,” “Spread,” “Drink,” “Fruit” and “Misc.” Heavy on red meats, potatoes, canned vegetables, fruits and biscuits, the cuisine was relatively varied. Each vehicle and its capabilities, available gas and water, were also charted. Although most trips involved six to ten people, Wilson frequently planned for more than twenty people on the NPS/BLM survey trips.
7. The Mormon Scouts named features for people important in their culture. George Albert Smith Arch in Salt Creek Canyon named for the LDS Church President is one example. Explorer Scouts led by Wilson named features based on shape, personal experiences or cultural connections. Because Wilson and the NPS were connected with the U.S. Board of Geographic Place Names, officially registered names in canyon country often reflected their wishes.
8. Hunt published three articles on Canyonlands: A. P. Hunt and Bates Wilson, “Archaeological Sites in the Horse Canyon Area,” Univ. of Utah Archeology Dept., Salt Lake City, 1952; A. P. Hunt, *Archaeological Survey in the La Sal Mountain Area, Utah*. Univ. of Utah Anthropological Papers N. 14 (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1953): 239–48; A. P. Hunt and D. Tanner, “Early Man Sites near Moab, Utah,” *American Antiquity* 26 (1960): 110–17.
9. Noel Morss, “The Ancient Culture of the Fremont River in Utah,” *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American*

Archaeology and Ethnology, 12 (1931, Cambridge, Mass.): pp. 38–57; Carling Malouf, “Some Notes on the Archaeology of the Barrier Canyon Region, Utah,” July 1940 [Later published as “Notes on the Archaeology of the Barrier Canyon Region, Utah,” *Masterkey* 15 (July 1941):150–53]; Gordon Baldwin, NPS, “Archaeological Survey, Beef Basin, Dark Canyon Plateau Areas of Southeastern Utah,” unpub. ms. (July 1946); Southeast Utah Group Cultural Resource Files (SEUG-CRF).

10. Lloyd Pierson, “Archaeological Resources of the Beef Basin, Needles, Salt Creek Mesa area,” 1959, unpub. ms.; Pierson, “The Needles Region, National Park Service, 1959; folder 486, Canyonlands National Park Administrative Collection (CANY 36607).

11. Floyd Sharrock and Melvin Aikens, *An Archeological Survey of Canyonlands National Park*, University of Utah Anthropological Papers 83 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1966): pp. 49–84.

12. Jesse Nusbaum, Archaeologist, Region III, National Park Service (NPS) to Minor Tillotson, Director, Region III, NPS, memorandum, October 25, 1951; Bates Wilson, Supt., Arches National Monument to John Davis, General Supt., Southwestern Monuments, memorandum, November 19, 1951; excerpts from synopsis entitled “The Dead Horse Point Story or Another One Down the Drain,” p. 1; folder 124, CANY 36607.

13. P. P. Patraw, Acting Region III Director, NPS to Regional Administrator, Region IV, BLM, memorandum, October 21, 1952; folder CANY 36607; Conrad Wirth, Director, NPS to Minor Tillotson, memorandum, March 14, 1952; from “Dead Horse Point Story,” pp. 1–2; folder 124, CANY 36607.

14. Conrad Wirth to Minor Tillotson, memorandum, May 1, 1952; Tillotson to BLM, memorandum, May 21, 1952; BLM to Region III, NPS, memorandum, July 11, 1952; “Dead Horse Point Story,” p. 2; folder 124, CANY 36607.

15. The Atomic Energy Commission lobbied for permission to explore for uranium in Capitol Reef, Big Bend, Grand Canyon, Petrified Forest and Fossil Cycad. In 1953 they were granted permission to explore in Capitol Reef and Big Bend, and mining began at Grand Canyon by the South Rim. During the 1950s thousands of claims were posted in the Canyon Lands region, although few were actively worked and even fewer proved economically viable.

16. Region III, NPS to WASO, NPS, memorandum, July 27, 1952; Conrad Wirth to Director, BLM, memorandum, October 17, 1952; AEC to NPS, memorandum, Novem-

ber 13, 1952; Region III to NPS, Washington DC (WASO), memorandum, January 9, 1953; folder 124, CANY 36607.

17. NPS Director Newton Drury tried to get more funding for the agency after World War II, but only received small increases that were insufficient to upgrade aging infrastructure or deal with high visitation. Director Wirth conceptualized and implemented Mission 66, a plan to study parks and increase appropriations to improve park infrastructure, increase staffing and develop long-range plans. Congress granted \$48 million in 1956, \$67 million in 1957, \$76 million in 1958 and \$79 million in 1959. Addressing problems at the big parks first, small monuments in southeast Utah received no money until the Mission 66 program’s second five-year period which began in 1961.

18. The Upper Colorado River Storage Act was signed by President Eisenhower on April 11, 1956. Provisions included authorization for the Glen Canyon, Navajo, Flaming Gorge and Curecanti projects, and cooperation with “participating projects” like the Central Utah Project in the Uinta Basin. Rainbow Bridge National Monument was given protection under this act, as were other national parks or monuments. Key to the physical integrity of the Canyonlands basin was an open-ended provision in Section 3 of the Act that encouraged future water projects based on the needs of Upper Basin states, which could be defined in a way to apply to canyon country above Glen Canyon.

19. Charles Eggert, *Wilderness River Trail*, 16 mm, 45 mins, Charles Eggert Productions, Barrytown, New York, 1953. Emanating from Sierra Club trips to promote awareness of conservation and the canyons of the Green and Yampa Rivers during the debate over dams proposed for Dinosaur National Monument, Eggert’s film was shown to conservation organizations, civic groups and private citizens across the country.

20. *This is Dinosaur: Echo Park Country and its Magic Rivers*, ed. Wallace Stegner (New York: Knopf, 1954): 97 pp. + 36 photographic plates.

21. David Lavender, “Mormon Cowboy,” *Desert Magazine* 3 (October 1940): 4–8; Randall Henderson, “Glyph Hunters in the Indian Country,” *DM*, 10 (November 1946): 11–16; Henderson, “We Explored Dark Canyon,” *DM* 10 (December 1946): 5–11; Henderson, “19 Days on Utah Trails,” (Pt. I) *DM* 12 (October 1949): 5–11; *DM*; Henderson, “19 Days on Utah Trails,” (Pt. II) 13 (November 1949): 19–25.

22. Ray and Virginia Garner, “Land of Standing Rocks,” *Arizona Highways* 26 (May 1950): 16–27.

23. Jack Breed, "Utah's Arches of Stone," *National Geographic* 92 (August 1947): 173–92. Breed also wrote "Flaming Cliffs of Monument Valley," *NG* 88 (October 1945): 452, 461; and "First Motor Sortie into Escalante Land," *NG* 96 (September 1949): 369–404.

24. Jack Breed, "Roaming the West's Fantastic Four Corners," *National Geographic* 101 (June 1952): 705–42; folder Communications, Wilson Papers. Breed visited Canyonlands with Bates Wilson, Loren Taylor and Ross Musselman. Breed and George Crossette of the National Geographic Society map department later communicated with Wilson about local geography and history. After seeing the final draft of "Four Corners," Breed apologized to Wilson in an April 1952 letter about its coverage that he said was "a little too sketchy in some places for me."

25. W. Robert Moore, "Cities of Stone in Utah's Canyonlands," *National Geographic* 121 (May 1962): 653–78; folder "Communications with the Media," Wilson Papers; folder 657, CANY 36607. Moore also wrote "Escalante: Utah's River of Arches," *NG* 108 (Sept 1955): 399–425. In addition to Moore, Bement, Bates and Tug Wilson, the 1956 expedition included Karl Kunkel and Kay Webb, New York City; Jack and Alice Koerner, Glendale, Arizona; Dr. Cyril Foutz, Phoenix, Arizona; Burnett Hendryx, Panguitch, Utah; and Bob Robertson, Moab, Utah. Moore told Wilson and Bement the magazine would soon run the story, then later apologized because it was held.

26. W. G. Carroll, "Jeep Trail into Utah's Rugged Needles Country," *Desert Magazine* 19 (November 1956): 5–9; Jordan Detzer, "God's Gift From the Desert," *DM* 22 (December 1959): 2–3; Randall Henderson "We Camped in the Land of the Standing Rocks," *DM* 21 (October 1957): 5–11; Frank A. Tinker, "Utah Creates State Parks," *DM* 23 (June 1959): 16–19; Alfred Nestler, "Our Island in the Sky," *DM* 24 (March 1961): 28–31.

27. Kent Frost started guiding in 1938 for Norman Neville's river operations, based in Mexican Hat, Utah. While passing the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers on a 1955 trip, a customer asked Frost about the bizarre rock formations jutting from the top of the inner gorge and if the upland regions could be explored by jeep. A jeep tour was organized in Spring 1956, resulting in the start of Kent Frost Jeep Tours, based in Monticello, Utah.

28. John Ford, *Wagonmaster* (Los Angeles: Argosy Pictures, 1949); Ford, *Rio Grande* (Los Angeles: Argosy Pictures, 1951); *Cheyenne Autumn* (Los Angeles: Argosy Pictures, 1964); Dmitri Kessel, "Delicate Arch and the La Sal Mountains," *Life* 34 (April 13, 1953): cover.

29. Folder 18–25, Arches National Park Administrative Collection (ARCH 1860). Abbey was mentioned only twice in the 1956 and 1957 monthly and annual reports from Arches, entries stating about visitors "Ranger Abbey" contacted. There was no mention of the eccentric and belligerent attitude Abbey described in *Desert Solitaire*.

30. Memorandum of Agreement Between the Bureau of Land Management and the National Park Service Relating to the Administration of the Dead-Horse Point-Junction Butte Recreation Area, Utah, August 5, 1958; folder 124, CANY 36607. The agreement stated the following: The region was of national significance; BLM could not develop and manage recreational facilities; BLM would select 7,500 acres for multiple-use; the recreation area would extend south to the San Juan County line, east and west to the canyon rims; authority came from the Act of August 7, 1946 (60 Stat 885); the NPS would get funding from their FY 1960 budget for an administrative center, water supply, storage, roads, parking and picnic areas, toilets, foot trails, orientation center and signs; the NPS might add facilities later and would manage the recreation area from Arches National Monument for five years; and the BLM would continue to administer leases for grazing, mining, oil and gas, and issue new leases and right-of-ways on new roads.

31. "1961 Report to Governor George D. Clyde," Utah State Park and Recreation Commission," Microfilm Reel 678, 1960, Governor George Clyde Papers, Utah State Archives (Clyde Papers). The Utah legislature passed the act creating the Utah State Parks Commission on July 1, 1957, and the agency held its first meeting on July 9, 1957. Field surveys were ordered by Commission Director Chet Olsen in Utah's twenty-nine counties that resulted in a ninety-four page report to the state legislature in January 1959 that described 118 potential state park areas.

32. "State Park Visitation," Utah State Parks Department Central Files, Salt Lake City. Estimates for visitation at Dead Horse Point ranged from 2,000–5,000 per year in the early 1950s to over 10,000 per year in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In 1962 when the Utah Parks Commission started keeping records, they counted 15,100 visitors.

33. "1961 Report to Clyde," Utah State Park and Recreation Commission." Microfilm Reel 678, 1961, Clyde Papers. In a 1961 report, the Utah Parks Commission said a "substantial part of the lands contemplated by that program for ultimate acquisition by the Commission" were under jurisdiction of the BLM. In planning for use of these lands there were "provisions of the State Park Act permitting multiple-use of state park lands" for "grazing, fish

and game, mining, development and utilization of water and other natural resources, and other uses.”

34. John Diggs, Landscape Architect, NPS to Leslie Arnberger, Acting Chief, Recreation Planning, Region III, NPS, memorandum, August 21, 1956; attached “Report of Preliminary Inspection of Dead Horse Point–Upheaval Dome Area;” folder 656, CANY 36607.

35. Chester Olsen, Director, Utah State Parks and Recreation Commission to Hugh Miller, Director, Region III, NPS, October 4, 1957; Miller to Olsen, memorandum, October 11, 1957; Miller to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, October 13, 1957; folder 656, CANY 36607.

36. Telephone conversation, Hugh Miller to Milton McColl and Ernie Allen, NPS, August 26, 1958; Conrad Wirth to Region III, memorandum, September 2, 1958; folder 124, CANY 36607.

37. “Memorandum of Agreement Between the Bureau of Land Management and National Park Service Relating to the Administration of the Dead Horse Point–Junction Butte Recreation Area, Utah,” August 5, 1958; folder 124, CANY 36607.

38. Bates Wilson to Director, Region III, NPS, memorandum; May 10, 1957; Leslie Arnberger to Wilson, memorandum, June 5, 1957; folder 659, CANY 36607.

39. E. T. Scoyen, Acting Director, NPS to Director, Region III, NPS, memorandum, attached “Needles Area, Utah,” August 21, 1958; folder 659, CANY 36607.

40. Harriet Wieland to Frances Bolton, October 14, 1958; Bolton to Conrad Wirth, October 15, 1958; folder 659, CANY 36607. Frost led Wieland and her friend Mary Adamic over the Abajo Mountains by Dark Canyon and Beef Basin, entering the Needles through Bobby’s Hole. They also visited Chesler Park, Devils Lane and Devils Kitchen, the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers, Elephant, Hill, Salt Creek Canyon and Horse Canyon.

41. Leslie Arnberger to Director, USGS, memorandum, March 12, 1959; Bates Wilson to Hugh Miller, memorandum, April 3, 1959; attached “Official Travel, Needles Area,” May 26, 1959, and “Report on Trip to Needles Area in San Juan County, Utah,” Utah State Parks Commission, May 1959; folder 659, CANY 36607. Wilson and the NPS requested the following 7.5 minute quadrangle topographic maps: Hart’s Point, The Needles, Mt. Linnaeus, Fable Valley, Mouth of Dark Canyon and Orange Cliffs. The maps were made from 1953 to 1955.

42. “Kent Frost Journals,” boxes 7–8, Kent Frost Papers, University of Utah Special Collections (Frost Papers). Frost took visitors to other places in Utah, including Natural Bridges, Capitol Reef, San Rafael Swell, San Juan River, Monument Valley, Clay Hills and Nokai Dome, but the Canyonlands basin was his favorite and most commercially successful destination. Kent Frost and his wife took the following number of trips and people into the Canyonlands: 1956—10 and 33; 1957—8 and 23; 1958—14 and 51; 1959—19 and 73; 1960—15 and 50; 1961—16 and 115; 1962—15 and 54; 1963—20 and 94; 1964—21 and 101.

43. One of Frost’s favorite customers, Rosalie Goldman of Chicago, Illinois, helped Frost write *My Canyonlands: I Had the Freedom of It*, published by Abelard-Schuman (New York) in 1971. The book which helped to extend Frost’s legendary status beyond southeast Utah has been reprinted several times.

44. “Needles Area,” Branch of National Park System Planning, NPS, 1960, unpub. ms, folder 486, CANY 36607. The report contains an overview of the region, management options, local attitudes and recommendations by Harthorn Bill, Assistant Regional Director for Region III, and William Bowen, Division of Recreation Resource Planning Director for Region III, as well as the following articles: Richard Q. Lewis, “Structure of the Elk Ridge–Needles Area, San Juan County, Utah” (paper presented at the 9th Annual Field Conference, 1958, of the Inter-mountain Association of Petroleum Geologists); “Introduction to the Biology of the Needles Area, Utah,” no author; and Lloyd Pierson, “Archaeological Resources of the Beef Basin, Needles, Salt Creek Mesa Area.”

45. C. J. Olsen, Director, State of Utah Park and Recreation Commission to Hugh Miller, May 8, 1959; folder 656, CANY 36607.

46. Thomas Allen, Director, Region III, NPS to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, July 17, 1959; folder 659, CANY 36607. Senator Frank Moss introduced S. 614 in 1959, legislation that if passed it would replace the 640-acre limit on state park withdrawals with a new 10,000 acre limit.

47. Thomas Allen to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, August 12, 1959; attached “Report of Needles Area, Utah,” folder 659, CANY 36607.

48. Thomas Allen to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, June 1, 1960; attached “Proposal to Include Needles Area within Glen Canyon Recreation Area; Allen to Wirth; memorandum, August 12, 1959; attached “Report of Needles Area, Utah,” August 12, 1959; folder 659, CANY 36607.

49. Leslie Arnberger to Bates Wilson, memorandum; August 31, 1959; attached "Needles Area," folder 659, CANY 36607; P. L. 485, April 11, 1956, *U.S. Statutes* 69 (Washington: GPO, 1956), p. 110. Legal authority resided in the "Parks, Parkway, and Recreation Act of 1936" that was transferred to Section 8 of the Upper Colorado River Storage Act. It called for the Secretary of the Interior to authorize, investigate, plan, construct, operate and maintain public recreational facilities areas on lands withdrawn for said project or connected to participating projects, conserve the scenery, natural, historic and archeological objects, and wildlife on said lands, provide for public use and enjoyment of the same and water areas created by those projects by means as consistent with the purposes of said projects; and provide facilities to mitigate the losses of, and improve conditions for the propagation of wildlife.

50. Monticello Chamber of Commerce to Harthorn Bill, Ass't. Director, Region III, NPS, February 25, 1960; "Resolution," Cortez, Colorado Chamber of Commerce, (n. d., 1960); Rotary Club of Moab, Utah to Wallace Bennett, March 8, 1960; folder 659, CANY 36607.

51. William Walton, chairman, San Juan County Commission to Wallace Bennett, June 17, 1960; Winford Bunce, commissioner, Grand County to Bennett, April 14, 1960; Fred Aandahl to Bennett, July 28, 1960; folder 659, CANY 36607. Both county commissions were supportive of recreation areas or parks if they contained multiple-use provisions. Aandahl told Bennett about NPS history, policy and 1916 Organic Act.

52. Editorial, *The Moab Times-Independent*, March 9, 1960. The op-ed piece criticized the State Park Commission for their slow development of Dead Horse Point.

53. Thomas Allen to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, August 23, 1960; attached "Proposed Needles Recreation Area;" Bates Wilson to Allen, memorandum, September 1, 1960; folder 659, CANY 36607.

54. Richard Buddeke, Ass't. Solicitor for National Parks to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, April 25, 1960; attached "Proposal to Preserve Needles Area as Part of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area," April 25, 1960; folder 659, CANY 36607. Buddeke was responding to a memo about the authority possessed by the NPS in recreation areas.

55. Leslie Arnberger to Bates Wilson, memorandum, January 6, 1960; folder 659, CANY 36607.

56. Thomas Allen to Conrad With, memorandum June 1, 1960; attached "Standing Rocks Study," folder 660,

CANY 36607.

57. Leo Diederich, Chief, Branch of National Park System Planning, NPS to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, December 28, 1960; folder 124, CANY 36607.

58. Thomas Allen to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, December 20, 1960, attached "Report on the Study of the Land of Standing Rocks," December 20, 1960; [Contains "Note on Mr. Diederich"]; folder 660, CANY 36607.

59. E. T. Scoyen to Thomas Allen, memorandum, September 7, 1960; attached "Proposed Needles Recreation Area," [Contains Bennett's bill, "To Provide for the Establishment of the Needles National Recreation Area"]; Conrad Wirth to Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior, memorandum, November 15, 1960; folder 659, CANY 36607.

60. "Needles National Recreation Area," *Congressional Record—Senate*, 87th Cong., 1st sess., March 7, 1961; pp. 3318–20. Bennett's bill would withdraw 75,200 acres, including Salt Creek Canyon, Horse Canyon, Chesler and Virginia Parks, Chesler Canyon and Butler Wash. This area would have multiple-use because a park or monument would be "opposed by the people of the Needles area and by the State of Utah." Supporters for the bill included Governor George Clyde, the county commissions of Grand and San Juan counties, the Director of the Utah Tourist and Publicity Council, the Utah Land Board, the Utah Petroleum Council and the Utah Woolgrower's Association.

61. Conrad Wirth to Legislative Council, Office of the Solicitor through the Assistant Secretary, Public Land Management, memorandum, May 22, 1961; attached S. 1239, "To provide for the Establishment of the Needles National Recreation Area in the State of Utah, and for other Purposes," May 22, 1961; folder 656, CANY 36607. Wirth recommended that the "Department [NPS] submit an adverse report on this measure."

62. Stewart Udall, interview by author, tape recording, Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 7, 2000, SSOHC-NAU. Within conservationism there was a wide spectrum of beliefs ranging from those who believed in resource exploitation where preservation was ignored to those who made preservationism the highest priority.

63. Stewart Udall, *The Quiet Crisis* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), pp. vii + 209. The book is a relatively simple analysis of American conservation history with chapters on Native Americans, Thomas Jefferson, explorers and trappers, Henry David Thoreau, Carl Schurz, John Wesley Powell, Gifford Pinchot, Theodore

and Franklin Roosevelt, philanthropy and Frederick Law Olmstead. Although it contained no revolutionary analysis, the book's high profile nature and introduction by President John F. Kennedy gave its message a wide audience.

64. Thomas Allen to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, February 13, 1961; folder 124, CANY 36607.

65. Thomas Allen to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, March 3, 1961; Allen to Wirth, memorandum, March 20, 1961; "National Park Service Announces Future Park Proposals," press release, Department of the Interior, NPS, April 3, 1961; folder 124, CANY 36607. In 1961, the NPS was looking at thirty-four new park areas in twenty-six states.

66. Frank Moss, M. Blaine Peterson, and David King to Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior, March 4, 1961; folder 124, CANY 36607; Conrad Wirth to Stewart Udall, memorandum, April 3, 1961; folder 1, box 156, Stewart Udall Papers, University of Arizona Special Collections (Udall Papers); The report covered studies of the San Rafael Swell (1933), Escalante (1935), *Recreational Resources of the Colorado River Basin*; (1935–1946), Grey and Desolation Canyons (1940s), Professor Valley, Castle Valley and Goblin Valley (1950s), the Needles (1959) and Standing Rocks (1960); studies that Udall already possessed. Wirth also told Udall about the 1.4 million acre Glen Canyon National Recreation Area withdrawal; land ownership in the Canyonlands basin, relations with the BLM, and strategies that were being considered by the NPS: park reserve, mixed use or national park.

67. "Personal Letter," Thomas Allen to Conrad Wirth, April 5, 1961; folder 659, CANY 36607.

68. Marion Hazleton, Chairman, San Juan County Commission to Stewart Udall, April 5, 1961; Udall to M. Blaine Peterson, U. S. House of Representatives, April 26, 1961; folder 124, CANY 36607.

69. Udall interview.

70. Ibid.

71. Stewart Udall to Frank Moss, May 2, 1961; folder 30, box 32, Frank Moss Papers, University of Utah Special Collections (Moss Papers).

72. Hugh Miller to Conrad Wirth, memo., July 21, 1961; folder 124, CANY 36607; "Trip to Utah's Canyonlands," folder 2, box 93, Udall Papers. Participants included Stewart Udall, his wife Lee and two sons; SOI Orville Freeman and son; Senator Frank Moss, his wife and son; Congressmen David King and M. Blaine Peterson; Bates Wilson, Joe

Carithers, Leslie Arnberger, Thomas Allen, Paul Wykert and William Bowen from the NPS; Frank Masland of the National Parks Advisory Board; Utah Governor George Clyde; Harold Fabian of the Utah State Parks Commission; Lucy Redd and Marion Hazleton of San Juan County; Dr. Paul Mayberry, Betty Jacobs, Winford Bunce and Cecil Thompson of Grand County; R. D. Nielson and Karl Landstrom from BLM; and thirteen journalists and authors.

73. Conrad Wirth to Thomas Allen, memorandum, June 9, 1961; folder 124, CANY 36607.

74. Udall Interview; "Secretary Udall Envisions a 'Golden Circle' of National Parks and Monuments," press release, Department of the Interior, August 2, 1961; folder 124, CANY 36607.

75. Frank Masland, President, National Parks Advisory Board to Stewart Udall, June 4, 1962; Masland to Conrad Wirth, June 7, 1962; folder 665, CANY 36607. Masland gave a detailed account of the trip to fellow board members. Regarding the weather, he said "I never experienced such delightfully cool July weather. We should have sweltered. The Secretary gambled, the gods smiled and he won. Sprit of group was good." Calling the Anderson Bottom press conference one the most "historic and unique" ever held, Masland described Udall's Golden Circle concept as a "great vision." He was also surprised by the romanticism that emerged in most participants during the trip, claimed the "commercial" attitude of Utah was understandable due to the state's youth, and believed that the NPS should be cognizant of this fact during negotiations, although it should not compromise on key park principles.

76. Thomas Allen to Conrad Wirth, memorandum, August 23, 1961; attached "Zoning and Boundary Map, Canyon Lands of Utah," Allen to Wirth, memorandum, August 23, 1961; folder 124, CANY 36607. The name "Canyon Lands" was initially preferred to "Canyonlands." Containing parts of what became the Island in the Sky, Needles and Maze Districts in the future national park, the NPS did not expect a "pure" park bill, but was looking to protect the area as best it could. Personnel was projected to be eight the first year, thirteen the second, twenty-one the third, twenty-six the fourth and twenty-eight the fifth. Road construction was to include paved roads to Grandview Point from the park's north boundary, Cave Spring to Chesler Park, a spur to the Confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers, and a road south to Bobby's Hole and through Beef Basin. Visitor centers would be placed near The Neck on the Island and at Squaw Flat outside the Needles, and housing at Upheaval Bottom, The Neck and Squaw Flat, and boat docks on the Colorado and

Green Rivers. Costs were estimated to be \$4.965 million over five years.

77. Frank Moss, "Canyonlands National Park," *Congressional Record*, 87th Congress, 2d sess., Senate, August 30, 1961, Senate, p. 17469. Moss introduced S. 2387 in 1961, although it was not debated until the spring of 1962.

78. Wallace Bennett, S. 2233, "A bill to establish Arches National Monument as Arches National Park;" S. 2234, "A bill to establish Capitol Reef National Monument as Capitol Reef National Park;" S. 2235, "A bill to establish Cedar Breaks National Park;" to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Congressional Record*, 87th Cong., 2d sess., Senate, July 11, 1961, pp. 12257–259. Feeling visitation could be higher because of the prestige enjoyed by national parks, Bennett saw elevation of the monuments primarily in economic terms. There were no provisions in the bills for adding more lands, although infrastructure could be improved. Bennett also brought up his national parkway bills and bill introduced March 2, 1961 that would elevate Rainbow Bridge to a national park (S. 1188).

79. Wallace Bennett, S. 2616, "A bill to establish Grand View National Park, Needles National Park, and Upheaval Dome National Park in the State of Utah, to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs," *Congressional Record—Senate*, 87th Cong., 2d sess., Senate, August 30, 1961; p. 17469; Conrad Wirth to Legislative Council, Office of the Solicitor General, Assistant Secretary, Public Land Management, memorandum, November 8, 1961; folder 662, CANY 36607. Bennett's bill that proposed to create parks of 7,800, 2,240 and 1,560 acres was dismissed by Wirth as inadequate to protect the region's scenic and archaeological resources. Bates Wilson also wrote a letter to Bennett about the bill's inadequacy in which he countered with a rim-to-rim park concept.

80. Karl Landstrom, Director, BLM to Ass't. Secretary, Public Land Management, DOI, memorandum, September 17, 1961; "Interior Will Protect Site of Proposed Canyon Lands National Park," press release, DOI, September 26, 1961; folder 662, CANY 36607. Udall gave the following instructions to Utah State Director R. D. Nielson about the reasons for the withdrawal: prohibit or limit use of bulldozers and heavy equipment; cooperate in a code of ethics being practiced regarding oil and gas exploration; and protect archeological sites.

81. "Interior Will Protect Site of Proposed Canyon Lands National Park," press release, Department of the Interior, September 26, 1961; "Senator Bennett Charged with Misrepresenting Canyon Lands Proposal," press release, United States Department of the Interior," September

26, 1961; Bates Wilson to L. Ralph Mecham, Assistant to Wallace Bennett, November 27, 1961; folder 662, CANY 36607; Wallace Bennett; "Administration Canyon Lands, National Park Bill — Empire Building at Utah's Expense," *Congressional Record—Senate*, 87th Cong., 2d sess., February 7, 1962, pp. 1784–88; Udall to George Clyde, December 1, 1962; Udall to Clyde, February 1, 1962; Clyde to Udall, February 9, 1962; Bennett to Udall, June 7, 1962; folders 2–4, box 156, Udall Papers.

82. Devereaux Butcher, Op-Ed, *National Wildland News* (Dec–Nov 1961); Conrad Wirth to Edward Danson, Museum of Northern Arizona, January 9, 1962; folder 662, CANY 36607; Carl Buchheister, President, National Audubon Society to Alan Bible, U. S. Senate, April 10, 1962; J. M. Carpenter to Richard Hodgson, April 10, 1962; folder 664, CANY 36607; David Brower, interview by author, tape recording, Moab, Utah, May 5, 2000, (SSOHC).

83. Ernie Linford to Wallace Stegner, November 13, 1961; Stegner to Linford, November 17, 1961; Frank Moss, U.S. Senator to Stegner, December 26, 1961; folder 1, box 30, Moss Papers.

84. "Secretary and Party Tours Utah Area," *National Parks Magazine* 35 (August 1961): 17; "Secretary Proposes Canyonlands Park," *NPM* 35 (September 1961): 15; "Subcommittee Hears Public on Canyonlands National Park," *NPM* 36 (May 1962): 15; Weldon Heald, "A Canyonlands National Park," *NPM* 37 (January 1963): 4–9 [Front cover has photo of Standing Rocks Basin, today called Monument Basin, and the back cover, the South Fork of Horse Canyon below the Chocolate Drops in the Maze]; Anthony Wayne Smith, "Let's Get Going in the Canyonlands," *NPM* 37 (February 1963): 1; "Hearings Held on Canyonlands National Park," *NPM* 37 (June 1963): 14; "Canyonlands: Our Newest National Park," *NPM* 38 (November 1964): 17 [Cover shot of the Maze].

85. Weldon Heald, "Bold Plan to Save Canyonlands," *Desert Magazine* 25 (April 1962): 18–21; Raye Price, "Exploring Utah's Canyonlands by Bus," *DM* 26 (August 1963): 4–15; D. James Cannon, "Canyonlands Controversy: Should Utah Mine Minerals or Tourists?" *DM* 26 (April 1963): 21, 23, 34; Ross and Maxine Musselman, "Rock-hounding in the Canyonlands," *DM* 26 (April 1963): 7, 37. Robert G. Bear, President, Desert Protective Council to Stewart Udall, November 13, 1961; folder 662, CANY 36607.

86. "An Economic Study of the Proposed Canyonlands National Park and Related Recreation Resources," Prepared for the National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, by Robert R. Edminster and Osmond Har-

line, 1962. Approached by the Park Service in August of 1961, the University of Utah signed the contract on September 19, 1961, which provided \$18,872 for the project. The study centered on San Juan, Grand, Wayne, Garfield and Emery Counties for the Canyonlands portion, the Four Corners area for the Golden Circle portion, and was to be completed by March 15, 1962. University of Utah President Ray Olpin was present at the first meeting, was against the park proposal, and questioned the integrity of any project connected to the federal government which he felt discriminated against Utah. The study team compiled statistical data and accompanied NPS officials on an October 1961 trip to the Island in the Sky, Needles and Standing Rocks [Maze]. According to the NPS the first draft did not have enough regional analysis and was called "disappointing." This was due to a failure of the team to connect Canyonlands with the Golden Circle region—largely because of time and fiscal limits—and lack of an emotionally grabbing narrative, the latter dynamic due to the technical nature of the report that scholars felt was necessary to maintain credibility.

87. Chester J. Olsen, *Report of the Governor's Committee on Canyonlands National Park* (Salt Lake City, 1962).

88. Wallace Bennett, press release, March 20, 1962, folder 14, box 19, Wallace Bennett Papers, Brigham Young University Special Collections; Stewart Udall, misc. notes, March, 1962; folder 4, box 156, Udall Papers.

89. Robert Barrel, "Canyon Lands;" [Preliminary Plan]; December 6, 1961; folder 662, CANY 36607. Barrel, the Acting Chief, NPS Planning Division, created a preliminary plan for the park that called for major developments in each district of the future Canyonlands National Park except for the Maze (Standing Rocks). The plan reflected Mission 66 philosophy and contained many components later included in Canyonlands' 1965 Master Plan.

90. Letter of Transmittal, Stewart Udall to Clinton Anderson and Wayne Aspinall, January 31, 1962; [Contains S. 2387 with amendments and Canyon Lands' Five-Year Projected Development Schedule]; folder 663, CANY 36607.

91. "The Canyon Lands of Southern Utah," Bureau of Land Management, Utah State Office January 15, 1962; Region 49, Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Moab, Planning Records for Canyonlands, 1962, folder 2, box 1, BLM-UTAH, Canyonlands of Southern Utah, National Archives and Records Administration-Denver (NARA-D); "Revised Canyonlands Zoning Proposal," May 24, 1962; folder 664, CANY 36607.

92. "Administration Canyon Lands, Empire Building at

Utah's Expense;" *Congressional Record*, pp. 1784–88. Sarcastically stating, "Perhaps we should be happy that he only asked for 332,000 acres," Bennett claimed that Udall changed his mind about multiple-use provisions in the national park that he supposedly had promised in earlier discussions, then used the now popular mantras about "locking up" resources and depriving Utah's schoolchildren.

93. "Proposed Canyonlands National Park," *Congressional Record—Senate*, February 2, 1987; 87th Cong. 2d sess., pp. 1455–56; "Canyonlands National Park," *Congressional Record—Senate*, March 18, 1962; 87th Cong. 2d sess., pp. 5258–59.

94. Born in Price, Utah, Lynn Fausett went to New York for twenty years to study art before returning home. After his return, he painted the Greater Canyonlands region from 1949–1970. A supporter of the park idea, to aid the political process in 1962 Fausett and his wife loaded twenty-six paintings in their Studebaker station wagon and trailer, then drove to Washington DC. Setting up an exhibit in the Old Supreme Court chambers—the first such showing in the building—some of Fausett's paintings were brought over for the hearings at Moss' request. Upon his return to Utah, Fausett coupled showings of his art with talks on the park proposal to civic groups. He later aided the Amon Carter Museum's "Standing Up Country" exhibit named after Gregory Crampton's book of the same name.

95. U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 87th Cong., 2d sess., hearings on S. 2387, "A Bill to Establish a Canyonlands National Park, Utah, and for Other Purposes, March 28 & 30, 1962, Washington, DC; *Congressional Serial Set*, Report 2121 (87–2) 12420, pp. 8–58. The remainder of the hearings and their locations were as follows: April 20, Monticello, Utah; April 21, Moab, Utah; and April 23, Salt Lake City Utah.

96. W. A. Koch, Acting State Director, BLM to Director, BLM, memorandum, February 19, 1962; D. F. Russell, District Engineer, USGS, Salt Lake City to Acting Regional Chief, Branch of National Park System Planning, NPS, memorandum, February 16, 1962; folder 663, CANY 36607. In a USGS report published before the March hearings, thirteen holes were reported to have been recently drilled in T 27–33 S, R 14–19 E, a 332,000 acre area analogous to Moss' first park bill. All were dry and twelve had already been plugged. During the same period, the Southern Natural Gas Company of Houston drilled a well in the South Big Flat area just north of the prospective park that was producing 600 barrels of oil a day. Several other dry holes were found and exploration continued.

97. Senate Subcommittee Hearings for the "Canyonlands National Park," March 30, 1962, pp. 99–143.

98. Udall, handwritten notes, March 1962; folder 4, box 156, Udall Papers.

99. "Itinerary for Canyonlands Film, 2nd revision," April 16, 1962; box 5, Charles Eggert Papers, University of Utah Special Collections (Eggert Papers).

100. Charles Eggert, *The Sculptured Earth* (Charles Eggert Productions, Barrytown, New York); for the National Park Service, 1962; box 5, Eggert Papers; Charles Eggert, interview, tape recording, by phone, Scottsdale, Arizona, to Barrytown, New York, May 18, 2000, SSOHC. Signing the contract on April 18, 1962, the film was estimated by Eggert to cost \$12,793.00, with production and travel expenses bringing the eventual total to \$15,001.73.

101. David McKay, President, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints to William Davoren, NPS, October 22, 1962; Elva Bell to Udall, October 22, 1962; folder 3, box 156, Udall Papers; op-ed, *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 12, 1962; op-ed, *Deseret News*, October 13, 1962; Interview with Udall. Denver television station KOA-TV made a documentary film in late summer 1963 that discussed the political issues involved in the Canyonlands controversy.

102. [Untitled poster made by Udall's staff]; folder 2, box 156, Udall Papers.

103. San Juan County was concerned about access roads and facilities construction at both Dead Horse Point and Newspaper Rock, funding for Natural Bridges National Monument, support for regional tourism and multiple-use in Canyonlands National Park. After 1962 county officials were also concerned over the location of park headquarters, which they believed should be in Monticello. They were also unhappy with Bates Wilson's leadership and stated that counties should be involved in park planning. These issues continued until the Canyonlands bill was signed in September 1964, and was reflected in city and county politics and the content of the *San Juan County Record*.

104. Grand County's skepticism toward the Park Service was based on the agency's neglect of Arches National Monument before the Mission 66 program. Their concerns on Canyonlands were centered on arrangements with San Juan County regarding the access roads to Dead Horse Point and the potash mine on the Colorado River.

105. Wallace Bennett, "THE 310,000 ACRE CANYON LANDS NATIONAL PARK AND RECREATION AREA," *Congressional Register—Senate*, 87th Cong., 2d sess.,

September 24, 1962; pp. 20399–402.

106. Stewart Udall, "Canyonlands National Park and Recreation Area, Utah." September 24, 1962, *Congressional Record—Senate*, 87th Cong., 2d sess., p. 20459.

107. Frank Moss, "A bill to provide for the establishment of the Canyonlands National Park in the State of Utah, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs." *Congressional Record—Senate*, 88th Cong., 1d sess., January 14, 1963, pp. 190, 242–43; Conrad Wirth to Frank Moss, July 26, 1963; folder 125, CANY 36607. In 1963, Udall and NPS officials protested to Democrats and Republicans about the cuts taking place on the park's size, especially in the Maze/Standing Rocks area and in Salt Creek Canyon. Wirth tried convincing Moss to no avail that the wildlife population and potential hunting in Salt Creek and southern Needles area were insignificant.

108. Frank Moss, S. 333, "A bill to amend the Colorado River Storage Act with respect to the protection of national parks and monuments under the provisions of such act;" *Congressional Record—Senate*, 88th Cong., 1d sess., January 18, 1963, pp. 601, 609; and "S. 601. A bill to authorize and direct that national land reserve and certain other lands exclusively administered by the Secretary of the Interior be managed under principles of multiple use and to produce a sustained yield of products and services, and for other purposes," *CR—Senate*, 88th Cong., 1d sess., January 30, 1963, p. 1393.

109. Laurence Burton, "H.R. 6925, A bill to provide for the establishment of the Canyonlands National Park in the State of Utah and for other Purposes;" *Congressional Record*, 88th Cong., 1d sess., June 11, 1963, p. 10675; and "Extension of Remarks of Laurence J. Burton," *CR—House*, 88th Cong., 1d sess., June 12, 1963, p. 10745; "Canyonlands National Park," and "Extension of Remarks of Honorable Laurence J. Burton of Utah in the House of Representatives," *CR—House*, 88th Cong., 1d sess., May 13–14, 1963, pp. 8371–72; Sherman Lloyd, "Canyonlands National Park," *CR—House*, 88th Cong., 1d sess., May 13, 1963, pp. 8371–72.

110. "A Concurrent Resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives of the 35th Legislature of the State of Utah, Memorializing Congress to Restrict the Area of the Proposed Wilderness System, and of Other Areas Withdrawn by the Federal Government from State Control and from the Normal Development of Natural Resources by State or Private Agencies." Proposed Wilderness System, S.C.R. No. 2, Passed March 27, 1963; Resolutions—*Utah Statutes*, 1963 (Salt Lake City, 1964), p. 676.

Starting from Scratch: The Foundation of Canyonlands National Park

.....

.....

.....

AFTER THE CREATION OF Canyonlands National Park provided overdue recognition to the region surrounding the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers, the National Park Service faced major challenges to create a working park in the region. In addition to developing infrastructure and learning the area's natural and cultural resources, the newly-formed Canyonlands Complex led by Superintendent Bates Wilson also had to administer Arches and Natural Bridges National Monuments. The Complex was thus responsible for protecting natural and cultural resources, building and maintaining infrastructure, dispersing information and ensuring public safety at three park units separated by many miles in a remote and rugged region covered in few written works that also possessed woefully inadequate transportation and communication systems.

Planning for the park would be equally difficult. Effectively unknown to the outside world after Powell, the Greater Canyonlands was gradually rediscovered by the U.S. Geological Survey, Bureau of Reclamation, National Park Service, conservationists, politicians,

tourists and media. This pluralistic process produced widely divergent views on how the region should be used and a national park with borders determined by political compromise that followed survey lines instead of physical geography. Canyonlands was also created during an era when Glen Canyon Dam was built, conservationists first embraced southeast Utah and the Golden Circle idea was born, factors that ensured the park would have a contested political future. Emanating from Mission 66 ideals, the initial Master Plan for Canyonlands had first-class visitor enters, motels, stores and marinas, large campgrounds and an extensive road and trail system. Designs for a major parkway system traversing canyon country were also discussed at the state and federal levels. Raising economic hopes in Utah, these ambitious plans alerted preservationists inside and outside the NPS that the region could lose its primitive character. When fiscal limits caused by the Vietnam War slowed park development and killed the parkway concept, the environmental movement and American society's rapidly growing interest in canyon country combined to ensure that such

overdeveloped visions for the region or an expanded Canyonlands National Park would not come to fruition.

Developing basic park infrastructure and resolving key legal issues

When the Bureau of Land Management deeded lands for Canyonlands to the Park Service in late September 1964, the NPS faced a daunting schedule.¹ The agency needed to select a park superintendent and hire ranger, administration and maintenance staffs; decide the location of park headquarters, district offices and employee housing; finish land transfers with Utah in 120 days; survey park borders; assess the legality of mineral claims; and devise a grazing policy. Similar to issues faced by most new parks, these tasks were especially difficult at Canyonlands because the geography was so rugged and remote and there were few maps or published works on the region. Utah was also difficult to deal with on land exchanges; more than ten thousand mineral claims covered the area; the region's ranching culture was set in its ways; and there were to be periodic shutdowns of the park because of an army missile test program based near Green River.²

Unlike most new parks where superintendents were hired from another region, Bates Wilson's tenure at Arches, knowledge of the area and role in promoting the park ensured his appointment at Canyonlands. Shortly after receiving a thirty-year government service pin and while he was leading an NPS survey of the park on October 22, 1964, Wilson was notified by radio phone that he had been named superintendent.³ Soon after at a Salt Lake City news conference, Udall said that introducing Wilson as superintendent of Canyonlands was the "happiest announcement" he had ever made because of his excellent service record and outstanding knowledge of the area.⁴ This sentiment was echoed by Moab *Times-Independent* publisher Sam Taylor, who first visited the Needles with Wilson in 1951 and claimed that Wilson would

"do an admirable job in setting up the new national park."⁵ Although many Moabites, including Taylor, became critical of the Park Service when Canyonlands' planning prospectus was changed in the 1970s after Wilson had already retired, the 1960s were a honeymoon period for Wilson, the NPS and Grand County.⁶

No such grace period existed in San Juan County. Long aggravated with the Park Service by the slow development of Natural Bridges National Monument, county leaders opposed Wilson's selection at Canyonlands because they felt his appointment would ensure that park headquarters be permanently located in Moab.⁷ Because most of Canyonlands National Park was in San Juan County—231,640 acres compared to 19,000 in Wayne County, 7,000 in Garfield County and none in Grand County—San Juan County felt it deserved the administrative facility, a political coup and perceived economic boon during a recession in agriculture and mining.⁸ In response to their lobbying efforts from 1961–1964 to locate park headquarters in Monticello, county officials were told a decision could not be made until the park was legislated and a master plan produced. Initially based at the Arches National Monument headquarters, on December 1, 1964, the Canyonlands Complex moved into the Uranium Building on Main Street in downtown Moab. The San Juan County Commission protested, pled its case with President Johnson, and pressed Senators Frank Moss and Wallace Bennett to discuss the matter with Park Service officials.⁹

Shortly after the BLM deeded lands to the Park Service, Wilson hired the park's ranger and administrative staff. Because his request to transfer key Arches staff and their knowledge of the region to the new park was refused, Wilson again served as guide to a group of canyon country neophytes. This included Canyonlands Chief Ranger Jim Randall, Assistant Chief Ranger Art Allen, Island in the Sky District Ranger Ed Rothfuss, Needles District Ranger Matt Ryan and Administrative Officer Kent Wintch.¹⁰



Figure 44: Staff of the “Canyonlands Complex”(CC), early 1965. C 36552.147, SEUG Photographic Archives. From left to right: Sandra Holloway, headquarters secretary; Jim Randall, chief ranger, CC; Dennis Carter, head ranger, Arches National Monument; Art Allen, assistant chief ranger, CC; Eldon Reyer, ranger, Island in the Sky; Bob Ferris, ranger, Arches, Matt Ryan, head ranger, Needles, Ed Rothfuss, head ranger, Island in the Sky, Bob Dunigan, ranger, Needles, Glen Swapp, ranger, Needles, Charles Wyatt, head ranger, Natural Bridges National Monument; Don Follows, ranger, Island in the Sky.

Because the park was scheduled to open in early 1965, Wilson could not wait for optimum weather to familiarize staff with park resources. Therefore, during the winter and spring of 1964–65, Wilson, with help from commercial guides Kent Frost and Mitch Williams, led numerous trips throughout the Canyonlands region. These ventures were accompanied by snow, ice, wind, rain and subzero temperatures, used a Dodge power wagon and jeeps fitted with heavy skid plates from the government motor pool and nearby parks as transportation, old Army surplus sleeping bags and tents as well as unreliable radio phones.

Described by Randall as “some of the coldest camping that I’ve ever done,” mornings often started by thawing ice in cooking pots and con-

tainers to make coffee and obtain drinking water. One night when camped at Butler Flat during a “very, very cold period of time” in late 1964, Randall recalled, “I had to break the ice on the water bucket to go over and make coffee in the morning. I’d pour water in the cup and it would freeze again before I ever could dump it into the top of the coffee pot to settle the grounds.” Vehicle breakdowns were common and the region’s many radio dead spots were discovered by trial and error.¹¹ Although such occurrences were potentially dangerous depending on weather and water supplies, Randall remembers his days as an explorer into the region as a “great experience” and invitation to explore further. Following the lead of Wilson and other NPS personnel who worked at the park, Randall purchased a four-wheel drive

vehicle so he could return to canyon country with his family during off-hours.¹²

Because canyon country was barely known, the learning curve for the Park Service was steep. Other than Bates Wilson, the only staff with any experience in the park's backcountry was ranger secretary Sandra Holloway, a native Moabite who accompanied Wilson and his daughter Julie on a 1960 Girl Scout trip to the Needles.¹³ Jim Randall knew nothing of the area until 1962, when he viewed *The Sculptured Earth* in Washington, D.C. Although a powerful anthem to regional esthetics and natural history, the film contained little useful data for the land manager. Similarly, exploration journals, U.S.G.S. and Bureau of Reclamation reports, articles on archaeology and biology, and Gregory Crampton's *Standing Up Country* helped with park interpretive displays, ranger talks and literature sales, but lacked the detail needed for park management.¹⁴ Reports from early NPS surveys were too superficial to be helpful, as were the 1953 U. S. Army aerial stereoscopic maps used by Bates Wilson when exploring the region a decade before. Even the fifteen-minute quadrangle maps produced by the USGS in the mid-1950s were on a scale that made them only marginally useful to park staff. Preparation for the 1965 season thus included Ranger Art Allen drawing maps free-hand for use in Canyonlands' mimeographed visitor brochures, "publications" that remained the park's main guides for nearly three years.¹⁵

Information gathering was therefore a crucial function of park staff, a process formalized after January 1965 when systematic field records began to be kept. Operating under the Interpretation and Resource Management (I & RM) model, park rangers and managers were responsible for the planning and construction of roads, trails, housing, services, interpretive displays and signage, dispersal of information to the media, visitors and map-makers about park regulations, camping, roads, trails, lodging and food, as well as natural and cultural history.

Most staff energies were initially focused on construction, maintenance, management and planning before shifting toward administration, law enforcement and public relations after the park opened in May 1965, though infrastructure remained a priority. It may have been often overwhelming for park staff operating from primitive facilities in such remote areas to deal with visitor services and law enforcement while concurrently creating a database for planning, development, interpretation and resource protection, but there was also a certain romance for NPS personnel working in one of North America's last frontiers to use the wide range of skills called for under the I & RM model.¹⁶

The Bureau of Land Management began surveying the region in 1965 to define park borders, determine the legitimacy of uranium, potash, oil and gas claims and leases, outline grazing allotments and identify state lands to be exchanged. Because there were just 120 days to transfer state and federal lands of the "same classification for approximately equal value," past problems between the NPS and Utah made the time frame a concern for Park Service officials. In addition to the state's four school sections per township, most river beds were ruled navigable by the U.S. Supreme Court and were hence owned by Utah.¹⁷ From Canyonlands total of 257,640 acres, 236,663.60 were public domain; 18,416.40 acres were river bed or school lands owned by Utah; and 2,560 acres were owned by the Utah State Land Board that were to be transferred to the Utah Parks Department.¹⁸ School land transfers involved trading 18,416.40 acres in Canyonlands for 18,445.99 acres in an oil- and gas-rich area to the north by the Book Cliffs, while the state park transfer involved 2,560 acres of state park land in western Utah to be exchanged for 2,680.02 acres near Dead Horse Point.¹⁹ Surface and mineral rights were conveyed to the United States on the river bed and state school lands, while Utah kept the mineral rights on state park lands.²⁰

Surveys of park boundaries initially focused on

gateway areas to the Needles and Island in the Sky Districts and the region west of the Green and Colorado Rivers because of the Park Service's interest in park expansion. The boundary surveys were scheduled as follows: first priority—east entrance, Needles District, Lockhart Canyon to Six Shooter Peaks; second priority—north boundary, Orange Cliffs to the north edge of the Island District; third priority—south boundary, Salt Creek to the Colorado River; fourth priority—east and northeast boundaries, Colorado River to Lockhart Canyon; and fifth priority—west side, Colorado River to the confluence. Funded by the NPS and carried out by the BLM with help from Canyonlands staff, the survey began in July 1965 and was finished in mid-1968 just after the Park Service and Senator Moss began their legislative push to expand Canyonlands west of the rivers into the Standing Rocks/Maze area.²¹

Because lands in Canyonlands were federally owned, outside the school sections and river beds, there were no inholdings to purchase or trade. The only glitch involved forty-six acres at Anderson Bottom leased by Utah to Carl Tangren of Moab who had built a farm and “rest stop” that included a tent frame house, tavern, electric gas pump, boat dock, derrick, water system, fencing, domestic animals, fruit orchard and

concrete dance floor. Although the park's enabling legislation included a thin strip of land on the west bank of the Green River, it was not initially known if Tangren was physically in the park because the area was unsurveyed. The boundary survey determined that he was inside Canyonlands National Park, and the NPS determined they had no obligation to extend the lease. Since the farm was considered a “non-conforming” use, the Park Service requested that Tangren move, beginning a legal tussle that lasted several years.²²

Because the park was created so late, the Canyonlands basin was covered with thousands of claims or leases for uranium, potash, oil and gas. Entered during the boom of the 1950s, most of the 11,000 uranium claims could be negated by investigations into their development history or economic viability. The only producing mines were found in a narrow horizon of the Shinarump Formation in the Island in the Sky District. No uranium mine inside park boundaries had been in production since 1957, and then in just two places, Lathrop Canyon and the “Rainbow” claims by Junction Butte. No uranium-bearing rocks were located on the park's south side.²³ Because the region contained potash reserves and legislation was passed in 1943 to encourage exploration and development, potash

prospecting permits covered 46,000 acres of the park although there had yet been no development.²⁴ The Texas Gulf Sulphur potash mine that opened in 1959 east of Dead Horse Point was outside the park, although it later became problematic for aesthetic reasons.

Much of the park land was also under oil or gas lease. From a total of 145 leases on 92,909.59 acres, 78 leases on 42,075.40 acres were issued before the Mineral

Figure 45: Karl Tangren's Anderson Bottom farmstead, 1960s. C 36552.791, SEUG Photographic Archives.



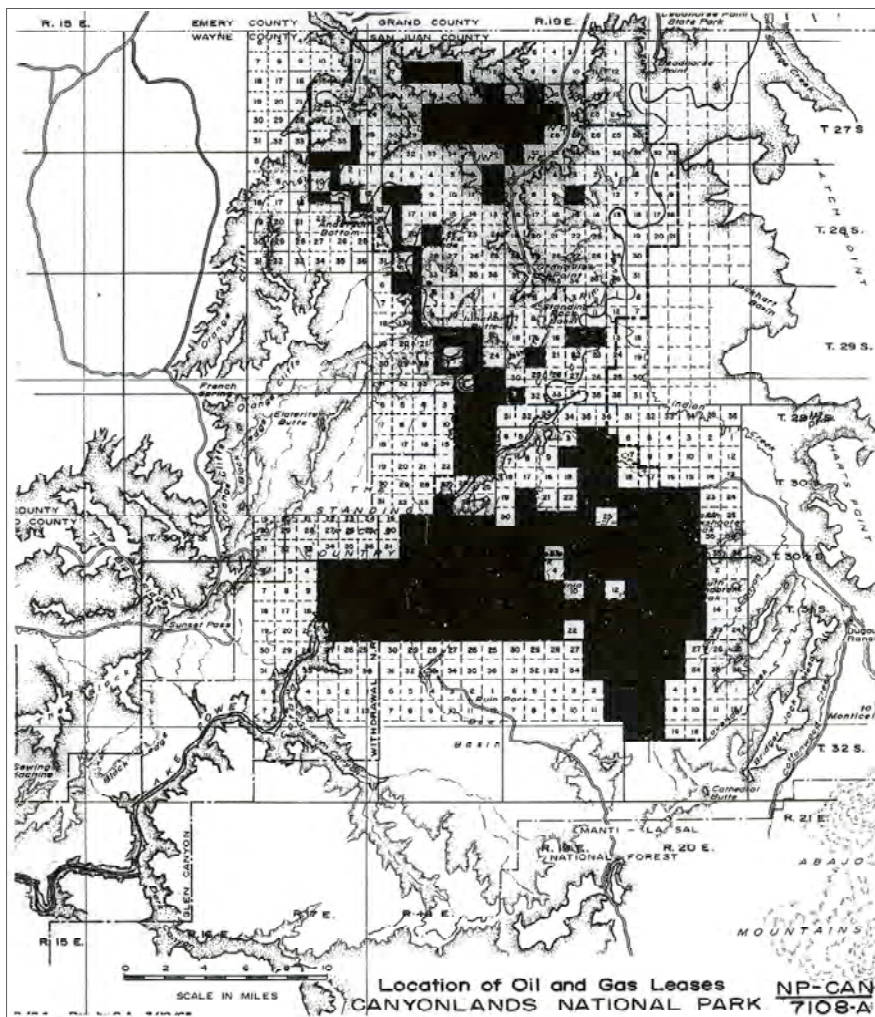


Figure 46: "Location of Oil and Gas Leases, Canyonlands National Park," 1964. NPS-TIC 164/7108A. Most leases were in the Needles District, on the White Rim in the Island in the Sky District, or just north of the Island in the Sky borders.

Leasing Act Revision of 1960 that allowed for the extension of existing leases. Of the latter group, 77 had five-year extensions when Canyonlands was created. The remaining 67 leases covered 50,834.1 acres of the park.²⁵ In the 332,000 acres of Senator Moss's S. 27 park bill, only eleven wells had been drilled and none were economically viable.²⁶ Although drilling on valid leases occurred within the park for several years, the widespread illegal activity that concerned NPS officials never happened.

The Park Service had to ensure that new exploration did not occur; that miners or oil drillers without legal claims did not work in the park and those with legal claims followed park rules.

Despite sporadic instances of illegal road creation, planes landing on closed airstrips and efforts to work old claims, the Park Service was most concerned about the effects that activities outside the park but within the geographic basin would have on gateway areas, viewsheds and on regional ecology. One claimant holding thirty-nine uranium claims below the Needles Overlook wanted to work the area after 1964, while another claimant with ten claims at Squaw Flat performed a quitclaim deed in 1964 instead of waiting for invalidation proceedings.²⁷ Potash development was initially of little concern, although the evaporation ponds south of the Texas Gulf Sulphur mine built in the 1970s underscored earlier concerns expressed by Udall and the Park Service about the aesthetic and ecological integrity of the region when they conceived a rim-to-rim

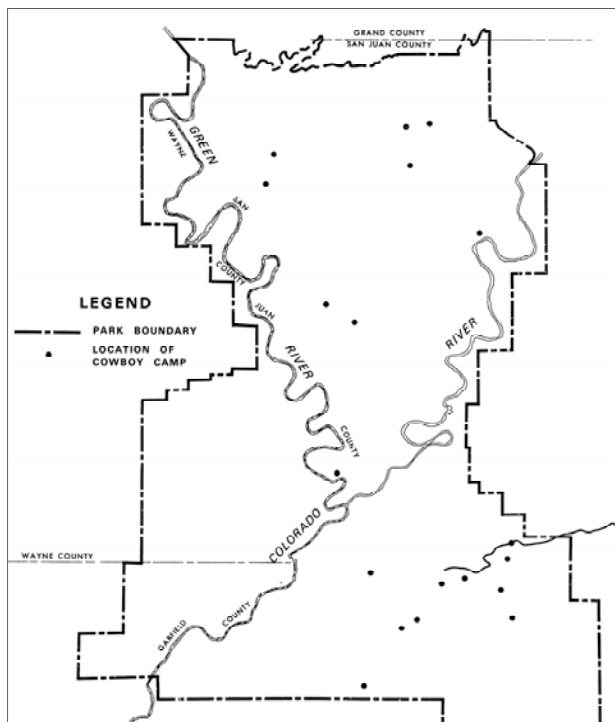
park. The huge aqua blue and white brine pits revealed the negative impacts multiple-use can have on preservation values, as one of the region's striking vistas from Dead Horse Point looking east to the La Sal Mountains was compromised by massive ponds in the foreground.

Although drilling for oil occurred inside the park at Gray's Pasture, the Park Service was most concerned about activity at Big Flat, Lockhart Basin and the area straddling the Orange Cliffs tagged the "Tar Sands Triangle." Identified by geologists in the early twentieth century, the "oil-impregnated sands" in the Triangle had not been developed because of technological, economic, and geographic constraints. With the oil

lobby pushing Stewart Udall and Utah Governor Calvin Rampton to subsidize the oil shale industry, tar sands were next.²⁸ Publishing optimistic reports about billions of barrels of oil estimated to be in the area that could be extracted with improved technologies, the extractive industry had big plans for the area before the borders of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and soon-to-be-expanded Canyonlands National Park were decided.²⁹ When market conditions changed—namely a rise in the price of oil—development could begin.

Regarding grazing, in 1961 there were ten lessees on prospective park lands with permits for 683 cattle, 6,436 sheep, and 18 horses.³⁰ Because the BLM only offered one-year lease renewals in 1964 because of ongoing range management studies and Canyonlands' founding legislation only allowed one extension of existing permits, lessees had just their lease period

Figure 47: "The Cattle Industry, Historic Base Map, Canyonlands National Park." NPS-TIC 164/20005. Most ranching in the Needles region was in the Indian Creek and Salt Creek watersheds, Chesler Park and the Grabens, and in the Island in the Sky region, on the mesa tops, with some on the White Rim. There was no use in the Maze.



plus one year. In the interest of fairness and legislative intent, the one-year leases were extended to the normal ten-year period. Under this "1 + 10" plan, ranchers with valid permits had until 1975 to graze in the park under a plan administered by BLM that was geared toward long-term range recovery. The NPS only became involved in cases of grazing trespass. No increases in Animal Unit Months (AUMs) were allowed, although decreases might be requested by the Park Service to aid range recovery, and improvements (fencing, corrals, springs, etc.) by graziers or the BLM were disallowed without approval from the park superintendent. Violations of the rules by a grazer were grounds for the cancellation of their permit(s). Although park surveys focused on border issues and the extractive industry, potential pathways for cattle and sheep were also identified, and plans were made to build fences in selected areas to stop trespassing domestic animals.³¹

During the phase-out, ranchers grazed stock two to three months a year from November to April, on the Island in the Sky mesa tops, on the White Rim and in the Needles region, with stock counts depending on available forage and water. Park staff monitored numbers, movement and range conditions, and made sure that graziers observed schedules and did not allow animals into sensitive areas. Because the rules were stricter than graziers had previously experienced, Bates Wilson focused on creating good relations with ranchers ranging from the Scorup and Somerville outfit at Dugout Ranch to sheepherders based far away. Park staff in the early days even elicited help from cowboys during search and rescue operations or on archaeological surveys, evidence of much friendlier relations than would exist in later years between the NPS and local ranchers.³²

Canyonlands also faced a problem not anticipated by the National Park Service: evacuations from the park and surrounding region because of a U.S. Army missile test program. Despite the likelihood a national park would soon be creat-

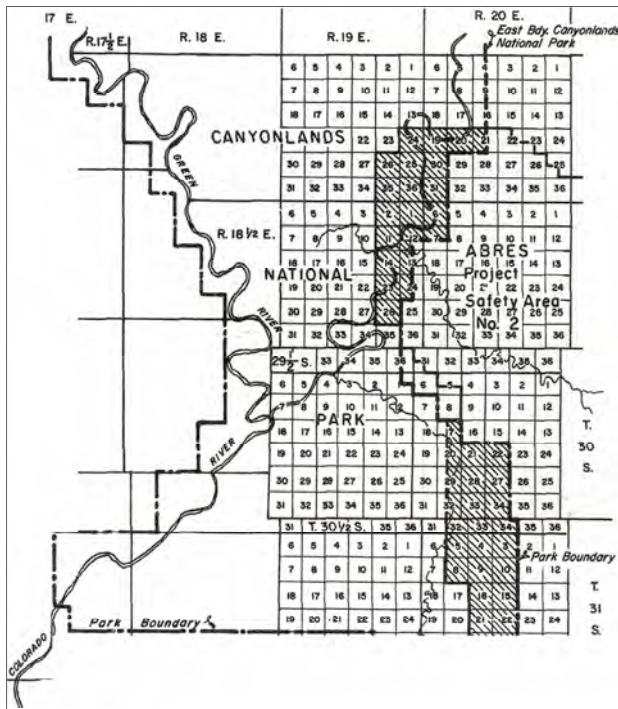


Figure 48: "Abres Joint Use Safety Area No. 2, and Canyonlands National Park," 1964. NPS-TIC 164/7110. The dark areas were zones inside Canyonlands that were evacuated for missile tests. The evacuations also included much of the Canyon Rims and the park's east entrance road.

ed in the area, the BLM leased land thirty miles northwest of Moab in 1963 to the Army's White Sands Missile Range Pershing/ABRES program for use as a launch site without consulting the NPS. A classic example of Cold War ethics, Utah BLM Director R. D. Nielson's disregard for preservationism and pre-NEPA politics, the program was to begin in the fall of 1963 and would involve seventy-seven launches from the "Green River Launch Complex" over thirty months. The Army designated 300,000 acres centered on the Canyon Rims—including 26,085 acres of Canyonlands National Park—as a "safety area" for first-stage drops and aborted launches from the Green River site that would be evacuated nine times a month for twelve-hour periods.³³ This was called a "serious threat to the Canyonlands proposal" by the Park Service, but despite the agency's anger over BLM's unilateral action and requests by Stewart Udall and Frank Moss that the U.S. Army move the launch site in order to shift missile trajectories away from the prospective park, the Park Ser-

vice's limited political capital regarding BLM actions and the "national defense" trump card undercut their argument.³⁴

While the Park Service's focus on park legislation temporarily put the missile program on the back burner, the creation of Canyonlands National Park in September 1964 made the start date for the launches, rescheduled for early 1965, too close for comfort. Because the test program was antithetical to the planning, development and management of a national park, the Park Service asked the Army to alter its plans. Evacuations would force NPS and BLM personnel, ranchers, miners, construction workers and tourists outside a zone that included Squaw Flat, Salt Creek and Horse Canyons, the Canyon Rims, Indian Creek and Dugout Ranch, and the park's east entrance road. The Park Service was worried how the program would affect the safety of park staff and visitors as well as the construction of Needles District housing and administrative facilities, as workers would be forced to leave during firings.³⁵ Although low visitation numbers in early 1965 produced few conflicts with park patrons, and rangers could easily leave the drop zone, drilling contractor Lester Binning had to stop searching for water six times in February and March, prompting the NPS to consider moving the district's facilities. Things became more dire in April 1965 when the Army told the Park Service it wanted to expand the drop area to include 56,000 more acres of the park—most of the Needles District—and extend the program several years.³⁶ Faced with the prospect of continually evacuating people, the NPS was forced to take a harder stand that resulted in an agreement with the Army to limit the drop zone to the original area, develop systems for notification, evacuation and the retrieval of spent missile hardware, and determine compensation for construction contractors over lost time and damaged equipment.³⁷

Opening the park to visitors and creating a master plan

With construction beginning in February 1965, the Island in the Sky and Needles Districts soon had contact stations, and work started on housing, picnic areas and campgrounds.³⁸ Utility installations began in April, and trailers for housing and administration arrived that May. In addition to 10 x 50 foot trailers—three at the Needles and two at the Island—each district had a power plant, wash house, septic system, water and gas pumps. Described as “temporary,” the Island complex was located one mile west of the Neck in Gray’s Pasture, the Needles complex between Salt Creek and the district entrance road. Operational by mid-1965, utilities were fully installed the next year. However, they rarely worked well and remained a problem for decades.³⁹

Although logistics, safety and aesthetics influenced the locations for administrative facilities and housing, the primary factor was water. The first choice for the Needles District near Squaw Springs was rejected because the spring’s flow was too small and the septic field drained toward the spring, while Gray’s Pasture was chosen at the Island in the Sky District because

it was central to potential water supplies.⁴⁰ Whereas the Needles developed a steady water supply from the Salt Creek aquifer, drilling companies and the U.S. Geological Survey never found sufficient water on the Island. Starting with a 5,000 gallon water tank that was changed to a 25,000 gallon tank, the Park Service faced the prospect of permanently hauling water to facilities in the Island in the Sky District. This led to an ambitious plan involving the pumping of water from Upheaval Bottom on the Green River to the high plateau above that would require construction of a road, one of many development schemes hatched in the park’s early years that were not implemented.⁴¹

Because Canyonlands was in the largest area in the continental U.S. not connected to urban-industrial systems, power and communications were also major problems. Using old generators that constantly broke down to supply electricity to housing and administrative facilities led to cold winter nights, hot summer days and numerous tasks performed without light. Chief Ranger Roger Contor said, “Generation of electricity is not an item of conversational pleasantries at the Canyonlands Complex. As a function it consumes almost as much administrative time as the rest of our work combined.” Initial-

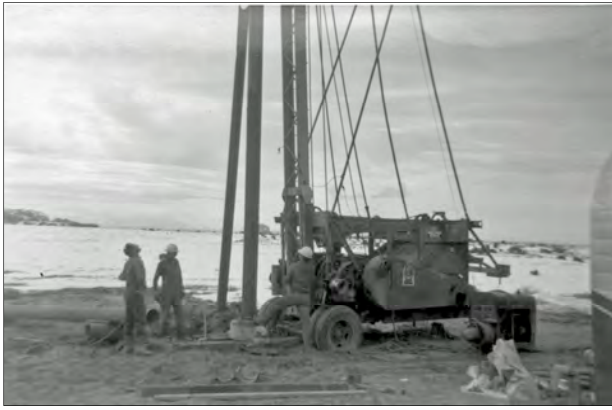
Figure 49: Early Canyonlands infrastructure. The crude infrastructure at Canyonlands limited park staff’s ability to administer visitor services and perform resource protection duties. Although it is not atypical for new parks to struggle with similar issues, the problems mounted in the 1970s when these “temporary” arrangements became semi-permanent and the park remained low on NPS funding lists. C36551.197 and C 40911.13, SEUG Photographic Archives.

Needles contact station, 1968



Residence area—The Neck, 1966





Well drilling, Willow Flat, Island in the Sky, January 1968. C 40911.171, SEUG Photographic Archives. The NPS could not find adequate water on the Island in the Sky mesa top, forcing the installation of large water tanks. This dynamic was repeated in the 1970s at Hans Flat, serving the Maze District.



Generator shack, Needles District, 1968. C 36555.201, SEUG Photographic Archives.

Figure 50: Electricity generation and locating water

ly using 5.5 kw Onan and 7.7 kw Witte generators—later changed to 25 kw units—locally produced power was to be a short-term strategy.⁴² Fuel and maintenance were expensive and generators had insufficient power to support future park plans, estimated to need 200,000 kw hours per year on the Island, 130,000 at the Neck and 250,000 at Squaw Flat. When the park first opened, the NPS thought it would be “economically advantageous to extend power to these developments rather than to generate electricity locally.”⁴³ However, the agency had trouble educating utility companies that power lines must be underground when inside park lands or visible from access roads, and was shocked by construction costs.

Despite more sensitive design proposals, the expenses were prohibitive, the idea was shelved and local power plants were upgraded. Concerns were also raised at the NPS that increased power capacity to the region would invite overdevelopment at Indian Creek, Big Flat and throughout Canyonlands, a park that began to be viewed by many at the Park Service as a place that should stay primitive.⁴⁴

Starting with radio phones deemed “unsatisfactory” by Bates Wilson, Canyonlands had better equipment by early 1965, and park staff quickly learned how local geography affected receiving and transmitting.⁴⁵ Although land lines were considered, the Canyonlands Complex decided on a U.S. Air Force system using walkie-talkies, base and repeater stations, and mobile units that connected Moab, Canyonlands, Arches and Natural Bridges. By 1966 the Complex had a 110-watt solid state base station and 100-foot transmitting tower in Moab; remote control 25-watt base stations with high gain antennas at Squaw Flat, The Neck, and Natural Bridges; a 5-watt portable radio at Arches; and a repeater station at Grandview Point. Using Motorola equipment maintained by Monticello Communications, the system was a marked improvement over the radio phones. To further improve transmission and reception, the Complex later added towers and boosted the wattage of repeaters at Abajo Peak, the Bears Ears and Woodenshoe Buttes.⁴⁶

While the NPS worked on infrastructure before the park’s official opening on May 8, 1965, media coverage and better roads brought in more visitors. Starting with a trickle between 1950 and 1962, according to BLM records the Needles had 2035 visitors in 1963 and 2252 in 1964, the Island in the Sky, 915 in 1963 and 1332 in 1964.⁴⁷ Visitation rose to 19,472 at Canyonlands during the 1965 calendar year, a six-fold increase that stressed the park’s small staff and limited facilities. Possessing fifteen campsites in the Island and twelve in the Needles, Canyonlands had scant accommodations, and despite



Figure 51: Road construction, The Neck, 1960s. C 40911.103, SEUG Photographic Archives.

warnings by the Park Service and the media that the park was primitive, many people arrived expecting to find developed campgrounds or motels. The nearest campgrounds were at Indian Creek State Park, Whistling Wind in the Canyon Rims, Oowah and Warner Lakes in the La Sal Mountains, the Devils Garden at Arches National Monument, or at Riverside Park in Moab. Most visitors had to stay at motels or camp on BLM lands, prompting Canyonlands' staff to ask the NPS not to promote the park until more services were available.⁴⁸

Among visitor complaints at Canyonlands, roads topped the list. In 1964, the Needles District had 76.43 miles of roads and trails, 8.16 miles usable by two-wheel drive vehicles; the Island in the Sky District had 79.03 miles, 15.39 miles usable by two-wheel drive vehicles.⁴⁹ Because off-road vehicles were yet uncommon and most visitors were the kind of tourists spoofed by Edward Abbey in *Desert Solitaire*, roads were needed that sedans, station wagons, campers and trailers could travel. Rough roads led to flat tires and mechanical problems, and with few signs installed, visitors often traveled onto closed roads or got stuck in Salt Creek, on the White Rim Trail or some unnamed path. Identified by NPS planners as Canyonlands'

highest priority, road building needs were divided into the following three parts: the Indian Creek Approach Road from Dugout Ranch to Squaw Flat (Needles District access); the Squaw Flat to Junction View Road through the Needles backcountry; and the Island in the Sky mesa-top roads, including the entrance road and spurs to Grandview Point and Upheaval Dome. Work in the Needles was prioritized over the Island in the Sky, with the first project to improve the road from Dugout Ranch to the park's eastern border not starting until FY 1966 because of fiscal shortfalls and rights-of-way issues.⁵⁰

Bates Wilson spent much of 1965 working on Canyonlands' Master Plan at the Park Service's San Francisco, Santa Fe and Washington offices, and leading NPS, BLM and Bureau of Public Roads (BPR) officials into the park. The Master Plan was molded by Mission 66-inspired NPS architects and planners trying to make their mark on the first national park created in the continental U. S. since North Dakota's Theodore Roosevelt National Park in 1947 along with business interests wanting the "Golden Circle" idea to flourish. Completed in September 1965, the plan resembled the prospectus used to sell the Canyonlands idea, including an extensive road and trail system and extravagant visitor centers, amphitheaters, campgrounds, restaurants, motels and marinas.⁵¹ Although Mission 66 had been a necessary corrective to decades of neglect at existing park units, it inspired a plan ill-suited for Canyonlands National Park that clashed with evolving preservation ideals at the Park Service and within the rapidly changing conservation movement.⁵²

The Master Plan stated that Canyonlands National Park was created to "Preserve an Area of Superlative Scenic, Scientific, and Archaeological Features for the Inspiration, Benefit and Use of the Public" who could experience the "grandeur of a vast, colorful, unspoiled canyon country, the elemental processes that formed it and the excitement of the unexplored." Described as a "Natural Area" park with signif-

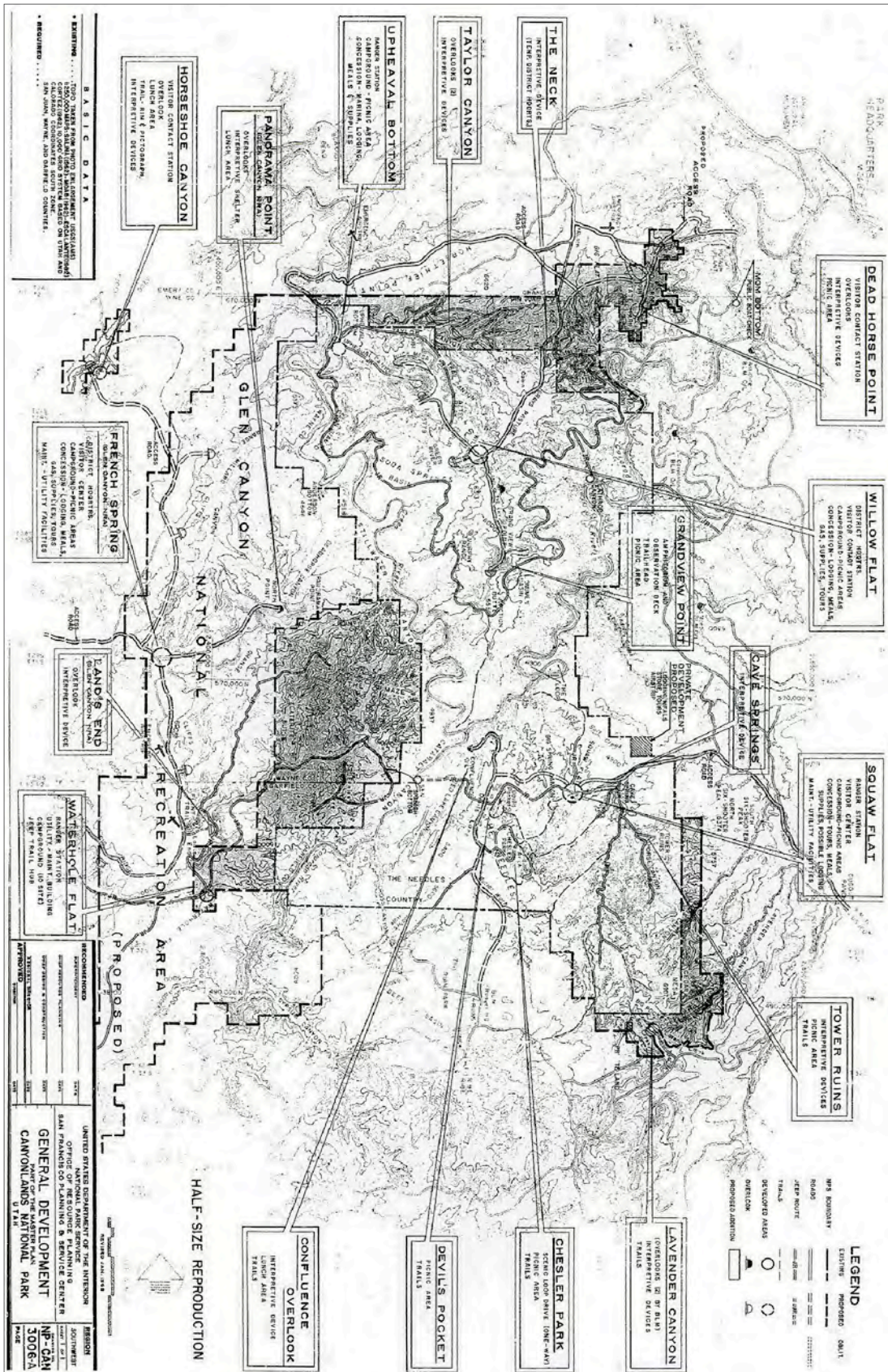


Figure 52: "General Development, Master Plan, Canyonlands National Park," 1965. TIC 164/3006-A.

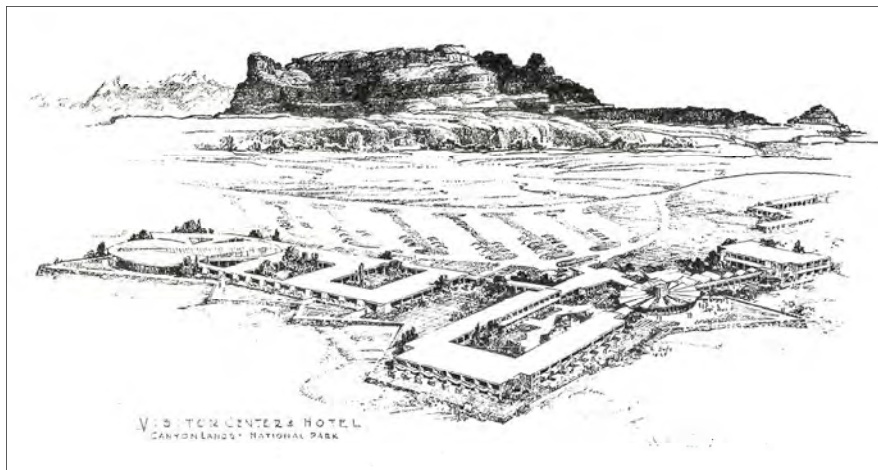


Figure 53: "Visitor Facilities, Squaw Flat, Canyonlands National Park," 1967. NPS-TIC 3014. This vision for a visitor center-hotel at Squaw Flat epitomizes the grandiose concepts in Canyonlands' 1965 Master Plan.

icant cultural resources, there were to be "limits on development with concern for preserving the park's primary features."⁵³ No areas were designated as "High Density Recreation Areas" that allowed high impact uses, although four areas were classified as "General Outdoor Recreation Areas" which allowed some development (Cave Springs, Squaw Flat, the east entrance, Upheaval Bottom and Green River Overlook). The rest of the park was classified as either "Natural Environment Areas" (Gray's Pasture, Grandview Point and Needles Entrance); "Outstanding Primitive Areas" (White Rim to the Colorado and Green Rivers, the Needles, Salt Creek, Horse Canyon and the Grabens); "Primitive Areas" (Upheaval Dome, Taylor Canyon and west of the Green River); or "Historic and Cultural Sites" (Fort Bottom, Upheaval Bottom, Salt Creek, Horse Canyon, Chesler Park, Cave Springs and The Neck).⁵⁴

Within this seemingly benign classification scheme were grand architectural designs, many creature comforts and vehicle access throughout the park that illustrated a failure by Park Service planners to understand the region's cultural value or ecological limits. Despite its rhetorical homage to preservation and wilderness, this plan would make Canyonlands a user-friendly park. From the park's 257,640 acres, 166,275 were classified as "Tentative Wilder-

ness," with most placed in the "Wilderness Threshold" category that was designed to encourage visitation into "less primitive portions of the back country." Although the Wilderness Act had just passed, the NPS believed a "wilderness plan would not be necessary for Canyonlands." This was a common response from the Park Service in the 1960s, as the agency believed that park status made extra protection unnecessary.⁵⁵ Overall, the

Canyonlands National Park Master Plan revealed a geographically small and technologically compromised wilderness concept incompatible with the primitive ideals for canyon country first envisioned by Bob Marshall and the Escalante planners.

Canyonlands was to be a "mixed experience" park that respected the needs of "drive-through tourists" and those "looking for the backcountry." This entailed visitor centers at Squaw Flat and Grandview Point, the latter with a large amphitheater; lodges at Willow Flat, Upheaval Bottom and Squaw Flat; market/gas stations at Squaw Flat, the Island in the Sky and Upheaval Bottom; a marina at Upheaval Bottom; patrol cabins and boat ramps at Spanish Bottom, Potash (MGM Bottom), Lathrop Canyon and Lockhart Basin; residential complexes for park staff in each district; and shelters at Chesler Park and the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers.⁵⁶ Although the plan called for designs "that respected the rugged topography" to avoid "structural intrusiveness which could degrade or destroy" the environment, the presence of such extensive development would necessarily compromise the park's wild qualities. Also troubling was its foot trail and road system that included the paving of roads from Squaw Flat to the Confluence, Taylor Canyon to Upheaval Bottom, Devils Lane to Chesler Park

and the White Rim Trail, as well building a paved foot trail into Virginia Park through a tunnel drilled in the sandstone.⁵⁷

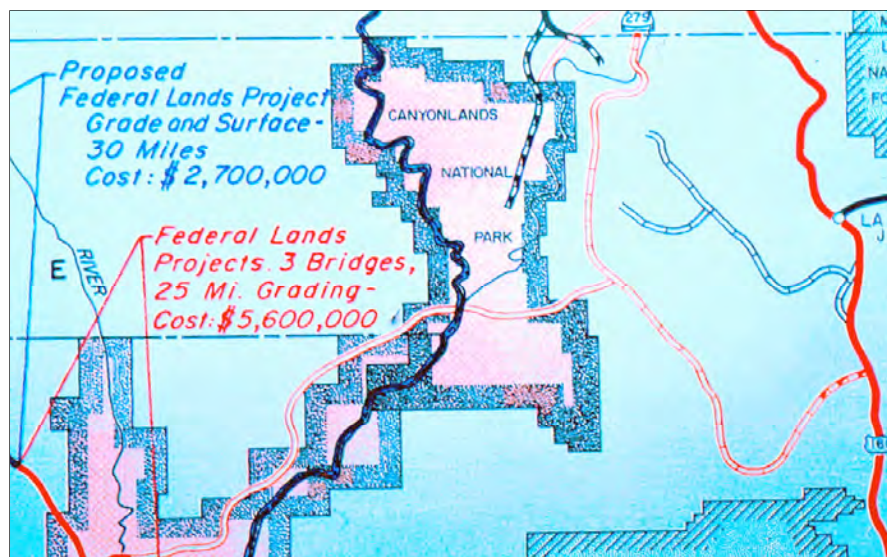
Moab was selected in 1965 as the permanent site for the Canyonlands Complex headquarters. The town had good services and facilities, was geographically situated between Canyonlands and Arches, was more central if Canyonlands expanded to the west, and was close to the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad and future interstate highway. The geology and aesthetics of Moab Valley were also more thematically consistent with Canyonlands, Arches and Natural Bridges than Monticello's pastoral and alpine setting. Though San Juan County's attitude was not cited by the NPS as a factor in a decision that was based on management concerns, Park Service logic fell on deaf ears in San Juan County and exacerbated the already strained relations between the county and the federal government.⁵⁸ Even the 1966 opening of a small satellite office in Monticello staffed by NPS information officers and maintenance staff designed to service the Needles District and Natural Bridges National Monument, did little to assuage local feelings.⁵⁹

Catalyzed by boosterism and leaks from the Park Service to Senator Bennett detailing park funding and development schedules, state and local leaders saw Canyonlands' Master Plan as a "promissory note" on schemes brewing since Udall conceived the Golden Circle.⁶⁰ In 1965, the San Juan County Tourist and Publicity Bureau published literature promoting the county, tourism companies asked the NPS for development schedules, and Grand Coun-

ty created the "Operation Tourism" program designed to make Moab "the perfect city for Canyonlands National Park."⁶¹ That year the old airstrip in Spanish Valley was superseded by the Canyonlands Airport north of Moab built by the W.W. Clyde Company—owned by the family of former governor and park opponent George Clyde.⁶² The *Times-Independent* also increased its coverage of parks by again publishing the all-tourism feature issues first seen in the 1920s and 1930s.⁶³ Monticello's *San Juan Record* also began prioritizing scenery and tourism, although it did not match the relative sophistication of the *Times-Independent*. Despite its continued efforts, San Juan County would continue to combat Grand County's geographic advantages and its own cultural conservatism.

Leaders at the state level saw Canyonlands and other developments—Glen Canyon and Lake Powell, new roads across "Indian Country" and the increased popularity of Capitol Reef National Monument—as leverage to gain federal support for highway projects in the Four

Figure 54: "Scenic Roads for the Golden Circle," Utah Department of Transportation, 1965. Governor Calvin Rampton Papers, Utah State Archives. The general state plan that developed had a parkway from Glen Canyon Dam through the entire "Canyon Lands" province, crossing the Colorado River near its confluence with the Green River. This map places the crossing below the confluence through the Maze and Needles regions, a plan that would need a large bridge over the Colorado River. Later plans expanded the overall road system on both sides of the Colorado and Green Rivers, and moved the river crossing north to the Green River where the road would cross to the Island in the Sky District before connecting on the high mesa with a road leading to Moab.



Corners region. First studied in 1961 when Bates Wilson and Wallace Stegner led a study team into the Escalante River canyons, regional transportation planning became prioritized in 1964 when the Utah Road Commission formed a task force with representatives from the NPS, BLM and BPR. Focused on the route from Blanding to Hanksville, the team also looked at road systems in San Juan, Grand, Garfield, Wayne and Emery Counties. The state road commission then sent Director C. Taylor Burton to Washington D.C. to ask for \$10 million of an estimated \$35 million needed for a regional road network.⁶⁴ Utah was given funds to complete Utah Highway 95 and three bridges over White Canyon and the Colorado and Dirty Devil Rivers near Hite, Utah, parkway legislation was introduced in Congress, and a regional road system was discussed. In 1965 the Utah Road Commission outlined a plan for “a route starting near Cisco and continuing on the northwest side of the Colorado River to connect with U.S. 89 between Kanab and Glen Canyon.” Concurrently, the Canyonlands Highway Association, a non-profit group based in southeast Utah, promoted a highway concept from Monument Valley through eastern Utah to Yellowstone National Park. These three highways formed the core of a projected “Grand Circle” transportation network.⁶⁵

Seeing the possibility of overdevelopment, the NPS and BLM at Udall’s behest, notified their field offices in December 1964 that “priority consideration” be given to planning at Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (NRA) and Canyonlands National Park, and that “wilderness values be given special attention.” Philosophically contrary to Canyonlands’ development-heavy Master Plan, the directives reflected ongoing cultural shifts at the Park Service and in American society over the management of public lands. Mirroring Udall’s catharsis in *The Quiet Crisis* in which he claimed that “brilliant successes” in technology had “encouraged a false sense of well-being and multiplied immeasurably our capacity to diminish the quality of the total



Figure 55: Chesler Park, 1961. C 36552.73, SEUG Photographic Archives.

environment,” the NPS began to realize that canyon country could be hurt by too much development.⁶⁶ With Glen Canyon NRA planning major developments for Wahweap, Bullfrog and Hite, a policy was being developed at Interior whereby park units in the Four Corners region were to measure the mission and development of each within a matrix of complementary parts.⁶⁷ Intensive recreation would take place on Lake Powell, Arches with its scenic drives and short hikes would provide activities for the casual tourist, while Canyonlands and Capitol Reef would center on wilderness-oriented experiences with small ratios of each park unit zoned for drive-through visitation.

A loyal company man unaccustomed to the upper echelons of the NPS, Bates Wilson initially accepted Canyonlands’ Master Plan. However, years of promoting the preservation of canyon country led to his realization that the plan would diminish the region’s primitive nature. Wilson began his about-face in 1965 by asking that paving the White Rim Trail be removed from the plan. In 1966, he protested the Utah Road Commission’s proposed parkway below the Orange Cliffs past the Maze region and over the Green River to Dead Horse Point and Moab. “Panorama Point affords

one of the greatest views of erosional basins found anywhere in the world,” he said. “We must not build a 28-foot road below Panorama which will ruin this great scene.” Echoing NPS Southwest Region Director Daniel Beard’s opinion, Wilson said that any road should be routed above the Orange Cliffs and cross the Green River at an “inconspicuous” location. Road plans for the Needles District gave him even more pause. “Sometimes I awake during the night in a cold sweat,” he said, “fearing that we will build a road into Chesler Park and ruin it.”⁶⁸ Although Wilson was later joined by others at the Park Service who wanted to restrain development at Canyonlands, there was substantial political momentum behind the development-heavy master plan and regional transportation concept. One Utah Road Commission plan even routed a road past the Maze and Standing Rocks to The Doll House that would meet another one in the Needles, the implication being that a bridge over the Colorado River was next.⁶⁹

The politics became more complex after The Wilderness Society and the Sierra Club entered the fray. Focused on passing the Wilderness Act and water projects on the Colorado River during the Canyonlands creation debate, by 1966 both groups had Southwest regional offices. Part of a process that began when conservationists discovered the Colorado Plateau in the 1950s during the controversy over dams in Dinosaur National Monument, the moves accelerated the cultural shift whereby sedimentary landscapes were incorporated into western preservationism and ideals of beauty previously centered on alpine aesthetics. The focus on the Plateau intensified from 1957 to 1964 when the Sierra Club led numerous “memorial” tours through Glen Canyon as the dam was being built, and from 1964 to 1966 as they fought dams planned for the Grand Canyon. Though Canyonlands was and remains politically and culturally overshadowed by Glen Canyon in the post-modern environmentalist mindset, conservationism’s embrace of canyon country during

the 1960s imbued the new national park with immense symbolic value.⁷⁰

The Sierra Club was introduced to Canyonlands by Charles Eggert’s film *The Sculptured Earth* and photographer Philip Hyde’s 1963 work, and soon became involved in park politics.⁷¹ Sponsoring a trip to the Needles in 1965 to familiarize its membership with the park, the club returned in 1966 to witness an aerial explosion rain fiery debris on the Canyon Rims. Initially thought to be an aviation accident, the Park Service soon discovered it was a Hound Dog missile destroyed by remote control because it went off course.⁷² Whereas the NPS was angry because the firing was unannounced, the Sierra Club interpreted the incident as evidence of the federal government’s disregard for ecology and wilderness. After Sierra Club officers were told in 1966 about Canyonlands’ Master Plan, its membership began a letter-writing campaign that addressed regional transportation and park planning. Cordial communiqués bereft of the strident attitudes characteristic of today’s environmentalism, this generation of activists were viewed by many at the Park Service as welcome help in its efforts to alter park and regional development plans.⁷³

The media were divided in how they saw the park. Publishing during an era when Americans were traveling more, the travel magazine industry presented Canyonlands in a recreation model centered on the Four Corners region. Operating under a premise that heavy visitation was good, industry stalwart *Arizona Highways* and newcomers like *Sunset* and *Western Gate*—ways placed Canyonlands at the heart of the “Grand Circle adventure” that included Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Mesa Verde National Park, Arches and Capitol Reef National Monuments and Indian Country. Although they lauded Canyonlands’ wildness, these magazines believed that better roads and services would make the park accessible to more tourists.⁷⁴ In contrast, other writers—mostly from big city newspapers—saw the park in a

way that reflected social changes about wilderness and the Colorado Plateau in which Canyonlands was described as offering a different brand of recreation than traditional drive-through parks and a unique brand of beauty. One 1965 *Los Angeles Times* article even predicted the future, stating that “man and nature have come to terms on one point—extensive development will be forever prohibited” in the new park. Combined with the growth of conservation-oriented publications and specialized magazines covering off-road recreation, hiking, camping, climbing, boating and science, momentum was building in the media and popular culture that Canyonlands should stay wild.⁷⁵

During this debate over Canyonlands’ future, basic infrastructure remained a problem. When the park opened, the Needles District was reachable from Highway 160 over rough dirt roads to Dugout Ranch and Squaw Flat, making the grading and draining of the road from the ranch to the park crucial. In addition to problems with Utah and San Juan County over jurisdiction and maintenance, the September 1965 sale of the Scorup & Somerville Cattle Company (S & S) to Charles Redd’s La Sal Livestock Company turned cordial talks into tough negotiations. Instead of dealing with owners ready to sell, the NPS faced owners who wanted to revitalize the ranch and disliked the Park Service.⁷⁶ Soon after the purchase, Charles’s son Hardy told Wilson, “We are the ones put out, injured, inconvenienced. We prefer you leave us alone and let us go on farming and raising cattle.” Operated by Charles’ son Robert and his wife Heidi, the new Indian Creek Cattle Company planned to build a dam and reservoir west of the ranch where the Bureau of Public Roads had just surveyed a road. Whereas S & S had been concerned with the width of rights-of-ways, locations for cattle guards and underpasses, and mineral rights, the Redds tried to leverage the Park Service into big land transfers, rights-of-way in Salt Creek and having the road built over the dam so they would not lose any pasture. Refusing any terms except for fair mar-

ket value, the NPS put the job up for bid and prepared condemnation papers. An accord was reached in early 1967 between the Park Service and the Redds for \$42,700 on the rights-of-way.⁷⁷ The nineteen mile stretch of road from Dugout Ranch to the Needles was completed in August of 1967, although the road from the ranch to Highway 160 remained only partially finished.

Given a reprieve by fewer visitors to the park that expected—20,230 in 1966, 23,155 in 1967 and 26,318 in 1968—the Park Service focused on projects that would be unaffected by potential changes to the Master Plan.⁷⁸ This included upgrades to water, utility and communication systems, the addition of toilets, signs, interpretive displays and campsites, and the replacement of antiquated administrative and housing trailers with newer units. The Park Service also built or repaired roads into the backcountry, including the following routes: Elephant Hill, Silver Stairs to the Confluence, Devils Lane to Chesler Canyon, Salt Creek Canyon and the White Rim Trail, and built a foot trail in Elephant Canyon to Druid Arch and the Joint Trail into Chesler Park.⁷⁹

Providing literature for visitors and staff was also a major problem. Starting in 1964 with a BLM brochure that had a map of hiking and vehicle routes and list of backcountry rules, by 1965 the park had its own mimeographed brochure that was the visitor handout for two-plus years. The first GPO park brochures were printed in 1967 and a brochure on Upheaval Dome in 1968.⁸⁰ There were also few books or articles published on the park and region. Using the Southwestern Monuments Association until the Canyonlands Natural History Association was incorporated in late 1966, offerings were limited to Golden and Peterson guides, road and topographic maps and overviews of Utah geology and natural history.⁸¹ Crampton’s *Standing Up Country* and Powell’s *Exploration of the Colorado River and its Canyons* addressed canyon country, although their broad scope

provided little analysis of the Canyonlands region, prompting the addition of an April 1966 *Arizona Highways* article on Canyonlands National Park to park sales offerings. Because scientists and writers barely knew the region, the process of observation, reflection and analysis that produces a mature canon of work on any subject was in its infancy at Canyonlands.

Canyonlands' list of concessionaires was initially modest. From 1965 to 1968 the park had three operators: Kent Frost's Canyonlands Tours, Mitch Williams' Tag-A-Long Tours, and Tex's Colorado River Cruises. Most problems involved debates between operators over permits to use certain land routes and with their compliance with park rules. Most in the last category were due to operators adapting to NPS regulations. For example, Kent Frost had a spat with a ranger over a gun he carried in violation of park rules. After a rebuke from Wilson, Frost made amends and the behavior was not repeated.⁸² More troubling were concessionaires like Lin Ottinger who showed no willingness to follow rules. Ottinger, the owner of a Moab rock shop who had also led tours before the park was created, drove off park roads, verbally abused park rangers and dug in archaeological sites. When first applying for a concessionaire permit, he was stonewalled by the NPS. Unclear about legal precedent, the disposition of ongoing concessions legislation and cognizant of public relations, the park granted Ottinger a permit in 1966 on a probationary basis. Ottinger continued his behavior and the permit was revoked, part of a fight that lasted years.⁸³

Another important issue involved the Canyonlands Resort, a privately-owned campground, market and gas station outside park boundaries at Squaw Flat. With no provisions in park plans for services in the Needles District, the facility provided important functions. Whereas travelers before 1964 obtained supplies from nearby towns or the Dugout Ranch, the rise in visitors after creation of the park would create prob-

lems for the NPS unless services were available locally. In addition to helping with camping overflows, food and gas, the Resort rented four-wheel drives and horses and provided towing services. Devising a water sharing plan with the NPS, the business owned by Jim Black of Monticello opened in May 1965, starting a checkered history characterized by inconsistent hours of operation, a destructive fire and changing ownership.

Park expansion, environmentalism, and new managerial directions

Having shelved the rim-to-rim concept to get any Canyonlands bill passed, the NPS targeted expansion from 1964 onward. Training exercises in 1964 and 1965 to familiarize the NPS with park resources included trips to the Maze region and Wilson led interagency teams in 1965 and 1966 throughout the Canyonlands area to aid regional planning. Believing the timing was right, on January 11, 1967, Senator Moss introduced S. 26 "To Expand the Boundaries of Canyonlands National Park." This was followed by bills addressing the "Canyon Country Parkway" from Senators Moss (S. 650) and Bennett (S. 363), and Congressmen Burton (H.R. 4708) and King (H.R. 6490). Expansion was initially tied to the parkway idea, and after 1969, the parkway along with the creation of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and elevation of Arches and Capitol Reef National Monuments to park status. Yet, what started as a simple idea to add land excluded from the 1964 Canyonlands bill became tied to debates over roads and access, the definitions of parks and wilderness, and the philosophical place of canyon country within American culture.⁸⁴

Shortly after the introduction of S. 26, Moss and Burton led a team of NPS and BLM officials into the Canyonlands area, and the National Parks Advisory Board passed a resolution supporting park expansion.⁸⁵ The first expansion survey in late 1967 was carried out by a NPS/BLM team that looked at present land uses in relation to

potential recreation uses and interpretive themes over a 223,766 acre study area divided into three zones. The “West Side Unit” included an area from the Green and Colorado Rivers west to the Orange Cliffs south of the Emery County line, plus Horseshoe Canyon. The “North Side Unit” involved areas in the Island in the Sky north of the park boundary and included Dead Horse Point, Shafer Canyon, Taylor Canyon and Mineral Bottom. The “Lavender Canyon Unit” included Lavender and Davis Canyons, Bridger Jack Mesa, Upper Salt Creek Canyon, plus North and South Sixshooter Peaks.⁸⁶ Describing a region of “national significance deserving preservation for the use and enjoyment of the American public,” the report recommended adding the entire area to the park or creating a mixed park and recreation area reserve because of “unknown mineral potential.” Development west of the rivers was to be “complete and comprehensive,” similar to the Master Plan designs for the Island in the Sky and Needles Districts, and would be connected with a regional parkway system.⁸⁷

As discussions over park expansion proceeded, the utilitarian values behind the Canyonlands Master Plan and Canyon Country Parkway concept came into question. Logistical struggles and budget shortfalls had slowed Canyonlands’ development from 1964 to 1968, during which time a more ecologically-oriented world view had infiltrated American society.⁸⁸ This prodded many at the Park Service and most conservationists to doubt the appropriateness of the Master Plan and parkway idea, a process magnified in southeast Utah by the 1968 publication of Edward Abbey’s *Desert Solitaire*. Augmenting the synthesis of history and imagery in Gregory Crampton’s 1964 *Standing Up Country* and 1965 Amon Carter Museum exhibit of the same name, Abbey’s vivid descriptions of canyon country and biting social commentary connected readers with southeast Utah’s beauty and the era’s skepticism toward traditional social norms and institutions.⁸⁹ Read by millions across the social spectrum, *Desert Solitaire*

framed canyon country’s contemporary political culture with its blend of romantic primitivism, love of sedimentary geology and strident attitude.⁹⁰ The book’s audience included former NPS Director Horace Albright, who met Abbey at Organ Pipe National Monument in 1970 where the writer was stationed as a ranger. In a 1970 letter to Bates Wilson, Albright said, “I congratulated him (Abbey) on *Desert Solitaire*, told him many of the chapters were superb prose,” but that his comments about “operating a national park were silly and no good.” Albright added that Abbey was the “purest of the pure” regarding his conservationism, what would soon be called an environmentalist.⁹¹ Between 1968 and 1972, when the NPS rejected the park’s Master Plan, the environmental movement gained strength, the National Environmental Policy Act was passed, and *Desert Solitaire* became an “eco-bible” of sorts for canyon country, ensuring that future plans in the region would receive intense scrutiny.

Bates Wilson prepared a revised plan in 1968 for an expanded Canyonlands National Park. Unfairly called a “dedicated road builder” by some conservationists, based on the 1965 Master Plan on which he had little input, Wilson said the plan “would result in high road construction costs, major impairment of landscape, overuse, overcrowding” and hurt the “retention of natural areas” required by the Wilderness Act. He also made the following recommendations: (1) Pave the Needles entrance road to Elephant Hill, but leave the district’s backcountry roads primitive; (2) Pave the roads to Grandview Point and Upheaval Dome, but remove the road from the Island in the Sky to Upheaval Bottom; (3) Eliminate the paved parkway through the Needles south to Natural Bridges National Monument; (4) Instead of having big campgrounds of fifty to sixty sites, have small, primitive campgrounds of two to five sites; (5) Place visitor centers, employee housing, administrative and maintenance facilities outside park borders at Big Flat and Dugout Ranch; (6) Remove the marina at Upheaval Bottom; and (7) Close

some backcountry four-wheel drive roads. Wilson also produced the “Canyonlands National Park Development Principles.” Geared toward preservation, these concept stated that Canyonlands should stay mostly wild; development, access and accommodations should be minimal and not impinge on park natural resources; publicity and interpretation should emphasize the park’s wildness; management should focus on preservation; and after initial developments were complete, nothing should be done outside of expanding the foot trail network.⁹² Wilson’s suggestions were well-received at the Park Service by those wanting to see the agency move in a preservationist direction, less so by those who believed in the use-oriented philosophy epitomized by the Mission 66 program.

Whereas conservationists were pleased by Wilson’s ideas, leaders in Grand and San Juan Counties cried foul, including San Juan County Commissioner Calvin Black, who was emerging as a political force. Black said the Park Service was not fulfilling promises made during the pre-park debate and in the Master Plan. Muted protests from Republicans Wallace Bennett and Lawrence Burton were amplified by the anger of Frank Moss. First expressing his concerns in 1966 over slow development at Canyonlands, the Democratic senator believed his reputation was being damaged and that park expansion was at stake. Moss critiqued the Park Service, attacked conservationists and made his “Parks are for the People” speech on the Senate floor in October 1968.⁹³ While locals claimed conspiracy and Moss shouted betrayal, analysis reveals a more complex picture. Motivated by



Figure 56: “1959 Survey Team in Virginia Park,” C 36552.268, SEUG Photographic Archives. The 1959 survey was the first official NPS visit to Virginia Park and created an awareness later affirmed by NPS personnel and scientists that this area had significance as a scientific preserve.

politics and Mission 66’s utilitarian philosophy, Interior’s 1962 pre-park prospectus and economic study both contained overly rosy numbers on Canyonlands’ future visitation and economic potential, with the 1965 Master Plan a continuum of this dynamic. When the Master Plan was approved in 1966, it was already out of step with changes in public land management philosophy and in American society. The park plan was not implemented because of fiscal limits imposed by the Vietnam War and a sense at the NPS that its provisions were ill-suited for Canyonlands, not because of a nefarious conspiracy or intentional deception.

Although politics and culture were the main forces behind Canyonlands’ changing direction, science played a role. Whereas the scant knowledge of canyon country was a problem for park managers, it gave scholars ample research opportunities. Realizing that little science had been done to help planning and resource protection, in 1967 an NPS team wrote the “Status Report on Interpretive Planning Projects and Research” for Canyonlands, Arches, and Natur-

al Bridges.⁹⁴ In 1968, the same team identified scholars in various disciplines for specific projects and general consultation, created the Canyonlands Scientific Advisory Board, drew up a charter and formed research priorities. Early work included Edward Kleiner and Kimball Harper's grassland and soil study of Virginia and Chesler Parks, Floyd Sharrock and Mel Aikens' inventory of Canyonlands archaeology, Donald Baars' geological survey, Douglas Shakel's geological analysis of the White Rim and Upheaval Dome, Everett Olsen's work with vertebrate fossils, Paul Holden's analysis of Colorado Basin fish, Bruce Olsen and Stanley Welsh's ethnobotanical work, Richard Douglass' study of rodents and Jessup Low's deer population work. Baars fine-tuned the region's geologic nomenclature; Shakel began the debate over Upheaval Dome's origin; Holden's Humpback Chub became the park's first endangered species; and the archaeological inventory by Sharrock and Aikens underscored the need for protection and stabilization of the park's cultural resources.⁹⁵

The work of Harper and Kleiner had the biggest impact on park management. First visiting the region in 1965 with his University of Utah botany department colleagues, Harper was struck by Virginia Park's "pristine condition," free from grazing's effects. Canyonlands Chief Ranger Jim Randall suggested that Harper do a comparative study of the flora, fauna, and ecology of Virginia and Chesler Parks. Financed by the University of Utah and the NPS, Kleiner, a Ph.D student of Harper, performed extensive field work in 1967 and 1968.⁹⁶ Studying four grasses—*Hilaria jamesii* (galleta), *Oryzopsis hymenoides* (Indian ricegrass), *Sporobolus cryptandrus* (sand dropseed) and *Stipa comata* (needle and thread)—and their relationship to soils, Kleiner discovered the importance of "cryptogams" to regional ecology and analyzed the differences between grazed and ungrazed areas in terms of soil integrity, flora distribution and density. He also said Virginia Park should not be "advertised and maintained on a tightly

controlled basis" because of its potential as a research reserve.⁹⁷ With "dirt" given intrinsic ecological value, the Park Service had another resource to protect at Canyonlands in addition to traditional biological, geological and cultural ones, knowledge that later influenced the park's backcountry policies.

From 1968 through Wilson's 1972 retirement, the politics of Canyonlands National Park was dominated by the debate between preservation and pro-development forces. Focused on roads and their relation to wilderness and rights of public access, the preservation versus development issue was attached to the Greater Canyonlands during congressional hearings on park expansion, the creation of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and to regional transportation planning. Gaining political strength, the preservation wing of the conservation lobby was poised to alter Canyonlands' future. Yet, Wilson's "Principles for Development" were only recommendations, and preservationists remained outside the political center, evidenced by multiple-use provisions in Senator Moss's Canyonlands bills and his attacks on the Sierra Club and Wilderness Society for their positions on park development.⁹⁸ Moss's stance combined with the hegemony of pro-growth Utah Republicans, economic boosters at the state and local levels, and the 1968 election of Richard Nixon to the presidency to leave the future direction for Canyonlands in question.

While Moss had long criticized the Park Service for the slow development at Canyonlands, in 1969 Bennett and Burton joined the fray. Pointing to the 1962 prospectus and 1965 Master Plan, the bipartisan group charged the NPS with bad faith and said the Canyonlands Resort might close because of less than anticipated visitation.⁹⁹ Based on a 1968 cutback in its expenditures ordered by Interior Secretary Udall and a 1969 directive by President Nixon limiting federal contracts, the NPS said "severe fiscal restraints on capital improvement programs made an accelerated program impossible."¹⁰⁰

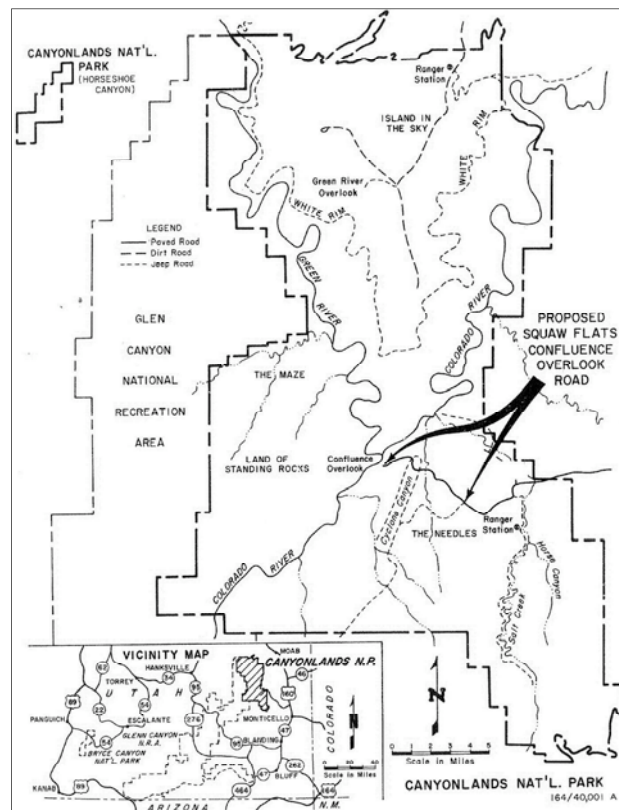
Additionally, from 1961 to 1969, the National Park System added more units than during any comparable period in history: five parks, five monuments, twenty historic sites, five historic parks, five memorials, six recreation areas, five seashores, two lakeshores, one wild and scenic river, two national trails and two “miscellaneous” units. This growth trend continued in Nixon’s first term when the NPS added three parks, two monuments, five historic sites, one memorial, two recreation areas, one seashore, two lakeshores, one wild and scenic river, one national river and one parkway. Combined with the Vietnam War’s drain on the federal budget, the boom severely strained Park Service fiscal resources. Canyonlands also had to compete with “crown jewel” parks that received funding priority based on their reputation and higher visitation numbers.¹⁰¹ Starting the 1966 fiscal year with a budget of \$2.08 million, Canyonlands was not able to implement its original plans or even scaled-back versions. Political problems with state, county and local economic interests, and environmental activists complicated matters further.¹⁰²

Focusing their limited funds on the Needles District, the Park Service paved the East Entrance Road from July to November of 1969 at a cost of \$790,628.09. Including sixteen miles of base and cement mix—70,000 tons of base, 26,000 tons of mix and 1,800 tons of cement—the project, administered by the Bureau of Public Roads, went smoothly other than occasional flood washouts, workers illegally camping and gathering wood in the park, and missile test evacuations.¹⁰³ To complete the park’s east access, nineteen miles of graded dirt road from Dugout Ranch to Church Rock had to be paved. Under a cooperative agreement between Utah, San Juan County and the NPS, the Utah Highway Department was to design and construct the road with funds from all three entities, and San Juan County would do the maintenance. The state and county recanted on the accord because they felt the Park Service should pay the entire cost of the “park access”

road. Having put \$100,000 into a fund monitored by the Utah Highway Department, the NPS disagreed by claiming the road had long served county needs and would continue to do so, and added that the county’s seal coating job was inadequate. Negotiations produced an updated agreement that split costs equally among the parties and made the county responsible for maintenance.¹⁰⁴

Despite Park Service fiscal constraints, plans began on the Squaw Flat-to-Confluence Road. From Squaw Flat, the road would travel around Elephant Hill before splitting, with a spur going west to the Silver Stairs and the Confluence, and the main route south through Devils Lane and Cyclone Canyon to Chesler Park and the park’s southern border. The road would then turn east through Beef Basin, merge with U.S. Forest Service roads and meet Highway 95 near Natural Bridges National Monument to com-

Figure 57: “Planning Map, Confluence Overlook Road,” 1968. NPS-TIC. The road network included a road from Squaw Flat to the Confluence connected to a route south through the Grabens to Beef Basin.



plete the east half of the canyon country parkway network.¹⁰⁵ Though not receiving the same attention publicly as the parkway west of the Colorado and Green Rivers, the road was important in San Juan County. However, in addition to the road's high cost, canyon country provides unique logistical and engineering issues that are magnified in primitive areas. Because the NPS does not allow rock borrow pits in national parks, enormous quantities of base rock would have to be hauled great distances. Engineering, aesthetic, and environmental factors would also be difficult because of the Needles' rugged terrain and Park Service concerns over damage to park resources. Another big unknown involved the operational mechanics and politics surrounding the recently passed National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA).¹⁰⁶

Although the NPS approved the "Confluence Road" in 1966, an NPS report in 1968 said the road could "violate the beauty and serenity of the park." Dr. Stanley Cain, Undersecretary of the Interior and National Parks Advisory Board member, told the Sierra Club in February 1968 of NPS road plans for the Needles that included a spur to Chesler Park. The Sierra Club notified the Wilderness Society and other conservationists. The Park Service issued a press release in May stating that construction of the five-mile road from Squaw Flat to Chesler Park was deferred pending more study, although plans for a road from Squaw Flat to the Elephant Hill Overlook would proceed.¹⁰⁷ A July 1969 survey of the area attended by NPS Assistant Director William Everhardt, NPS Chief Scientist Robert Linn, NPS Chief of Interpretation Robert Barrel, NPS Chief of Design and Construction Glenn Hendrix, Needles District Ranger Dave Minor and Bates Wilson, resulted in discussions about roads, elevated trams and mass transit. Trams and ground mass transit were considered too intrusive, and the team recommended building a low-speed road over Little and Big Spring Canyons to avoid big fills and tunnels and a one-way loop from the Confluence south through Cyclone Canyon to

Chesler Park that returned through Devils Lane. Senator Moss was notified, and the National Parks Advisory Board supported the plan.¹⁰⁸

Weighing engineering and environmental variables, in May 1970 the BPR and NPS surveyed the section from Squaw Flat to Big Spring Canyon and discussed how to lessen fill situations, stay off rock outcrops and remain near survey lines. Better approaches were found across Little and Big Spring Canyons, and it was decided the route between Devils Lane and Cyclone Canyon could be improved. The road's graded width would range from thirty-four to forty feet, the base surface from twenty-four to thirty feet, with the BPR prioritizing engineering over economics and aesthetics. An archaeological survey in October 1970 located lithic scatters along the route, but its findings were not considered sufficient to alter the road's path. The Park Service appropriated funds for three years to prepare the job for bid and cover the project's construction.¹⁰⁹

Despite having fulfilled pre-1969 planning requirements for the project, the Park Service had not addressed provisions of the National Environmental Policy Act. The NPS was reminded of this by the Sierra Club, which told Park Service Director George Hartzog that the agency did not have an exemption to NEPA and the "lack of any environmental impact statement for a proposed highway project in Canyonlands National Park" was unacceptable because this was "the type of major federal action affecting the environment" that required this new type of review. Whereas conservationists from previous eras made suggestions, emboldened by NEPA, love for canyon country and recent political success, this new "environmentalist" was much more demanding. Although pleased about the removal of a road in Chesler Park from park plans, the Sierra Club wanted more effort from the NPS to make public notices, hold hearings and analyze comments. The Park Service responded by saying

that it was preparing an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) and that construction would not begin until it was finished. The Sierra Club countered by sending the Park Service its own park development plan for Canyonlands.¹¹⁰

Although the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) is today a standard part of American culture, in the early 1970s it was new to the Park Service. After analyzing ecological, economic, aesthetic, and engineering issues and consulting with the BPR, BLM, Environmental Protection Agency, Utah Highway Department, scientists and activists, park staff produced an EIS for the Squaw Flat-to-Confluence Road project, the first such effort at Canyonlands and one of the earliest in agency history. The EIS stated the road would “lay lightly on the land,” allow “visitors to enjoy the backcountry,” disperse visitors throughout the Needles District, and that a 150-foot bridge over Little Spring Canyon and a 700-foot bridge over Big Spring Canyon were acceptable. Just thirteen pages long with scant scientific backing, the document would not pass muster today as an Environmental Assessment. NPS officials told park staff that “more information is needed than we assumed” and that the “art of developing an adequate statement was evolving.” The document was revised by Canyonlands staff and the new version accepted by the Park Service.¹¹¹

Although praising the NPS for both reports, the Sierra Club said the EIS was improperly filed according to NEPA’s provisions. These charges prodded more discussions about NEPA at the Park Service, but did not stop the project. The NPS proceeded with planning and funds were appropriated for FY 1972–1975 to construct the road from Squaw Flat to Little Spring Canyon and a bridge over the canyon, the road to Big Spring Canyon and a bridge over the canyon, and the final road to the confluence. Environmentalists said that the 1971 act enlarging Canyonlands National Park required the NPS to conduct studies on road alignments and wilderness areas in the park. Arguing that it was

already being sensitive about impacts to park resources, the Park Service claimed that road construction should not have to wait for a completed EIS process.¹¹²

Concurrent with the “Confluence Road” debate the NPS addressed the road system planned for the region. Presented as the ultimate scenic parkway network by regional economic interests and the Utah Highway Department, the Canyon Country Parkway was to connect with the Park Service’s Golden Circle attractions at Glen Canyon, Arches, Capitol Reef and Canyonlands. Framed by this vision, Utah Road Commissioner Clem Church told San Juan County’s Calvin Black in 1971 that national parks should be embraced and that Canyonlands’ slow development was due to the Vietnam War, not changes in NPS policy. Church also believed that regardless of what development took place on Lake Powell, the road from Glen Canyon City on the south to Cisco on the north, as well as the “spurs outlined at congressional hearings, were essential.”¹¹³ Despite objections to the parkway’s scope by the NPS, scholars, environmentalists and private citizens, the commission insisted on building the entire system centered on a twenty-eight foot wide paved highway from Glen Canyon City through the Greater Canyonlands to Moab with up to thirteen spur roads. It also wanted state jurisdiction over rights-of-ways, even on federal lands.¹¹⁴ Despite enjoying bi-partisan support from Utah’s congressional contingent, the project was all-but-doomed from its conception because of the massive scope and cost, attempts by the state to co-opt federal authority, and the growing sanctity of canyon country in American society.

Wallace Bennett and other Utah Republicans tried to stay politically relevant in the context of their minority status and changing cultural landscape by backing recreation-oriented legislation. This included bills to expand Canyonlands National Park, build the Canyon Country Parkway and elevate Arches and Capitol Reef to

national park status, although most bills had provisions unacceptable to the Park Service. The strongest opposition to park expansion came from San Juan County which wanted any legislation to ensure that the Needles District backcountry roads would be built. Based on the county's wish to be consulted in park planning, Calvin Black wrote Director Hartzog in January 1971 to complain about Bates Wilson's failure to include local officials in key decisions. Although Black was already known to Park Service officials through his correspondence, op-ed pieces in newspapers and congressional testimony, this issue marked his coming out party as the dominant political voice of the San Juan County Commission.¹¹⁵

These political dynamics occurred as the Park Service prepared to expand Canyonlands and Utah political and business leaders lobbied for a parkway. The NPS was thus caught between political pragmatism and its shift toward more preservationist-oriented policies. Park Service opposition to the parkway while it was planning roads in the Needles District appeared to some parkway supporters as hypocritical and could have nixed Canyonlands' expansion if not for the political leadership of Frank Moss, who guided a park expansion bill through Congress without any parkway riders attached. With the debate over expansion relatively free from the acrimony that surrounded Canyonlands' founding legislation, Moss's S. 26 proposed to add 95,710 acres to Canyonlands from the Maze, Ernie's Country, the Island in the Sky plateau including Dead Horse Point, Upper Salt Creek, Lavender and Davis Canyons, and Horseshoe Canyon. Of the proposed additions, 81,549 acres were federally-owned, 14,081 acres were state owned, and 80 acres were privately owned. These lands were assessed as having less value per acre than lands in the 1964 Canyonlands bill. Opposition to expansion was muted, as debates were limited to the transfer of the southwest corner of the new Maze District near the Orange Cliffs from Canyonlands to Glen Canyon Recreation Area to allow for

future tar sands development, and the removal of Dead Horse Point because Utah wanted to keep its famous state park. Additions in S. 26 were pared down to 79,618 acres, slightly larger than bills introduced in the House of Representatives.¹¹⁶

When a revised version of S. 26 became law on November 12, 1971, it was the terminus of a four-decade long process for the National Park Service. Although Canyonlands National Park remained incomplete for those who envisioned a rim-to-rim park, legislation expanding the park to its present 337,258 acres moved the NPS closer to the regional park concept introduced in the Escalante era. Most importantly, the elimination of amendments or separate bills that supported the extensive parkway system envisioned by state and local boosters also ensured that the unique wilderness qualities of the Greater Canyonlands would not be significantly compromised.¹¹⁷

Park expansion also told Bates Wilson it was time to retire. Perhaps he foresaw Canyonlands' tumultuous future, but more likely, he was just ready to leave after three decades with the Park Service. The fifty-nine year old Wilson retired in June 1972 to his recently-purchased ranch in Professor Valley north of Moab. Wilson had defied convention to help create a national park in the Canyonlands region while managing two national monuments, an impressive feat that ensures his place in NPS history. Assessing his legacy from the eight years served as Superintendent of Canyonlands National Park is more difficult. Whereas business interests might cast Wilson as a failure for not developing the park, environmentalists could assess him as someone who avoided preservation values before becoming enlightened. Partisan perspectives aside, Wilson is more accurately depicted as an independent man who blended a spirit of adventure and intense passion for a place with a keen sense of public relations and politics, who realized after Canyonlands National Park had been created, that Pandora's Box was

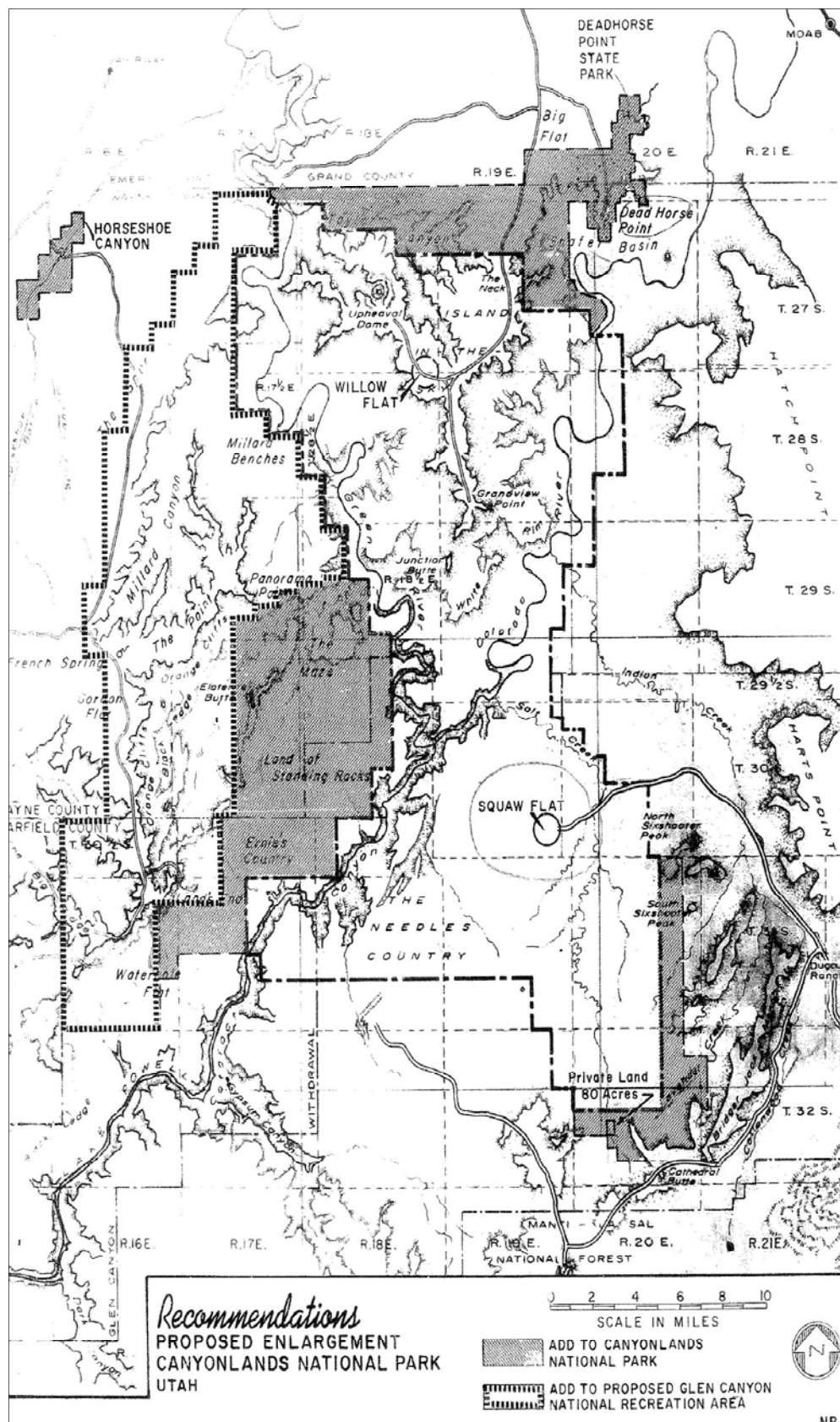


Figure 58: "Recommendations, Proposed Enlargement, Canyonlands National Park," 1968. NPS-TIC 164/7106-A.

indeed open. Given the chance to re-assess the park's prospectus by dynamics beyond his control, Wilson's recommendations for park development aligned with historical forces at the Park Service and in mainstream society to create the template for what became the Canyonlands National Park of the last three decades.

End notes

1. L. D. Hoffman, Director, Bureau of Land Management (BLM) to George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director, National Park Service (NPS), memorandum, September 18, 1964; folder 524, Canyonlands National Park Administrative Collection (CANY 36607). Hoffman said the NPS would take over administering lands previously managed by the BLM that composed the new park on September 26, 1964, a directive countersigned by Assistant Secretary of the Interior John A. Carver, Jr. on September 22, and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall on October 2.

2. Beginning with land transfers in the 1920s and 1930s involving Zion and Bryce National Parks, Cedar Breaks and Capitol Reef National Monuments, the NPS had difficulties with Utah over school trust lands and other exchanges, a problem also experienced by the BLM and U.S. Forest Service. Utah demanded too much acreage or wanted lands of much greater value. During the legislative fight over Canyonlands National Park, Utah, led by its Republican congressmen, put language in legislation for transfers to occur in thirty days, for Utah to have a choice on whatever lands it wanted, and other provisions difficult to economically calculate or logistically handle in a reasonable period.

3. James Randall, interview by author, August 7, 2004, Estes Park, Colorado, audiocassette; Oral History Tapes and Transcripts from Administrative History Research (CANY 45551).

4. "Wilson to Head Canyonlands Park," *Times-Independent*, October 22, 1964. During the three-year fight to create Canyonlands National Park, the Wilson and Udall families often accompanied Bates and Stewart in the field. This friendship extended beyond official capacities as the Wilsons and Udalls also took family vacations together.

5. Maxine Newell, "Arches Superintendent Passes Thirty Year Mark," *Times-Independent*, September 24, 1964; "Wilson to Head Canyonlands Park," *T-I*, October 22, 1964; Sam Taylor, "We Couldn't Be More Pleased," [Op-Ed], *T-I*, October 22, 1964.

6. "Canyonlands Building Plans Moving at Rapid Pace," *Times-Independent*, November 26, 1964.

7. Philip Palmer, Monticello Chamber of Commerce to Bates Wilson, Superintendent, Canyonlands National Park (CNP), November 10, 1964, folder A 7019 Cany, box 799038, National Park Service Files, Federal Records Center-Denver, National Archives and Records Administration-Denver (NPS-FRC-D). Despite their opposition to his appointment, San Juan County continued lobbying

Wilson for park headquarters to be sited in Monticello.

8. Bates Wilson, Utah State Coordinator, NPS to DeLoy Peterson, Utah State Road Commission, January 5, 1968; folder 232, CANY 36607.

9. San Juan County Commission to Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior (SOI), October 2, 1963; folder 671, CANY 36607; San Juan County Chamber of Commerce (C of C) and San Juan County Tourist and Publicity Council to President of the United States, Lyndon Baines Johnson, telegram, September 4, 1965, folder 180, CANY 36607; Lee Christensen, President, Vaun Mickelsen, Secretary, Rebus Rota Literary Club, Monticello to Southwest Region (SWR) Office, NPS, February 10, 1965; Daniel Beard, SWR Director, NPS to Rebus Rota Literary Club, February 24, 1965; San Juan County C of C to Beard, July 15, 1965; Beard to Kenneth Summers, San Juan C of C, August 9, 1965; William Davoren, Regional Coordinator, Pacific Southwest Region, Department of the Interior to San Juan County C of C, August 24, 1965; folder A 7019 Cany, box 799038, NPS-FRC-D.

10. Lewis D. Anderson, Park Engineer, Mesa Verde National Park to Chief, Division of Maintenance, SWR, memorandum, October 27, 1964; Bates Wilson to Daniel Beard, December 18, 1964; folder 242, CANY 36607. Before the Canyonlands Complex had its own architect and planner in 1965, Anderson with help from the Park Service's Southwest Region office drew up preliminary plans and estimated costs for the new park.

11. Randall interview. Between 1964 and 1967, the only radio towers in the vicinity of Canyonlands National Park were atop Abajo Peak in the Abajo Mountains and Mount Ellen in the Henry Mountains. Because the Henrys were so far south, the Abajo Peak station was the only place with a line-of-sight to the park and surrounding high ground.

12. Randall interview.

13. Sandra Holloway, interview by author, audiocassette, Moab, Utah, September 25, 2003; CANY 45551.

14. Bates Wilson to Daniel Beard, January 18, 1965, memorandum; folder A 3019 Cany, box 799301, NPS-FRC-D; Standing Up Country Exhibit Files, Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas. The co-sponsor of Crampton's *Standing Up Country*, the Amon Carter Museum, had a traveling exhibit of the same name that opened in Fort Worth on January 16, 1965, and that was attended by Wilson. Over the next two years it traveled around the United States.

15. James Randall, Acting Superintendent, CNP to Daniel Beard, November 17, 1964; Randall to U.S. Army Map Service, December 16, 1964; folder K 3827 Cany, NPS-FRC-D. In 1964 the Canyonlands area was covered by four USGS 1:62500 quadrangle maps 15 x 20 inches in size. This scale was not usable for NPS needs, prodding Randall to state that he hoped "reproduction of a special topographic map for Canyonlands National Park will receive the highest priority." In December 1964 Randall contacted the U.S. Army Map Service in San Antonio, Texas, to obtain plastic relief and topographic maps of the Salina, Moab, Escalante and Cortez quadrangles.

16. "Weekly Reports of Daily Activities, Uniformed Staff," January 1, 1965 to December 31, 1965; folder A 26, Weekly Reports, Activities, Uniformed Staff, Record Group, Box 34, Records Group 079-8NS-79-93-291, National Park Service, National Archives and Records Administration-Denver (NPS-NARA-D). Reflecting the multi-tasking needed at a new park, ranger tasks were divided into these categories: Accidents and Emergencies, Boundaries and Lands, Campgrounds, Clerical Duties, Construction and Maintenance, Cooperating Associations, Curatorial, Fish and Wildlife, Fixed Station Assignment, Forest Fire, Forests, Flora and Soils, Formal Talks and Conducted Trips, Guide and Guard Duty, Informal Public Contacts, Inspections, Law Enforcement, Management and Planning, Personal Preparation, Public Correspondence, Public and Professional Relations, Research and Investigations, Shop Talk, Special Events, Structural Fire, Supervision and Training, Technical Details and Special Assignments, Traffic Management, Training and Professional Development, Travel, Administrative, Leave and Miscellaneous.

17. *An Act to Provide for the Establishment of the Canyonlands National Park in the State of Utah and for Other Purposes*, U.S. Statutes at Large 78 (1965): 934–939. In addition to obtaining equal values through land exchange, cash could be used to even up estimated values to fulfill the language in Canyonlands' enabling legislation.

18. "Annual Report of Real Property Leased to the United States, Canyonlands National Park;" folder L 1429 Cany, box 799312, NPS-FRC-D.

19. Daniel Beard to George Hartzog, March 12, 1965, memorandum, folder 527, CANY 36607; R. D. Nielson, Utah State Director, BLM to NPS, February 8, 1965, memorandum; Nielson to NPS, March 5, 1965, memorandum; Utah BLM Archives, Salt Lake City. On the 18,445.99 acre selection, in T 21S R 19E, Utah received all or parts of sections 33–35; in T 22S R 19E, sections 3–4, 9–11 and 14–15; in T 23S R 20E, sections 31–35; In T 24S R 20S, sections 1, 3, 5, 8–15, 22–27 and 34–35. On the Utah Parks and Recreation selections, the 2,680.02 acres were from

T 26S R 20E, sections 15, 20–21, 28–31 and 33; and T 27S, R 20E.

20. Folder 527, CANY 36607. The breakdown of lands are as follows: Utah conveyed mineral rights only—T 27S R 19E, sections 16, 32, and 36; T 28S R 18E, section 32; all surface and mineral rights to the United States: T 27S R 18E, sections 16 and 36; T 27S R 20E, sections 2, 16 N, N and 36; T 28S R 19E, sections 2 and 16, T 28S, R 20E, section 16 E NW1/4; T 30S R 19E, sections 32 and 36; T 30S R 20E, section 32; T 30S R 19E, section 36; T 30S R 20E, section 32; T 31S R 18E, sections 2, 16 and 36; T 31S R 19E, sections 2, 16 and 36; T 31S R 20E, sections 16 and 32; T 32S R 20E, section 16; Green River Bed: T 27S R 17E, sections 1, 2, 12–15, 22–26 and 36; T 27S R 17E, sections 1, 2, 12–15, 23, 25, 26 and 35–36; T 28S R 17E, sections 1–2, 10–14 and 23–24; T 28S R 17E, sections 2–3 and 10–13; T 28S R 18E, sections 6–8, 18–21, 28–29 and 32–33; T 28S R 18E, sections 7–8, 17–19 and 28–33; T 29S R 18E, sections 4–5, 9, 15–16, 22–23, 26–27 and 35–36; T 29S R 18E, sections 4, 9–10, 14–15, 23, 25–26 and 35–36; T 30S R 18E, sections 1–2, 11, 13–14 and 24; T 30E R 19E, sections 6–7; Colorado River Bed: T 27S R 20E, section 32; T 28S R 20E, sections 5, 8, 16–21 and 30–31; T 28S R 19E, sections 13, 24–25 and 36; T 29S R 19E, sections 1, 10–12, 14, 22–23, 27–28 and 33–35; T 29S R 20E, section 6; T 29S R 20E, section 6; T 29S R 19E, sections 33–34; T 30S R 18E, sections 24–26 and 34–35; T 30S R 19E, sections 4–5 and 7–8; T 30S R 18E, sections 22 and 27; Utah State Parks and Recreation Commission Lands: T 27S R 19E, sections 16, 32 and 36; T 28S R 19E, section 32 (Total of 2560 acres [Minerals reserved for State of Utah.]); Exchange for “Exhibit A”—United States to State of Utah: Minerals for U.S., January 27, 1965, T 26S R 20E, sections 15, SW 1/4 SW 1/4; section 20 E1/2 E1/2, section 21 N1/2 SW1/4, section 28 SW1/4 NE1/4 W SE1/4 W; section 29 NE1/4 NE1/4 S1/2 N1/2 S1/2; section 30, lots 2–4, SE1/4 NW1/4 NE1/4 NW1/4 E1/2 SW1/4 SE1/4 SW1/4; section 31, lot 1, N1/2 NE1/4, SE1/4 NE1/4, NE1/4 NW1/4; section 33 W, NW1/4, NE1/4 NW1/4, S1/2 NE1/4, NE1/4 SE1/4, T 27S, R 20E, section 5, lots 3–4, SW1/4 NW1/4, SW1/4 SW1/4; and section 3, lot 2.

21. R. D. Nielson to Daniel Beard, October 12, 1964, memorandum; Roger W. Allin, Acting Director, SWR, NPS to Bates Wilson, October 27, 1964, memorandum; Beard to George Hartzog, February 3, 1965, memorandum; Nielson to Beard, February 10, 1965, memorandum; Nielsen to Beard, January 26, 1965, memorandum; George W. Miller, Acting Director, SWR, NPS to Hartzog, November 4, 1964, memorandum; folder 513, CANY 36607. In October 1964, BLM Utah State Director R. D. Nielson estimated boundary surveys performed over two years would cost \$53,900. Since Canyonlands did not have a budget until fiscal year 1966, the Park Service

Southwest Region office could only provide \$15,000 the first year, then \$40,000 combined for the 1966 and 1967 fiscal years.

22. John Kell, Lands Chief, SWR to Daniel Beard. December 21, 1964, memorandum; folder 530, CANY 36607.

23. “Evaluation of Mineral Resources, Canyonlands National Park, Utah,” September 2, 1977; folder 521, CANY 36607. The Lathrop Complex No. 1 had twelve mines in the N of S1/4 section 34 of T 27S R 19E; the Lathrop Complex No. 2 had four mines in the NE1/4 SW1/4 of section 35, T 27S R 19E. These were a concern for the NPS as both areas were laden with debris and the mine shafts were a safety hazard in an area zoned for recreation.

24. “Summary Sheet: Proposed Canyonlands National Park,” 1962; folder 125, CANY 36607.

25. R. D. Nielson to George Hartzog, November 16, 1964, memorandum; folder 513, CANY 36607.

26. “Summary Sheet, Proposed Canyonlands National Park,” folder 125, CANY 36607; *Mineral Leasing Revision Act of 1960, U.S. Statutes at Large 74 (1961): 781–91*. Revising the 1920 Act to Promote the Mining of Coal, Phosphate, Oil, Oil Shale, and Sodium on the Public Domain, *U.S. Statutes at Large 66 (1921): 437–51*, the 1960 act gave more discretion to the Interior Secretary in controlling the bidding process and lease terms on public lands. On known oil and gas producing regions, bids went to highest qualified bidder with ten-year leases available, and on areas not known to have oil and gas, the lease went to the first bidder, with five-year leases available. Cessation of activity could result in the loss of a lease if a claim was not reworked in sixty days. In the Canyonlands region, the second type of lease was more common since the region was not considered to be oil producing.

27. John Wegner to NPS, October 19, 1964; George Miller to George Hartzog, January 29, memorandum, 1965; folder 565, CANY 36607. Wegner was the first prospector to contact the NPS about the disposition of uranium claims in the Canyonlands region after the park was established. He held thirty-nine claims under seven names (Salt Seader, Silver Slipper, Red Rocks, Midnight, Monument Rim, Rainbow and Pack Rat), in sections 34–35 of T 29E R 20E that were just outside the park on BLM lands. Claimant Eric Norman gave the rights up on ten claims to the Park Service that were near a proposed well in T 30S R 20E by performing a quit claim deed.

28. “Oil Shale Program,” attached to a letter from Governors Calvin Rampton of Utah, John Love of Colorado, and

Stanley Hathaway of Wyoming to Stewart Udall, SOI, 1964 (n. d.); folder 2, box 1, series 20913, Calvin Rampton Papers, Utah State Archives (Rampton Papers).

29. R. E. Covington, "Bituminous sandstone and limestone deposits of Utah: Oil and Gas Possibilities of Utah, Re-evaluated," *Utah Geological and Mineralogical Survey Bulletin* 54 (1963): 225–47; Covington, "Thermal Recovery may bring industry's quiet revolution," *Oil & Gas Journal* 62, no. 47 (1963): 112–18; C. L. Schick, "Drillers probing Utah's French Seep Area," *Oil & Gas Journal* 64, no. 6 (1966): 134–36; J. L. Bowman, "Oil-Impregnated sandstones between Dirty Devil and Colorado and Green Rivers, Garfield and Wayne Counties, Utah," *American Association of Petroleum Geologists Bulletin* 53, no. 1 (1969): 218; H. R. Ritzma, "Impregnated sandstone deposits of Utah," *Inter-state Oil Compact Community Bulletin* 11, no. 2 (1969): 24–34.

30. "Summary Sheet—Proposed Canyonlands National Park," folder 125, CANY 36607.

31. *An Act to Provide for the Establishment of the Canyonlands National Park*; George Hartzog to Daniel Beard, April 22, 1966, memorandum; folder A 5059 Cany, box 799312, NPS-FRC-D. Because the BLM was forming new grazing management plans in the Monticello and Price Districts when Canyonlands was created, lessees were given one-year leases as opposed to the normal ten-year leases, a fact not known, and therefore, not considered by Congress when debating and drafting the park's enabling legislation. In the pursuit of fairness, the DOI treated the one-year leases as if they were ten-year leases in the legislation's renewal clause, hence the "1 + 10" name.

32. Heidi Redd, interview by author; Dugout Ranch, Utah, June 6, 2004, audiocassette; CANY 45551.

33. R. D. Nielson to Conrad Wirth, Director, NPS, April 12, 1963, memorandum; folder A 7019 Cany, box 799038, NPS-FRC-D; Thomas J. Allen, Director, SWR, NPS to Wirth, April 18, 1963, memorandum; Daniel Beard, Ass't. Director, Public Affairs, NPS to Allen, June 3, 1963, memorandum; folder 671, CANY 36607.

34. Conrad Wirth to Stewart Udall, April 15, 1963, memorandum; Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director, NPS to Ass't. Director, Public Land Management, BLM, May 6, 1963, memorandum; Udall to U. S. Army, June 3, 1963; Cyrus Vance, Secretary of the Army to Udall, June 21, 1963; Ben H. Thompson, Ass't. Director, Resource Planning, NPS to Daniel Beard, June 28, 1963, folder A 7019 Cany, box 799038, NPS-FRC-D; James N. Carpenter, Acting SWR Director, NPS to Wirth, June 7, 1963, memorandum; Thompson to Allen, June 7, 1963, memorandum; Thomp-

son to Allen, June 14, 1963, memorandum; folder 671, CANY 36607.

35. James Randall, Acting Superintendent, CNP to Jack Fertig, U.S. Army, November 18, 1964; John Kell, Division of Lands, NPS to Ass't. SWR Director, NPS, December 22, 1964, memorandum; James Carpenter to Chief, Western Office of Design and Construction (WODC), NPS, December 23, 1964, memorandum; Randall, Chief Ranger, CNP to Bates Wilson, February 4, 1965, memorandum; folder A 7019 Cany, box 799038, NPS-FRC-D.

36. Lester Binning to Bates Wilson, April 10, 1965; Wilson to Les Jacobsen, Real Estate Div., U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, April 15, 1965; Wilson to Daniel Beard, April 29, 1965, memorandum; Beard to Hartzog, May 17, 1965, memorandum; Wilson to Beard, May 27, 1965, memorandum; folder F 7019 Cany, box 799038, NPS-FRC-D.

37. "Supplemental Agreement No. 1, U. S. Army and National Park Service, Limited Temporary Special Use Permit, ABRES Safety Area, No. 2," Canyonlands; Daniel Beard to George Hartzog, 1964 (n. d.); folder 123, CANY 36607; folder A 7019 Cany, box 799038, NPS-FRC-D. The agreement between the Army and NPS contained the following provisions: (1) No more than six firings per month; (2) The joint-use area covered T 28S R 19E, sections 24, 25, 26, 35 and 36; R 28S R 20E, sections 19, 20, 21, 30 and 31; T 29S R 19E, sections 1 and 2, parts of section 11 and 12, sections 14 and 23, parts of section 24 and section 26; T 29S R 20E; section 6 and part of section 7; T 30S R 20E, parts of section 20, sections 21 and 22, sections 27 and 28, part of section 29, parts of section 32, sections 33 and 34; T 30S R 20E; part of sections 32, 33 and 34; T 31S R 20E, sections 3, 4 and 5, sections 8, 9 and 10, sections 15 and 16, sections 21 and 22 and sections 27, 28 and 29; (3) Everyone in evacuation area must evacuate; (4) The Army can enter area to ensure it is clear; (5) Army can enter area to investigate claims; (6) Existing roads must be used, helicopters only when necessary; (7) Army can post warning signs, but must notify Canyonlands superintendent; (8) Firing notices must be delivered by mail or phone ten days in advance of firing; (9) Firing notices must be twenty-four hours in advance; (10) To recover hardware in park, the Park Service must be notified; (11) Contractors to be reimbursed for lost time, travel and damaged equipment; (12) NPS personnel to be compensated for relocation costs; (13) Army responsible for damage to park resources; (14) If long search for evacuees ensues, decision made between Army and NPS to fire or not; (15) NPS not denied entrance to drop zone.

38. "District Reports," Island in the Sky, January to May, 1965; folder 121, CANY 36607.

39. Edwin Rothfuss, District Ranger, Island in the Sky, CNP to James Randall, January 15, 1965, memorandum; folder 244, CANY 36607; folders 2523 and 2524 Cany, box 792427, NPS-FRC-D. Work orders were placed in April 1965 for housing, sewer, water and power systems, gasoline storage tanks; pumps, signs and flagpoles. Work began May 5, 1965, with basic services completed by July and work continuing through final inspections in summer 1966. Cost and construction were as follows: Housing, five 10 x 50 foot trailers (Needles 4, Island 2); two 8 x 10 foot wash houses (one in each district); Sewer System (Needles, \$4,317.69, 4-4-65 to 6-30-66); Island, (\$2,865.32, 4-12-65 to 6-3-66); Gasoline Storage (2000 gallons) and Pump (Needles, \$5,114.42, 5-5-65 to 6-29-66); Island (\$4,925.08, 5-20-65 to 6-27-66); Water System (Needles—Squaw Spring, \$14,808.41, 4-12-65 to 6-30-66); Island, (\$4,087.82, n .d.); Power System (Needles, \$9,163.07; 5-2-65 to 8-30-6); Island (\$7,574.31, 5-1-65 to 8-30-67).

40. Lewis D. Anderson, Park Engineer, Mesa Verde National Park to Chief, Division of Maintenance, SWR, NPS, October 27, 1964, memorandum; folder 242, CANY 36607. The first choice for Needles District facilities at Squaw Flat was shifted four miles east to halfway between Salt Creek and the east entrance road because of its proximity to water. The former location was also exposed to blowing sand which would have impeded construction of permanent facilities, and the new location allowed better control of park access points. The first estimate for water development on the Island was \$4,900, a figure far exceeded during the lengthy search for permanent supplies. By 1967 problems with water on the Island coupled with funding issues resulted in the prioritization of Needles District development.

41. Ranger District Reports, folders 3–4, CANY 36607; Acting Chief, WODC to Daniel Beard, September 10, 1965, memorandum, folder 180, CANY 36607. NPS planners, USGS hydrologists and BLM personnel visited the Island in the Sky in June 1965 to assess its hydrology, and district rangers looked for water sources and reservoir sites throughout 1965, leading to suggestions that small water sources near Aztec Butte might support a reservoir. In 1966 road and pipeline routes in Taylor Canyon were analyzed, and drilling at Upheaval Bottom found water at 373 feet which yielded 94 gallons a minute, although the water tasted bad. Wells in Taylor Canyon also had high mineral content and would need treatment for human consumption. Plans for made in late 1965 to develop Upheaval Bottom water sources that would be piped to the Island mesa, a concept incorporated in the 1965 Canyonlands Master Plan.

42. Roger Contor, Acting Superintendent, CNP to Daniel

Beard, 1966 (n. d), memorandum; folder 346, CANY 36607.

43. Draft letter, NPS to Garkane, San Miguel, Arizona Public Service, Utah Power and Light, and Empire Electric Association, 1965 (n. d.); “Estimated Energy Requirements, Canyonlands National Park,” folder 341, CANY 36607. The “Island” name is used to reference proposed developments in the 1965 Master Plan at Grandview Point, Upheaval Bottom and Upheaval Dome, while “The Neck” references administrative facilities at that location.

44. Daniel Beard to Sanford Hill, Chief, WODC, March 12, 1965, memorandum; P.E. Smith, Chief Engineer, WODC to Beard, memorandum, July 1, 1965; J. Newell Stephens, Utah Power and Light to Ralph R. McFadden, NPS, July 27, 1966; folder 341, CANY 36607.

45. Bates Wilson to Chief Engineer, WODC, November 27, 1964, memorandum; Wilson to Chief Engineer, WODC, February 11, 1965, memorandum; folder 321, CANY 36607.

46. James Randall, Acting Superintendent, CNP to Daniel Beard, June 30, 1965, memorandum; Bates Wilson to Beard, February 14, 1966, memorandum; Wilson to Beard, March 25, 1966, memorandum; Wilson to Beard, July 19, 1966, memorandum, folder 346, CANY 36607. The Complex started with ten two-watt walkie talkies that had rechargeable batteries and extra microphones, a portable five-watt pack radio set with a headset, five-watt FM repeaters, omnidirectional pole antennas with a 6.0 db gain, and towers from twenty-one to thirty-six feet high. Solar cells were eventually added to the repeater stations to serve as back-up power sources to the battery packs.

47. “Number of Visitors Per Month—BLM Records, 1963 and 1964,” folder 157, CANY 36607.

48. “Master Plan: Canyon Rims Interpretive Area.” August 29, 1962; Library, BLM Moab District Office; “Newspaper Rock: Summary of Actions,” November 2, 1993; BLM Field Inspection, 1967; folder NRSP, Central Files, BLM-Monticello District Office. The recreation plan for the Canyon Rims included \$75,000 for the “East Rims,” (Information Center, Hatch Point Campground, Needles Overlook Viewpoint, Canyonlands and Panorama Viewpoints and Anticline Overlook); \$82,500 for the “West Rim,” (Information Center, Canyon Rims Campground, Orange Cliffs Overlook, Bagpipe Butte Overlook, Panorama Point and Isolation Point); \$37,600 for the “South Rims,” (Salt Creek Viewpoint, Beef Basin Campground and Dark Canyon Campground); and \$2.4 million to pave and grade hard surface and jeep trails. Because of

BLM's limited funds and the Park Service's interest in the West Rims area, the Windwhistle Campground, Needles Overlook, Hatch Point Campground, Canyonlands Overlook, and Anticline Overlook were the only tasks that BLM funded. Hatch Point had fourteen campsites and Windwhistle fourteen sites. By the late 1960s there were still no campsites at these locations, only picnic areas, toilets and parking. Newspaper Rock entered the Utah State Park System in 1960, then was transferred to the BLM in 1961.

49. "Land Ownership Record, Canyonlands National Park," folder L 1429 Cany, box 799312, NPS-FRC-D.

50. D. C. Harrington, Federal Highway Projects Engineer, Bureau of Public Roads (BPR) to Sanford Hill, Chief, WODC, November 13, 1964, memorandum; Hill to Ass't. Director, Design and Construction, NPS, November 25, 1964, memorandum; folder 259, CANY 36607. The BPR plan contained these projects: (1) Indian Creek Approach Road, 19.0 miles from Dugout Ranch to Squaw Flat, grading and drainage work, cost, \$800,000; (2) Squaw Flat to Junction View with bypass of Elephant Hill for passenger cars, cost, \$1,000,000; and (3) Island in the Sky mesa top, main road to Grandview Point and a spur to Upheaval Dome, cost, \$800,000.

51. "Master Plan: Canyonlands National Park," signed by P.E. Smith, Supervisor, WODC, September 9, 1965, Bates Wilson, Superintendent, CNP, September 9, 1965, and Daniel Beard, Director, SWR, October 4, 1965; folder 1, Accession #8NN-049-90-006, Region 49, Records of the BLM, Utah, Moab, NPS-NARA-D.

52. "Mission 66 Accomplishments, July 1, 1956 to June 30, 1966," folder 243, CANY 36607. The report listed the following projects for Canyonlands: water, \$237,400; sewers, \$117,500; and comfort stations, \$36,600.

53. "Master Plan, Canyonlands," 1.

54. *Ibid.*, 3.

55. *Ibid.*, 1, 3, 4.

56. *Ibid.*, 4-7.

57. Master Plan, pp. 6-15; Paul Fritz, Landscape Architect, NPS to Wilson, June 8, 1965, memorandum, folder 181, CANY 36607.

58. Volney J. Westley, Chief, Master Plan Coordination, SWR to Chief, WODC, July 29, 1965, memorandum; folder 180, CANY 36607; folder L 3417 Cany, box 700038, NPS-FRC-D; "Report," June 30, 1965, NPS Control No. I-

NPS-164, Uranium Building, folder L 1429 Cany, box 799312, NPS-FRC-D. The lease on the initial 881 square-foot Moab office in the Uranium Building cost \$1500 per year and ran from 12-1-64 to 11-30-67.

59. Press Release, NPS, December 22, 1965, folder L 2417 Cany, Box 799038, NPS-FRC-D; Bates Wilson to Daniel Beard, January 6, 1966, memorandum; folder A 8027 Cany, box 799038, NPS-FRC-D. Wilson believed the Monticello office could provide a second headquarters staffed by the Needles District head ranger and Canyonlands Complex assistant superintendent as well as an information officer for the NPS in southeast Utah, house maintenance and engineering staff for the Needles District and Natural Bridges National Monument, serve as an NPS regional research office and radio communications base. However, he also felt this action could "revive the Moab-Monticello feud," appear as pure politics to San Juan County and Utah congressmen, and would split the managerial energies of a park operating with a skeleton staff. The 560-square-foot Monticello office on South Main Street opened on May 15, 1966, and was staffed by information officer Maxine Christensen and engineer Ronald Cotton.

60. "Arches Superintendent," *Times-Independent*, September 24, 1964; folder 421, CANY 36607. Treating the pre-park planning prospectus as fact, the *T-I* outlined NPS development prospects for Canyonlands including lodges, stores, roads, campgrounds and airports. The Park Service and Senator Moss also discussed the leaks to Senator Bennett which they believed came from the NPS Southwest Region or Washington office, as well as damage control during crises, and that the Democrats should be credited more for recent political successes.

61. "Commissioners and Tourist Publicity Council to Proofread Brochure for San Juan County," San Juan County Commission, September 10, 1964, Utah State Archives; "Operation Tourism Draws Crowd," *Times-Independent*, April 15, 1965. In 1965, Owen Burnham of Intermountain Planners, representing Grand and San Juan Counties, began pushing the Park Service to reveal their plans for Canyonlands. Operation Tourism consisted of public talks and slide shows, meetings on economic strategy and information on Moab's motels, camping areas and eating establishments. The *Times-Independent* also ran many articles during this era promoting the town and region.

62. Grand County Commission, August 1, 1960, book E, p. 318; Richard A. Firmage, *A History of Grand County, Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1996); pp. 300-01, 327, 329, 332, 345-46. The Spanish Valley airport opened in 1947 and was in San Juan County. Because of the poor roads in southeast Utah and its mining wealth, in the 1950s Moab had the second highest rate of plane

ownership per capita in the nation. Yet, the airport was undersized and incapable of dealing with the larger planes and heavier traffic needed for commercial tourism. Construction of a new airport began in 1964 before Canyonlands was created. It was dedicated on April 25, 1965.

63. Folder 123, CANY 36607; "Canyonlands—America's New National Park," "Outside Interest Brings Notoriety to Colorful Canyonlands Area," "Four-Wheel Drive Tours Complete Area Visit," "Commercial Cruise Operator Makes River Accessible to All," "Colorful Names Add Interest to Nation's Newest National Park," "Park Act Made Official in Capitol by President Johnson," "Moab is Center for Utah's Greatest Scenery," "A Modern Town Ready to Serve Many Visitors," "Vast River Network—A Boater's Paradise," and "Former Moabite Beats Cataract Canyon Both Ways," *Times-Independent*, July 8, 1965 (eleven-part series that was practically the entire edition).

64. "Task Force on Southeastern Utah Roads to Include Federal Agencies," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 21, 1964; Frank Hewlett, *Salt Lake Tribune*, "Utahns Ask \$10 Million for Scenic Region Road," May 21, 1964.

65. Weston E. Hamilton, Chairman, Utah Road Commission, to Utah Governor Calvin Rampton, January 4, 1965; folder 31, Rampton Papers.

66. Stewart Udall, *The Quiet Crisis* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 176.

67. "A Study Report: Proposed Enlargement, Canyonlands National Park;" folder 516, CANY 36607; Senate Subcommittee on Park and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *An Act to Revise the Boundaries of Canyonlands National Park*, and *An Act to Create Glen Canyon National Recreation Area*, Hearings on S. 26 and S. 27., 91st Cong., 2d sess., May 5, 1970. Planning for Glen Canyon National Recreation Area focused on tourist operations for Lake Powell, not the area on the reserve's northwest fringe between the Colorado and Green Rivers and the Orange Cliffs. This region had little to do with "recreation," but was included because its oil and gas reserves would be easier to access in a recreation area than a national park. The Glen Canyon withdrawal outlined in S. 27 and introduced in 1970 had 1,151,318 acres, with the exact acreage not decided until the 1974 final legislation.

68. C. Sharp, "Differences of Opinion on Routes Develop on Inter-Agency Tour," *Times-Independent*, April 28, 1966; Daniel Beard to Henry Helland, Director, Utah State Department of Highways, November 8, 1965; folder 178, CANY 36607. Beard suggested improving existing roads,

finishing Utah Highway 95 and deleting any paved roads from the plan into the Canyonlands region, including what became known as the Canyon Country Parkway.

69. "Scenic Roads for the Golden Circle," Utah Road Commission (1965); folder 35, Rampton Papers.

70. Robert Marshall and Althea Dobbins, "Largest Roadless Areas in the United States," *The Living Wilderness* 2 (November 1936): 11–13. The study defined seventy-seven roadless areas in the lower forty-eight states—forty-eight forest and twenty-nine desert—with the "Colorado River Canyons" the largest listed at 8.89 million acres.

71. Philip Hyde, whom David Brower named the "unofficial photographer" of the Sierra Club, arrived at Arches in October 1963 under contract with the NPS to take photographs of the monument for a recreation book and to take miscellaneous shots in Canyonlands. Spending ten days in Canyonlands, Hyde incorporated this work with later photos in *Slickrock*, a book he co-authored with Edward Abbey; folder K 3019 Cany, box 799038, NPS-FRC-D.

72. Canyonlands Complex Staff Meeting Minutes (CCSSM), April 1966; folder 123, CANY 36607.

73. George Alderson, Friends of the Earth to Jeffrey Ingram, Southwest Representative, Sierra Club (SC) November 7, 1966; Stewart Brandborg, Executive Director, The Wilderness Society (TWS) to Bates Wilson, April 8, 1966; Clifton Merritt, Director, Field Services, TWS to Wilson, November 17, 1966; Rupert Cutler, Ass't. Executive Director, TWS to Ingram, March 9, 1967; folder 176, box 7, Wilderness Society Papers, Denver Public Library; Alderson to Ingram, November 7, 1966; Devereux Butcher, Editor, *National Wildlands News* to Wilson, December 10, 1966; Ingram to Butcher, September 11, 1967; Ingram to Wilson, November 22, 1967; folder 2, box 4, Sierra Club Papers, Utah State University Archives.

74. "In Utah: An Early Look at our Newest National Park," *Sunset* 135 (Oct 1965): 30–34; Royce Rollins, "It's Never Drab in Moab," *Desert Magazine* 29 (Dec 1964): 2–3; Jim Cannon, "Utah's Canyonlands," *DM* 29 (May 1965): 9–11; Patrice Manahan, "Canyonlands: Beauty Vast and Austere," *Westways* 57 (Oct 1965): 14–16, 48; Weldon Heald, "Canyonlands National Park," *Arizona Highways* 47 (June 1966): 10–11, 29–33; "Note for Photographers," *Arizona Highways* 47 (June 1966): 12–28 (photos in article include works by Josef Muench and Robert Baker); "Unlocking Canyon Country," *Sunset* 138 (May 1967): 30–34.

75. Betty Martin, "Come Feast Your Eyes on Wild Utah,"

L.A. Times, June 6, 1965; Jack Goodman, "Canyonlands to Open May 8," *New York Times*, July 25, 1966; Nelson Wadsworth, "America's Newest and Wildest Park," *National Observer*, May 3, 1965; "New National Park is for the Hardy," *Washington Post*, July 3, 1966; Fred Baker, "Land of the Roughriders," *Denver Post*, July 31, 1966; and Edward Collier, "Awesome Canyonlands: America's Newest National Park," *Chicago Tribune*, September 25, 1966.

76. J. J. Hamernik, Supervising Landscape Architect, NPS to Volney Westley, Chief, WODC, March 9, 1965, memorandum; folder 263, CANY 36607; Daniel Beard to George Hartzog, June 4, 1965, memorandum; John Kell to Daniel Beard, July 14, 1965, memorandum; folder 539, CANY 36607; Maxine Newell, "Historic Indian Creek Cattle Company Bought by Redd Ranches of San Juan County," *Times-Independent*, September 23, 1965. The NPS/BPR road surveys began in late 1964, the inspection for the Dugout Ranch to Squaw Flat road and North District Road (Island in the Sky) was in early 1965. The NPS wanted to bypass private land, but the first five miles of the Needles access road passed through private land. The Indian Creek Cattle Company owned 4,600 acres of private land, 160 acres outside Indian Creek Canyon (80 in Salt Creek and 80 at head of Cottonwood Canyon). In 1965 the company had 5,000 head of cattle, 500 acres under irrigation, 150 tons of hay (good years 1000 tons), and had federal grazing permits and state leases on 1.1 million acres. Shortly before the sale to the Redds, the Scorup & Somerville Cattle Company was jointly held by twenty-seven stockholders—five with ninety percent of the stock, twenty-two with the other ten percent. The sale to the Redds was made on September 21, 1966 for \$2 million cash.

77. Thomas Kornelis, Chief, Office of Land and Water Rights, NPS to Ass't. Director, Specialized Services, NPS, January 13, 1967, memorandum; Kornelis to George Hartzog, February 9, 1967, memorandum; folder 539, CANY 36607. A declaration of taking was scheduled for 1967 and an improved right-of-way was sold by the Redds to the NPS for \$34,945 on land outside the dam's location, with that section conveying "rights-of-way" for \$7,755.00.

78. "Visitor Use," 1965–1968; folder 158, CANY 36607.

79. Project Completion Reports: "Campground Development: fifty sites, Devil's Pocket," picnic areas for fifteen camp sites, garbage cans, toilets, trail development," 1966, \$1,360; "Completion Report, Campground Development, fifty sites, Island in the Sky, General grounds," fifty picnic tables and fire places, 1966, \$3,499; "Campground Development, Squaw Flat, sixty sites, Needles," General ground

work, tables, fireplaces, 1966, \$4,037.86; "Reconstruct Existing Jeep Trail, Elephant Hill to Chesler Park and Junction of Rivers," 1967, \$17,873.27; "Squaw Springs Development, Signs, Markers, Flag Pole," June 1967; "Neck Development, Signs, Markers, Flag Pole," June 1967; "Pit Toilets, Various Campground and Picnic Areas," 14 toilets, October 1967, \$5,172.96; "Construct and Improve Portions of Access Road, Dugout Ranch to Squaw Flat, and from North Boundary to Grandview Point and Upheaval Dome," \$35,009.92, August 1967; "Reconstruct Existing Jeep Trails, White Rim, Salt Creek, Butler and Chesler Canyons," \$19,902.96, June 1968; "The Neck Development, Signs, Markers, Flagpole, Etc.," June 1967, \$5,990.07 (thirty-four signs); "Squaw Springs Development, Signs, Markers, Flagpoles," \$6,205, June 1967 (twenty-five signs); "Needles District, Construct Druid Arch Loop Trail," \$19,843.00 (includes mining claim investigation); folders D 2523 Cany and D 2623 Cany, box 792417; NPS-FRC-D.

80. Assistant Chief, I and RM, CNP to Chief, Interpretation and Visitor Services, SWR, NPS, January 26, 1967, memorandum; Bates Wilson to Daniel Beard, June 4, 1965, memorandum; Chief, Editorial Section, Branch of Publications, NPS to Wilson, September 21, 1967, memorandum; folder K 3819 Cany, box 799038, NPS-FRC-D. Canyonlands National Park contacted the USGS in November 1964 to ask if topographic maps could be made for the park. They were told the best available map was found in the 1962 pamphlet prepared by the Department of the Interior for Congress during the legislative debate over creating the park. By Spring 1965 the park had made mimeographed brochures that remained their main handout until GPO brochures were printed in September 1967.

81. Folder N 90 Cany, box 799038 Cany, NPS-FRC-D. The park had the following literature for sale in 1965–66:

(1) *Arizona Highways*; (2) Auto Tour Folders; (3) 1000 Desert Wildflowers; (4) *Exploration of the Colorado River and its Canyons*; (5) *Peterson Field Guide to Mammals; Rocks and Minerals and Western Birds*; (6) Film Mailers, thirty-six and twenty exposures; (7) *Geologic History at a Glance*; (8) *Geologic Time Sheet*; (9) *Golden Guides to Fossils; Rocks and Minerals and the Southwest*; (10) Magic Pac—slides; (11) Maps—USGS guide; (12) Map, Moab, Utah and Colorado; (13) Miniature Card Packs; (14) *National Parks and Monuments of Utah*; (15) *Natural History of the Southwest*; (16) *Poisonous Dwellers*; (17) *Prehistoric Indians of the Southwest*; (18) *Western Indians Arts and Crafts*; (19) *Standing Up Country*; (20) William Tilden's *National Parks*; (21) *Utah Place Names*, and (22) *Utah, the Incredible Land*. Gross sales at all three park units for 1965 totaled \$5,684.35.

82. Bates Wilson to Daniel Beard, March 10, 1966, memorandum; "Concessionaire Application Sheets," Mitchell M. Williams, Kent Frost, and Warren G. "Tex" McClatchy, March 18–19, 1965; Wilson to Frost, May 21, 1965; Beard to Wilson, May 25, 1965, memorandum; folder C 3823 Cany, box 799038, NPS-FRC-D.

83. Roger Contor, Acting Supt., CNP to Chief, Concessions, WASO, NPS, October 25, 1967, memorandum; E.W. Watkins, Acting Director, SWR to George Hartzog, November 1, 1967, memorandum; Edward Hummel, Ass't. Director, NPS to Daniel Beard, November 21, 1967, memorandum; folder 3823, Cany, box 799038, NPS-FRC-D.

84. "Study Report: Proposed Enlargement Canyonlands," folder 516, CANY 36607. Parkway bills in the House and Senate differed concerning routes for the main parkway, the number of spur roads and methods of funding, but all requested money to study the basic concept and targeted making the "Golden Circle" more accessible.

85. "Resolution—Canyonlands National Park—Boundary Revisions," National Parks Advisory Board, April 19, 1967; Stewart Udall to Congress, June 26, 1968; folder 673, CANY 36607.

86. "Study Report: Proposed Enlargement Canyonlands," folder 516, CANY 36607. The following areas with corresponding acreages were considered for expansion: (1) Horseshoe Canyon, 3,178 federal, 0 state and private, 3,178 total; (2) Maze, 44,755 federal, 4,478 state and 0 private, 49,233 total; (3) North Unit (Island in the Sky), 23,022 federal and 8,325 state (4,562 Dead Horse Point), 31,347 total; (4) Lavender Canyon, 10,594 federal, 1,278 state and 80 private, 11,952 total; (5) West Side, 113,417 federal, 14,639 state and 0 private, 128,056 total.

87. "Study Report: Proposed Enlargement Canyonlands," folder 516, CANY 36607. Park development plans included the following designs: (1) Horseshoe Canyon—contact station, trails and picnic area; (2) French Spring—district headquarters, visitor center, campground, campfire circle, staff residence, maintenance facilities, lodging, restaurant, market and jeep base; (3) Waterhole Flat—contact station, campground and a jeep trail base; (4) Dead Horse Point—visitor contact station, interpretive exhibits, lunch area and trails.

88. Roger Contor to Owen Burnham, Intermountain Planners, October 23, 1967; folder 181, CANY 36607. Federal agencies were told in 1967 of a budget freeze on new contracts. Burnham was contracted by San Juan and Grand counties to come up with plans for economic development in the region, but he was frustrated in obtaining planning information on Canyonlands, feeding

local skepticism toward the National Park Service and federal government.

89. Gregory Crampton, *Standing Up Country: The Canyon Lands of Utah* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1964 [Amon Carter Museum]) By writing the first broad history of Utah's canyon country, Crampton, a history professor at the University of Utah, created historiographical context for the region that included the land. This large format book published by Alfred Knopf had black and white and color photographs, and was the first view many readers had of southeast Utah. The Amon Carter exhibit was the idea of Crampton, Knopf and museum director Douglas Wilder who saw it as a vehicle for promoting the new museum. The exhibit included the work of Utah artist Lynn Fausett and others, and included showings in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Salt Lake City.

90. January 29, 1958, journals 8–9, box 4; August 13, 1959; journal 8, box 4; February 21, 1961, journal 11, box 4; July 14, 1965, journal 12, box 4; Edward Abbey Personal Journals, Edward Abbey Papers, University of Arizona Special Collections. Because his fiction-writing career was stagnant, by 1958–1959 Abbey began to consider names for a memoir-type book compiled from his journals. The names he considered in the ensuing years were as follows: "Solitude: Pages from a Desert Journal;" "Canyon Country: A Bibliography (Or Solitaire);" "Solitaire in the Desert;" "Solitaire in the Wilderness;" "A Season in Paradise;" "Wind, Sand and Stars;" "Dry Elysium;" "Solitaire: The Desert Game;" "Reveries of a Solitary Wanderer;" "Rock, Sun & Juniper;" "Sandstone and Stars;" "The Stars and the Hoodoo Rock;" "The Balanced Rock;" "Red Dust of Utah;" "Crazy Country;" and "Wind of the Desert;" First published in hard cover by McGraw-Hill in 1968, *Desert Solitaire* was reprinted in paperback by Simon and Schuster in 1970, Ballantine in 1971, Peregrine Books in 1981 and the University of Arizona Press in 1988.

91. Horace Albright to Bates Wilson, March 28, 1970, Bates Wilson Collection, Wilson Family Papers. Albright was eighty years old and had not yet visited Canyonlands Park when he wrote Bates Wilson. He congratulated Wilson for his "great job of staying at Canyonlands," adding that he was "entirely out of sympathy with the policy of constant changes of men and what I regard as the downgrading of park superintendents."

92. Chief, Division of New Area Studies and Master Planning, NPS to Chief, Office of Resource Planning, SSC-NPS, January 4, 1968, memorandum; folder 517, CANY 36607; Jeffrey Ingram, Sierra Club to Devereaux Butcher, *National Wildland News*, September 11, 1967; "Recommendations for Changes in Master Plan After Field Studies in Needles,"

[Attachment—"Canyonlands National Park—Roads and Development," March 11, 1968], in Bates Wilson to Frank F. Kowski, Director, SWR, NPS, March 26, 1968, memorandum; Wilson to Staff, CNP, April 9, 1968, memorandum, folder 181, CANY 36607.

93. "Canyonlands Road Project Deferred," NPS (1968); Jeffrey Ingram to Bates Wilson, May 15, 1968; Ingram to George Hartzog, May 19, 1968; George Alderson to Wilson, August 14, 1968; Mitch Williams, Tag-a-Long Tours to Ingram, September 5, 1968; Ingram to Robert Terrill, Supervisor, Manti-La Sal National Forest, November 5, 1968; San Juan County Commission to Frank Moss, October 16, 1968; Moss to Marion Hazleton, San Juan County Commission, October 28, 1968; Terrill to Ingram, Nov 25, 1968; folder 2, box 4, Sierra Club Papers; folder 673, CANY 36607 (Letters found in both collections).

94. "Status Report on Interpretive Planning Projects and Research in Arches National Monument, Natural Bridges National Monument and Canyonlands National Park," 1965; folder N 22 Cany, box 799039, NPS-FRC-D; folder N 18 Cany, box 799039; NPS-FRC-D. Academic science's first contact with Canyonlands' staff came in a December 10, 1964, letter from Stanley Welsh, associate professor of biology at BYU to Bates Wilson. Welsh sent Wilson a list of plants he found in Needles and said he planned to return to the White Rim and Maze with some colleagues.

95. "Research Advisory Board: Canyonlands National Park, Arches and Natural Bridges National Monuments," Bates Wilson to Ken Hamblin, Research Advisory Board, Canyonlands Complex, October 1, 1968; "Superintendent's Annual Research Report, Natural Sciences," Canyonlands National Park, Arches and Natural Bridges National Monuments," January 12, 1968; "Superintendent's Annual Research Report, Natural Sciences, Canyonlands National Park, Arches and Natural Bridges National Monuments," January 17, 1969; folder 768, CANY 36607; David Armstrong, "Preliminary Observations on Mammalian Faunal Relationships, Canyonlands National Park, Utah," *Journal of Colorado and Wyoming Academy Arts and Sciences* 7 (5): 74–75; Donald L. Baars, "Geology of the Canyonlands," *Four Corners Geological Society Guidebook* 6 (Durango, Colorado: Four Corners Geological Society, 1971): 28–48; Paul B. Holden, Distribution, Abundance and Life History of the Fishes of the Upper Colorado River Basin, Ph. D. diss., Utah State University, 1973, Floyd W. Sharrock and Melvin Aikens, "An Archaeological Survey of Canyonlands National Park, University of Utah Anthropological Papers, 12 (83): 53–84.

96. Kimball Harper, professor of botany, University of Utah to Bates Wilson, February 9, 1966; James Randall to

Harper, March 14, 1966; Harper to Randall, October 7, 1966; Harper to Roger Contor, November 10, 1966; Edward Kleiner to Contor, March 17, 1967; Harper to Contor, May 31, 1967; folder 753, CANY 36607.

97. Edward Kleiner to Bates Wilson, May 16, 1968; R. W. Allin to Frank Kowski, October 18, 1968, memorandum; folder 753, CANY 36607; Edward Kleiner, "Comparative Study of Grasslands," Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1968; Edward Kleiner and Kimball Harper, "Environment and Community Organization in Grasslands of Canyonlands National Park," *Ecology* 53 (1972): 229–309; Kleiner and Harper, "Soil Properties in Relation to Cryptogamic Groundcover in Canyonlands National Park," *Journal of Range Management* 30 (3): 202–05; Kleiner and Harper, "Occurrence of Four Major Perennial Grasses in Relation to Edaphic Factors in a Pristine Community," *Journal of Range Management* 30 (4) 286–89. Allin first suggested that Virginia Park be a research reserve.

98. Frank Moss to Marion Hazleton, October 28, 1968; Sierra Club to Membership, November 13, 1968 [Letter attacking Moss for his attacks on conservationists]; Terrill to Ingram, Nov 25, 1968; folder 2, box 4, Sierra Club Papers; Frank Moss, "Parks are For the People," 90th Cong., 2d sess., *Congressional Record* (August 1, 1968): 24616–620; Moss to George Hartzog, June 10, 1969; folder 266, CANY 36607.

99. Wallace Bennett to George Hartzog, March 27, 1969; Ass't. Director, NPS, to Moss, 1969 (n. d.); folder D 30 Cany, box 782514, NPS-FRC-D.

100. Frank Moss to George Hartzog, June 10, 1969; Russell Train, Acting Secretary of the Interior to Moss, August 28, 1969; folder 266, CANY 36607; Ass't. Director, NPS to Moss, 1969 (n. d.); Press Release, Department of Interior, "Udall Orders Cutbacks in National Park Service Operations," September 20, 1968; folder 2, box 16, Ramp-ton Papers; "Press Release, White House," September 4, 1969, excerpt, "Statement by the President," folder 246, CANY 36607. Nixon said federal agencies must reduce new contracts for construction by seventy-five percent.

101. Appendix I—"Units of the National Park System," in Dwight F. Rettie, *Our National Park System: Caring for America's Greatest Natural and Historic Treasures* (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), pp. 227–38. New park units were as follows: Parks—Biscayne (1968), Guadalupe Mountains (1966), North Cascades (1968), Redwood (1968), Arches (1971), and Capitol Reef (1971); Monuments—Agate Fossil Beds (1965), Alibates Flint Quarries (1965), Buck Island Reef (1961), Florissant Fossil Beds (1969), Fossil Butte (1972), Hohokam Pima (1972), and Russell Cave (1961).

102. "Comparative Resources of National Park System," Appendix 6—I, Rettie, *National Park System*, pp. 255–63.

103. "Bituminous Stabilized Base Project," folder D 52 Cany, box 720153, NPS-FRC-D; Maintenance Supervisor, CNP to Frank Kowski; folder 65, CANY 36607. The final road inspection took place on December 10, 1967.

104. "Memorandum of Agreement Among State Road Commission of Utah, the San Juan County Commission and the United States Related to the Improvement and Maintenance of an Entrance Road to Canyonlands National Park," folder 265, CANY 36607; Gayle Manges, Solicitor, NPS to SWR Director, NPS, March 1, 1968, memorandum; folder W 1823 Cany, box 799312, NPS-FRC-D; Bates Wilson to Frank Kowski, April 9, 1970, memorandum; "Memorandum of Agreement Among the State Road Commission of Utah and San Juan County Commission and the United States Relating to the Improvement and Maintenance of An Entrance Road into Canyonlands National Park," October 26, 1971; folder 85, CANY 36607. Under the 1968 agreement among the NPS, Utah and San Juan County, the cost for the project was estimated at \$217,000. The NPS was to pay \$100,000, the state \$50,000, and San Juan County \$67,000, with the NPS given a 200-foot right-of-way and freedom to build infrastructure. The second agreement superseded the 1968 one and divided \$150,000 in annual maintenance costs evenly between the parties.

105. D. C. Harrington to Sanford Hill, November 13, 1964; Hill to Ass't. Director, Design and Construction, NPS, November 25, 1964; folder 259, CANY 36607. Although transportation planners focused on access roads to the Needles and Island Districts, they also looked at routes in the Needles backcountry that became controversial, Squaw Flat to Confluence via Big Spring Canyon and Devil's Lane to Chesler Park, and at old jeep routes.

106. *Act to Establish a National Policy for the Environment, to Provide for the Establishment of a Council on Environmental Quality, and for other purposes, U.S. Statutes at Large* 90 (1970): 852–56.

107. "Canyonlands National Park, Chronology of Squaw Flat to Confluence Overlook Road Project," in Acting Director, NPS (no name) to John McComb, Sierra Club, May 2, 1972; folder D 30 Cany, box 792575, NPS-FRC-D.

108. "Canyonlands National Park, Chronology," Wilson to Moss, January 12, 1972; Edmund J. Clancy, Landscape Architect, Western Service Center (WSC), NPS to Director, WODC, May 22, 1970; "BPR Field Review, Needles Route 5, Canyonlands National Park, Project No. 5 92,"

folder D 30 Cany, box 792575, NPS-FRC-D.

109. "Archaeological Inspection of Proposed Road from Squaw Flat to Confluence Overlook, Canyonlands National Park," J. P. Marwitt, Ass't. Director of Archaeological Research, University of Utah to Paul J. F. Schumaker, WSC, October 20, 1970; Landscape Architect Edmund J. Clancy, WSC to Director, WSC, May 22, 1970, memorandum; "Bureau of Public Roads, Field Review, Needles Road Route 5, Cany NP, Project No. 5 (2)," D. C. Harrington, BPR to Glenn O. Hendrix, WSC, April 27, 1971; Acting Chief, Environmental Planning and Design, WSC to Director, SWR, October 6, 1971, memorandum: folder D 30 Cany Vol. 6, 1-1-70 to 6-30-72, box 792575, NPS-FRC-D; folder F 30 Cany Vol. 6, box 792575, NPS-FRC-D. The road was to begin at Station 853+38.44, turn west to Squaw Flat and then northwest to a bridge site over Big Spring Canyon at Station 1157+00.

110. John McComb to George Hartzog, December 3, 1971; Philip Iversen, Acting Director, Midwest Region (MWR), NPS to McComb, December 9, 1971; folder D 30 Cany, box 792575, NPS-FRC-D.

111. "Draft Environmental Statement: Proposed Squaw Flat to Confluence Overlook Road," prepared by Canyonlands National Park," 13 pp.; Roger J. Contor, Director, MWR to Bates Wilson, February 3, 1972, memorandum; folder F 30 Cany, vol. 6, box 792575, NPS-FRC-D. Part C of Section 102 in NEPA called for a "detailed statement by responsible officials on federal actions significantly affecting the environment." It would take several years for the NPS to understand and incorporate the requirements of the new act into agency operations.

112. John McComb to George Hartzog, December 3, 1971; Roger J. Contor to Bates Wilson, Feb 3, 1972, memorandum; Philip R. Iverson, Acting Director, MWR to Director, NPS, March 3, 1972; McComb to Hartzog, March 31, 1972; Acting Director, NPS to John McComb, May 2, 1972; "Canyonlands National Park, Chronology of Squaw Flat to Confluence Overlook Road Project," folder D 30 Cany, Vol. 6, box 79257, NPS-FRC-D; "Briefing Statement—Confluence Overlook Road—Canyonlands National Park," folder 286, CANY 36607.

113. Clem Church to Calvin Black, San Juan Cty. Commission, 22 April, 1971; folder 8, box 2, Rampton Papers.

114. The parkway system was broken into these parts by the U.S. Department of Transportation: (1) Glen Canyon City to Forty Mile Ridge with spur to marina on Padre Bay; (2) Forty Mile Ridge to Hole in the Rock; (3) Forty Mile Ridge to Escalante; (4) Forty Mile Ridge to Bullfrog Basin; (5) Bullfrog Basin to Boulder City; (6) The Post to

Baker Ranch; (7) Bullfrog Marina to Trachyte Junction; (8) Trachyte Junction to Natural Bridges; (9) Natural Bridges to Halls Crossing; (10) Natural Bridges to Indian Creek (Kigalia Highway concept); (11) Indian Creek to Moab via Hart and Hatch Points and Colorado River; (12) Hite to Moab on the Millard Benches, across the Green River to Dead Horse Point; and (13) Temple Mountain Junction to French Springs.

115. Calvin Black, San Juan Cty. Commission to George Hartzog, January 18, 1971; folder 286, CANY 36607; Letter to the Editor, *Times-Independent*, 1 July, 1971.

116. "Canyonlands National Park, Utah;" attached to Roger Contor to Chief, New Areas Studies and Master Planning, NPS, February 5, 1967, memorandum; John E. Ritchie, Chief, Office of Land and Water Rights, SSC-NPS to Chief, Office of Resource Planning, SSC-NPS, June 5, 1969, memorandum; folder 517, CANY 36607; John W. Bright, Chief, Division of Park Planning, NPS to Chief, Office of Resource Planning, SSC-NPS, May 15, 1969, memorandum; Richard Griswold, Acting Chief, Division of Legislation, NPS, February 28, 1971, memorandum; folder 673, CANY 36607.

117. Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs: *Hearings on S. 26 to Enlarge Canyonlands National Park and S. 27 to Create Glen Canyon National Recreation Area*, 92nd Cong, 1st sess. 1970; House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 92nd Congress; 1st sess. on H. R. 9053, *To Establish the Arches National Park and the Capitol Reef National Park, and to Revise the Boundaries of the Canyonlands National Park*, June 14–15, 1971; *An act to revise the boundaries of Canyonlands National Park in the State of Utah*, *Public Statutes at Large* 85 (1972): 421.

Changing Directions: Canyonlands in the Age of Environmentalism

.....

.....

.....

BATES WILSON'S 1972 RETIREMENT marked the end of Canyonlands National Park's long creation story and the start of an era in which changes in federal land use policies and American culture dramatically altered the park's direction. Important environmental legislation, conservationism's evolution into environmentalism, and the romantic ethos attached to canyon country by urban society merged with doubts at the National Park Service over Canyonlands' Mission-66 inspired Master Plan to create a much different climate in the 1970s than had existed the decade before. Having been given a reprieve from implementing the plan by financial and logistical issues, the NPS reassessed Canyonlands' future as Utah's political and economic leaders clamored for the agency to develop the park they felt had been promised during its creation and early planning efforts, and environmentalists began to wield their increased cultural and political power.

The remainder of the 1970s involved redefining the park's mission amidst this

new political reality while keeping an underdeveloped and under funded park operational. Facing a litany of legal mandates alongside pressures from politicians, environmentalists and business interests, superintendents Robert Kerr and Pete Parry led Canyonlands National Park through a minefield of public hearings, correspondence campaigns and bureaucratic tasks. Seeking to find a balance between development, public access and wilderness in a new park prospectus, the Park Service believed the 1978 General Management Plan was a fair compromise between the "backpackers" and "road builders." However, the GMP's democratic processes were dominated by preservation interests and resulted in a plan that angered Utahns from the governor's office to southeast Utah. This resulted in San Juan County "breaking diplomatic relations" with the Park Service and the resignation of Moab *Times-Independent* publisher Sam Taylor from the NPS Regional Advisory Board. Canyonlands found its new mission and identity, but at a high political cost.¹

Life after Bates Wilson: Continuing to build a national park

Bates Wilson's retirement after twenty-three years as the face of the Park Service in southeast Utah was cause for concern. However, the transition to Robert Kerr's regime was smooth even though the new superintendent did not know Canyonlands or southeast Utah. "I hadn't had time for a visit to the park or a talk with Bates," said Kerr. "My orientation took place after I got there the first part of July 1972." Because Wilson's appointment as the NPS Utah State Director had caused him to split time after 1967 between Moab and Salt Lake City, many administrative tasks had long been performed by park staff. Additionally, Wilson's managerial style, characterized by personal relationships and field work, was not well-suited to train a successor for the bureaucratic chores that came to dominate the park's future. According to his son Tug Wilson, Bates would

Figure 59: Robert Kerr, Superintendent, Canyonlands National Park, 1972–75. C 36552.48, SEUG Photographic Archives.



also have struggled to accept the coming era's complex compliance issues and confrontational politics. Referring to the future split between the "off-road people" and "environmental groups" ready to sue at a moment's notice, Tug said, "My father would have found that difficult. It's not the gentlemanly way to do business, in his view. There are certain compromises that have to be made and you shouldn't have to make them in a courtroom or under the threat of a lawsuit."²

Kerr was also cast in the tough role of following an icon. "Bates deserves all the credit for the establishment of the park," said Kerr, who, when based in Washington, D.C., had seen Wilson promote the Canyonlands idea. However, Kerr said he was not compared to Wilson nor did his predecessor intrude upon the park planning processes that followed. "I went about my business as superintendent and gave Bates his due. He was there to answer questions and introduce me to people, but never talked to me about development. When I wanted help, I could call him on the phone or go up and talk to him." Enjoying life as a farmer and rancher, Wilson was consulted over the prospective Dewey Dam on the Colorado River that would have affected regional ecology and Arches National Park, but he largely stayed out of politics until his death in 1983.³

Kerr's previous post at Zion National Park did expose him to the state's Mormon culture and provided a means to compare southwest and southeast Utah. "Mormons near Zion and around Utah, treat it as their park managed by the Park Service," he claimed, but most southeast Utahns "haven't really grown to know Canyonlands that well as a national park."⁴ This was due in part to contrasts between the accessible, classically monumental parks of southwest Utah, discovered and developed with the help of locals, and the vast canyon country wilderness of southeast Utah, promoted by outsiders. Also grounded in debates over states' rights, the conflict between urban and rural

values, and the gap between Mormons and non-Mormons, the politics of Canyonlands provided “evidence” to skeptics of big government and fueled religious and politically-laced conspiracy theories. Additionally, although Canyonlands was prioritized over Arches and Natural Bridges in terms of funding, Grand County saw Arches as its park and San Juan County had an affinity for Natural Bridges, with Canyonlands the often unappreciated entity in-between.

Evidence that Canyonlands’ grace period was over came during disputes emanating from the 1971 expansion. Whereas exchanges between the U.S. and Utah over waterways and school trust lands from the 1964 withdrawal went smoothly, transfers over the new additions was a fight that involved Interior, the state of Utah, environmentalists and local citizens. Based in the 120-day provision for state/federal exchanges in Canyonlands’ founding act, the transfer process became problematic in 1972 when the Utah Land Board changed its land selections. Originally offering 5,633.98 acres in Canyonlands and the Green River Missile Base site for 3,247.32 acres in Castle Valley and future considerations, the state proposed in 1973 to merge state lands in the park and missile base with acreage in Capitol Reef (647.23) and Natural Bridges (360.0) for a larger area in Castle Valley (4,607.32).⁵ In 1974, Castle Valley residents, worried about mining activity or real estate development, protested the plan, the BLM suggested alternatives that the Utah Land Board refused, the Sierra Club threatened to sue if an EIS was not done, and public hearings were held in Moab and Salt Lake City. Whereas a 1972 BLM appraisal had resulted in approximately equal valuation on offered and selected lands, by including subsurface values in another appraisal of Canyonlands’ school sections, state selections were revalued at \$310,000 less than what was offered by the Park Service. Tough negotiations followed, new appraisals narrowed the gap and matters were complicated further by additions to state selections in Westwater Canyon and near the Slick Rock Bike Trail out-



Figure 60: Kirk's Cabin, Upper Salt Creek, C36717.45, SEUG Photographic Archives. This small cabin built in the 1880s was used for many years as a shelter by cowboys from the Scorp and Somerville and Indian Creek outfits.

side Moab. Utah Governor Calvin Rampton approved a transfer in October 1975 that included an additional \$185,607 worth of BLM lands to be chosen later.⁶

Equally difficult was the battle over the expanded park's one private inholding: eighty acres in Upper Salt Creek Canyon owned by Robert and Heidi Redd of Dugout Ranch. Allowed \$16,000 in the 1971 expansion act to cover the appraisal and purchase of inholdings, the NPS believed the negotiations would be amicable despite earlier struggles with the Redds over road right-of-ways. Described as “good neighbors” by Wilson, the Redds and their Indian Creek Cattle Company had been cooperative over the grazing phase-out and cattle trespass issues, and the purchase seemed straightforward. However, the Redds’ reputation for hard bargaining combined with creative economic rationale and anti-federal sentiments to create an impasse which revealed the schism between the Park Service and rural Utah. After the property was appraised by the NPS in Spring 1972 for \$7,923 (\$100 per acre), the Redds countered with \$160,000 (\$2,000 per acre), claiming they would settle for \$80,000 (\$1,000 per acre). In response to the NPS appraiser who claimed that undeveloped grazing land was worth less than \$50 per acre and his authorized ceiling was \$10,000, Robert Redd said that

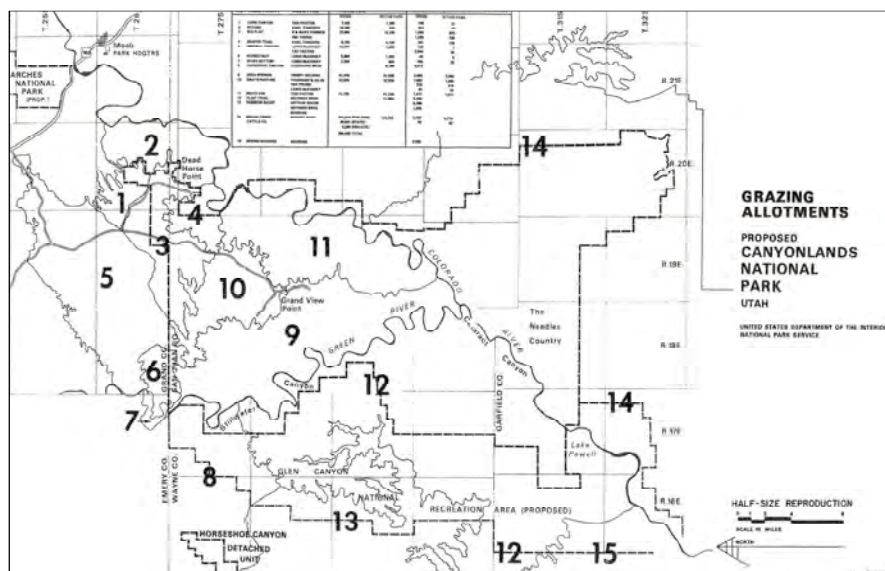
scenic qualities greatly increased the land's value and he planned on using the plot, which included the historic Kirk Cabin, for a pack horse tour base camp. Redd offered to sell a scenic easement at \$200 per acre that would disallow new structures, but permit him use of existing facilities and allow access through the park. Refused because of the price and National Park Service policies over "non-conforming" uses, Redd appealed to Frank Moss and an unlikely ally, the Sierra Club, claiming that he deserved a higher price than was offered and should have the right to operate a pack horse tour concession in Salt Creek Canyon.⁷

Claiming they were authorized by the acts creating and expanding Canyonlands as well as the Land and Water Conservation Act of 1965, the NPS filed condemnation papers in March 1974 to obtain a monetary judgment on all rights to the property. Not questioning the taking's legality, the Redds disagreed with the offered price. Between the filing and December 1975 trial in Salt Lake City, the Park Service raised its offer to \$24,000 by including mineral and water rights in the appraisal.⁸ On December 2, 1975, one day before the trial, the Redds told the U.S. Solicitor they would accept \$40,000, a figure lowered to \$37,500 during a trial at which they were seeking \$160,000. Both offers were refused. U.S. District Court Judge William Ritter sustained all objections by the defense, overruled all by the U.S., told the court that the "Department of the Interior was not very trustworthy," and gave dubious instructions on determining appraisal values in condemnation cases. Appraisals were normally calculated from what properties were worth when a legal taking was executed, not from values based

on future plans. The jury awarded \$94,560 to the Redds, with interest and overhead totaling over \$100,000. Interior recommended an appeal on legal grounds or if there was a "prospect a lower award can ultimately be obtained," but the Park Service decided to accept the loss and move on.⁹ Although the NPS was legally correct on its appraisal rationale, better political sense and a willingness to negotiate before or during the trial would have saved the agency money and helped with public relations.

Due to Wilson's public relations skills, a park staff tolerant of ranching culture, and a phase-out period that allowed the development of alternative grazing strategies, relations between the NPS and ranchers were good. Other than minor instances of animal trespass or ranchers grazing animals longer than permitted, there were few problems. Based on the 1964 act, the following allotments were terminated on June 30, 1975: Upper Salt Creek, Lower Salt Creek, Squaw Flat and Butler Flat held by the Indian Creek Cattle Company for 1,000 cattle Animal Unit Months (AUMs); Flint Trail, Moynier and Sons, 755 sheep AUMs; Horseshoe Canyon,

Figure 61: "Grazing Allotments, Proposed Canyonlands National Park, Utah." NPS-TIC 164/20003. This map was created in the 1960s in anticipation of park expansion and outlined the major grazing zones in the region. Because grazing in the original Canyonlands National Park created in 1964 was phased out by 1975, the zones that affected park lands after the 1971 expansion were 8, 12, 13, 15 on the west side and 14 on the east.



Chuchuru Brothers, 90 sheep AUMs; Soda Springs, Emery Holman, 2,065 sheep AUMs; White Rim, Tad Paxton, 1,071 sheep AUMs; Gray's Pasture, Ina Young, 250 sheep AUMs and Fourier and Giles, 1,083 sheep AUMs; Big Flat, Ina Young and Raymond Farmer, 6,983 cattle AUMs; and Shafer Trail, Karl Tangren, 161 cattle AUMs. After 1969, Chesler Park was not grazed because of its biological fragility and Cataract Canyon because it was bighorn sheep habitat.¹⁰

Post-expansion grazing issues centered on phasing-out the nineteen allottees holding permits for 210 AUMs, adding ranger patrols and fencing. The Park Service faced the same dilemma as in 1964 when legislative intent did not match the BLM permit system's expirations. Considering one, ten and twenty-five year phase-out periods, the NPS decided on "Alternative B" that would eliminate grazing from the park by November 12, 1982. Contrasting the economic and political rationale used to explain the 1964 phase-out, the 1974 "Environmental Assessment of Proposed Grazing Phase-Out" combined politics, philosophy and science with knowledge of Canyonlands as a resource. Although concerned about economics and the "alienation of local people against the park," the EA focused on ecology, cryptobiotic soils, black-brush damage and revegetation, grazing and invasive flora, and competition between domestic livestock and native fauna. The EA resulted in a "Finding of No Significant Impact" (FONSI) and did not call for an EIS.¹¹

The extractive industry remained a concern despite few patented claims or active operations in the park. By the mid-1970s there were thirteen patented oil and gas leases in Canyonlands; ten in the Island in the Sky District and three in the Needles District as well as two uranium leases, one each in the Island and Needles. Two oil wells in Gray's Pasture were the only active operations and had leases that soon expired.¹² Aside from incidents in the mid-1960s when the authority of Canyonlands and the NPS was being tested, the park experienced



Figure 62: Grazing and fencing in Lockhart Canyon. Photographs by the author.

few illegal incursions. In 1973, an oil company built a road from its claim in Lockhart Canyon on BLM land across park land to the Colorado River, and when uranium prices rose in 1975–76, there was some illegal uranium exploration. The most dramatic incident occurred in July 1976 when Robert Johnson of Moab was killed in a dynamite blast while illegally working uranium claims in the Island in the Sky. Four years later, two Moab men were cited and prosecuted for illegally working the Copper Blossom claims in Musselman Canyon in the Island.¹³ However, such incidents were the exception as legal deterrents and the area's economic marginality discouraged most activity.

Expansion also meant the National Park Service had to revise Canyonlands' Master Plan as it improved park infrastructure. Although he was among those at the NPS who believed park plans should be "way scaled back," Kerr believed that better facilities and more staff were needed



Figure 63: Island in the Sky Ranger Station, 1971. C 40911.171, SEUG Photographic Archives. Although Canyonlands' trailers were periodically upgraded, this "visitor center" represented the primitive infrastructure that plagued the park until the late 1980s and early 1990s.

for visitor services, interpretation, resource protection and administration, an assertion supported in the agency's 1973 Operations Evaluation Report on Canyonlands. Despite high staff turnover and thin coverage of the park, the report said "morale is fairly high" and there was an "efficiency of operations" that served the public well. However, it noted "critical deficiencies in employee housing, utility systems, and visitor use facilities," negative environmental impacts on the rivers, and shortcomings in resource management and interpretation. Believing the park's newness was the main problem, the report concluded that more funding was needed to make the park "up-to-standard." Lobbied by forces led by Senator Moss who wanted to make Canyonlands a user-friendly park and environmentalists who wanted it to stay primitive, Park Service administrators faced the conundrum of finding a median between these contrary visions while paying heed to evolving NPS notions of its own mission and Canyonlands as a resource.¹⁴

Headquarters moved in October 1972 from offices in the Uranium Building and Moab's post office to a building shared with the BLM and U.S. Forest Service.¹⁵ With scant fiscal resources, the Canyonlands Complex could barely address its basic infrastructure. The only

major projects undertaken from 1972 to 1974 were administrative facilities at the Maze District and the Squaw Flat-to-Confluence Road. Canyonlands was even less developed than Arches or Natural Bridges National Monuments. Of the complex's 132 structures which included two visitor centers, two permanent residential housing, three temporary housing complexes and five maintenance yards (two permanent and three temporary), no permanent buildings were located in Canyonlands. Built with Mission 66 monies, both permanent visitor centers and housing complexes were at Arches and Natural Bridges. The only commercial electric power went to the Arches National Park headquarters and the complex's central maintenance building located nearby. All other structures were powered by 9kw to 60 kw generators. Canyonlands' infrastructure in the mid-1970s consisted of seventy-one campground and picnic sites, the East Entrance Road, the Maze District administrative facilities at Hans Flat, backcountry roads and trails and the Squaw Flat-to-Confluence Road to Big Spring Canyon. Contact stations and housing were in old government trailers supported by sub par physical plants. Roads outside the East Entrance Road were so bad that according to Kerr, "if it rained you were taking your life into your hands to drive them." Some rangers enjoyed the combination of rustic facilities and beautiful settings, but crude living conditions and long distances from schools and services led to a high turnover rate and dearth of transfers to the park by high GS-grade personnel. By the mid-1970s, Canyonlands' average staff grade level was second lowest in the NPS system above only Fossil Buttes National Monument.¹⁶

The main limit on development was water. Although USGS and NPS surveys found water sources, their size, depth, quality or location underscored the 1965 Master Plan's impracticality. The shallow Salt Creek aquifer and water-rich Permian strata made water easier to find near the Needles, but finding steady supplies near administrative and residential facilities was

a problem, especially in dry years. Demand rose after 1972 when the Canyonlands Resort drilled a well in the park to supply its increased needs.¹⁷ At the Island in the Sky, the NPS relied on water hauled to storage tanks as the search continued for permanent sources. Seeps on the Island plateau in the Wingate Sandstone were small, and test wells in Taylor Canyon found highly mineralized water, while sources in the White Rim Sandstone 1,500 feet below would need treatment and a major pumping operation. Finding sources near Maze District facilities was also crucial due to the high cost of transporting water. Believing the Cedar Mesa, Navajo or Kayenta sandstones north of Hans Flat contained water, the NPS drilled a well there in 1973 that located water at 2,510 feet. However, the water was heavily mineralized and contained oil from the tar sands, and this well that reached 2,750 feet and produced forty gallons of water a minute was deemed unfit for human use. Further efforts to locate water proved unsuccessful, prodding the USGS to suggest that the Park Service develop wells north and west of Hans Flat or pump water from Horseshoe Canyon twenty miles away. The Park Service instead decided to install 20,000 gallon capacity water tanks at Hans Flat similar to those already located at the Island in the Sky.¹⁸

Canyonlands' interpretive efforts in the 1970s consisted of improving homemade displays at contact stations; adding wayside exhibits; increasing the number of campfire talks, guided hikes and jeep trips; providing more literature on the park; and working with local communities. Even though contact station exhibits were below agency standards, Canyonlands did not receive the NPS-Harpers Ferry design treatment until the 1990s when its first permanent visitor center was built. Wayside exhibits were added at The Neck, Upheaval Dome, Whale Rock, Crater Trail and Grandview Point. There was a rise in ranger-led campfire talks, hikes and jeep trips in the mid-1970s at the Island and Needles, numbers that later dropped because of staffing cuts. River guide interpretive training

trips that began in 1973 were popular, and the Park Service periodically gave environmental education programs in local towns and schools. Canyonlands' first interpretive prospectus, accepted in 1978, maintained the Master Plan's focus on geology but included a more ecological approach consistent with evolving park plans.¹⁹ There were also efforts to provide more self-guided trail guides and augment the Canyonlands Natural History Association (CNHA) offerings. CNHA added Kent Frost's *My Canyonlands* in 1972, the *Mesa Arch Trail Guide* and *Needles Hiking Guide* in 1973, the *White Rim Trail Guide* in 1975, and better park brochures and maps, although Canyonlands-specific material remained scarce. Boosted by a growth in receipts, \$42,500 in 1972, \$90,000 in 1976, \$146,000 in 1978, and \$153,000 in 1980, CNHA was able to gradually offer more funding to the NPS for research, management and planning.²⁰

Weak infrastructure, funding shortfalls and geography also made operations difficult for park maintenance staff. Facing chronic problems with electrical systems, water supply and storage, sanitation and refuse, road maintenance and storage space, great effort was required to maintain the status quo. Newer generators were obtained, but electrical generation and delivery remained a problem. A photovoltaic solar system like the MIT-sponsored unit installed at Natural Bridges in 1977 was considered for the Needles but was nixed because of its high cost. Septic tanks and leach fields were repaired or enlarged, and the district created a landfill or hauled refuse to local dumps. Plans for a regional landfill stalled because of a refusal by counties to comply with EPA standards, and NPS attempts to create a dump on BLM land were unsuccessful.²¹ Transportation was also a problem. Depending on road conditions, it took six to eight hours to reach the Maze, two hours to the Needles and one hour to the Island, often forcing personnel to stay overnight in the districts until jobs were finished. This created morale problems with maintenance staff and



"The Maze" proper (side canyon of South Horse Canyon)

The Fins



Figure 64: Maze District geography. The addition of the Maze District added a very rugged and remote region to Canyonlands and new management responsibilities that included resource protection and visitor safety in a more primitive area. Photographs by the author.

Land of Standing Rocks



was a source of tension between ranger and maintenance personnel. Maintenance often brought trailers because rangers protested the use of their trailers, even when not occupied. Field time increased after 1975 when pit toilets were installed on the White Rim Trail and in the Needles backcountry. The Complex's maintenance division upgraded its operations in 1978 when the Central Maintenance yard was moved from nearby Arches to a larger building in Moab.²²

With off-road driving and archeological vandalism in the Maze District raising concerns over resource protection, in mid-1972 temporary



Maze District contact station, Hans Flat, 1972. C 36551.4, SEUG Photographic Archives. Similar to the Needles and Island in the Sky Districts, the Maze District started with crude facilities that were gradually upgraded over the next three decades.



Residence trailer, Hans Flat, 1973. Maze District Photographic Archives. These small trailers that were used for staff residences at Hans Flat from 1972–74 were replaced by a new apartment building in the late 1970s.

Figure 65: Hans Flat/Maze District facilities

administrative and residential facilities were sited at Hans Flat above the Orange Cliffs. Selected because it was midway between the Flint Trail and Horseshoe Canyon, Hans Flat was also near roads to The Spur, North Point and French Spring. Consisting of three trailers—one for a contact station and two for residences—and a maintenance shop, power plant and storage facility, Hans Flat was staffed from June to November that first year by one ranger and one maintenance person. Conditions were neither comfortable nor a professional entrance for a national park. While they looked for better water sources, the district depended on a quarter gallon a minute trickle from French Spring,



Generator



Water tank installation

Figure 66: Maze District electrical generation and water storage, Hans Flat, 1970s. Maze District Photographic Archives.

with permission of the Ekkers, owners of the Cross Bar S Ranch and the spring's water rights. Park personnel cleaned the cattle trough and installed pipes to a box, and had to travel two miles to fill a 500-gallon water tank.²³

Located on BLM lands until the borders of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area were surveyed in 1973–74, the Hans Flat facilities were also to serve as a base for the recreation area to manage its northern territory. However, the region northwest of Hite was often beyond Glen Canyon's administrative reach because of regional geography and its focus on Lake Powell. Not addressed in the 1971 bill expanding Canyonlands National Park or the 1972 bill creating Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, management of the region between the Orange Cliffs and the Maze District by

default became the responsibility of Canyonlands. This led to tensions in 1974 between the park and recreation area because Canyonlands did not consult Glen Canyon on plans for the permanent Hans Flat facilities until the Environmental Assessment comment period. The matter was resolved, and Canyonlands agreed to consult with Glen Canyon in the future on important policy matters. The two park units signed a cooperative agreement in 1975 that gave Canyonlands permission to serve as proxy for Glen Canyon in administering the "Under the Ledge" zone of the recreation area that would later be called the Orange Cliffs zone.²⁴

New directions: Conceiving and planning a more primitive park

Before park development could proceed, planning issues had to be resolved. Mirroring Bates Wilson's 1968 suggestions, the NPS Western Service Center drafted a "Preliminary Management Statement" in 1970 that called for a scaled-back road system; more careful design and location of structures; human carrying capacities; increased visitor education; elimination of grazing; mining and missile drops; and more scientific research. "It is inconceivable that a master plan presenting any degree of detail would not at some time become obsolete," it said. "Technological advances, changing attitudes and values often reveal past planning efforts having been born of ignorance, naiveté and lack of foresight." Even so, the 1965 Master Plan with its "developed areas all over creation" that Kerr said would "ruin Canyonlands as a natural park," was technically still alive. The challenge for the Park Service involved creating a plan that fulfilled its own needs on one hand, and on the other finding a median among varied interests in a polarized political climate stretched between local and state interests obsessed with economic growth and environmentalists opposed to all development.²⁵

Planning was made harder by provisions in the 1971 expansion legislation. Whereas the act

creating Canyonlands (P. L. 88-590) did not discuss wilderness, the expansion act (P. L. 92-154) required the Interior Secretary by 1974 to advise in accord with the 1964 Wilderness Act as to the “suitability or unsuitability of areas in national parks for preservation as wilderness.” The 1971 act also required studies of roads “within and adjacent to Canyonlands National Park” by 1973 to determine what “roads are appropriate and necessary for full utilization of the area.”²⁶ Central to recent land use politics, roads and wilderness have been especially intertwined in canyon country. Seen by rural Utahns as an intellectual luxury, roadless wilderness lands were seen by urbanites as a physical and spiritual necessity. Roads were either conduits to access economic resources or daggers into the nation’s primitive heart. Matters were further complicated by conflicts among federal, state and county entities over legal authority, with state and local governments wanting control over roads through federal lands despite rebuffs by the NPS, BLM, USFS and Congress.

Beginning the process of revising Canyonlands’ Master Plan in April 1972, the Park Service wanted a new draft plan prepared by February 1973 for use at congressional wilderness hearings. Because the NPS-Denver Service Center planning team was overbooked and the agency believed that transportation provisions in legislation expanding Canyonlands and upgrading Arches and Capitol Reef to park status needed a regional approach, the Park Service hired a private firm to create a combined master/transportation plan for all three parks. Superintendent Kerr believed that contracting out this major planning job was a bad idea and would not “satisfy local or state leadership” or address NPS needs, a prediction born out by the production of a weak document costing \$74,000 that was never used.²⁷ Occurring at a time when the Park Service was struggling to integrate new laws and compliance mandates into agency policy and practice, in fairness to the private effort, anything less than the long

process that resulted in Canyonlands’ 1978 General Management Plan would have fallen short. With other impending deadlines at Canyonlands: the Squaw Flat-to-Confluence Overlook Road EIS in December 1972, a Wilderness Study Report in March 1972 and a Master Plan EIS and Transportation Study in June 1973, the NPS discovered at Canyonlands and other parks that schedules in the age of compliance were often theoretical.²⁸

Planning was further complicated by the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA). Although many NPS officials believed that more public involvement was good, the hearings and correspondence required by NEPA made any project or planning process difficult. “In the old days, the superintendent decided to do something, got the regional director’s blessing and went ahead and did it,” recalled Kerr. The public awoke the next day and there might be a new visitor center.” Regarding NEPA and the Confluence Road, he said, “It [NEPA] was new when the road went out to Needles. We didn’t have anyone on staff to prepare a document. The NPS sent somebody from the Omaha regional office to help.” Although the NPS later formed compliance departments and training systems, learning NEPA’s mechanics while environmentalists and pro-development interests applied pressure dramatically slowed policy formation and development.²⁹ As they became emboldened by political successes, new land use legislation and shifting cultural norms, and by applying grassroots methods to NEPA, environmentalists were transformed from fringe player to potent political force. In contrast, Utah’s political and economic elite faced a changed order that diminished their historical influence over the management of public lands. Initially engaged with NEPA through correspondence and testimony at hearings, these power brokers became frustrated by environmentalism’s growing power and gradually retreated to a position of angry fatalism.

Whereas the NPS hailed Sierra Club and

Wilderness Society efforts to stop the Confluence Road, the agency discovered that its new “allies” often wanted to stop all development, however necessary to park management. This became evident when the Park Service planned to replace temporary facilities at Hans Flat in 1973 with permanent housing, a refurbished contact station, larger water tanks, and better utilities and sanitation. The project’s environmental assessment which included an archeological survey concluded that better entrance station facilities and resource protection capabilities were more important than prospective minor impacts upon the region’s cultural and natural resources. Recommendations were made in early 1974 to build a paved entrance road, an upgraded contact station, maintenance and residential complexes, and a trailhead campsite at Hans Flat. Bids were sent out, and construction began that summer.³⁰

The Sierra Club then asked the Park Service to perform an EIS and halt construction until the master plan, transportation and wilderness studies were complete, claiming that the only issue was “short term discomfort and inconvenience for park employees.” Interior’s Regional Solicitor claimed the project was within NEPA guidelines, Kerr told Sierra Club Southwest Region Representative John McComb that the NPS also wanted “good long range planning,”

Figure 67: Apartments, Hans Flat. Maze District Photographic Archives. Upgrading the residential infrastructure from the crude trailers used in the early 1970s was key to professionalizing the Maze District.



and that upgrading the “extremely crude facility” was one thing it could do pending the finalization of a new master plan. The Sierra Club followed with a snide note to its members about the “rinky-dink suburbia” planned for Hans Flat and called to replace NPS personnel who could not “exist happily and eagerly in a backcountry environment.” An article in *Southwest Wildlands*, the club’s regional newsletter, even suggested the Park Service was allied with the oil industry and that new facilities and roads could aid tar sands development.³¹ Typifying environmentalism’s new stridency, other similar incidents told the NPS that, despite also residing on the preservation side of the conservation spectrum, these key political allies in conservative Utah needed careful handling. From the Confluence Road debate in 1971 through the Salt Creek debate two decades later, the cordial spirit that once characterized “conservation” activism would change to an angry and litigious posture that forced the Park Service to keep environmental activists at a distance.

By the mid-1970s, canyon country’s unique character had merged with urban primitivism and post modernity’s critique of authority to create a vibrant regional identity and political culture. Legitimized by Edward Abbey’s *Desert Solitaire*, *Slickrock* and *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, true believers now had a cultural mythology, political ideology, and vision of place that elevated red rock country and Canyonlands to sacred status while challenging traditional social, economic and political norms. The loss of Glen Canyon to reclamation merely increased the value of canyon country’s wilderness areas. This shift was illustrated in a 1975 Four Corners Geological Society report on Canyonlands National Park, when an organization previously dominated by economic geologists had Abbey write the introduction. Echoing the words of geologists Clarence Dutton and Willis Lee, after admitting that “the geological or scientific is certainly primary, basic and fundamental,” Abbey said “poets are needed too” and there was a place for “geologists whose heads and hearts

have not lost the capacity to wonder.”³² Although the statement was closer to Park Service philosophy than the materialism of Utah’s economic elite, it represented an energy and attitude symbolized by *The Monkey Wrench Gang*’s irreverent George Hayduke that have been hard for the Park Service and other federal land managers in Utah to deal with ever since.

Based on this dynamic and similarly passionate feelings held by Utah’s old guard, wilderness designations at Canyonlands were contested. Based on the Wilderness Act provision requiring Interior to review “roadless areas of five thousand contiguous acres in national parks” and their “suitability for preservation as wilderness,” the Park Service proposed in 1972 that 266,600 acres of wilderness and 8,400 acres of potential wilderness be set aside in Canyonlands. In contrast, the 1965 Master Plan labeled 63,300 acres as wilderness. Analysis identified 271 miles of jeep roads, 43 miles of hard surface two-wheel-drive roads and 6 miles of paved roads, and roadless areas totaling 162,100 acres: 56,300 in Salt Creek and the Needles; 45,900 on the Green and Colorado Rivers and in the Maze and Grabens (zones not aligned with park districts); and 59,900 in the Island zone. Acreage was changed to 250,700 acres of wilderness and 30,460 of “potential wilderness” in a plan for public comment.³³ The potential tag applied to areas with wilderness qualities affected by nonconforming uses. This included Cataract Canyon because of unresolved river planning issues and wild and scenic rivers studies, the Needles because of the missile drop zones, some road corridors and mining claims awaiting completion of invalidation procedures.³⁴

The Wilderness Plan was released in July 1974 and followed by hearings in Monticello, Moab and Salt Lake City. Reflecting the dominance of urban values, respondents by ten to one favored the NPS plan or wanted more wilderness, and most wanted more road closures,

including the White Rim Trail, the Standing Rocks and Maze Overlook roads and the Confluence Road. The “group” wanting less wilderness was composed of local, county or state officials, rural citizens, mining and ranching interests or advocates of mechanized recreation. Responses also proved the axiom that all politics are local. Utah Governor Calvin Rampton requested that no “permanent classifications like wilderness areas or national parks” be made until a “Utah Land Use Plan” being discussed in Congress was enacted. Moab publisher Sam Taylor wanted road corridors kept open, including the Confluence Road. San Juan County Commissioner Dale Halmer said that park status was ample protection, and Kent Frost wanted tour routes to remain open.³⁵ The hearings collectively reflected ratios of pro- and anti-wilderness views in written correspondence, although each location was quite different. The hearing at Monticello was dominated by rural conservatives, the hearing at Lake City had a mix of environmentalists and government officials, and the Moab hearing was an eclectic blend of conservatives and environmentalists.³⁶ Knowing Rampton was backing legislation with no chance to pass, the Park Service made little attempt to placate the governor. The NPS was most worried about the reactions of San Juan County and concentrated its energies on explaining to the county and its leaders how Mission 66 policies operative in the 1960s when the park was created had changed and were no longer in effect.³⁷

The Park Service created a Draft Wilderness Plan in 1974 for Canyonlands that had 260,150 acres of wilderness and 18,270 acres of potential wilderness, with the final plan awaiting the resolution of key issues.³⁸ Because Interior and the U.S. Army reached an agreement in 1971 to extend the Green River missile program five years, evacuations would continue to plague park operations and planning.³⁹ Another problem involved oil, gas and mineral claims that covered the Canyonlands region. Although invalidation work began in 1966, the large number of

claims made quick resolution impossible. Similar to the 30,000 claims in the Rocky Mountain Region's forty-two park units, most of the 10,000 claims in Canyonlands had not been investigated by 1975.⁴⁰ To address this issue systemwide, P. L. 94-429 providing "for the regulation of mining activities" was passed in July 1976 to help the Park Service identify valid claims, close legal loopholes and protect park resources. Overriding the 1872 Mining Law, the act required that all mining claims in park units be recorded with the NPS by September 28, 1977, or be considered null and void. The law also gave the agency power to protect park resources from legal mining operations, and close to new claims the six park units still open under previous mining laws.⁴¹

Despite unfinished wilderness and transportation studies, questions over NEPA, lobbying by environmental groups and absence of a new master plan, forces led by Moss pressured the Park Service to begin the controversial Confluence Road. Responding to the senator's call to make Canyonlands more accessible, NPS Director George Hartzog told Moss that funds were available for planning and construction of the road from Squaw Flat to Big Spring Canyon, with the start of work awaiting completion of an Environmental Impact Statement.⁴² Disgusted with the Park Service over Canyonlands, Moss told Hartzog that Utahns had a "right to be disillusioned" with the NPS over "inexcusable" delays in park development. Discounting Hartzog's promise, an impatient Moss lobbied the Federal Highway Administration to complete the project's road and bridge designs, and for the Environmental Protection Agency to expedite the EIS process.⁴³

Although many Park Service officials opposed the Confluence Road, the project stayed alive because of political concerns and old guard elements at the NPS. "We believe the road should be constructed as planned," said NPS Acting Director Thomas Flynn in a June 1972 communiqué to Assistant Secretary for Fish and

Wildlife Nathaniel Reed. He echoed Moss's rationale, claiming that the park should be accessible, the road could be a base for hikes, plenty of open space would remain in the region and unpaved jeep roads created dust.⁴⁴ Environmentalists continued their opposition and an NPS contingent made a final effort in July 1973 to persuade Moss to defer the project until transportation and wilderness studies were completed. The senator said the project had been planned enough, that "planning does not turn dirt," and the Squaw Flat-to-Confluence Road was not related to regional transportation issues. Because of the learning curve over NEPA and pressure by environmentalists, despite Moss's prodding, the EIS process dragged on eighteen months, with a first draft finished in summer 1972, a draft for public review in January 1973 and a revised draft in September 1973. The final draft EIS was sent to the Council for Environmental Quality on October 4, 1973 for review, was accepted, and the project scheduled to begin.⁴⁵

Concurrent with legislation in Congress to give state and local officials more say over federal lands and Moss's belief that the political tide had turned, the senator reintroduced a parkway bill in January 1973, and the Utah Highway Department dusted off old road studies. Essentially the same legislation that failed earlier, the "Canyon Country National Parkway Bill" (S. 26) detailed a road from Glen Canyon City to Canyonlands, across the Green River to the Island in the Sky, then on to Moab and Interstate 70.⁴⁶ The "Utah Department of Highways Scenic Roads Study" released in early 1974, proposed a road network west and east of the Colorado River under state jurisdiction but built with federal funds. Supporting a scenic parkway idea in principle, the Park Service was opposed to the project's scope and many routes, and refused to cede jurisdiction on roads through federal lands. Of greatest concern to the NPS were proposed routes on BLM and U. S. Forest Service lands north, east and south of Canyonlands, especially paved roads from Dead Horse Point

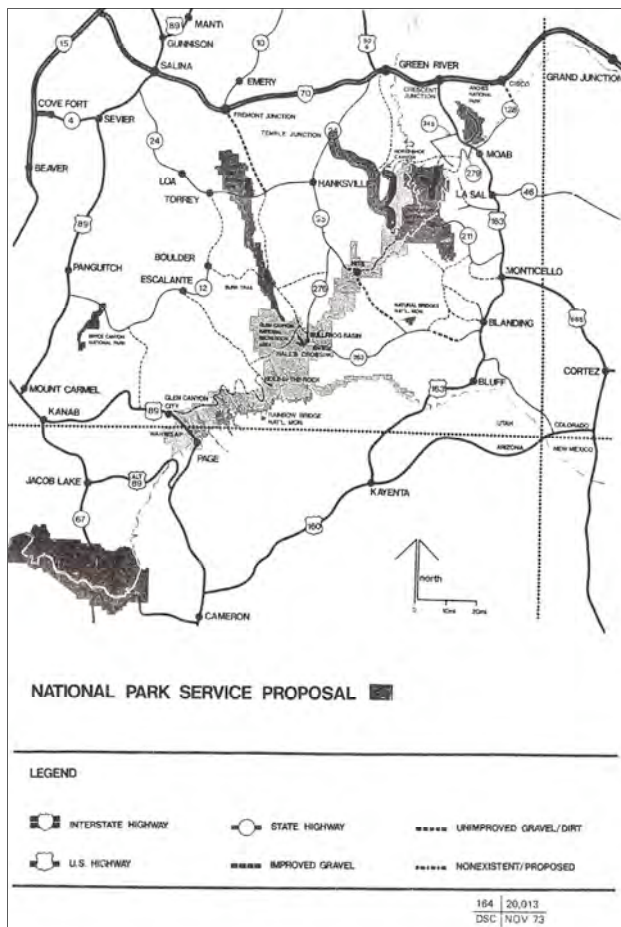
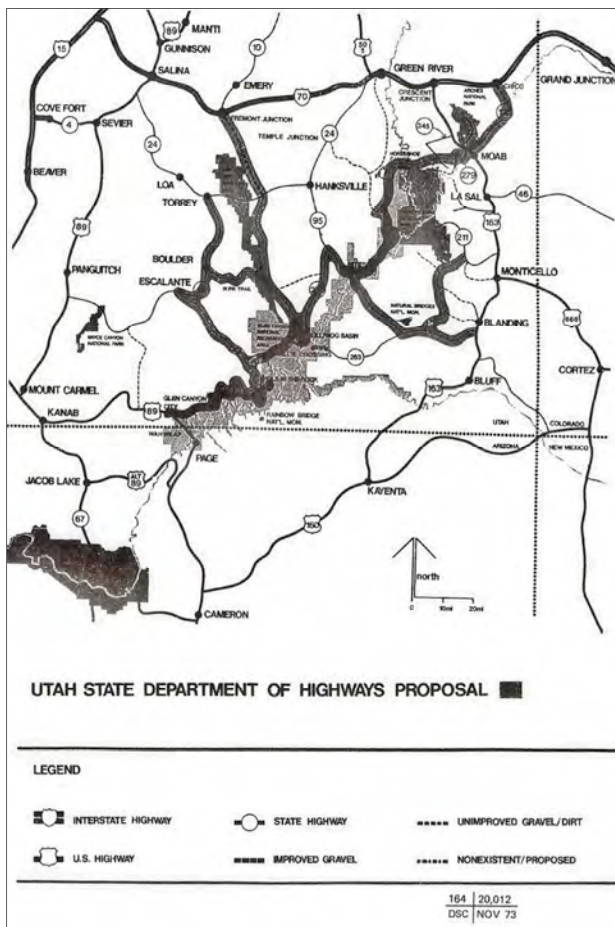


Figure 68: Transportation concepts for the Greater Canyonlands Region. “Utah State Department of Highways Proposal,” 1973; “National Park Service Proposal,” NPS-TIC, 164/20012 and 164/20013. These maps revealed two very different transportation concepts for the Canyonlands region. The state of Utah and local interests wanted paved parkways throughout the region, including the Canyon Country Parkway and Confluence Road/Kigalia Highway in and around Canyonlands National Park. In contrast, the NPS sought to maintain the region’s primitive nature, calling only for a paved road to Hans Flat and key Orange Cliffs viewpoints. Neither plan was implemented and the region remained free from paved roads outside of the entrance road to the Needles District built in the 1960s and 1970s and the Island in the Sky District mesa top roads built in the 1980s.

to Moab, and in the Canyon Rims and Needles regions. Superintendent Kerr was most opposed to the “East Entrance Loop Road,” of which the Confluence Road was a part, claiming “we need to discourage any improvement along this route.” With construction to begin in two months on the scenic byway from Church Rock on U-191 to the Confluence and on to U-95 near Natural Bridges National Monument, Kerr’s negative admonition was an ominous sign.⁴⁷

Despite many unanswered legal and logistical questions, funds were appropriated for fiscal years 1971 to 1974 on the project’s first three

stages covering 5.7 miles from Squaw Flat to Big Spring Canyon, and construction began. Unused funds from FY 1971 and FY 1972 were pushed forward, bids were taken on the 3.32 miles of Phase I to Little Spring Canyon in late 1973, and work began the next spring that created a red-dish-brown haze over the Needles. Bids on Phase II from Little Spring Canyon to Big Spring Canyon went out in late 1974, and construction started the next spring. Studies began in 1975 on the best design of bridge to cross Big Spring Canyon, with the NPS deciding on a 700-foot cantilever model estimated to cost \$1.6 million.⁴⁸



Figure 69: Road survey marker at Big Spring Canyon. C36552.592, SEUG Photographic Archives. This wood and rock cairn was located where the bridge was to cross Big Spring Canyon.

Although proponents believed the road would be completed as part of the “Kigalia Scenic Byway,” forces were forming to stop the project. Standing on weak legal grounds because of unfinished transportation and wilderness studies mandated by P.L. 92-154 and NEPA’s untested legal status, the project was opposed by factions at the NPS and by environmental groups, and faced rising construction costs. Watching this scenario unfold, Fran Barnes, local writer and Moab representative for the conservation group Issue, combined biting critique and poignant prophecy in a 1973 letter to Kerr. Calling the Confluence Road an “environmentally destructive and politically inspired” project to please rural Utahns, Barnes predicted that the “road will be started but never finished as the pork barrel grows leaner and the public acquires influence over how its monies are spent.” Barnes believed appropriations would be unlikely for the project’s final leg, leaving the NPS in “possession of a road to nowhere, an ugly, long-lasting monument” to political foolishness that Kerr described years later as a “sad commentary on park planning.”⁴⁹

Learning the Canyonlands and protecting park resources

Initially using common sense to inform resource management at Canyonlands, by the 1970s the NPS needed empirically based policies in order for wilderness, transportation and park plans to withstand legal scrutiny. Efforts during the 1960s with wildlife and range management and in the biological and physical sciences were hampered by fiscal limits and the problem of learning a new region. Baseline work like Kleiner’s grassland studies, Armstrong’s mammal inventory, Low’s population studies of mule deer and bighorn sheep, Sharrock’s antiquities survey and geologic studies of Upheaval Dome were not part of an integrated plan. Prodded by political necessity and the growing environmental ethic, with the help of a Cooperative Research unit formed in 1973 through Utah State University, the park broadened its investigative program. Canyonlands began studying the effects of grazing, oil and gas exploration, off-road vehicle use, waste disposal, hydrology, climate, endangered and invasive species, carrying capacities, and air quality. The park also did biogeographic mapping and inventoried archeological resources. Non-NPS research studied graben formation, stratigraphy, geomorphology, plant synecology, invasive species, entomology and cryptobiotic soils.⁵⁰ Plans were made to inventory the park’s natural resources, although funding limits did not allow for the program’s implementation.⁵¹

Efforts to inventory bighorn sheep led to Canyonlands’ greatest tragedy on May 19, 1973, when Canyonlands Resort manager Dick Smith, Canyonlands seasonal ranger John Ebersole, NPS ecologist William Cooper and BLM resource biologist Charles Hanson, were killed in a plane crash in the Island in the Sky. They had left that morning from Squaw Flat in a single engine Cessna A185 piloted by Smith. When they did not return, by early that afternoon a joint Park Service-San Juan County search and rescue team was formed. Knowing they had

planned on working between the Colorado River and White Rim, Island in the Sky district ranger Tom Wylie spotted the wreckage at 5:40 p.m. below the White Rim Trail in Sheep Bottom. "I'm not sure what pointed me in that direction but I started walking the edge of the White Rim and saw what remained of the airplane," he recalled. "It was obvious that nobody survived." Using an old mining road from the White Rim to the Colorado River to get close, rescuers arrived by foot at the crash site the next morning. Although the cause of the crash was not officially determined, investigators speculated that Smith, who had been flying for seventeen years, stalled the plane when slowing to aid the count and crashed into the steep



Fort Bottom Ruin, Green River. C 36552.835, SEUG Photographic Archives.

Figure 70: Archeological resources

Harvest Scene, Maze District. Photograph by the author.



slope. The four were killed instantly. Ebersole, 26, was well-known at the Complex; Cooper, 30, was a scientist at Capitol Reef; Smith, 35, was well-known in the Needles District; and Hanson, 52, was an expert on bighorns. Halting the sheep count on which Ebersole had been the primary investigator, the accident was a major shock to the NPS and local community and illustrated canyon country's dangers.⁵²

Although early NPS reports on Canyonlands described antiquities of "major significance" and called for research and protection, archeology was initially not a high priority. John Marwitt's 1970 survey of the Confluence Road and LaMar Lindsey and Rex Madsen's 1973 resurvey of the same route and of the Grandview Point Road found new sites. Marvin Kay's 1973 survey of the Maze District's access roads located forty new sites outside the park, and park staff periodically performed small surveys.⁵³ However, because Canyonlands was classified as a geologic park and archeological science was focused elsewhere, Sharrock's 1965–66 study was the only major cultural resource survey in the park until 1975, when University of Utah teams studied the Maze region. In spring 1975, the university surveyed Horse, Jasper, Water and Shot Canyons, the Land of Standing Rocks and Ernie's

Country, and in summer 1975, the Fins, Pete's Mesa, Range and Teapot Canyons and the Green River. They catalogued 248 sites and reconfirmed the region's status as an important archeological repository and key interface zone between the Anasazi and Fremont cultures. Analyzing habitat, resource use, demographics, migration and recent human impacts, the University of Utah teams concluded that more research and protection was needed. Equally important was analysis of the

park's rock art. Polly Schaafsma's 1971 book *Utah Rock Art* legitimized the study of pictographs and petroglyphs and introduced the nomenclature of Barrier Canyon, Fremont and Anasazi styles. However, despite the addition of Horseshoe Canyon (1972), the Salt Creek Archeological District (1974) and the Harvest Scene (1976) to the National Register of Historic Places, Canyonlands remained low on the NPS cultural resources funding list, and it was ten more years before the park had its own in-house archaeologist.⁵⁴

Fewer visitors than expected gave Canyonlands a chance to address operations and planning issues. Rising from 26,035 in 1969 to 60,757 in 1972, visitation in the decade ranged between 86,307 in 1978 and 56,965 in 1980.⁵⁵ Due to the energy crisis that slowed travel nationwide, the numbers also reflected Canyonlands' growing reputation as a park for hikers, jeepers and river runners. Because the 1965 Master Plan was never implemented, many "windshield" tourists went elsewhere, and Canyonlands developed a backcountry oriented constituency. Rather than a conspiracy to trick Utahns out of a perceived entitlement to the park as a tourism cash cow, new social values, NPS fiscal limits and regional geography caused the park to evolve differently. Having nearly four times the visitation as Canyonlands in 1972, Arches, with 225,310 visitors that year was the front-country park for turnstile counters at the NPS and in local business circles. Canyonlands' numbers were even lower than Dead Horse Point and Natural Bridges until the early 1970s, numbers disturbing to those expecting big economic benefits from the new park.⁵⁶

Whereas visitation to Canyonlands' backcountry was initially small, the late 1960s and early 1970s saw big increases. From 1968 to 1972, overnight stays on the White Rim rose nearly four hundred percent; from 1971 to 1972 Needles' backcountry visits doubled; from 1969 to 1972 Cataract Canyon visitation rose five hundred percent, and backcountry stays parkwide

rose from 6,155 in 1972 to 16,257 in 1974. With park staff struggling to patrol a large area with many entrances, hikers, jeepers, motorcyclists, river rafters and pot hunters engaged in activities that ranged from sensitive wilderness practices to trampling cryptobiotic soil and fouling the river corridors, responsible driving to reckless off-roading, respect for antiquities to vandalism and looting. Overtly bad practices got more attention, but the collective effects of all activity on park resources were also evident. In the 1960s general rules were applied parkwide. However, the NPS realized by the 1970s that varied policies were needed for different regions and activities.⁵⁷

River management at Canyonlands initially focused on limiting damage from nonconforming uses, developing a permit system and building an NPS patrol fleet, but dramatic increases in river running after 1970 forced the park to change policy.⁵⁸ Although this affected both the flat and whitewater sections of the Colorado and Green Rivers in the private and commercial sectors, the largest increase occurred with commercial use of Cataract Canyon. Starting in 1969 with nine permittees, 56 trips, and 432 people, numbers rose in 1970 to 9, 106 and 715, and in 1971 to 28, 84 and 1,670. Prodded by concerns over resource damage on the park's riparian corridors, before the 1972 season Bates Wilson placed fifty-person limits on commercial trips and group campsites in Cataract Canyon, annual caps of 500 people per concessionaire and 10,000 total for all private and commercial use. This was a holding action until the NPS determined carrying capacities. Visitation rose to 2,439 people in 1972, and damage to riparian zones continued.⁵⁹

Dialogue in 1971–72 amongst the NPS, other agencies and commercial outfitters produced accords over systems for permitting, fees, party sizes, scheduling, guide qualifications, sanitation, interpretation, safety, water craft and communications. Issues connected to motors, commercial quotas, environmental protection, commercial



Raft above the Big Drop, Cataract Canyon. SEUG Backcountry Management Office.



Canoe on Green River, Stillwater Canyon. Photograph by the author.
Figure 71: Calm and white water recreation

versus private use and human carrying capacities remained unresolved.⁶⁰ Anticipating queries over agency planning decisions, Acting Midwest Region Director Merrill Beal explained Park Service rationale behind the new river policies:

The Department's policy during the early 60s was one of essentially no controls over the numbers and qualifications of operators, the numbers of passengers or over the health and safety aspects of the operators. This laissez-faire approach to river management presented few problems until the late 60s when public demand for this type of activity skyrocketed. This change in demand plus a renewed interest in and heightened awareness of environmental degradation resulted in a complete reversal of the policy of the early 60s.⁶¹

Discussion of Canyonlands' river policies started

at a November 1972 meeting of the Western River Guides Association in Salt Lake City. The next month at a meeting in Moab attended by thirteen of the park's eighteen concessionaires, the guides chose one of five plans outlined by the NPS that capped commercial river use at 6,000 passengers per annum beginning in 1973, divided equally at 333 for each permittee and continuing until carrying capacity studies were finished.⁶²

Most river outfitters realized the wisdom in finding a balance between visitation and resource protection to maintain the physical resource and wilderness experience, but some assailed what they felt were arbitrary numbers. The strongest opposition came from the park's largest outfitter, Canyonlands Expeditions. Experiencing a big jump in customers through Cataract Canyon, from 488 in 1971 to 801 in 1972—one-third the park's commercial activity on the river—the company believed that allotments should reflect market share as they did at Grand Canyon and Dinosaur.⁶³ Receiving a 500-person allotment in 1972 and 300 more through a verbal agreement with the park, the company said the 333-person quota for 1973 was 600 short of prepaid reservations and would cause an "extreme financial burden." Possessing political clout due to a good reputation and high media profile, the company lobbied politicians, and its lawyers and owner Ron Smith negotiated with the Park Service. A meeting of the Regional Solicitor, the NPS and Canyonlands Expeditions resulted in a doubled allotment to 666 for the 1973 season. This resulted in protests by other operators who said the company's increase was a short-term dynamic and that raising its allotment would create an unfair competitive advantage. Smith claimed that 666 was still short of what he needed, and he suggested unused slots under the total cap be put into a pool. The pool concept was adopted, Canyonlands Expeditions asked for 425 passengers, received 178 for a total of 844, then exceeded that number by 128, resulting in a rebuke from the NPS that mandated the

company comply with park rules or lose its permit. Canyonlands Expeditions responded in late 1973 by relinquishing its permits. The company then backtracked, retiring one 333-person permit in a scaled back operation and donating the other permit for private use.⁶⁴

Typifying Canyonlands' embattled history, the river use debate also illustrated the difficulty of changing policies without adequate data. Utah State University's Department of Forestry and Outdoor Education report, "River Use and Management Research for Canyonlands National Park," was an early attempt to address this problem. The USU team analyzed key administrative, social and environmental issues, and inventoried camp areas on the rivers, identifying thirty-nine sites on the Green River; fifty-one on the Colorado River above the Confluence, and thirty-five in Cataract Canyon. The team concluded that "Cataract Canyon may set the tone for determining a carrying capacity on the entire river system in the Park."⁶⁵ Although the study provided valuable data on the rivers, it was but one part of the database needed to withstand the legal mandates and compliance requirements of the emergent environmental age. Similar to other issues faced by Canyonlands National Park in the future, incomplete knowledge of riparian resources placed the NPS in a political netherworld of apparent inconsistencies and unfinished plans. Because of this dynamic, both river and upland backcountry planning would remain works-in-progress for years.

The other major river management issue involved the Friendship Cruise and Marathon Boat Race. These were high-impact events contrary to traditional park policy and the primitive nature of Canyonlands that were held each year on two weekends in May, transforming the Green and Colorado Rivers from peaceful places into an orgy of speedboat racing, recreational boating and partying. Although the race was also abhorrent to park management, most concerns centered on the Friendship Cruise.

Allowed because of historical precedent and public relations, from 1965 to 1971 the event grew from about 100 boats and 500 people a year to 490 boats and 2,000-plus people a year, leaving a trail of trash, human waste, injuries and wrecked boats. This forced park staff to spend time and energy planning, monitoring and cleaning up after the event. Things were most egregious at Anderson Bottom, where on the Saturday night of each Cruise, Tangren's old homestead became the site for a huge party with a barbecue, music, dancing and plenty of alcohol.⁶⁶

Starting in the 1960s with suggestions to the Canyon Country Marathon River Association (CCMRA) on backcountry ethics, safety, refuse collection and event patrol, the NPS wanted to place the "burden of such activities" on the organization. Heavier attendance and environmental impacts after 1972 along with complaints by park patrons forced the NPS to take more proactive measures. Assured that the NPS was not planning to "eliminate the Friendship Cruise from the park," the CCMRA was told it needed to "reduce adverse impacts on the environment." Starting in 1974, the park began giving educational brochures and trash bags to event participants, placed a ranger at the registration area in Green River who then rode in the CCMRA director's boat, put rest stops at the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers and at Lathrop Canyon, asked all boaters to bring toilets and increased its patrols. The NPS also asked the CCMRA to improve its communication and rescue capabilities and provide more help with cleanup.⁶⁷ Coupled with the energy crisis, which lowered event numbers in the late 1970s, the measures resulted in a cleaner river and better safety record. The NPS even began giving interpretive talks in 1975 at Anderson Bottom. Yet even a "clean" Cruise was objectionable to the Park Service. Valuable time and resources were spent on a nonconforming use, many rangers dreaded working the event with its ill-prepared and often intoxicated boaters, while human detritus found along the

rivers during and after the event underscored its inappropriateness within a primitive national park.⁶⁸

With visitors rising from a few thousand in the 1960s to more than 16,000 in 1972, the NPS was also worried about the park's backcountry uplands. Shallow jeep tracks were now deep ruts; campsites, social trails and human waste were epidemic; hikers trampled cryptobiotic soils and damage to antiquities was rampant. With activity tough to monitor due to the many routes into the park and thin ranger coverage, the Park Service in 1973 adopted group size limits, permit and reservation systems, fire pan requirements and rock climbing restrictions, closed Chesler Park to motor vehicles and limited Virginia Park to authorized researchers. Off-road driving, off-trail hiking, human waste and archeological vandalism were addressed with more patrols, additional toilets, better interpretation and signage, verbal warnings and citations, and arrests of the worst violators. Law enforcement capabilities improved when NPS rangers received deputy sheriff's commissions from local counties in the mid-1970s, and the number of successful prosecutions rose during the decade, which included a 1976 antiquities case conviction. However, the lack of a federal magistrate in the area before 1980 forced serious cases to be heard in Salt Lake City.⁶⁹

Resource protection and law enforcement were aided by a better communication system that increased coverage of the park from forty to ninety-five percent. The substation was moved from Moab to Bald Mesa in the La Sal Mountains and its power boosted to 90 watts, the Grandview repeater was boosted from 5 to 30 watts, a repeater was installed at Hans Flat and 90 to 100 watt mobile radios were given to park rangers. Patrol abilities on the river corridors were improved by the replacement of ponderous pontoon jet boats with more mobile and fuel efficient "Zodiacs" and "J-Rigs" in the 1970s, while more pre-trip boat equipment checks and the siting of fly camps at Span-

ish Bottom and in Cataract Canyon during peak rafting season helped with safety and compliance. Ranger coverage on the rivers and uplands was still limited during the decade by a permanent staff that averaged only eleven in the park and ten at headquarters. Even with help from seasonal rangers and volunteers, protecting such a large and rugged region was difficult.⁷⁰

Whereas riparian corridors provided a means of control, usage of park uplands was assessed by permits, park entrance figures and concessions. Heaviest use occurred on the White Rim Trail in the Island in the Sky District, and Salt Creek Canyon and the Grabens in the Needles District, with the Maze District gradually becoming more popular. Parkwide visitation was fairly equal in the spring, summer and fall, marked by a sharp spike in April and May before a drop in July and August, followed by a lesser spike in September and October. Ironically, Salt Creek Canyon, the area with seventy to eighty percent of the Needles' backcountry vehicle traffic and theoretically the easiest to monitor, had few restrictions.⁷¹ This reflected the iconic power of Salt Creek and Angel Arch, incomplete park plans, scant scientific data, and a social ethic that had not yet made aesthetics and ecology equal partners. Two more decades would pass before damage caused by motorized vehicles in the park's only upland perennial riparian habitat was seriously addressed.

The park's best known concessionaires in the 1960s, off-road guides, received less notice in the 1970s because of a focus on the rivers. In 1967, when Kent Frost's Canyonlands Expeditions ran 154 trips in 202 vehicles carrying 760 visitors and Mitch Williams' Tag-a-Long Tours took 104 tours in 132 vehicles carrying 522 visitors into the Needles, few people ran the rivers. Land tour numbers rose parkwide by 1974 to 233 trips and 2,392 people; with Canyonlands running 81 trips carrying 781 people, Tag-a-Long, 63 and 989, and Lin Ottinger, 82 and 573. Pack horse and hiking tours were a rel-

ative nonfactor.⁷² Frost then sold his company in 1974, marking the end of an era. With the park concurrently adopting new rules for commercial activity on the rivers and in the uplands, the days were gone when guides led tourists to exotic locales limited only by effort and fuel. In addition to basic rules and backcountry ethics, camping was thereafter to be in designated sites, picnicking on established routes, waste disposed of by operators, and tours on designated routes established by the Park Service in vehicles that met strict safety requirements.⁷³

Whereas most operators accepted park rules, Lin Ottinger kept going to places he used before the park was created despite warnings and damage to resources. Ignoring NPS demands to stop expressed through letters, at meetings or with signs and barricades, he was issued six federal and state misdemeanor citations in 1978 that resulted in convictions. These all carried suspended sentences if he stopped violating park rules. However, Ottinger claimed the Park Service could not close the roads, appealed the rulings, began a media campaign and lobbied Congress and the NPS directorate. This resulted in an agreement which allowed Ottinger vehicular access to some overlooks and return of his concessions permit on a probationary status. The mere fact that the NPS returned concessions rights to a repeat violator who had shown no respect for the agency or preservation values, underscored its public relations concerns and precarious niche in Utah.⁷⁴

New park leadership and the General Management Plan process

In contrast with Wilson's long tenure, Kerr left Canyonlands for Grand Teton National Park in March 1975 after just thirty-one months. Whereas Kerr was a fine administrator who guided the park through a transitional era, his successor Pete Parry had to complete park plans. Coming off assignments at the NPS Western Regional Office and its Washington headquarters, Parry's best preparation for Canyon-

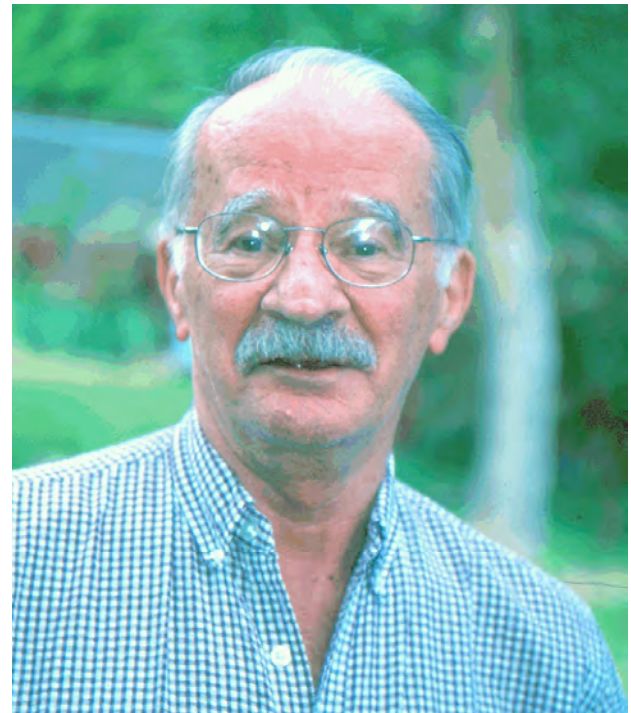


Figure 72: Peter Parry, Canyonlands superintendent, 1975–86, at his home in Moab, Utah. Photograph by the author.

lands came from a superintendency at Lehman Caves National Monument in the 1960s when he dealt with opposition to the proposed Great Basin National Park. This prepared him for the negative reactions to Canyonlands' 1978 General Management Plan when "sagebrush" sentiments transferred from Nevada's high desert to canyon country. However, like all federal managers thrown into Utah politics, Parry's experiences were truly a trial by fire.⁷⁵

Similar to his predecessors, Parry responded negatively to what he called the master plan's "grandiose" development schemes. He said that "Canyonlands is a great wilderness park" which should prioritize the protection of its "wilderness and archeological resources" while providing limited "interpretive efforts in the backcountry." Charged with developing a general park plan to fit this vision as well as wilderness, river and backcountry plans, Parry's early tenure was dominated by planning tasks.⁷⁶ The Park Service began to change the park's direction in a series of "statements for management" and draft "master plans" from 1972 to 1975 fol-

lowed by the scrapping of the master plan concept in 1976 for a public participation, NEPA-like model called a General Management Plan (GMP).⁷⁷ Using data garnered from wilderness and transportation studies, backcountry, river management, and general park plans, a seventeen-person team from Canyonlands, the Rocky Mountain Region, the Denver Service Center and academia was charged with creating the new planning document. This would be aided by public input and a review process targeted for completion by October 1977, a process that included a Statement for Management, Resource Management Plan, Visitor Use Plan and General Development Plan.⁷⁸

The GMP process began in fall 1976 at meetings attended by the NPS, other agencies and the public in Monticello, Green River, Grand Junction, Moab, Phoenix, Denver and Salt Lake City. The hearings reflected each site's culture: the Green River meeting focused on the Maze and the rivers, the Monticello meeting on roads, the Moab meeting on preservation and development, and the Grand Junction, Denver and Phoenix meetings on wilderness. Although the views expressed covered the political spectrum, ninety percent of participants wanted a primitive park, meaning more regulation, limited visitor facilities and concessions and no new roads, as only a fraction favored major park development. Strong opposition was expressed to the Confluence Road and paving the Island in the Sky roads.⁷⁹ Using these results to mold a draft plan, the Park Service then consulted the San Juan and Grand County commissions, the towns of Monticello, Moab and Green River, the BLM and U.S Forest Service, the Utah Parks and Recreation Department, the Utah Department of Transportation and the Utah Division of Wildlife.⁸⁰ Despite NPS attempts at the hearings and meetings to merge open dialogue with public relations and explanations of its rationale, the NPS knew that big changes to park plans would carry a heavy political price.

Merging public involvement with new managerial

paradigms and an improved understanding of Canyonlands as resource, the Park Service drafted a plan that prioritized the protection of the "fragile high desert" and "irreplaceable cultural resources" and was geared toward maintaining the region's "undeveloped and primitive character." Developments that included campgrounds, roads and buildings were to be limited by available water and could not damage park natural or cultural resources.⁸¹ Recreational activity was to be geared toward jeeping, hiking, backcountry camping and river running, and interpretation focused on explaining natural processes and raising environmental awareness. Nearby towns were said to have adequate lodging and services. Each district would operate within these conceptual parameters: the Island in the Sky and the Needles as a mix of accessible frontcountry and primitive wilderness with limited visitor services, staff accommodations and some hard surface roads, and the Maze as wilderness except for four-wheel drive roads and backcountry trails. The most contested issues centered on roads: building or not building the Confluence Road in the Needles, realigning or paving roads in the Island in the Sky to Upheaval Dome and Grandview Point, and maintaining or closing backcountry roads in all three districts. Cooperative management of the Island in the Sky District and Dead Horse Point State Park was also considered that included possible NPS annexation of the state park.⁸²

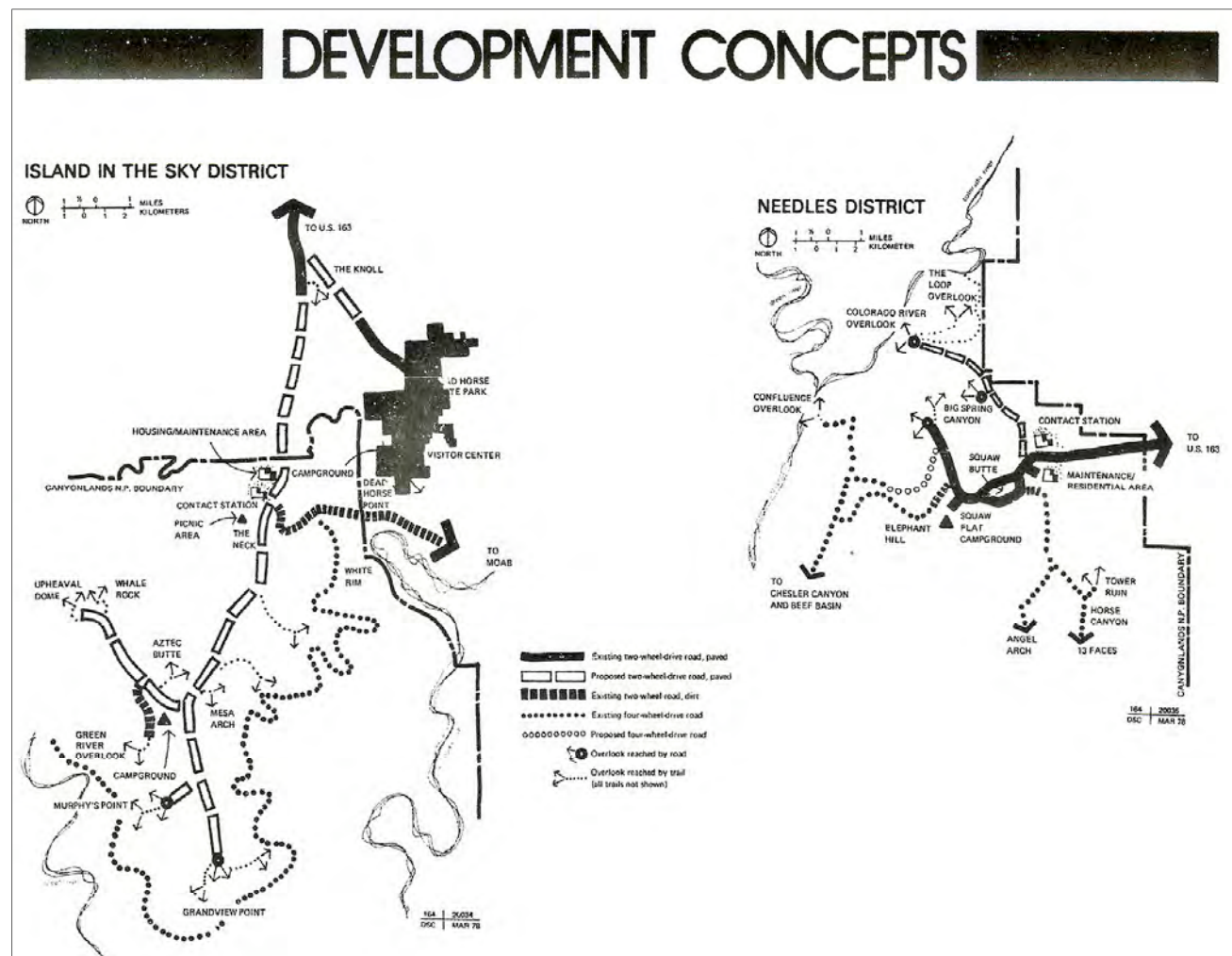
Pro-development forces led by Sam Taylor, Cal Black, Congressman Gunn McKay, Senators Jake Garn and Orrin Hatch, and Governor Scott Matheson, were enraged by the plan. They said the NPS was operating "outside the system" by creating a park for "backpackers" that slighted congressional intent to create a park accessible to average citizens.⁸³ Frank Masland, National Park Service Advisory Board President from 1956 to 1962, told NPS Director William Whalen that pre-park discussions "indicated the Island in the Sky and Confluence Overlook would be accessible." Two *Denver Post* feature

articles in August 1977 critical of the park plan, the first entitled “The Great Canyonlands Double-Cross,” exacerbated the situation. Despite his earnest efforts to explain complex issues, author Zeke Scher’s utilitarian beliefs about national parks and his failure to understand challenges faced by federal land managers, made the articles fodder for the rural West’s growing “victim” culture.⁸⁴ Such attitudes were evident at a December 1977 meeting moderated by Whalen to discuss the GMP at Moab’s Star Hall. Black and Grand County Commissioner Ray Tibbetts accused the Park Service of being influenced by the “worst form of environmentalism” and breaking “good faith promises” at Canyon-

lands, creating a confrontational tone at the meeting despite their minority views among the 240 people present.⁸⁵

Environmentalists were generally pleased with the draft GMP. They remained opposed to the Confluence Road, the paving and realignment of roads in the Island in the Sky and wanted more backcountry roads closed including the White Rim Trail, the Land of Standing Rocks and Maze Overlook roads and various routes in the Needles.⁸⁶ Edward Abbey also became involved in a series of op-ed articles and through correspondence with NPS officials. Framed by a critique of western culture’s separation of God and nature,

Figure 73: “Development Concepts,” *Canyonlands National Park General Management Plan, 1978*. These two plans outline development in these two districts as they exist today, including limited development zones at Squaw Flat and on the Island in the Sky mesa-top, the “replacement” of a paved Confluence Road with the two-wheel drive access Colorado River Overlook Road, the Island in the Sky paved road system to Upheaval Dome, Green River Overlook and Grandview Point, and backcountry roads in both districts. The backcountry roads includes the White Rim Trail and road in Salt Creek as far as Bates Wilson Camp.



the iconoclastic writer stated the need to consider nonhuman rights, the “public” nature of federal lands and value of wilderness. One Abbey follower said *The Monkey Wrench Gang* might not have the answer, but it “may be the means for achieving the answer.”⁸⁷ Respondents from the political center lauded the NPS plan and its attempt to find compromise solutions in a tense atmosphere, while the often profound words of academics or outsiders not tied to interest groups were buried amidst the factional extremes.⁸⁸

Selling the GMP was made harder when opponents of the Confluence Road convinced a high-level NPS committee and agency directorship to “begin thinking the road should not be built.” The Park Service then pitched Utah politicians with alternative road plans, and environmentalists continued to oppose the project.⁸⁹ Gary Smith, the former Maze District ranger, environmental activist and songwriter, described the road as the Park Service’s “Teton Dam,” symptomatic of a “national sickness to put man as the center of everything.” Despite finished designs and funding for the project from Squaw Flat to the Confluence Overlook, the NPS withdrew political support and appropriations for stages past Big Spring Canyon, despite the \$17 million earmarked for Canyonlands National Park from the President’s Land Heritage Program. Based on the GMP’s “Alternative A” for the Needles District that stated the road would “degrade the aesthetics of the area and seriously scar the land,” after 1976 the NPS did not try to finish the Confluence Road. The agency instead adopted “Alternative B” with its two-wheel drive dirt road to the Colorado River Overlook as a “substitute.” Concerned that the Park Service was “straining credibility” by playing the environmental card when an EIS had been approved on the Confluence Road in 1973, NPS Mid-Atlantic Region Director Benjamin Zerbey thought the “economic argument seems stronger” at an underfunded park with other pressing needs. Superintendent Parry attempted to insert economics into the debate

with a statement that “building a four-minute road” would hurry visitors through the region, but the debate remained focused on politics, culture and philosophy.⁹⁰

Merging public input with its own analysis, the NPS released the Canyonlands National Park General Management Plan in July 1978. Describing the park as a “major scenic attraction” and the plan as a “model for preservation of a unique natural environment,” the document revealed a Canyonlands National Park much as it looks today. The Island in the Sky and Dead Horse Point State Park were to provide paved access, the Needles a blend of front and back-country activities and the Maze a wilderness experience. The Colorado River Overlook Road was to be paved and the Confluence Road to end at Big Spring Canyon. With \$18,665,850 scheduled for capital improvements over fifteen years, the administrative facilities at the Island in the Sky and Maze would be upgraded at their present locations and the Needles facilities moved one mile from their present location near Squaw Butte. The Arches National Park Visitor Center would be upgraded to serve as a regional visitor facility, a permanent visitor center was planned for the Needles at Squaw Flat, and interpretation would be improved throughout the park. Because science still had much to learn about the region, resource management strategies were general concepts geared at protection as carrying capacities, stabilization and restoration issues continued to be studied.⁹¹

Completing the GMP also allowed the Park Service to determine wilderness designations at Canyonlands. Having recommended 260,150 of acres of wilderness and 18,270 of potential wilderness in 1974, the resolution of mining and grazing issues and the removal of road corridors in the GMP raised the acreage to 287,985 of wilderness and 597 of potential wilderness. The same day President Carter delivered his “Environmental Message” to Congress, on May 11, 1978, the Park Service sent letters to the President and Speaker of the House Thomas P.

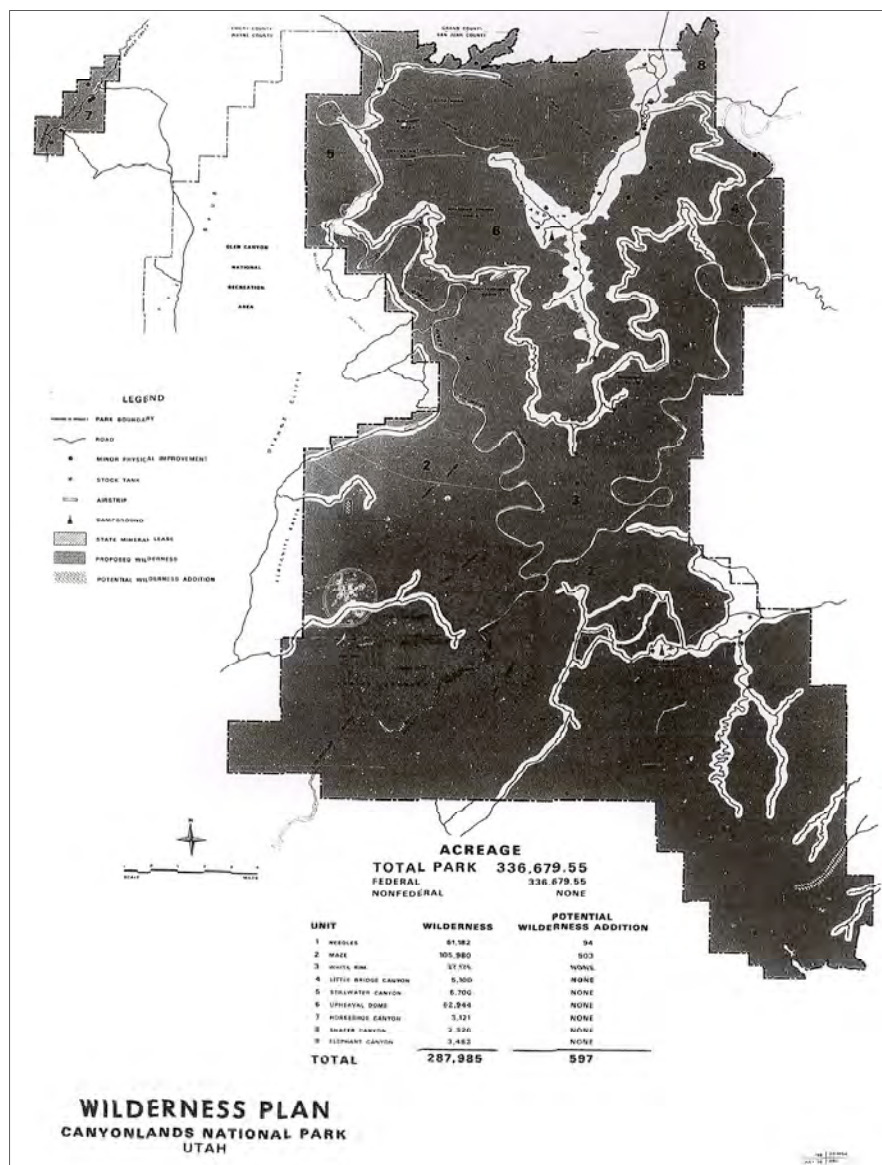


Figure 74: “Wilderness Plan, Canyonlands National Park,” NPS-TIC 164/20015A. Although minor modifications were made over the next two decades that added “wilderness” and subtracted “potential wilderness,” this plan reflects NPS development concepts for Canyonlands from the 1978 General Management Plan through the present. This included much more wilderness than in the 1965 Master Plan, with development corridors limited to Squaw Flat in the Needles District and on the Island in the Sky mesa top, and primitive roads in the Land of Standing Rocks, on the White Rim and in the Needles backcountry, and no paved “Squaw-Flat-to-Confluence Road.”

“Tip” O’Neill with wilderness recommendations for Canyonlands and other parks. Neither the House or Senate acted on the letter, with wilderness in national parks an unresolved issue even today.⁹²

The Park Service believed the Canyonlands GMP was a “reasonable compromise” between

“full development and minimal or no development” that offered something that “most elements” of society could enjoy. Most respondents lauded the NPS on the plan’s particulars or for its efforts to find a middle ground between disparate viewpoints. This included Abbey, who despite his displeasure over a transportation corridor left where the Confluence Road would have been, was humble in a manner that sharply contrasted his strong literary persona. In contrast, Sierra Club Southwest Vice President Ruth Frear was the epitome of the uncompromising environmentalist. After outlining club positions on not paving or realigning Island District roads, the Confluence Road corridor, public transit for Needles and roads closures in the Maze, Frear attacked the NPS because all the club’s demands were not met, stating that “we are disappointed in the apparent need to compromise, to appease, to cop out.”⁹³ Although similar attitudes and litigious political strategies would cause the NPS future headaches, unhappy activists were the least of its worries.

Knowing the GMP was unpopular in southeast Utah, like other federal agencies during the early “Sagebrush Rebellion,” the NPS was shocked by the intensity of the anger, especially from San Juan County. Even though the discontent focused on the BLM and the 1976 Federal Land Policy and Management Act (FLPMA), the

Park Service was lumped into the federal category. With Canyonlands having spent its political capital over the GMP, San Juan County proclaimed in July 1978 that it was “breaking diplomatic relations” with the NPS to protest a failure to respect Congressional intent in creating the park or local economic needs, and for not building the Confluence Road. The county terminated deputy sheriff commissions and bail bondsmen authority accorded Park Service personnel, and attempts by the NPS to restore relations fell on deaf ears.⁹⁴ The county then embarked on a lobbying campaign by sending proclamations and grievance letters against the NPS to Whalen, McKay, Hatch, Garn, Congressman Dan Marriot, Taylor and the media. These actions resulted in numerous newspaper stories and television spots that gave Calvin Black and other rural leaders forums for their views on land management.⁹⁵

Such efforts to gain political high ground were hurt by the dominance of urban demographics and social values, and certain actions by San Juan County made them appear silly and vindictive. For example, in 1976 the county sent a \$50 million tax bill to the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture as well as the National Park Service. Telling President Gerald Ford it was assessing “federal controlled land in San Juan County as if owned by a private owner” based on the “unfair and discriminatory burden this exemption has placed on the taxpayers of San Juan County,” the county claimed that the United States, which owned most “land and resources in our county,” should share the tax burden for “schools, law enforcement, public health, roads, search and rescue, and other local government agencies.” Told the taxes would be “delinquent” if not paid by November 30, 1976, the Interior Department responded by citing Section IV of the U.S. Constitution that gave Congress the power to “dispose of and make Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States,” and claimed that they knew “of no authority on the part of a state or county to

require payment of taxes by the United States on Federal land ownership or to sell lands owned by the United States.”⁹⁶

Sam Taylor, despite his anger with the NPS over the GMP, did not share the belief prevalent in rural Utah that the “feds are in some kind of conspiracy to push multiple users off the land.”⁹⁷ Based in a loss of political and economic power to demographic forces, federal legislation and environmentalism’s embrace of the region, the actions of San Juan County were part of a reaction at the state and local levels against increasing regulation. When Congress did not pass “states rights” laws in the mid-1970s, states and counties passed “substitute” laws and resolutions.

Believing San Juan County’s actions were isolated incidents and that most locals accepted the GMP, Parry incorrectly predicted in 1978 that the “controversy is cooling.” This was evidenced by what occurred on July 4, 1980, when 150–200 citizens led by the Grand County Commission gathered near a BLM Wilderness Study Area (WSA) in Negro Bill Canyon near Moab to blade a road into the WSA as a “symbolic gesture” against federal policies. Focused on FLPMA and its restrictions on mining until wilderness designations were complete, Grand County Commissioner Harvey Merrill said, “we will control our own destiny in Southeast Utah and not delegate it to someone in the bureaucracy.” Grand County Commissioner Larry Jacobs said, “We swore to uphold the Constitution, and that’s what we are doing,” while Commissioner Ray Tibbetts added, “roads do come under the jurisdiction of the Grand County Commission and taxpayers.”⁹⁸ Coming just after a Utah law was enacted designed to give the state authority over BLM lands, the event, dominated by “states righters,” reflected Utah’s surly mood. When Moab BLM District Manager Gene Nodine said the bulldozer did not cross the WSA line, the event was reenacted later that summer. Similar stunts were later repeated by county commissioners on BLM, NPS and

Forest Service lands in attempts to physically deface them, exert power or to make a political statement. Canyonlands thus entered the 1980s surrounded by hostile forces.

End notes

1. "Canyonlands General Management Plan," U.S. National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1978.

2. Robert Kerr, interview by author, July 11, 2003, Santa Fe, New Mexico, audiocassette; Oral History Tapes and Transcripts from Administrative History (CANY 45551); Alan "Tug" Wilson, interview by author, July 2, 2003, Boulder, Colorado, audiocassette; CANY 45551.

3. Kerr interview; folder Dewey Dam Site, Miscellaneous Correspondence Box, Bates Wilson, 1962–1983; Bates Wilson Papers, Wilson Family Collection (Wilson Papers).

4. Kerr interview.

5. "Proposed amendment to State Exchange Applications" SX-U-18018, SX-U-14859 and SX-U-17864, November 29, 1972; "Amended State Exchange Application," List No. 85, Offered Lands: 40.0 acres, T 26S R 18E, section 32, subdivision SW1/4 SW1/4; 480.0 acres, T 26S R 19E, section 36 W1/2 W1/2 E1/2; 504.82 acres, T 27S R 18E, section 2, lots 3, 4, 5 and 6, S1/2 NE1/4 S1/2; 693.36 acres; T 27S R 19E, section 2, all; 640.0 acres, T 29S R 17E, section 36, all; 640.0 acres, T 29S R 18E, section 32, all; 637.76 acres, T 30S R 17E, section 2, all; 640.0 acres, T 30S, R 17E, section 36, all; 639.36 acres, T 31S R 20E, section 2, all; 80.0 acres, T 32S R 20E, section 20, all; Total—5,633.98 acres; Land encumbered by leases: Grazing: GL-15587, GL-15691, GL-15890, GL-15444, GL-15663, GL-16101 and GL-16282; Mineral: ML-25364 and ML-27573; Selected Lands: 120.0 acres, T 25S R 23E, section 6 N1/2 SE1/4; 440.0 acres, T 25S R 23E, section 9 E1/2 NW1/4 NW1/4 NW1/4 S1/2; 640.0 acres, T 25S R 23E, section 15, all; 640.0 acres, T 25S R 23S, section 16, all; 540.97 acres, T 25S R 23E, section 21, lots 1, 2, 3 and 4 N1/2 E1/2 SE1/4; 226.35 acres, T 25S R 23E, section 28, lots 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 SW1/4 SE1/4; 640.0 acres, T 25S R 23E, section 22, all; Total—3,247.32 acres; Leases on Selected Lands, Oil and Gas: U-6795, U-20324, U-12661, U-12223, U-18672, U-4883, U-3436-A, U-3438, U-17828, U-13918, U-15879, U-4880, U-13918, U-19296, U-3436, U-16768 and U-1071; Rights of Ways: U-077096 and U-18562; attached to Lloyd Garrison, Real Estate Specialist, National Park Service (NPS) to R. D. Nielson, Utah Director, Bureau of Land Management (BLM), memorandum; folder 526, Canyonlands National Park Administrative Collection (CANY 36607).

6. Lloyd Garrison to Philip Iverson, Utah State Director, NPS, memorandum, January 11, 1973; Garrison to R. D. Nielson, memorandum, March 21, 1973; Avra Smith, "Protests Aplenty on Land Exchange," *Deseret News*, May 16, 1973; Charles Hansen, Director, Utah Land Depart-

ment to Senator Frank Moss, February 19, 1974; Garrison to Terry Wood, Legislative Service, NPS, memorandum, March 11, 1974; Hansen to Paul Howard, Utah State Director, BLM, November 15, 1974; Garrison to Chief, Division of Land Acquisition, NPS, memorandum, September 17, 1974; Calvin Rampton, Governor, Utah to Iversen, January 17, 1974; folder 531, CANY 36607; "Patent 18615," Calvin Rampton, October 7, 1975; Lloyd Garrison to Pete Parry, Superintendent, Canyonlands National Park (CNP), memorandum, April 28, 1976; "Analysis of Title," Hansen to Moab District Manager, BLM, August 19, 1975; "Inspection Certificate," San Juan County, August 20, 1975; "Inspection Certificate," Grand County, August 20, 1975; "Inspection Certificate," Wayne County, August 20, 1975; folder 528, CANY 36607.

7. *An act to revise the boundaries of the Canyonlands National Park in the State of Utah, U.S. Statutes at Large* 85 (1971): 421; Bates Wilson to Frank Moss, May 31, 1972; George Hartzog to Moss, May 18, 1972; folder 21, box 397, Frank Moss Papers, University of Utah Special Collections (Moss Papers); Lloyd Garrison to Robert Redd, February 4, 1972; "Negotiator's Progress Record," March 6 and March 24, 1972; John Wright, Chief, Lands Division, NPS to Robert and Heidi Redd, April 14, 1972; Redds to Moss, May 1, 1972; Glen Alexander, Chief Ranger, CNP to Robert Kerr, Superintendent, CNP, memorandum, August 3, 1972; Wright to Redds, June 7, 1972, folder 542, CANY 36607; Redds to Moss, May 1, 1972; Paul Salisbury, Chairman, Uinta Chapter, Sierra Club to Moss, July 14, 1972; Moss to Salisbury, August 2, 1972; folders 17 and 21, box 597, Moss Papers; Heidi Redd, interview by author, May 19, 2004, Dugout Ranch, Utah, audiocassette, CANY 45551. Sierra Club members and the Redds met at a 1971 gathering at Canyonlands Resort to promote Edward Abbey and Philip Hyde's new book *Slickrock*, and they both agreed that mining was more hurtful to the environment and public lands than ranching.

8. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Plaintiff, vs. 80 ACRES OF LAND, MORE OR LESS, SITUATED IN SAN JUAN COUNTY, UTAH; ROBERT BYRON REDD, AKA ROBERT B. REDD, AND LYNDIA HEIDI REDD, HIS WIFE, ET AL; AND UNKNOWN OTHERS; Civil No. 74-6; "Answer to Complaint, Condemnation of Robert B. Redd and Lynda Heidi Redd," November 15, 1974, "United States of America vs. 80 acres of land and Redds;" Edward P. Westra, appraiser for NPS, July 25, 1975; folder 542, CANY 36607.

9. Lloyd Garrison to File, memorandum, December 11, 1975; Robert Kerr to Lynn Thompson, Director, Rocky Mountain Region (RMR), NPS, memorandum, December 8, 1975; Garrison to Chief, Division of Land Acquisition, RMR, memorandum, December 16, 1975; Raymond L.

Freeman, Ass't. Secretary, Fish and Wildlife, Department of the Interior (DOI) to Associate Solicitor, Conservation and Wildlife, DOI, memorandum, January 6, 1976; folder 542, CANY 36607.

10. Richard Lehman to NPS, 1974; folder L 3019 Cany, box 730827, National Park Service, Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver (NPS-FRC-D); "Grazing Allotments, Canyonlands National Park, Utah," in "Canyonlands Wilderness Environmental Impact Statement," folder 640, CANY 36607. Lehman, a rancher from Monticello sent the only letter protesting the phase-out. Citing falling stock prices and higher grazing fees, he believed more land should be left open to grazing and the phase-out should be deferred.

11. "Environmental Assessment, Proposed Grazing Phase-Out, Canyonlands National Park, Utah" July 9, 1974; folder 596, CANY 36607; "Environmental Review—Phasing Out Grazing, Canyonlands National Park, Utah;" attached to John Cook, Associate Director, Resource Management, NPS to Lynn Thompson, memorandum, March 29, 1974; Cook to Associate Director, Park System Management, NPS, memorandum, March 13, 1974; Cook to Thompson, memorandum, March 19, 1974; Thompson to Raymond Freeman, memorandum, October 11, 1974; folder L 3019 Cany, box 730827, NPS-FRC-D. Relating to grazing, in the act creating Canyonlands National Park it states the following: "Where any Federal lands included within Canyonlands National Park are legally occupied or utilized on the date of approval of this Act for grazing purposes, pursuant to a lease, permit or license for a fixed number of years issued or authorized by any department, establishment, or agency of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior shall permit the persons holding such grazing privileges to continue in the exercise thereof during the term of the lease, permit, or license, and one period of renewal thereafter." With no language in the expansion act to clarify varied expiration dates on BLM permits, the NPS adopted a policy allowing for eleven-year phase-outs.

12. "Evaluation of Mineral Resources, Canyonlands National Park, Utah;" folder 719, CANY 36607; "Mineral and Oil and Gas Leases, Canyonlands," in "Wilderness EIS, Canyonlands National Park;" folder 640; CANY 36607.

13. "Canyonlands Complex (CC) Staff Meeting Minutes," August 11, 1976; Glen Alexander, Unit Manager, CNP to District Manager, ISKY, memorandum, August 11, 1976; Alexander to District Managers, ISKY, MAZE and NEED, memorandum, July 6, 1978; folder 51; CANY 36607, "CC Staff Meeting Minutes," February 13, 1980 and March 13, 1980; folder 39, CANY 36607; "Superintendent's Annual

Report, Canyonlands National Park, 1980;" folder 7, CANY 36607. The men engaged in illegal mining operations were found guilty and fined \$600.

14. Kerr interview; Pat. H. Miller and Thomas L. Weeks, "Operations Evaluations Report, Canyonlands, Arches and Natural Bridges," April 1973; Robert Kerr to Merrill D. Beal, Director, Midwest Region (MWR), NPS, memorandum, June 13, 1973; folder A 5427 Cany, box 730818, NPS-FRC-D; "CC Staff Meeting Minutes," March 12, 1973; folder 48, CANY 36607.

15. "CC Staff Meeting Minutes," April 3, 1972; folder 47, CANY 36607; "Canyonlands National Park Superintendents Report, 1972," folder 5, CANY 36607.

16. "Operations Evaluation, Canyonlands, Arches and Bridges," 1973; folder A 5427 Cany, box 730818, NPS-FRC-D; Kerr interview; "Resource Management Plan, Arches, Canyonlands, and Natural Bridges," 1974; folder 228, CANY 36607; John Urbanek, interview by author, August 28, 2003, Moab, Utah, audiocassette; Pete Parry, interview by author, June 2, 2003, Moab, Utah, audiocassette; CANY 45551.

17. Gerald Witucki, Chief, Water Resources Division, Office of Land Acquisition, Western Service Center (WSC), NPS to District Chief, U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), January 13, 1971; "Application to Appropriate Water, State of Utah, Needles District, Canyonlands National Park," November 29, 1972; "Water Resources Proposal, Test Pump Well No. 2, Needles District, Canyonlands National Park," August 25, 1972; folder L 54 Water Cany, box 730828, NPS-FRC-D; Lynn Cudlip, Kevin Berghoff and David Vann-Miller, "Water Resources Management Plan, Arches National Park & Canyonlands National Park," 1998, NPS, pp. 16–17. The following wells have served the Needles District: (1) Well No. 1, inactive, dissolved solids; (2) Well No. 2, main source for the district, water pumped to maintenance area; (3) Well No. 3b, campers and hikers; (4) Wells Nos. 3a & 4 were not used after 1990; (5) Well No. 4a, only one used by late 1990s, headquarters, maintenance, housing and campgrounds; (6) Well No. 5, Canyonlands Resort and Needles Outpost; and (7) Well no. 6, test well, promising for the future.

18. "Water Resources Management Plan," pp. 17–19; "Water Resource Proposal to Drill and Develop Water Well, Hans Flat, Canyonlands National Park," August 28, 1972; Supervisory Hydraulic Engineer, MWR to Office of Natural Science Studies, NPS, memorandum, September 12, 1972; C. T. Sumison, Water Resources Division, USGS to E. W. Ketchum, Supervisory Hydraulic Engineer, MWR, memorandum, November 2, 1972; Sumison to Ketchum, memorandum, November 21, 1972; Merrill Beal to Glenn

Hendrix, Denver Service Center (DSC), NPS, memorandum, January 16, 1974; folder L 54 Water Matters Cany, box 730828, NPS-FRC-D. These water sources were found in the Island in the Sky District: (1) Cabin Spring; (2) Willow Spring; (3) Syncline Spring; (4) Holeman Spring; (5) Sheep Spring; (6) White Rim Nos. 1 & 2; (7) Taylor Canyon Nos. 1, 2 and 3; (8) Hardscrabble Spring; and (9) Lathrop Spring. These water sources were found in the Maze District and surrounding region: (1) Horseshoe Canyon; (2) Wildcat Spring; (3) Spring No. 9; (4) Burro Seep; (5) Hans Flat; (6) Horse Canyon Spring; (6) South Fork Spring; (7) Pictograph Spring; (8) Jasper Canyon Spring; (9) Water Canyon Spring; (10) and Sheep-er's Spring.

19. Superintendent's Annual Reports, Canyonlands National Park, 1971–1980; folders 5–7, CANY 36607; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1971–1980; folders 46–55, CANY 36607; "Canyonlands National Park, Draft Master Plan," 1973; folder 184, CANY 36607; "Statement for Management, Canyonlands National Park," 1973; folder 638, CANY 36607; "Interpretive Prospectus, Canyonlands National Park," folder K 1817, Southeast Utah Group Central Files (SEUG-CF).

20. CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1973–1980; folders 48–55, CANY 36607; Superintendent's Annual Reports, Canyonlands National Park, 1971–1980; folders 5–7, CANY 36607.

21. Urbanek interview; Superintendents Annual Reports, Canyonlands National Park, 1975–1979; folders 5–6, CANY 36607; "Moab faces Loss of Federal Fund if Action not Taken on Dump," *Times-Independent*, January 29, 1976; "City-County-Federal Officials to Tour Possible Landfill Sites on Monday," *T-I*, February 24, 1977.

22. Urbanek interview; Superintendent's Annual Reports, CNP, 1972–1978; John Urbanek to Pete Parry, memorandum, January 5, 1979; Urbanek to Parry, memorandum, January 5, 1979; folders 5–7, CANY 36607.

23. "Canyonlands Superintendent's Report for 1972," folder 5, CANY 36607; Urbanek interview; "Development/Study Package Proposal, Hans Flat, Canyonlands National Park," 1972; Merrill Beal to Kerr, memorandum, September 22, 1972; Beal to Johannes Jensen, Director, DSC, memorandum, December 11, 1972; "Hans Flat Development Concept Plan and Environmental Assessment, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and Canyonlands National Park," November 1973; folder 187, CANY 36607.

24. *Act to revise the boundaries of Canyonlands National Park, 1971; Act to establish the Glen Canyon National Recreation*

Area in the States of Arizona and Utah, U.S. Statutes at Large 86 (1973): 1311–13; Gustav Muehlenhaupt, Superintendent, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (GCNRA) to Bates Wilson, memorandum, April 28, 1966; R. Merrick Smith, Office of Resource Planning, NPS to Daniel Beard, Director, Southwest Region (SWR), NPS, memorandum, November 9, 1966; folder 181, CANY 36607; C. E. Johnson, Superintendent, GCNRA to Director, MWR, memorandum, December 28, 1973; folder D 18 Master Plan Cany, box 730280, NPS-FRC-D; “Memorandum of Understanding, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and Canyonlands National Park,” December 1, 1975; folder 638, CANY 36607; James Walters, District Ranger, Maze District, CNP to Glen Alexander, memorandum, August 6, 1975; “Resource Management Plan, Canyonlands National Park,” folder 228, CANY 36607.

25. “Preliminary Management Statement, Canyonlands National Park,” Office of Environmental Planning and Design, WSC; “Planning Directive, Canyonlands National Park,” June 30, 1970; William Bowen, Director, WSC to George Hartzog, memorandum, April 24, 1970; folder 187, CANY 36607; Kerr interview.

26. *Act to revise the boundaries of the Canyonlands National Park.*

27. *An Act creating Arches National Park, U.S. Statutes at Large* 85 (1972): 423; *An Act creating Capitol Reef National Park, U.S. Statutes at Large* 85 (1972): 738; Robert Kerr to J. Leonard Volz, Director, MWR, NPS memorandum, August 14, 1972; folder 186, CANY 36607; Volz to Richard Curry, Associate Director, Legislation, NPS, memorandum, May 4, 1973; Glenn Hendrix to Lynn Thompson, memorandum, February 25, 1974; folder D 18 Cany, box 730280, NPS-FRC-D; “Draft Master Plan, Canyonlands National Park,” 1973; folders 185–188, CANY 36607; “Transportation Study—Arches, Canyonlands and Capitol Reef National Parks,” Environmental Associates, Salt Lake City, 1973.

28. “Planning and Design Process,” DSC-NPS, August 1973; “Briefing Statement, Planning Status, Canyonlands National Park,” 1973; folder 187, CANY 36607. The “Planning and Design Process” report outlined the following stages to create a General Management Plan (GMP): (1) Pre-authorization planning; (2) New Area Significance Study; (3) Basic Resource Inventory; (4) Preliminary Statement of Management Objectives; (5) Planning Direction; and (6) Master Plan. Related plans and documents included the following: (1) Resource Management Plan; (2) Wilderness Plan; (3) Land and Water Rights Acquisition Schedules; (4) Interpretive Plan; (5) Development Concept Plan; (6) Concession Management Plan, and (7) Programming Action Plan.

29. Kerr Interview; “Trouble Shooter’s Guide to EIS in the NPS: 62 Problems and How to Solve Them,” Raymond Freeman to John Cook, Associate Director, NPS, May 28, 1975; folder 145, CANY 36607. The “Trouble Shooter’s Guide” addressed the following issues: (1) Format; (2) Description of Proposal; (3) Description of Environment; (4) Environmental Impact of Proposed Action; (5) Mitigating Measures of Proposed Action; (6) Unavoidable Adverse Impacts; (7) Relationship Between Short-Term Uses of Environment and Maintenance and Enhancement of Long-Term Productivity; (8) Irreversible or Irrecoverable Impacts of Resources Involved in Proposed Action; (9) Alternatives to Proposed Action; and (10) Consultation and Coordination. By 1975 the NPS’s forty-person NEPA Compliance Program staff had completed 450 EISs for master plans, concessions contracts and construction projects, eleven of which went had gone to court, and had a huge workload that created “frustration and low morale.”

30. “Development/Study Package Proposal, Hans Flat, Canyonlands National Park,” September 12, 1972; Merrill Beal to Kerr, memorandum, September 22, 1972; Beal to Acting Director, MWR, memorandum, December 11, 1972; folder 187, CANY 36607; Marvin Kay, “Archeological Road Surveys in Canyonlands National Park and Adjacent Bureau of Land Management Areas, Wayne and Garfield Counties, Utah,” Midwestern Archeological Center (MWAC), NPS, August 1973; “Hans Flat Development Concept Plan and Environmental Assessment, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and Canyonlands National Park,” November 1973; folder 187, CANY 36607; C. E. Johnson to Beal, memorandum, December 28, 1973; Beal to Glenn Hendrix, memorandum, January 8, 1974; folder D 18 Cany, box 730280, NPS-FRC-D. The NPS designated \$242,000 for the Hans Flat facilities in FY 1973.

31. John McComb, Southwest Representative, Sierra Club to Robert Kerr, May 21, 1974; McComb to Kerr, May 30, 1974; Kerr to McComb, June 7, 1974; Kerr to McComb, June 20, 1974; McComb to Sierra Club Members, July 21, 1974; folder 176, box 7, Wilderness Society Papers; *Southwest Wildlands* vol. 4, no. 7 (Southwest Office, Sierra Club, Santa Fe, New Mexico, August 6, 1974): no page; Ruth Frear, Uinta Chapter, Sierra Club to Sierra Club Members about “Wilderness Areas Leading Toward Hans Flat, Maze,” folder 16, box 16, Sierra Club Papers.

32. Edward Abbey, *Desert Solitaire: A Season in the Wilderness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968; New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970; New York, Ballantine, 1971); Abbey, *Slickrock: The Canyon Country of Southeastern Utah* (New York: Scribners, 1971; Layton, Utah, Peregrine-Smith, 1987; *The Monkey Wrench Gang* (New York: Lippincott, 1974; New

York, William Morrow, 1976; Cannongate, London, 1978; Dream Garden Press, Salt Lake City, 1985 and 1990; Roaming the West, Salt Lake City, 1990; New York: Harper, 2000); Abbey, "Introduction," *Four Corners Geological Society Guidebook, 8th Field Conference, Canyonlands, 1975* (Four Corners Geological Society, Durango, Colorado, 1975). *Slickrock* was written to support the creation of an Escalante Wilderness Area, mixed Abbey's text with Philip Hyde's photographs and covered regions from the Escalante River to Capitol Reef and Canyonlands. The chapter "On Canyonlands," had a lengthy photographic essay and included the following sixteen images: Monument Basin; Chesler Park (2); cryptobiotic soils; Water Canyon (2); Hatch Canyon; La Sal Mountains; Gypsum Canyon; Land of Standing Rocks (2); Doll House; The Maze; The Fins; and Lavender Canyon.

33. Glenn Hendrix, Chief, New Area Studies and Master Plans, Western Office of Design and Construction (WODC), NPS to Daniel Beard, SWR, memorandum, NPS, July 13, 1965; Thomas Flynn, Legislative Office, NPS to Files, memorandum, September 16, 1970; folder 145, CANY 36607; "Status Sheet, Canyonlands National Park," January 1972; folder 637, CANY 36607; Robert Kerr to Merrill Beal, memorandum, January 17, 1973; "Wilderness Study: Canyonlands National Park, Utah," December 1972; Philip Iversen to Beal, memorandum, January 22, 1973; Hendrix to Beal, memorandum, September 7, 1973; folder L 48 Cany, box 730828, NPS-FRC-D; "Status of Wilderness in National Parks, 1973, Canyonlands National Park;" folder 639, CANY 36607; "Road Inventory, May 1975, Canyonlands National Park;" folder 279, CANY 36607. In the 1972 Draft Wilderness Plan for Canyonlands, 56,200 acres were designated in the Needles and Salt Creek, 162,100 acres in the canyons of the Green and Colorado rivers, Grabens and Maze, 39,200 acres on the Island and 8,400 acres of "potential wilderness" on the rivers. These zones did not often correlate with the park districts, for example, the zone that place the Maze and Grabens together.

34. Richard Curry to Regional Directors, NPS, memorandum, April 4, 1974; folder "Wilderness Areas" Cany, box 730878, NPS-FRC-D. Wilderness investigations in national parks had to address these issues: (1) Authority creating the park unit; (2) Area of unit, land ownership and cost of acquiring private lands; (3) Area of wilderness proposed, land ownership and acquisition cost; (4) Area of potential wilderness; (5) Mineral claims in wilderness area and cost of acquiring valid claims; (6) Grazing, water and access rights; (7) Legislation that would alter legal status; (8) Whether wilderness designation would need change in laws; (9) Other legal questions; (10) Political positions of state and local governments; (11) Indian rights; (12) Impacts on other Department of Interior

agencies; (13) Political positions of private organizations; 14) Impacts on other federal agencies; 15) Tradeoffs and miscellaneous issues.

35. Folder, Wilderness Areas RMR, box 730878 NPS-FRC-D; folder 641, CANY 36607; Calvin Rampton to Philip Iversen, January 17, 1974; Executive Order Creating a State Clearing House, Environmental Coordinating Committee and Inter-Departmental Coordination Group, Calvin Rampton, August 27, 1974; folder 145, CANY 36607; Jerry Wood for Calvin Rampton, Public Statement, Monticello, Utah, August 12, 1974; Sam Taylor, State Road Commission, Public Statement, Moab, Utah, August 12, 1974; Dale Halmer, San Juan County Commission, Public Statement, August 12, 1974; folder 641, CANY 36607. The Wilderness Act (P. L. 88-577) deadline to submit reports on wilderness in national parks was September 3, 1974. The enabling legislation for Canyonlands, Arches, Capitol Reef and Glen Canyon required reports on wilderness to be completed by fall 1974. From the 352 letters received by the NPS on wilderness in Canyonlands National Park, 31 agreed with the Park Service proposal, 271 wanted more wilderness, 29 less wilderness and 8 no wilderness. Most of the 250 correspondents wanting more wilderness were members of these environmental organizations: Wilderness Society, Sierra Club, Wasatch Mountain Club, Friends of the Earth, National Parks and Conservation Association, Desert Protective Council, Audubon Society and Conservation League.

36. "Wilderness Hearings, Canyonlands NP," July 1, 1974; folders 637 and 639, CANY 36607; Hearings were held in Monticello (thirty-two people, eleven oral statements) and Moab (forty people, eighteen oral statements) on August 12, 1974; and Salt Lake City (thirty-seven people, fourteen oral statements), on August 15, 1974.

37. James Isenogle, Acting Ass't. Director, Utah, NPS to Merrill Beal, memorandum, January 25, 1974; Glen Bean, Acting Director, RMR to Robert Kerr, memorandum, September 16, 1974; Lynn Thompson to Dale Halmer, September 26, 1974; Kerr to Thompson, memorandum, September 19, 1974; folder L 48 Cany, box 730878, NPS-FRC-D.

38. "Wilderness Recommendations, October 1974, Canyonlands National Park, Utah;" folder 639, CANY 36607. Wilderness at Canyonlands was divided into the following wilderness" and potential wilderness acreages: Unit 1—Needles, 57,510 and 2,355; Unit 2—Maze, 102,200 and 730; Unit 3—White Rim, 36,000 and 100; Unit 4—Little Spring Canyon, 5,000 and 100; Unit 5—Stillwater Canyon, 6,600 and 0; Unit 6—Upheaval Dome, 47,600 and 13,595; Unit 7—Horseshoe Canyon, 2,500 and 0; Unit 8—Shafer Canyon, 1,250 and 590; and Unit

9—Elephant Canyon, 1,490 and 700. The totals were 260,150 acres of wilderness and 18,270 acres of potential wilderness.

39. "Status of Wilderness, 1973;" folder 279, CANY 36607. The first stage drop zone for the 250 Pershing and Athena missiles fired from the Green River Missile Base between 1963 and 1973 included 19,000 acres of the Needles District and many thousands more on BLM lands that affected access to the park, with the evacuations and area closures lasting an average of twelve hours. As of 1973 there had been only one case of debris falling into the park, the 1966 incident with the Hound Dog missile destroyed by remote control outlined in the previous chapter.

40. Glen Alexander to Robert Kerr, memorandum, January 6, 1975; Kerr to Lynn Thompson, memorandum, January 31, 1975; Pete Parry to Thompson, memorandum, February 5, 1976; folder 5, CANY 36607; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1975; folder 50, CANY 36607. Harold Ellingson, Keith Miller, Opal Bradford and Carla Daniels researched claims, Maxine Christensen indexed claims, and Ken and Marilyn Mabery checked geographic locations.

41. *Act to provide for the regulation of mining activity within, and to repeal the application of mining laws to areas of the National Park System, and for other purposes, U. S. Statutes at Large* 90 (1978): 1342-45; "New Mining Regulations Adopted by the Park Service," *Times-Independent*, February 24, 1977; "Superintendent's Annual Report for Canyonlands National Park, 1977;" folder 5, CANY 36607. The six park units open to mining addressed in the law were Death Valley, Glacier Bay, Crater Lake, Organ Pipe, Mount McKinley and Coronado.

42. Briefing Statement, "Confluence Overlook Road—Canyonlands National Park;" folder 286, CANY 36607.

43. George Hartzog to Frank Moss, February 4, 1972; Moss to Hartzog, February 9, 1972; Moss to William Ruckelhaus, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), February 9, 1972; Moss to Francis Turner, Administrator, Federal Highway Administration (FHA), February 9, 1972; M. F. Maloney, Associate Administrator, Engineering and Traffic Operations, FHA to Moss, February 18, 1972; Sheldon Meyers, Director, Office of Federal Activities, EPA to Moss, March 3, 1972; Maloney to Moss, March 20, 1972; folder 10, box 397, Moss Papers.

44. Thomas Flynn, Acting Director, NPS to Nathaniel Reed, Ass't. Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, DOI, memorandum, June 23, 1972; folder 286, CANY 36607.

45. Staff, Senator Frank Moss to Senator Moss, memorandum, April 9, 1973; Staff to Moss, memorandum, July 19, 1973; Staff to Moss, memorandum, September 6, 1973; Staff to Moss, memorandum, September 12, 1973; Moss to J. Leonard Volz, September 25, 1973; Volz to Moss, September 28, 1973; Press Release, "Moss announces Progress on Canyonlands Road," October 9, 1973; Staff to Moss, memorandum, October 10, 1973; Staff to Moss, memorandum, 1973 (n. d.); folder 13, box 484, Moss Papers; Gary Bunney, Keyman, MWR to Richard Curry June 28, 1973; "Ten Questions from Senator Moss on the Squaw Flat Road in Canyonlands with Replies from MWR Office," 1973; DSC to Stanley Albright, Deputy Associate Director, Operations, NPS, memorandum, August 1973 (n. d.); John McComb to Nathaniel Reed, August 29, 1973; Reed to McComb, September 18, 1973; Russell Dickenson, Deputy Director, NPS to Nat Owings, WSC, memorandum, November 2, 1973; folder D 30 Cany, box 730821, NPS-FRC-D; H. Paul Friesema, Associate Director, Department of Political Science and Urban Affairs, Northwestern University to Reed, November 6, 1973; Reed to Friesema, December 13, 1973; folder 13, box 484, Moss Papers; "Canyonlands Road Extension Closer to Construction, *Times Independent*, August 16, 1973.

46. *Canyon Country National Parkway*, 93rd Cong., 1st sess., S. 26; folder 1, box 436, Moss Papers; Frank Moss, "Canyon Country Parkway," *Home Magazine*, December 17, 1973 (no page); folder 13, box 484, Moss Papers.

47. James Isenogle to Robert Kerr, memorandum, January 28, 1974; Kerr to Philip Iversen, memorandum, February 13, 1974; folder 319, CANY 36607. Kerr approved of these routes: US 163, SR 95, SR 261, SR 211, FAS 345, SR 128 and USFS roads in the Abajos. The UDOT study included twelve roads or spurs near Glen Canyon, two near Arches and the following in or near Canyonlands: (1) US 163, Mexican Hat to Crescent Junction, (2) SR 9 north and west of Monticello to Dugout Ranch (USFS and San Juan County road); (3) West from Scenic Route 24, west of Monticello; (4) park road, county, FAS-345, Grand View Point, SR-9; (5) FAS 346 and 345, SR-278 and 279, Dead Horse Point by way of the Colorado River; (6) USFS route numbers 50079, 88, 95 and 104, and the "Canyonlands Recreation Way" from U.S. 160 at Monticello to Utah 95 at Grand Flat; (7) Hatch Point Road and US Highway 160 to Hatch Point Overlook; (8) Dark Canyon Road, Dugout Ranch to Manti-La Sal National Forest border; (9) Hatch Point Road to Cane Gulch, (10) Canyonlands East Entrance Loop Road, and (11) US 160 to Needles District border.

48. "Canyonlands Road Construction Schedule, 1973;" Donald Purse, DSC to J. Leonard Volz, memorandum, February 1973; folder D 30 Cany, box 730821, NPS-FRC-D;

Russell Dickenson to Nat Owings, WSC, memorandum, November 2, 1973; "Briefing Statement, Confluence Overlook Road, CNP," 1974; "Inventory for Bridge Safety Inspection, Little Spring Canyon," attached to Thomas L. Hartman, Acting Superintendent, CNP to Glen Bean, memorandum, February 27, 1976; folder 286, CANY 36607; "Confluence Road Inspection, 2.3 mile section from Little Spring Canyon to Big Spring Creek," attached to J. R. Budwig, Director, Office of Federal Highways Projects, NPS to Lynn Thompson, memorandum, February 19, 1974; Budwig to Glenn Hendrix, May 23, 1974; folder D 18 Cany, box 730280, NPS-FRC-D; "Notice of Call for Bids, Canyonlands Project 5 (3), Needles Road, San Juan County," June 5, 1974, Department of Transportation, FHA; folder 30, Cany box 730281, NPS-FRC-D; Superintendent Annual Reports, Canyonlands National Park, 1974–1976; folder 5, CANY 36607.

49. Fran Barnes, Executive Director, Moab Chapter, Issue to Robert Kerr, 1973 (n. d.); folder 176, box 7, Wilderness Society Papers; Kerr interview.

50. Superintendent Annual Reports, Canyonlands National Park, 1972–1978; folders 5–6, CANY 36607. Science at Canyonlands from 1972–1978 included these topics: Botany—Douglas fir, vegetation recovery after grazing, plant synecology, Salt Cedar and landscape change; Zoology—small mammals, Bighorn Sheep; Geology—geometry and growth of grabens, ground water, Navajo Formation, Elephant Canyon Formation, fracture density/rock resistance in free-standing walls and buttes; Entomology—entomogenous fungi in mosquito larvae; Human Impacts—riparian human carrying capacity, visitor perceptions, campground impacts on small mammals, human waste sanitation on rivers, sewage and waste disposal and off-road vehicle impacts; Invasive Species—tamarisk control methods.

51. "Resources Management Plan, Arches and Canyonlands National Park, Natural Bridges National Monument," September 1972; "Canyonlands National Park Resource Management Action Plan, 1974;" Thomas Wylie, Acting Unit Manager, CNP to Robert Kerr, memorandum, April 1, 1974; "Resources Basic Inventory, Arches National Park, Canyonlands National Park and Natural Bridges National Monument," draft, September 16, 1974; "Resources Management Plan, Arches National Park, Canyonlands National Park and Natural Bridges National Monument," 1974; "Management Objectives for Canyonlands, 1974;" folder 228, CANY 36607; Donald Purse, Ass't. Manager, MWR/RMR to Lynn Thompson, memorandum, December 19, 1976; folder N 16 Cany, box 723884, NPS-FRC-D.

52. Thomas Wylie, interview by author, Nov. 6, 2003,

Englewood, Colorado, audiocassette, CANY 45551; "Tragic Park Air Crash Claims Four Lives," *Times-Independent*, May 24, 1973; "Superintendent's Annual Report, Canyonlands National Park, 1974," folder 5, CANY 36607; "Factual Aircraft Accident Report," National Transportation Safety Board, June 22, 1973; folder 148, CANY 36607. The plane crashed nose-first into a fifteen-degree slope below the White Rim, the fire burned up all usable evidence and there were no witnesses to the crash.

53. John P. Marwitt, "Archeological Inspection of Proposed Road from Squaw Flat to Confluence Overlook, Canyonlands National Park, Utah," University of Utah Anthropology Department, 1970, unpub. ms.; LaMar W. Lindsay and Rex E. Madsen, "Report of Archeological Surveys of Pipe Springs National Monument water supply system project, Zion National Park sewer extension project, Arches National Park road and sewage disposal area projects, and Canyonlands National Park road projects, Needles and Grandview Point areas," MWAC, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1973, unpub. ms.; "Archeological Road Surveys of Canyonlands and Capitol Reef National Parks and Adjacent Bureau of Land Management Areas, Wayne and Garfield Counties, Utah," MWAC, August 1973, unpub. ms. Canyonlands' staff began cataloging sites shortly after the park was created in 1964, but the reporting methods used were not consistent or always done at what archeologists would consider a high professional level.

54. Patrick Hogan, Leonard Losee and James Dodge, "Archeological Investigations in the Maze District, Canyonlands National Park, Utah," Vol. I, University of Utah (U of U) Anthropology Department, 1975, unpub. ms.; Losee and William Lucius, "Archeological Investigations in the Maze District, Canyonlands National Park, Utah," Vol. II, U of U Anthropology Department, 1975, unpub. ms.; Lucius, "Archeological Investigations in the Maze District, Canyonlands National Park," *Antiquities Section, Selected Papers 11*, U of U Anthropology Department, 1976; Adrienne Anderson, field notes, Barrier Canyon and the Colorado River, 1976, MWAC; unpub. ms.; Anderson, "Archeological Resources of Canyonlands, Capitol Reef and Arches National Parks and Natural Bridges National Monument, Southeastern Utah," MWAC, 1978. During the 1975 survey, from March 22 to May 5 the University of Utah team found 48 sites (2 habitation, 5 storage, 8 alcove, 13 transient camps, 12 chipping and 13 rock art), and from August 3 to September 22 they found 200 sites (11 habitation, 60 rock shelters, 36 open camps, 27 storage and 31 rock art). They also worked in the Island in the Sky District at Fort and Upheaval Bottoms. By 1978, 650 sites had been identified in Canyonlands; 304 in the Needles, 248 in the Maze and 80 in the Island.

55. "Annual Travel Canyonlands," folder 96, CANY 36607;

"Canyonlands National Park Backcountry Management Plan," 1973, Southeast Utah Group Resource Management Library (SEUG-RM); "Number of Visits and Estimated Expenditures of Visitors to Canyonlands National Park for Five-Year Construction Period and First Twenty Years of the Operations Period," p. 17, Robert R. Edminster and Osmond L. Harline, *An Economic Study of the Proposed Canyonlands National Park and Related Recreation Resources*, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Utah, 1962. In the 1962 study, 120,000 visitors were expected by the fifth year, 250,000 by the sixth, 350,000 by the seventh, 437,500 by the eighth, 503,100 by the ninth, 553,400 by the tenth and 726,700 by the fifteenth. Projected visitation numbers were lowered significantly by the NPS in the mid-1960s to 25,000 in 1968, 31,000 in 1970, 36,000 in 1971 and 38,000 in 1972.

56. "Annual Report on Parks and Recreation," Utah Department of Parks and Recreation; folder 16, box 32, Calvin Rampton Papers, Utah State Archives (Rampton Papers); Canyonlands National Park Superintendent Reports, 1972–1989; folders 5–8, CANY 36607. Arches' visitation was three to four times that of Canyonlands in the 1970s, with totals of 225,510 in 1972, 276,011 in 1973, 171,313 in 1974, 237,915 in 1975 and 294,779 in 1976. In 1969, 1970 and 1971, Dead Horse Point State Park had 34,587, 38,173 and 57,420 visitors; Newspaper Rock Park, 15,240, 3,992 and 5,298; and Canyonlands National Park, 26,035, 33,360 and 55,444. Natural Bridges had more visitors than Canyonlands until 1972, then stayed close until the mid-1980s when Canyonlands' attendance jumped sharply.

57. Thomas Wylie, "Canyonlands Backcountry Management Plan," 1973, SEUG-RM; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, folders 46–54, CANY 36607; Canyonlands National Park Superintendent Reports, 1972–1979, folders 5–6, CANY 36607. Backcountry visitation was first tallied in 1969 in the Island, Needles and River Districts; the Maze in 1972.

58. Charles A. Budge, Chief Ranger, CNP to Bates Wilson, memorandum, (1972, n. d.); folder 536; CANY 36607; Monthly Reports, Island in the Sky, April–July 1967; folders 3–4, CANY 36607; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1966–1971; folders 41–46, CANY 36607. River visitation numbers were not kept separately from upland visitation numbers until 1969. The Island in the Sky staff led an orientation trip from July 29 to August 1 to find campsites for river trips, analyze clean-up issues and assess communications. Lathrop Canyon, Sheep Bottom, Lower Red Lake Canyon, Gypsum Canyon and Right Bank Bowdrie Point were camp sites recommended by the study group.

59. Bates Wilson to Bill Belknap, Western River Guides Association, November 29, 1971; folder L 30 Cany, box

730827, NPS-FRC-D; Charles Budge to J. Leonard Volz, memorandum, December 22, 1971; folder 591, CANY 36607; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, January 8, 1973; folder 48, CANY 36607; "Superintendents Annual Report, Canyonlands National Park, 1972;" folder 5, CANY 36607.

60. Philip Iversen to J. Leonard Volz, March 5, 1973; folder L 30 Cany, box 730827, NPS-FRC-D.

61. Merrill Beal to Raymond Freeman, Washington, D. C., NPS (WASO), memorandum, 1973 (n. d); folder L 30 Cany, box 730827, NPS-FRC-D.

62. Robert Kerr to J. Leonard Volz, memorandum, December 12, 1972; Kerr to River Outfitters, December 12, 1972; folder 535, CANY 36607; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, January 8, 1973; folder 48, CANY 36607; "Superintendents Report, Canyonlands National Park, 1972;" folder 5, CANY 36607.

63. "River Visitation Statistics," Folder 550, CANY 36607. Experiencing large increases in river usage, Grand Canyon National Park (55 in 1956 to 16,000 in 1972), and Dinosaur National Monument (2,500 in 1967 to 17,000 in 1972), were the first park units to focus on river management. They started regulating concessionaires on the Colorado, Green and Yampa Rivers with a system that reflected each permittee's historical use. Because the business histories of Canyonlands' river running concessionaires were short, the NPS started there with equal quotas.

64. Ron Smith, Canyonlands Expeditions to Robert Kerr, December 28, 1972, Roderick Nash, University of California-Santa Barbara to Kerr, January 22, 1973; James Hurst, Green River Aviation to Frank Moss, December 26, 1973; Kerr to Calvin Rampton, Governor, Utah, February 1, 1973; R. C. Skeen, Canyonlands Expeditions to Ronald Walker, Director, NPS, May 7, 1973, Wayne Owens, Congressman, Utah to Kerr, March 20, 1973; Kerr to Owens, March 26, 1973; Don Hatch, Hatch Expeditions to Kerr, March 29, 1973; Richard G. Brown, Western River Expeditions to Kerr, April 6, 1973; Kerr to Canyonlands River Outfitters, May 31, 1973; Smith to Kerr, October 4, 1973; folder 535, CANY 36607.

65. "Initial Efforts in River Use and Management," John D. Hunt, James J. Kennedy, Stephen F. McCool, Lawrence E. Royer and Neil E. Weston, Utah State University, Logan, Utah, 1974; folder 550, CANY 36607. Future Utah State University studies included the following: Lawrence E. Royer, "A Method to Evaluate the Capacity of Free Flowing Wild Land Rivers of the Intermountain Region;" and Richard Schreyer, Lawrence Royer and Joseph Roggen-

buck, "Analyze and Interpret User Perception of the Recreation Carrying Capacity of the Colorado River in Canyonlands National Park and the Green and Yampa Rivers in Dinosaur National Monument."

66. Monthly Reports, Island in the Sky District (ISKY), 1964–1966; Monthly Reports, ISKY, April–July 1967; folders 3–4, CANY 36607; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1966–1971; folders 41–46, CANY 36607; Charles Wyatt, River District Ranger, CNP to District Ranger, ISKY, memorandum, September 7, 1966; Bates Wilson to Daniel Beard, memorandum, September 20, 1967; Tom Bredow, ISKY District Ranger to Vernon Merritt, Commodore, Canyon Country River Marathon Association (CCRMA), July 10, 1967; F. C. Kokziol, Director, Utah Parks and Recreation to Commodore Baker, CCRMA, June 13, 1968; J. F. Carithers, Chief, Boating, Utah Parks and Recreation to Gary Anderson, Commodore, CCRMA, Feb. 9, 1970; folder L 30, Southeast Utah Group Central Files. (SEUG-CF).

67. Robert Kerr to Board of Directors, CCRMA, November 15, 1973; folder L 30, SEUG-CF.

68. Glen Alexander to Robert Kerr, memorandum, January 31, 1974; Alexander to Kerr, memorandum, February 14, 1974; Kerr to CCRMA Board of Directors, June 3, 1974; Alexander to Kerr, memorandum, June 3, 1974; Pete Parry to CCRMA Board of Directors, April 22, 1975; Alexander to Parry, memorandum, June 10, 1975; Glenn L. Baxter to Parry, August 22, 1975; Parry to Baxter, September 4, 1975; "Regulations for 1976 Friendship Cruise;" U.S. Department of the Interior, Canyonlands National Park; Parry to Public, April 28, 1976; Alexander to Parry, memorandum, June 8, 1976; folder L 30, SEUG-CF; Superintendent Reports, Canyonlands National Park, 1972–1977; folder 5, CANY 36607; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1972–1976; folders 47–51, CANY 36607. The Friendship Cruise participation numbers dropped from a high of 425 boats and 2,400 people in 1972 to 325 and 1,500 in 1974 and 351 and 1,600 in 1975, with the 1975 numbers near the average maintained throughout the decade. Items found in post-event clean-ups included coolers, 55-gallon fuel drums, toilet paper, human waste, glass bottles, cans, bullet casings, shotgun shells, trailer tires, boat parts, damaged hulls, engines, oil and gasoline.

69. "Canyonlands National Park: Summary of Backcountry Management Activities, 1975;" "Spur of the Moment Thoughts," 1971, attached to Charles Budge to J. Leonard Volz, memorandum, December 22, 1971; Robert Kerr to Volz, memorandum, November 14, 1972; folder 591, CANY 36607; Thomas Wylie, "Canyonlands National Park Backcountry Management Plan," 1973; folder N 1623 Cany, box 730830, NPS-FRC-D; "Superintendent's

Annual Report, Canyonlands National Park, 1974;" Kerr to Volz, memorandum, January 29, 1974; Glen Alexander, Canyonlands Unit Manager to Kerr, memorandum, January 1, 1977; Superintendent's Annual Reports, Canyonlands National Park, 1975–1978, folders 5–6, CANY 36607.

70. Robert Kerr to J. Leonard Volz, memorandum, August 4, 1972; folder D 5027 CanyVol. 3, box 782314, NPS-FRC-D; Thomas Wylie to Charles Budge, memorandum, January 21, 1973; Merrill Beal to Glenn Hendrix, memorandum, August 9, 1973; Frank Weed, "Engineering Report With Recommendations for Improving Two-Way Radio System, Canyonlands National Park," 1973; Ralph McFadden, DSC Senior Electrical Engineer to Kerr, memorandum, July 16, 1974; folder D 5027 Comm Cany, box 730823, NPS-FRC-D; Donald Purse to Kerr, memorandum, August 17, 1973; Superintendent Annual Reports, Canyonlands National Park, 1972–1980; folders 5–7, CANY 36607; Glen Alexander to District Ranger, memorandum, ISKY, March 9, 1973; folder 535, CANY 36607. In the 1970s the park had an average of four full-time and three seasonal law enforcement personnel in the field at any given time. Most incidents and violations by patrons involved off-road driving or illegal camping.

71. Robert Kerr to J. Leonard Volz, memorandum, February 20, 1974; US DOI, NPS, Canyonlands NP, Utah, 36 CFR, Part 7, Colorado River System Trips, Four-Wheel Drive Vehicle Operations, 1973; folder 535, CANY 36607.

72. Jeep Tour Concession Statistics, Needles District, 1967, folder 157, CANY 36607; "Four Wheel and Two Wheel Drive Land Tours, Stock Tours, Hiking Tours, Canyonlands National Park;" "Commercial Tour Operators Visitor Use Data, 1974;" folder Visitor Use, 1969–1988, Concessions Central Files, Southeast Utah Group (SEUG-CCF). Two 4-wheel and 2-wheel drive concessionaires were added in 1970s; Outlaw Trails owned by the Ekker family and Tex's Tours under Tex McClatchy to augment its river tours. There were two stock tour companies, Horsehead based at Canyonlands Resort and Outlaw Trails; two hiking concessionaires, Canyonlands and Peace and Quiet. Stock and hiking tour numbers were nominal at the park. Hiking trips never had more than 66 people in any year, with stock trips also low except for 1976 when Outlaw Trails had 427 customers and Horsehead Tours, 79. Record keeping on land tours was spotty from 1964 to 1973 and focused on the Needles District and White Rim Trail. Detailed land concessions records were first kept in 1974, breaking out numbers by district the next year.

73. U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Canyonlands National Park, 36 CFR Part 7;

"Colorado River System Trips, Four-Wheel Drive Vehicle Operations;" Legal Authority, Section 3, Act of August 25, 1916, 939 Stat. 535, amended by 16 U.S.C. 30; Section 5 of the Act of September 12, 1964 (P. L. 88-590), was amended by the Act of Nov. 12, 1971 (P. L. 92-154); this was later added to 7.93, Title 36 of the Code of Federal Regulations.

74. Acting District Ranger, ISKY to Glen Alexander, memorandum, October 2, 1976; Greg Smith, Youth Activity Conservation Corps, CNP to District Ranger, ISKY, memorandum, August 25, 1978; Steve Snara, U.S. Attorney, Salt Lake City to Alexander, telephone conversation, September 11, 1978; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1978-1979; folders 53-54, CANY 36607; Superintendent's Annual Reports, Canyonlands National Park, 1979-1980; folders 6-7, CANY 36607; F. A. Barnes, "The Walking Rocks: A Trip Along the White Rim Trail in Canyonlands National Park," *Desert Magazine*, May 1978; "Tour Guide, Park Service lock horns over access to White Rim view points," *Times Independent*, September 14, 1978; Lin Ottinger, Op-Ed, *TI*, Virginia Robideaux, "Utahn Peeved at Park Service Over Scenic Trail Vehicle Ban," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 4, 1979; Ira J. Hutchinson, Deputy Director, NPS to Senator Orrin Hatch, January 25, 1979; Ottinger to Secretary of Interior Cecil Andrus, April 16, 1979; Ottinger to Hatch, April 27, 1979; folder 175, CANY 36607; CANY 40585. The agreement between the NPS and Ottinger reopened the following roads for his use: (1) Walking Rocks; (2) Gooseneck, Balanced Rock and Anticline Viewpoints; (3) Spur from White Rim near Shafer Canyon; (4) Washer Woman Arch; (5) Shafer Wash; (6) Little Bridge Canyon; (7) Fort Bottom Viewpoint; (8) Viewpoint of Sheep Bottom; and (9) Viewpoint near Buck Canyon.

75. Pete Parry, interview by author, June 2, 2003, Moab, Utah, audiocassette, CANY 45551.

76. Parry interview; "Superintendent's Annual Report for Canyonlands National Park, 1975," folder 5, CANY 36607.

77. "Statement for Management, Canyonlands National Park," 1972; folder 638, CANY 36607; Canyonlands National Park, Draft Master Plan," December 30, 1973; folder 184, CANY 36607; Thomas Hartman, Acting Superintendent, CNP to John McComb, October 10, 1975; folder 181, CANY 36607; "Resource Basic Inventory Necessary for Planning and Management, Arches NP, Canyonlands NP, Capitol Reef NP and Natural Bridges NM," Planning Directive, DSC, May 14, 1975; folder D 18 Master Plan Cany, Vol. 1, box 793071, NPS-FRC-D.

78. "Planning Directive, GMP, Package Number 135, Canyonlands National Park," 1976; folder 188, CANY 36607.

79. Pete Parry to Concerned Citizen, July 21, 1976 and Sept. 1, 1976; folder 176, box 7, Wilderness Society Papers; "Summary of Public Input from 1976 Meetings;" "Canyonlands National Park: Assessment of Alternatives," May 1977, SEUG-RM; Parry interview. Public meetings in 1976 were held in Monticello (9-20), Green River (9-21), Grand Junction (9-22), Moab (9-23), Phoenix (9-27), Denver (9-28) and Salt Lake City (9-30). Issues discussed included the following: (1) Friendship Cruise and river regulations; (2) Roads, paved and back country; (3) Foot trail system; (4) Visitor infrastructure; (5) Interpretation; (6) Camping; (7) Carrying capacities; and (8) Concessions.

80. "Canyonlands National Park: Assessment of Alternatives;" SEUG-RM. The meeting in Moab on February 18, 1977, was attended by the NPS, the San Juan and Grand County commissions, the BLM, USFS and US Department of Transportation, the Utah Parks Department and the Utah Division of Wildlife, and representatives from the towns of Green River, Moab, and Monticello. The March 1, 1977, meeting in Salt Lake City was attended by the BLM and Utah Parks Department; the August 18, 1977 meeting in Salt Lake by the NPS and Utah Parks Department.

81. "Visitor Use: Interim Capacity Model for Canyonlands National Park;" Table 3, "Visitor Use Distribution Comparisons;" Table 4, Comparisons of Computed Visitor Use Capacities for Canyonlands National Park to Current Peak-Day Visits;" "Computer Generated Land Cover Map of Canyonlands and Capitol Reef National Parks," folder 188, CANY 36607.

82. "Statement of Alternatives, General Management Plan;" SEUG-RM.

83. Pete Parry to Concerned Citizen, Sept. 27, 1977; folder 215, CANY 36607; Sam Taylor to Parry, November 7, 1977; folder 223, CANY 36607; Calvin Black to Parry, October 4, 1976; Sam Taylor, "Community Comments," *Times Independent*, September 29, 1977; Sam Hall to Parry, November 7, 1977; Ron Auger, Moab Chamber of Commerce to William Whalen, September 16, 1977; Robert Sparks, President, Monticello Chamber of Commerce to Parry, October 12, 1977; Orrin Hatch to Whalen, October 24, 1977; Frank Moss, Frink and Franklin Law Firm to Whalen, October 18, 1977; Moss to Chauncey Powis, Director, Utah Planning Office, November 8, 1977; S. H. Lohman to Pete Parry, October 26, 1977; Southeast Utah Association of Governments to NPS, November 1977; Scott M. Matheson, Governor, Utah to Whalen, October 7, 1977; Whalen to Matheson, November 1977; Matheson to Whalen, December 9, 1977; Harvey Merrill, Grand County Commission to Parry, December 12, 1977; Sam Taylor to Whalen, December 12, 1977; CANY 36607,

folders 215–216; “Rich Man’s Playground,” [Cartoon], Dwain Barker, *T-I*, 1977; “Canyonlands Plan Protested,” *San Juan Record*, September 22, 1977, folder 226, CANY 36607.

84. Frank Masland to William Whalen, November 10, 1977; folder 216, CANY 36607; Zeke Scher, “The Great Canyonlands Double-Cross,” *Empire Magazine*, [Denver Post]; August 21, 1977; “Is the Park for You—Or the Other Guys? [Part II of “Canyonlands Double-Cross,]; August 29, 1977, *Empire Magazine—Denver Post*.

85. Robert Halliday, “Park Service Officials Hear Debate on Access Roads into Canyonlands,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 10, 1977; “Park’s Chief Makes Pledge to Utahns,” *Deseret News*, December 10, 1977; “Canyonlands Plan Would Make ‘Private Park’ for Backpackers,” Op-Ed, *SLT*, December 10, 1977; Sam Taylor, “Community Comments,” *Times Independent*, December 15, 1977.

86. The Sierra Club had the following positions: 1) Island, no paving or realignment; 2) Needles, no Confluence Road; 3) Maze, close all roads beneath the Orange Cliffs; and 4) no motors on rivers. In addition to the Wilderness Society and National Parks and Conservation Association, other environmental groups involved in the GMP process included Issue, Desert Protective Council, Southern Arizona Hiking Club, Colorado Outward Bound School, Colorado Rocky Mountain School, Canyon Country Council (Moab), Challenge Discovery (Ohio), Four Corners Wilderness Workshop, Ecology Center of Southern California, Boulder Audubon Society, San Juan Ecological Society (Col.), University of the Wilderness (Col.), Conservation Call (Cal.), Arizona Wilderness Coalition, Utah Audubon Society, Western River Guides Association, Colorado College Mountain Club, Michigan Botanical Club, Conservation Call, Pueblo Jeep and 4-Wheel Drive. Five groups claimed that the GMP was not restrictive enough.

87. Edward Abbey to Robert Stanton, Acting Director, NPS, March 25, 1977; Abbey to Sam Taylor, *Times-Independent*, September 15, 1977; Abbey, “Community Comments,” *T-I*, September 29, 1977; Abbey to William Whalen, April 7, 1978; Abbey, “Edward Abbey Would Prefer to Walk,” *Outside Magazine*, July/August 1978; folders 215–216, CANY 36607; Robin Springs to Pete Parry, July 8, 1978; Abbey to Parry, July 14, 1978; Ruth Frear, Sierra Club to Parry, July 22, 1978; Philip Hyde to Parry, July 31, 1978; folders 214 and 222, CANY 36607.

88. Bruce Berger to Pete Parry, October 14, 1977; Richard Schreyer, Utah State University to Parry, October 26, 1977; folder 215; CANY 36607; Gregory Crampton, University of Utah to Parry, December 9, 1977; folder 217, CANY 36607.

89. ALERT: “Canyonlands National Park,” Wilderness Society, 1977; Dick Carter, The Wilderness Society, Utah Representative to Curtis Bohlen, Deputy SOI, April 4, 1977; Lynn Thompson to James Martin and Diane Allen, February 1, 1977; Senator Jake Garn to Carter, March 26, 1977; Thompson to Carter, February 10, 1977; Carter to William Whalen, March 20, 1978; folder 2, box 1, Utah Wilderness Coalition Papers; Carter to Jim Isenogle, December 9, 1977; Folders 213 and 222, CANY 36607.

90. Parry interview; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1975–1976; folders 50–51, CANY 36607; “Superintendent’s Annual Report for Canyonlands National Park, 1976,” folder 5, CANY 36607; Thompson to Jake Garn, May 28, 1975; folder 319, CANY 36607; “Summary of Report, Canyonlands National Park Planning,” September 30, 1976; Dick Carter to Cecil Andrus, January 22, 1976; folder 176, box 7, Wilderness Society Papers; “Canyonlands: A Place Gary Smith Sings Of,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 22, 1977; “Road Program Cancelled,” *Times-Independent*, August 25, 1977; George Alderson, “NPS Nixes Road to Canyonlands Vista,” *Friends of the Earth*, 1977; Benjamin Zerbey, Mid-Atlantic Region Director, NPS to Parry, November 29, 1977; folder 217, CANY 36607; “Parry Defends Management Plan,” *T-I*, November 1, 1977. The Confluence Road project had eight parts: (1) Project 5(2), 3.32 miles, Squaw Flat to Little Spring Canyon; (2) Planning to Big Spring Canyon; (3) Project 5(3), 2.5 miles, Little Spring Canyon (with bridge) to Big Spring Canyon; (4) Planning, Big Spring Canyon Bridge; (5) Constructing Big Spring Canyon Bridge; (6) Planning, Big Spring Canyon to Confluence Overlook; (7) Constructing 3.18 miles, Big Spring Canyon to the Confluence, including a 150-foot tunnel; and (8) Confluence Overlook Parking.

91. “Canyonlands National Park, General Management Plan,” National Park Service, October 1978.

92. “Wilderness Recommendations,” attached to Daniel J. Tobin, Acting Deputy Director, NPS to Legislative Counsel, DOI, memorandum, August 24, 1978; folder 145, CANY 36607; “Revised Wilderness Recommendations, Canyonlands National Park,” September, 1984; Gail Stanton, Acting Director, NPS to All Superintendents, RMR, memorandum, March 1, 1999; folder L 48 Wilderness Proposals, SEUG-CF.

93. Pete Parry to Concerned Citizen, June 21, 1978; Edward Abbey to Parry, July 14, 1978; Philip Hyde to Parry, July 31, 1978; Gordon Topham, Superintendent, Dead Horse Point State Park to Parry, July 21, 1978; Edward Kleiner, Associate Dean, University of Nevada-Reno to Robert Ernst, Ass’t. Sec., Fish, Wildlife and Parks, DOI, July 7, 1978; Ruth Frear to NPS, July 22, 1978; folder 222, CANY 36607.

94. E. C. Boyle, San Juan County Commission to Pete Parry, July 5, 1978; folder 222, CANY 36607; "GMP Final Comments," 1978; Robert Halliday, "San Juan County Cuts Tie with Park Service," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 18, 1978; "County, Park Service 'break,' " *San Juan Record*, July 20, 1978; Glen Alexander to Pete Parry, memorandum, January 9, 1979; folders 6 and 53, CANY 36607.

95. E. C. Boyle to Pete Parry, July 5, 1978; folder 222, CANY 36607.

96. "Tax Notice, 1976," San Juan County Treasurer, Marian Boyles to Gary Everhardt, Director, NPS; Assessed Value, \$17,764,620; Tax Bill, \$1,025,127.96 + \$58.00 levy; "Tax Notice, 1976," Marian Boyles to Honorable Thomas Kleppes, Secretary of the Interior; Assessed Value, \$23,707,860 + \$58.00 Levy; "Tax Notice, 1976," Marian Boyles to Honorable Earl Butz, Secretary of Agriculture; Assessed Value, \$9,010,920; Taxes, \$522,833.38 + \$58.00 Levy; Valuation notices filed, May 21, 1976; San Juan County Commission, Calvin Black, Case D. Broderick and Edward C. Boyle to President Gerald R. Ford, August 9, 1976; folder 513, CANY 36607.

97. Robert S. Halliday, "Antagonism to Federal Agencies Building," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 20, 1978, Interviews of Parry and Taylor by Halliday, quoted within article; Parry interview.

98. "County to open road into study area as symbolic gesture," *Times Independent*, July 3, 1980; Bob Silbernagel, "Moab's 'sagebrush rebels' celebrate differently," *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel*, July 5, 1980.

Surviving the 1980s: External Threats to the Park and Reorganization

.....

.....

.....

EMERGING FROM AN ERA dominated by complex planning issues, the rise of environmentalism as a political force and discontent over its general management plan (GMP), Canyonlands National Park entered the 1980s hoping for a respite so it could mature under the new prospectus. Such optimism was short-lived, challenged by Reagan administration land use policies that threatened Canyonlands and the very sanctity of the national park concept. Prompted by the real problem of storing nuclear waste, a U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) nationwide search concluded that the Gibson Dome salt formation below Davis and Lavender Canyons adjacent to the Needles District was suitable for use as a nuclear waste repository. Supported by the energy industry, Utahns seeking economic growth and the 1982 Nuclear Waste Policy Act, the DOE's controversial plan threatened Canyonlands and recalled Hetch-Hetchy, Echo Park and other infamous conflicts in American conservation history. The DOE and oil industry also concurrently planned to develop tar sands deposits west of the park that would mean thousands of new wells and

hundreds of new roads in the region. Individually and together, the nuclear dump and tar sands plans threatened regional ecology, wilderness ideals and NPS hopes for a rim-to-rim Canyonlands National Park.

Opposition by the Park Service, Utah Governor Scott Matheson, environmentalists and citizen groups helped remove Gibson Dome from the DOE's preferred list of dump sites. The tar sands idea rose and fell during the same era, failing to move past the exploration phase because of economic and geographic factors along with opposition by the NPS and environmental groups. These threats to Canyonlands and the greater region forced the Park Service to spend time and energy defending the park that could have been used elsewhere. Canyonlands nonetheless made progress in the 1980s, completing its river management plan, augmenting its resource data base, hiring an archeologist, constructing the Island in the Sky road network and planning the Needles District visitor center and support facilities. The Canyonlands Complex was also reorganized in 1989 as the Southeast Utah Group, signifying a shift

from an administrative structure based on the Interpretation and Resource Management (I & RM) model often used at new park units with unknown variables to a traditional linear organization better suited to the age of specialization.

The ultimate threat to a national park: The Gibson Dome nuclear waste repository

Although manifestations of the Sagebrush Rebellion in San Juan and Grand counties had the NPS on alert in 1980, most southeast Utahns had shifted their anger from Canyonlands' GMP toward the Bureau of Land Management and the Federal Land Use Policy and Management Act. Canyonlands' staff looked to complete river management plans, develop more resource-friendly backcountry policies, address cultural resource issues and improve park interpretive offerings. However, the 1980 appointment of James Watt as Interior Secretary threatened agency goals and gave southeast Utahns an outlet for their angst and economic desperation, an inverse reflection of how Stewart Udall's 1960 selection as Secretary of the Interior had bolstered NPS fortunes, both in Utah and nationally. In addition to pushing the BLM toward the resource use-oriented policies of previous generations, Watt provided no help when National Park Service lands he was

charged to protect were threatened by Energy Department plans. Within one year of Ronald Reagan's inauguration, the Canyonlands region faced the prospect of a nuclear waste repository and tar industrial complex on its east and west flanks, respectively, that if built would compromise or even destroy the national park and the region's ecological integrity and value as primitive space.

Based on findings by the National Academy of Sciences and Nuclear Regulatory Commission that nuclear waste could be safely stored in salt, the U.S. Geological Survey and Department of Energy began to assess the nation's salt formations in the 1970s for that purpose. This included geologic structures in the Gulf Coast states, the Permian and Salina Basins in the Great Plains, and the Paradox Basin in southeast Utah.¹ Initially unaware that areas near Utah park units were being studied for this reason, the NPS soon realized the DOE's intentions. From 1978 to 1980, the Energy Department met with local leaders and the BLM, drilled boreholes in Salt Valley near Arches National Park, on Elk Ridge near Natural Bridges National Monument and in the Gibson Dome salt formation under Davis and Lavender Canyons east of Canyonlands' Needles District, and applied for permits to do seismic testing in the Needles. Noise from the Gibson Dome site elicited

Figure 75: "Potentially Acceptable Sites for First Repository," Figure I.1, *Draft Environmental Assessment, Davis Canyon Site, Utah* (Washington, D.C., Department of Energy, 1984): I-6.



complaints from park visitors who heard drilling from ten to twelve miles away and a facetious comment by Canyonlands Superintendent Pete Parry who stated, "One criteria for locating this site is that it be next to a National Park Service area." Parry added that developing "any one of these sites (Arches, Natural Bridges or Canyonlands) will have tremendous impacts on the adjacent park area if developed."² Even with its knowledge of DOE

activity, the NPS could not conceive of anything so brazen as siting a nuclear waste dump next to a national park.

Notions that the testing was part of a broad search that would bypass canyon country were dashed in mid-1980 when the Energy Department held several meetings in Utah to inform state and local officials and the BLM of its intent to implement President Jimmy Carter's policy to establish a "comprehensive program for the management of all types of radioactive waste."³ At these meetings to which the National Park Service was not invited, the DOE detailed program objectives, selection criteria, projected schedules and activities at Gibson Dome, Salt Valley, Elk Ridge and Lisbon Valley, the Bechtel Corporation outlined site development, the Batelle Institute defined the role of "salt states," Woodward-Clyde Consultants detailed testing methods and the Utah governor's office listed its concerns. Having analyzed the geography, geologic structure, hydrology, geochemistry, topography and demography as well as environmental, social, political and economic factors relating to each site, the DOE said it had finished the "National Screening," "Regional Studies" and "Area Studies" phases, and was ready for the "Location Studies" phase that included the Utah sites. The best Paradox Basin site would be compared to other "salt" sites as well as sites in basalt and volcanic tuff matrices, with the DOE favoring Hanford, Washington and Yucca Mountain, Nevada in the latter two categories. Five locations—at least one from each geologic medium—would be selected by 1985 for the "Detailed Site Characterization" phase. An EIS was scheduled to be done by 1986; final site selection, land acquisition and licensing by 1987; construction authorization by 1991; with a repository projected to be operational by 1997.⁴

By late 1980 the DOE favored the Gibson Dome sites at Davis and Lavender Canyons. Five years of mapping, drilling and seismic tests had revealed geologic and hydrological prob-

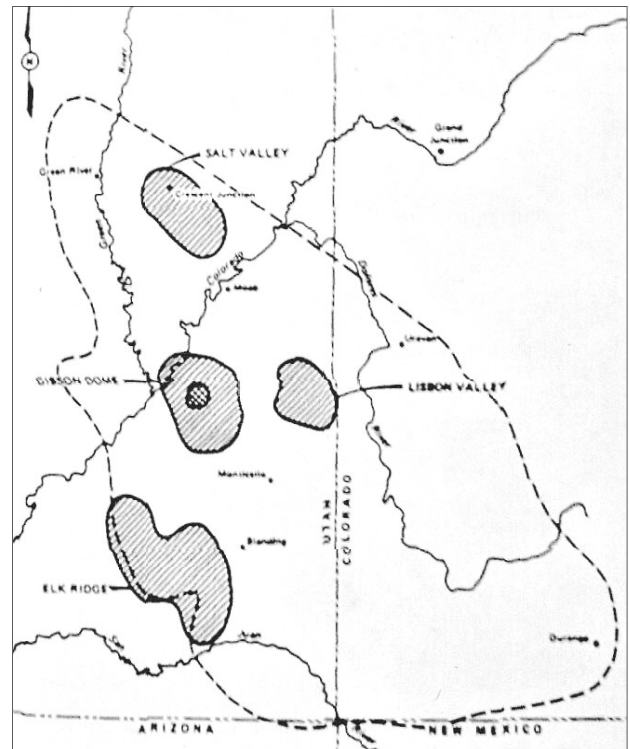


Figure 76: "Identified Areas and Gibson Dome Location in the Paradox Basin," Figure 2.5, Draft EA, Davis Canyon Site, Utah (Wash., D.C., Department of Energy, 1984): 3–19.

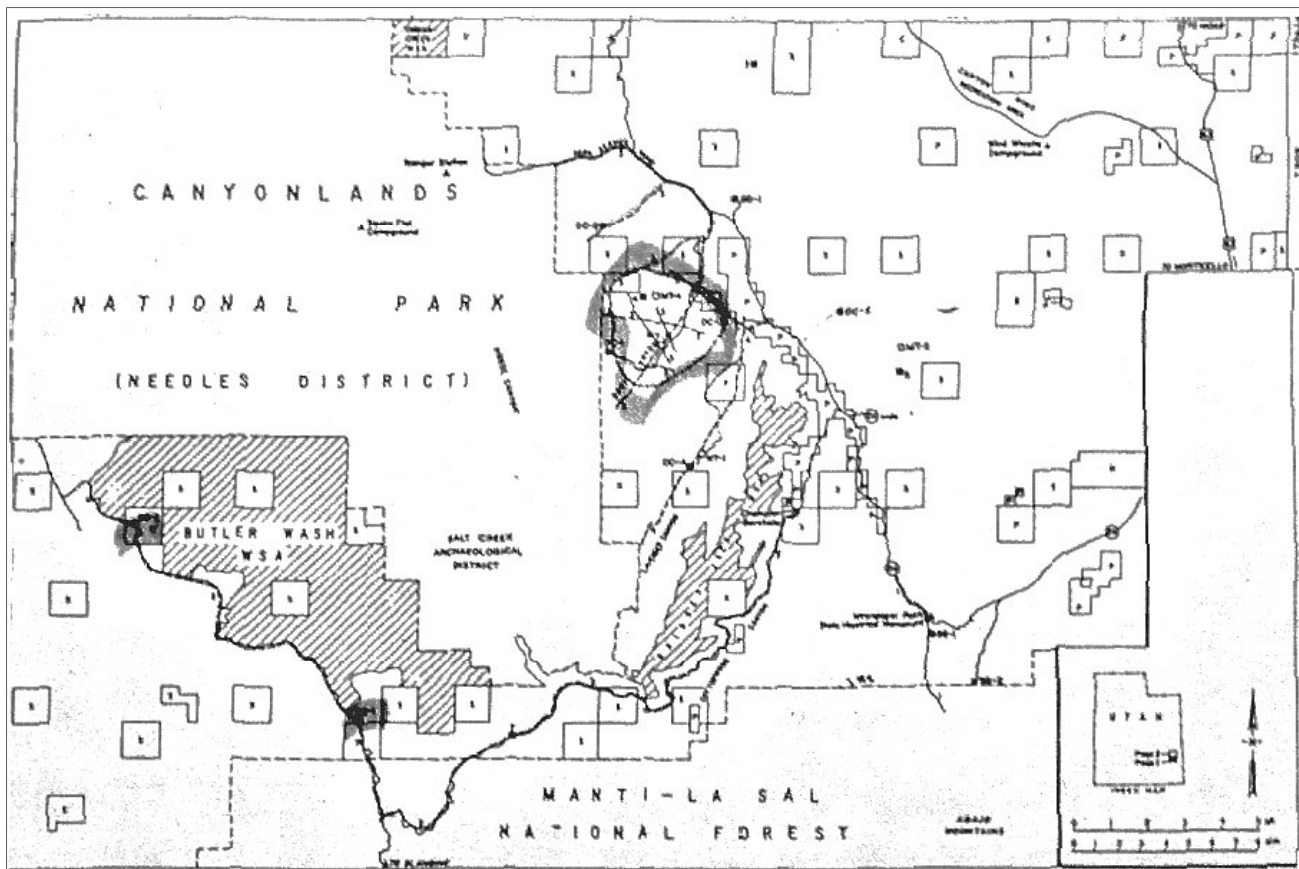
lems at Salt Valley, while Elk Ridge and Lisbon Valley were rejected for a combination of geologic and geographic factors.⁵ In addition to its main drill site in Davis Canyon, the Energy Department set up a twenty-four station micro earthquake monitoring network and performed surface mapping, aerial surveys and electromagnetic studies. Besides a micro earthquake monitoring network in Salt Valley, no activity was planned at the other sites.⁶ The DOE was only awaiting for BLM approval on a test program at Gibson Dome scheduled for 1981–82 that included nine boreholes, three trenches, nine test pits, thirteen tiltometer surveys, fifty electromagnetic surveys, eight seismic surveys and two atmospheric studies, and would need ninety workers and sixty vehicles per day. Despite the major impacts that would result from new roads being built to the site and two to four acre swaths cleared at each drill location, the BLM stated in the draft Environmental Assessment (EA) that the project was within National Environmental Policy Act guidelines and did not

“contradict the objectives” of the BLM’s Moab District Management Plan.⁷ In addition to illustrating key philosophical differences between the BLM and the NPS, the EA indicated to the Park Service that geologic, hydrologic and climate studies would be required in the park.

The NPS was not initially privy to project design, although Bechtel’s presence had it thinking the “plans were big,” fears confirmed by receipt of the 1981 draft plan.⁸ After testing, the “site characterization” phase was to begin on seventy acres, with construction employing two hundred people over twenty-eight months followed by a four-year operations phase with similar labor needs. The main drilling operation would require a one hundred foot high head frame to drill a shaft ten to twelve feet wide and three thousand feet deep that would pro-

duce large salt and rock tailings, wastewater pools, leach fields and landfills. Five hundred vehicles a day were to enter a complex with structures for housing, administration, maintenance, wells, explosives, chillers and an electrical plant, as well as microwave towers and parking areas. Twenty-five more boreholes would be drilled nearby. Despite such intensive activity in a primitive area, DOE guidelines only called for an Environmental Assessment (EA) at first, and did not require an Environmental Impact Statement until site characterization. Nearly lost amidst Park Service fears over the site characterization phase was the repository itself that would take five years to build, a work force of fifteen to seventeen hundred people and even heavier environmental impacts. This would be followed by a twenty-nine year operations phase employing one thousand people, a complex

Figure 77: “Proposed Activities in the Davis Canyon Candidate Area,” Figure 4-4, Davis Canyon EA. In the area circled by a thick dark line in the middle of the map, the main borehole was drilled and many other activities were planned, including the digging of deep trenches. Many other boreholes were proposed in the region as well as the laying of seismic lines, with some activities proposed to take place within the park.



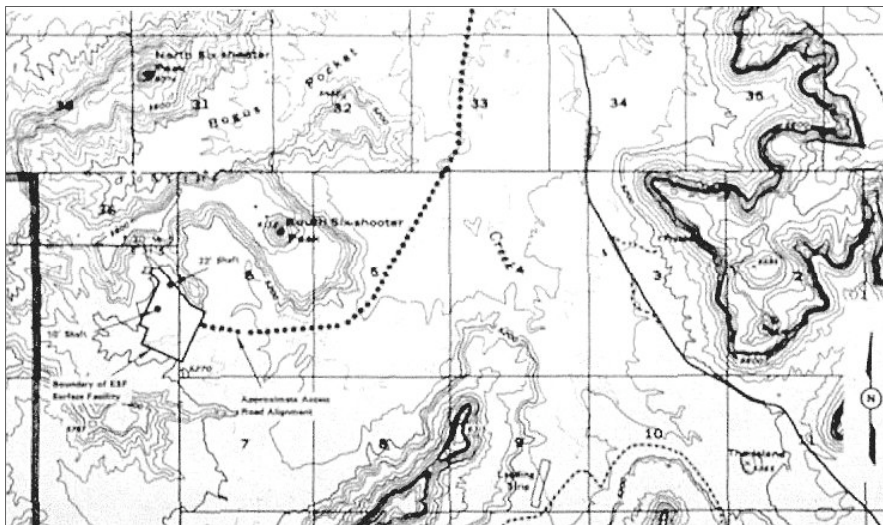


Figure 78: "Exploratory Shaft Facility Area Plan, Davis Canyon," Figure 4-6, Draft EA, Davis Canyon. Note how close the facility and shaft are to the border of Canyonlands National Park, which is indicated by the thick dark line on the far left of the map.

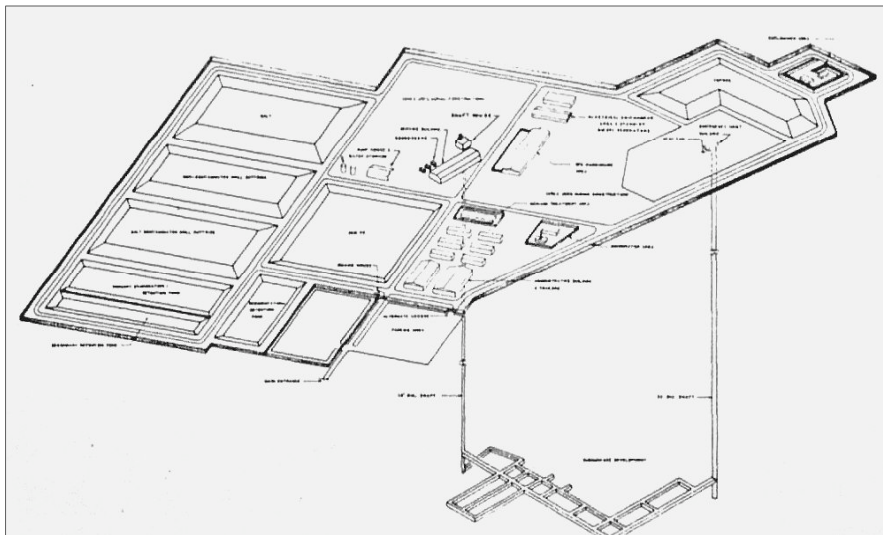


Figure 79: "Exploratory Shaft Facility, Exploratory Shaft Profile, Davis Canyon," Figure 4-10, Davis Canyon EA: 4-25. This facility for the "site characterization phase" extended over a one-square-mile area and would need 1,500 workers per day.

covering more than a square mile and a "buffer zone" extending into the park. The repository would need one thousand gallons of water a minute, ten tons of coal per hour for the electrical plant, and would receive nuclear waste twenty-four hours a day in trucks on the Needles entrance road and in rail cars on a spur from the Denver and Rio Grande Western's main line.⁹

Knowing that a nuclear waste dump near a national park would set a dangerous precedent,

the repository also changed the work lives of Parry, Canyonlands resource manager Tom Wylie and NPS Utah director Don Gillespie, who all spent a great amount of time over the next five years lobbying, monitoring field work, reading documents and attending meetings and hearings in Utah, Colorado, Washington, D.C. and at the DOE "salt states" office in Columbus, Ohio.¹¹

Told of DOE activities in 1974, the state of Utah began talking in 1977 with Energy's Office of

the NPS protested to the DOE in mid-1981 about the sites near Arches and Canyonlands and claimed the 1916 National Park Service Organic Act, 1978 Redwoods Amendment and 1970 Clean Air Act mandated their removal from consideration. When Energy rejected this logic and Gibson Dome was selected as a "salt site" in late 1981, the Park Service realized the threat this posed to Canyonlands. "It would have been a very serious impact to the park, from noise, visual pollution and light," said Parry. "It would change the whole experience for the southern end of the park, a railroad, a highway, and trains rattling around twenty-four hours a day." The NPS opened an office in Denver to monitor the situation and developed the following position: (1) The NPS understood the need for a nuclear waste repository; (2) Its concern was protecting park units; (3) The repository would damage the park as a primitive refuge and impact access corridors.¹⁰ The

Waste Isolation and the Bechtel Corporation, and then in March 1980, Utah Governor Scott Matheson created a Nuclear Waste Repository Task Force. Concerns over recent DOE actions plus Utah's mistrust of the feds over public health issues based on the Nevada nuclear tests in the 1950s and the MX Missile Program and Weteye nerve gas storage debates in the 1970s, prodded Matheson to take action.¹² Created before any drilling began at Gibson Dome, the task force was dominated by state and local officials, had some representation from federal agencies and private industry, and was to be a liaison, clearing house and oversight tool to protect Utah's interests.¹³ Included with the BLM in 1981 as an ex-officio member, the NPS discovered that "park values" were secondary to states' rights and public safety. Caused in part by its uneven political history in Utah, the Park Service's outsider status was a problem they faced during the waste dump issue on matters of policy, strategy and information exchange. Not until the governor and task force had struggled for two years with the DOE's stonewalling and hardball tactics did they see the political wisdom and philosophical importance of placing Canyonlands National Park and preservationism at the center of a strategy to defeat the nuclear waste repository plan.

Meanwhile, the historically up and down relationship between Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management was exacerbated because the BLM excluded NPS from key aspects of project planning. From the DOE and USGS tests in the 1970s through the permitting and EA processes of the 1980s, the BLM told Energy to not consult the Park Service on certain issues because of its stricter compliance standards and opposition to the repository.¹⁴ Framed by this long-running battle within Interior, Secretary Watt's philosophy also gave traditionalists at the BLM a chance to have greater say in policy after years of declining power.

The Park Service discovered that dealing with the DOE was even more challenging. Known

for Machiavellian tactics when it was called the Atomic Energy Commission, the agency showed it had not changed. Despite NPS protests to the DOE's Salt States Office in June 1981 over siting a waste dump near a national park, during a Utah Task Force meeting that November, the Energy Department said it was "shocked" by Park Service concerns that it claimed to be hearing for the first time. Such politicking was illustrated by the DOE's list of "Environmental and Geologic Participants" for the Paradox Basin Nuclear Waste Transfer Storage (NWTs) program that included itself, the USGS, the Utah governor and Utah Geological and Mineral Survey, Battelle and Woodward-Clyde, but not the Park Service.¹⁵ Part of a strategy to avoid interests antithetical to DOE's plans, bypassing the NPS also reflected a disconnect between the atomistic worldview intrinsic to nuclear science and more ecological perspectives. Although both Gibson Dome sites were less than two miles from Canyonlands, to qualify as "unfavorable" under DOE guidelines regarding wilderness areas and parks, surface activity from testing, construction and operations would have to cross park borders. Potential underground impacts were simply ignored. Contrary to provisions in the 1916 NPS Organic Act's purpose and 1978 Redwoods Amendment designed to protect park lands from nearby activities, the DOE's philosophy and legal rationale allowed it to believe the project was within acceptable legal and ethical parameters. However, what was accepted by many Americans in the 1950s would not be in the 1980s, as scientists, politicians and citizens questioned Energy's logic based on the mere fact it was considering the placement of such lethal material next to such a beautiful place and the Southwest's main water source.¹⁶

Coinciding with the uranium market's collapse, locals led by San Juan County's indomitable Calvin Black tied their economic hopes to the repository, apparently with no thought of its long-term effects. "San Juan and Grand counties are desperately in need of economic opportu-

nities and jobs,” said the San Juan County Commission in a public letter. “If the geology is compatible for safe storage and sufficient safety of transportation and storage, we support such a facility and are opposed to Canyonlands National Park or archaeological sites in the area used to preclude the repository.” Many south-east Utahns had mined uranium, were not afraid of radiation, and unlike most of the nation after the Three Mile Island accident, did not hold the nuclear industry in a negative light. Black, who wore a uranium amulet around his neck, even equated the infamous power plant and prospective dump with increased tourism. “Three Mile Island, with no advertising or promotion, last year had more visitors than all areas of Canyonlands combined,” he said, “If pollution hurt tourism, then Temple Square in the heart of the state’s worst pollution, and Kennecott, one of the worst blights on the environment, wouldn’t be the state’s No. 1 and No. 2 tourist attractions.” The era’s political atmosphere also allowed park opponents to openly express their feelings. “Canyonlands has been an economic millstone around the neck of Southeastern Utah ever since its establishment,” said Grand County Economic Development Council Chairman H. L. Gaither. “It sits there gloating and useless, attracting environmentalists like a stinking carcass attracts blowflies.”¹⁷ Symbolic of a society frustrated by waning economic fortunes and political power that sought refuge in romantic memories of mining and ranching’s glory days, statements like those from Black and Gaither seemed like desperate grabs toward a past that no longer existed.

Fighting the good fight: The demise of the Gibson Dome nuclear waste repository

Though the Davis and Lavender Canyon sites were on BLM lands, the Park Service hoped the NPS Organic Act and Redwoods legislation would provide legal cover. However, the 1916 act predated modern ecological thinking and did not address activity outside park borders,

while the Redwoods Act’s applications were unclear. Focused on maintaining a healthy watershed at Redwoods National Park through expansion and the regulation of logging, the second act largely dealt with the acquisition of lands and compensation for lost logging rights and jobs. Subsection 6(b) bolstered the 1916 act by stating that “the protection, management, and administration of these areas shall be conducted in light of the high public value and integrity of the National Park System and shall not be exercised in derogation of the values and purposes for which these areas have been established.” However, the 1978 act lacked language which ensured its broader application, was not tested in court and would likely be ignored by the Energy Department.¹⁸

Legal questions and the DOE’s disregard for preservationism forced the NPS to be creative. In 1981 the Park Service claimed that geologist Peter Huntoon’s discovery of a fault near Gibson Dome “disqualified the site,” a conclusion rejected by the Energy Department. Parry, Wylie and Gillespie began attending meetings and hearings across the nation, developed a survey form for Canyonlands Complex visitors and put an exhibit on the dump issue at the Arches National Park Visitor Center.¹⁹ The Park Service also invoked the National Environmental Policy Act, the Archaeological Resource Protection Act, the Endangered Species Act, Clean Air Act, Clean Water Act and fifty-two other laws on air, water, land, ecology, wildlife, cultural resources, pollution and environmental compliance. By asking Energy to go beyond its analysis of geology and hydrology, the NPS was pushing an agency unaccustomed to post-Earth Day environmental politics and which had done little in most disciplines beyond literature reviews. However, other than studies on air quality, bighorn sheep, riparian ecology, tamarisk control, blackbrush revegetation, endangered fish and archeology, the Park Service’s incomplete knowledge of Canyonlands provided weak backing for this strategy. Realizing this fact, the Park Service immediately proposed studies of

park biological and cultural resources, endangered species, as well as air and water quality, although producing scientifically sound data and conclusions in time to help with the waste dump issue would be problematic.²⁰

Park Service fears were aggravated by DOE's distortion of President Carter's 1980 order that nuclear waste disposal "proceed in a technically conservative manner" with "full disclosure and participation by the public and technical community." Pushed by President Reagan's 1982 claim that nuclear power was "entangled in a morass of regulations that do not enhance safety," Energy created a schedule incongruent with sound scientific or review processes.²¹ The "Paradox Basin Area Summary and Location Recommendations Report" issued in January 1982 mandated that a draft "Paradox Site Characterization Plan" be done by February, characterization holes drilled by May and drill shafts designed by July 1983. With drill shafts completed at Hanford and Yucca Mountain, drilling was to start in 1985 at the salt site. Although site "performance factors" included geology, archeology, biology, demography, socioeconomics and the environment, the DOE had done little research outside geology and hydrology. Energy scheduled field work in 1982–83 to study vegetation, endangered species, noise and aesthetics and continue its geologic and hydrological work, but the time allotted was simply insufficient. Visual analysis with an old U.S. Forest Service program told the DOE that Davis Canyon was the least visible site. An air quality study unsupported by field work concluded that the area's Class I status would not be compromised. Finally, sound analyses claimed that noise would only affect Davis Canyon and the eastern Needles District.²² Intangible factors like "park values" were not addressed.

Evidence that DOE decisions were based on politics and not science or the law came when the DOE and BLM said that an Environmental Assessment (EA) was sufficient at this stage, and an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) would

not be done until site characterization had started. Invoking one of the Council for Environmental Quality's rules for NEPA which allowed claims for "categorical exclusions" on actions that would have "little or no significant impact," Energy selected "borehole and related geologic and geophysical exploratory activities" involved with site characterization.²³ Used by Interior for oil wells and gas trenches addressed in other compliance documents, the exclusions rule was not intended to cover major actions like site characterization. However, policy at Interior had shifted so much under Watt that the DOE received the exemption and this side-step of NEPA was incorporated into the 1982 Nuclear Waste Policy Act (NWPA).²⁴

The NWPA outlined requirements for site selection and characterization; licensing, testing, and waste transport; rights and powers of states and tribes; roles of Congress and the executive; consultation and data sharing; specifications for storage facilities and payments to states and Indian tribes. The Park Service was most worried about the DOE's interpretation of Section 112 addressing "disqualifying" conditions for repository siting. Although factors included "proximity to components of the National Park System and water supplies," the DOE said neither the Davis nor the Lavender Canyon sites violated the proximity clause.²⁵ Equally alarming was a provision which said that "preliminary activities"—testing, drilling and construction of site characterization facilities—"did not require an EIS under section 101(2)(C) of the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4332 (2)(C), or an environmental review under subparagraph (E) of such act." DOE's past behavior also indicated it would not comply with Section 117(a) which required "timely and complete information regarding determinations or plans."²⁶ Utah Governor Matheson was most troubled over NWPA's provisions on state veto powers. States could review plans for site selection, repository construction and waste transport, and submit veto letters to Congress and the

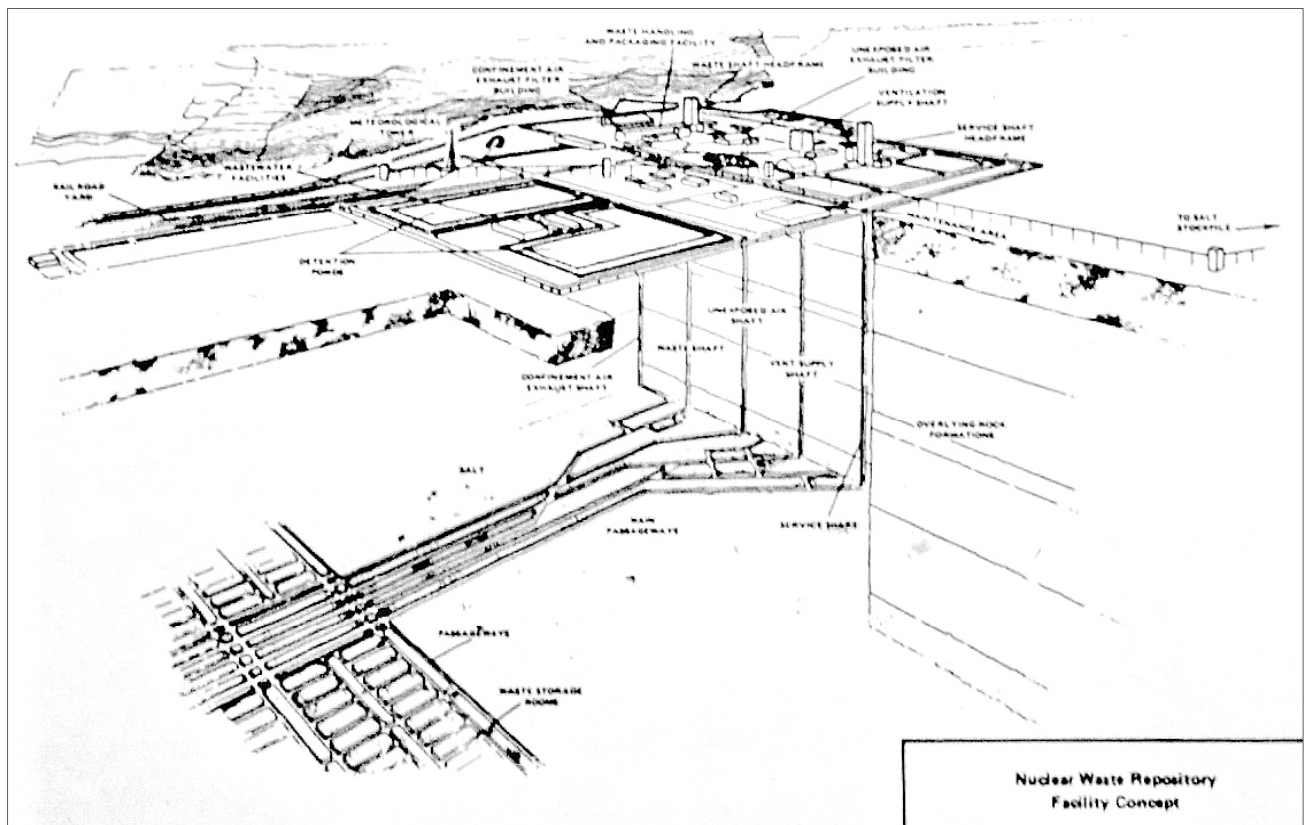


Figure 80: "Nuclear Waste Repository Facility Concept," Figure 5.1, Davis Canyon EA, 5-4. The facility both above and below ground was enormous in size, and would need more than one thousand workers at any given time and the twenty-four hours a day transport of nuclear material.

President, but protests could be overturned by just one house of Congress.²⁷

Although Matheson said in 1981 he might accept nuclear waste in Utah if the DOE proved Gibson Dome was the best site after "careful consideration of all criteria," Energy's failure to be transparent forced the governor to change this view.²⁸ After a May 1982 hearing in Monticello, during which a citizen revealed DOE plans for a railroad to Davis Canyon that the state was told were not done, Matheson sent a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request to Energy Secretary James Edwards asking that forty-three types of documents be released. When the DOE did not comply, the governor told state agencies to not grant Energy any more permits and upgraded the Nuclear Task Force to an Office of Nuclear Waste. He then ordered forty square miles of state land along the Needles Entrance Road (U-211) from

Church Rock to Canyonlands National Park and along U-163 from La Sal Junction to Monticello, or any lands "associated with the proposed nuclear waste repository," to be withdrawn for "residential and commercial" uses. The DOE continued to stonewall FOIA requests, claimed it had all necessary permits, and declared that no more field work was needed to prepare the EA on the Davis and Lavender Canyon sites.²⁹

Matheson reiterated his complaints in 1983 to new Energy Secretary Donald Hodel, called the DOE's behavior "unprofessional" and filed a "Petition for Rulemaking" with Hodel and Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) Chairman Nunzio Palladino asking the DOE to add the national park disqualifier to NWPA guidelines. Citing the NPS Organic Act, Redwoods Amendment and the NWPA, the governor said that locales with "exceptional natural and

cultural value” should be the last place for “positioning a nuclear repository” and asked the Energy Department to better define the “substantive basis” for site selections and to comply with “pertinent laws.”³⁰ After negotiating with the NRC, the DOE concluded that the NWPA “superseded NEPA” because of its more specific “geologic” provisions and completely ignored the park proximity issue.³¹

The governor protested Energy’s decision, the Sierra Club and the Utah Wilderness Coalition threatened to sue, and Earth First! said it would stop an “act of sacrilege” with a human blockade, with group founder Dave Foreman stating “the only way it will be built is if we are all in jail.”³² The DOE responded by planning more tests, drilling new boreholes, re-drilling its original borehole, performing seismic tests, installing atmospheric monitoring stations and doing more geologic mapping. Stating that “a nuclear waste dump will always be next to something,” Secretary Watt said that drilling might even be needed inside Canyonlands National Park to get at the “truth about science and facts.” Although Watt’s statements elicited praise from Calvin Black who said the Secretary “understands that national parks aren’t sacred,” responses to the project outside rural Utah were negative. The repository plan was panned by environmentalists, academics and the urban media. NPS Director Russell Dickenson even disregarded potential professional consequences by challenging his boss, stating “I remain deeply concerned about the possible impacts of either investigatory drilling or the proposed facility itself.”³³

With the Park Service in a weak position due to Watt’s tenure and the dump’s siting on BLM land, the NPS needed outside help. Led by Governor Matheson and the Utah Office of Nuclear Waste, the governor’s office, nonprofit organizations and citizens groups formed a coalition that pressured the DOE and kept the issue alive in the media. In addition to the Sierra Club and other environmental groups, the anti-dump

lobby included the League of Women Voters, veteran’s organizations, antinuclear activists, unions, clerics, guides, writers, publishers and lawyers.

The most persistent advocate for Canyonlands National Park was the National Parks and Conservation Association (NPCA). Led by regional representative Terri Martin, the NPCA lobbied against Energy’s “outrageous and intolerable scheme” with a zeal unavailable to Park Service personnel constrained by politics and professional standards. NPCA representatives attended meetings and hearings, interfaced with other activists, kept the issue in the news and pushed the DOE on disclosure and legal issues. The repository issue also prodded the NPCA in April 1982 to propose that 200,000 acres be added to Canyonlands National Park including the sites in Davis and Lavender Canyons and Lockhart Basin where a “nuclear waste railroad” was planned. A pared-down version of the million-acre park conceived by Stewart Udall in 1961, the plan would extend park boundaries east and west to the Canyon Rims and Orange Cliffs, but not north and south.³⁴ Reviewing Park Service history in the region from the Escalante National Monument era through the recent threat, Canyonlands’ staff supported the proposal and told the NPS Rocky Mountain Region office that “in light of National Park Service and departmental reports and testimony of individuals before Congress, we recommend the NPCA’s proposal be given serious consideration.”³⁵ Although this version of what was later called the “Canyonlands Completion Project” made geographic, ecological and administrative sense to the Park Service and preservation interests, it had no congressional sponsor and no chance in conservative Utah.

Despite the opposition and questions over NEPA, the NWPA and the NPS Organic Act, the DOE forged ahead. Focused on the Lavender and Davis Canyon EA’s due in December 1984, the Department drilled more boreholes, did

seismic and paleoclimate studies, built atmospheric monitoring stations, and analyzed sound, air quality, antiquities, hydrology, rail routes, erosion, aesthetics and socioeconomics. The DOE also hired a private firm to study the environment in a three-week study called “unacceptable” by Utah’s Office of Nuclear Waste that cast stronger doubts on Energy’s willingness to address “park values” or do good science. Matheson and the Park Service were also distressed by Energy Secretary Hodel’s responses.³⁶ “I was disappointed to learn of your continuing concerns,” said Hodel to the governor, “as the Department has made every effort within our legislatively authorized mandate to be responsive to the State of Utah concerning implementation of our program.”³⁷ Although Watt’s 1984 resignation seemed at first to be a positive, Reagan’s appointment of Hodel to replace him had the Park Service worried as Energy continued to act surprised by each complaint against the Gibson Dome repository site.

The rest of 1984 involved attacks on DOE methods, threats of litigation, election year politics and propaganda. NPS Utah State Director Donald Gillespie claimed that more studies of Gibson Dome were “an absurd waste of time” and that synthesizing old data was a “superficial attempt to allay concerns” already expressed. This position was affirmed by the media, academia and some politicians in response to DOE reports released before the EA’s December 1984 completion.³⁸ Matheson began to proclaim “absolute opposition” to the dump, called for legislation prohibiting nuclear repositories near national parks and threatened to sue the Energy Department. San Juan County attacked the governor, staked two thousand mining claims near both repository sites, and threatened to sue the state. Democratic gubernatorial candidate Wayne Owens made opposition to the dump central to his campaign while his Republican opponent Norman Bangerter remained neutral. Public hearings were held, including one in Salt Lake City in October 1984 featuring a nasty exchange between Calvin

Black and Congressman Morris Udall (D-Arizona), testimony by actor Robert Redford and a dramatic entrance by Earth First! members dressed in druid outfits.³⁹

Trying to influence public opinion, the DOE hired the Center for Energy Awareness (CEA), a nonprofit formed after Three Mile Island to promote nuclear power, with its campaign countered by an alternative energy proponent, the Safe Energy Communications Council. In late 1984 environmental and citizen’s groups led by politicians and celebrities formed the “Don’t Waste Utah” and “Utahns Against the Dump” campaigns.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the NPS formed a “Nuclear Waste Work Group” with representatives from the Canyonlands Complex, Rocky Mountain Region and its Washington headquarters, park staff continued to monitor DOE activities while Parry and Wylie attended meetings across the country, NPS Director Dickenson continued to oppose the dump and NPS Deputy Director Mary Lou Grier testified at congressional hearings.⁴¹

The last chapter in the Gibson Dome saga began with the December 1984 release of the draft environmental assessments for Davis and Lavender Canyons. Basing its analysis of nine sites on a calculus that combined geology, hydrology and economics, the DOE “recommended” Yucca Mountain, Nevada, Hanford, Washington and Deaf Smith, Texas for “first repository” site characterization in the tuff, basalt and salt categories, respectively. Lavender Canyon did not make this list, although it remained eligible for “second repository” status. Davis Canyon was “nominated” because it was one of the top five salt sites, but not “recommended” because it did not place in the top three. In the EA ranking system, Davis Canyon’s high geologic safety rating was offset by low environmental, socioeconomic, and transportation ratings. However, because the governors of Texas and Nevada were intending to fight their site selections and new Energy Secretary James Herrington had announced new criteria for the



Figure 81: Bumper sticker, “Don’t Waste Utah” campaign, 1984. The Don’t Waste Utah organization also produced t-shirts, pamphlets, and held rallies to keep the pressure on the DOE and keep the issue alive in the media. Photograph by the author.

turn the 1978 GMP, require the Park Service to complete the Confluence Road and build other projects at Canyonlands. It also had provisions to pave the Burr Trail in Capitol Reef National Park and extend grazing indefinitely in that park.⁴⁵

final EAs due in 1986 that could change the site ordering, it remained possible that Davis Canyon could move up on the list.⁴²

In 1985, Texas filed suit in the 5th Circuit Court against the DOE for the Deaf Smith selection and the Sierra Club and NPCA filed suit against the DOE in the 9th Circuit Court for the Davis and Lavender Canyon sites. The Utah Office of Nuclear Waste convinced Governor Bangerter that year to have the Utah attorney general file suit in the 10th Circuit Court against the DOE’s selection guidelines. Don’t Waste Utah and Utahns for Canyonlands continued to fight while academics and the media criticized the DOE on geologic, hydrologic, economic and cultural grounds.⁴³ James Watt’s departure also allowed officials at Interior to openly oppose the dump, evidenced by DOI Director of Environmental Project Review Bruce Blanchard’s claim that a repository at Davis Canyon would have “unacceptable impacts on park resources.” Donald Hodel even said, “I have opposed, and will continue to oppose placement of a high level nuclear waste repository near a major national park site,” evidence of a politician’s chameleon nature.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, pro-dump forces pushed the plan. San Juan County critiqued the NPS and pled its case; the CEA sold nuclear’s image; the DOE continued to test and stated that defense waste might be added to civilian waste at a future repository. Congressman Jim Hansen (R-Utah) also discussed a park expansion bill that would add 6,000 acres in Davis and Lavender Canyons, killing the dump. However, the bill would over-

Despite being optimistic, the NPS remained diligent until mid-1986 when the final EAs were released. Canyonlands staff monitored DOE activity as Parry and Wylie continued lobbying and commented on draft EAs for Davis and Lavender Canyon. The four-volume Davis Canyon EA focused on the technical and physical aspects of Gibson Dome, and was according to Parry, “completely skewed in the hands of the policy makers.” The document downplayed or ignored cultural and natural resource protection, aesthetics, noise and even the law.⁴⁶ Most disturbing was its matter-of-fact attitude about an industrial complex storing such lethal material sited so near a national park, with blasting going on seventeen hours a day, the twenty-four hour a day transport of nuclear waste and coal in trucks and rail cars, and damage to air quality and night sky clarity that the DOE even admitted would affect visitors. Transport of radionuclides in groundwater or because of geologic shifts, damage to archaeological sites by workers and affects on regional ecosystems, were simply dismissed. Even after reading 5,035 comments on Davis Canyon—the Energy Department made few changes from the 1984 Draft EA to the 1986 Final EA for Davis Canyon. Rated third in geologic stability, fifth in socioeconomic and environmental factors, and third in the “aggregate of pre-closure and post-closure analysis,” Davis Canyon was called “the least preferred site” based on “preclosure performance” issues, and was pushed to fourth place.⁴⁷

Although the 1986 EA stated that Davis Canyon was not a “first repository” site, the matter was

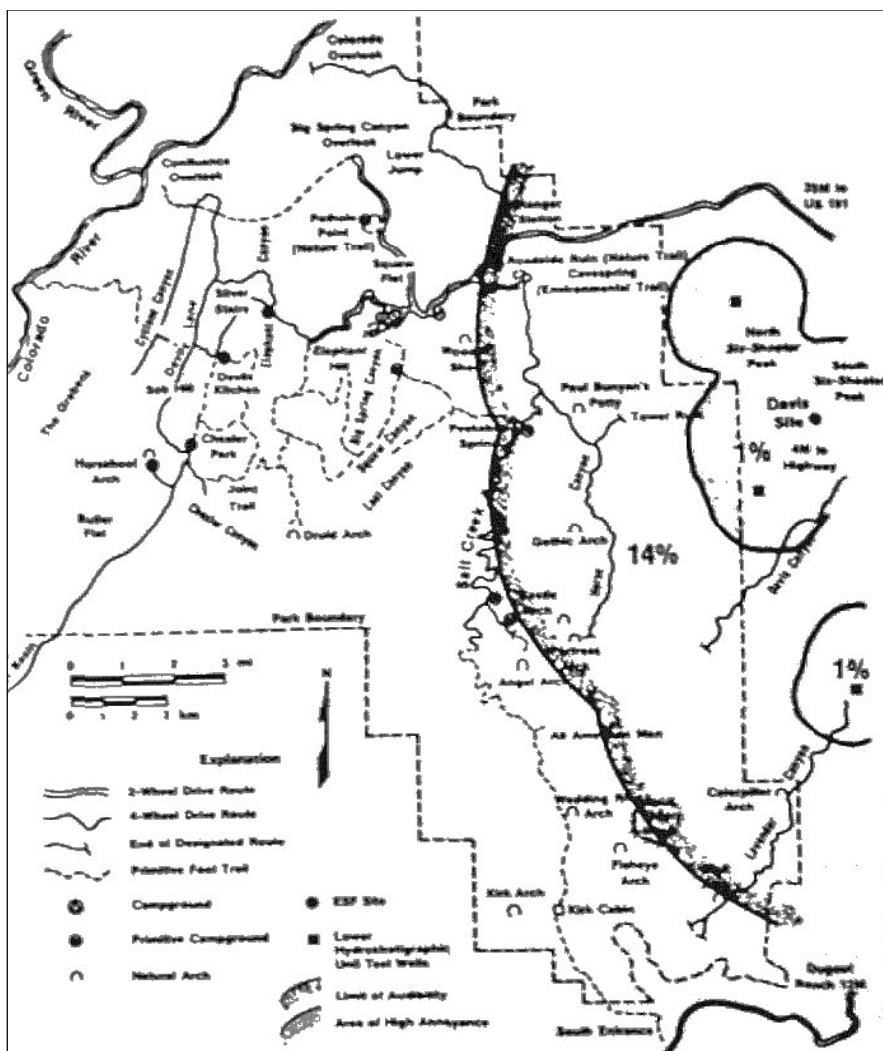


Figure 82: "Percentage of Park Visitors in Areas of Potential Noise Audibility and Annoyance from Machine Sources, Davis Canyon Site Characterization," Figure 4-22, Davis Canyon EA, 4-121. The DOE believed there was a level of acceptable noise in the Canyonlands region, whether from "machine sources" as depicted in the map, from blasting, from light or other visual impacts on the park's viewshed.

not closed. Citing an "unsettling exchange" with Energy Secretary Herrington, who said the DOE "may disqualify one or more primary sites and move others up on the list," Congressman Wayne Owens (D-Utah), expanded an anti-dump platform from his gubernatorial run and the NPCA expansion plan by proposing to expand Canyonlands by 417,000 acres. Introduced in January of 1987, H.R. 899 would add 182,000 acres east of the Colorado River, including the Canyon Rims, Bridger Jack Mesa, Indian Creek and Butler Wash; 115,000 acres from the Green and Colorado Rivers west to the Orange Cliffs; and 120,000 acres on the

south including Butler Wash and Beef Basin. Failing to consult Utah congressman Howard Nielson, whose district included the park, Owens broke protocol and was thus unable to garner cosponsors for the bill. Nielson said expansion would eliminate valuable grazing lands, Calvin Black claimed it would be "another abuse on our economy," and the Utah Legislature passed a resolution against the bill. Jim Hansen then showed his true colors by asking Utahns to support the nuclear dump and an atomic supercollider as part of a joint legislative arrangement. Realizing he had no support, Owens withdrew the bill and said he had only introduced an idea to plant a seed for the future.⁴⁸

Tar sands, missile bases, and nuclear power: Added threats to Canyon Country

The waste dump was only one threat to the region during the Reagan era. In August 1981, a DOE-backed utilities consortium unveiled a plan calling for nine 1,250 megawatt nuclear power plants on Horse Bench Mesa fifteen miles southwest of Green River, Utah. These plants would need 65,000 to 185,000 acre feet of water per year from the Green River and increase the city of Green River's population from one thousand to twenty-nine thousand.⁴⁹ Although this plan was not implemented, it reflected the grandiose designs of the energy industry and the view of canyon country as disposable wasteland. The last theme was underscored by the U. S. Army's intent to recommence the Pershing II missile program in 1982 from the Green River Missile Base after a

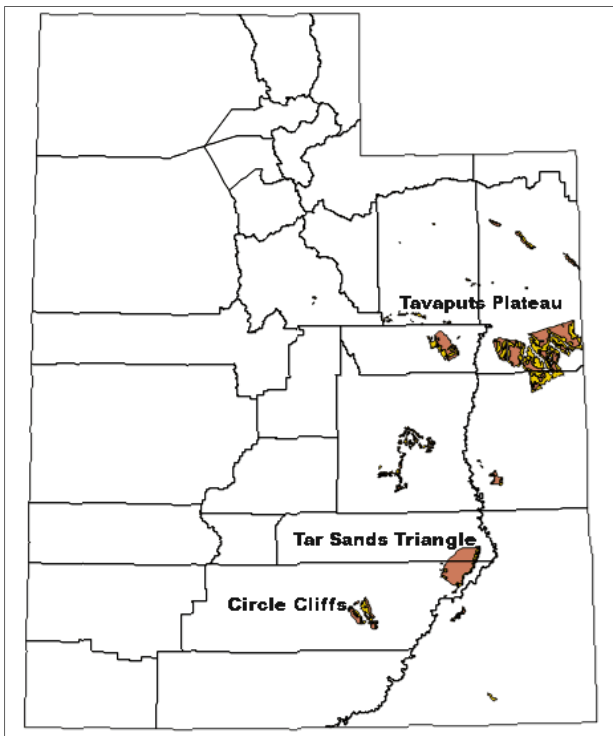


Figure 83: "Tar Sands Areas," Utah. Bureau of Land Management. The "Tar Sands Triangle" was and remains the most attractive area in Utah for tar sands development. Other major areas in Utah for tar sands include the north slope of the Tavaputs Plateau and in the Circle Cliffs area southwest of Capitol Reef National Park.

six-year hiatus, and plans to build a new missile base on McKay Mesa twelve miles north of Hanksville. Used 169 times from 1963 to 1975, the Green River site was to host four firings in 1982, and the evacuation area was expanded to include Dead Horse Point and entire eastern half of the Canyonlands basin. The McKay Mesa base firings would require from twelve to fifteen evacuations per year for twenty-hour periods over an area that included Goblin Valley State Park, the San Rafael and Burr Deserts and part of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. Matheson claimed the plans would have an extremely negative impact on the region, that evacuating such large areas would be practically impossible and would impose unfair hardships on visitors.⁵⁰

The other threat concerned tar sands deposits on the western fringe of the Canyonlands basin. These "oil-impregnated sands" were first iden-

tified in 1900, but were not exploited because of geography and economics. Technology for extracting tar sands was developed in the 1920s by Karl Clark of the Scientific and Industrial Research Council of Alberta and Sidney Ellis of the Ottawa Department of Mines, but the process attracted little interest in the United States. This changed in the 1960s when the Great Canadian Shield Oil Sands Company developed a for-profit tar sands plant in Alberta and large deposits were found stateside. Ninety percent of the deposits were located in Utah including one straddling the Orange Cliffs, near the Maze District. The Orange Cliffs area included Elaterite Basin, Fault Point, Hatch Canyon, Gordon Flats, Lands End and The Cove, and became appealing during the energy crisis of the 1970s when oil companies sought to develop alternative oil extraction and processing strategies.⁵¹ Exploration began in 1973 as part of the "Gordon Flats In Situ Combustion Project" in the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. Pilot tests in 1975–76 were slowed by leasing problems, NPS regulations and a threatened Sierra Club lawsuit. Exploration continued as oil companies protested the regulations and Congress sought to modify oil and gas leasing rules that merged oil and tar sands under a new "hydrocarbon" category.⁵²

Under the Mineral Lands Leasing Act of 1920, in September 1980 the U.S. Geological Survey designated 157,339 acres near the Orange Cliffs as the "Tar Sands Triangle." On NPS and BLM lands that included all or part of Townships 14–17 West and 29–33 South, some of the area's 793 oil and gas lessees were interested in tar sands.⁵³ Utah Senator Orrin Hatch then attached a rider on the 1981 NPS appropriations bill blocking funds for Glen Canyon NRA to implement any management plan unless it had "provisions to lease and permit development of oil impregnated rock" in the Triangle.⁵⁴ Passed after 1973 settlement of the "Trans-Delta Case" required Glen Canyon NRA to develop a mineral management plan, the Combined Hydrocarbon Leasing Act of 1981 provided

for the conversion of oil and gas leases to “combined hydrocarbon leases.”⁵⁵

Extraction involved the injection of fire and steam into tar sands deposits to separate oil from host rocks so it could be pulled to the surface and processed. The biggest plans for this process involved the Tar Sands Triangle. Phase I involved exploratory drilling at four sites; Phase II, drilling at fifteen locations to determine a deposit’s size; Phase III, a pilot extraction and processing plant; and Phase IV, commercial extraction and processing. Development entailed one thousand wells on 66,000 acres (54,000 on Park Service lands), many new roads, huge water needs and significant noise and air pollution.⁵⁶ Although work began humbly in December 1981 at four drill sites above the Orange Cliffs under NPS oversight and rules requiring contractors to use old drill pads and roads, the prospect of a major industrial operation in the area had the Park Service worried.⁵⁷ In addition to damaging the region’s wilderness qualities, the project would severely impact regional ecology, and if development occurred near the Orange Cliffs or on Glen Canyon NRA lands inside the Canyonlands basin, destroy the prospect of a rim-to-rim park.

Under the Combined Hydrocarbons Act, the Secretary of the Interior was to have conversion regulations ready by May 15, 1982, and lease sales were to begin in June 1984. After a Sierra Club suit slowed the process, leases were consolidated, exploration continued, development plans were made, and the BLM and NPS discussed rules.⁵⁸ By mid-1982 twelve lessees held forty-seven “combined hydrocarbon leases” in the Glen Canyon NRA part of the Tar Sands Triangle on 36,420 acres, 11,202 acres in “natural” zones and 25,218 acres in “recreation and resource use” zones. There were thirty-two leases on 30,060 acres of BLM lands and fifteen leases on 6,369 acres of state lands.⁵⁹ The DOE said if the region was economically viable, the one thousand-well plan could be repeated

eighteen times over the next 160 years in areas of fourteen hundred acres each. Full operations would require a water pump station on the Dirty Devil River connected to a fifteen-mile pipeline, a refinery powered by a 32-megawatt coal plant, a coking facility, sulphur recovery plant, waste handler and dump, syncrude and water storage plants, re-injection wells for water waste and transfer facilities to truck syncrude to market.⁶⁰

Activities from 1982 to 1985 included drilling at Gordon Flats, Flint Flats, Lands End and Sunset Pass, tough negotiations between the NPS and BLM over rules for leasing, operations and rehabilitation, and a long EIS process.⁶¹ In contrast to the nuclear waste dump site on BLM land, the fact that eighty-two percent of the tar sands project’s 66,000 acres were on Park Service lands gave the agency more leverage. The NPS started by imposing the following regulations: no surface activity on slopes over thirty-three percent, near sites eligible for the National Historic Register, by overlooks or access roads to overlooks, in surface drainages of the Colorado River, within buffer zones around falcon nests and by cliff edges and water sources, and no “intrusive structures” could be visible from Glen Canyon NRA or Canyonlands and Capitol Reef National Parks. The Park Service added more restrictions that included NPS oversight authority, no right of lessees to sue the NPS, lessee payment of NPS costs, and other compliance mandates. Senator Barry Goldwater (R-Arizona) called the rules “so restrictive” as to “preclude actual development of the tar sands.” Protested by the DOE and leading to a failure to develop a joint management plan with the BLM, the Park Service regulations were incorporated in Glen Canyon NRA’s General Management Plan and would allow Phases I and II, but not Phases III and IV, unless lessees could prove that further activity would not produce permanent resource deterioration.⁶²

Although stricter regulations were a factor, the main reasons for the demise of the tar sands

concept were economic and technological.⁶³ As with oil shale, tar sands were economically viable when oil prices were high, conditions not true in the eighties. Experts in 1985 believed that oil prices had to be eighty to ninety dollars a barrel for tar sands to be profitable, forty dollars over the going price. This deficit could not be overcome when the U.S. Synfuels Corporation, an entity that helped alternative fuel research and development, withdrew subsidies from tar sands. Despite success on the Canadian Shield, tar sands technology was also unproven in the geology of the Colorado Plateau.⁶⁴ Therefore, despite lobbying from Utah congressmen, state agencies and private industry, by the mid-1980s the tar sands idea in canyon country was effectively dead.

Park planning, policy debates, and resource protection

Although the nuclear waste dump and tar sands issues dominated the 1980s, Canyonlands had to continue normal operations and implement the 1978 GMP. This meant completing river and backcountry management plans, upgrading visitor and employee facilities in the Island in the Sky and Needles Districts, finishing the Island's road network, inventorying and monitoring park natural and cultural resources, improving interpretive infrastructure and adding publications on the park. These tasks were made more difficult by the decade's dramatic rises in visita-

tion and corresponding backcountry impacts met only by small increases in the park's budget and staff.

The 1982 Canyonlands River Management Plan (RMP) emerged from a NEPA-like process that weighed visitor use and resource protection. After a February 1978 meeting attended by the NPS, river runners and Utah state officials, workbooks were sent out and meetings held the next February in Moab, Salt Lake City and Denver. Correspondence and public forums then informed a draft RMP distributed in late 1979 for comment.⁶⁵ Based on finding proper carrying capacities, the plan covered commercial and private use, oars and motors, scheduling, camping, group sizes, social trailing, waste, fires, interpretation and endangered species. The final RMP raised annual limits in Cataract Canyon from 6,660 to 8,000, concession permits from 333 to 365 for each of the park's nineteen concessionaires, with 750 left for private use and 315 unassigned. Lobbied by environmentalists to eliminate motors and by the boating lobby to allow them anywhere, the NPS compromised. They remained legal on the Colorado River above and below the Confluence because of safety and transport needs, but were not allowed on the Green River from July 1 to September 30 outside emergencies and ranger patrols. Developed campsites were not permitted, social trails were discouraged and human waste was to be carried out, fire pans were required and ash had to be dumped in river currents, group sizes were limited to forty persons and signage was to be kept at a minimum. The NPS also tightened its evaluation and inspection procedures.⁶⁶ With use in Cataract Canyon averaging 5,000 people a year from 1975 to 1982 and the pool system allowing more people when needed, complaints over the RMP were largely limited to the private versus commercial use issue and numbers thought too high by some environmentalists.

The quiet over river policy ended in spring 1983 when high water prompted the NPS to

Figure 84: River runners putting in at Potash Landing on the Colorado River. Photograph by the author.



close Cataract Canyon on Memorial Day weekend. Many boats were damaged by large debris, some required aid, and ninety-three people were evacuated from Spanish Bottom. Behind the closure were concerns about safety when the river was running at over 70,000 cubic feet per second (cfs), as 76,000 cfs was the highest level known to have been run. Despite protests from commercial operators and politicians, the Colorado River remained closed until June 4th, one day after it had peaked at 90,800 cfs. Governor Matheson sent a letter to RMR Director Lorraine Mintzmyer protesting an “unnecessary closure” he claimed “cost Utah \$250,000 in lost revenues.” Quieting down after Mintzmyer explained the decision, Matheson’s anger contrasted the cooperative spirit he exhibited during the nuclear waste dump debate. The river reopened with these rules when water in Cataract exceeded 70,000 cfs: no rowing trips without motorized support; no single boat trips; no boats under twenty feet long; no inexperienced boatmen; and reports on river conditions must be given by operators to the NPS after takeout. These rules were fine-tuned at subsequent meetings between the NPS, river concessionaires, and Utah Parks and Recreation officials. Therefore, even though the river rose to 103,000 cfs in June 1983 and 109,000 cfs in June 1984—exceeding the 1957 record of 101,200 cfs—Cataract Canyon remained open. Negative publicity from the 1983 closure did

produce a dip in travel numbers that did not fully recover for years.⁶⁷

The Friendship Cruise declined in the 1980s due to ecological, social and economic factors. Averaging 325 boats and 1500 people per year from 1972 to 1980, except for 1977 when the event was cancelled due to low water, the downturn began at the 1980 event. Plagued by bad weather, early takeouts at Mineral Bottom, poor pick-up service and human-caused wild-fires, only 214 boats completed the event. The steak fry and dance at Anderson Bottom was cancelled, and the subsequent dispersal of campers produced more damage than usual. Capping off a bad weekend was the May 25th drowning of a twenty-nine year old man in the Colorado River. Receiving a call at 1 p.m. about problems at “The Slide,” a narrow place where deep water picks up speed and crests, river ranger Jim Braggs arrived in time to see the overturning of a boat and three people wearing heavy clothes and no life jackets being sucked under the water. Moving to the bottom of the rapids, Braggs rescued two people with ropes as the third person disappeared under the water. Two hours later, while searching for a likely drowning victim, another boat flipped at the same place with four people on board. Wearing life jackets, three of the four passengers were rescued, but one woman had her life jacket strap catch on the boat gunnels. Watching her struggle under the boat as it floated downstream, Braggs repositioned his boat, jumped in without a life jacket and saved her life, resulting in his being awarded the Department of the Interior Medal of Valor. The man from the first accident did not survive, and his body was found thirteen days later by river rangers down at Rapid 10, eight miles below the Confluence.⁶⁸

The 1980 Cruise resulted in NPS demands for better safety and sanitation measures by the Canyon Country Marathon Association. The organization complied, but the event remained a “non-conforming” intrusion into a primitive area. In addition to the fouling of river corridors,

Figure 85: Trash from the Friendship Cruise at campsite in Labyrinth Canyon. C 36552.635, SEUG Photographic Archives.





NPS patrol rafts from 1960s. C. 36552.547, SEUG Photographic Archives.



A baby J-rig NPS patrol boat. SEUG Backcountry Management Office.



A Zodiac NPS patrol boat. SEUG Backcountry Management Office.

Figure 86: Evolution of NPS boats at Canyonlands. NPS capabilities to better patrol the park's rivers were reflected by the evolution of river craft from the crude rafts of the 1960s through the J-Rig and Zodiac introduced in the 1970s and 1980s.

the presence of intoxicated boaters produced many accidents and wrong turns at the Confluence into Cataract Canyon, despite signage and pre-event instructions. Although some people were chased away by more fatalities and stricter NPS rules that banned generators at Anderson Bottom and mandated that boaters

bring portable toilets and fire pans, the event's decline was also due to the popularity of Lake Powell, which in 1979 was filled to capacity. Numbers for the Cruise fell in 1983 to 130 boats, in 1988 to 85, and was cancelled in 1989 due to low water. Ever since, it has been an on-again, off-again event averaging between sixty and eighty boats per year.⁶⁹

Canyonlands' River District also upgraded its fleet of small motorized rafts and slow military pontoon boats to faster, fuel-efficient craft that improved patrol coverage, emergency response and resource management capabilities. By the late 1970s the park's staple water craft was the 18-foot "Zodiac," a shallow-draft boat with four interlocking air chambers often described as a "modified diving platform." It avoided sandbars which plagued deeper draft boats and was more maneuverable than the twenty-two foot "Baby J" rigs and thirty-seven foot "S" pontoon boats. Starting with a single thirty-five to forty horsepower motor that made them prone to breakdowns, the Zodiacs added a second motor to create a craft that could economically and reliably travel at twenty-three to twenty-five miles per hour for long periods. This allowed for more patrols on calm and white water sections of the rivers, especially during the peak river running season.⁷⁰

Better boats allowed "fly camps" with park rangers to be sited in Cataract Canyon between Spanish Bottom and Ten Cent Beach during peak season, resulting in saved lives and a better understanding of river management. The camps also allowed park staff to view acts that proved the need for law enforcement, epitomized by two incidents involving low-flying aircraft. In June 1987, while standing in a Zodiac at Spanish Bottom, park ranger Mike Hill spotted a small plane flying just over the water. According to Hill, the pilot "came straight at me like he wanted me to dive in the water so he could get a good laugh," then pulled up before the plane hit the boat. The plane banked left, climbed toward the Doll House before stalling, recov-



Figure 87: Fly camp being built at Spanish Bottom, 1980s. C 4091 I.335, SEUG Photographic Archives.

ered and headed down Cataract Canyon without being identified. Two years before, a man from Colorado tried to impress friends on a river trip by dropping buckets of ice cream from a plane to their rafts above Rapid 13. The plane slowed to drop the goods, but as the pilot opened the door, the plane lost elevation, dipped a wing in the water, flipped and crashed. Suffering minor injuries, the pilot and passenger joined the raft trip and the plane sank. Questioned by a park ranger at Hite, the rafters initially said there was no plane, but a woman from the trip broke ranks and said, “the plane went into the river and it was horrible.” The NPS tracked the plane with the intention that the pilot would pay for its removal, but only found a nose wheel that could not be traced. The fuselage and wings were likely buried under

Figure 88: SEUG Resource Manager Larry Thomas assessing the damage made by ATVs during Memorial Day weekend of 1986. C 36552.71, SEUG Photographic Archives.



rocks and sand in a deep section of the river. The FAA did not aggressively investigate the matter, and the incident became part of Park Service lore.⁷¹

Law enforcement and visitor protection improved in Canyonlands’ upland zones due to better knowledge of park resources, more field staff and upgraded communications. Ranging from three to four hundred incidents a year in the 1980s, most problems involved resource protection, with off-road driving, improper camping, wood gathering, illegal fires, grazing trespass and off-leash pets being the most common violations. Most incidents resulted in verbal warnings or “courtesy tags” as only severe violations resulted in fines. Felonies involving weapons, car theft, burglary and vandalism to government property did occur, although less than in the larger parks. Most serious backcountry offenses involved archaeological vandalism and looting, instances that rose along with increased visitation, evidenced by the park’s thirteen Archaeological Resource Protection Act violations in 1987. More visitors also produced more human-caused fires that ranged from one to two hundred acres in size. The NPS investigated their causes and planned to regenerate burned areas. Search-and-rescue capabilities also matured in the 1980s, aided by upgraded communications and a core ranger staff better trained in first aid and technical rescue. Most instances involved lost hikers, although the number of serious incidents rose during the 1980s which involved full search and rescue mobilization, including air drops and evacuations.⁷²

The diverse activities in Canyonlands’ uplands made backcountry issues difficult to resolve. Prodded by a tenfold increase in visitors from 1971 to 1981 and the addition of mountain bikes and off-highway vehicles (OHVs) to four-wheel drive, motorcycle, hiking and pack animal uses, Superintendent Parry formed a task force in 1982 to create policies consistent with the park’s 1978 General Management Plan. The task

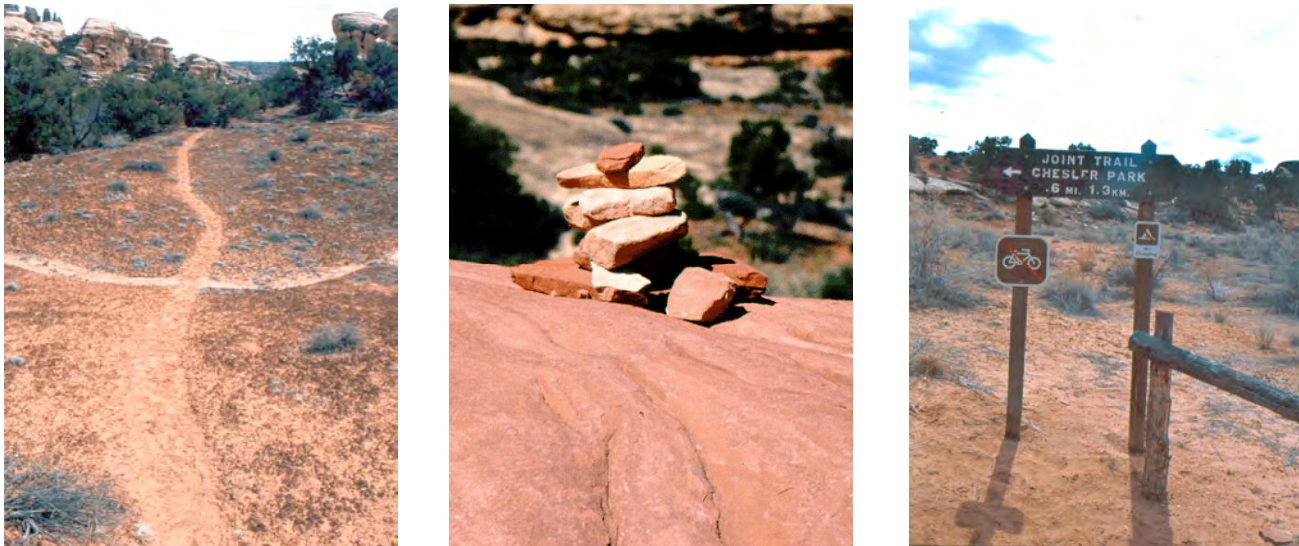


Figure 89: Backcountry trail management. Despite increasingly well-marked trails, better signage and improved information dispersal, the dramatic increase in visitation during the 1980s combined with the often-confusing logistics of hiking in slick rock country to produce an increase in social trailing and instances of backcountry resource damage. Photographs by the author.

force created a workbook addressing visitation, resource protection, science and administration that was distributed before public hearings held in Utah and Colorado in late 1983. Covering areas not in “development zones” as identified in the GMP, class A and B trails, access for people with disabilities, and paved and unimproved two wheel drive roads, the process produced concepts that have anchored park policies ever since.⁷³

The 1984 Canyonlands Backcountry Management Plan (BCMP) divided the park into critical resource areas, vehicle corridors, developed vehicle campsites, and developed and undeveloped roadless areas. The plan had permit systems and rules for trail and cross-country hiking, cultural resource protection, park facilities, signs, aircraft overflights, human waste and refuse disposal, rock climbing, water use and bathing. Critical resource areas to receive extra protection were Virginia Park, Upper Elephant Canyon, the Confluence Overlook, Joint Trail, Salt Creek, Horse Canyon, Lost Canyon, Airport Tower, Fort Bottom, the Confluence to Spanish Bottom, Cataract Canyon and Horseshoe Canyon.⁷⁴ Backcountry permits were required for all overnight trips, rock climbing and stock trips; and carrying capacities were

designated for each “zone” and activity. Rules included the following: fires were to be in pans and ashes carried out; no soap used within three hundred feet of water sources; no bathing in potholes unless perennially supplied; toilets must be used or waste buried four to six inches deep; no camping within three hundred feet of known archaeological sites; all antiquities laws observed; and rock climbing only where allowed with “clean climbing” methods. Camping limits were as follows: winter, fourteen nights per zone and seven consecutive nights per campsite; high season, three consecutive nights at campsites, seven consecutive nights in a zone; maximum group size of ten in roadless areas and fifteen in motor vehicle use corridors. Horses had to be quartered in campsites or where they would not damage flora, water or archaeological sites, and they were confined to roads or select corridors.⁷⁵ The Bates Wilson and Bobby Jo campsites were added, giving the Needles District 15 vehicle campsites with a capacity of 86 people. The White Rim zone had 20 and 165 and the Maze District 12 and 105. Climbers and stock guides protested the new restrictions, but the plan was well-received by most interest groups, clarified previous policies and closed loopholes.⁷⁶

Resource issues were simplified after the 1983 grazing phase-out eliminated legal intrusions into the park by livestock. Although more distant from park resources than in 1964–1975, cattle and sheep still impacted flora, fauna, water and antiquities in Elaterite Basin, Salt Creek, Davis, Lavender and Horseshoe Canyons, and trespass remained a problem despite better fencing in Elaterite Basin, Lavender, Davis, Lockhart and Shafer Canyons. Most trespass occurred in Elaterite Basin where poor coordination among Canyonlands, Glen Canyon NRA and the BLM coupled with the Cross S Bar Ranch's failure to move cattle expeditiously resulted in threats of BLM impoundment. Another issue involved access to water in Horseshoe Canyon. Although the Chuchuru Brothers had last grazed sheep there in 1976, they sold their water rights to Milt Oman of San Rafael Ranch in 1983, the same year that water rights expired to the allotment's waterless uplands used for grazing by Oman. Because water rights on federal lands expire after five years of non-use, Oman's attempts in 1989–1990 to obtain access to water on NPS lands in Horseshoe Canyon were repeatedly rejected by the Park Service and U. S. Justice Department.⁷⁷

The NPS knew it needed better scientific knowledge of Canyonlands to justify policy shifts and fight threats to the park.⁷⁸ Air quality monitoring that began in 1976 at the Island in the Sky and established Canyonlands' Class I status under the Clean Air Act, continued in the 1980s with better technology. Studies of the humpback chub, Colorado River squawfish, peregrine falcon and bald eagle attached the park to the Endangered Species Act. The study of grasses and soils intensified under Jayne Belnap, the park's first biologist, giving cryptobiotic soils more power to influence policy. Studies of desert bighorn sheep created sufficient knowledge of numbers and behavior by 1981 to allow their transplant to other parks and BLM lands. However, plans to inventory all park resources did not occur because of fiscal shortfalls and

science's slow learning curve in the region.⁷⁹ Canyonlands also struggled with invasive species, especially tamarisk in the park's riparian corridors. Starting with eradication methods that used 2-4-5D herbicides in the 1970s before moving to more ecologically-friendly chemicals and manual methods in the 1980s, the Park Service barely held the line with tamarisk. Revegetation methods of indigenous grasses and blackbrush also improved during Island in the Sky road project reclamation efforts.⁸⁰

Knowledge of cultural resources was also lacking, as budget and staffing shortfalls had not been sufficiently prioritized to address park inventory, stabilization, protection and interpretive needs. Barely able to meet Antiquities Act or National Historic Preservation Act requirements, stabilize major sites or prevent looting and vandalism, rangers trained in biology or recreation management needed help from contractors, academics or NPS archeologists from the Rocky Mountain Region or the Midwestern Archaeological Center (MWAC). Despite these problems, the prioritization of cultural resources in the 1978 General Management Plan, and calls by the park to the NPS to have its own archeologist, did not produce rapid changes in staffing or budget.

MWAC's 1979–80 survey of development zones in the Island in the Sky and Needles Districts located new sites, better identified coordinates for old ones, analyzed land-modification activities and mitigation measures and added to scientific knowledge.⁸¹ Following MWAC's suggestion that development zones needed analysis, cultural resources work at Canyonlands in the 1980s focused on surveys related to development. Starting at the Island in the Sky, from 1983 to 1986 scientists from the NPS and University of Nebraska studied the mesa top and White Rim before road and infrastructure work.⁸² The Park Service surveyed the Needles District by the Salt Creek Bridge and Squaw Flat administrative facilities, at Hans Flat before its landfill was expanded and at the site of future Needles



Tower Ruin, Horse Canyon. Photograph by Author.



All-American Man, Salt Creek Canyon.
C 36301, SEUG Photographic Archives.

Figure 90: Archeological resources

visitor support facilities.⁸³ The nuclear repository issue also forced the NPS to resurvey portions of the Salt Creek Archeological District in Davis, Lavender, Horse and Salt Creek Canyons. Documenting 132 sites, 65 isolated finds and key sites looted or vandalized, NPS efforts to garner evidence and prove the dump's negative impacts upon cultural resources were successful.⁸⁴ Although these surveys continued the trend of compliance-driven, applied archeology at Canyonlands in lieu of more purely scientific endeavors, the collective findings from this work aided the park's cultural resources inventory and augmented its database concerning the chronology, demography, and lifeways of the region's ancient culture groups.

Sixteen sites at Canyonlands were identified in 1976 as needing stabilization, but funding and staffing shortfalls hurt progress. Cultural resource projects were either amateur efforts or done by outsiders, evidenced by the use of high school students in 1976 to repair Kirk's Cabin and stabilization work at Fort Bottom Ruin in 1978 by Mesa Verde National Park staff. Not until the early 1980s was archeology at the park a professional endeavor headed by MWAC

or private contract archeologists. Because of rising visitation in Salt Creek Canyon, the NPS focused its attentions on the Salt Creek Archaeological District—the All-American Man, Four Faces, Picto-Petro Man, Big Horn Sheep Ruin and Tower Ruin—and determined the appropriate textures and colors of mortar for structural repairs prior to stabilization efforts. Because most of the cultural resources funding went to Salt Creek, other than work at Fort Bottom Cabin in 1987 and Murphy Trail Bridge in 1988, most sites in the Island, Maze and River districts remained unexamined.⁸⁵

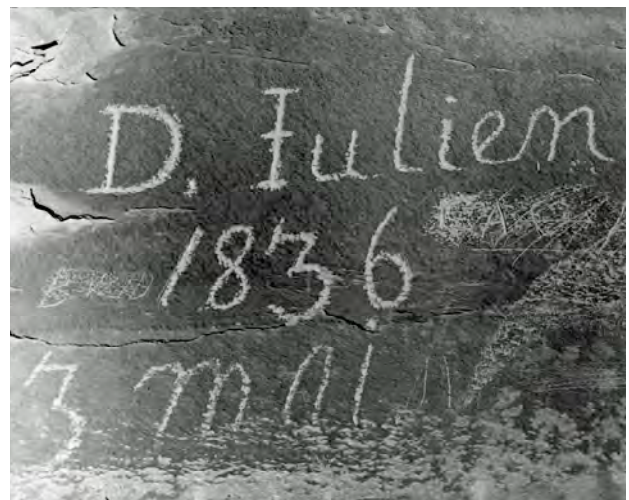
The park's first Cultural Resources Management Plan completed in 1986 called for additional stabilization and maintenance, inventories of park resources, clarification of criteria for classified structures, operations policies, and historic resource studies, and improved curation capabilities. Charles Cartwright was hired in 1987 as the Complex's first archeologist, resulting in improved compliance and maintenance, site cataloging, protection and law enforcement, cultural resource interpretation and planning. In 1988–1989 park staff identified thirty-eight sites in Canyonlands, Arches and Natural Bridges that were to be monitored

regularly, and expanded the Salt Creek Archeological District. A 1986 study of park historic resources that included Kirk's Cabin, the Cave Springs Cowboy Camp, Lost Spring Cowboy Camp, Murphy Trail and Bridge, Denis Julien's inscription, Kolb's "Cat Camp" inscription and Stanton Expedition inscriptions was used to nominate "Canyonlands Multiple Resources" for the National Register of Historic Places. The nomination was accepted in October 1988 and historic resources received a higher profile in management and interpretation. Having previously identified eight hundred sites—an inexact figure because of questions over site coordinates—inventories of park archeological resources proceeded in the 1980s at White Crack Camp in the Island in the Sky District and at Devils Lane, Squaw Flat, Salt Creek Pocket and Salt Creek Canyon in the Needles District, increasing the number of known sites in the park to more than one thousand. Thomas Wylie also led a team of rangers on a 1981 survey of the rivers that analyzed seventy-three of eighty-one known sites.⁸⁶

Canyonlands' value to archeology was further illustrated by the 1985 discovery of the "Down Wash Site" in the Maze District's South Horse Canyon. Dr. Larry Agenbroad of Northern Arizona University did a site assessment in 1986, and his recommendations prodded the NPS to hire P-III Archaeological Consultants in 1987 to determine its research potential. When carbon dating and test plots revealed four thousand years of use and cultural deposits two meters deep, more work was planned. Because the site was four miles from the Maze Overlook Road, field work in the summer of 1989 needed four-wheel drives and helicopters to transport personnel, equipment and specimens. The study excavated thousands of artifacts—chipped and ground stone, hammer stones, projectile points, bifaces and flake tools—but found no cultivated plants, indicating that farming did not take place nearby. The chronology—from 3014 to 1000 B.C.E. in Archaic times and up to 1216 A.C.E. in the Fremont/Anasazi era—demonstrated that



Cabin at Fort Bottom. C 36552.33, SEUG Photographic Archives.



Denis Julien inscription along the Green River. C 26552.777, SEUG Photographic Archives.

Figure 91: Historic resources. Although the focus on cultural resources at Canyonlands was initially on pre-Columbian archeology, the park's historical legacy from the trapping of the nineteenth century to the ranching and mining of the twentieth century became more recognized by the NPS as a valuable resource in terms of both resource protection and interpretation.

societies more complex than previously thought had lived west of the Colorado and Green Rivers. In addition to its science, the study was also an example of a successful private and public sector collaboration. CNHA contributed half the \$60,000 cost and private firms worked with NPS archeologists. It was also the first time at Canyonlands that the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) and issues central to the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation

Act (NAGPRA) were discussed, although neither were applied to this project.⁸⁷

Improving park infrastructure, new leadership, and reorganization

The Park Service's attempt to balance visitor use and resource protection at Canyonlands was evident during the Island in the Sky road and infrastructure improvement project. From 1972 to 1982 plans were developed that addressed transportation, visitor, interpretive, administrative, maintenance and housing needs.⁸⁸ Centered on roads, projected costs for the project ranged widely from \$1.8 to \$21 million and designs from narrow byways traveling to a few vistas with minimal infrastructure to wide highways extending to many viewpoints and supported by major development. Knowing that fiscal limits, the park's GMP and environmental laws would only allow modest improvements, the NPS decided by 1983 on a plan featuring a slow-speed byway along the old road bed with minor realignments costing from four to eight million dollars, a few day-use trails, eight to ten wayside exhibits and one million dollars in support facilities.⁸⁹

Realizing the NPS had to act, Superintendent Parry told RMR Director Mintzmyer that the agency's "lack of action on this project has been a source of embarrassment in this office for years" and it was "difficult to defend the fact that since the park was created, the only permanent development inside park boundaries is 12.5 miles of paved roads in the Needles District."⁹⁰ The project was approved, four million dollars was appropriated for FY 1984, and the Park Service slogged through the compliance process. This included NEPA, the Endangered Species Act, floodplains and wetlands laws, twenty categories of land, air and water laws, and regulations from the NPS and other agencies. Tough right-of-way issues followed involving the BLM, U.S. Department of Transportation and local counties. The main problem was San Juan County's refusal to grant a right-of-way

over a three-quarter mile section of the route between the borders of Grand County and Canyonlands National Park in an attempt to force the NPS to build the Confluence Road. Calvin Black claimed that a full EIS was needed, as dust from construction "would violate Class I air standards," a laughably ironic attempt to obstruct the project. Parry told Black that dust from construction was allowed for short periods in Class I areas, to which San Juan County responded by threatening to block the road unless its past grievances were addressed. The county backed down, but hostilities then arose between Grand and San Juan counties. Criticizing San Juan County for obstructionism and its bad attitude over Moab's "victory" in having the Island in the Sky road approved, Sam Taylor reminded Black about Grand County's support in the 1960s when Highway 95 was sold, planned, financed and built.⁹¹

Begun in December 1984, Phase I involved the grading and paving of 13.5 miles of road from Dead Horse Point Junction to the Wye. The job was completed in 1985 by Burnett Contractors of Durango, Colorado, for \$3.95 million, \$1 million under the NPS estimate. Phase II involved the grading and paving of roads to Upheaval Dome, Grandview Point and Green River Overlook, realigning roads through Gray's Pasture and near the Upheaval Dome road terminus, as well as building turnouts, wayside exhibits and parking lots. Awarded to W.W. Clyde of Springdale, Utah, work began in October 1987 and was finished in 287 days for \$4.368 million. The main road paved surfaces were twenty-four to twenty-eight foot wide, and there were two one-way loop roads thirteen feet wide, several pullouts and eight waysides. The Murphy Point road was deleted because of sensitive bighorn sheep and blackbrush habitat.⁹² Although environmentalists said the whole project was unnecessary, environmental concerns for the NPS centered on the revegetation of road corridors and the rock borrow pit north of the park. Having struggled with revegetation in the Needles District, Park Service reclamation

work at the Island in the Sky helped determine optimum seed mixtures for revegetating native grasses—Indian rice grass, blue grama grass, and needle and thread—and better methods for replanting blackbrush.⁹³

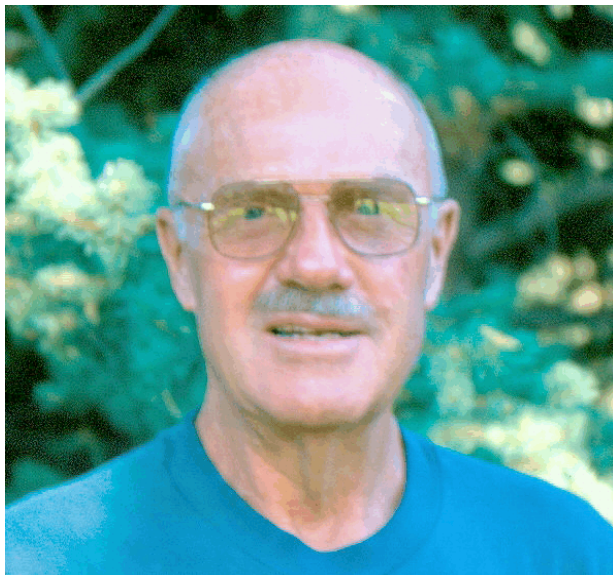
Retiring in 1987 after a thirty-year NPS career, Peter Parry left a very different Canyonlands National Park than he had found. Overseeing arduous planning processes during an era when new values were integrated into Park Service policy and practice, he also led successful fights against the nuclear waste dump and tar sands developments. Unfairly blamed for the park's slow development, Parry believed he led the park "in the right direction concerning the experience" visitors had at Canyonlands. However, he regretted not being "more adept at getting money for the things we really needed," namely housing, administrative and maintenance facilities and earlier funding for the Island in the Sky project that was not yet completed when he retired.⁹⁴

Parry was replaced as superintendent by Harvey Wickware, who transferred from Theodore Roosevelt National Park. Wickware's primary task was to change the Canyonlands Complex's

administrative structure. The complex adopted the unit manager/Interpretation and Resource Management (I & RM) model in 1964 because of limited funds and the vast distances between its three units. This system included an Office of the Superintendent, Division of Maintenance and Resource Management, with the Island, Needles, Maze, and River Districts of Canyonlands National Park and Arches and Natural Bridges National Monuments operating as autonomous units that relied on headquarters and central maintenance for major projects and political issues.⁹⁵ A good fit during the 1960s when operational independence and staffing flexibility were crucial, this model became a liability in the 1970s and 1980s when the park dealt with complex resource management and compliance issues that demanded capabilities often beyond the park's personnel and structure. Although reorganization was first discussed in 1976, it was delayed for more than a decade because of the GMP process and nuclear waste dump crisis. Wickware's appointment and final demise of the nuclear repository plan gave the NPS an opportunity to make a change.⁹⁶

Wickware was told to assess this structural problem by the RMR Directorate in early 1987, before his assignment began. Told that vacancies at Canyonlands, Arches and Natural Bridges could not be filled until he formed a restructuring plan, Wickware proposed to exchange the unit manager system for a "traditional headquarters-based organization with division chiefs who supervised park-wide programs." This system was to be installed by 1989 as institutional and personnel adjustments were made and housing became available for new personnel, after which the Complex would be renamed the Southeast Utah Group (SEUG). The SEUG Superintendent would oversee Canyonlands National Park and the group, with the assistant superintendent the backup for both functions. Divisions were created for administration, resource management, concessions, maintenance, resource protection and interpretation.

Figure 92: Harvey Wickware, SEUG Superintendent, 1987 to 1991, at his home in Moab, Utah, 2003. Photograph by the author.



The last three divisions were connected to each district at Canyonlands and managed by park rangers in the case of resource protection and interpretation, and by district foremen in maintenance. Arches National Park and Natural Bridges National Monument would have their own superintendents and divisional structures. This system demanded job reclassifications and transfers, and when combined with Wickware's old school attitude about staff always wearing NPS uniforms when representing the agency, even when outside park borders, the changes created some discord among SEUG staff.⁹⁷

Change extended into other areas of park management. Directed by the RMR office, which said that an "environmentalist" attitude endemic with park staff had steered Canyonlands away from the Park Service's traditional focus on visitors, Wickware was told to take the park in a more user-friendly direction. Claiming that resource management operated "independently of the rest of the park" and had the "capability of shooting down all other functions," Wickware agreed with the regional office assessment and stated that "ultra-green purists" at Canyonlands had gone beyond legitimate preservation interests to create a park unfriendly to some visitors. Therefore, although the Southeast Utah Group had a full resource management division with positions in archeology and biology that increased its compliance and scientific abilities, Wickware wanted to direct resource management away from data-gathering and more toward interpretation.⁹⁸

Canyonlands was also hurt by its bad housing situation. Based in the park's low place in NPS funding priorities, this problem was exacerbated by antidevelopment attitudes held by park staff who liked the rustic environs. This fed doubts in Congress about the wisdom of funding projects at Canyonlands. Believing the park should address Needles District needs first by building a visitor center, housing, administrative and maintenance facilities, Wickware took Calvin Black and Senator Jake Garn's assistant

Bob Widener on a 1988 river trip through Cataract Canyon to discuss the matter. Black brought up the Kigalia Highway and "broken promises" from the 1965 Master Plan. Wickware responded by outlining prospective Needles developments and ongoing Island in the Sky District projects and told the commissioner that any future development had to be within the framework of the 1978 GMP. The agreed-upon compromise between the parties centered on developments in the Needles District frontcountry. Projected to cost \$11.5 million, Phase I of the Needles District Visitor Support Facilities included a visitor center, administrative facility, new roads and parking; Phase II, a new maintenance facility and upgrades to utilities, campgrounds, trailheads, parking areas and road interchanges; and Phase III, employee housing and recreation facilities, more comfort stations and toilets, and an expanded amphitheater.⁹⁹ Although environmentalists claimed the project was merely an attempt by the NPS to assuage its critics in Utah, it was in actuality a necessary step in the evolution of a park that since its creation had been almost indistinguishable from a wilderness area due to its lack of development.

Reorganization also helped Canyonlands' interpretive offerings. While most energies under the I & RM model had been spent on resource management and protection, having a Division of Interpretation prioritized interpretation in both planning and operations. For example, the 1978 interpretive planning prospectus and 1981 Statement for Interpretation only led to occasional additions of a new wayside exhibit or publication.¹⁰⁰ This dynamic changed after 1985 when Jerry Rumberg was hired as the park's first "Interpretive Specialist." In addition to planning for the Island in the Sky's new visitor contact station and wayside exhibits, Rumberg planned to add more backcountry signage and guided-trail publications in all the districts and an informational radio station on Interstate 70 near Crescent Junction. He also sought to increase ranger-visitor interactions by adding

more campfire talks and guided hikes to meet increased visitor needs.

Rumberg's efforts to implement a comprehensive interpretive program were halted due to his tragic December 1987 death in a car accident north of Moab on Interstate 70, just two months after being named SEUG's Chief of Interpretation. Larry Frederick replaced Rumberg in early 1988 and continued his predecessor's work, including the development of exhibits for the new Island in the Sky visitor center, planning for the future Needles Visitor Center, and continuing to develop interpretive plans. The decade also saw the Canyonlands Natural History Association increase its gross sales from \$182,800 in 1981 to \$600,492 in 1990, and add to its number of sales items, although material specific to canyon country remained relatively scarce.¹⁰¹

Canyonlands celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1989 under the direction of SEUG's Division of Interpretation. Festivities included a float depicting Angel Arch at a Moab parade, recognition of the park's two-millionth visitor, a canyon country art show, development of a commemorative logo, an exhibit on Bates Wilson at the Island in the Sky Visitor Center, a joint NPS-BLM-USFS open house and many public programs. Featuring Lorraine Mintzmyer, Frank Moss and Stewart Udall, the big event on September 9th at Squaw Flat Campground was attended by 300 people and celebrated canyon country, paid tribute to Bates Wilson and provided a forum for discussing the park's future. Moss recalled boyhood memories of the region and the politics of forming the park, while Mintzmyer spoke about Wilson's place in Park Service history and of future plans for Canyonlands. Udall used the podium to elaborate on his vision for parks in the United States, stating that America should "act like a rich nation instead of a poor one and expand the national parks," beginning by making Canyonlands into the million acre park that he conceived.¹⁰²

End notes

1. "History of Nuclear Waste Program," in "Briefing on National Waste Storage Program," folder 31, Proposed Nuclear Waste Repository Collection (CANY 36010), Southeast Utah Group Archives. Key dates in the nuclear waste program include the following: 1963–67, Project Salt Vault; 1968, study of Hanford, Washington basalts; 1970, pilot storage facility, Lyons, Kansas; 1974, temporary storage facility proposed; 1976, National Waste Transport Storage program announced; 1978, Office of Nuclear Waste Institute formed; 1979, evaluation of non-salt geology accelerated. The Permian Basin covers parts of Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Nebraska and Oklahoma, and the Salina Basin parts of Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. Large salt domes are also found in eastern Texas, northern Louisiana, central-eastern Mississippi and central-western Alabama.

2. "Chronology of Activities, Utah," in "Briefing on National Waste Storage Program," folder 31, CANY 36010; "Canyonlands Complex (CC) Staff Mtg. Minutes," July 19, 1978 and June 12, 1979; folders 53–54, Canyonlands National Park Administrative Collection (CANY 36607); "Superintendent's Annual Report for Canyonlands National Park, 1980," folder 7, CANY 36607; Peter Parry, interview by author, June 2, 2003, Moab, Utah, audiocassette; Oral History Tapes and Transcripts from Administrative History Research (CANY 45551). Requests by Woodward-Clyde Consultants to test in Canyonlands were refused several times from 1981 to 1985.

3. "President's Policy Statement on Comprehensive Radioactive Waste Management Program," in "Fact Sheet on Radioactive Waste Management Program," February 12, 1980, U.S. Department of Energy (DOE); President Jimmy Carter, Proclamation, Storage of Nuclear Waste, March 1979; folders 31 and 55, CANY 36010. Briefings in Moab and Monticello on September 3–4, 1980, were attended by the DOE, Grand County Commissioner Harvey Merrill, San Juan County Commissioner Edward Boyle, fourteen members of the Utah state government, Bureau of Land Management (BLM) Moab District Manager Gene Day and BLM San Juan District Manager Ed Scherick.

4. "Site Selection, Repository Construction Schedule," in "Briefing on Waste Storage," folder 31, CANY 36010.

5. "Salt Valley Geologic Field Activities" in "Briefing on Waste Storage," folder 31, CANY 36010. The schedule at Salt Valley was as follows: 1975, surface reconnaissance and mapping; May 1978, seismic refraction survey of salt deposit; July to November, 1978, deep drilling and testing

over one thousand feet; August 1979 to March 1980, shallow drilling and testing, less than one thousand feet; 1979, electrical and electromagnetic surveys, hole to surface, surface and airborne; 1979–1980, cross-hole seismic profiling; 1980, gravity survey; August 1980, temporary twelve-station micro-earthquake monitoring network.

6. “Gibson Dome and Elk Ridge Area-level Geologic Field Activities,” and “Environmental Assessment of DOE Proposed Location and Baseline Studies in the Paradox Basin, Utah,” in “Briefing on Waste Storage,” folder 31, CANY 36010. DOE’s schedule was as follows: July 1979 to February 1980, twenty-four station micro-earthquake monitoring; June 1979 to October 1980, surface mapping and aerial reconnaissance; March 1980 to October 1981, deep drilling and testing; July 1980 to undetermined, electrical and electromagnetic survey; and no dates, long-term microwave monitoring network, Shay Graben trench; soil observation pits; and seismic reflection surveys.

7. “Environmental Assessment of Proposed Location and Baseline Studies in Paradox Basin,” 1981; Gene Nodine, Moab District Manager, BLM to Public, 1982; folder 2, box 2, Sierra Club Papers, Utah State University (Sierra Club Papers). The DOE drilled in these locations: (1) GD-2A, T 31S R 21E, section 21, one mile southwest of North Sixshooter Peak; (2) GD-2B, T 31S R 21E, section 21, three miles west of Dugout Ranch; (3) GD-2C, T 31S R 21E, section 32, three miles southwest of Dugout Ranch; (4) GD-3A, T 30S R 20E, section 12, 3.5 miles north of North Sixshooter Peak; (5) GD-3B, T 30S R 20E, section 16, seven miles northwest of North Sixshooter Peak; (6) DG-4A, T 32S R 19E, section 16, Beef Basin; (7) GD-4B, T 32S T 18E, section 11, Beef Basin; (8) GD-5, T 29S R 20E, section 1, near Horsehead Rock, 13.5 miles north of Highway U-211; (9) GD-6, T28E R20E, section 36, four miles northwest of Horsehead Rock, 13.5 miles from U-211; (10) GD-7, T 32E R 22E, section 21, just south of Highway 211; (11) GD-8, T 28S R 21E, section 28, four and one-half miles northeast of Horsehead Rock; (12) GD-9, T 29S R 20E section 16, four miles west of Horsehead Rock; (13) GD-10, T 28S R 21E, section 31, three miles north of Horsehead Rock; (14) Champlin borehole, T 32S R 21E, section 32, three miles south of Dugout Ranch.

8. Parry interview.

9. “Detailed Site Characterization Activities,” in “Fact Sheet, DOE,” June 1981; folder 53, CANY 36010; “NWTS Criteria for Siting Mined Geologic Repositories, Stages, Repository Employment, Peak Repository Operations Employment, Support Services,” in “Briefing on Waste Storage,” folder 31, CANY 36010.

10. Richard Strait, Associate Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region (RMR), National Park Service (NPS) to Jeffrey Neff, Program Manager, Salt States Project Repository Office (SRPO), DOE, June 5, 1981; James Edwards, Secretary of Energy (SOE), “Nuclear Waste Update,” November 8, 1981; folders 1 and 26, CANY 36010; CC Staff Mtg. Minutes, January 14, October 14, 1981; folder 56, CANY 36010; Parry interview; Pete Parry, Superintendent, Canyonlands National Park (CNP) to Ass’t. Utah State Director, NPS, memorandum, December 8, 1981; Donald Gillespie, Utah State Director, NPS to Lorraine Mintzmyer, Director, RMR, memorandum, December 17, 1981; Mintzmyer to Neff, December 18, 1981; folder 19, CANY 36010. The NPS was told at a January 1981 meeting in Salt Lake City that Gibson Dome was the DOE’s first choice, a decision made official in September 1981 at a meeting in Blanding, Utah that was confirmed by SOE James Edwards on October 8, 1981.

11. CC Staff Mtg. Minutes, 1981–82; folders 56–57, CANY 36607; Donald Gillespie to Bob Wiedner, Ass’t. to Senator Jake Garn, December 21, 1981; folder 29, CANY 36010. Gillespie attended the first meeting of the Governor’s High Level Nuclear Waste Repository Task Force on November 10, 1981, and he, along with Parry were thereafter NPS contacts with the state. Thomas Wylie attended the Environmental Work Group for the task force on the repository in December 1981, and in February and March of 1982, he prepared comments on DOE plans and was interviewed by the *Christian Science Monitor*. In 1982, Parry, Wylie and Canyonlands NP Chief Ranger Nicholas Eason attended task force meetings in Monticello and Moab. Parry attended task force meetings in May 1982 in Moab and Monticello also attended by Governor Matheson, went on a river trip sponsored by “Utahns Against the Dump,” August 24–26, 1982, and attended a meeting with the governor and Task Force later that week. Starting in 1981, Parry, Wylie, Eason and other park staff also monitored DOE noise and atmospheric studies, soil sampling and geologic mapping (some inside the park), attended other meetings, hearings and gave interviews to the media.

12. “Chronology of Activities, Utah,” in “Briefing on Waste Storage,” folder 31, CANY 36010.

13. “Executive Order by Utah Governor Scott M. Matheson to Establish the Nuclear Waste Repository Task Force,” November 10, 1981; “Governor Scott Matheson’s Position on High Level Nuclear Waste Repository,” proclamation, 1981; folder 4, CANY 36010. The Task Force had representatives from these state entities: Department of Health, Division of Environmental Health, Bureau of Radiation Control, Department of Natural Resources and Energy, Energy Office, Geologic and

Mineral Survey, Department of Commerce and Economic Development, State Science Advisor, the House of Representatives and Senate, as well as from city and county governments in southeast Utah, private industry and the University of Utah Medical Center. The NPS and BLM were "ex-officio" members.

14. K.V. Rhea, Ass't. District Manager, Moab District, BLM to Jeffrey Neff, February 18, 1981; "Environmental Assessment of DOE Proposed Location and Baseline Studies in the Paradox Basin, Utah;" folder 2, box 2, Sierra Club Papers. On March 3, 1986, BLM Moab District Manager Gene Nodine suggested to Neff that the NPS not be included as a consultant on historic preservation issues, saying it "would cloud and complicate" planning and "open the door to other parties" like "Indian tribes" and "Utah state parks."

15. Richard Strait to Jeff Neff, June 5, 1981; folder 27, CANY 36010; Donald Gillespie to Lorraine Mintzmyer, memorandum, November 13, 1981; folder 20, CANY 36010; "Environmental and Geological Participants, NWTS Program, Paradox Basin," in "Briefing on Waste Storage," folder 31, CANY 36010.

16. "Briefing on Waste Storage;" K.V. Rhea to Jeffrey Neff, February 18, 1981; folder 31, CANY 36010.

17. Calvin Black, Kenneth Bailey, Robert Low, San Juan County Commission, Public Letter, in Carl Eisemann, "Commission favors nuclear repository," *San Juan Record*, March 11, 1982; Jack Cox, "N-Dump Splits Utah Residents," *Denver Post*, May 8, 1982; Layne Miller, "Calvin Black Says N-Waste Dump Won't Hurt Tourism," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 7, 1982; H. L. Gaither, quote from "Nuclear Dump Guidelines too Vague, Matheson Charges," *Times Independent*, April 1983, n. d.

18. *Act to amend the Act of October 2, 1968, an to establish a Redwood National Park in the State of California, and for other purposes*, Public Law 250, 95th Cong., 2d sess., U. S. Statutes at Large 92 (1980): 166. The act was twenty pages long and focused on maintaining the ecology of Redwoods National Park, and economic compensation to state and local officials, logging companies and workers in case of park expansion or land use policy changes.

19. National Park Service to Park Visitor, Canyonlands Complex, September 1980; folder 2, CANY 36010.

20. "Superintendent's Annual Report for Canyonlands National Park, 1981;" "Superintendent's Annual Report for Canyonlands National Park, 1982;" folder 7, CANY 36607; Donald Gillespie to Bob Wiedner, December 21, 1981; folder 20, CANY 36010. In the 1980s the park

focused on studying bighorn sheep and endangered fish, revegetating blackbrush, completing riparian studies, tamarisk control, cultural resource stabilization and air quality monitoring.

21. "Fact Sheet on President's Program on Radioactive Waste Management," February 12, 1980; "President's Policy Statement on Comprehensive Radioactive Waste Management Program," folder 55, CANY 36010; "Statement by the President," White House Office of the Press Secretary, October 8, 1981; folder 1, CANY 36010.

22. "Key Dates in Utah Studies," in "Public Meetings on Studies in Utah for Possible Siting of a High-Level Nuclear Waste Repository," November 10–13, 1981; folder 32, CANY 36010; "Environmental Affects of Site Characterization," in "Chronologies of Activities—Utah, 1981–82;" folder 53, CANY 36010.

23. "Nuclear Alert for Southern Utah," press release, Sierra Club, March 1982; folder 60, CANY 36010.

24. Ralph Stephenson, "N-waste measure clears committee," *Deseret News*, March 17–18, 1982; "Hatch, Marriott oppose plans for S.E. Utah waste facility," *Times-Independent*, April 29, 1982; "Senate Passes N-Waste Amendment," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 20, 1982; "Matheson Hits Bill on Waste Dump," *SLT*, November 2, 1982; Thomas H. Goreby, "House OKs Amendments to Waste Disposal Bill," *SLT*, November 30, 1982; "State Wins Senate Battle over N-Dump Siting," *SLT*, December 21, 1982; Jim Woolf, "New N-Waste Law Has Uncertainties," *SLT*, December 23, 1982; "Disposal Bill OK Gets Marriott Applause," *SLT*, January 4, 1983; Terence Hunt, "Bill Signed on Nuke Dump Sites," *SLT*, January 8, 1983.

25. *Act to provide for the development of repositories for the disposal of radioactive waste and spent nuclear fuel, to establish a program of research, development and demonstration regarding the disposal of high-level radioactive waste and spent nuclear fuel*, P. L. 425, 97th Cong., 2d sess., U.S. Statutes at Large 96, pt. 2 (1984): 2208–23.

26. Ibid, pp. 2212, 2213, 2214 and 2216.

27. *Act for development of repositories for disposal of radioactive waste*, pp. 2220–2224; "Matheson Airs DOE Complaints to New Man in Charge," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 10, 1983; "State Wins Senate Battle Over N-Dump Siting," *SLT*, December 21, 1982; Jim Woolf, "New N-Waste Law Has Uncertainties," *SLT*, December 23, 1983; "Disposal Bill OK Gets Marriott Applause," *SLT*, January 4, 1983; Terence Hunt, "Bill Signed on Nuke Dump Site," *SLT*, January 8, 1983.

28. "Matheson Creates N-Waste Office," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 22, 1982; Jim Woolf, "Matheson Demands Facts on Nuclear Dump Sites," *SLT*, March 6, 1982; Joseph Bauman, "Haste feared on N-waste plan," *Deseret News*, March 9–10; Bauman, "N-dump advocates have their say, too," *DN*, May 22, 1982; "Governor Scott M. Matheson's Position on High Level Nuclear Waste Repository," 1981; folder 4, CANY 36010.

29. "Matheson Uses Act to Get N-Site Info," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 25, 1982; Jim Woolf, "Matheson Clamps Lid on Permits in Nuclear Waste Dump Studies," *SLT*, July 16, 1982; "DOE can't run roughshod over Utah on dump-site," *Deseret News*, July 17, 1982; Joseph Bauman, "State withdraws land near park," *DN*, July 24, 1982; Woolf, "DOE Will Get Permits for N-Dump Study," *SLT*, August 6, 1982; "N-dump site selections planned with no more on-site studies," *Deseret News*, November 17, 1982.

30. "N-Dump Guidelines Too Vague, Matheson Charges," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1983 (n. d.); "Petition for Rulemaking Pursuant to 5 U.S.C. Section 553 (9c) and 42 U.S.C. Section 7191," and "Request for Other Agency Action Related to DOE's Implementation of The Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982," attached to Scott Matheson to Donald Hodel, SOE, December 22, 1983; folder 6, CANY 36010; "DOE guidelines not adequate, Matheson charges," *Times Independent*, October 17, 1983; "Bill would require compliance on N-waste issue," *SLT*, December 22, 1983; Jim Woolf, "State Won't Aid DOE with N-Dump Study," *SLT*, December 23, 1983; Joseph Bauman and Gordon Eliot White, "Utah charges DOE selecting nuclear waste site illegally," *Deseret News*, January 11–12, 1984; Matheson to Nunzio Palladino, Chairman, Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) December 22, 1983; folder 6, CANY 36010.

31. Michael Lawrence, Acting Director, Office of Civilian Radioactive Waste Management, DOE to Nunzio Palladino, February 1, 1984; James Devine, Ass't. Director for Engineering Geology, United States Geologic Survey (USGS) to Samuel Chilk, Secretary, NRC, February 1, 1984; Jim Rolando, "N-Dump Guidelines Too Vague," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 14, 1983; "DOE sets hearings on Gibson Dome as repository site," *Deseret News*, March 29–30, 1983; Woolf, "Attorney for Environmentalists Says N-Dump Selection Hurried by Reagan," *SLT*, May 5, 1983; folder 7, CANY 36010.

32. "Memorandum Opposing NRC Concurrence in May 14, 1984 Site Selection Guidelines," in "Response to U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Concurrence Proceedings on U.S. Department of Energy Guidelines for Nuclear Waste Repositories," 1984; folder 8, CANY 36010; Jim Woolf, "Canyon Country Fanatics Threaten

Human Blockade at N-Dump Site," *SLT*, April 15, 1983.

33. "NWTS 1984 Non-Surface Disturbing Activities," attached to Jeffrey Neff to Gene Nodine; folder 14, CANY 36010; "Watt to encourage test wells in Canyonlands," *Deseret News*, May 24–25, 1983; Joseph Bauman, "Parks chief opposes Canyonlands drilling," *DN*, May 26–27, 1983; "Unflinching and Unthinking," *High Country News*, June 10, 1983; Bauman, "Exploration Holes Necessary in Canyonlands," *DN*, July 7–6, 1983; Bauman, "Drilling in the Park?," *DN*, August 11–12, 1983; Bauman, "Drill vibration may disturb park," *DN*, August 18–19, 1983.

34. "Expansion of Canyonlands National Park Urged in Response to Nuclear Waste Dump Plan," Press Release, National Parks and Conservation Association (NPCA), 1982, CANY 40585; Joseph Bauman, "Proposal doubles park size, includes N-repository site," *Deseret News*, April 26–27, 1982; Jim Woolf, "Canyonlands Park Expansion Proposed to Foil N-Dump Plan," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 27, 1982.

35. "Expansion by 200,000 acres of Canyonlands NP," telephone message, RMR to Washington D.C., (WASO), NPS, May 11, 1982; "Proposal to Enlarge Canyonlands National Park by the National Parks and Conservation Association," attached to Pete Parry to Lorraine Mintzmyer, memorandum, May 14, 1982; folder 18, CANY 36010.

36. "BGI Environmental and Socioeconomic Studies, Paradox, FY 83 and FY 84," DOE; Theodore Taylor, Chief, Socioeconomic, Environmental and Institutional Relations, SRPO to Judith Hinchman, Technical Review Group, Office of Planning and Budget, Utah Office of Nuclear Waste (UONW), April 10, 1984; "Proposed FY 1984 Field Activities," DOE, April 1984; Loretta Pickerall, Coordinator, Nuclear Waste Policy Work Group, UONW to Jeffrey Neff, April 28, 1984; "Statement of Work for EBASCO, 1984," Neff to Juline Christofferson, Chair, UONW, May 4, 1984; "Statement: Work for National Waste Terminal Storage Program," DOE, 1984; folders 7–8, CANY 36010.

37. "Statement, Work for National Waste Storage Program," DOE, 1984; "Statement, Governor Scott M. Matheson in Opposition to Proposed High Level Nuclear Waste Repository," attached to Matheson to Donald Hodel, Secretary of the Interior (SOI), May 4, 1984; "Memorandum Opposing NRC Concurrence in DOE Site Selection Guidelines," May 1984; folder 8, CANY 36010; Hodel to Matheson, July 5, 1984; folder 9, CANY 36010.

38. Jim Woolf, "Park Service Official Blasts N-Dump

Study," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 19, 1984; Woolf, "Nuclear Waste Dump Would Pollute Air in Park," *SLT*, January 20, 1984; "Expert Says Lights at Nuke Dump Would Pollute View," *SLT*, June 5, 1984; Joseph Bauman, "DOE's meteorological tower will impact Canyonlands," *DN*, August 10, 1984; Woolf, "DOE Site Studies Inadequate," *SLT*, September 30, 1984; Bauman, "Work on nuclear site damaging Anasazi Remains," *DN*, September 27, 1984; "Utah highways must not be used for nuclear waste," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, October 15, 1984; Bauman, "Gibson Dome rated safest salt site in case of nuclear accident," *DN*, October 16, 1984; Woolf, "DOE N-Dump Studies Not Harmless," *SLT*, November 29, 1984; Scott Matheson to Donald Gillespie, March 23, 1984; Gillespie to Matheson, July 14, 1983; folder 5, CANY 36010.

39. Jim Woolf, "Lawsuits Certain to Slow Process of Picking N-Waste Dump Site," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 14, 1981; Woolf, "Leave Utah Out of N-Dump Plans, Matheson Tells DOE," *SLT*, May 5, 1984; Bob Bernick, "Matheson will fight Canyonlands N-site," *Deseret News*, May 5, 1984; "County Stakes Mining Claims," *SLT*, June 20, 1984; "San Juan to Challenge Matheson Waste Bill," *SLT*, June 21, 1984; Dave Johnson, "San Juan Officials Say Matheson Can't Block Tests," *SLT*, June 22, 1984; *DN*, June 22, 1984; Natalie Mayfield, "Funds for Gibson Dome Study Opposed," *SLT*, August 1, 1984; Joseph Bauman, "Udall says panel will hold N-dump hearings in southern Utah," *DN*, July 11–12, 1984; LaVarr Webb, "Owens opposes N-waste plant, Bangerter puts off decision," *DN*, September 12–13, 1984; Bauman, "The impact of N-waste site underestimated," *DN*, September 19–20, 1984; "Hearing Set on DOE's Handling of Nuclear Dump Site Search," *SLT*, September 20, 1984; Dan Bates, "Dump Site Selection Should be Free of Politics, Udall Says," *SLT*, October 12, 1984; Bauman, "Verbal fireworks at N-Dump hearing," *DN*, October 13, 1984; Pat Thorne, "Monson: Don't Dump Here," *Daily Spectrum* (St. George, Utah), November 29, 1984; Woolf, "Bangerter Stand on Waste Dump Disappoints Officials," *SLT*, December 4, 1984; Scott Matheson to Donald Hodel, May 4, 1984; "Statement of Governor Scott M. Matheson in Opposition to Proposed High Level Nuclear Waste Repository," May 4, 1984; folder 8, CANY 36010.

40. "Don't Waste Utah Meeting," September 4, 1985; folder 16, box 5, Sierra Club Papers; "Planning Meeting for Public Information Exchange," February 8, 1984; folders 41 and 60, CANY 36010. Groups included the Friends of the Earth, Wilderness Society, Environmental Defense Fund, Environmental Policy Institute, Utah Wilderness Association, Southwest Resource Council, Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance, Utah Audubon Society, Utah Nature Study Society, United Mine Workers, Intermountain Water Alliance, Rock Art Society, Utah Heritage Founda-

tion, White Mesa Institute, MX Information Center, Utahns Against Nuclear Arms, National Association of Atomic Vets, Solar Advocates, Common Cause, the Utah Education Organization and Utah Physicians for Social Responsibility. "Don't Waste Utah" was formed in 1984 and "Utahns for Canyonlands" in 1985. The latter group had Governor Matheson as President, Robert Redford as vice-president and noted writers and politicians in its ranks.

41. "Siting Nuclear Waste—CEA rushing in where angels fear to tread?," *Clarion-Ledger* (Jackson, Miss.), Jan. 19, 1984; Jim Woolf, "Con to Pro—Opinions on Nuclear Dump Flip-Flop," *Salt Lake Tribune*, Feb. 6, 1984; Woolf, "Nuclear Dumps' Foes, Backers Step Up Rhetoric in Fight for Utahns Support," *SLT*, March 22, 1984; "Firm to Promote Waste Study," *SLT*, June 20, 1984; Woolf, "DOE: There are Positive Aspects to N-Dump in Utah," *SLT*, September 5, 1984; Woolf, "DOE Report Suggests Bigger Nuclear Dump," *SLT*, September 15, 1984; LaVarr Webb, "Utahns strongly oppose Canyonlands N-repository," *DN*, October 28, 1984; Joseph Bauman, "Parks chief says Dome a last resort," *DN*, August 15, 1984; "Superintendent's Annual Report for Canyonlands, 1985," folder 9, CANY 36607; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1984; folder 59, CANY 36607.

42. "Proposed Nomination of Candidate Nuclear Waste Repository Sites," January 22–25, 1985; folder 37, CANY 36010; *Draft Environmental Assessment, Davis Canyon Site, Utah* (Washington, DOE, 1984); *Draft Environmental Assessment, Lavender Canyon Site, Utah* (Washington, DOE, 1984); "Utah and Texas top list for potential N-waste repository," *Deseret News*, December 15, 1984; Jim Woolf, "Utah Learns Tomorrow Where it Stands on Nuclear Waste List," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 16, 1984; Bauman and Gordon Eliot White, "DOE drops Gibson Dome site from a favorite to an alternative," *DN*, December 19, 1984; Bauman, "Why Dome Site Wasn't Chosen," *DN*, December 20, 1984; Howard Kurtz, "A-Waste Grave Site Narrowed to Three Sites," *Washington Post*, December 1984 (n. d.); Matt Knudson, "Cabinet change not likely to affect waste site ranking," *DN*, January 12, 1985; "Be Wary of DOE's Plans, Official Warns," *SLT*, January 24, 1985. Other potential "salt sites" were at Swisher, Texas, Vacherie Dome, Louisiana, as well as Richton Dome and Cypress Dome, both in Mississippi.

43. Joseph Bauman, "Utah officials prepared to fight 'suitable' N-site rating," *Deseret News*, January 5, 1985; "Be Wary of DOE's Plans," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 24, 1985; Jim Woolf, "Utah May Join Legal Fracas Over Waste-Dump Sites," *SLT*, March 21, 1985; Brett Del Porto, "Utah suit challenged rules for choice of N-waste dump sites," *DN*, May 29–30, 1985; "Report terms N-dump a threat to

groundwater," *DN*, April 4–5, 1985; Tom Wharton, "Report Claims Dump Would Hurt Tourism," *SLT*, May 2, 1985; Bauman and Del Porto, "Groups urge DOE to cross off Gibson Dome as N-dump site," *DN*, February 23, 1985; "Report terms N-dump a threat to groundwater;" *DN*, April 4–5, 1985; Wharton, "Report Claims Dump Would Hurt Tourism," *SLT*, May 2, 1985.

44. Douglas Parker, "Secretary Hodel Promises Opposition to Nuke Dump," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 10, 1985; Donald Hodel, SOI to John Herrington, SOE, 1985 (n. d.), folder 24, CANY 36010.

45. Jim Woolf, "Top Interior Official Decries Canyonlands as Dump Site," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 24, 1985; Woolf, "Bangerter Stand on Waste Dump Disappoints Officials," *SLT*, December 4, 1984; Woolf, "Ideas Clash at DOE Hearings," *SLT*, February 20, 1985; Joseph Bauman, "Monticello mayor says N-site studies would aid county," *Deseret News*, April 27, 1985; Bauman, "Enlarge Canyonlands? That Fight's Already Been Won," *DN*, March 1, 1985; Jim Wright, "Hansen Out to Revive Canyonlands Ghosts," *Ogden Standard Examiner*, March 3, 1985; Terri Martin, NPCA to Congressman Jim Hansen, March 10, 1985; CANY 40585, Southeast Utah Group Archives.

46. "October 1985 Meeting, DOE, Washington;" in "Briefing Packet on Final EA," 1985; folder 44, CANY 36010; *Final Environmental Assessment, Davis Canyon Site, Utah* (DOE, 1986); SEUG Resource Management Library.

47. "Excerpts from Discussion at DOE Briefing for DOI and EPA," in "Response to Comments on Draft EAs for Nuclear Waste Repository," 1985; Jeffrey Neff to Patrick Spurgin, Program Director, High Level Nuclear Waste Office, January 24, 1986; "Recommendation by Secretary of Energy of Candidate Sites for Site Characterization for First Radioactive Waste Repository," May 1986, DOE; folder 52, CANY 36607.

48. Terri Martin to Wayne Owens, May 1, 1986; Wayne Owens, "A Bill to expand the Canyonlands National Park," 99th Cong, 2d sess., H.R. 899; Utah Legislature, David Adams, *Canyonlands National Park Resolution*, General Session, H.C.R. No. 15, February 10, 1987; folder 1, box 2, Utah Wilderness Coalition Papers, Utah State University Special Collections; "National Parks and Conservation Association Canyonlands Boundary Study," February, 1988; CANY 40585; Jeff Hunt, "Owens plan to expand park raises ire," *Deseret News*, January 8, 1987; Joseph Bauman, "Canyonlands Would Gain 554,000 under plan," *DN*, February 24–25, 1988.

49. "Nuclear Plant Study of Green River reviewed at recent public hearing," *Times-Independent*, September,

1981, (n. d.); Robert Unger, "Utah's buried riches invite development or exploitation," *Kansas City Times*, October 15, 1981. At a poorly attended meeting in Green River, Utah on August 26, 1981, the HUS Corporation of Los Angeles presented project plans, Ford, Bacon and Davis of Salt Lake City gave a project safety report, and Scientific Applications of Salt Lake City was introduced as the company doing the project's Environmental Assessment.

50. "Matheson Objects to Army Pershing launch test in vicinity of Green River," *Times-Independent*, October 1, 1981; "Missile firing program set for Green River in 82," *T-I*, April 2, 1981. Dead Horse Point State Park would have to be evacuated four times in 1982 and an unknown number later. Figures were unknown for Canyonlands. From 1975 to 1982 the Green River Missile Base's guidance system was used for army test bombing programs.

51. Thomas Maugh, "Tar Sands: A New Fuel Industry Takes Shape," *Science* 199 (February 17, 1978); R. E. Covington, "Bituminous sandstone and limestone deposits of Utah: Oil and Gas Possibilities of Utah, Re-evaluated," *Utah Geological and Mineralogical Survey Bulletin* 54 (1963): 225–47; Covington, "Thermal Recovery may bring industry's quiet revolution," *Oil & Gas Journal* 62, no. 47 (1971): 112–18; C. L. Schick, "Drillers probing Utah's French Seep Area," *Oil & Gas Journal* 64, no. 6 (1966): 134–36; J. L. Bowman, "Oil-impregnated sandstones between Dirty Devil and Colorado and Green Rivers, Garfield and Wayne Counties, Utah," *American Association of Petroleum Geologists Bulletin* 53, no. 1 (1969): 218; H. R. Ritzma, "Impregnated sandstone deposits of Utah, progress report," *Interstate Oil Compact Community Bulletin* 11, no. 2 (1969): 24–34.

52. CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1973–1976; folders 48–51, CANY 36607; Roger Kent, Sagadahoc Oil and Gas Corp. to Senator Frank Moss, June 26, 1973; Moss to Kent, June 29, 1973; folder 6, box 273, University of Utah Special + Collections (Moss Papers); Carl Berry, Ass't. Vice President, Oil Development Co. of Utah to Jack Carlson, Ass't. Secretary for Energy and Minerals, DOI, October 16, 1975; U. E. McKelvey, Director, USGS to Berry, October 1, 1976; folder 17, box 4, Calvin Rampton Papers (Rampton Papers), Utah State Archives; "Moss Urges Pilot Project on Tar Sands," October 31, 1974; S. 30, *A Bill to amend the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920*, referred to Senate Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs, 93rd Cong., 2d sess., *Congressional Record* (January 15, 1975): S108-09; "Oil Impregnated Rocks of Utah," Utah Geological and Mineral Survey, 1972; folder 6, box 44, Sierra Club Papers.

53. *Mineral Leasing Act of 1920, U.S. Statutes at Large* 66 (1921): 437-51; "Land Description to Accompany Plat of November 8, 1980;" "Designated Tar Sand Areas;" folder N 3615, Tar Sands, SEUG-CF. These regions were desig-

nated tar sands areas: (1) P.R. Spring, 273,950 acres; (2) Sunnyside and Vicinity, 157,445 acres; (3) Asphalt Ridge-Whiterocks and Vicinity, 41,935 acres; (4) Circle Cliffs, East and West Flanks, 91,080 acres; and (5) Tar Sands Triangle, 157,339 acres. The "Triangle covered the following range: T 30S R 24E; T 31S R 14E; T 32S R 14E; T 32S R 14E; T 33E R 14E; T 29S R 15E; T 30S R 15E; T 31S R 15E; T 32S R 15E; T 32S R 15E; T 29S R 16E; T 30S R 16E; T 31S R 16E; T 32S R 16E; T 29S R 16E; T 29S R 17E; T 30S R 17E, T 32S R 17E.

54. "Tar Sands Development, Glen Canyon NRA;" Lorraine Mintzmyer to Richard Briceland, Associate Director, Science and Technology, WASO, memorandum, October 24, 1980; "Action Alert," Public Lands Institute, Denver, Colorado, November 11, 1980; Leland Merchant, "US Tar Sands: Drawing Interest but no Mega-Projects are on the Horizon," *Energy and Mineral Journal*, June 1981; folder 3615, SEUG-CF; U.S. Senate, Orrin Hatch, *Report on H.R. 7724, Act to Appropriate Funds for the National Park Service in FY 1981*, 96th Cong., 2d sess., Nov. 11, 1980.

55. *Combined Hydrocarbon Act of 1981*, U. S. Statutes 95 (1982): 1070-72; Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Facilitating and Encouraging the Production of Oil from Tar Sands and Other Hydrocarbon Deposits*, 91st Cong., 1d sess., Senate Report No. 27-250 [To accompany H. R. 3975]; folder N 3615, SEUG-CF. Legislation directed at Utah tar sands deposits emerged from a November 20, 1980, order by the SOI (45 R 76800-76801) and January 21, 1981 order by the SOI (46 FR 6077-6078) addressing the "Tar Sands Triangle." The congressional debate and legislation focused on the definitions of what constitutes legally-recognized oil and gas claims and leases, and expanded the legal definition to include "all non-gaseous hydrocarbon substances."

56. "Tar Sands Legislation," NPS, November 18, 1981; "Status Report on the Combined Hydrocarbon Leasing Act of 1981 and Implications for the National Park Service;" attached to Richard Briceland and Barbara Brown, NPS, November 17, 1981; folder N 3615, SEUG-CF. Crude oil burned in steam generators produces sulphur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, hydrocarbons and other pollutants. This could have threatened Class I air quality standards at the national park units in the region. Affects on the Green, Colorado and Dirty Devil Rivers, and the aquifer under the "Tar Sands Triangle," were unknown. However, the many deep drill shafts needed for project development would necessarily affect the aquifer's flow pattern and chemical composition, and would also create heavy water needs for the refining project to be piped from the Dirty Devil River that would harm that stream's flow and riparian ecology.

57. Donna Sinks, Geologist, USGS to John O. Lancaster, Superintendent, Glen Canyon NRA, August 28, 1981; "Restrictions on Resource Surveys within the National Park System;" Russell Dickenson, Director, NPS to Lorraine Mintzmyer, memorandum, October 9, 1981; "Energy Development Impact Assessment Program," attached to James Jones, Acting Superintendent, CNP to Mintzmyer, memorandum, July 29, 1982; folder N 3615, SEUG-CF; "Status Report on the Combined Hydrocarbon Leasing Act of 1981," NPS, 1982; "Environmental Assessment and Finding of No Significant Impact, Access for Department of Energy Exploratory Drilling in Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Utah," NPS, December 11, 1981; folder 6, box 44, Sierra Club Papers; "Combined Hydrocarbon Leasing Act of 1981," *Federal Register* 47 (January 5, 1982): 349-50.

58. H. Briceland to Barbara Brown, memorandum, November 17, 1981; C. Keith Miller, Chief, Division of Mining and Minerals, RMR to Case Files, memorandum, November 19, 1981; Vic Viera, Chief Ranger, Glen Canyon NRA to Field Rangers, Glen Canyon NRA, memorandum, January 28, 1982; "Request for Comments on BLM Proposed Regulations Establishing a Competitive Tar Sands Leasing Program," Carol McCoy, Operations Research Analyst, Division of Air Quality, WASO to All Concerned, memorandum, June 30, 1982; folder N 3615 Tar Sands, SEUG-CF; "Combined Hydrocarbon Leasing; Conversion of Existing Oil and Gas Leases and Valid Mining Claims," *Federal Register* 47 (March 1, 1982): 8734-738; "Combined Hydrocarbon Leasing; Conversion of Existing Oil and Gas Leases and Valid Claims Based on Mineral Locations," *Federal Register* 47 (May 24, 1982): 22474-481; "Procedures for the Leasing of Combined Hydrocarbon Resources," *Federal Register* 47 (June 14, 1982): 25720-724; "Public Information Meeting on Competitive Tar Sand Leasing Program," *Federal Register* 47 (July 2, 1982): 28971; "Utah: Call for Expressions of Interest for Combined Hydrocarbon Leasing and Notice of Intent to Conduct a Planning Amendment," *Federal Register* 48 (July 16, 1982): 31081-082.

59. "Breakdown of the Federal Oil and Gas Leases Within the Tar Sands Triangle in Glen Canyon National Recreation Area," in "Tar Sands Management Program Status;" folder N 3615, SEUG-CF.

60. "Plan of Operations for Converting Oil and Gas Leases to Combined Hydrocarbon Leases Within and Adjoining Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Utah," *Federal Register* 48 (January 4, 1983): 350; "Notices: Tar Sands Leasing Endangers Parks," press release, NPCA, 1983; folder 7, box 44, Sierra Club Papers; Jim Woolf, "Area Proposed for Tar Sands Developments," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 12, 1983.

61. "Tar Sands Triangle Combined Hydrocarbon Lease Conversion EIS, Intent to Prepare an Environmental Impact Statement and Scoping Meeting," *Federal Register* 48 (March 1, 1983): 11666; "Utah: Availability of Combined Hydrocarbon Regional Draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) , Vols. I-III, and Public Hearings," *Federal Register* 48 (November 14, 1983): 51865; "Combined Hydrocarbon; Regional EIS," *Federal Register* 48 (February 10, 1983): 6184-85; "Draft EIS on Conversion of Oil and Gas Leases to Combined Hydrocarbon Leases, Tar Sand Triangle, Utah," *Federal Register* 40 (July 19, 1984): 29283-284; "Draft EIS Issues, Public Meetings Set on Tar Sand Development Proposal in Southern Utah," NPS, July 20, 1984; folder 6, box 44, Sierra Club Papers. Scoping sessions for the Draft EIS were held March 9, 1983 at the BLM office in Hanksville, Utah; March 10, 1983 at the NPS Office in Salt Lake City; and March 15, 1985 at the BLM Utah state office in Salt Lake City. Hearings for the final EIS were held August 21, 1984 at the BLM-Hanksville office; August 23, 1984 at the NPS Utah state office; and August 28, 1984 at the NPS-RMR office in Lakewood, Colorado.

62. "Management and Regulatory Responsibilities of the Bureau of Land Management in the Supervision of Tar Sands Operations and Research," in *Report to the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences*, April 14, 1983; folder 6, box 44, Sierra Club Papers; "Proposed Planning Issues, San Juan Resource Management Plan," September, 1983; "Combined Hydrocarbon Leasing, Procedures for the Leasing of Combined Hydrocarbon Resources, Final Rule," *Federal Register* 48 (February 21, 1984): 13110-114; Part V, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, 43 CFR Part 3140, *Federal Register* 48 (February 21, 1984); "Directive for Making a Finding of No Significant Impact Prior to Commenting on Conversions of Existing Oil and Gas Leases to Combined Hydrocarbon Leases Within Glen Canyon National Recreation Area," *Federal Register* 49 (May 7, 1984): 19438-440; "General Comments," Senator Barry Goldwater, July 19, 1984; "Proposed Tar Sand Development in and Adjacent to Glen Canyon National Recreation Area," attached to David Shaver, Chief, Mining and Minerals Division, NPS to Russell Dickenson, memorandum, January 25, 1985; folder N 3615, SEUG-CF.

63. Superintendent's Annual Reports, CNP, 1981-1984; folder 7, CANY 36607; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1981-1984; folders 56-59, CANY 36607. Glen Canyon NRA staff, Maze District Rangers, Canyonlands Superintendent Pete Parry and Resource Manager Wylie, RMR Director Mintzmyer and the NPS Air Quality Division and Department of Minerals and Mining, spent considerable time monitoring DOE and oil company activity, preparing for and attending hearings and meetings and

planning strategies.

64. Wayne G. Petty, Moyle and Draper Law Offices to Robert Kasperek, RMR, October 18, 1984; "Synthetic Fuels: A Costly and Non-Productive Program," *Environmental Policy Institute*, 1983; Joseph Bauman, "Hodel calls tar sands accord unlikely," *Deseret News*, September 2, 1985; Lori Potter, Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund to Paul Krause, Deputy Undersecretary of the Interior, February 1, 1985; folder 6, box 44, Sierra Club Papers.

65. Robert G. Hyde, Financial Analyst, Concessions Division, NPS to Philip Stewart, Ass't. Director, Special Services, NPS, memorandum, May 4, 1977; folder 156, Canyonlands National Park Concessions Specialist Papers (CANY 36585); "A Joint Resolution of the Budget Session of the 2nd Session of the 43rd Legislature of the State of Utah Memorializing President Jimmy Carter, SOI Cecil Andrus and William Whalen, Director, NPS, to Continue to Allow the Use of Motorized Boats on the Colorado River;" "For Sale: Contact the National Park Service," *Right Action Newsletter*, American Canoe Association and American Whitewater Association, Summer 1977; folder 157, CANY 36585; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1975-1980; folders 50-55, CANY 36607.

66. "Environmental Assessment, River Management Plan," CNP, July 1979; "Canyonlands River Outfitters Meeting," January 22, 1980; "Canyonlands Concessionaires Meeting," October 28, 1981; "Canyonlands Concessionaires Meeting," October 21, 1982; "Briefing for Director, River Management Plan, Canyonlands NP," May 22, 1980; Lorraine Mintzmyer to Pete Parry, July 10, 1981; "Draft River Management Plan for Canyonlands National Park," *Federal Register* 46 (July 28, 1981): 38592; "Canyonlands National Park River Management Plan, Rationale for Changes from Draft," NPS, December, 1981; "River Management Plan for Canyonlands National Park, *Federal Register* 47 (January 11, 1982): 1177; "River Management Plan Finished for Canyonlands by Park Service," *Times Independent*, January 1982; "Standards for Operational Evaluation;" "Canyonlands National Park Meeting of White Water River Concessionaires, October 24, 1985, Moab, Utah; folders 101-103, 110-111, 449, CANY 36585.

67. "CC Staff Meeting," June 15, 1983; folder 7, CANY 36607, "Colorado River flow records new high levels," *Times-Independent*, June 30, 1983; "Utah State Office Report for 1983, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Canyonlands National Park, 1983;" folder 58, CANY 36607; Pete Parry to River Outfitters, June 3, 1983; Scott Matheson to Lorraine Mintzmyer, June 8, 1983; Mintzmyer to Matheson, June 18, 1983; Parry to Canyonlands White Water Tour Concessionaires, October 19, 1983, Moab, Utah; "Canyonlands Outfitters Newsletter," January

21, 1985; Pete Parry to Canyonlands Outfitters, May 7, 1985; folders 105, 451 and 540, CANY 36585; Interview by Author with Jim Braggs, October 2, 2003, CANY 45551; Parry interview.

68. "Dear Friendship Cruiser from Canyonlands National Park Superintendent Peter Parry," February 21, 1980; Stanley Bufford, Elliot River Tours to Parry, 1979 (n.d.); "Bad weather, probable death, may mean curtains for Cruise," *Times-Independent*, May 29, 1980; "Case Incident Record, May 25, 1980; Boating Accident, Drowning;" Mike Hill, interview by author, Oct. 1, 2003, Moab, Utah, audio-cassette, CANY 45551; Braggs interview; "Superintendent's Report for Canyonlands National Park, 1980," folder 7, CANY 36607; "CC Staff Meeting Minutes, June 11, 1980," folder 39, CANY 36607.

69. "Special Use Permit, Friendship Cruise Incorporated," January 1, 1980 to December 31, 1980; "The Friendship Cruise—Memorial Day Weekend," (brochure, late 1970s to early 1980s); Iva Johnson, Commodore, CCMRA to Parry, January 12, 1981; folder L 30, SEUG-CF; Hill interview; Braggs interview; Parry interview; Superintendent's Annual Reports, CNP, 1981–1990; folders 7–8, CANY 36607.

70. Braggs interview; Hill interview; Superintendents Annual Reports, CNP, 1975–1990; folders 5–9, CANY 36607; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1975–1990; folders 60–64, CANY 36607.

71. Braggs interview; Hill interview; "CC Staff Meeting Minutes," June 19, 1985; folder 60, CANY 36607.

72. Superintendent's Annual Reports, CNP, 1980–1990; folders 6–10; CANY 36607.

73. Pete Parry to Unit Managers, Canyonlands, Arches and Natural Bridges, memorandum, August 19, 1982; Nick Eason, Chairman, Backcountry Management Task Force to Files, memorandum, September 13, 1982; "Backcountry Management Workbook," August, 1983; Eason to employees, Canyonlands Complex, memorandum, September 22, 1983; folder 591, CANY 36607; "Environmental Assessment, Backcountry Management Plan," December 1984; "Canyonlands National Park, Backcountry Management Plan," 1985; SEUG-Resource Management Library.

74. "Critical Resource Area Closures," Canyonlands Backcountry Management Plan. The critical resource areas were as follows: (1) Virginia Park, special permit, scientific study, day use; (2) Upper Elephant Canyon, day use, campsites not in sight of trail; (3) Confluence Overlook, day use, campsites not in sight of trail; (4) Joint Trail, day use; (5) Salt Creek, Horse Canyon and Lost Canyon,

closed to rock climbing, cultural resources; (6) Airport Tower, closed to rock climbing, March 1–June 30, critical wildlife habitat; (7) Fort Bottom, day use, except designated sites on river, cultural resources; (8) Confluence to Spanish Bottom, planes fly at two thousand feet, minimum, public safety; (9) Cataract Canyon—Lower Red Lake Canyon to Y and Cross Canyon, closed 12–1 to 2–28; critical wildlife habitat; (10) Horseshoe Canyon, closed to camping; (11). Water Canyon, south to park boundary, cultural resources.

75. Zoning Categories: Backcountry Permits; Information; Facilities; Structure; Roads; and Trails; Technical Rock Climbing; Water Use and Bathing; Overflights; Human Waste; Trash; Length of Stays; Group Size; Appendix IV—Horse Use Policy; "Appendix V—Rock Climbing Policy," *Canyonlands BCMP*, folder 690, CANY 36607.

76. "Designated Backcountry Camping Areas," *Canyonlands BCMP*; folder 690, CANY 36607. Campground numbers were as follows (campsites/people/vehicles): Island in the Sky: Upheaval Bottom (2/10/2); Hardscrabble (1/10/2); Potato Bottom (3/15/3); Murphy (3/15/3); White Crack (1/15/3); Gooseberry 1 (1/10/2); Gooseberry 2 (1/10/2); Lathrop 1 (3/10/2); Lathrop 2 (1/15/3); Shafer (1/10/2); Needles: Peek-a-Boo (5/10/2) [at each of four sites]; Angel Arch (2/15/3); Bates Wilson (1/8/2); Devil's Kitchen 1 (2/10/2); Devil's Kitchen 2 (2/15/3); Bobby Jo 1 (1/10/2); Bobby Jo 2 (1/10/2); Maze: Maze Overlook (2/15/3); Doll House (3/15/3); Indian Cave (1/15/3); Chimney Rock (1/15/3); Wall (1/15/3); Ernie's Country (1/15/3); Horseshoe Canyon (No overnight camping).

77. "Termination of Grazing in Canyonlands NP, Utah," 1975; Gary Everhardt, Director, NPS to Rogers Morton, SOI, memorandum, February 11, 1975; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1975–1990; folders 34–49, CANY 36607; Superintendents Annual Reports, CNP, 1975–1990; folders 5–10, CANY 36607; John Lancaster, Superintendent, Glen Canyon NRA to Henry Mountain Area Manager, BLM, memorandum, December 26, 1985; folder 599, CANY 36607; Pete Parry to Gene Nodine, memorandum, March 7, 1984; John Ritenour, Chief of Resource Management, Glen Canyon NRA to Files, memorandum, August 17, 1989; folder 598, CANY 36607; O. R. William, Water Resources Division, NPS to Harvey Wickware, Supt., SEUG, memorandum, September 11, 1989; NPS Realty Specialists, RMR to File, memorandum, October 25, 1989; "Summary History of Horseshoe Canyon," attached to Tony Schetzle, Chief Ranger, CNP to Central Files, memorandum, October 30, 1989; Milt Oman, San Rafael Ranches to Wickware, October 31, 1990; Schetzle to Central Files, memorandum, November 5, 1990; Wickware to Jim Dryden, San Rafael Resource Manager, BLM, December 6, 1989; folder 648, CANY 36607. Fences

were installed in Davis and Lavender, Lockhart, Shafer Canyon, Squaw Flat, Elaterite Basin and Robber's Roost.

78. "Natural Resources Management Plan and EA," Canyonlands National Park, Utah, September 1985; folder 232, CANY 36607. Based on the park's 1964 and 1971 enabling acts, 1977 Assessment of Alternatives, 1978 General Management Plan and 1985 Statement for Management, objectives for managing park natural resources were as follows: (1) Manage developed areas for human use with minimal impact; (2) Provide for human use of backcountry while minimizing environmental impacts; (3) Protect and perpetuate plant species and communities; (4) Restore to native condition disrupted areas; (5) Restore the park's natural fire regime while minimizing negative impacts on the environment; (6) Exclude feral burros from park; (7) Prevent livestock trespass to protect resources; (8) Prevent the deterioration of air quality and maintain Class I standards; (9) Prevent deterioration of natural water sources; (10) Maintain adequate water in rivers; (11) Maintain viable population of bighorn sheep for park and source for other areas; (12) Protect and perpetuate peregrine falcon habitat; (13) Protect bald eagle wintering habitat and mate eagles in park; (14) Protect and perpetuate endangered fishes; (15) Promote resource protection through interpretation.

79. Superintendents Annual Reports, CNP, 1980–1990; folders 7–11, CANY 36607; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1980–1990; folders 55–61, CANY 36607. To monitor oil and gas activity, the Atlas Minerals plant in Moab, and the Emery and Navajo power plants, the EPA operated an air monitoring station at Canyonlands from 1978–1982. From 1964 to 1985, the park's bighorn sheep population rose from one hundred to six hundred, and from 1979 to 1985, the NPS transplanted thirty-five animals a year from the park to various ranges in Utah. Endangered or threatened species were identified, although population and migration dynamics of fish and bird species were still being learned.

80. *Ibid.* The invasive species that affected the park were cheat grass, crested wheat grass, Russian thistle, Russian olive and the worst offender, tamarisk, or salt cedar. Strategies for removing tamarisk evolved from toxic herbicides to the more environmentally-friendly herbicide Tordon, manual removal and burning along the rivers.

81. Ralph Hartley, "Cultural Resource Inventory of Specified Areas within the Needles and Island in the Sky Districts of Canyonlands National Park," Midwestern Archeological Center (MWAC), NPS, Lincoln, Nebraska, January 1980; Adrienne Anderson, Archeologist, RMR, to Hartley, MWAC, memorandum, June 11, 1979; "Conduct Archeological Surveys, Canyonlands, #204," 1979; folder

Cany, 1952–1982, Intermountain Region Cultural Resource Files (IMR-CRF). Using narrative analysis, sketch maps, diagrams and drawings, the MWAC team identified thirty-seven sites in the Island in the Sky and thirty-one in the Needles, and classified sites by type; lithic scatters, ground stone, ceramic, rock shelters, pictographs, petroglyphs, structures and archaeological or historic.

82. "Rehabilitate 26.4 Miles of Road, ISKY," Package 106, Canyonlands National Park, 1983; "Archeological Investigations along the Island in the Sky Road System from the Knoll to the Wye," 1983; Susan Vetter, "Project Summary, Phase I, Island in the Sky Road Project, the Knoll to the Wye," MWAC, 1984; Vetter, "Project Summary, Phase II, Island in the Sky Road Project, the Wye to Upheaval Dome, and the Wye to Grandview Point," MWAC; F.A. Calabrese, Chief, MWAC to Director, RMR, memorandum, February 29, 1986; "Modification #1 to Supplemental Agreement CA-6115-7-8010 to Master Cooperative Agreement #CA-6000-4-8020 between National Park Service and the University of Nebraska," July to August, 1989; Nick Eason, CNP Unit Manager to Director, MWAC, memorandum, September 5, 1985; folder Canyonlands Archeological Work Plan, 1982–89, IMR-CRF. In addition to surveys extending fifty feet on each side of road centerlines and by parking areas, wayside exhibits, trails and administrative facilities, the team worked around these campsites on the White Rim: Shafer Canyon, Upheaval Bottom, Hardscrabble, Potato Bottom, Gooseberry, Queen Anne Bottom, Murphy Hogback and White Crack.

83. "Archeological Survey, Proposed Sanitary Landfill Area, Maze District, Canyonlands NP," September 1979; folder Canyonlands, 1952–1982, IMR-CRF; "Rehabilitate Needles Water System and Replace Water Tank, Archeological Work Plan, PRIP," 1982; folder Canyonlands Archeological Work Plan, 1982–89, IMR-CRF; "Canyonlands Needles District Salt Creek Bridge," Utah Project No. U-89-NA-210, RMR Archeological Work Plan, CNP, May 5, 1989; folder Canyonlands Archeological Work Plan, Salt Creek Bridge, IMR-CRF; "Archeological Work Plan, Canyonlands NP," May 27, 1988, Utah Project No. U-88-NA-226n; "Utility Line Corridor," Utah Project No. U-88-NA-226; "Visitor Center, Needles," Acting Chief, MWAC to Dick Stevens, Denver Service Center (DSC), memorandum, December 13, 1989; "Phase I, Canyonlands Needles Development Archeological Project Research Design and Data Recovery Plan," MWAC, January 8, 1990; folder Canyonlands Corr., IMR-CRF; "Archeological Recovery for Needles Development," April 1990, folder 399, CANY 36607; "Amendment to Phase I, Canyonlands Needles Development Archeological Report Research Design and Recovery Plan," MWAC, March 25, 1991; Steve Dominiquez, "Preliminary Report on 1991 Archeological

Investigations for the Canyonlands Needles District Development," US DOI, 1991.

84. "Funding Request for Archeological Survey," 1983; folder Canyonlands Corr., IMR-CRF; Dennis Griffin, "An Archeological Inventory of the Eastern Portion of the Salt Creek Archeological District, Canyonlands NP," 1983, unpub. ms., MWAC; A. Osborn, S. Vetter, R. Hartley and K. Reinhard, "Archeological Survey of Lavender Canyon, Salt Creek Archeological District, Canyonlands National Park," unpub. ms., 1984; "Briefing Statement, Archeological Survey of Davis and Lavender Canyons, CNP," 1985; folder Canyonlands NP, 1984–85, IMR-CRF; "Programmatic Memorandum of Agreement Among United States DOE, BLM, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Utah State Historic Preservation Office and NPS for First Nuclear Waste Deep Geologic Repository Program, Davis Canyon Site, Utah," March 31, 1986; folder Nuclear Repository, IMR-CRF.

85. "Package Estimating Detail," Package 156 A, Stabilization Project, Canyonlands NP, 1976; Rod Wheaton, Historical Architect, RMR to Chief Scientist, RMR, memorandum, June 9, 1978; folder 397, CANY 36607; "Prip Ruins Stabilization," Package Y02, Canyonlands NP, March 26, 1982; folder Canyonlands 1952–1982, IMR-CRF; "Canyonlands National Park Ruins Stabilization," NPS Contract No. CX-1200-2-8103, Nickens and Associates, Montrose, Colorado, January 13, 1983, "Mortar Test Patties for Ruins Stabilization in Canyonlands," March 1983; "Canyonlands Ruins Stabilization," May 1983; "Recommendations on Color, Texture and Strength," June 1983; "Structural Inspection of Bighorn Sheep Ruin and Tower Ruin," June 1983; "Archeological Ruins Stabilization," July 1983; "Stabilization in Canyonlands NP and Natural Bridges NM, Utah," NPS Contract No. 1200-83-AO89, Nickens and Associates, October 31, 1983; folder Canyonlands Corr., 1983, IMR-CRF; "Cost Estimate for Change Order, CS 1200-3-Ruins Stabilization, Canyonlands NP and Natural Bridges NM," July 6, 1984; folder CANY. 1984–85, IMR-CRF; Nicholas Eason, Acting Supt., CNP to Director, RMR, memorandum, March 17, 1987; folder 397, CANY 36607; "Canyonlands—Park Maintenance Needed for Historic Structure," March 20, 1987; Judie Chrobak; "Classified Structure Field Inventory Report, Canyonlands NP, Fort Bottom Cabin," September 18, 1986; "Field Report, Fort Bottom Stabilization," July 11–12, 1988; folder 397, CANY 36607; . In 1978 a Mesa Verde National Park crew stabilized Fort Bottom Ruin and analyzed Fort Bottom Cabin. Lathrop Cabin on the east bank of Colorado River and Upheaval Cabin on the Green River were said to be eligible for National Register status as "discovery sites" or "mouldering remnants," and some repair was suggested.

86. "Canyonlands National Park, Cultural Resources Management Plan," September 12, 1986; folder CANY CRMP, IMR-CRF; Steven F. Mehls and Carol D. Mehls, "Canyonlands NP, Arches NP, and Natural Bridges NM Historic Resource Study," Denver, 1986; "Inventory of Cultural Resource Documents, Canyonlands Complex Headquarters," January 1986; folder 398, CANY 36607; "Justification for Archeologist Position, Organizational Chart, Southeast Utah Group," 1987; folder 112, CANY 36607; "Vacancy Announcement, NPS-RMR, Archeologist, Canyonlands NP," Permanent Part-Time; Harvey Wickware, Superintendent, CNP to Charles Cartwright, Monticello, Utah, April 14, 1987; folder Canyonlands Corr., 1979–1990, IMR-CRF; "Rocky Mountain Region Archeological Work Plan, Southeast Utah Group," November 1988; folder CANY.Arch.Work Plan, 1982–1989, IMR-CRF; "Areas Nominated to the National Register of Historic Places," May 1987; "Canyonlands National Park Multiple Resources," Canyonlands National Park, October 9, 1988; folder Canyonlands Multiple Resource Area, National Register, IMR-CRF; "Determination of Eligibility for Expanded Salt Creek Archeological District," MWAC to Acting Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, RMR, memorandum, April 26, 1989; Richard A. Strait, Acting RMR Director to Max J. Evans, Director Utah Preservation Office, May 18, 1989; folder (unmarked), IMR Archeologist Files; Staff Archeologist, Interagency Archeological Services, RMR to Cartwright, SEUG, memorandum, June 16, 1989; folder Canyonlands Corr., 1979–1990, IMR-CRF; Jerry Spangler, "Vandals cut into art and history of Indians," *Deseret News*, September 20, 1988; Betsy L. Tipps and Nancy J. Hewitt, *Cultural Resource Inventory and Testing in the Salt Creek Pocket and Devils Lane Area, Needles District* (Canyonlands NP, Denver: National Park Service, 1989); Tipps, Andre La Fond and Robert Birnier, *Cultural Resource Investigations near White Crack, Island-in-the Sky District, Canyonlands National Park, Utah* (Denver: National Park Service, 1996). The Southeast Utah Group identified thirty-eight sites to be monitored in Canyonlands NP, Arches NP and Natural Bridges NM, including the Great Gallery, Harvest Scene, Courthouse Wash Panel, with ten sites in Salt Creek Canyon; four in the Island in the Sky District, five in the Maze District, one in Arches, and eight in Natural Bridges.

87. "Archeological Investigations at Site 42WN1666, South Fork Horse Canyon, Maze District, Canyonlands NP," P-III Associates, Salt Lake City, July 20, 1987; folder CANY Arch Horse Canyon and Maze District, IMR-CRF; Richard Strait, Associate Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, RMR to Harvey Wickware, memorandum, March 27, 1989; Adrienne Anderson to Charles Cartwright, Archeologist, SEUG, July 26, 1989; folder CANY Arch Work Plan, 1982–1989, IMR-CRF; Larry Agenbroad, "Archeological Data Recovery at 42WN1666 Down

Wash Site, 1987;" "Archeological Investigations at Site 42WN1666," 1987 unpub. ms.; Gary M. Brown, "Archeological Investigations at Site 42NW1666," 1987, unpub. ms.; "Revised Technical Proposal RFP-1200-9-S-52, Archeological Data Recovery Plan and Site Salvage Excavation of Down Wash Site (42WN1666), Canyonlands NP;" "Section 106 Compliance, Archeological Data Recovery, Down Wash Site;" Lorraine Mintzmyer to Claudia Nissley, Director, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Western Office of Project Review, August 1989 (n. d.); Homer Rousa to Max Evans, Utah State Historic Preservation Officer, August 4, 1989; "Prepare Archeological Data Recovery Plan and Perform Site Salvage Excavation of Down Wash Site;" and "Down Wash Site Report;" February 1991; folder Archeology, Down Wash, IMR-CRF; "Anasazi Hunters excavating at Canyonlands," *Daily Spectrum*, December 6, 1989; Jerry Spangler, "Ruin yields new clues," *Deseret News*, December 10, 1989.

88. "Island in the Sky District, Canyonlands NP;" Development/Study Package, December 11, 1972; "Construct Visitor and Park Support Facilities," Canyonlands NP, Estimate, November 29, 1978; "Rehabilitate 28-mile road system," Canyonlands NP, Estimate, November 29, 1978; "Rehabilitate 28-mile Road System," Canyonlands NP, Estimate, July 19, 1979; Richard Strait to Ass't. Manager, MWR/RMR Team, DSC, March 26, 1979; "Inspection Report-Proposed Work in Canyonlands NP;" May 15, 1979; Jerry L. Budwig, Director, Office of Federal Highways Projects, NPS to Dennis Galvin, Manager, DSC, May 1, 1979; "Rehabilitate 28-Mile Road System," Canyonlands NP, Estimate, February 4, 1980; "Rehabilitate 28-Mile Road System," Canyonlands NP, Estimate, 1981; "Construct Visitor and Park Support Facilities," Canyonlands NP, Development/Study Proposal; folder 277, CANY 36607.

89. "Canyonlands NP, Island in the Sky, Roads," Pkg. 106-E, Estimate; \$6,721,000; February 7, 1983; Canyonlands NP, Island in the Sky, Wayside Exhibits, Pkg. 206, \$107,000, February 7, 1983; folder 277, CANY 36607.

90. Pete Parry to Lorraine Mintzmyer, memorandum, January 12, 1983; folder 277, CANY 36607.

91. James Thompson, Acting Director, RMR to Manager, Harper's Ferry, NPS, memorandum, Feb 23, 1983; "Rehabilitate 26.4 Miles of Road System, Island in the Sky District, Canyonlands NP;" Task Directive, April 1983; "U. S. National Park Service Proposed FY 1984 Federal Lands Highway Program Construction Project Listing, Call for Bids," September 26, 1983; "MWAC Comments, CANY 10-238, to Rehabilitate 26.4 Mile Road System," Package #106; Howard Haigas, Chief, Professional Support Division, DSC to Ass't. Manager, MWR/RMR Team, DSC,

memorandum, November 7, 1983; "Package #106; DSC, Legislative Compliance," October 24, 1983; folder 277, CANY 36607; "Some Development at last in Canyonlands National Park," *Times-Independent*, February 16, 1984; Carol Hoggard, Deputy Cty. Clerk, San Juan County to Pete Parry, February 8, 1984; Parry to Calvin Black, March 17, 1984; "EA for Canyonlands National Park, Rebuild 13.5 Miles of Entrance Road, Island in the Sky District," May 1984; folder 298, CANY 36607; Jim Woolf, "San Juan County Trying to Block Road Job," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 29, 1984; Bruce Halliday, Attn., San Juan County to Parry, December 6, 1984; Parry to Black, January 31, 1984; Parry to Black, December 10, 1984; Black to Parry, January 7, 1985; folder 305, CANY 36607.

92. Landscape Architect, Branch of Design, DSC, to Ass't. Manager, Central Team, DSC, memorandum, December 18, 1985; July 24, 1986; "Island in the Sky Road Construction Set for Fall," NPS Press Release, May 7, 1986; "Finding of No Significant Impact, EA, Rebuild 12.2 Miles of Road, ISKY, Canyonlands NP;" 1986; folder 311, CANY 36607; "Amendment to Finding of No Significant Impact," April 1986; "Final Construction Report on Canyonlands NP, Project 11 (3) and 114 (1), Island in the Sky, Grading, Base, and Asphaltic Surfacing, Grand and San Juan Counties," January 5, 1993; folder D 30, ISKY Road Project, SEUG-CF; "Engineer's Estimate, ISKY, Canyonlands NP, 11 (3) and 114 (1)," July 7, 1986; "Cost Estimates/Supplements" and "Recommendations and Concurrences for Contract Modifications, Canyonlands NP;" December 1987; "Concrete Color Requirements," March 1987; NPS Press Releases, December 9 and 23, 1986; February 18, 1987; folder 311, CANY 36607.

93. Robert Shelley, Ass't. Manager, MWR/RMR Team, DSC, memorandum, July 8, 1983; Pete Parry to Gene Nodine, memorandum, July 14, 1983; James Thompson to Nodine, memorandum, August 9, 1983; Howard Haigas, to Shelley, November 7, 1983; Lee Garrison, Realty Specialist, Div. of Land Resources, RMR to File, memorandum, November 18, 1983; Leon Clifford, FHA Coordinator to MWR/RMR Team, DSC, memorandum, December 14, 1983; folder 277, CANY 36607; Clifford to Shelley, memorandum, March 15, 1984; Haigas to Shelley, memorandum, April 3, 1984; "Environmental Assessment, Canyonlands National Park, Rebuild 13.5 miles of Entrance Road, Island in the Sky District," May 1984; folder 298, CANY 36607; Jack Neckels to Field Supervisor, Fish and Wildlife Service, memorandum, August 1, 1984; Field Supervisor, Endangered Species Office, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, to Lorraine Mintzmyer, memorandum, September 6, 1984; folder 311, CANY 36607.

94. Parry interview; "Canyonlands: A Park Caught in Debate over Preservation, Public Use," *New York Times*,

August 9, 1981; Robert Unger, "Desire to keep parks growing wild at heart of debate, *Kansas City Times*, October 15, 1981; "Commissioner Black Responds," Op-Ed, *Times-Independent*, May 5, 1983; Lloyd Pierson, Op-Ed, *TI*, May 12, 1983; Pete Parry, Op-Ed, *TI*, May 12, 1983.

95. James Randall, interview by author, Estes Park, Colorado, August 7, 2004, audiocassette, CANY 45551; Robert Kerr, interview by author, July 11, 2003, Santa Fe, New Mexico, audiocassette, CANY 45551; Harvey Wickware, interview by author, Moab, Utah, June 3, 2003, audiocassette; CANY 45551; "1973 Organizational Chart, Canyonlands Complex," Midwest Region, National Park Service; folder 100, CANY 36607.

96. Robert Kasperek, Acting Director, RMR to Pete Parry, memorandum, September 15, 1976; Parry to Lorraine Mintzmyer, memorandum, April 22, 1985; "Organizational Review, Canyonlands Complex," February, 1984; Parry to Mintzmyer, memorandum, March 21, 1986; "Canyonlands Complex Organizational Chart, 1973;" folder 100, CANY 36607; "Canyonlands Complex Organizational Chart," February 1985; folder 110, CANY 36607.

97. Harvey Wickware to Lorraine Mintzmyer, July 13, 1987; Wickware to Mintzmyer, memorandum, August 21, 1987; Wickware to Mintzmyer, memorandum, March 11, 1988; folder 117, CANY 36607; "Reorganization Proposal," June 11, 1987; folder 112, CANY 36607; "Management Plan, Southeast Utah Group, Canyonlands National Park, Arches National Park, Natural Bridges National Monument," March 1990; folder 100, CANY 36607; Wickware to Employees, SEUG, memorandum, January 12, 1990; folder 114, CANY 36607; Wickware interview; Nicholas Eason, interview by author, Moab, Utah, August 28, 2003, audiocassette; CANY 45551.

98. Wickware interview; Wickware to Mintzmyer, memorandum, 1987 (n. d.); folder 117, CANY 36607; "Reorganization Proposal," June 11, 1987; "Reorganization Charts," February 20, 1988; folder 112, CANY 36607.

99. Wickware interview; "Canyonlands Needles District Development, March 1990;" folder Cany Corr, 1979–1990, IMR-CRF; Canyonlands Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1986–1990; folders 10–11, CANY 36607.

100. "Canyonlands Interpretive Prospectus," 1978; folder K 1817, SEUG-CF; Superintendent Annual Reports, Canyonlands NP, 1981–85;" folders 7–8, CANY 36607; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1980–1985; folders 55–60, CANY 36607. In 1978, Canyonlands had contact stations at The Neck, Squaw Flat and Hans Flat; interpretive trails at The Neck, Mesa Arch, Whale Rock and Upheaval Dome at the Island in the Sky; Roadside Ruin, Pothole Point, and

Cave Springs in the Needles, and Horseshoe Canyon in the Maze; wayside exhibits at Aztec Butte, Upheaval Dome, Grandview Point and Green River Overlook in the Island, Tower Ruin in the Needles and Horseshoe Canyon in the Maze; and hiking/driving guides for the Island in the Sky mesa and White Rim Trail, and overview maps of the Needles and Maze. There was also an interpretive kiosk at the junction of the Shafer Trail and White Rim Trail.

101. "Annual Statement for Interpretation, Canyonlands NP," 1987, folder K 2621, Interpretation Annual Reports, SEUG-CF; Superintendent's Annual Reports, Canyonlands NP, 1986–1990; folders 9–10; CANY 36607; CC Staff Meeting Minutes, 1986–1990; folders 61–65, CANY 36607. Rumberg created a wayside exhibit plan in 1987 and oversaw the planning and installation of sixteen wayside exhibits before his death. In the Island in the Sky District, two waysides were added in 1988, seven in 1989 and one in 1990. In the Needles District, one wayside was added in 1990, the Wooden Shoe Arch exhibit in memory of Diane Negri with part of the funding coming from her father, Richard Negri, park supporter and author of *Tales of Canyonlands Cowboys* (Logan: Utah State UP, 1997). Fifty-five percent of CNHA's sales proceeds came from the Arches National Park Visitor Center; the remaining forty-five percent from outlets in Canyonlands National Park at the Island in the Sky, Needles and Maze Districts, the SEUG headquarters and the NPS Monticello office, in BLM areas, and after 1988, at Manti-La Sal National Forest offices in Monticello and Price. Publications added included David Armstrong, *Mammals of the Canyon Country* (Moab, CNHA, 1982); Donald Baars, *The Colorado Plateau: A Geologic History* (Santa Fe: U of New Mexico P, 1983); William Lee Stokes, *Geology of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Museum of Natural History, 1986); *Canyonlands: The Story Behind the Scenery* (Salt Lake City: K.C. Publications, 1989); and various trail guides and maps.

102. 25th Anniversary Committee to Employees, Canyonlands NP, memorandum, March 3, 1989; "Canyonlands National Park to Celebrate 25th Anniversary," press release, NPS, August 18, 1989; "Reception List RSVP;" Stewart Udall to Harvey Wickware, June 13, 1989; "Dinner, Canyonlands 25th Anniversary;" "Canyonlands National Park's 25th Anniversary;" folders 7, 11, 12, 14, 17 and 18; Canyonlands National Park 25th Anniversary Collection, CANY 36284, Southeast Utah Group Archives; Klaire Dustin, "Canyonlands National Park: Still Wild at 25," *High Country News*, August 28, 1989; Vicki Barker, "Udall urges expansion of Canyonlands;" and "Campfire diplomacy of First Superintendent Sparks memories," *Deseret News*, September 11–12, 1989; "Canyonlands National Park observed birthday," *San Juan Record*, September 13, 1989.

111. "Canyonlands National Park, Utah," *Congressional Record—Senate*, 88th Cong., 2d sess., August 2, 1963, pp. 13979–986.

112. "Canyonlands National Park, Utah," *Congressional Record—House*, 88th Cong., 2d sess., August 13, 1964, pp. 20303–307.

113. *Ibid.*, 20308.

114. "Canyonlands National Park—Conference Report," *Congressional Record*, 88th Cong., 2d sess., September 3, 1964; pp. 21557–661.

115. P.L. 88–590, 88th Cong., 2d sess., S. 27, September 12, 1964, An Act "To provide for establishment of the Canyonlands National Park in the State of Utah, and for Other Purposes." The original bill contained the following provisions: Section 1—257,640 acres; Section 2—lands to be exchanged with state lands of approximately equal value within 120 days; Section 3—Grazing for the term of the lease and one renewal; and Section 4—SOI to select suitable access roads from State routes 160, 24 and 95. No provisions were made in this bill for mining.

Road to Maturity: Infrastructure, Salt Creek, and Knowing the Resource

.....

.....

.....

EMERGING FROM A TUMULTUOUS era dominated by the nuclear waste dump and tar sands crises, Canyonlands National Park entered the 1990s hoping for a respite so it could mature as a park and find that elusive balance between development and preservation. With the Island in the Sky road system finished, the Needles visitor support facilities project started, river management under control, cultural resources addressed and reorganization completed, there was reason for optimism. Confidence was such that some NPS managers even proposed to expand the park. However, Canyonlands was soon embroiled in more controversy. Sharp increases in visitation and impacts on park resources reignited the debate over carrying capacities and activities at the park in the context of the 1916 National Park Service Organic Act and 1978 Canyonlands General Management Plan (GMP). Focused on motor vehicles in the park's backcountry, the ensuing legal battle helped define what the impairment of park resources meant at Canyonlands and at NPS units systemwide. The issue of protection versus visitor use also revealed the power of environmentalism to effect policy and tested NPS

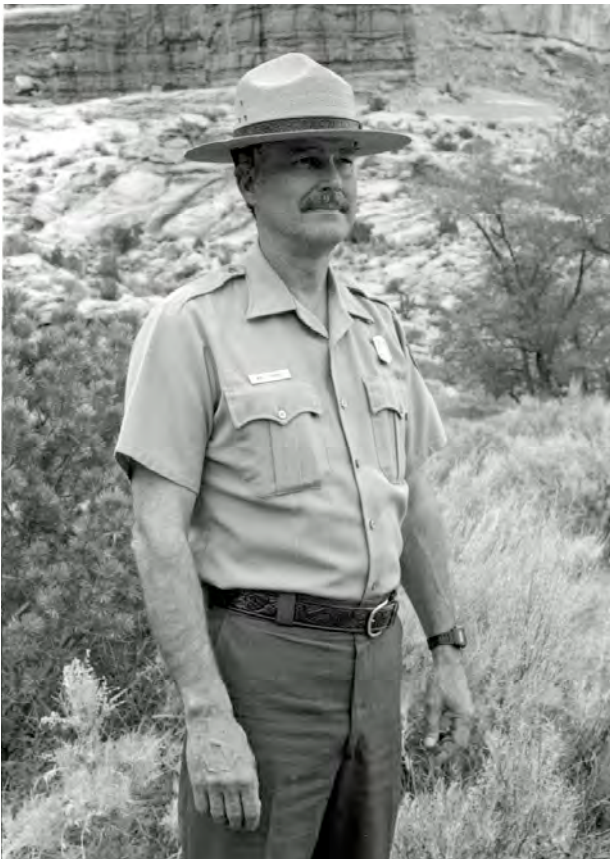
authority on R.S. 2477 right-of-way issues. Aircraft overflights and proposed missile flyovers merely added to the contentious atmosphere.

Although these issues weighed heavily on park administration, the Park Service made big strides in other areas. Interpretive and public information functions were enhanced by the Moab Information Center and its smaller Monticello counterpart, new visitor centers in the Needles and Island in the Sky Districts, and more publications on the region. Scientific knowledge of the park continued to increase, while law enforcement and resource protection capabilities improved due to better transportation and communication systems and collaboration with other agencies and governing bodies. Perhaps most importantly, Canyonlands National Park became more accepted, due to the Canyon Country Partnership, a nonprofit organization created to help federal, state and local entities communicate, to a natural history education program involving the Southeast Utah Group with local schools, and to the gradual easing of Utah's mistrust of the federal government.

Major park development arrives: Building up the Needles District frontcountry

The central force at Canyonlands in the 1990s was Walt Dabney, who left his position as Park Service Chief Ranger in 1991 to succeed Harvey Wickware as Superintendent of the Southeast Utah Group. Given the option of the superintendency at Zion National Park or at SEUG, Dabney chose the latter because of fond memories he held of a 1980 camping trip to canyon country. While his ranger background gave him expertise on visitor protection, interpretation and resource management issues, Dabney overcame deficiencies in knowledge about maintenance and politics with a magnanimous personality and energetic management style. In addition to monitoring the Needles District development project, Dabney oversaw a difficult backcountry planning process, weath-

Figure 93: Walt Dabney, SEUG Superintendent, 1991–1999.
C 36759B, SEUG Photographic Archives.



ered the early legal battles over motor vehicle access in Salt Creek, helped SEUG improve its interpretive programs and infrastructure, conceived a park expansion plan, cofounded the interagency Canyon Country Partnership, and expanded the Southeast Utah Group's outdoor education program.¹

With the Island in the Sky District road project complete and the Maze District designated as a primitive zone, the NPS targeted the Needles District when Congress appropriated funds in the late 1980s for major improvements at the park. In addition to elevating Canyonlands to what was expected of a national park, upgrading facilities at Needles from a combination of old trailers and prefabricated structures to a professional and aesthetically pleasing complex would help stem the park's high staff turnover rate and solve many management problems. The investment would also enhance Park Service connections to its historical legacy in the region embodied through Bates Wilson, and assuage critics at the county and state levels, especially in San Juan County.

The main issue was finding an appropriate design for an area defined as primitive by the Park Service that was less expansive than the one found in the 1965 Master Plan. Anchored by a large visitor center and hotel at Squaw Flat, the early plan's concept for the Needles District included a residential complex with eleven houses and five fourplex apartments, a school and dormitory, a 43,200 square-foot maintenance facility, a 360-space campground, a ranger station and paved parking lots throughout the district, an extravagant concept incompatible with regional ecology and aesthetics as well as new social mores.² The challenge for the NPS was finding a median between such Mission 66-era excess and the minimal development desired by environmentalists and preservation interests at the Park Service that also addressed its operational needs during a time of rising visitation and which stayed under the congressional \$13 million spending cap.³

Although park staff was adept at working in rustic conditions, the Needles District facilities before 1990 made arguments against development hard to justify. The inadequate infrastructure damaged visitor perceptions, limited staff's interpretive efforts as well as their ability to disperse information and oversee visitor safety and resource protection, and hurt operational efficiency.⁴ The entrance station near the district's east entrance was ill-suited to both collect fees and answer questions, and while the 14' x 70' visitor center trailer sited between the entrance and Squaw Flat Campground was better than the 10' x 40' trailers from the park's early

days, it was insufficient to house interpretive exhibits and sales items while providing administrative space for front- and backcountry management. The district's two full-time and ten to twelve seasonal rangers worked out of a 10' x 40' trailer south of Squaw Butte that was also used for storing files and equipment. Maintenance staff operated out of temporary structures nearby and employee housing consisted of three 620 square foot and nine 500 square foot trailers that ranged from newer units to ancient hovels. Camping was also a problem, as Squaw Flat Campground had only twenty-nine sites and four vault toilets, compared to sixteen sites and two portable toilets in 1965, forcing people to camp on Bureau of Land Management (BLM) lands or drive to distant campgrounds and motels. Parking at Cave Springs, Elephant Hill and Big Spring Canyon remained in crude dirt circles.⁵

Emphasizing aesthetically harmonious designs with minimal environmental impacts, the plan

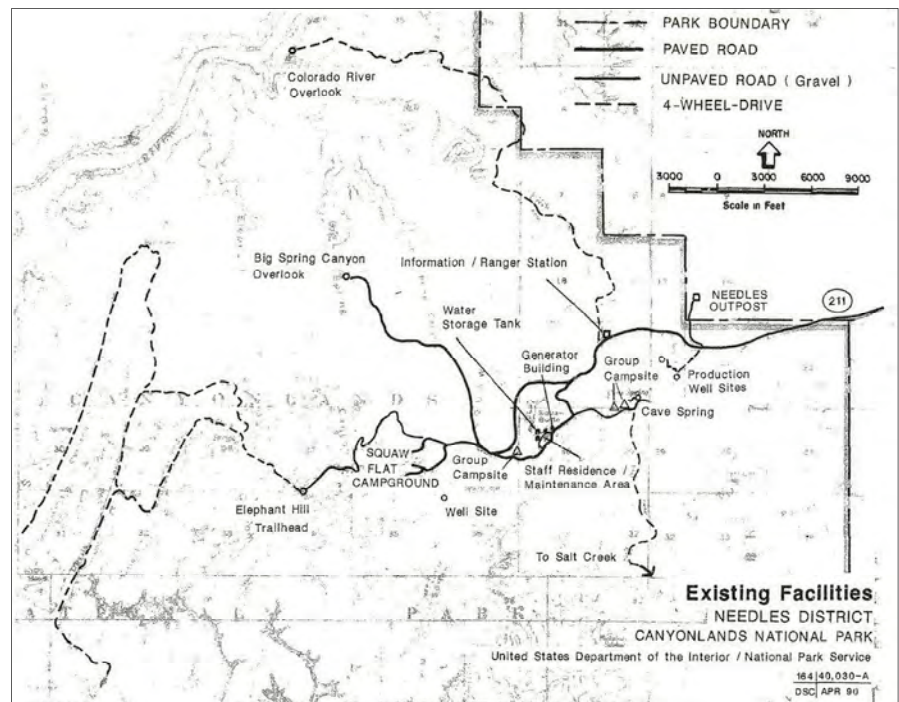


Figure 94: "Existing Facilities, Needles District, Canyonlands National Park," 1990. NPS-TIC 164/40030-A. Although improvements had been made since 1964 in the quality of trailers used for visitor contact, residences and maintenance, campsites had been added to Squaw Flat campground and roads were improved parkwide, by 1990 the infrastructure at Canyonlands remained very crude for a park then more than twenty-five years old.

developed for the "Needles Visitor Support Facilities" bore no resemblance to the 1965 plan.⁶ Needing at most nineteen acres with nine acres of this area to be revegetated—construction would use water and produce dust, but would have little impact on park resources. The NPS concluded in the 1990 Environmental Assessment (EA) for the project that minor impacts from construction would be offset by its positive effects on visitor services and park management.⁷

The project design was divided into five zones: the park entrance on Utah Highway 211; the intersection of U-211 and the Colorado River Overlook Road; east of Squaw Butte between U-211 and Cave Springs Road; the Squaw Flat Campground; and parking areas at Cave Springs, the Colorado River Overlook, Big Spring Canyon and Elephant Hill. Each design alternative had a 4,400 square foot visitor center, 100 square foot entrance station, 2,500 square foot maintenance building with a 10,000 square foot

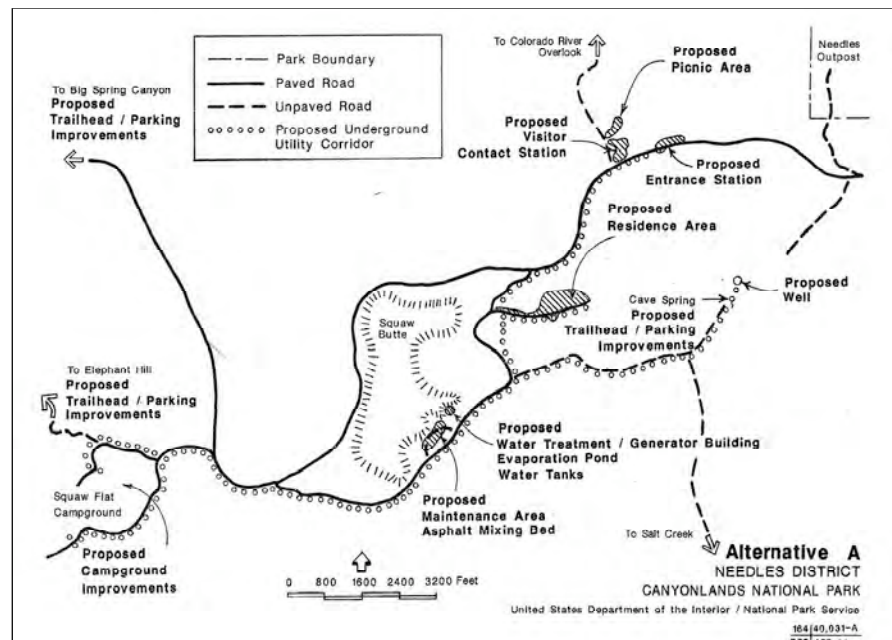
yard, single-family residences and duplexes with a recreation area, generator and water treatment buildings, sewage treatment, water storage and distribution, communications and gas systems, and roads.⁸ Differences involved visitor center locations and road designs; the location, floor plans and number of structures in the housing area; the location of maintenance and administrative facilities, and parking lot and utility configurations.⁹

The NPS preferred “Alternative A” based on aesthetic, ecological, engineering and logistical factors. This design had an entrance station east of the one being used on U-211; a visitor center and administration building just north of the U-211/Colorado River Overlook Road junction; a residence area with four single-family homes, seven duplexes and a recreation shelter east of Squaw Butte; and a maintenance and utility complex south of Squaw Butte.¹⁰ The Squaw Flat Campground amphitheater would be upgraded and comfort stations with lights and running water considered. Parking lots at Cave Springs, Elephant Hill and Big Spring Canyon would be paved and an information kiosk built at the junction of U-211 and U.S. 191.¹¹ Having a visitor center closer to the park entrance would aid visitor contact, interpretation, administration and resource protection. Locating housing in the middle of the Needles District frontcountry was practical, while having maintenance and utility areas near their present locales made logistical, ecological and financial sense. Parking areas that blended human architecture and desert flora provided room for cars, RVs and future expansion while the information kiosk would be the southern analogue to the radio beacon on Interstate

70 near Crescent Junction. Outside of minor changes in road patterns, utility corridors, parking lots, housing configurations and the addition of a ranger station not in the original plans, this design remained intact throughout construction.¹²

Because this design would barely impact park resources and Canyonlands’ cherished places were in the backcountry, the EA process was tame. Only 107 comments were received by the Park Service compared to thousands over the GMP and nuclear waste dump issues. Nearly all respondents wanted the backcountry protected, and a majority supported limited frontcountry development. The latter group included residents of San Juan County who said the project was long overdue. Those in the political center lauded the upgrade of facilities to what was expected at a national park while environmentalists thought the project was a political trade-off to assuage local interests and ensure the rest of the park stayed primitive. A small faction claiming that any development would be sacrilegious was not backed by mainstream environmental groups.¹³ The Sierra Club, which had suggested the NPS upgrade Needles District

Figure 95: “Alternative A, Needles District, Canyonlands National Park,” 1990. NPS-TIC 164/40031A.



facilities in the 1970s, and the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance (SUWA), which later challenged backcountry plans, realized some development was inevitable and did not oppose the project. The National Parks and Conservation Association did lead a successful effort to have electric lighting at Squaw Flat Campground and paved parking lots at the Elephant Hill, Cave Springs and Big Spring Canyon trailheads removed from the plans.¹⁴ There was also concern over the Salt Creek aquifer's ability to handle the increased demand from new development and more visitors. However, studies of chemical leaching from geologic sources or the landfill used by the NPS from 1965 to 1988 would take several years. Analysis of the Cave Springs Well was in its early stages and test wells near the landfill were too new to yield sound scientific results.¹⁵ The Park Service thus proceeded to funding and construction without the more complex Environmental Impact Statement process.

Estimated to cost \$11 to 13 million—more than the total capital expenditures at Canyonlands from 1965 to 1990—the Needles project was organized in three stages. “Priority I,” estimated at \$4 million and scheduled for Fiscal Year (FY) 1990, involved the construction of an entrance station, visitor center, water treatment plant, generator building and utilities and the completion of archaeological salvage work. “Priority II,” estimated at \$6 million and scheduled for FY 1991, included the construction of exhibits and equipment in the visitor center, an information kiosk, maintenance building, pole barn, storage building, comfort stations, residential complex, parking areas, utilities and roads, as well as archaeological mitigation. “Priority III,” estimated at \$1.4 million and scheduled for FY 1992, involved more design, archae-

ological salvage, parking lots, landscaping the visitor center and completing the water and electrical systems.¹⁶

Restructured into four “phases,” Phase I included a visitor center/administration building, generator and water treatment buildings, and utilities. The job was awarded in September 1990 by the U.S. Small Business Administration (SBA) minority contractor program to Weeminuche Construction Authority (WCA), owned by the Ute Mountain Indian Tribe. Because the \$3.615 million bid was far over the government estimate of \$2.5 million, the NPS and WCA negotiated a price of \$3.144 million.¹⁷ Whereas Weeminuche's higher estimate was due to potential cost overruns due to the region's remoteness, the low government estimate indicated overly optimistic prognoses by NPS planners, possibly based on an unfamiliarity with canyon country. Work began in November of 1990 and Phase I was completed in early 1992, forty-three days after the due date.¹⁸ In addition to WCA's excellent work, the horizontal motif of the adobe and contoured rock inlay design was well received by visitors and the Park Service. The project's main shortcoming—inadequate exhibit and administrative space in the visitor center—only became evident in ensuing years as park staff struggled with space issues due to rising visitation and new interpretive displays.¹⁹

Figure 96: Completed Needles District Visitor Center. C 36299, SEUG Photographic Archives.



Phases II and III were awarded to Blackinton and Decker (B & D) of Denver in September 1992 for \$3,933,000, under the government ceiling of \$4,741,000 and an estimate of \$4,143,876.²⁰ Including an entrance station, employee housing, a recreation shelter, aquifer-monitoring wells and utilities, the project, also administered by the SBA minority contractor program, was plagued by quality control, communication and fiscal problems. This produced a conflict between the National Park Service and general contractor that involved the Utah and Colorado congressional delegations, and the project fell so far behind schedule that Phase IV had to be postponed. These problems were caused by a general contractor who struggled with project oversight, poor quality work by some subcontractors, possible design flaws, and conflicts between NPS supervisors and inspectors with B & D and some of its subcontractors. The project was so wrought with tension that the racial undercurrents that can surround minority preference programs even surfaced.²¹

Phases II and III began in October 1992 with a meeting at the Needles District attended by the general contractor, subcontractors and the Park Service to discuss the project and park rules. Problems soon arose over the removal, transportation and backfill of rock, soil compaction for foundations and roads, and concrete dry times. Claiming that excavation and quantities of rock to be hauled were not adequately addressed in project designs, B & D adopted different methods and the Park Service granted more time and funds.²² Despite resolving this problem and changes made with paint and stucco pigmentation, the excavation problem continued far into 1993 and forced the NPS to extend Phase II and III's completion date by six months. The BLM also reported illegal camping outside park borders by construction workers.²³ The San Juan County Commission added to the growing list of problems in March 1993 by calling B & D's siting of its field office in Moab "a slap in the face," requesting that the NPS ask the contractor to ensure that "San Juan Coun-

ty residents and businesses receive a fair share of the jobs and contracts."²⁴

More delays led to problems over scheduling and quality control as well as tensions between the Park Service inspector, B & D and some subcontractors.²⁵ Relations worsened in 1994 over drywall finishes in housing units that led to a lengthy inspection process and angry exchanges among the general contractor, drywall subcontractor and Park Service inspector, followed by an attempt by B & D to ban the inspector from the job site. The drywall subcontractor complained to Utah Senator Robert Bennett, the Park Service told Bennett its story and B & D accused the NPS of poor design, planning and oversight.²⁶ Race became an issue after it was reported that some subcontractors resented the presence of the African-American owned B & D in largely white Mormon Utah. The general contractor then claimed that a "small minority contractor" could not fight the government if disputes were not resolved over reimbursements on problems caused by what it claimed were design flaws.²⁷ Despite a belief at the Park Service that B & D was responsible for most of the project's problems, with legal action hinted and the "race card" in play, the NPS trod lightly as construction was finished and final inspections began.

The scheduling issues also affected Phase IV, awarded in September 1993 for \$2.664 million to Weeminuche Construction Authority and planned to start that December.²⁸ Although the NPS did not give WCA an official "notice to proceed," the contractor assumed that Phase IV was on schedule based on an exchange of drawings at a planning meeting and had already purchased prefabricated steel and scheduled subcontractors. Because Needles District housing was located where much of Phase IV would take place, the Phase II and III housing had to be finished for Weeminuche to start. The Park Service tried to implement a "Termination for Convenience" with WCA and reschedule Phase IV for June 1994, requests that WCA refused with-

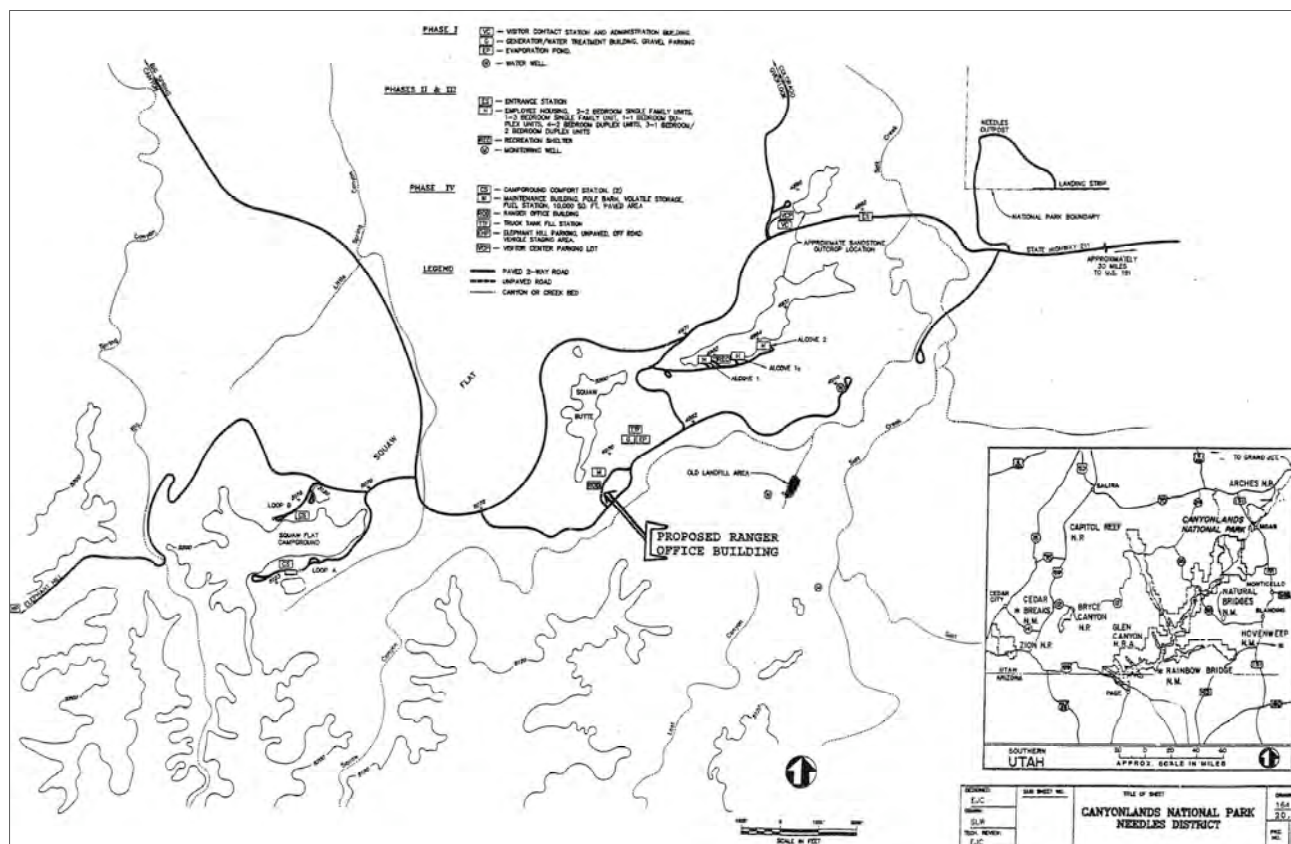


Figure 97: "Needles District, Canyonlands National Park, Visitor Support Facilities Project, Phases," 1990. NPS-TIC 164/20069.

out fiscal compensation for planning and materials. Although they never received a "notice to proceed," Weeminuche said the NPS knew of scheduling conflicts and that they should have been notified. The Park Service challenged this argument, and WCA responded by claiming the government was using this tactic because its bid was over the federal engineering estimate. Realizing it was legally vulnerable, the NPS compensated WCA for \$227,640 worth of planning and materials.²⁹ Resolution with minimal financial damage or strained relations with a contractor that had previously performed well made good sense with Phase IV now indefinitely delayed.

Final inspections on Phases II and III began in December 1994, although B & D proceeded "under protest." The inspections resulted in a "Letter of Substantial Completion" from the NPS and a 625-item "punch list" to be completed by the contractor. Claiming to be \$1.1 million in the red on the project, B & D did not

address the items that were later finished by the Park Service.³⁰ Having already accepted modifications totaling \$650,000, for a project total of \$4.581 million, citing poor estimations, quality control and scheduling, the NPS declined most "Requests for Equitable Adjustment" which totaled \$1.75 million and would have raised the project's cost to \$6.338 million. The contractor charged the NPS with bad project design and oversight, claiming \$5.741 million was their break-even point and that without fiscal compensation bankruptcy was imminent. B & D even elicited the aid of Colorado Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Colorado Congressman Dan Schaefer and construction industry allies to force the Park Service to address its complaints.³¹ The NPS investigation resulted in a conclusion that B & D's claims were not founded, but concerns over litigation and pressure from Colorado and Utah politicians pushed the Park Service into negotiating amendments with the contractor for \$1.1 million. This

pushed the project's total cost to \$5.598 million, with the condition that B & D pay all subcontractors, many of whom had already filed complaints against the general contractor for nonpayment.³²

Weeminuche Construction Authority was re-awarded Phase IV in April 1996 for \$2,825,742, with amendments raising the total to \$3,131,97.81. It included a 5400-square-foot maintenance building, 2300-square-foot pole barn, storage building, parking lots, new roads and campground upgrades.³³ The amendments included a 4100-square-foot ranger station near the existing ranger trailer to provide space for district rangers. In the five years since the visitor center was built, the building had proved inadequate for visitor services and administration. Although expanding the initial 2,750-square-foot ranger quarters elicited some protests, environmentally sensitive features that included low wattage and shielded outdoor lights mitigated the complaints.³⁴ Starting construction in July 1996, Weeminuche completed the contract on schedule in exactly one year with relatively few operational problems or modifications to the original designs and contract.³⁵

Backcountry management, Salt Creek Canyon, and the National Park Service Organic Act

The Needles District Visitor Support Facilities project was a big step for a park that had been slighted fiscally by Congress and the National Park Service. Combined with developments in the Island in the Sky in the 1980s, gradual upgrades at Hans Flat and the 1994 move of the Southeast Utah Group headquarters from a building in Moab shared with the U.S. Forest Service to a larger building south of town, the Needles project gave Canyonlands facilities commensurate with its national park status. Outside of upgrades to the Island in the Sky contact station and employee housing and making utilities more efficient parkwide, park infrastructure was largely complete.³⁶

Figure 98: Road- and vehicle-related resource issues. Although most drivers respected park rules and ethics, the sheer volume of drivers that visited the park after 1985 dramatically increased the depth of ruts on most roads, widened their paths in some areas, resulted in more "incidental damage," and damaged the roadbeds on many of the steep hills throughout the park such as SOB Hill, Elephant Hill, Murphy Hogback, Hardscrabble Hill and throughout Teapot Canyon. Photographs by the author.

South Needles District road



Park Service sign



Vehicle on Elephant Hill



Because development was limited to the park's frontcountry, Canyonlands had maintained its identity as a wilderness-oriented park with one exception. Motor vehicle access to the region's backcountry that began in the 1950s when the nation became enamored with four-wheel drive technology and led to creation of the national park, was incongruent with national park policy and unacceptable to an increasingly large percentage of Americans. Romantic nature philosophy, ecological science and new legal mandates had merged to create a powerful political lobby and ideology that wanted primitive areas free from technology. The park's constituency thus became divided among motorized recreationists who enjoyed the challenges Canyonlands gave their driving prowess, visitors who wanted motorized access to backcountry hiking and camping spots, and environmentalists who wanted to close roads through the Standing Rocks in the Maze, the White Rim Trail in the Island, and several roads in the Needles, including Salt Creek Canyon.

The 1984 Canyonlands Backcountry Management Plan (BCMP) covered key issues, but sharp increases in visitation forced the NPS to rethink policy. From 1984 to 1993 visitation parkwide rose from 105,646 to 434,844; from 1988 to 1993 backcountry numbers rose from 9,852 to 15,629 and backcountry use nights from 23,775 to 41,294. From 1989 to 1992, mountain bike use on the White Rim Trail rose from 2,134 to 4,242. The increases affected Canyonlands' three land districts, the Orange Cliffs zone of Glen Canyon NRA and surrounding BLM lands, and was mostly from private use.³⁷ Most increases in the Island in the Sky were at the White Rim Trail vehicle campsites, led by Lathrop Canyon and Murphy Hogback, and zone camping in Taylor Canyon, Upheaval Canyon, Syncline Valley and Monument Basin. Maze District increases were also centered in vehicle camps, led by the Doll House, Maze Overlook, Standing Rock and Chimney Rock sites, although the district had a higher ratio of zone camping, led by Shot and Water Canyons,

Standing Rocks, Horse Canyon and The Fins. Overflow from the Maze District went to the Orange Cliffs area. The Needles was more balanced between vehicle site and zone use, with Chesler Park zone camping being the most popular, followed by vehicle sites at Devils Kitchen and Peekaboo Springs, zone camping in Lost Canyon, the East Fork of Salt Creek, Upper Elephant Canyon, Squaw Canyon and Salt Creek, and the vehicle site at Angel Arch.³⁸

Prodded by these increases, the NPS formed a planning team in 1992 to study the backcountry policies of Canyonlands and Glen Canyon. They identified problems, outlined policy options, determined what constituencies should be involved, and discussed how to defend policy changes. Whereas the first two points involved programs in development, the other issues were more complex. Prodded by the 1991 Vail Agenda's recommendation that the Park Service involve the public more in key decisions and by criticisms of the agency for not incorporating more diverse views in Canyonlands' GMP, the NPS made a concerted effort to involve all interested parties. This included jeepers, mountain bikers, hikers, concessionaires, environmentalists and business interests. Equally important was the role of science to support policy or legal mandates. Yet, as the Park Service discovered during the nuclear waste dump crisis, it had insufficient data in most disciplines to support legal or administrative needs. With the NPS inventory and monitoring program at Canyonlands still in the conceptual stage, decisions reverted to the political realm.³⁹

In late 1992 the planning team mailed out scoping brochures, formed study committees, and analyzed public comments. They highlighted these issues: camping, trails, roads, off-road vehicles, motorcycles, mountain bikes, aircraft, signs, education, infrastructure, rock climbing, sanitation, visitor safety, resource protection, threatened or endangered species, commercial use, visitor solitude and self-reliance, area closures, use limits, integral vistas, pets, landscape diversity,

ivers, science, bighorn sheep and water.⁴⁰ The team also discussed closing Jasper Canyon in the Maze, Monument Canyon in the Island in the Sky and Virginia Park, Salt Creek, Davis and Lavender Canyons in the Needles, and further restricting rock climbing, pack animals, camping and backpacking group sizes. Because river management plans in place were effective, the Colorado and Green Rivers were not included unless an issue related to the park's uplands.⁴¹

After hearings in December 1992 and January 1993 held in Green River, Salt Lake City, Monticello, Hanksville, Denver and Moab, the Park Service used public input and the planning team's work to prepare an Environmental Assessment (EA) and draft Backcountry Management Plan.⁴² Stating that "impacts to park resources from growing visitation" forced the policy shift, the EA outlined a zone system and carrying capacities designed to allow backcountry use but minimize impacts to "cryptobiotic crusts, sensitive species and environments" and "impacts of visitors on each other."⁴³ In December 1993, the NPS mailed out 1,700 copies of the EA, to which recipients had until March of 1994 to comment. Hearings were held in Green River, Salt Lake City, Monticello, Hanksville, Denver and Moab, that reflected each location's culture and economic interests, and the Park Service received 3,200 letters. Topics addressed at the hearings and in correspondence were as follows: commercial and private use, group sizes, total numbers, educational groups, rock

climbing, pack animals, four-wheel drives and mountain bikes.⁴⁴ Pack animal users and rock climbers opposed changes; commercial operators wanted access; outdoor education schools wanted exemptions to group sizes; archaeologists said access led to looting and vandalism; four-wheel drive advocates opposed road closures and environmentalists wanted them closed. Most respondents wanted Salt Creek Canyon to stay open with some regulation.⁴⁵

Because people react negatively to restrictions on previously enjoyed rights or privileges, the Park Service knew the Salt Creek issue would be volatile. Visited since the 1950s by locals and tourists seeking beauty and solitude capped by a view of Angel Arch, the canyon was a popular destination and powerful cultural symbol. Although motor vehicles in Canyonlands' one upland riparian zone seemed to conflict with traditional Park Service policies, access to the canyon was largely unrestricted. Concerns over visitor safety and resource damage caused the NPS to close Salt Creek's side canyons to motor vehicles in the early 1970s, and the main canyon open to the West Fork of Salt Creek was closed during this era halfway between Bates Wilson Camp and the West Fork. When floods ravaged the canyon in the late 1970s, the road above Bates Wilson was not reopened. The 1984 BCMP system for vehicle and zone camping limited overnight stays, but day use in Salt Creek remained unrestricted. When damage from motor vehicles increased, the Park

Figure 99: Backcountry trail and natural resource issues. Similar to the roads in the park, trails became deeper and wider over time, and although the sign and cairn system has improved over the last two decades, the region's fragile cryptobiotic soils have been heavily impacted, especially when hikers fail to follow NPS directions to hike in washes or on rocks. Photographs by the author.

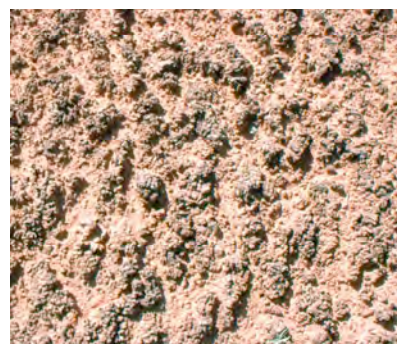
Trail, southern Needles District



Chesler Park trail sign



Cryptobiotic soil





Kent Frost and Angel Arch, 1959. C 36552.385, SEUG Photographic Archives.



Angel Arch road in the 1970s. C 36551.29, SEUG Photographic Archives.

Figure 100: Canyonlands and Angel Arch

Service had no legal tool to stem the tide.⁴⁶ Estimated from permits, visitor center contacts, ranger observations and resource damage, from fifty to seventy-five vehicles per month traveled through Salt Creek in the 1960s during peak months (March to June), numbers that rose to 100 to 125 in the 1970s and 250 to 300 in the 1980s, prompting the NPS to take a dimmer view of vehicles in Salt Creek. Empirical evi-



Sign, Lower Salt Creek Road. C 36552.444, SEUG Photographic Archives.



Upper Jump, Salt Creek Canyon, 1992. Photograph by the author.

Figure 102: Vehicle access in Salt Creek Canyon. The four-wheel drive road in Salt Creek Canyon once extended from Lower Salt Creek Canyon (near the location of the sign) to the Upper Jump and/or the West Fork of Salt Creek Canyon.

dence was provided when a traffic counter installed in 1993 counted an average of 510 vehicles per month from April to June, peaking at 634 that May.⁴⁷

Park Service concerns about Salt Creek were reflected by park staff. Expressing a majority view at the Southeast Utah Group that Salt Creek should be closed, one ranger said, "To think we aren't damaging the riparian habitat is ludicrous. If a decision is made between visitor use and resource protection, we should err on the side of resource protection." Another ranger claimed that "Salt Creek road should be closed from Horse Canyon to Angel Arch" and "vehicle noise and pollution are affecting a prime riparian habitat."⁴⁸ The NPS Rocky Mountain Region office further complicated matters

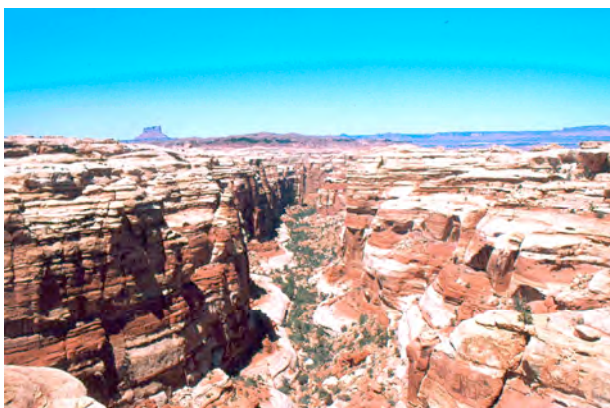
by adding that closing the road was a “double-edged sword as pot hunting and pocketing artifacts increases when there is less chance of being caught.”⁴⁹

While it was evident Salt Creek was being damaged by motor vehicles, the legal situation was complex. Despite one ranger’s opinion that previous closures created a “precedent for shutting down 4WD routes in the Needles,” road issues in Utah are never simple.⁵⁰ When investigating the ownership of Canyonlands’ roads during the Confluence Road debate, the Park Service never obtained a clear legal opinion on motor vehicles in NPS “natural areas” or whether federal or state laws had primacy. Because the 1984 BCMP barely addressed roads, the NPS had little control over vehicles on park back-country roads although this use possibly violated the 1916 NPS Organic Act. Realizing the dilemma, SEUG Superintendent Dabney told the NPS planning team in 1992 that “We need to be able to sell the reason for closure of Salt Creek to the public.” Although any decision restricting motor vehicle use in Salt Creek would be based on preserving park resources and the Organic Act, decades of vehicle use had created a historic precedent. Off-road vehicle groups and many Utahns claimed rights of access based in this rationale, a position also based in attachments to a beautiful place and kind of experience. Environmentalists and most NPS personnel used a preservationist interpretation of the Organic Act and Canyonlands’ enabling legislation to support a position to close the road. Finding a median between these two positions supported by such passionate constituencies proved to be a practical impossibility.⁵¹

Although closing Salt Creek was viewed by many as a major policy shift, it was actually part of a gradual change from largely unrestricted to more restricted access that began when the 1965 Master Plan was rejected and continued with road closures, stricter regulations and the creation of special use reserves. Highlighted by



Virginia Park closure sign. Photograph by the author.



Jasper Canyon from the south. Photograph by the author.

Figure 103: Virginia Park and Jasper Canyon reserve status

Edward Kleiner’s work in the 1960s, Virginia Park in the Needles District was recommended for reserve status by Canyonlands’ staff in the 1970s and the Nature Conservancy’s 1990 Relict Area study. It was officially nominated by the NPS in 1991 as a research reserve. Despite Park Service attempts to curb access by not volunteering information to visitors and asking map makers to not show access routes or describe it by name, before 1991 Virginia Park enjoyed no special protection outside its status as a “natural feature subzone.” This changed in 1993 when Virginia Park and Jasper Canyon in the Maze were designated as “Relict Areas.” Lower Big Spring, Little Spring, Elephant and Salt Canyons were considered for relict status, but were instead rezoned as “natural” areas. Encompassing all of Virginia Park and most of Jasper Canyon, access to these “relict areas” was allowed only to permitted researchers, who had to use light impact study methods.⁵²

Lauded by scientists and environmentalists, the closures were noted by those who wanted the park to remain open as further intrusions on their “rights.”

The 1995 *Canyonlands National Park and Orange Cliffs Unit Backcountry Management Plan* (1995 BCMP) divided the backcountry into nineteen zones that required permits for overnight use—eight in the Needles, eight in the Island, and three in the Maze—and included the Orange Cliffs unit of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. The plan had a reservation system for vehicle and zone camping and limited the number of backcountry permits, backpack and vehicle camp group sizes, length of stays and total number of campsites.⁵³ It also prohibited wood fires and pets, further restricted pack animal use, and kept previous climbing rules. Mountain bikes were reclassified as motor vehicles that must stay on roads. Closed to camping were Pete’s Mesa, Horseshoe Canyon, areas visible from the Maze Overlook, and day-use areas in the Island in the Sky and Needles Districts. The following roads were closed year-round: Murphy Point, Cyclone Canyon, Davis Canyon, and Salt Creek Canyon from the Angel Arch Canyon junction to Bates Wilson Camp, and Virginia Park, Jasper Canyon and critical bighorn habitat in the Needles were closed from May 1st to September 1st to all but NPS personnel and approved researchers.⁵⁴

The NPS did not close Salt Creek to motor vehicles as outlined in the BCMP’s draft EA. The EA’s Alternative A closed Salt Creek to vehicles at its junction with Horse Canyon, Alternative B at Cave Springs or the Park Service gate, Alternative C closed both canyons completely and Alternative E took no action. The NPS’s preferred choice, Alternative D, which closed Salt Creek at Peekaboo Spring and allowed vehicles in Horse Canyon up to Tower Ruin, was not selected because pro-access interests were not represented in the EA.⁵⁵ The Park Service created a new alternative that allowed vehicles with permits in Salt Creek, Horse and Lavender

Canyons with these daily limits: Salt Creek and Horse Canyons—ten private vehicles, seven mountain bikes, seven pack animals and two commercial vehicles; and Lavender Canyon—eight private vehicles, seven mountain bikes, seven pack animals and two commercial vehicles. Vehicles supporting backpack trips were allowed, and Davis Canyon had no quotas. Although designed to placate San Juan County and off-road vehicle groups, the new option invited legal challenges.⁵⁶

The NPS was lauded in many quarters for the plan, but also criticized by those affected by its stricter rules—outdoor education schools, pack animal users, rock climbers, commercial guides and off-road vehicle users—and assailed by environmentalists led by SUWA for its willingness to compromise.⁵⁷ Downplaying what they liked about the BCMP—new natural areas, lower carrying capacities and the elimination or control of some activities—SUWA focused on roads. During the EA review the group suggested closing roads in the Maze District east of Flint Trail, and the Elephant Hill, Salt Creek, Horse, Lavender and Davis Canyon roads in the Needles, leaving only the White Rim Trail open from the park’s signature backcountry vehicle routes. Angered by the closure of so few roads, SUWA claimed that the Park Service was pandering to Utah interests at the expense of the 1916 Organic Act’s preservation mandate, and reminded the NPS that even if Salt Creek Canyon was closed at Peekaboo Spring, 179 of 193 miles of backcountry roads in Canyonlands would remain open. After attempts to convince the Park Service to change the 1995 plan’s road provisions failed, SUWA proceeded toward litigation.⁵⁸

Claiming the BCMP’s provisions for roads violated the law and NPS guidelines, the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance filed suit in 1995 against the Park Service. They were later joined by codefendants/interveners, the Utah Trail Machine Association and other off-road vehicle groups. SUWA said the NPS violated its Organic

Act by allowing uses that had “permanently impaired unique park resources,” Executive Order 11644 “prohibiting off-road vehicle routes in national parks,” and the NPS Administrative Procedures Act regarding its Organic Act and NEPA.⁵⁹ Claiming that E. O. 11644 did not apply to “trails,” the Park Service said “off-road vehicle use in locations that did not adversely affect natural, aesthetic or scenic values” was allowed, and that Canyonlands’ back-country “roads” were “trails” with decades of use. Because SUWA did not adequately differentiate “roads” from “trails” in relation to NPS policy or Canyonlands’ enabling acts, their legal argument turned to the creation of an alternative not in the 1993 EA and the 1916 NPS Organic Act. Ruling that the “NPS could allow operations of jeep trails in canyons as park roads providing access and circulation where impairment of unique resources would not occur, but not in canyons featuring unique riparian areas,” U.S. District Court Judge Dale Kimball ruled in July 1998 for the plaintiffs on one of four counts. Salt Creek was to be closed above Peekaboo because a unique riparian area was affected, but other roads could remain open. The NPS could allow vehicles on park roads that provided “access and circulation” and the “use of jeep trails” where damage to unique resources did not occur. The Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI) on alternatives in the EA was said by the court to be “properly based on relevant factors.”⁶⁰

The NPS was concurrently updating its servicewide management policies. The district court decision was the first in which the Park Service was found to be in violation of its Organic Act requirement that park resources be managed to “leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.” Based on the Salt Creek decision and court defeats over resource protection issues at other park units, a new NPS Director’s Order was incorporated into agency policies in 2000 that required explicit consideration of the impairment question in management policies and guidelines and

provided guidance on how the Park Service should determine impairment.⁶¹

Although the 1998 ruling created a legal baseline for roads at Canyonlands, the decision was appealed by the Utah Shared Access Alliance (formerly the Utah Trail Machine Association), based on a claim that the 1995 BCMP’s provisions for Salt Creek violated the NPS Organic Act clause that park “resources be left unimpaired” as well as Canyonlands’ 1964 and 1971 enabling acts. Claiming the courts could not overturn the plan without explicit provisions in legislation or Park Service guidelines that prohibited said activity, in August 2000 the U.S.

Figure 103: Lower and Middle Salt Creek Canyon road. Although the road in Salt Creek crisscrossed its creek bed from the start, the major concerns over the ecological health of the riparian habitat was centered on middle Salt Creek Canyon. Whereas the lower Salt Creek Canyon sand flats were scrubbed with each flood and rarely had sections of standing water as the aquifer was usually subterranean, the canyon upstream had many small and large sections of standing water that were central to the riparian flora and fauna and which were heavily impacted by motor vehicle travel.

Road, Lower Salt Creek Canyon, June 1992. Photograph by the author.



Road, Middle Salt Creek Canyon, June 1992. Photograph by the author.



Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals overturned the 1998 district court ruling that banned “motor vehicle access in a ten-mile section of Salt Creek Canyon above Peekaboo Spring.” Because the activity in Salt Creek was not “explicitly prohibited” by statute, the circuit court said the district court had “abused its discretion” to grant the injunction, and although “permanent impairment would not be allowed, negative impacts don’t always mean permanent impairment” of park resources.⁶²

The circuit court remanded the case to the district court to see if the 1995 BCMP’s provisions for Salt Creek were a “reasonable interpretation” of the 1916 NPS Organic Act and Canyonlands’ enabling acts that would allow analysis of Salt Creek free from motor vehicles for an extended period. With vehicle use in Salt Creek unrestricted from 1964 to 1995, partially restricted from 1995 to 1998 through the BCMP permit system, and off-limits from 1998 to 2000 based on the district court edict, the circuit court said that prohibiting vehicles would allow the Park Service to perform research so future legal decisions could be based on science. Although the NPS began studying Salt Creek’s water quality in 1995, vegetation and aquatic macroinvertebrates in 1998, and endangered or threatened species in 2000, more work was deemed necessary to create a knowledge base substantial enough to withstand the political and legal scrutiny to follow.⁶³

Responding to the 2000 circuit court ruling, the Park Service proposed, with the district court’s consent, to prepare a new EA that would assess the effects of recreational access on “Middle Salt Creek Canyon,” defined as the ten miles from Peekaboo Springs to Angel Arch, and consider the impairment issue in accordance with new agency policies. The NPS defined the objective of the EA’s alternatives as giving “recreational access to Middle Salt Creek Canyon without major adverse affects or impairment of its natural and cultural resources.” Alternative A would allow vehicle access on current road

alignments year-round. Alternative B designated vehicle access on current road alignments from October 1 until ice made the route impassable. Alternative C would realign portions of the road around riparian areas wherever possible and allow year-round access. Alternative D prohibited vehicles year-round in Middle Salt Creek, with day hiking, backpacking and pack animals allowed as outlined in the 1995 BCMP.⁶⁴

Following the Director’s 2001 order to select a plan that “promoted the environmental policy expressed in NEPA,” the Park Service chose Alternative D. This reflected an evolution at the park toward more restricted access and tougher resource protection policies.⁶⁵ According to the 2002 EA, Alternatives A and C gave the “widest range of uses and variety of individual choice,” but allowed the “greatest degree” of damage. Alternative B would produce less “environmental degradation” in some places than A or C, but similar amounts elsewhere. Alternative D allowed hiking, camping and pack animal use, and by removing “vehicle use” would reduce impacts from “potentially higher levels of human use.” It also gave more protection to the park’s cultural and natural resources. If Alternative D was implemented, visitor use would be monitored, and if “unacceptable adverse impacts” occurred between Peekaboo and Angel Arch, the policy would be reassessed. The NPS concluded that an Environmental Impact Statement was not required and Alternative D was selected, officially amending the 1995 Backcountry Management Plan.⁶⁶

The decision also reflected NEPA’s democratic processes. During the scoping phase, eighty-one percent of 2555 respondents favored closing Salt Creek to vehicles and nineteen percent wanted access, a ratio that rose to ninety and ten among the 7300 respondents to the EA.⁶⁷ While the 2002 *Environmental Assessment* was praised by environmentalists and many at the NPS who believed that closing the road was consistent with traditional agency philosophy and policy, many locals and four-wheel-drive

vehicle advocates objected. They claimed that analysis of motor vehicle impacts was not possible without vehicle use; vehicles did not cause permanent damage; the effects of hiking and stock animals had not been fully analyzed; tamarisk dispersal issues were not considered; and the closure violated the Americans with Disabilities Act. They added that concessionaires and mountain bikes should be allowed and pack animals banned.⁶⁸

These issues became secondary to claims based on a provision in the Mining Law of 1866 that grants “R.S. 2477 rights-of-way” for highway construction on unreserved public lands. Although that part of the 1866 law was repealed in 1976, preexisting rights-of-way were grandfathered.⁶⁹ The lack of agreement on the actions or processes needed to establish a valid R.S. 2477 right-of-way and the potential for such a right-of-way to disqualify lands for wilderness designation, produced disputes over what defined “preexisting rights-of-way.” First mentioning R.S. 2477 in 1984 during the Island in the Sky road project, San Juan County pursued a right-of-way at Salt Creek.⁷⁰ Much of the Canyonlands area, including Salt Creek, was reserved from May 1943 to January 1945 by a public land order designed to encourage potash exploration, and then by the 1964 and 1971 laws establishing Canyonlands National Park. To qualify for R.S. 2477 status, a “highway” had to have been “constructed” in Salt Creek outside these periods. Challenging NPS restrictions on vehicle access to Salt Creek with oral and written testimony, San Juan County officials claimed that the Salt Creek road was a county-owned R.S. 2477 right-of-way.⁷¹

The Park Service researched the R.S. 2477 claim before finalizing its decision on the Salt Creek EA and FONSI by analyzing maps, land plats, survey notes, aerial photos, oral histories and federal General Land Office cadastral surveys of township lines in 1911 and 1927, finding no roads or trails. Additionally, a 1957 BLM survey revealed a “jeep route” at a township line

near Peekaboo Spring and at nine other township lines that crossed Salt Creek. BLM records from 1935 to 1964 indicated no roads in Salt Creek above Peekaboo, and a 1957 survey of a township that encompassed part of Salt Creek said the township was “not accessible to motor vehicles.” Aerial photos first showed a jeep trail in 1966, topographic maps a jeep trail three years later.⁷² NPS surveys also found a mechanically graded area in Salt Creek Canyon but could not discern when the work was done. Remnants of ranching activity were also found in the canyon, as was a uranium mining tunnel above Peekaboo. The evidence provided by San Juan County consisted of five oral history interviews and lists of unpatented uranium mining claims.⁷³

The Park Service concluded from a “preliminary assessment” that an “R.S. 2477 claim was not established in Salt Creek” and recommended that a public notification be made, followed by a final legal determination based on any more information obtained. Then in August 2002, the NPS released the “Middle Salt Creek Canyon Access Plan” which prohibited motor vehicles above Peekaboo, and decided that a formal rule-making was needed to implement the closure.⁷⁴ Encouraged by a *Federal Register* notice of the Salt Creek rule that said parties could pursue in “appropriate forums” R. S. 2477 right-of-way claims, San Juan County filed a complaint against the Park Service with the U.S. District Court on June 14, 2004, one day after the final ruling on Salt Creek. The county claimed that the “Salt Creek road was used and constructed as a public thoroughfare for decades prior” to the creation of Canyonlands National Park and believed that historic use—cattle ranching from the 1890s to the 1970s and uranium mining and recreation from 1950 to 1964—and mechanical improvements qualified the route for R.S. 2477 status.⁷⁵

The Park Service responded by citing research and the import of maintaining the closure so the canyon could recover. Canyonlands Superin-

tendent Tony Schetzle said the plaintiff did not make a “valid R.S. 2477” claim, and SEUG Chief of Interpretation Paul Henderson added that “vegetation had reclaimed many sections” of Salt Creek that added to its “biological diversity.” In September 2005, U.S. District Court Judge Dale Kimball upheld the NPS decision, claiming it was consistent with the NPS Organic Act and Canyonlands’ enabling legislation, that there was “no practical way to reroute the road” and ninety percent of the public favored closure.⁷⁶

Resource protection: Overflights, air quality, oil and gas development, and vandalism

Aircraft overflights became a concern at Canyonlands in the 1980s when the U.S. Air Force planned low-altitude missions in eastern Utah and commercial tours increased.⁷⁷ In 1985, park staff counted nine incidents over the park and six in 1986, prompting NPS officials to state that because “Canyonlands is a remote park, there is potential to attract people to aerial tours to see what is inaccessible.” Park rangers noted violations of Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) guidelines that requested aircraft stay 2,000 feet above parks and sent their findings to the FAA.⁷⁸ However, the NPS did not own the airspace over national parks and had no legal recourse unless an aircraft touched the ground. Even when flagrant abuses happened, cozy relations between the FAA and

the pilot lobby ensured that little happened beyond postings of guidelines at airports. The NPS was limited to voluntary agreements with the military, commercial pilots and the FAA, although it pressed the FAA to have pilots honor the suggested 2,000-foot flight level and 500-foot absolute minimum. The 1987 National Parks Overflight Act created guidelines for Grand Canyon, Yosemite and Haleakala National Parks and required the NPS to conduct a systemwide study to determine the minimum altitudes for aircraft, develop methods for tracking overflights, study their effects on park resources and complete reports for future overflight legislation.⁷⁹

Overflights over Canyonlands became more numerous after 1990 because of rising visitation, more commercial operators, irresponsible flying practices and new airfields. Although far fewer than Grand Canyon’s forty-two operators and 50,000-plus trips a year, the eight companies doing airplane and helicopter trips over Canyonlands was a big jump from before. Most flights came from Canyonlands Airport near Moab, with the rest based at the Monticello or Blanding airports. The 1993 completion of the Cal Black Airport near Halls Crossing and possible reopening of the Spanish Valley airstrip near Moab to commercial use threatened to clutter the park’s airspace.⁸⁰

In addition to concerns over visitor experiences, the NPS was worried that overflights would impact park resources, especially bighorn sheep, a species sensitive to low-flying aircraft. SEUG wildlife technician Bill Sloan, who began studying the park’s bighorns in 1990, watched for overflights in August and September of 1993 and reported forty-nine incidents in the Island in the Sky—twenty-three helicopters and twenty-six airplanes—spotting one helicopter nine times. Sheep scattered or jumped off cliffs when aircraft flew low—catastrophic occurrences during lambing season. Although this resulted in increased awareness among Canyonlands managers and ranger staff who compiled data on

Figure 104: Desert Bighorn Sheep, Lower Red Lake Canyon, 1993. Photograph by the author.



overflights as required by the 1987 Overflight Act, there was little the Park Service could do besides notify the FAA and hope for stronger legislation.⁸¹

When the 1994 National Airspace Management Act did not pass and the Park Service missed deadlines on studies required by the 1987 act, Canyonlands could only monitor overflights and hope pilots followed FAA guidelines. Park management believed the air tour market would thin out as it did with mountain bikes, although runway extensions, new hangars at Canyonlands Airport and air tour billboards in Moab created some concern.⁸² President Bill Clinton said in 1996 that the NPS should be able to regulate air traffic over park units, and Congressman Jim Hansen (R-Utah) argued that the status quo should be maintained. Passage of the 2000 National Parks Air Tour Management Act extended the 1987 legislation's provisions systemwide, and the National Parks Overflights Working Group made recommendations to the Park Service and the FAA. Canyonlands targeted FY 2006 for having its own overflight management plan.⁸³

Canyonlands also faced possible missile overflights when the U.S Army considered reopening the Green River Missile Launch Complex in 1994 for the Theater Missile Defense Extended Test Range program. Similar to the tests from 1964 to 1976, this program involved booster drops, area closures, evacuations and recovery. Drop zone "A" north of the Island in the Sky District included Dead Horse Point State Park and drop zone "B" most of the Canyon Rims. Both zones would have to be evacuated and roads closed for several hours during one hundred firings over a six-year period. Road closures included Interstate 70 and U-313, prompting protests from the National Park Service, Bureau of Land Management and the Utah Parks Department. The Army changed the missile trajectories and drop zones, with drop zone "C1" including the Canyon Rims area, the Needles Entrance Road, and "C2," an area south-

west of Blanding. The NPS claimed the amended plan would also endanger natural and cultural resources and that evacuations and road closures were logistically impossible. Since the first missile testing program, visitation to the region had grown twentyfold, making the evacuation of NPS and BLM lands unfeasible, road closures unfair to visitors and the entire program economically detrimental to southeast Utah if the area's attraction to tourists was diminished. After considering all options, the Army decided that sites in New Mexico, Florida, and the Marshall Islands were more appropriate than Utah.⁸⁴

The air over Canyonlands was also gauged by what was not there. Starting in 1975 with "fly paper" and basic cameras to study the effects of coal-fired power plants, the NPS installed better cameras, optical transmissometers and induction machines. The equipment sited in the Island in the Sky took photographs, measured sulphur and nitrogen dioxides, organic material, carbon soot, dust and nitrates, and assessed pollutant point sources. Because the 1977 Clean Air Act had classified Canyonlands as a Class I area, testing was to ensure air quality standards were met.⁸⁵ By 1985 legislation and new technology had produced lower pollutant levels on the Colorado Plateau, including sulphur dioxide (SO₂), the chemical that most affects visibility, deemed the most critical of Canyonlands' "air quality related values," or AQRVs. Visibility at Canyonlands improved from 1990 to 1999 on the clearest and haziest days, compared to Mesa Verde, Grand Canyon, Bryce Canyon and Petrified Forest National Parks, which had degrading visibility on the haziest days. Those patterns have continued, leading the Park Service to claim that canyon country's air quality was the "best in the contiguous forty-eight states." When visibility at Canyonlands was degraded, the causes were usually wildfires or dust and not industrial or urban sources. Other AQRVs at Canyonlands—vegetation, wildlife, water quality and soils—have not yet received sufficient study to make a sound assessment,

although Jayne Belnap's cryptobiotic soil research has revealed possible connections between atmospheric deposition and soil health.⁸⁶

Research on light pollution that began at Canyonlands during the nuclear waste dump crisis continued in 2001 when the NPS Night Sky Monitoring Program began at Southeast Utah Group park units as part of the Northern Colorado Plateau's Inventory and Monitoring program. Using high-resolution cameras to measure both natural night sky brightness and human light sources at Canyonlands, Arches and Natural Bridges, the program's Phase I in 2002-2003 formed baseline methodologies and concluded that the region's night skies were of "national significance" and should be protected. Moab and other towns were identified as the main light sources, with park infrastructure lighting and vehicle headlights determined to have negligible impacts. Further research in 2003 expanded this data set, identified patterns and planned Phase II research goals designed to make policy recommendations to the NPS. Phase III was to organize data that would be incorporated into interpretive programs, although funding cutbacks suspended the program.⁸⁷

Traditional land-use issues were also a concern. Though grazing in Lockhart Canyon, Indian Creek and areas north of the Island and west of the Maze resulted in occasional animal trespass, livestock were a minor problem. The biggest issue with ungulates involved llamas. Concerns over the transfer of Johne's Disease (*Mycobacterium avium paratuberculosis*) from llamas to the region's bighorn sheep herd caused the NPS to ban the animals from the park. Though only one outfitter was licensed to use llamas in the park, there were protests by supporters who claimed the animals were safer and cleaner than other pack animals. The Park Service decided that any potential positives for commercial use were offset by threats to the park's indigenous species.⁸⁸

Oil and Gas development remained a threat to Canyonlands National Park. Corresponding with a BLM decision to open up more lands to leasing, in early 1991 the Columbia Gas Company drilled Utah's first horizontal wildcat well at Big Flat near the Island in the Sky entrance road. This well was soon producing 2,300 barrels of oil and 627,000 cubic feet of natural gas per day, prompting other companies to file notices on sites in the area. Plans were then made to upgrade roads and build pipelines on BLM land to the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad. Parcels in Taylor Canyon and near Hatch Point were opened for bid later in 1991, prompting SEUG Superintendent Harvey Wickware to state that developing these areas would result in "significant impacts on the park." More ambitious plans involving exploration at Big Flat were protested by the Park Service in 1992 because of potential effects on "visitor experiences at Canyonlands" and "migratory wildlife pathways." Environmentalists led by the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance pressured the BLM to rethink the project and do an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS).⁸⁹

The BLM announced in 1992 that bidding would be preceded by notices to affected agencies and invited the NPS to attend mineral management courses. The review process was formalized in 1994 by a BLM-NPS agreement whereby the Park Service state office received parcel lists that were forwarded to each park for analysis. Concerned over dust, noise, lights and gas flares from active operations and scars from roads, pipelines and seismic work, SEUG opposed entries it believed would negatively impact park units.⁹⁰ Most parcels opposed were in the Canyon Rims area—Lockhart Canyon, Hatch Point, Needles Overlook and Hurrah Pass—although some were north of the Island in Sky District between the Red Sea Flat and Big Flat. Parcels ranged in size from forty to three thousand acres and cost from sixty to five thousand dollars. The NPS claimed that developing these parcels would greatly damage park and regional ecology and aesthetics.⁹¹

Things remained fairly quiet until 2001 when the BLM offered eight parcels for lease near the Needles Overlook and considered the Veritas Geophysical Operation at Big Flat. Although the Park Service blocked the Canyon Rims offerings, the Veritas project was approved by the BLM over NPS objections. Development could mean 145 wells, 150 linear miles of seismic tests, and three to four hundred acres of land damaged per year over thirty-six square miles. Downplaying these impacts and the ninety percent of respondents to the Veritas' EA on testing who opposed that phase, the BLM approved testing without an EIS. Although the EA had provisions to lessen impacts to Mexican spotted owls and desert bighorn sheep, and called for archaeological surveys and mitigation measures, it slighted the project's effect on the park. Releasing a FONSI finding in June 2001, the BLM refused to consider other alternatives, and SUWA filed a lawsuit.⁹² The Department of the Interior then announced in 2003 that it would be reclassifying public lands, and in 2004 Interior Secretary Gale Norton proclaimed that no oil or gas development would be allowed close to Canyonlands. Although the Park Service was pleased by the latter directive, concurrent attempts by the Bush administration to rewrite NPS policies in a manner that conflicted with traditional agency policies kept the Southeast Utah Group on alert.⁹³

Because science discovered Canyonlands so late, resource management decisions at the park were rarely based on solid empirical data. Inventorying the natural resources of southeast Utah parks had been discussed since 1974, but funding limits did not allow this to occur. The liability of having insufficient data was poignantly evident during the nuclear waste dump and Salt Creek issues when research was instigated in reaction to each crisis.⁹⁴ Experiencing this same problem systemwide, the Park Service initiated an inventory and monitoring (I & M) program in 1992 at "prototype parks" to develop a model for broader application. In 1993, Dr. Peter Rowlands from the NPS Cooperative



Cryptobiotic soil, Maze District. Photograph by the author.



Pothole on slickrock. C 365521.222, SEUG Photographic Archives.

Figure 105: Unique scientific subjects of Canyonlands

Park Studies Unit at Northern Arizona University proposed to create a study group for Colorado Plateau parks. Although the proposal received favorable reviews in Park Service circles and dovetailed with agency designs, it was not immediately implemented.⁹⁵

Mandated by the 1998 National Parks Omnibus Management Act and NPS Natural Resource Challenge (NRC) action plan unveiled in 1999, the I & M program was funded by Congress in 2000 for its systemwide application.⁹⁶ This led to the 2001 creation of the Northern Colorado Plateau Inventory and Monitoring Network (NCPN). One of thirty-two park networks nationwide to meet NRC goals, the NCPN was based in Moab and consisted of fifteen park units in Utah, western Colorado and northwestern Arizona, and included Canyonlands, Arches, Natural Bridges and Hovenweep.⁹⁷

Phase I of the NCPN Inventory and Monitoring program involved compiling bibliographies and databases, organizing data and building a project framework. These were essential steps for a park that needed to better know its resources for administrative, legal and interpretive purposes, and was becoming the focus of more research. From 1940 to 1991, there were 222 publications on Canyonlands National Park and the greater region, and 292 in the twelve years leading to the 2003 completion of Phase I. Most research was in the biological sciences, and less in the earth sciences, hydrology, climate, air quality, sound, night skies and paleontology.⁹⁸

Phase II identified physical, chemical and biological elements and processes called “vital signs” that reflected the state of climate, air and water quality, nutrient cycles, disturbance, biotic integrity, landscape patterns and stress factors—and “high-priority vital signs” for park units that needed more scrutiny. Canyonlands had thirty-three high-priority signs, nineteen of which were already being monitored. These “signs” included climate; air quality; soil; water and nutrient dynamics; upland, riparian, wetland and grassland plant communities; cryptobiotic crust; land use; riparian birds and threatened or endangered species. The following vital signs connected to human stressors were identified for high-priority monitoring at Canyonlands: visitor use patterns, invasive plants and animals, park administration and noncompliant uses on park lands.⁹⁹

The Phase III monitoring phase to begin in 2005 was to analyze park ecosystems and identify threats to resources, meet legal needs, assess the progress of Park Service goals and help with policy formation. Resources or vital signs at Canyonlands with historic or current monitoring programs would then be correlated with the Southeast Utah Group’s resource concerns and monitoring data to inform park administration. Although data and analysis have been uneven across the subject categories at this early stage of the program, a framework has

been created that is expected to yield scientific results by 2009, with the project already scheduled through 2014.¹⁰⁰

The challenges were also daunting with cultural resources. Canyonlands’ first archaeologist, Charles Cartwright, was barely familiar with park needs when he left in 1990. His successors, Nancy Coulam (1991–1997) and Eric Brunnemann (1997–2002), had to cover three park units, and four after 2001 when Hovenweep was added to the Southeast Utah Group.¹⁰¹ In addition to standard protection, monitoring and stabilization needs, SEUG’s workload increased after the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAG-PRA) was passed in 1990 and the group was

Figure 106: Distinctive archaeological resources of Canyonlands. These two images represent the nature of Canyonlands’ pre-Columbian archeology: outstanding rock art displays epitomized by the Great Gallery, and many small structural sites throughout the park like the one above, from Salt Creek Canyon.

Great Gallery, Horseshoe Canyon. C 36552.24, SEUG Photographic Archives.



Unnamed ruin, Upper Salt Creek Canyon. Photograph by the author.



concurrently directed by the NPS to improve its museum and curation capabilities. Not until 2002 when archaeologist Chris Goetze transferred from Glen Canyon NRA to the Southeast Utah Group and NPS Vanishing Treasures program monies helped SEUG build a full cultural resources staff, could Canyonlands implement a proactive cultural resource program.¹⁰² Cultural resource duties at Canyonlands included surveys in the Island in the Sky and Needles Districts before toilets, campsites, trails and parking lots were built, maintenance and monitoring at more than thirty sites, and installing fences in Horseshoe Canyon to protect rock art.¹⁰³

SEUG's curation abilities improved when its museum and storage facility was moved in 1994 from an old building by Arches National Monument to a modern facility at its new headquarters. This allowed the museum collection to grow from 81,302 items (62,155 for Canyonlands) in 1992, to 864,035 items (690,540 for Canyonlands) in 2002, with most of the new entries coming from archival materials.¹⁰⁴ Though Canyonlands had few NAGPRA-eligible items when the act's final rule was implemented in 1995, and the NPS's regional focus in relation NAGPRA was on Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon, SEUG began consulting with Indian tribes over repatriation.¹⁰⁵

Canyonlands adjusted its disclosure policy in the 1990s over Class I, II and III sites to protect cultural resources as knowledge of the park's antiquities improved and visitation rose. Patrols to monitor violations of the 1979 Archaeological Resource Protection Act (ARPA) also increased, especially in Salt Creek Canyon. ARPA violations included visitors damaging cultural resources based on ignorance as well as criminals engaged in vandalism and looting.¹⁰⁶ Reported ARPA violations ranged from thirteen to eighteen per year between 1985 and 1995, with a peak of sixty-two in 1991. Two ARPA prosecutions were successful: one involved the 1990 defacing of rock art in Horseshoe

Canyon, the other involved the 1994 removal of funereal items from sites in Salt Creek Canyon by the notorious looter Earl Shumway. Because of cooperation between the Park Service and other agencies in law enforcement as well as a growing public awareness of archaeological ethics, the last decade saw ARPA violations drop sharply to less than four per year after 2000. However, these lower numbers were also connected to a drop in staffing which restricted the park's abilities to have rangers in the field monitoring activities and resources.¹⁰⁷

Cultural resource inventories at the park continued to be done mostly by academics or private contractors with help from NPS staff. The "Archaeological Inventory Completion" project by P-III and Associates in 1987–88 that covered 8,813 acres in the Island in the Sky and Needles, produced four major reports, added knowledge on ancient agriculture practices, demography, lithic typology and rock art, and revealed more Archaic sites than were previously thought to exist.¹⁰⁸ Yet, most of the park remained uninventoried. Prospects improved after 2000 when Vanishing Treasures (VT) funding began aiding cultural resource management at the Southeast Utah Group. Allowing for new staff positions and the hiring of contract specialists, the VT fund also allowed SEUG to start needed inventories. This included "The Canyonlands River Corridor Architecture and Rock Art Survey" begun in 2004 on the Green and Colorado Rivers. Designed to catalogue, map and assess the conditions of both known and new sites, this important survey scheduled to continue through 2007 has already provided important data on cultural affiliations, chronologies, interactions, environmental adaptations and settlement patterns, and helped park staff monitor visitor activity and its impact upon cultural resources along the river corridors.¹⁰⁹

Improving park operations: Visitor protection, law enforcement, and interpretation

Limited for years by weak infrastructure and thin staffing, Canyonlands improved its visitor protection and law enforcement capabilities in the last two decades. This was due to plans that clearly defined park rules, better infrastructure, and until budget cutbacks after 2001, more staff. Because Canyonlands is backcountry-oriented, most violations have been resource-related and involved off-road driving, camping without permits, illegal fires, disposal of trash or waste and pets. The rise in visitors during the 1980s produced a jump in “natural resource” incidents from an average of two hundred a year in 1985–86 to five hundred-plus a decade later. Because of the Park Service policy to educate visitors first and to give citations or make arrests only in serious cases, over half the incidents resulted in verbal warnings. The others were split 60/40 between written warnings and citations. Incident numbers fell after 1995 to a low of fifty-one in 2002 and 2004, related to improved visitor ethics but also to cuts in staffing. From a high of twenty-five commissioned law enforcement rangers in 1991, staff levels at the park dropped until 2000, thereafter averaging about fourteen a year. Serious crimes involving violence or property were infrequent at Canyonlands, ranging from twelve incidents a year to less than five in other years. Most crimes involved vandalism of government property, vehicle burglaries, offenses involving alcohol or drugs, and traffic violations on Island in the Sky and Needles District roads.¹¹⁰

Canyonlands’ search and rescue record has been excellent, proven by the fact that just thirty-five people died in four decades since the park opened. Twenty-three of these deaths were from accidents: fifteen by drowning, five by falls, four by plane crash and one by dynamite. Seven resulted from medical conditions, and three were by suicide. With the SEUG Search and Rescue (SAR) team answering an average of



Figure 107: NPS jetboat, Cataract Canyon. SEUG Backcountry Management Office.

twenty-one calls per year from 1985 to 2004, they saved an estimated two to three hundred lives if one assumes many people would have died if not rescued. The famous “self-rescue” in 2003 by Aron Ralston from Blue John Canyon outside park borders by cutting his arm off with a pocket knife to free it from under a rock, was a remarkable example of survival and adaptability, but was an exception to the rule. Most incidents on land involved lost hikers, people who got “ledged out” on slickrock, or children who wander from camp, while most rescues on the river occurred in the rapids of Cataract Canyon, often during high water. Although the system usually has worked well and cooperation between law enforcement entities has been excellent, improvements have been made over the years. The training regimen for SAR members is more rigorous now than in previous decades, communications are much better, and the recent addition of a high speed jet patrol boat has improved response times on the rivers.¹¹¹

Interpretation also improved at Canyonlands during the last fifteen years. This was due to the Division of Interpretation created under the Southeast Utah Group, larger budgets for interpretive functions and infrastructure, better knowledge of park resources, a growing canon of literature on the park and region, and the maturation of the Canyonlands Natural History Association. The interpretive division under



Information panel, Druid Arch trailhead.
C 36552.437, SEUG Photographic Archives.



Backcountry trail sign, Needles District.
Photograph by the author.



Vault toilet, Needles District. Photograph
by the author.

Figure 108: Backcountry infrastructure. The park's backcountry infrastructure has continued to improve throughout the 1990s and 2000s, including the addition of more informational panels at key trailheads and vault toilets in the backcountry, although maintaining the signage in the high desert has been a challenge and pumping out the toilets quite labor-intensive.

Larry Frederick (1989–1997) and Paul Henderson (1997–present) has focused on improving interpretive infrastructure and literature, training staff and volunteers, and administering public programs. Because the budget for interpretation at Canyonlands rose from \$220,000 in 1990 to \$391,000 in 1997 and \$706,000 in 2004, proactive plans could be carried out in contrast to the park's first quarter century when interpretation was an afterthought. This included visitor center and wayside exhibits, trailhead panels, bulletin boards, better signage, and the implementation of an outdoor education program in Grand and San Juan County schools.¹¹²

The Needles Visitor Center was the biggest addition to the park's interpretive infrastructure. Finished in 1991 during Phase I of the Needles Visitor Support Facilities project, the 4500-square foot building had a twenty-person auditorium, Harpers Ferry-designed exhibits installed in 1994, and ample room for sales items. More space became available in 1997 when the visitor center was remodeled and some administrative functions were moved to the new ranger building. Interpretive offerings at the Island in the Sky were also improved, although the new double-wide trailer building installed in 1988 was soon inadequate to handle the rapidly rising visitation. The new Maze District contact station trailer at Hans Flat installed

in 1994 provided more space for interpretation and sales items, but unlike at the Island in the Sky building still in place today, the smaller building at Hans Flat has proved adequate due to the Maze's lower visitation numbers.¹¹³ The visitor centers were aided by public information facilities in Moab and Monticello. Since being built in 1993, the Moab Information Center (MIC) has served over 200,000 people a year with its retail space and auditorium. Funded by the National Park Service, U. S. Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management and Grand County Travel Council, the MIC has also freed the Southeast Utah Group headquarters from having to serve as both a sales outlet/information center and administrative facility. The San Juan Multi-Agency Visitor Center in Monticello is a smaller such facility supported by the same federal partners and the City of Monticello. Although both facilities were initially staffed by NPS, USFS and BLM personnel, it was agreed in 2002 they should thereafter be run by Canyonlands Natural History Association (CNHA) employees.¹¹⁴

The Island in the Sky has more wayside exhibits and trailhead panels than the other districts at Canyonlands. Installed from 1988 to 1994, the Island's fifteen waysides were geared to serve the district's automobile tourists while the Needles backcountry-oriented use needed exhibits geared toward both front- and back-

country visitors. In addition to the Wooden Shoe Arch wayside and the kiosk/wayside at the junction of U-191 and U-211, from 1990 to 2003 panels were placed at the head of Salt Creek and Horse Canyons, the visitor center, Squaw Flat Campground and at key trailheads. The only interpretive exhibits in the Maze District were at Horseshoe Canyon, with none in the backcountry because of the district's primitive area status. Signs identifying routes and mileage had been sited on roads and trails in the park since 1965, and signs detailing rules and area closures were added when needed. One concern with signage in the park has involved durability, as wood signs weathered rapidly. Interpretive infrastructure also includes a twenty-person campfire circle at the Willow Flat Campground in the Island in the Sky, and two campfire circles—with fifty and sixty persons capacities—at Squaw Flat Campground in the Needles.¹¹⁵

Interpretation has also been aided by the growth of published material on the park and region. When the Division of Interpretation was formed, the park had only one book with "Canyonlands" in its name. Although there was improvement from the 1960s when even fewer Canyonlands Natural History Association (CNHA) offerings addressed the park or region and visitors received mimeographed brochures with hand-drawn maps, more publications were clearly needed. This did occur after 1990 when society's growing knowledge of canyon country converged with a greater interest in the region by authors and publishers to create a canon of works that covered geology, botany, zoology, ecology, paleontology, history, archaeology, Native Americans, astronomy, national parks, politics and nature writing.¹¹⁶ By 2004, CNHA had 4,500 sales items split 50/50 between printed and visual material. Only ten books or maps had Canyonlands in the title, but many covered southeast Utah (fifty-two); the Colorado Plateau (sixty-five); national parks (twenty-three); archaeology (thirty-two); or were guidebooks to the region (seventy).¹¹⁷ Free literature

on Canyonlands expanded to twenty-four titles and included park brochures, newspapers, and guides for hiking, driving, safety, regulations, natural history and ecology.¹¹⁸

The Canyonlands Natural History Association could also better assist the NPS in other ways. From a gross of \$0.6 million in 1990, CNHA's sales from its outlets rose to \$1.2 million in 1995, \$1.7 million in 2002 and \$2.2 million in 2005. This allowed CNHA to help SEUG more with services and projects that depend on "soft" money, with its aid to the NPS rising from \$195,000 in 1995 to \$232,000 in 1999 and \$432,000 in 2002. The funding aided research, publications, the Student Conservation Association (SCA) and staffing information desks, with the last two items essential to park operations. CNHA personnel in visitor centers allowed park rangers to perform other duties while the SCA volunteers helped at visitor centers, gave interpretive talks, served as campground hosts and helped with resource management projects. In FY 2005 at the Southeast Utah Group, SCAs worked 12,644 hours, equivalent to six full-time employees.¹¹⁹

Positive trends: Canyonlands completion, cooperative programs, and hope for the future

The liability of Canyonlands' borders being mismatched with physical geography was evident during the nuclear waste dump and tar sands crises. Although efforts by the National Parks and Conservation Association (NPCA) and Congressman Wayne Owens (D-Utah) to expand the park at that time failed, they reenergized the idea at the Park Service. Superintendent Walt Dabney analyzed park history and geography after arriving in 1991 and concluded that expansion made sense. Similar to the 1988 NPCA plan that would add 564,000 acres and align park boundaries with the geographic basin, Dabney's plan was released to the public in 1995. He claimed that NPS management of the area made administrative and fiscal sense and

would better protect the region's natural values. Led by Moab publisher Sam Taylor, the San Juan County Commission and Congressman Jim Hansen (R-Utah), opposition was stiff despite Dabney's claim that he only wanted to "begin thinking" about expansion, not introduce legislation. "If you look over the canyon rims into the basin, you are looking at Canyonlands," said Dabney. "But when Canyonlands was designated as a national park, lines were drawn on a map without taking into account the terrain," adding that there were "areas in the basin that are overused."¹²⁰

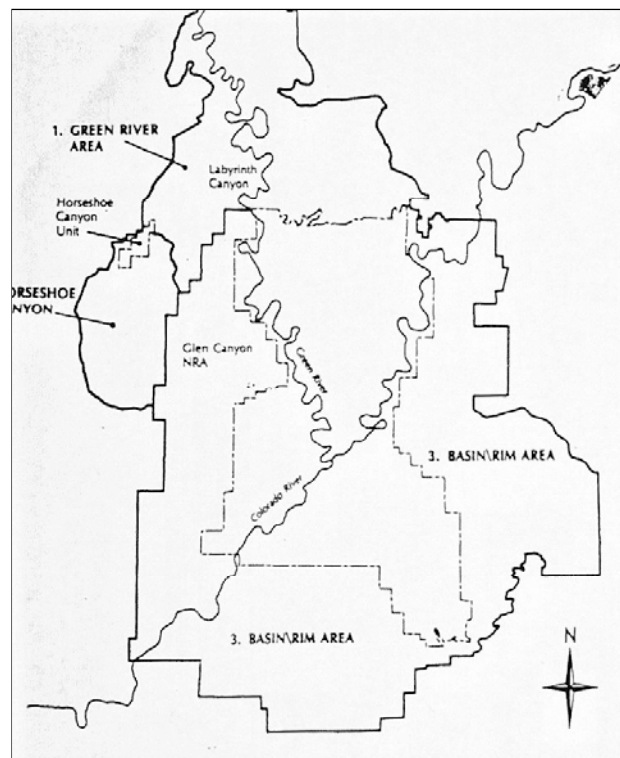
Dabney hoped that NPS efforts to keep Salt Creek open and the area's economic limits might produce open-mindedness among the state's elite over park expansion. However, his optimism was trumped by Utah's mistrust of the U.S. government and the tense politics then surrounding the state's federal lands. The legal status of Salt Creek was in flux, the Utah wilderness issue stalemated, and President Bill

Clinton's 1996 creation of the Escalante National Monument had inflamed Utahns' traditional antipathy to preservationism. With Democrat Bill Orton the only member of Utah's congressional delegation to support park expansion and the Republican party moving farther right, the timing was not good for progressive legislation. Dabney still introduced the expansion idea to the BLM in 1997 when opposing exploration in Lockhart Canyon.¹²¹ The Southeast Utah Group then hatched the "Canyonlands Completion Project" plan in May 1998 which proposed to include the entire geographic basin in the park. Congressman Chris Cannon (R-Utah) told Dabney during a 1998 inspection of the Lost Springs addition to Arches National Park, a trip which included a visit to the edge of the Canyonlands basin, that he supported in theory the idea of expanding Canyonlands National Park.¹²²

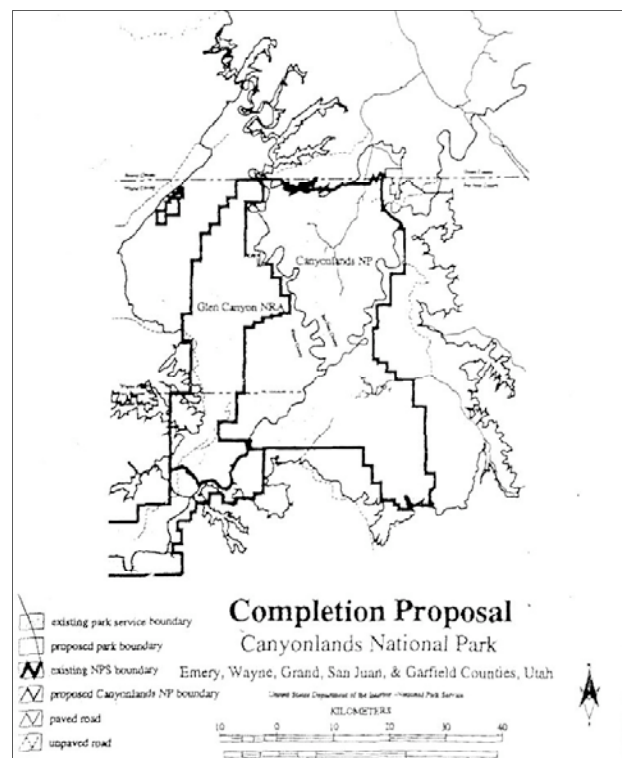
Encouraged by Cannon's support and the Nature Conservancy's 1997 purchase of the

Figure 109: Canyonlands completion concept

"Canyonlands Completion Zones, Completion Proposal, Canyonlands National Park." Personal files, Walt Dabney, Texas State Parks Department.



Personal files, Walt Dabney, Texas State Parks Department



Dugout Ranch, Dabney lobbied for expansion in the media and in political circles. Merging ideas from the NPS, NPCA and Grand Canyon Trust, the “Canyonlands Completion” proposal stated that a “logical park boundary” should use “geologic features which define a physiographic unit easily recognizable from the ground.” The plan suggested adding 515,000 acres to Canyonlands National Park—150,000 from Glen Canyon NRA, 112,000 from BLM wilderness study areas and 34,000 from state trust lands—for a total of 852,000 acres.¹²³ To gain support for the plan, in April 1999 Dabney sent letters to Utah Governor Mike Leavitt, Utah’s congressional delegation, San Juan and Grand County and retired Senator Frank Moss; met with Chris Cannon and Jim Hansen; and talked to the media.¹²⁴ Although the idea received some press coverage, it never gained any political traction. Dabney, the main voice for “completion” at the NPS, then left the agency in May 1999 to become director of the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department.

Although “completion” continued to be discussed in NPS circles, any legislation was derailed by the nation’s conservative mood and Cannon’s change of heart. Between Dabney’s departure and the arrival of new Superintendent Jerry Banta, the congressman told San Juan County that he would not introduce a bill to expand Canyonlands without its support—an unlikely prospect.¹²⁵ The BLM also opposed expansion in the Canyon Rims despite its struggles to manage the area. Banta believed additions west of the rivers were not the issue, as “most of the region is managed by the Park Service,” and grazing and mining interests could be phased out or purchased. The problems he felt were on the east side, that in addition to the BLM stance, the NPS would have to accept non-conforming uses, namely OHVs, that were popular on Indian Creek. Banta said that “it would be difficult to include the area” in a larger park without accommodating that interest.¹²⁶

Banta had a unique perspective on Canyonlands

Figure 110: Potash mining and processing operation. The potash mining and processing operation northwest of Canyonlands has served as a constant reminder to the National Park Service of how resource development in the region could affect “park values.” This was especially true after the huge evaporation ponds built in the 1970s below Dead Horse State Park degraded the quality of the viewshed looking east toward the La Sal Mountains. Such concerns and the opinion that the entire region was of national park caliber motivated efforts from Stewart Udall’s one-million-acre park plan in 1961 through the expansion concepts of the 1980s and 1990s. Photographs by the author.

Intrepid Potash processing plant



Rail cars used to ship potash from processing plant



Potash evaporation ponds



National Park. Having been a ranger in the Needles District from 1969 to 1972 under Bates Wilson, he returned in 1999 to serve as park superintendent until his 2003 retirement. In contrast to the crude infrastructure and makeshift operations of Canyonlands' early years, Banta found park access and circulation roads to be completed, visitor facilities and housing ranging from acceptable to excellent, and the Southeast Utah Group's structure more effective to deal with the post-NEPA world than the Canyonlands Complex and its Interpretation and Resource Management model. The park's visitor profile, once dominated by four-wheel drive visitation, was more eclectic, still including four-wheelers, but with a much larger ratio of backpackers and climbers, flat- and calm-water river runners, and drive-through visitors in the Island in the Sky District.¹²⁷ However, the contentious politics that had surrounded Canyonlands from the start remained focused during Banta's tenure on access to Salt Creek, an issue which consumed much of his time and that was not resolved when he left.

Because local politics often produced stalemate, conflicting policies and acrimonious relations when civility and compromise would have been more effective, southeast Utah land managers led by Dabney believed a new strategy was needed. Composed of representatives from the NPS, BLM, USFS, county, city and tribal governments, the Canyon Country Partnership (CCP) was formed in 1993 to "work in a collaborative manner to protect the integrity of the land and resources of southeastern Utah, while providing for sustainable use and viable communities."¹²⁸

Getting managers together in social settings to discuss issues, share information, and realize the humanity of their counterparts, the CCP addressed the gamut of subjects from the mundane to the controversial, although any accords made were not legally binding. This included R.S. 2477 rights-of-way issues, the Grand Staircase-

Escalante National Monument, state trust lands, aircraft overflights, multiple use, recreation and preservation, grazing, mining, oil and gas, OHVs and ATVs, personal watercraft, and invasive or endangered species. Rarely achieving a consensus on controversial subjects like Salt Creek, expanding Canyonlands and R.S. 2477, the Partnership enjoyed more success with information sharing, public education, minimum impact guidelines for public lands, its science committee and ideas like the "Canyon Country Ecological Research Site" in Indian Creek, involving the BLM, NPS, state of Utah and San Juan County. However, traditional enmities, turf issues and political pressure often overrode the spirit of cooperation, especially when core beliefs and constituencies were involved. San Juan County even for a period quit the CCP because it was not getting the political leverage it wanted, even though the organization was not designed for such purposes. Yet, the Partnership did quell the more vitriolic attitudes and rhetoric and created a model that might bear fruits in the future.¹²⁹

This spirit of cooperation was furthered by the Canyon Country Outdoor Education program. Based on a program hatched at Moab High School in 1984 to help its students learn science and the natural history of southeast Utah, the Moab Outdoor Education Program was created in 1990 for grade-school students in Grand County. Administered by SEUG's Division of Interpretation and taught by park rangers, the program combined field trips with classroom instruction to help students learn the natural and cultural history of the area's national parks and public lands, and raised environmental awareness and improved community relations. Realizing the program's educational and public relations value, the Southeast Utah Group asked San Juan County in 1997 about introducing the program in its schools. Although the county school board was skeptical about starting a program administered by the Park Service, it agreed to implement the program, renamed the Canyon Country Outdoor Educa-

tion Program (CCOE). The program became a big success, supplementing state-approved scientific curricula with natural history education that avoided controversial topics like grazing and mining. During the last few years, NPS staff aided by Student Conservation Association volunteers and CNHA monies has made thousands of student contacts each year, increased the environmental literacy of children and their parents, and built bridges between the Park Service and the next generation of leaders in southeast Utah.¹³⁰

End notes

1. Walt Dabney, interview by author, October 26–27, 2005, by telephone, Austin, Texas, audiocassette; Oral History Tapes and Transcripts from Administrative History Research (CANY 45551).

2. “Visitor Facilities, Squaw Flat, Canyonlands National Park,” October 25, 1965, Western Office of Design and Construction (WODC), National Park Service (NPS), San Francisco, California, File #3014, Canyonlands National Park (CNP), Technical Information Center (TIC), Denver Service Center (DSC), NPS; “Squaw Flat Preliminary Plan,” CNP; April 1967, WODC, File 3018, TIC. Plans for the Needles District included a twenty-six car parking lot at Cave Springs, a twenty-car parking lot at the Colorado River Overlook, a sixteen-car parking lot at Little Spring Canyon Bridge, and a trailer-camp facility by the park’s east border just south of the entrance road.

3. At congressional hearings in the 1980s, \$10–15 million was the cost range estimated for needed developments at Canyonlands National Park. The Needles project was estimated to cost between \$11 and 13 million.

4. “Purpose and Need,” *Environmental Assessment, Visitor/Park Support Facilities, Squaw Flat, Canyonlands National Park, Utah* (National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 1990): pp. 1–3.

5. “Regional and Park Environment,” *EA, Squaw Flat*: pp. 6–9. At Squaw Flat, there was a 20,000-gallon main water tank augmented by a 5,800-gallon tank, one septic tank, 7,000-square feet of septic leach fields, a 40-kilowatt generator, 2,000-gallon gasoline tank and 1,000-gallon propane tank.

6. “Comprehensive Plan, Needles District (ND), Canyonlands National Park (CNP);” “Utilities, ND, CNP,” Chamberlain Architects, File 164/20048 and File 164/20049, TIC.

7. “Comprehensive Plan, Needles District.”

8. “Summary” and “Alternatives,” *EA, Squaw Flat*: pp. i–iii, 10–40.

9. “Alternatives,” *EA, Squaw Flat*: pp. 10–40. Alternative A: Entrance station was between the Colorado River Overlook Road and the park entrance; visitor center was north of U-211; residence area was on a road between U-211 and the Cave Springs Road with six duplexes in Alcove 1, two single-family homes in Alcove 1A, one duplex and two single-family homes in Alcove 2, and trailer pads in-between; maintenance area was south of

Squaw Butte off Cave Springs Road on a spur by the water storage/treatment complex. Alternative B: Entrance station was farther east than in A and had a turnaround loop; visitor center was in the same place as A, but its access road connected directly from U-211 and it had a half loop that touched the Colorado River Overlook Road; residence area was in three alcoves with five duplexes and two trailer pads in Alcove 1, two duplexes in Alcove 2, three single-family homes in Alcove 3 and one single-family home between Alcoves 2 and 3; maintenance area had the same layout as A. Alternative C: Entrance station was west of the Colorado River Overlook Road; visitor center had the same configuration as A, but the positions were reversed for residential and maintenance complexes, as the residential area in C was south of Squaw Butte off Cave Springs Road and the maintenance area off a spur where the residential complexes were in A and B. All three alternatives would improve the Squaw Flat Campground and the Cave Springs, Big Spring Canyon and Elephant Hill parking areas, with the same two options offered for parking spaces and traffic patterns for parking areas in A, B and C.

10. "Alternative A, ND, CNP;" File 164/40031-A; "Alternative A, Visitor Contact Station and Entrance Station, ND, CNP;" File 164/41032-A; "Alternative A, Residential Area, ND, CNP;" File 164/41034-A; "Alternative A, Maintenance/Maintenance Support Area, ND, CNP;" File 164/41033-A; "Alternative B, ND, CNP;" File 164/41035-A; "Alternative B, Entrance Station, ND, CNP;" File 164/40,037-A; "Alternative B, Visitor Contact Station, ND, CNP;" File 164/40,037-A; "Alternative B, Residential/Maintenance Area, ND, CNP;" File 164/40038-A; TIC.

11. "Alternatives, Cave Springs Trailhead/Parking Improvements, ND, CNP;" file 164/40047-A; "Elephant Hill Trailhead/Parking Improvements, ND, CNP;" file 164/40048-A; "Alternative A, Big Springs Trailhead and Parking Improvements, ND, CNP;" file 164/40046-A; "Information Kiosk, CNP;" file 164/40051a; TIC. Parking area options for Cave Springs were Alternative 1, an elongated one-way oval with sixteen parking spaces; or Alternative 2 (NPS preferred), a misshapen oval with a one-way road and eighteen parking spaces. The Elephant Hill Parking area had one option with an oval and one-way road by the trail head with pullouts inside and outside the circle, and a supplemental lot to the east with fifteen regular spaces and two RV spaces. The Big Springs parking area options were Alternative 1, an oval with fifteen parking spaces, or Alternative 2 (NPS preferred), a squared-off oval with fifteen regular parking spaces, three RV spaces, a vaulted toilet and a walkway to the Big Springs Canyon Overlook.

12. *EA, Squaw Flat*; "Comprehensive Plan, ND, CNP;"

Chamberlain Architects, 1988; file 164/20048; TIC; "Utilities, ND, CNP;" "Residence Area, ND, CNP;" "Visitor Center, ND, CNP;" "Maintenance Area, ND, CNP;" 1988, GIS/Cartography Department, Southeast Utah Group (SEUG).

13. "1990 EA, Squaw Flat, CNP;" John K. Black, President, Monticello Chamber of Commerce to Harvey Wickware, Superintendent, CNP, June 27, 1990; Phil Medley, Chairman, San Juan Cty. Development Board to Wickware, July 2, 1990; Rick M. Bailey, Administrative Assistant, San Juan Cty. to Wickware; Joy Jensen, Albuquerque, New Mexico to Wickware, July 23, 1990; Mylie Sanford, Canyonlands Art Council to Wickware, July 23, 1990; folder 697, Canyonlands National Park Administrative Collection (CANY 36607).

14. National Parks and Conservation Association to Harvey Wickware, June 7, 1990; Jim Stiles, Publisher, *Canyon Country Zephyr* to Wickware, July 19, 1990; folder 697, CANY 36607.

15. "Water Resources and Water Quality Analysis," *EA, Squaw Flat*, p. 71; "Water Resources Management Plan," Arches National Park and Canyonlands National Park;" Lynn Cudlip, Kevin Berghoff and David Vann-Miller, NPS; Walt Dabney, Superintendent, CNP to John Cook, Director, RMR, memorandum, July 7, 1993; folder D 5217 Cany, Section D CANY B & C, box 525470, National Park Service, Federal Records Center, Denver (NPS-FRC-D). Drilling in 1988 at Cave Springs found water with a flow of sixty gallons per minute. Levels of dissolved solids and iron were over State of Utah and Federal Drinking Water Act legal levels and would have needed chlorine, aeration for iron and osmosis for dissolved solids. The Needles District main water supply came from a well by Salt Creek that was one thousand feet southwest of the residence and maintenance areas and which had a faucet for visitors. Another well at Salt Creek that once supplied water to the Needles Outpost was no longer used. Although tests on the new water system yielded good results and extra steps were not required by law, in 1993 the NPS considered drilling twelve monitoring wells that would cost \$45,000 the first year, a project abandoned for lack of funds.

16. "Appendix A, Cost Estimates," *EA, Squaw Flat*, pp. 68–70.

17. "Canyonlands National Park, ND, CNP;" file 164/20069, TIC; "Price Negotiation," Visitor and Park Support Facilities, ND, CNP, CANY 203A, folder D 5127 Cany, sections C & D, box 525470, NPS-FRC-D; Chief, Branch of Construction Contracts, DSC, NPS to Robert Laubenheim, Contracting Officer, DSC, memorandum,

September 27, 1990; "Notice of Award," Contract CX-1200-0-9007; Laubenheim to Weeminuche Construction Authority (WCA), September 28, 1990; folder D 5217 Cany, sections B & H, box 525469, NPS-FRC-D. Negotiated prices in dollars were as follows: general conditions, 184,054; equipment, 172,565; material, 121,403; and labor, 263,124. Subcontracts totaled 2,067,357 for a project subtotal of 2,808,503, with a negotiated markup of 302,841 producing a total price tag of \$3,144,514. Unit prices for each component in dollars were as follows: visitor center/contact station, 1,587,520; water treatment plant, 704,834; and utility trenches, 1,336,057.

18. "Inspection and Beneficial Occupancy," Judy Hauser, Contracting Officer, NPS to WCA, January 29, 1992; "Inspection," November 13-14, 1992; "Letter of Substantial Completion, Needles District Visitor Center," Contract CX 1200-0-9007; "Needles District, Visitor and Park Support, Facilities," CANY 203A, Part 21, December 2, 1991; "Closeout of Contract," attached to Robert Laubenheim to WCA, June 18, 1992; folder D 5127 Cany, sections C & D, box 525470, NPS-FRC-D. The final contract amount of \$3,628,411.72 was accepted on November 27, 1991.

19. "Visitor Contact/Administration Building, ND, CNP," Front View and Floor Plans; file 164/20064, TIC. The building had a 710 square foot exhibit hall, 467 square feet for interpretive staff, 428 square feet for ranger staff, a 168 square foot back country office, a 200 square foot conference room, 308 square feet for general purposes, 314 square feet for two public and two staff restrooms, and two areas for future expansion.

20. "Offering Letter, Visitor and Park Support Facilities, ND, CNP," Phase II; Lorraine Hogan, Business Utilization Development Specialist, NPS to Alan Ferre, Small Business Administration (SBA), January 23, 1992; "Denver Service Center Construction Award Report," September 30, 1992; "Revised Engineer's Estimate, Visitor and Park Support Facilities, Phases II & III, ND, CNP," folder D 5217 Cany, sections B & C, box 835269, NPS-FRC-D; Robert Laubenheim to SBA, memorandum, September 18, 1992; "Notice of Award," September 30, 1992; "List of Vendors," DSC, October 26, 1992, Sect. A, Contract 1443-CX-1200-92-905; folder D 5217 Cany, Sections CANY E-I, box 835279, NPS-FRC-D; folder D 5217 Cany, Sections E-I, CANY B & C, 1443-CX-1200-92-905, NPS-FRC-D. The closest bids were \$3.982 million from Gonzalez Construction Co. and \$4.241 million from E.T. LaFore Inc.

21. "Completion Report, Visitor and Park Support Facilities, Canyonlands National Park, San Juan County, Utah," Phases II and III; folder D 5217 Cany, Correspondence

Vol. 10, box 835271, NPS-FRC-D.

22. "Preconstruction Conference Meeting," ND, CNP, Contract 1443-CX-1200-92905, "Visitor and Park Support Facilities, Phases II and III," CANY 203 B & C; Brian Lippert, Project Supervisor, DSC to B & D, December 2, 1992; "Project Planner," Visitor and Park Support Facilities, ND, CNP, December 8, 1992; "Blackinton and Decker, Quality Control Plan," Visitor and Park Support Facilities, ND, CNP; Gary Gustafson, Project Manager, B & D to Lippert, December 14, 1992; Gustafson to Contracting Officer, DSC, December 16, 1992; Lippert to Walt Dabney, memorandum, January 27, 1993; Gustafson to Contracting Officer, DSC, February 4, 1993; Gustafson to Lippert, August 31, 1993; Lippert to Contracting Officer, DSC, memorandum, September 1993 (n. d.); "Construction Change Order, Fund Clearance and Checklist, Modification Change Order No. 2," February 3, 1994; Dan Seier, B & D to DSC, September 22, 1993; Lippert to Contracting Officer, DSC, March 21, 1993; folder D 5217 Cany, section D, box 8356269, NPS-FRC-D.

23. Brian Lippert to B & D, December 16, 1992; folder D 5217 Cany Corr. Vol. 2, Cany B&C 1443-1200-92-905, box 835279, NPS-FRC-D; Lippert to B & D, September 7, 1993; Lippert to B & D, September 21, 1993; "Minutes, Weekly Progress Meeting," September 23, 1993; Vincent McDonald, President, B & D to Robert Laubenheim, October 13, 1993; folder D 5217 Cany Corr. Vol. 3, 1443-CS-1200-92-905, box 835270, NPS-FRC-D.

24. Weekly Progress Meetings, March 4, April 1, April 29 and July 9, 1993; Ty Lewis, San Juan Cty. Commission to Walt Dabney, February 2, 1993; folder D 5217 Cany Corr. Vol. 2, Cany B & C, box 835270, NPS-FRC-D.

25. John Criger, Construction Coordinator, Branch of Construction, DSC to Chief, Budget Branch, Budget and Finance Division, Rocky Mountain Region (RMR), NPS, February 4, 1994; folder D 5217 Cany Corr. Vol. 2, CANY 203 B & C, box 835270, NPS-FRC-D.

26. Gary Gustafson to NPS, September 27, 1993; folder D 5217 Cany Construction Vol. 9, box 835271, NPS-FRC-D; Brian Lippert to B & D, January 6, 1994; Brian Olsen, Estimator, Perry Olsen Drywall to Senator Robert Bennett, Utah, February 7, 1994; Ass't. Director, Design and Construction, DSC to Bennett, March 23, 1994; B & D to NPS, May 6, 1994; folder D 5217 Cany Corr. Vol. 5, box 835270, NPS-FRC-D; Vincent McDonald to NPS Contracting Officer, May 14, 1994; Oscar Ulrich, NPS Inspector, DSC to Lippert, memorandum, May 23, 1994; William Orton, Congressmen, Utah to Charles Clapper, Ass't. Director, Design and Construction, DSC, May 24, 1994; folder D 5217 Cany Corr. Vol. 6, box 835270, NPS-FRC-D.

27. Vincent McDonald to Contracting Officer, NPS, 1994 (n. d.); B & D to NPS, May 6, 1994; folder D 5217 Cany Corr. Vol. 5, box 835270, NPS-FRC-D.

28. "Government Estimate," Visitor and Park Support Facilities, Phase IV, ND, CNP, Contract 1443-CK-1200-93904; "Pre-Solicitation Notice," WCA, August 5, 1993; "Contract Bid Schedule," Visitor and Park Support Facilities, Phase IV, ND, CNP, Contract 1443-CX-1200-93904; "Bid Estimates," 1993; "Abstract of Offers," NPS-DSC, 1993; "Notice of Award," Contract 1443-CX-1200-93904; "Certificate of Funding for Construction Contract," CANY-203D-07, 2003-6377, September 29, 1993; Robert Laubenheim to Files, September 30, 1993; "Statement of Award," October 20, 1993; folder D 5217 Cany, Sections A, B & H, box 573295, NPS-FRC-D.

29. Arnold G. Hampson, Chief Engineer, WCA to DSC, May 31, 1994; Rick Keck, General Manager, WCA to DSC, July 1, 1994; Judy Hauser to Office of Ass't. Inspector General for Audits, Director of External Affairs, DOI, December 9, 1994; folder D 5217 Cany, 1443-CX-1200-93-904, box 573295, NPS-FRC-D; "Unit Price Contract," CANY 203D, November 30, 1994; "Unit Price Contract," CANY 203D, December 30, 1994; "Unit Price Contract," CANY 203D, June 14, 1995; Hauser to WCA, October 6, 1995; Hauser to WCA, October 27, 1995; "Termination for Convenience," NPS, December 15, 1995; "Final Payment of Stipulation for Settlement, Termination for Convenience," December 15, 1995; folder D 5217 Cany, Sections C & D, box 573295, NPS-FRC-D.

30. "Meeting Minutes," B & D and NPS, July 21, 1994, Denver, Colorado; Vincent McDonald to Brian Lippert, July 17, 1994; folder D 5217 Cany Corr. Vol. 7, box 835271, NPS-FRC-D; "Final Inspection, Contract" 1443-CX-1200-92905, ND, CNP, Visitor and Park Support Facilities, Phases II and III, Package CANY 203B & C; Lippert to Jim Holland, Section Chief, Branch of Construction, DSC, and Robert Laubenheim, memorandum, September 28, 1994; folder D 5217 Cany Corr. Vol. 10, box 835271, NPS-FRC-D; "Letter of Substantial Completion," December 1, 1994; NPS to B & D, December 12, 1994; "Project Inspection Punch List," attached to Laubenheim to B & D, June 16, 1995; folder D 5217 Cany, Sections B & C, box 835269, NPS-FRC-D.

31. Charles Fleck, Vice President, Talbert Company to Congressman Dan Schaefer, February 6, 1995; Calhoun Cox, Jr., Chairman and CEO, Calcon Contractors to Schaefer, February 6, 1995; Cox to William Slemmer, NPS, February 6, 1995; Cox to Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, February 6, 1995; Campbell to Marilyn Merrill, Congressional Liaison, NPS, February 28, 1995; Brian Lippert to Contracting Office, DSC, March 6, 1995; Charles Clap-

per, Ass't. Director, Design and Construction, DSC to Schaefer, March 10, 1995; folder D 5217 Cany Construction Vol. 9, box 835271, NPS-FRC-D; Stephen Newsom, AIA to Lippert, February 8, 1995; folder D 5217 Cany Vol. 8, box 835271, NPS-FRC-D; Robert Laubenheim to B & D, April 21, 1995; Alan Klein, Regional Manager, B & D to Laubenheim, August 22, 1995; folder D 5217 Cany Corr. Vol. 10, box 835271, NPS-FRC-D.

32. "Modifications on CANY B & C" and "Stipulations for Settlement," US DOI Office of Hearings and Appeals, B & D, Contract 1443 CX-1200-92905, Canyonlands NP, IBCA 3497-95 to 3505-95; "Amendment of Solicitation, Verification of Contract," February 8, 1996; folder D 5217 Cany Modifications Vol. 2, CANY 203 B & C, box 835269, NPS-FRC-D; "Unit Price Contract," "Letter of Acceptance and Request for Release of Claims," October 23, 1996; folder D 5217 Cany, Sections B & C, box 835269, NPS-FRC-D; James Boulden, Boulden Contracting Co. to Senator Orrin Hatch, Utah October 27, 1994; folder D 5217 Cany Construction, Vol. 8, box 835271, NPS-FRC-D; "Payment of Subcontractor," January 12, 1995; "Final Payment," October 23, 1996; "Completion Report," Visitor and Park Support Facilities, Phases II and III, ND, CNP, San Juan County, Utah, September 2, 1998; folder D 5217 Cany Corr. Vol. 10, box 835271, NPS-FRC-D. Payments to Blackinton and Decker totaled \$5,598,039, which owed money to sub-contractors for paving, cabinetry, electrical, plumbing, roofing, masonry, materials, heating, cooling, surveying, engineering, excavation, as well as to the Needles Outpost.

33. "Government Estimate," Visitor and Park Support Facilities, ND, CNP, CANY 203 D, February 22, 1996; "Confirmation of Bid Receipt," William Slemmer to Rick Keck, WCA, April 23, 1996; "Abstract of Offers," Phase IV, Visitor and Park Support Facilities, ND, CNP, CANY 203 D, 1996 (n. d.); "Denver Service Center Construction Award Report," May 31, 1996; "Notice of Award," Contract 1443-CX-1211-96901, May 23, 1996; "Offer Sheet," NPS to WCA, May 23, 1996; "Contract Bid Schedule," Visitor and Park Support Facilities, Phase IV, ND, CNP, CANY 203D; folder D 5127 Cany, Sections A & B, box 835273, NPS-FRC-D.

34. "Environmental Assessment, Ranger Officer Building," July 1995, Squaw Flat, Cany NP, Utah;" Southeast Utah Group Central Files (SEUG-CF).

35. "Letter of Substantial Completion," July 29, 1993, attached to William Slemmer to WCA, July 29, 1997; "Unit Price Contract," August 24, 1997; "Narrative Statement," Visitor and Park Support Facilities, Phase IV, ND, CNP, Contract 1443-CX-1211-96901, September 22, 1997; "Letter of Acceptance & Request for Release of

Claims," Slemmer to WCA, February 13, 1998; folder D 5127 Cany, Sections A & B, NPS-FRC-D.

36. "Canyonlands Superintendent Report for 1992;" "Canyonlands Superintendent's Report for 1995;" folder A 2671, Superintendent's Reports, SEUG-CF.

37. "Visitor Use Statistics, Miscellaneous Information, 1993–1994;" "Commercial Backcountry Vehicles;" "Commercial Backpacking;" "Backcountry Use—People, Canyonlands—1988 to 1992;" "Total Visitation by District and Park, 1979 to 1992;" "Canyonlands National Park, White Rim Bicycle Use, 1985 to 1990;" folders 51–52, Canyonlands National Park Backcountry Management Plan Collection (CANY 36587).

38. "Backcountry Permit Report, Canyonlands, All Months, 1990, 1991, and 1992;" "Backcountry Permit Report, Canyonlands, Needles District, All Months, 1990, 1991, and 1992;" "Backcountry Permit Report, Canyonlands, Maze District, All Months, 1990 1991, and 1992;" "Backcountry Permit Report, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, for 1990;" folders 51–52, CANY 36587.

39. *Canyonlands National Park and Orange Cliffs Unit of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Backcountry Management Plan*, January 6, 1995; "Backcountry Management Planning Mtg.," May 26, 1992, Moab, Utah; folder 3, CANY 36587; "Natural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment, Canyonlands National Park, Utah," September, 1985; folder 232, CANY 36607; *National Parks for the 21st Century: The Vail Agenda* (Chelsea Green Publishing, Post Mills, Vermont, 1992): pp. 95–99; "Northern Colorado Plateau Vital Signs Network and Prototype Cluster Plan for Natural Resources Monitoring, Phase I Report," Vol. I (NPS: Moab, Utah, 2002). The Canyonlands backcountry was anything inside park boundaries except for two-wheel drive roads and corridors, NPS buildings and their surroundings, and the Squaw Flat and Willow Flat Campgrounds. The "Vail Agenda" emanated from the National Park Service's 75th Anniversary Symposium held in 1991 at Vail, Colorado. Attended by key government officials and individuals from the private sector, the symposium addressed resource stewardship and protection, access and enjoyment, education and interpretation, leadership and protection, science and research, and professionalism. Many NPS policies conceived and implemented in the last decade-plus were hatched at Vail.

40. *Canyonlands and Orange Cliffs BCMP*.

41. "Backcountry Management Plan Meeting," August 17, 1992 and September 10, 1992; folder 3, CANY 36587.

42. "Public Meetings Summary," December 1992 to Janu-

ary 1993, folder 27, CANY 36587.

43. "Comment Period Begins for Backcountry Management Plan," Press Release, draft EA, December 1993; "Public Meetings Summary;" folders 16, 21 & 27, CANY 36587. The meeting in Green River on January 11, 1994 was attended by twenty-six people, including the National Outdoor Leadership School, mountain bike tour operators, ranchers, river concessionaires and the Colorado Outward Bound Leadership School. The Salt Lake City meeting on January 12 was attended by ninety-two people, including the National Outdoor Leadership School, scientists, river runners, off-road vehicle groups, the National Parks and Conservation Association and Utah Parks and Recreation Department. The Monticello meeting on January 18 was attended by twenty people including Colorado Outward Bound and Prescott College, with most in attendance wanting vehicle access to Salt Creek and Angel Arch through a permit system. The Hanksville meeting on January 20 attended by twenty-two people, was dominated by rancher A.C. Ekker, who was against closing Salt Creek, especially to pack animals. Ekker said that floods do more damage than vehicles and regenerate riparian areas. The Denver meeting on January 24 was attended by 168 people and included the American Alpine Club, Colorado Outward Bound and the Natural Arch and Bridge Society. The Moab meeting on January 26 was attended by 141 people and included the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance and tour operators. The NPS was represented at all locations with the Moab and Denver meetings having the largest agency presence. Most attendees at all meetings favored keeping roads open, but to restrict numbers with a permit system.

44. "Backcountry Planning Overview;" attached to Sara Marshall, Backcountry Planning Technician, CNP through Walt Dabney to All Staff, SEUG, memorandum, March 2, 1994; folder 3, CANY 36587.

45. "Numbers and Types of Commentators on Back Country Management Plan," *Canyonlands and Orange Cliffs BCMP*; Aileen Maxwell, Cortez, Colorado to Bruce Babbitt, Secretary of the Interior, February 23, 1994; Max Schlosser, Back Country Horsemen of Utah to Walt Dabney, February 25, 1994; Pete Whitefish, Tower Guides to Dabney, April 1, 1994; Richard Jones, Utah Guides and Outfitters to Robert Baker, Director, RMR, May 11, 1994; Ruth Slickman, Crow Canyon Archaeological Center to Dabney, May 20, 1994; Donald Rogers, Monticello, Utah to Senator Orrin Hatch, May 30, 1994; Hatch to Baker, June 16, 1994; Tom Raith to Babbitt, June 27, 1994; Owen Severance, Monticello, Utah to Dabney, August 22, 1994; Scott Groene, Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance to Dabney, September 1, 1994. The meetings in Denver and Salt Lake City were dominated by environmentalists, the

Monticello meeting focused on off-road vehicle access and Salt Creek, the Hanksville meeting on pack animals, and the Moab meeting on a mix of environmental and traditional land-use issues. During scoping, 3281 responses were received by the NPS and broke down as follows: 681 individuals, 10 agencies, 2 elected officials, 5 schools, 2 tribal govts., 23 off-road vehicle groups, 640 individuals supporting off-road vehicles, 9 environmental organizations, 652 environmental interests, 28 pack animal organizations, 781 pack animal users, 5 rock climbing organizations, 269 rock climbing interests, 21 commercial organizations, 93 commercial interests and 14 miscellaneous organizations.

46. J. McChristal, Ranger, CNP to Walt Dabney, memorandum, 1992 (n. d.); "Needles District Backcountry Camping," BCMP, June 25, 1984; folder 26, CANY 36607; Glen Bean, Acting Director, RMR to Robert Kerr, Superintendent, CNP, memorandum 1974 (n. d.); folder L 30 Cany, box 730827, NPS-FRC-D. Peekaboo Camp had five camp sites for ten people and two vehicles, Angel Arch Camp, two, fifteen, and three, and Bates Wilson Camp, one, eight and three. The Upper and Middle Salt Creek Canyon backcountry zones allowed a maximum of eight permits per night, which, depending on group sizes, meant between eight and fifty-plus.

47. "Salt Creek Traffic Counter," folder 51, CANY 36587. Vehicles numbers in 1993 were as follows: February 0, March 274, April 442, May 658, June 430, July 189, August 110 and September 121. Numbers from previous years were estimates based on ranger notes, district reports, staff meetings, superintendent reports and visitation trends.

48. Memorandum and Statement to all staff, SEUG, June 30, 1992; Scott Wanek to Sara Marshall, memorandum, December 2, 1992; park ranger staff to Marshall, memorandum, December 14, 1992; folder 23, CANY 36587.

49. "RMR Comments on Backcountry Management Plan/Environmental Assessment, Canyonlands NP/Orange Cliffs Unit of Glen Canyon NRA," 1993, folder 25, CANY 36587; Craig Hansell, "Salt Creek Proposed Four-Wheel Drive Ban Draws Praise, Criticism From Canyonlands Users," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 19, 1994.

50. Julie McChristal to Walt Dabney, 1992, folder 51, CANY 36607.

51. "Backcountry Management Plan Meeting," December 12, 1992; "Backcountry Management Plan Meeting," September 20, 1993; folder 51, CANY 36607.

52. "Proposal to Designate Virginia Park as Research Nat-

ural Area;" "Jasper Canyon;" "Virginia Park;" April 1991; Larry Thomas, Chief, Resource Management, CNP to Walt Dabney, memorandum, March 29, 1993; folder 49, CANY 36587; "Backcountry Management Plan Meeting," December 12, 1992; folder 3, CANY 36587; "Nature Conservancy Relic Surveys," May 16, 1990; folder H 2215 Cultural Resource Studies and Research, SEUG-CF. The Virginia Park designation encompassed 203 acres, the Jasper Canyon reserve, 1,250 acres, and the Lower Big Spring Canyon, Little Spring Canyon, Elephant Canyon and Salt Creek Canyon zones, collectively, 2,230 acres.

53. *Canyonlands and Orange Cliffs BCMP*. The number of backcountry permits allowed at any one time were as follows: Island in the Sky, 14 backpack and 20 vehicle; Needles, 34 and 12; Maze, 11 and 11; and Glen Canyon, 4 and 9. Limits on backpack group sizes were as follows: Needles and Island, 7 people, and Maze, 5. Vehicle camp group sizes were as follows: Island, 15 people and 3 vehicles; Needles, 10 and 3; Maze, 9 and 3; length of stay, 7 nights consecutive in one place, 14 days total in park; number of back country campsites, Needles, 20 and, Island, 1.

54. *Canyonlands and Orange Cliffs BMP*; Dabney interview. Sixty-three zone and/or vehicle site permits were available per night in Canyonlands NP and the Orange Cliffs zone of Glen Canyon NRA, and the reservation system now in use was implemented in 1995. Charcoal fires were allowed at some backcountry vehicle sites in fire pans with ashes to be carried out by patrons. Horses, mules and burros were allowed in selected areas, but not llamas or goats, and pelletized feed had to be given to animals forty-eight hours before trips into the park. Maintenance was to continue in the Island in the Sky and Needles Districts while the Maze District would continue to not be maintained. Garbage cans and generators were not allowed in the backcountry, and the caching of food, water or supplies was only allowed with permission of the park. Since mountain bikes were not popular when the 1984 BCMP was created, that plan was amended in 1989 to classify mountain bikes as motor vehicles, a rule that was included in the 1995 BCMP.

55. "Numbers and Types of Commentators on BCMP," Table B-1, *Canyonlands and Orange Cliffs BCMP*." From the 3235 comments received by the NPS, 781 came from pack trip interests, 681 from individuals, 652 from environmental interests, 640 from off-road vehicle interests, 269 from rock climbing interests, 93 from commercial interests, 28 from saddle or pack groups, 23 from off-road vehicle organizations, 14 from miscellaneous groups, 10 from government agencies, 9 from environmental groups, 5 from universities or schools, 5 from rock climbing organizations, 2 from elected officials and 2 from Indian tribes. (These categories were names used by the NPS).

56. Hansell, "Salt Creek Proposed Ban;" *Canyonlands and Orange Cliffs BCMP*; Dabney interview.

57. "Visitor Comment Sheet Analysis," folder 51, CANY 36587. Comments broke down into the following topic areas: close more roads, 11.1%; no jeeps or motors, 9.3%; require ORV training, 1.9%; increase size of backcountry groups, 7.4%; poor trail markers and signage, 16.7%; bad road conditions, 9.3%; fire pits, 5.6%; pets, 5.6%; camping rules, 5.6%; noise, 7.4%; aircraft overflights, 13%; more campsites, 5.6%; and more trails, 1.9%.

58. *Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance Newsletter*, January 28, 1994; folder 26, CANY 36587; "Flood Closes Popular Road in Canyonlands," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 23, 1995. SUWA said during the EA review that the NPS should close these 165 miles of backcountry roads: Flint Trail to Anderson Bottom, the Standing Rocks/Doll House Road in the Maze, Salt Creek and Horse Canyons, Elephant Hill, and the road from the Needles to Beef Basin.

59. "SOUTHERN UTAH WILDERNESS ALLIANCE, a non-profit corporation, Plaintiff, v. Walt Dabney, in his official capacity as superintendent of Canyonlands National Park, Joseph Alston, in his official capacity as superintendent of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area; John Cook in his official capacity as Regional Director of the National Park Service, Defendants, and The Utah Trail Machine Association, The Blue Ribbon Coalition; The High Desert Multiple Use Coalition, the United Four Wheel Drive Association of U.S. and Canada; and the Historic Access Recovery Project, Defendant-Interveners;" pp. 1205-09; Presidential Executive Order 11644, "Use of off-road vehicles on the public lands," February 8, 1972, 37 FR 2877, CFR, 1971-75, p. 666. E.O. 11644 was directed to address off-road vehicle use on public lands and how federal agencies should regulate their use to mitigate damage to natural resources, and was amended by E.O. 11989 on May 24, 1977, and E.O. 12608 on September 9, 1987.

60. Brent Israelsen, "Judge Bans Vehicles on Canyonlands Trail," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 1, 1998; Joe Costanzo, "Canyonlands backcountry plan is upheld," *Deseret News*, July 6, 1998; Israelsen, "Off-Road Group Appeals Trail Closure: Members say environmentalists didn't prove vehicles caused permanent damage," *SLT*, December 10, 1998; "Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance v. Dabney," 7 F. Supp. 2d 1205 (D Utah 1998); pp. 1212-14. The 1988 NPS Policy Guide said park roads should be "well-constructed," but that roads also have "cultural" and "recreational value," even if not well engineered. The Park Service considered roads in Canyonlands not to be under E.O. 11644 because the road system had been used since the park's 1964 creation, a claim supported by the 1978 Canyonlands General Management Plan. Application of the 1916

Organic Act and the 1978 Redwoods Amendment came down to whether preservation or use was prioritized. The courts determined that permanent impairment of park resources occurred in Salt Creek, but not on other park backcountry roads. The permit system for the Needles District in the 1995 BMP that allowed four-wheel drive travel and visitor use was not deemed a strong enough reason to override damage to park resources in connection with the 1916 and 1978 acts. Concerning the range of alternatives in the EA, the courts did not determine the NPS was negligent, and therefore, the Park Service's FONSI claims were valid.

61. "Director's Order No. 55: Interpreting the National Park Service Organic Act," November 17, 2000; *United States National Park Service Management Policies, 2001* (Washington: NPS, 2000). NPS Director Dennis Galvin's November 17, 2000 order focused on finding a consistent interpretation of the terminology in the 1916 NPS Organic Act, the 1970 NPS General Authorities Act and its 1978 amendment ("Redwoods Amendment"), specifically in how definitions of "impairment" or "derogation" applied to park resources. The 2000 order stated that the two terms should be similarly defined for the purposes of park management, and that NPS managers could not allow uses or actions that would lead to impairment of park resources or values, especially if impairment was "permanent," and that immediate action should be taken to eliminate the causes behind said impairment of park resources. The order was incorporated into the revised NPS management policies of 2001, with chapter one of the policy manual covering the foundational legal responsibilities of park management, and chapter four, natural resource management.

62. Brent Israelsen, "Court Reopens Park Route to Cars; Judge ordered to rethink Salt Creek Canyon closure," *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 17, 2000; Donna M. Kemp, "Court reopens Salt Creek Trail," *Deseret News*, August 18, 2000; Israelsen, "San Juan County will force Canyonlands road issue," *SLT*, December 2, 2000; Israelsen, "After Years of Back and Forth, Canyonlands Road Closed Again," *SLT*, October 30, 2000; Israelsen, "SUWA Sues San Juan County Over Road Opening: San Juan County says it owns road through Salt Creek Canyon," *SLT*, December 21, 2000; Israelsen, "Salt Creek Issue Back in Court: Off-Highway Vehicle Club wants traffic allowed again," *SLT*, March 9, 2001; Israelsen, "Motor Vehicle Route Through Canyonlands to Stay Closed, Motor Vehicles Route in Park to Stay," *SLT*, June 25, 2002; Israelsen, "Salt Creek Canyon Closed to Vehicles, San Juan County officials may appeal the decision set forth by Park Service," *SLT*, October 29, 2002.

63. "Proposal to Amend Park Regulations, Proposed

Rules," *Federal Register* 68, no. 154, Monday, August 11, 2003, pp. 47524–527; Canyonlands National Park website: (www.nps.gov/cany/)

64. "EA, Finding of No Significant Impact: Salt Creek Canyon," pp. 1–4 (www.nps.gov/cany/); Donna Spangler, "Salt Creek Canyon to remain closed," *Deseret News*, February 18, 2001; Spangler, "ORV groups asks court to reopen Salt road," *DN*, March 8, 2001; "Alliance wants canyon off-limits to 4-wheelers," *DN*, April 23, 2001.

65. *National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, U.S. Statutes at Large* 83 (1970): pp. 852–56. The categories in Section 101(a) of NEPA are as follows: fulfill the responsibilities of each generation as trustee of the environment for succeeding generations; assure for all generations safe, healthful, productive and esthetically and culturally pleasing surroundings; attain the widest range of beneficial uses of the environment without degradation, risk of health of safety, or other undesirable and unintended consequences; preserve important historic, cultural and natural aspects of our national heritage and maintain, wherever possible, an environment that supports diversity and variety of individual choice; achieve a balance between population and resource use that will permit high standards of living and sharing of life's amenities; and enhance the quality of renewable resources and approach the maximum attainable recycling of depletable resources.

66. "Finding of No Significant Impact, Salt Creek," pp. 1–6. These issues were key: Impacts beneficial and adverse; how public health and safety are affected; proximity to historic or cultural resources, park lands, farmlands, wetlands, rivers or ecologically critical areas; the degree to which effects by humans on the environment are controversial; the degree to which potential impacts are uncertain or involve unique or unknown risks; whether actions may establish a precedent for future actions with significant effects or represent a decision in principle about future actions; whether an action is related to other actions that may individually have insignificant impact but cumulatively significant effects; significance cannot be avoided by calling an action temporary or breaking it into components; the degree to which the action may adversely affect historic properties eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, or other significant scientific, archaeological, or cultural resources; the degree to which an action may adversely affect endangered or threatened species or critical habitat; and whether the action threatens a violation of federal, state or local law of requirements imposed for the protection of the environment.

67. *Environmental Assessment: Middle Salt Creek Canyon Access Plan*, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the

Interior, NPS, July 2002; "Series of meetings set on Canyonlands road," *Deseret News*, April 2, 2001.

68. John Keahney, "Park Service seeks input on vehicle ban at Canyonlands: San Juan Officials want to keep canyon open despite harm imposed by traffic," *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 16, 2003.

69. *An Act granting the Right of Way to Ditch and Canal Owners over the Public Lands, and for Other Purposes, U.S. Statutes-at-Large, 1865–1867* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1868): p. 251; *An Act to Establish Public Land Policy to Establish Guidelines for its Administration; to Provide for the Management, Protection, Development and Enhancement of Public Lands; and for Other Purposes, U.S. Statutes at Large* 90 (1978): p. 2743. The 1866 law, commonly called the "Mining Act of 1866," established a legal baseline on public lands for establishing rights to mining claims, rights-of-way for water delivery to mining operations, and rights-of-way for the construction of "highways." The 1976 act, commonly called "The Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976," or FLPMA, serves as the BLM's Organic Act and contains key aspects of land management including rights-of-way. Regarding the suspension or termination of rights-of-ways, FLPMA says that the "failure of the holder of the right of way for the purpose for which it was granted, issued or renewed, for any continuous five-year period, shall constitute a rebuttable presumption or abandonment of the right of way," unless the lack of activity was "due to circumstances not within the holder's control." The 1866 act addressed highways, stating that "the right of way for the construction of highways over public lands, are reserved for public uses, is hereby granted." The latter clause had been used by those reacting against regulations on public lands to gain political or legal leverage. The debate over access centers on whether or not "continuous use" can be proven on a road or "highway," and what constitutes the "construction" of a "highway" that would produce a right-of-way in FLPMA that would supersede its five-year expiration clause.

70. *Mining Act of 1866*; Carol Hoggard, Deputy Cty. Clerk, San Juan Cty. to Pete Parry, Superintendent, CNP, February 8, 1984; Parry to Calvin Black, San Juan Cty. Commission, March 17, 1984; folder 298, CANY 36607; Jim Woolf, "San Juan County Trying to Block Road Job," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 29, 1984; Bruce Halliday, Attorney, San Juan Cty. to Parry, December 6, 1984; Parry to Black, January 31, 1984; Black to Parry, January 7, 1985; folder 305, CANY 36607; Donna Kemp Spangler, "San Juan demands trail reopen," *Deseret News*, November 6, 2000; Spangler, "SUWA seeks to add San Juan to road lawsuit," *DN*, December 21, 2000; "RS 2477 Legislative History," Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance website (www.suwa.org/).

71. Utah State Coordinator, NPS, to R.S. 2477 Task Force Leader, January 14, 1993; SUWA website.

72. Bureau of Land Management Public Land Master Title Plats for townships covering Salt Creek in Canyonlands National Park, Utah State Office; Bureau of Land Management Public Land Historical Index pages for townships encompassing Salt Creek in Canyonlands National Park; Public Land Cadastral Survey notes and plats for the following: 1911 survey of portions of T 32S R 20E and T 33S R 20E, Salt Lake Meridian; 1927 survey of portions of T 30S R 20E, Salt Lake Meridian; 1957 survey of portions of T 31S R 19E, Salt Lake Meridian; General Land Office List No. 104, Indemnity School Land Selections, May 20, 1922; General Land Office Public Land Order 130, May 26, 1943; General Land Office Public Land Order 256, January 9, 1945, revoking Public Land Order 130; BLM List No. 275, Indemnity School Land Selections, January 22, 1964; BLM List No. 293, Indemnity School Land Selections, April 13, 1965; Archives, Bureau of Land Management, Utah State Office; P.L. 88-590, September 12, 1964, establishing Canyonlands National Park, and P.L. 92-154, enlarging Canyonlands National Park; Manti-La Sal National Forest maps, 1959 and 1965, U.S. Geological Survey maps, 1953, 1956 and 1958.

73. "General Highway Map, San Juan Cty., Utah," Utah Dept. of Highways (UDOH), 1965; "General Highway Map, San Juan Cty.," UDOH, 1970, (data added by San Juan County, received by the BLM in May 1984); "General Highway Map," 1974 and 1977, UDOH (data added by BLM); Alan "Tug" Wilson interview by Jim Karkut, U. S. DOI, Bruce Bernard, U.S. Dept. of Justice, and Dave Wood, Planner, SEUG, May 9, 2001, audiocassette; Rigby Wright, interview by Karkut and Wood, May 17, 2001, audiocassette; Lloyd Holyoak, interview by Wood, May 18, 2001, and by Wood and Karkut, May 31, 2001, audiocassette; John Scorup, interview by Wood and Karkut, May 22, 2001, audiocassette; Kent Frost interview, by Wood and Karkut, May 22, 2001, audiocassette; Jimmie Walker, interview by Wood and Karkut, May 31, 2001, audiocassette; Lloyd Pierson, interview by Wood and Karkut, May 31, 2001, audiocassette; Mitch Williams, interview by Wood and Karkut, May 31, 2001, audiocassette; Sam Taylor, interview by Wood and Karkut, May 31, 2001, audiocassette; Files, SEUG Planning Office.

74. "Comments sought on park vehicle ban," *Deseret News*, August 19, 2003; *EA*, *Middle Salt Creek*.

75. Ed Sherick, Manager, San Juan Resource Area, BLM to San Juan County Commission, May 9, 1984; "Special Regulations, Areas of the National Park System," *Federal Register* 68 (August 11, 2003): 47524-527; San Juan County, Utah; vs. United States of America, National Park Service,

Case 2: 04CV552BSJ, U.S. District Court, June 14, 2004; San Juan County, Utah; vs. National Park Service, U.S. Tenth Court of Appeals. On May 1, 1984, San Juan County created a map of roads in the county that had been constructed under authority of R.S. 2477 before the 1976 passage of FLPMA and its subsequent implementation.

76. Donna Kemp Spangler, "San Juan wants road in Salt Creek opened," *Deseret Morning News*, June 18, 2004; Joe Bauman, "Roads Issue Becomes Even More Tangled," *DMN*, September 16, 2005; San Juan County, Utah; vs. National Park Service, U.S. Tenth Court of Appeals, August 30, 2005.

77. "Task Directive for National Park Service Aircraft Management Studies, February 1992," Hugh M. Stirts, Chief, Environmental Planning Division, United States Air Force (USAF), Strategic Air Command (SAC), Offutt Air Force Base, Nebraska to Canyonlands National Park, July 12, 1985; Jack Neckels, Acting Director, RMR to Lt. Colonel Norman H.C. Kline, Chief, Environmental Planning Division, Engineering and Services, USAF, SAC, July 1985

(n. d.); folder Y24, Encroachment, Air Craft, 1984-1993, SEUG-CF. The Air Force planned to use a low altitude training route over Colorado, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico several times each day by B-1B, B-52, and FB-111 aircraft, flights traveling 400 to 2500 feet above the ground at speeds of 515 knots for the B-1B, 340 knots for the B-52 and 420 knots for the FB-111. The Park Service protested the proposal, with its concerns centered on possible effects on the ruins at Hovenweep National Monument and the psychology of tourists to southeast Utah.

78. Pete Parry to Lorraine Mintzmyer, Director, RMR, August 25, 1986; Parry to James Taylor, President, Utah Power and Light Company, May 30, 1986; Parry to Mintzmyer, February 3, 1986; folder Y24, Encroachment, Air Craft, 1984-1993, SEUG-CF.

79. Mike Ebersole, Air Operations Manager, Grand Canyon NP to Walt Dabney, memorandum, April 11, 1994; "Task Directive for National Park Service Aircraft Management Studies," February 1992; *National Parks Over-flight Act of 1987, U. S. Statutes at Large* 101 (1988): 674-77; U.S. House, Report for the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 100th Cong. 2d sess., 1987, Committee Print 69; U.S. Senate, Report for the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, 100th Cong., 2d sess., 1987, Committee Print 67; U.S. Senate, Report for the Committee on Science and Transportation, 100th Cong., 2d sess., 1987, Committee Print 125; folder Y 24, Encroachment, Air Craft, 1984-1993, SEUG-CF. Park units

highlighted in the 1987 act were Grand Canyon, Hawaii Volcanoes, Haleakala, Yosemite, Cumberland Island, Glacier and Mt. Rushmore. The act broke down as follows: Section 1, Study of Park Overflights; Section 2, Restrictions at Yosemite and Haleakala; Section 3, Grand Canyon; Section 4, Boundary Waters Wilderness Areas; Section 5, USFS Wilderness Overflights; Section 6, Consultation with Federal Agencies.

80. "Preservation of Natural Quiet at Southeast Utah Group, NPS," draft, (1993); Walt Dabney to Robert Baker, May 19, 1993, memorandum; Dabney to Jan Parmenter, Utah Dept. of Natural Resources, June 4, 1993; Ronald Everhardt, Director, NPS, and John Cook, Director, RMR to Dale Ahlquist, National Airspace Coalition, May 9, 1995; National Parks and Conservation Association, press release, July 8, 1993; United States Court of Appeals, Tenth Circuit; "National Parks and Conservation Association; Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance; Sierra Club; Deborah L. Threedy, Petitioners; v. Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation, Respondents;" No. 90-9564, 90-9576; and NPCA; SUWA; Sierra Club; Deborah L. Threedy," Petitioners; v. Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), Dept. of Transportation, Bureau of Land Management, United States Department of the Interior (DOI); Respondents; San Juan County Board of Commissioners, Real Party in Interest; No. 91-9513; Appeal from Federal Aviation Administration, Nos. 90-CV-876 and 55 F.R. 27886; William J. Lockhart, for Petitioners; John A. Bryson, Peter Steenland, Jr., and Barry Hartman, Acting Ass't. Attorney General, Dept. of Justice; Karl Lewis, Office of the Ass't. Chief Counsel, Northwest Mountain Region, FAA, Renton, Wash; and David Grayson, Regional Solicitor, U.S. Dept. of Interior, Salt Lake City, for Respondents; Before Logan, Barrett, and Seymour, Circuit Judges; folder 24, Encroachments, Overflights, SEUG-CF.

81. "NPS Case Incident Report," CNP, Location, 5318, Case Incident No. 945009, Island in the Sky, Aircraft, February 20, 1994; "Supplemental Criminal Incident Record 965010," William Sloan, Wildlife Biologist, SEUG; "Bighorn Sheep Utilization of the Washer Women Area and Effects of Helicopters upon Bighorn Sheep," March 26, 1996; William Sloan, interview by author, September 6, 2005, Moab, Utah, audiocassette, CANY 45551; Jerry Lewis, Chairman, Five Cty. Association of Governments to David Bennett, FAA, May 11, 1994; Scott Groene, SUWA to Bruce Babbitt, SOI, December 16, 1993; "Cooperative Agreement between NPS, U.S. Fish and Wildlife (F&WS), BLM and FAA," November 1992 to January 1993. The agreement had these provisions: (1) The NPS, F&WS and BLM identify places where low-flying aircraft may have adverse impact; (2) The NPS, F&WS and BLM develop reporting system acceptable to the FAA on documenting low flying aircraft; (3) NPS, BLM and F&WS personnel

receive training on how to identify and report incidents; (4) Personnel made available from each agency to meet with FAA and pilots to discuss resource management; (5) FAA communicate with pilots their concerns and objectives of the NPS, F&WS and BLM; (6) FAA investigate instances of pilot deviations from FAA minimums; (7) FAA assist the NPS, F&WS, BLM and Department of Defense to deal with military overflights; (8) FAA make available to affected agencies all reports and investigations; (9) FAA enlist support of aviation organizations on the issue of low flying aircraft; (10) FAA assist NPS, F & WS and BLM in combating problem; (11) FAA investigate serious situations on site; and (12) FAA prepare information guidelines for pilots.

82. "Preservation of Natural Quiet at the Southeast Utah Group, National Park Service," 1993; folder L 24, Encroachments, Air Craft, SEUG-CF. In 1993 there were six fixed-wing and one helicopter tour commercial tour companies based at Canyonlands Airport, and two fixed-wing operations based at Monticello and Blanding.

83. Richard Ring, Associate Director, Park Operations and Education, NPS, to Regional Directors and Park Superintendents, NPS, memorandum, April 9, 2000; attached: "Memorandum of Understanding Between the Federal Aviation Administration and The National Park Service—Implementation of the National Parks Air Tour Management Act of 2000;" folder L 24, Encroachments, Overflights, SEUG-CF.

84. "Theater Missile Defense Extended Test Range Draft EA," U. S. Army, January 1994; "Supplement to the Draft Environmental Impact Statement," U.S. Army, July 1994; Walt Dabney to David Hasley, U. S. Army, May 11, 1993; Dabney to John Cook, Director, RMR, memorandum, September 19, 1994; folder L 76, Theater Missile Defense, 1993–95, SEUG-CF; Dabney interview; Phil Mueller, "Utahns Lukewarm to Drop Zone Plan, SLT, August 24, 1994; Sullivan, "Army Missile Program Launches New Issues Raise Concerns for Wildlife, SLT, October 8, 1994; "Record of Decision for the Theater Missile Defense Extended Test Range Final Environmental Impact Statement," *Federal Register* 60 (January 12, 1995): 2950–51.

85. Canyonlands Complex (CC) Staff Meeting Minutes, 1975–1987; folder 50–61, CANY 36607; Canyonlands NP Superintendents Annual Reports, 1975–1987; folders 5–10, CANY 36607; "Status of Air Quality and Related Values in Class I National Parks and Monuments of the Colorado Plateau," NPS, Denver 1997; "Air Quality on the Colorado Plateau," NPS, 1993; Nicholas Eason, Acting Superintendent, CNP to Chief, Air and Water Quality Division, NPS, memorandum, February 3, 1987; folder N 3615, 1987–1993; SEUG-CF.

86. "Canyonlands National Park, Air Quality," *Northern Colorado Plateau Network (NCPN), Phase I Report* (NPS: Moab, Utah, 2002): pp. 390–93; "Canyonlands National Park Air Quality Information;" 2006, NPS Air Resources Division website, (www2.nature.nps.gov/air/); Lorraine Mintzmyer to Executive Secretary, Utah Air Conservation Comm., September 17, 1987; "NPS Statement on Utah's Proposed Visibility Protection Rules and Plan," September 14, 1987; "Air Quality Division, Five-Year Plan," January 1990; Jayne Belnap, "Effects of Air Pollutants on Cold Desert Cyanobacterial Lichen Crusts and Rock Lichens, Chlorophyll Degradation, Electrolyte Leakage and Nitronage Activity," 1990; Robert Chandler, Supt., Grand Canyon NP to Director, NPS, Regional Directors and Supts. of Class I areas, memorandum, December 16, 1991; Ron L. Heavenner to Chief, Monitoring and Data Analysis Branch, Air Quality Division, NPS, August 21, 1992; Data Summaries, CNP, NPS Air Pollutant Monitoring Network, 1991–1997; folder N 3615, 1987–1993, SEUG-CF. Visual range estimates from 1978 to 1987 were made from The Neck, and from 1979 to 1981, also at Hans Flat. Visibility monitoring with a 35 mm camera on the Island was used from 1982 to 1995, fine and coarse airborne particle analysis from 1988 to the present, and light extinction with optical transmissometers from 1987 to the present. These tests were part of the Interagency Monitoring of Protected Visual Environments (IMPROVE)) geared to identify emission sources. Other air quality studies looked at aerosols, overall air quality in the EA for the proposed nuclear waste dump, and WHITEX (Winter Haze Intensive Tracer Experiment) from 1989 to 1992 parkwide. Ozone has also been monitored from 1992 to the present, and wet and dry deposition from 1997 to the present (National Atmospheric Deposition Program). Dr. Jayne Belnap has also studied the affects of air pollutants on the ecosystem since 1990, especially their affects upon cryptobiotic soils.

87. Pete Parry to Lorraine Mintzmyer, memorandum, March 20, 1984; Alford J. Banta, Superintendent, SEUG to Grand County Council, August 8, 2000; "Southeast Utah Group Squad Meeting," July 25, 2000; M. Yocke, H. Hogo and G. W. Lundberg, "Impacts of Four Proposed Waste Facilities on Night Sky in Canyonlands National Park," Systems Applications, San Rafael, Cal., 1985; Charles Schelz, "Night Sky Monitoring Canyonlands and Arches National Parks, Natural Bridges and Hovenweep National Monuments," SEUG, 2001; "Canyonlands National Park, Night Sky," NCPN Phase I Report, Vol. III, pp. 472–83; folder N 3615, Night Sky, SEUG-CF. By 2003, six data sets had been collected at Arches, five at Canyonlands, four at Hovenweep and four at Natural Bridges.

88. Dabney interview; "Superintendent's 1994 Annual Report for Canyonlands;" folder 11, CANY 36607; Mike

Gorrell, "Fear of Disease Prompts Llama Ban in Canyonlands," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 29, 1994.

89. Joe Rolando, "Oil Future Hinges on Horizontal Well," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 1991 (n. d.); "Oil and Gas Briefing, Big Flat Area," May 30, 1991; Harvey Wickware, Superintendent, SEUG to Area Manager, BLM San Juan Resource Area, memorandum, June 7, 1991; folder L 2427, Encroachment of Oil and Gas, SEUG-CF; Stanley Ponce, Acting Associate Director, RMR to Grand Resource Area, Moab District, BLM, July 16, 1992; folder N 3615, Air Quality, 1987–1993, SEUG-CF.

90. Martin Ott, Utah State Coordinator, BLM, to Superintendents, Canyonlands NP, Capitol Reef NP, Arches NP, Dinosaur NM and Glen Canyon NRA, memorandum, 1992 (n. d.); Walt Dabney to BLM Moab District Manager, memorandum, June 30, 1993; "Oil and Gas Notification," attached to Utah State Coordinator, NPS and Utah Deputy State Director, BLM to Utah BLM District Managers and NPS Park Superintendents, Utah, memorandum, March 1993; folder L 2427, Encroachments of Oil and Gas, SEUG-CF.

91. Walt Dabney to Grand Resource Area Manager, BLM, memorandum, November 2, 1994; Dabney to Grand Resource Manager, memorandum, 1994 (n. d.); Martin Ott to Superintendents, NPS Units, Utah, August 12, 1996, memorandum; Douglas Kozen, Deputy State Director, Utah, Natural Resources, BLM to Field Office Management, BLM, memorandum, January 26, 2000; folder L 2427, Encroachments of Oil and Gas, SEUG-CF. In 1994 the Park Service opposed five parcels in the Canyon Rims area, in 1995, five parcels in the Needles and Canyon Rims, and in 1996, six parcels near the Island in the Sky and two parcels near the Needles.

92. "Questions and Answers, Veritas Geophysical Operation, Moab Field Office, Bureau of Land Management," 2001; "Critical Elements Checklist," EA No. UT-062-01-011; "Veritas Fertilizer 3-D Geophysical Project (MFO-01-G01); "Decision Record and Finding of No Significant Impact," UT-062-01-011; "BLM Announces Approval of Veritas 3-D Geophysical Operation Near Moab, Utah," press release, BLM, August 6, 2001; "Comment Analysis: Veritas, Fertilizer 3-D Project," EA UT-062-01-011, Public Comment Period, June 21–July 23, 2001; Bureau of Land Management, Grand Resource Area, Website (www.blm.gov/utah/moab/); "Conservation Groups to Sue BLM to Protect Utah Wildlands from Massive Oil Exploration Project," October 10, 2002, press release, Earthjustice; Earthjustice Website (www.earthjustice.org).

93. Brent Israelson, "Oil Exploration Will Begin Near Arches National Park in Utah," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February

5, 2002; "How Resources Inventory Will Affect Utah Unclear," *SLT*, January 6, 2003; Robert Gehrke, "Norton order will prohibit mining," *SLT*, September 11, 2004; Joe Baird, "Park Service bristles at planned BLM sale near Canyonlands," *SLT*, August 9, 2005; Baird, "BLM withdraws lease parcels near Canyonlands," *SLT*, August 10, 2005; "Fact Sheet," (changes in NPS policies), August 2005; "Analysis of Proposed Revisions and Possible Impacts," September 2005; "NPS Draft Revised Management Policies," February 2, 2006; "NPS Rewrite of Management Policies," February 24, 2006; Coalition of National Park Retirees website(www.npsretirees.org/).

94. "Planning and Design Process," folder 187, CANY 36607; folder D 18 Master Plan Cany, box 730280, NPS-FRC-D. The Park Service began calling for a "basic resource inventory" at park units systemwide in 1973, a process that was later called a "resource basic inventory" or "RBI." NPS senior managers suggested that Canyonlands National Park perform an inventory based on a program developed at Great Smoky Mountains National Park that would also include the Orange Cliffs region of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area.

95. "Introduction and Background," *Northern Colorado Plateau Vital Signs Network and Prototype Cluster Plan for Natural Resources Monitoring, Phase I Report*, Vol. I (NPS: Moab, Utah, 2002): pp. 1–3.

96. *An Act to provide for management and increased accountability for certain National Park Service programs, and for other purposes, U.S. Statutes at Large* 112 (1999): p. 3497; "Natural Resource Programs in National Parks," press release, NPS, August 12, 1999; "Re-birth of a Park," Remarks of Robert G. Stanton, Director, NPS, August 12, 1999, Mount Rainier National Park. Motivated by the critique of NPS natural resource management policies by NPS historian Richard Sellars in *Preserving Nature in the National Parks* (New Haven: Yale UP: 1997), and realizations by park managers systemwide that comprehensive inventories of natural resources were needed to make decisions consistent with the Park Service's legislative mandates, the 1998 *NPS Omnibus Act* and 1999 Resource Challenge action plan outlined a research program and called for added funding to implement inventory programs.

97. A NPS review board analyzing Dr. Rowlands' original plan suggested that the Northern Colorado Plateau Network be limited to five park units; Canyonlands NP, Arches NP, Capitol Reef NP, Natural Bridges NM and Dinosaur NM. In addition to these units, the Northern Colorado Plateau Network also came to include Black Canyon of the Gunnison NP, Bryce Canyon NP, Cedar Breaks NM, Colorado NM, Curecanti NRA, Fossil Butte NM, Golden Spike NHS, Hovenweep NM, Pipe Spring

NM, Timpanogos Cave NM and Zion NP.

98. *Northern Colorado Plateau Vital Signs Network, Phase I Report*, Vol. I; pp. 1–26 and 114–23; Appendix I, pp. 1–3; Appendix L, pp. 15–18; Appendix II, pp. 29–38; Appendix P, pp. 4–5; *Northern Colorado Plateau Vital Signs Network, Phase I Report*, Vol. II (NPS: Moab, Utah, 2002); pp. 29–38 (Appendix II); pp. 8–12, 42–46, 68–71, 104–08, 157–64, 229–64, 306–08, 347–51, 370–71, 390–93, 421–22, 459 and 463 (Appendix III).

99. *Northern Colorado Plateau Vital Signs Network, Phase II Report*, Vol. I (NPS: Moab, Utah, 2004): pp. viii–xix, 1–25 and 38–41.

100. *Northern Colorado Plateau Inventory and Monitoring Network Vital Signs Monitoring Plan, Phase III Report*, Vol. I (NPS: Moab, Utah, 2005); pp. 17–18, 21–22 and 25–26.

101. "Southeast Utah Group Museum Management Plan," NPS, Moab, October 2003. Administrative responsibilities for Hovenweep National Monument transferred from Mesa Verde National Park to the Southeast Utah Group in 1998, although curation of Hovenweep's museum items remained at Mesa Verde until 2001.

102. *An Act to Provide for the Protection of Native American graves, and for other purposes, U.S. Statutes at Large* 104 (1991); p. 3048; "Summary Statement: ARPA Initiative—Southeast Utah Group—FY 92," folder H 2623, SEUG-CF; "Compliance with Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act," December 23, 1992; folder J 24, Archaeological and Historical Data, 1987–1998, SEUG-CF; "Upgrade of Conditions at SEUG Museum," July 5, 1990; folder H 3015, Historical Sites and Structures, Management and Preservation, 1990–94, SEUG-CF; "Department of the Interior, Museum Property Survey, SEUG," September 19, 1991, folder H 1817, SEUG-CF.

103. "FY 1990 Cultural Cyclic Completion Report, Monitoring and Maintenance of Selected Cultural Properties," folder H 3015, Historic Sites and Structures, 1990–1994, SEUG-CF; Walt Dabney to Max Evans, Utah State Historic Preservation Office, 1992 (n. d.); Dabney to Evans, April 29, 1993; Dabney to Evans, February 26, 1993; Dabney to Director, RMR, June 24, 1993; Dabney to Evans, August 9, 1993; Dabney to Dykman, January 25, 1995; folder H 4217, Administrative History Preservation Program, 1990–1995, SEUG-CF; Dabney to Intermountain Region (IMR) Field Director, NPS, January 13, 1997; Dabney to Evans, September 10, 1997; folder 4217 Historic Preservation Compliance Documentation; Canyonlands Project Reviews, 1999, SEUG-CF; "Cultural Resources Inventory for Backcountry Campsites, Canyonlands National Park, Utah," March 24, 1999; folder H 4217,

Administrative History Preservation Program, 1990–95, SEUG-CF. The following is a typical site monitoring report entry during the 1990s: thirty-two sites listed, two looted, one vandalized and seven with graffiti.

104. “Upgrade of Environmental Conditions at SEUG Museum;” folder H 3015, Historical Sites and Structures, Management and Preservation, 1990–94, SEUG-CF; “Department of the Interior, Museum Property Survey, SEUG,” September 19, 1991; “Total Collection Survey, 1992–2002;” folder H 1817, Special Collections, SEUG-CF.

105. “Summary of Human Remains and Funerary Objects,” SEUG, October 15, 1992; folder 395, CANY 36607; “Preliminary NAGPRA Inventory Data,” CNP, 1996; folder, Documentation of NAGPRA, SEUG-CF. “Compliance with Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act,” December 23, 1992; folder J 24, Archaeological and Historic Data, 1987–1998, SEUG-CF; “Reports, Situations, Preliminary NAGPRA Inventory Data,” CNP, 1995; Curators, Colorado Plateau and Rocky Mountain System Support Offices to Mike Evans, NAGPRA Coordinator for Parks, Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnership, Archeology and Ethnography Division, memorandum, November 29, 1995; “Results of the Conference, Traditional Histories of the Pre-Columbian Past, A Summary and Briefing for the NPS, Participating Tribes, Non-Participating Tribes, and Other Institutions;” folder H 2217, Documents of NAGPRA, SEUG-CF; “Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act Regulations, Final Rule,” *Federal Register* 60 (December 14, 1995): 62134–169. The preliminary NAGPRA inventory for Canyonlands listed one set of human remains with associated funerary objects, three records of re-interred human remains, and remains from Site 42A8500 with no funerary objects. Upon NAGPRA’s implementation, SEUG had the remains of one human, with the remains of three humans already having been re-interred at sites in Canyonlands or Arches.

106. “Archaeological Site Information Policy for Arches, Canyonlands and Natural Bridges,” 1989; folder H 3015, Preservation Management and Maintenance, 1986–1989; “Cultural Site Information Policy for Southeast Utah Group,” April 2000; “Summary Statement: ARPA Initiative;” folder H 2623, SEUG-CF.

107. Annual Law Enforcement Activity Reports, CNP, 1985–2005; Files, Division of Visitor Protection, SEUG; Superintendent’s Annual Reports, CNP, 1985–1995, folders 10–11, CANY 36607; Superintendent’s Annual Reports, CNP, 1995–2005, folder Superintendent Reports, 1995–2001, and folder Superintendents Reports, 2002–2005, SEUG-CF. In 1992, SEUG received

\$41,000 for ARPA work that entailed the following tasks: (1) Patrol, repair and remove graffiti; (2) Document looted sites; (3) Contact New Age groups who use archaeological sites for rituals; (4) Increase patrols in Maze; (5) prosecute Horseshoe Canyon vandals, the first such prosecution in Utah; and (6) do visitor surveys in Horseshoe Canyon. Earl Shumway was convicted in December 1995 on seven counts of violating U.S. antiquities laws, including the robbing of funereal items in a blanket wrapped around an infant’s skeleton from Dop-Ki Cave in Canyonlands National Park. He originally received a 78-month sentence from U.S. District Court Judge David Winder, but the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that Winder was wrong to rule that the skeleton of the Indian infant qualified as a “vulnerable victim,” and then shaved fifteen months off the sentence.

108. Betsy Tipps, *Holocene Archaeology Near Squaw Butte, Canyonlands National Park, Utah*, Selections from Division of Cultural Resources, RMR, No. 7, 1995; “Archaeological Inventory Completion/CANY-C-010,” in Cultural Resource Project Report, IMR, Colorado Plateau Cluster, CNP, 1997. The joint P-III/NPS team surveyed 878 acres, finding 80 sites and 39 isolated finds, mostly from the Archaic or Puebloan II/III periods with evidence of Middle Archaic, Terminal Archaic and Early Formative periods. Field work was done from May 20 to June 9, 1988, and testing from September 30 to October 5, 1988. Found were 155 chipped stone tools, 68 stone and groundwork tools, 68 sherds, 39 cores and utilized cores and 68 isolated artifacts. P-III and the NPS also photo-documented 450 sites, made two topographic map sets, tested 40 cultural features at 21 sites, collected 44 samples for flotation analysis, analyzed 9000-plus objects housed at the Western Archaeology and Conservation Center in Tucson, Arizona, and prepared reports on Salt Creek Pocket and Devils Lane, the Down Wash Site and the Island in the Sky.

109. John Cook, Director, IMR to Superintendents, Vanishing Treasures Parks, memorandum, June 14, 1999; “Vanishing Treasures Personnel List for FY 2001 and Beyond;” “FY 2001 Vanishing Treasures OFS Submittal” [\$59,000 CANY/\$58,000 HOVE]; “Archeology Program, Vanishing Treasures,” November 2005; Melissa Memory, Archeologist, SEUG, “Briefing on Canyonlands River Corridor Architecture and Rock Art Survey/SEUG Ruins Preservation Program,” February 2006, Files, SEUG Division of Cultural Resources; “The Secretary of the Interior’s Report to Congress on Federal Archeological Activities,” for SEUG, DOI, Report for 1999; “The Secretary of the Interior’s Report to Congress on Federal Archeological Activities,” for SEUG, DOI, report for 2000; folder H 2621, Annual Reports, 1998+, SEUG-CF; “Project No. U-02A10698n, Stabilization of Junction Ruin,” November

2002; folder H 3019, Historic Sites and Structure Management, SEUG-CF. Canyonlands was one of nine park units in Utah under the Vanishing Treasures program that includes forty-eight park units total in the "Southwest," a region which includes Arizona, California, Nevada, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas and Wyoming.

110. Annual Law Enforcement Activity Reports, CNP, 1985-2005; Central Files, Division of Visitor Protection, SEUG; Superintendents Annual Reports, CNP, 1985-1995, folders 10-11, CANY 36607; Superintendent's Annual Reports, CNP, 1995-2005, folder Superintendent's Annual Reports, CNP, 1995-2001, and folder Superintendent's Annual Reports, 2002-2005, SEUG-CF.

111. "Canyonlands National Park SAR Plan Fatality Summary," Appendix K, *Canyonlands National Park Search and Rescue Plan*, December 2002; Annual Law Enforcement Activity Reports, Canyonlands National Park, 1985-2005; Nancy Lofholm, "Hiker's severed arm recovered: Park team raises 800-pound rock," *Denver Post*, May 5, 2003; "Climber's ordeal draws attention to remote canyon," *Deseret News*, May 19, 2003; Sharon Haddock, "Amputation hasn't slowed Rolston," *Deseret News*, October 16, 2003. From 1985 to 2001, 209 of 363 (58 percent) of search and rescue incidents involved hiking, 43 boating (12 percent) and 11 climbing (.03 percent).

112. "Program Authorization," RMR, NPS, 1990; "Annual Interpretive Program Report, CNP, FY 1990," folder F 30, Budget Formulation, 1988-90, SEUG-CF; "Program Authorization, RMR, NPS, FY 1997," folder F 30, Budget Formulation, 1996-1997; "Annual Interpretive Program Report, FY 1997," folder K 2621, Interpretation Annual Reports, SEUG-CF; "Financial Data— Operating Program, CNP, FY 2004," folder F 30, FY 2002-2004, SEUG-CF; "1993 Statement for Interpretation," SEUG; folder K 2621, Interpretation Annual Reports, SEUG-CF; "Canyonlands Long-Range Interpretive Plan," (NPS, Moab, 2003); Division of Interpretation Files, (DI-SEUG); Larry Frederick, interview by author, Rocky Mountain National Park, August 7, 2004, audiocassette, CANY 45551; Paul Henderson, interview by author, November 3, 2006, notes in author's files. The budget for interpretation at SEUG was \$200,000 in 1990 (park, \$2.4 million), \$391,000 in 1997 (park, \$4 million), and \$706,000 in 1994 (park, \$5.34 million).

113. "1993 Statement for Interpretation," pp. 11-12; folder K 2621, Interpretation Annual Reports, SEUG-CF; "Canyonlands Long-Range Interpretive Plan," pp. 20-21 and 23; Files, DI-SEUG; Frederick interview; Henderson interview. The Needles and Island in the Sky visitor centers both offer slide, video and film presentations. The Island's auditorium can hold twelve people, and both vis-

itor centers have parking for cars, buses and RVS, are handicapped accessible and have slide archives and libraries to assist staff with interpretive programs.

114. "Canyonlands Long-Range Interpretive Plan," p. 20; Cyndi Hargrave, Executive Director, Canyonlands Natural History Association (CNHA), interview by author, November 10, 2006; notes in author's files; Henderson interview. The MIC costs \$350,000 per year to operate with funds provided by its federal and local partners.

115. "Canyonlands Long-Range Interpretive Plan," pp. 22, 24, 50 and 65; Henderson interview. The Island in the Sky waysides and trailhead exhibits were located at The Neck, Grand View Point, Green River Overlook, Upheaval Dome, Mesa Arch, Whale Rock and Aztec Butte, and addressed traditional NPS interpretive themes. The Needles waysides and exhibits were geared more toward backcountry issues like visitor safety and regulations, and hence, had more bulletin boards than waysides; eight of the latter at the visitor center, four at Squaw Flat Campground, one at the group campsite, one at the Cathedral Butte trailhead, and others at key trailheads.

116. Frederick interview; Henderson interview.

117. Hargrave interview; Canyonlands Natural History Association website (<http://www.cnha.org/areas.cfm>). CNHA's titles included a range of subjects for different audiences from small children to adults, and contain political perspectives ranging from Edward Abbey to ranchers. Sales were mostly from printed material in the 1980s and 1990s, but visual media recently passed print sales and in 2005 composed fifty-three percent of CNHA's gross sales.

118. "Canyonlands National Park Long-Range Interpretive Plan," p. 20. Publications Include the following: *Canyonlands Trip Planner and Park Guide Newspaper*; Brochures— *Canyonlands National Park*; Orientation and Information bulletins— *Island in the Sky Hiking Trails and Four-Wheel Drive Roads*, *Needles Hiking Trails and Four-Wheel Drive Roads*, *Commercial Tour Operators*, *Directions to Moab Hospital*, and *NPS Volunteers-in-Parks*; Regulations— *Pets & Canyonlands*, *Rock Climbing*, *Pack and Saddle*; Natural and Cultural History— *Geology*, *Cryptobiotic Soils*, *Desert Varnish*, *Natural History*, *Gnats*, *Bighorn Sheep*, and *Cultural History*; Species Lists— *Amphibians*, *Reptiles*, *Mammals* and *Fish*.

119. CNHA's responsibilities historically have included Arches and Canyonlands National Parks, Natural Bridges and Hovenweep National Monuments, the Canyon Rims Recreation Area, Dark Canyon Wilderness Area, Desolation and Gray Canyons, Westwater Canyon, Grand Gulch

Primitive Area, Henry Mountain Resource Area, Manti-La Sal National Forest, the San Juan River, the San Rafael Swell and the Little Sahara Recreation Area.

120. Dabney interview; Jim Woolf, "Canyonlands Boss Has a No-So-Wild Idea: Bigger May be Better," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 26, 1995; "Canyonlands Expansion Discussed," *San Juan Record*, April 26, 1995.

121. Phil Mueller, "What's to Become of Canyonlands: Plans Would Double Park Size, Limit Off-Road Vehicle Use," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 10, 1997; Karl Cates, "Oil-well plans fuel fire to expand Canyonlands," *Deseret News*, August 8, 1997.

122. Dabney interview; Mark Peterson, RMR to Dabney, memorandum, October 1, 1998; Keith Nash, Field Coordinator, Congressman Chris Cannon to Dabney, November 6, 1998; folder L 1417, Canyonlands Completion Plans, SEUG-CF; *An Act to expand the boundaries of Arches National Park, to include portions of certain drainages that are under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Land Management, and to include a portion of Fish Seep Draw owned by the State of Utah, and for other purposes, U.S. Statutes at Large* 112 (1999): p. 3060.

123. "Completion of Canyonlands National Park," Briefing Statement, March 3, 1999; Walt Dabney, Personal Papers; "GIS Park Completion Maps;" "Completion Proposal, Canyonlands National Park, Emery, Wayne, Grand, San Juan, and Garfield Counties," 1999; folder L 1417, Canyonlands Completion Plans, SEUG-CF; "Enlarging Canyonlands Looks OK," *Deseret News*, March 22, 1999; Zack Van Eyck, "To expand or not expand Canyonlands," *DN*, May 10, 1999. The plan included 171,000 acres in Lockhart Basin, Hart's Draw, Indian and North Cottonwood Creeks, and in the Bridger Jack Mesa and Indian Creek Wilderness Study Areas (WSAs); 27,000 acres from Butler Wash and the South Needles WSAs; 12,000 acres from Gypsum, Bowdie and Imperial Canyons; 134,000 acres from Horseshoe, Labyrinth and other canyons; and 150,000 acres from the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area.

124. Walt Dabney to Michael Leavitt, Governor, Utah, April 21, 1999; Dabney to Congressman Chris Cannon, April 21, 1999; Dabney to Congressman James Hansen, April 21, 1999; Dabney to Senator Robert Bennett, April 21, 1999; Dabney to Frank Moss, U.S. senator, retired, April 21, 1999; Dabney to Ty Lewis, Chairman, San Juan County Commission, April 21, 1999, Dabney to Grand County Commission, April 21, 1999; folder L 1417, Canyonlands Completion Plans.

125. "Canyonlands Expansion," press release, Utah Trail

Machine Association, Spring 1999; Sam Taylor, "Community Comments," *Times-Independent*, April 15, 1999; Thomas Kiernan to Bruce Babbitt, June 2, 1999; "Lost Your Right to Enjoy Public Lands, Heard About the Canyonlands Expansion Plan?," press release, Utah Land Heritage Preservation Group, Moab, Utah, summer 1999; Alford J. Banta to Mary Mataswick, Sandia Park, New Mexico, May 1, 2000; Mataswick to Banta, May 5, 2000; Russell Feingold, U.S. Senate to Banta, September 5, 2000; Ty Lewis to Chris Cannon, August 20, 2001; folder L 1417, Canyonlands Completion Plans, SEUG-CF.

126. Jerry Banta, interview by author, Moab, Utah, October 4, 2003, audiocassette; CANY 45551.

127. Ibid.

128. "Draft Charter, Canyon Country Partnership (CCP)," 1993; folder 3215 Canyon Country Partnership, SEUG-CF; Dabney interview. The goals and objectives of the CCP were as follows: (1) Information Sharing; (2) Trust Building; (3) Collaborative Problem Solving; (4) Future Plans; and (5) Public Dialogue.

129. Ty Lewis to Chairman, CCP, November 15, 1995; Lewis to Chairman, CCP, October 20, 1997; "Indian Creek Canyons, Partnership Plan," "1995 Minutes of Canyon Country Partnership," folder L 3215, Canyon Country Partnership, 1994–2002, SEUG-CF.

130. "Canyon Country Outdoor Education, Fact Sheet;" Files, DI-SEUG; Frederick interview; Dabney interview; Henderson interview. The Grand County and San Juan County programs have been staffed by NPS education specialists and technicians, and aided by CNHA funds for transportation and supplies. The program in Grand County also receives help from SCAs for twelve weeks a year and Americorps staff for nine hundred hours annually. Field trips include Arches and Canyonlands, the Matheson Wetlands by Moab, and various locations on BLM lands.

Afterword

HAVING SURVIVED the political and logistical struggles that dominated its history from Stewart Udall's 1961 Anderson Bottom proclamation through the Salt Creek issue, Canyonlands National Park has reached a certain maturity. Infrastructure finally reflects what is expected of a national park, as the Southeast Utah Group headquarters, the Moab and San Juan information centers and the administrative, maintenance and residential facilities in the districts make the dusty offices, antiquated trailers and prefabricated buildings of the park's early years but distant memories. Excellent visitor center displays and wayside exhibits along with a diverse array of published literature show how far the interpretive and cooperative association functions have grown from the days of hand-drawn maps, homemade displays and scant published offerings. Science has also progressed enormously from the time when little was known about the region, evidenced by the Northern Colorado Plateau Inventory and Monitoring Network and independent research across the disciplines that have combined to create an impressive knowledge base. Vanishing Treasures monies have helped build a cultural

resources staff better able to handle monitoring and stabilization tasks as well as perform overdue inventories. Public relations has improved greatly due to the continued efforts of the Canyon Country Partnership and the Canyon Country Outdoor Education program involving the Southeast Utah Group and local schools. Four decades of familiarity with Canyonlands National Park by the citizens of southeast Utah has also produced a greater degree of acceptance of the park by all but its most vehement opponents.

Despite this positive portrayal of a park now in its fifth decade, Canyonlands National Park faces big challenges. According to the 2004 National Parks and Conservation Association "State of the Parks" report on Canyonlands, the park rated "fair" in nine "natural resource" categories, "poor" or "critical" in five of seven "cultural resource" categories, and "poor" in three of five "stewardship capacity" categories. Only in "resource education" under the "stewardship" category was Canyonlands rated as "good." Although laudatory in places and written with an understanding of the park's political and economic challenges of the past, the

report claimed that marked improvements can be made at Canyonlands in both infrastructure and operations.¹

Occupying a niche below major western parks like Grand Canyon, Rocky Mountain, Glacier and Yosemite in a National Park Service ranking scheme based on cultural recognition, political and economic clout, and even under its Colorado Plateau neighbors, Zion, Bryce and Mesa Verde, Canyonlands is a “middle-tier” park that will continue to struggle to obtain funding and resources. National politics also plays a big role, evidenced by Bush administration policies and fiscal priorities that forced recent cuts in personnel and services. Similar to previous eras at the NPS when money was tight, the impacts on Canyonlands will be both immediate and cumulative with operations, maintenance, interpretation and compliance. The magnitude of the effects upon infrastructure and other park functions depends on the funding drought’s length. Because of the new developments in the Needles District, recent upgrades to Maze and Island in the Sky District facilities and the relatively good condition of park access roads, infrastructure will survive the short term, although the maintenance division has already felt the fiscal squeeze. With visitation to Canyonlands averaging about 400,000 people per year, the hardest impacts have been felt by the ranger staff and resource management division, affecting interpretation, resource protection, visitor safety, science and compliance. Short staffing also means less time educating visitors on park ethics and fewer ranger patrols to monitor backcountry activity or protect park resources. Additionally, although the Northern Colorado Plateau Monitoring Network will help in the long run with compliance issues, fewer managers and scientists means slower turnaround times and less intensive analysis in relation to planning and resource protection issues.

Although these issues are real, they are not unlike those at other parks in relation to their

own respective economic and political contexts. The distinctive problems at Canyonlands are instead more foundational; the purpose in creating the park, canyon country as a cultural place and the meaning of the national park concept. Dealing with a park with political borders that have little correlation to physical geography and surrounded by forces hostile to preservationism or those enamored of sedimentary geology who want minimal human use, the National Park Service has spent enormous energy at Canyonlands preserving the “resource” and finding a median between political extremes. Defined as a primitive park that offers a rich diversity of visitor experiences amidst an eclectic array of natural and cultural resources, Canyonlands has been portrayed by the NPS and commercial tourism as a component in a regional constellation of parks, monuments and recreation areas that individually and collectively offer a blend of adventure, solitude, automobile tourism and motorized recreation. Canyonlands is the primitive getaway; Arches the drive-through park; Capitol Reef something in between; Glen Canyon a haven for motorized recreation; and Natural Bridges and Hovenweep respites en route to the main attractions.

Canyonlands’ evolution toward a preservation-oriented model has been received differently across the political spectrum. However, as attempts by San Juan County and off-road vehicle groups to reopen Salt Creek and the Bush administration’s revisions of NPS rules have revealed, legal statutes and social norms in a common-law society are negotiable and preservationism is anathema to people enamored with technology who also believe in humankind’s dominion over nature. Instances of the dangers antipreservationism poses for Canyonlands are found throughout its history: plans for the Junction and Dark Canyon dams, reactionary arguments against creating the park, expansive road system designs, the nuclear waste dump and tar sands proposals, missile flyovers, OHV damage and other abuses in the area. Remaining vigilant against such threats while maintaining its identi-

ty as a primitive park at a time when preservation values are under duress nationally is crucial for Canyonlands National Park and the entire national park system.

Many problems at Canyonlands stem from its borders and their effects on resource protection and the park's cultural standing. Starting in the 1950s when the Park Service conceived a large park for the Canyonlands basin, the agency tried to preserve the region intact. When agreements with BLM to stop grazing and extractive industry abuses failed, Stewart Udall's one million acre "reserve" idea was designed to mitigate damage from economic activity and create a framework for park boundaries. Opposition based on perceived economic potential and antifederal feelings forced retraction of Canyonlands' 1964 borders to barely a quarter million acres with many areas left out. Even the 1971 act that added 87,000 acres including the Maze, the Land of Standing Rocks and Lavender and Davis Canyons, was a compromise that created a park with boundaries still misaligned with regional geography. Not included were the Orange Cliffs area including Panorama Point, Land's End and Cleopatra's Chair; the Buttes of the Cross, Millard Canyon, the Golden Stairs and Bagpipe Butte; Beef Basin, the North and South Six-Shooter Peaks; and most of the region east of the Colorado River from Indian Creek to Moab, including Lockhart Basin and the Canyon Rims area. The Island in the Sky is the only district close to being geographically complete, including all the important mesa-top vistas except for Dead Horse Point, the entire White Rim and canyons leading to the Green and Colorado Rivers.²

Because the rectangular survey system cannot capture the complexities of physical geography, national park units rarely include the entire watersheds or geographic zones as they relate to the defining landmarks or characteristics at most parks and monuments. Yet, whereas mountain geographies are hard to delineate,

with the exception of singular volcanic peaks like Mt. Rainier, Crater Lake and Lassen Peak, canyons have distinct natural boundaries that theoretically could determine park boundaries. This is especially true on the Colorado Plateau where sedimentary geomorphology produces sharply defined natural borders like at Grand Canyon, Canyonlands, Canyon de Chelly and to a lesser degree, Zion and Dinosaur. This results in easily delineated watersheds, ecosystems and aesthetic units.³ Although borders of the Plateau's canyon park units don't all align with geography and there are disagreements over what defines a watershed or how far park boundaries should extend from canyon rims, the borders of most park units in the region except for Canyonlands parallel canyon geographies. Granted, the boundaries of the Plateau's park units often resulted from lengthy political fights, and caveats remain at some which allow nonconforming uses within their territories, none come close to Canyonlands in how badly the political borders are misaligned with physical geography. Even at the Grand Canyon, where it took decades to create today's patchwork political geography of national park, recreation area and Indian lands, the main canyon from Marble Canyon to the Grand Wash Cliffs is reserved.⁴

Because much of the Canyonlands basin is under BLM or Glen Canyon NRA jurisdiction, the managers at Canyonlands National Park have had to remain diligent to preserve the integrity of regional viewsheds and ecosystems. Although NPS worries over grazing and mining in the basin were initially grounded in aesthetics, the agency developed a more ecological perspective as it learned more about the region and American society became environmentally conscious. The necessity of this shift became evident in the 1980s when the nuclear waste dump and tar sands crises threatened the park and revealed the liability of relying on scenic values to protect park resources. These threats pushed the National Parks and Conservation Association and Utah Congressman Wayne

Owens to propose adding 500,000 to 750,000 acres to Canyonlands that would have created a park similar to what the NPS and Udall conceived decades before.⁵

Although the plans from the NPCA and Owens were not viable because they had no support from Utah's congressional contingent, they reinvigorated the expansion idea at the Park Service and with SEUG Superintendent Walt Dabney. Introducing the "Canyonlands Completion" plan in 1999 that proposed expanding the park by 515,000 acres for a total of 852,000 acres, Dabney had added a new twist to an old idea. Instead of using prominent landmarks along the Wingate Sandstone cliffs to define "rim-to-rim," he wanted to use watershed boundaries that included side canyons and more of the Green River. Dabney's park would include the following: the Green River from Three Canyon to the park boundary; Spring, Hell Roaring and Mineral Canyons; The Block, Big Ridge, Land's End, The Spur and Horseshoe Canyon; Bowdie and Gypsum Canyons; Butler Wash; Cottonwood Canyon and Bridger Jack Mesa; Indian Creek to Newspaper Rock; the Canyon Rims from Hart's Point to Hurrah Pass including Hart's Draw, and areas between the Island in the Sky and Dead Horse Point State Park. Because these lands were already under NPS jurisdiction, in BLM wilderness study areas or in zones being considered for wilderness, Dabney believed that political opposition would be minimal and unitary federal administration would be more efficient. Although he had received support for the idea from Utah Congressman Chris Cannon, Dabney's belief that legislation would follow was based more in hopeful optimism than in Utah's political realities. With the debate over wilderness dominating the public discourse in Utah and local and state leaders never enamored with Canyonlands National Park opposed to expansion, Dabney's 1999 departure left "completion" without a political voice or momentum.⁶ Expansion thus retreated to the Southeast Utah Group files and National Park Service wish list.

Because the political borders at Canyonlands create so many problems, having the national park include the entire basin would simplify operations and planning. Eliminating jurisdictional disputes between agencies would free up labor and capital normally spent by the Park Service to deal with mining, oil, gas, grazing and off-road vehicle issues, and strategies could be developed for the ecological recovery of the entire basin. Planning could incorporate a unified strategy free from interagency turf issues and different management philosophies. The Canyon Rims would likely be turned over to the Park Service and interpretation and camping upgraded at the region's viewpoints, giving "windshield tourists" opportunities other than the Island in the Sky to enjoy the park with minimal intrusion on the basin outside a few more headlights at night. The Maze and Orange Cliffs areas would likely see little change other than interpretive exhibits at some overlooks and campground development in former Glen Canyon NRA lands, and the area's stature would increase because it was within the park. The core of the Needles District would remain the same, although additions to the north and south would expand visitor opportunities and NPS responsibilities. Extensions on the Green River would increase recreational use, create a need for river access above Mineral Bottom and push amendments to the river permit system. There would also be calls for more lodging, restaurants and better roads followed by inevitable controversy, although legislation, new social ethics and scarce water supplies would not allow the grandiose schemes of earlier times. Perhaps most importantly, "completion" would elevate Canyonlands' position in the NPS ranking scheme and increase its cultural stature in the public mind-set similar to what might have occurred if a rim-to-rim park was created decades before.

Independent of the expansion issue, Canyonlands National Park and its unique combination of geology, archaeology and aesthetics make it one of the park system's true treasures.

Anchored by its geology—the tabular cliffs rimming the basin, the surrealistic shapes of the Needles, the labyrinth of the Maze and the beautiful river corridors—Canyonlands is an open book into the processes of earth history that also displays a novel form of beauty. Amidst this wilderness of rocks are also found a verdant human historical record from the Archaic to the modern. This theme of diversity extends to activities for park visitors, including drive-through tourism, calm and whitewater river recreation, as well as hiking, four-wheel drive travel and camping amidst a primitive environment. An eclectic blend of resources and recreation found in few places, parks or otherwise, the characteristic of diversity that is Canyonlands' greatest strength has also created legal and administrative problems. Managing such diverse resources demands many fields of expertise and a complex division of labor to deal with interpretation, protection and compliance. Meanwhile, planning has been difficult in the evolving world of environmental law and popular culture, a dynamic that has often overwhelmed a park struggling to build basic infrastructure and survive economically and politically. Canyonlands National Park has thus served as a sort of test case for the National Park Service, an agency experiencing a learning curve systemwide with the new social and legal mores of the environmental era. However, separate from the pedagogical value of the park's colorful history to better understand institutional processes, environmental politics or preservation philosophies, a more mature Canyonlands National Park has entered the twentieth century as a powerful testament to beauty, wonder and the book of nature.

End notes

1. *Canyonlands National Park: A Resource Assessment* (Washington, D.C: National Parks and Conservation Association, 2004). The resource categories used in the NPCA's analysis were as follows: Natural Resources—Environmental and Biotic Measures, Biotic Impacts and Stressors, Air, Water, Soils, Ecosystems Measures, Species Composition and Condition, Ecosystem Extent and Function; Cultural Resources—Cultural Landscapes, Ethnography, Historic Structures, Archeology, Archival and Museum Collections, History; Stewardship Capacity—Funding and Staffing, Planning, Resource Education and External Support. The park rated best in the "Natural Resources Category," ranked from 63 to 75 percentile (out of 100), all in the "fair" range; poorest in the "Cultural Resources" category, from a low of 20 (critical) to a high of 70 percentile (fair); and in "Stewardship Capacity," from 44 (poor) to 90 percentile (good). The report also identified Canyonlands' low place in NPS funding priorities and how that hurt management of a park with such eclectic resources and difficult managerial challenges.

2. Stewart Udall's one million acre proposal included the Canyonlands basin from east to west between the Wingate Sandstone cliffs and from just north of the Island in the Sky District's northern boundary to just south of Beef Basin. After political opposition mounted, Udall and the NPS retracted the size of potential park areas to include core zones totaling approximately 400,000 acres near the most spectacular scenic areas that were surrounded by two zones with less protection. Park bills introduced in 1961–62 by Utah Senator Frank Moss and Congressmen Blaine Peterson and David King ranged from 310,000 to 350,000 acres and included the Island plateau, most of today's Needles District, the Maze and Standing Rocks regions and areas west and east of the rivers, but little of Lockhart Basin and none of the Canyon Rims or Orange Cliffs. Political negotiations based on economics and hunting reduced park bills to a low of 238,000 acres, eliminating all areas west of the rivers and much of the Needles, with negotiations raising the acreage to 257,400 which included more of the Needles. The 87,140-acre expansion in 1971 was focused west of the rivers, although additions were made at Lavender and Davis Canyons along with small reductions from the Island in the Sky. A drama that proved the validity of Alfred Runte's "worthless lands" thesis regarding the actual or perceived economic potential of lands in relation to consideration for park status, the political boundaries were made along township and section lines without regard for watersheds, ecosystems, or in some cases, scenic resources.

3. Grand Canyon National Park does not include the entire geographic Grand Canyon, as the western part of the canyon is divided between the Havasupai Indian Reservation, the Hualapai Indian Reservation and Lake Mead National Recreation Area. However, the park does encompass the canyon from rim to river where it does exist, albeit on one side of the river in places, as do the reservation and recreation area lands, with their respective borders located at varied distances from the rim of the main canyon. Although the Grand Canyon's gradient from rim to river is steeper than that of Canyonlands, having the border at Grand Canyon in a similar location geographically to that of Canyonlands would be analogous to having its boundary on the Tonto Platform, the bench land in the middle of the Grand Canyon. Zion National Park includes the watersheds of the North Fork of the Virgin River in Zion Canyon, the East Fork through Parunuweap Canyon and Kolob Canyons, and many square miles of the surrounding terrain. Canyon de Chelly encompasses all but the very upper part of Canyon de Chelly and Canyon Del Muerto, and all of Monument Canyon and Black Rock Canyons. Dinosaur National Monument includes all of the Green River Canyons from Split Mountain Canyon to Lodore Canyon, the Yampa River Canyon from Echo Park to Deer Park, the surrounding bench lands and much land on the monoclines and mountains surrounding the inner canyons. Bryce Canyon National Park, Capitol Reef National Park and Cedar Breaks National Monument are not considered in this analysis because they are not true canyons, but escarpments or monoclines, although smaller canyons cut across their main geographic features, the most notable being the Fremont River Gorge in Capitol Reef.

4. Michael F. Anderson; *Polishing the Jewel: An Administrative History of Grand Canyon National Park* (Grand Canyon Association, 2001); Dena S. Markoff, "Decision-Making That Shaped Zion National Park 1909–1981," unpub. ms; Zion National Park Archives. There are two characteristics that differentiate Canyonlands, Grand Canyon and Zion in regard to their creation and expansion processes; the eras in which the parks were created and their respective cultural and political places. Whereas Grand Canyon is the ultimate canyon landscape in scale and Zion is the romanticized "Yosemite in Oils" and park most identified by Utah's Mormon culture as "their park" because of name and geography, Canyonlands, despite its phenomenal geologic and archeological qualities, has struggled to find a niche in the cultural mainstream, and certainly in Utah. Grand Canyon National Park contains 1,218,375 acres and extends from Marble Canyon to the Grand Wash Cliffs. President Benjamin Harrison created Grand Canyon National Forest in 1893 north of the Grand Canyon, an area now part of the Kaibab National

Forest. President Theodore Roosevelt created the 1,279-square mile Grand Canyon National Game Preserve in 1906, a reserve that was upgraded to a national monument in 1908 and a national park in 1919, with the later move resulting in a reduction to 958 square miles. More land lost to the Havasupai Reservation in 1975 was offset by incorporation of the Marble Canyon and Grand Canyon National Monuments into Grand Canyon National Park that same year which doubled the park to its present size. Although concerns exist about Havasupai and Hualapai plans for their respective portions of the canyon, and the permitting of mining and grazing at Lake Mead NRA in some cases, the entire canyon geography is withdrawn from normal "entry" status. Zion National Park has 146,598 acres and includes Zion Canyon from its southern entrance to above the Narrows of the Virgin River, most of Parunuweap Canyon and the Kolob Canyons and Kolob Terrace to the west. Mukuntuweap National Monument was created in 1909 and included 15,804 acres encompassing lower Zion Canyon. Zion National Monument was created in 1918 and the acreage was increased to 76,800 acres, extending past the Narrows and including some of the high country, the same area made into a national park in 1919. In subsequent years the park was increased to its present size.

5. Although the 1982 NPCA proposal was a response to the nuclear waste dump plan that fell short of the rim-to-rim ideal, the plan reminded the NPS about past attempts to withdraw lands in the region from the Escalante National Monument through Canyonlands National Park. Owens took the NPCA plan after 1985 when the nuclear waste dump concept was essentially dead at Davis or Lavender Canyon and tried to introduce legislation to expand the park. By failing to consult his Republican colleagues in the Utah congressional delegation, he alienated possible co-sponsors and the bill died at a time when Utah and the nation were moving in a more conservative direction. This was also the time when Republican Jim Hansen was rising to power in the House and Republican Orrin Hatch became entrenched in the Senate. Whereas Hatch spent no political energy on environmental issues, Hansen became the conservative symbol of Utah land use politics and the antagonist to wilderness legislation for BLM or NPS lands over the next fifteen years. The political battle between Hansen and environmentalists from the mid-1990s through the early 2000s consumed most of the political capital in the region and hogged the media spotlight.

6. "Briefing Statement," March 3, 1999, Completion of Canyonlands National Park; "Draft—National Park Boundary Map, Canyonlands National Park and Vicinity, Completion Plan" August 1999, SEUG GIS/Cartography Division. The "Canyonlands Completion" plan was a for-

ward-thinking concept from a visionary park superintendent who wanted Canyonlands to align with the region's ecosystem and watershed and who believed that administrative efficiency would increase if the plan were implemented. However, he underestimated the potential opposition to the plan at the state or local levels, forcing the shelving of the concept for a later date.

Appendix A:

Visitation, Canyonlands National Park, 1965–2004

Year	Needles	Island	Maze	River	Total park
1965	4,554	11,845	—	3,000*	19,426
1966	5,435	11,774*	—	3,000*	20,234
1967	6,935	14,220*	—	2,000*	23,155
1968	8,168	15,650*	—	1,500*	26,318
1969	8,396	16,139*	—	1,500*	26,035
1970	13,978	17,882*	—	2,400*	33,360
1971	33,829*	19,615*	—	2,000*	55,444
1972	33,000*	23,250*	1,500*	3,000*	60,757
1973	32,500*	23,950*	1,700*	4,422	62,574
1974	31,000*	22,050*	1,900*	4,035	58,988
1975	35,000*	30,650*	2,000*	4,132	71,774
1976	37,000*	35,800*	2,000*	5,195	80,006
1977	35,000*	33,500*	2,200*	4,919	75,621
1978	38,000	40,000*	2,400*	5,894	86,307
1979	32,291	33,000	2,320	7,431	75,133
1980	19,248	27,748	2,540	7,429	56,965
1981	42,098	40,058	2,600	5,764	90,920
1982	43,975	44,580	3,132	6,623	98,310
1983	51,129	42,479	3,199	4,972	101,779
1984	56,297	39,793	3,161	6,395	105,646
1985	69,294	42,417	6,967	5,490	124,168
1986	84,256	78,628	7,025	7,150	177,059
1987	85,096	80,104	8,109	7,400	180,709
1988	84,020	114,728	7,606	7,863	214,217
1989	95,520	150,641	6,240	6,761	259,162
1990	111,623	151,878	11,424	7,118	282,043
1991	132,758	191,731	9,167	9,054	342,710
1992	153,286	222,605	10,529	10,491	396,911
1993	178,171	236,245	9,353	11,075	434,844
1994	170,431	234,860	14,477	10,153	429,921
1995	158,858	263,653	14,026	12,232	448,769
1996	165,122	258,006	11,212	13,187	447,527
1997	155,290	253,092	11,832	12,483	432,697
1998	160,764	253,329	9,546	12,885	436,524
1999	158,692	263,494	10,613	13,361	446,160
2000	139,087	238,666	10,982	12,823	401,558
2001	122,352	224,422	9,373	12,445	368,592
2002	244,508	123,028	9,977	9,416	386,929
2003	229,331	121,780	10,976	9,474	371,561
2004	246,370	127,180	8,323	9,619	391,492
Totals	3,512,662	3,938,582	228,409	286,091	7,965,744

Note: Before 1979 visitor numbers were estimated from registers in the Needles and Island in the Sky Districts, by traffic counters and ranger reports. River visitor statistics were accurate after 1973 because of permit systems. Records were accurate parkwide after 1979 because of permit systems, entrance fees, check points and more staff. Asterisks indicate estimated numbers.

Appendix B:

Southeast Utah Group/Canyonlands Complex visitation, 1961–2004

Year	Canyonlands	Archeo	Natural Bridges	Hovenweep	CC/SEUG
1961	n/a	90,673	7,689	3,300*	101,662
1962	n/a	105,666	10,146	4,000*	119,812
1963	7,827 @	118,216	11,576	5,300*	137,619
1964	6,100 @	99,726	10,531	6,400*	122,757
1965	19,520	143,901	19,278	7,600*	190,299
1966	20,200*	128,000*	29,800*	7,000*	185,000
1967	23,200*	120,300*	36,600*	7,200*	187,300
1968	26,300*	135,600*	37,800*	8,200*	207,900
1969	26,000*	162,600*	37,800*	7,200*	233,600
1970	33,400*	178,500*	39,900*	9,600*	261,400
1971	55,400*	202,100*	48,100*	12,000*	317,600
1972	60,639*	225,128*	57,776*	11,991*	355,534
1973	62,500*	274,900*	42,200*	12,000*	391,600
1974	59,000*	171,313	39,500*	10,900*	280,713
1975	71,700*	237,915	47,800*	13,200*	370,615
1976	80,000*	294,779	71,300*	19,200*	465,279
1977	75,500*	313,383	74,900*	16,400*	480,183
1978	85,932*	326,948	69,696*	17,548*	500,124
1979	74,545*	269,480	78,564*	14,815*	437,404
1980	56,965	290,519	63,988	13,591*	411,472
1981	90,920	326,508	60,681	13,628*	478,109
1982	98,310	339,415	56,329	13,532*	494,054
1983	101,779	287,875	56,833	13,837*	446,487
1984	105,646	345,180	59,895	14,322*	510,721
1985	124,168	363,464	62,097	14,601*	549,729
1986	177,059	419,442	73,918	15,583*	670,419
1987	180,709	468,916	89,043	18,579*	738,668
1988	214,217	520,455	99,359	22,134*	834,031
1989	259,162	555,809	104,622	26,798*	919,593
1990	282,043	620,719	102,758	27,260*	1,005,520
1991	342,710	705,882	125,356	26,858*	1,173,948
1992	396,911	701,744	139,960	27,149*	1,238,615
1993	434,844	773,678	152,304	25,633*	1,360,826
1994	429,921	777,178	134,980	24,767*	1,352,079
1995	448,769	859,372	147,436	27,020*	1,455,577
1996	447,527	855,970	137,168	27,526*	1,440,665
1997	432,697	858,525	142,373	24,465*	1,433,595
1998	436,524*	837,161*	126,360*	23,699*	1,423,744
1999	446,160*	869,980*	129,173*	47,593*	1,492,906
2000	401,558*	786,429*	112,573*	43,300*	1,343,860
2001	368,592*	754,026*	97,171*	37,396*	1,257,185
2002	367,078*	769,672*	98,281*	30,918*	1,265,949
2003	386,986*	757,781*	98,874*	29,737*	1,273,378
2004	371,706*	733,131*	96,106*	26,854*	1,227,797
Totals	7,345,996	19,177,509	3,338,594	810,634	30,672,733

Note: @ indicates BLM statistics before Canyonlands was a park; * indicates estimated figures.

Appendix C:

Visitors per month, BLM records, 1963 and 1964, Cave Springs and The Neck

Year	1963	1963	1964	1964
Month/Location	Cave Springs	The Neck	Cave Springs	The Neck
January	—	10	20	—
February	44	29	22	10
March	24	49	64	10
April	280	58	366	35
May	467	118	678	432
June	263	164	444	187
July	195	129	137	167
August	159	127	93	148
September	328	114	163	198
October	199	117	184	95
November	76	—	74	32
December	—	—	7	9
Totals	2,035	915	2,252	1,332

Note: These records compiled from BLM sign-in registers at Cave Springs and The Neck were included in the earlier tables estimating visitation to Canyonlands National Park before the park was legislated and Canyonlands staff began working in the field in late 1964/early 1965.

Appendix D:

Canyonlands National Park visitation by month, types of visits, 1979–2004

Month	Total visits	% Visits by month	Recreation visits	% Recreation visits	Non-recreation visits	% Non-recreation visits
January	82,186	1	79,692	97	2,494	3
February	102,116	1	100,306	98	1,810	2
March	532,398	7	529,805	99.5	2,593	.5
April	903,977	12	898,881	99	5,096	1
May	1,182,383	16	1,177,416	99.5	4,967	.5
June	880,601	12	876,381	99.5	4,220	.5
July	803,622	11	799,737	99.5	3,885	.5
August	871,274	12	867,228	99.5	4,046	.5
September	984,111	13	980,642	99.5	3,469	.5
October	788,661	11	785,628	99.5	3,033	.5
November	251,379	3	248,696	99.5	2,683	.5
December	95,386	1	91,947	96	3,439	4
Totals	7,478,094	100	7,436,359	—	41,735	—

Appendix E:

Number of visitors by resource management areas (RMAs), Bureau of Land Management, Moab District

Year	Colorado River RMA	Grand extensive RMA	Canyon Rims RMA	Total of RMAs
1980	75,000	60,000	47,370	182,370
1981	77,159	60,000	47,246	184,405
1982	30,000	65,500	36,000	131,500
1983	30,500	66,000	36,500	133,000
1984	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1985	50,000	79,890	47,000	176,890
1986	72,155	92,440	33,627	198,222
1987	103,777	93,678	41,211	238,666
1988	138,651	103,040	52,667	294,358
1989	217,676	523,100	43,065	813,841
1990	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1991	144,800	484,500	40,000	669,300
1992	144,800	535,950	40,000	717,750
1993	244,700	532,950	55,000	832,650
1994	328,401	181,414	42,768	555,583
1995	495,000	494,750	51,064	1,040,814
1996	747,703	432,820	35,817	1,216,340
1997	387,235	966,718	107,743	1,491,696
1998	382,150	674,292	75,143	1,131,585
1999	508,907	817,945	65,071	1,391,923
2000	458,366	736,787	58,881	1,254,034
2001	638,322	1,301,487	74,105	2,013,914
2002	729,319	1,348,938	90,771	2,169,028
2003	904,149	1,499,837	171,910	2,575,896
2004	915,558	1,481,417	191,620	2,599,595
Totals	7,029,410	11,516,805	1,099,893	19,646,108

Appendix F:

Dead Horse Point State Park visitation, 1962–2004

Year	Visitation	Year	Visitation
1962	15,000*	1984	91,918
1963	17,512*	1985	79,397
1964	20,244*	1986	102,889
1965	82,479	1987	105,821
1966	40,311	1988	107,368
1967	24,700	1989	113,383
1968	31,640	1990	119,556
1969	34,587	1991	141,498
1970	38,173	1992	169,530
1971	57,410	1993	174,551
1972	70,712	1994	179,966
1973	68,369	1995	205,769
1974	56,343	1996	202,452
1975	73,602	1997	185,122
1976	129,225	1998	170,010
1977	100,092	1999	204,367
1978	97,055	2000	173,680
1979	116,854	2001	156,627
1980	115,764	2002	164,737
1981	148,698	2003	161,774
1982	142,601	2004	145,800
1983	82,031	Total	4,768,617

Appendix G:

Newspaper Rock State Park visitation, 1999–2004

Year	Visitation
1999	42,211
2000	60,093
2001	51,000
2002	62,321
2003	31,180
2004	34,692

Note: Visitation numbers at Newspaper Rock were not consistently kept by the BLM before the late 1990s, with these numbers compiled from estimated percentage of visitors from the Needles District of Canyonlands National Park that were believed to have stopped at Newspaper Rock.

Appendix H:

Grazing allotments, Canyonlands National Park

Allotment # and name	Allottee	Dates of use	AUMs sheep	AUMs cattle	AUMs not used	Grazing lease/end of grazing
1B-Private Inholding	Robert Redd	—	—	+—	—	Upon purchase of land
2A-Upper Salt Creek (old park boundary)	Robert Redd	5-1-9/30	0	450	0	6/30/75
2B-Upper Salt Creek (new park boundary)	Robert Redd	—	0	120 [#]	0	1982
3A-Lower Salt Creek (old park boundary)	Robert Redd	10/1-10/30 12/1-1/15	0 0	90 (Oct) 135 (Dec-Jan)	0 0	6/30/75 6/30/75
3B-Lower Salt Creek (new park boundary)	Robert Redd	—	0	75 [#]	0	1982
4A-Butler Flat	Robert Redd	When snow on ground	0	100	0	6/30/75
5A-Squaw Flat	Robert Redd	11/16-4/30	0	315	0	6/30/75
6B-State lands	Indian Creek Cattle Co.	—	0	15 [#]	0	1/1/79
7A&B-Flint Trail	Moynier and Sons	11/16-5/15	755	0	0	1982
8B-State lands	Moynier and Sons	—	20 [#]	0	0	1982
9B-State lands	Moynier and Sons	—	10 [#]	0	0	1/1/76
10A&B-Soda Springs	Emery Holman	—	2,065	0	0	6/30/75
11A&B-White Rim	Tad Paxton	—	1,071	0	0	6/30/75
12B-Lockhart Basin, Lower Hart's Draw	—	—	0	0	50 [#]	6/30/75
13A-Horseshoe Canyon (old park boundary)	Churchill Brothers	11/16-5/15	90	0	0	6/30/75
13B-Horseshoe Canyon (new Park boundary)	Churchill Brothers	—	100 [#]	0	0	1982
14B-State lands	Lewis McKinney	—	0	0	10 [#]	1/1/76
15A&B-Horseshief	Lewis McKinney	—	0	0	30 [#]	A-1975 B-1982
16B-State lands	Adalena Morgan	—	0	0	1 [#]	1/1/76
17B-State lands	John Holman	—	0	0	10 [#]	1/1/77
18A-Gray's Pasture	Ina Young, Fournier & Giles	—	250 1,083	0 0	0 0	6/30/75
18B-Gray's Pasture	—	—	100 [#]	0	0	1982
19A&B-Big Flat	Ina Young, Farmer Bros.	—	0	6,983	0	A-6/30/75 B-1982
21B-State lands	Karl Tangren	—	0	0	25 [#]	1/1/76
22A&B-Shafer Trail	Karl Tangren	—	0	161	0	A-6/30/75 B-1982
23-Chesler Park	Not grazed, botanical fragility	—	—	—	—	—
24-Cataract Canyon	Not grazed, bighorn sheep habitat	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	—	—	5,574	8,424	126	—

"A:"refers to grazing lands that were within the park that was established in 1964.

"B" refers to grazing lands that were within the areas added to the park in 1971.

*Asterisk indicates an approximation, not an exact calculation.

Note: Dates of use not listed indicate variable schedules depending on seasonal precipitation, climate and grass conditions. Most areas in the Canyonlands basin were grazed between November and April for two to three months.

Appendix I:

Mineral, oil, and gas leases, Canyonlands National Park

Location	Lease holder	Type	Lease terms
1) R 19E T 26S, section 36 (state land)	Seven Mile Uranium Co., Denver, Colorado	Metallic mineral	Renewable upon payment of yearly fee
2) R 17E T 30S, section 2 W1/2 SE1/4	Spartan Uranium Co., Salt Lake City, Utah	Metallic mineral	Renewable upon payment of yearly fee
3) R 19E T 26S, section 23 SE1/4; section 24 all; section 25 all; section 26 E1/2; section 25N1/2NE1/4, SE1/4NE1/4	James Ruby (50%), Moab, Utah; and Pure Oil Co. (50%), Denver, Colorado	Oil and gas	Lease automatically extended if production in unit area until 11/1/72; may be extended
4) R 18E T 26S, section 35 SW1/4NE1/4; section 36 S_ SE1/4 and more	As above	Oil and gas	As above
5) R 19E T 26S, section 35 SE1/4	As above	Oil and gas	As above
6) R 19E T 26S, section 35 S1/4	As above	Oil and gas	As above
7) R 19E T 26S, section 35 S_ NW1/4 and more	As above	Oil and gas	As above
8) R 18E T 27S, section 7 SE1/4	Guernsey Van Riper, Jr., Indianapolis, Ind.	Oil and gas	Expired 3/1/73
9) R 19E T 27S, section 12 S1/2NW1/4, SW1/4SW1/4	William D. Hewit, Denver, Colorado	Oil and gas	Expired 8/1/76
10) R 19E T 26S, section 23 N/12 SE1/4	As above	Oil and gas	Expired 11/1/75
11) R 19E T 26S, section 13 W1/2; S14 E_, SE 1/2NW1/4, E1/2 SW1/4	As above	Oil and gas	Expires 11/1/75
12) R 19E T 26S, section 23 N1/2 SE1/4 S 24, all	As above	Oil and gas	Expired 11/1/75
13) R 19E T 30S section 19 S1/2SE1/4	Superior Oil, Houston, Texas	Oil and gas	Expired 3/1/74
14) R 19E T 31S, section 10 NE1/2	Raymond R. Powell, Springfield, Illinois	Oil and gas	Expired 1/1/73
15) R 19E T 31S, section 10 SE1/4	Earl N. Swayze, Seaside Heights, New Jersey	Oil and gas	Expired 1/1/73
Totals (15 claims)	10 Colorado, 1 Utah, 1 Texas, 1 Illinois, 1 Indiana, 1 New Jersey	Metallic mineral, 2; oil and gas, 13.	7 open-ended; 3 in 1973; 1 in 1974; 3 in 1975; 1 in 1976

Note: These were the existing validated claims/leases known to exist in the mid-1970s before the 10,000 other claims inside Canyonlands National Park had been investigated and, in most cases, invalidated.

Appendix J: Road inventory, Needles District, Canyonlands National Park

Route	Terminus	Paved	Gravel	Dirt	Total miles
010	Needles entrance to Big Spring Canyon	21.87	—	—	21.87
100	Cave Spring, Rt. 10 to Cave Spring	.79	—	.95	1.74
101	Lavender Canyon, SE entrance to L. C.	—	—	3.82	3.82
102	Davis Canyon, SE Border to D. C.	—	—	2.32	2.32
103	Horse Canyon, Rt. 104 to Horse Canyon	—	—	6.21	6.21
104	Salt Creek, Rt. 100 to Horse Canyon	—	—	13.10	13.10
105	Colorado River Overlook, Rt. 10 to Col. O. L.	—	—	7.36	7.36
106	Elephant Hill, Rt. 201 to Rt. 207	—	—	6.71	6.71
107	Devils Lane, south to Confluence	—	—	11.98	11.98
200	Squaw Flat c. g. loop A, Rt. 10 C. G.	1.07	—	—	1.07
201	Squaw Flat c. g. loop B, Rt. 200 to C. G.	.50	—	—	.50
202	Canyonlands Resort, Rt. 10 to park border	.36	—	—	.36
203	Lavender Canyon branch, Rt. 10 to dead end	—	—	2.66	2.66
204	Davis Canyon branch, Rt. 10 to D. C.	—	—	1.29	1.29
205	Tower Ruin, Rt. 10 to ruin	—	—	.69	.69
206	Paul Bunyan's Potty, Rt. 103 to P. B. P.	—	—	.15	.15
207	Chesler Canyon, Rt. 107 to dead end	—	—	3.65	3.65
208	Cyclone Canyon, Rt. 107 to dead end	—	—	3.20	3.20
209	Devils Kitchen camp, Rt. 106 to camp	—	—	.15	.15
225	Angel Arch, Rt. 104 to arch trailhead	—	—	1.39	1.39
400	Needles residence access, Rt. 10 to Rt. 100	1.26	—	—	1.26
401	BLM unnumbered route south to dead end	—	.18	—	.18
402	General building, Rt. 400 to building	—	—	.10	.10
403	Needles residence maintenance. Loop, Rt. 400	—	.22	—	.22
404	Well access, Rt. 10 to well house	—	—	.48	.48
405	Landfill, Rt. 104 to landfill	—	—	.10	.10
500	Elephant Hill return, Rt. 7 to Rt. 106	—	—	2.09	2.09
No #	Squaw Slot road	—	—	.1	.1
No #	Needles headquarters road	—	—	.1	.1
Total	29 routes	25.85	.40	68.40	94.65

Note: "CG" is abbreviation for campground, and other abbreviations are shortened versions of proper names used earlier in description; for example, "L. C." for Lavender Canyon. Park roads were inventoried in the late 1970s and early 1980s and these numbers were the foundation for park backcountry planning in relation to roads during the 1980s and 1990s.

Bibliography

Archives and manuscript collections:

Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia:

—Joseph Leidy Papers, Collection I.

Arizona State University:

—Carl Trumbull Hayden Papers, Mss 001.

Bates Wilson Family Collection, Tucson, Arizona (private).

Brigham Young University, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library:

—Wallace Bennett Papers, Mss 20.

—Lynn Fausett Papers, Mss 2132.

Bureau of Land Management.:

—San Juan District Office Central Files and Archives, Monticello, Utah.

—Grand District Central Files and Archives, Moab, Utah.

—Richfield District, Hanksville Office, Hanksville, Utah, Central Files and Archives.

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Historical Department:

—Elk Mountain Mission Journals.

Denver Public Library:

—Roger Toll Papers, Mss CONS 220.

—Wilderness Society Papers, Mss CONS 130.

Fran and Terby Barnes Collection, Moab, Utah (private).

Glen Canyon National Recreation Area:

—Archives.

—Central files.

Museum of Northern Arizona Special Collections:

—Gene Foster Photograph Collection, Mss 287.

National Archives and Records Administration, Rocky Mountain Region, Lakewood, Colorado:

—National Park Service Records, National Archives.

—Bureau of Land Management Records, National Archives.

—National Park Service Records, Federal Records Center.

New York Public Library:

—Robert Brewster Stanton Papers, W 89-a633.

Northern Arizona University, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Cline Library:

—*Desert Magazine* Collection, Ms 70.

—Emery Kolb Collection, Ms 197.

—Stuart M. Young Collection, Ms 207.

Smithsonian Institution:

—Spencer Baird Papers, Natural History Archives,

Department of Vertebrate Zoology.

—Frederick Dellenbaugh Papers, MS 2030, Anthropology Archives.

Southeast Utah Group, National Park Service, Moab, Utah:

—Arches National Park Administrative Collection, ARCH 1860.

—Canyonlands National Park Administrative Collection, CANY 36607.

—Natural Bridges Administrative Collection, NABR 2631.

—Southeast Utah Group Central Files (all subjects).

—Southeast Utah Group Interpretive Division Records, CANY 36283.

—Canyonlands National Park Proposed Nuclear Waste Repository Collection, CANY 36010.

—Canyonlands National Park Concessions Specialist Papers, CANY 36585.

—Canyonlands National Park River Management Plan Collection, CANY 36589.

—Canyonlands National Park Backcountry Management Plan Collection, CANY 36587.

—1984 Canyonlands National Park Backcountry Management Plan Collection, CANY 36586.

—1974 Arches and Canyonlands National Park Wilderness Hearings Collection, CANY 36588.

—Needles District Natural Resource Management Documents, CANY 36718.

—Maze District Ranching Collection, CANY 36321.

—Southeast Utah Group Fixed Property Records Collection, CANY 36308.

—Canyonlands National Park 25th Anniversary Collection, CANY 36284.

—Needles Visitor Center Dedication Collection, CANY 36290.

—CANY 40585 (unnamed collection).

—Southeast Utah Group Photographic Archives.

—Southeast Utah Group Concessions Division Files.

—Southeast Utah Group Cultural Resource Division Files.

—Southeast Utah Group Natural Resource Division Files.

—Southeast Utah Group Ranger Division Files.

—Southeast Utah Group Interpretation Division Files.

University of Arizona Special Collections, Main Library:

—Edward Abbey Papers, Ms 271.

—Stewart Lee Udall Papers, Az 372.

University of Utah, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, J. Willard Marriott Library:
 —Charles Eggert Papers, Accn 1659.
 —Kent Frost Papers, Accn 1687.
 —Charles Butler and Alice Hunt Papers, Accn 1430.
 —Frank Moss Papers, Ms 0146.

Utah State Archives Records Center, Salt Lake City:
 —Papers of Governor Henry Hooper Blood, 1933–1941.

—Papers of Governor George Dewey Clyde, 1957–1965.

—Papers of Governor Calvin L. Rampton, 1965–1977.

—Papers of Governor Norman H. Bangerter, 1985–1993.

—Papers of Governor Scott Matheson, 1977–1985.

Utah State University, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Merrill-Cazier Library:

—Sierra Club Papers, Uinta Chapter, Ms 148.

—Gary Milton Smith Papers, Ms 132.

—Utah Wilderness Coalition Papers, Ms 200.

Interviews:

Adrienne Anderson. Englewood, Colorado, August 17, 2004.

Jean Atthowe. July 29, 2004, Stephensville, Montana.

Alford J. (Jerry) Banta. October 4, 2003, Moab, Utah.

Jim Braggs. October 2, 2003, Moab, Utah.

David Brower. May 5, 2000, Moab, Utah.*

Gary Cox. Hans Flat, Utah, February 13, 2005.

Walt Dabney. October 26 and 27, 2006, Austin, Texas.

Nicholas Eason. August 28, 2003, Moab, Utah.

Sandra Eshom. June 10, 2004, Moab, Utah.

Bill Foreman. Moab, Utah, June 16, 2004.

Larry Frederick. Rocky Mountain National Park, August 7, 2004.

Mike Hill. October 1, 2003, Moab, Utah.

Sandra Holloway. September 25, 2003, Moab, Utah.

Robert Kerr. July 11, 2003, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Peter Parry. June 2, 2003, Moab, Utah.

Lloyd Pierson. June 5, 2003, Moab, Utah.

James Randall. Estes Park, Colorado, August 7, 2004.

Heidi Redd. Dugout Ranch, Utah, June 19, 2004.

Glenn Sherill. February 15, 2005, Moab, Utah.

Bill Sloan. August 1, 2005, Moab, Utah.

Sam Taylor. June 4, 2003, Moab, Utah.

Stewart Udall. October 7, 2000, Santa Fe, New Mexico.*

John Urbanek. August 28, 2003, Moab, Utah.

Harvey Wickware. June 3, 2003, Moab, Utah.

Woodrow Williams. May 28, 2004, Greenville, North Carolina.

Alan “Tug” Wilson. July 9, 2003, Boulder, Colorado.

Thomas Wylie. November 6, 2003, Englewood, Colorado.

* indicates that tapes and transcripts from interview are possessed by both the author and the Northern Arizona University Cline Library Special Collections, Flagstaff, Arizona. The tapes and transcripts from all other interviews listed are held by the Southeast Utah Group Archives in Moab, Utah.

Books:

Abbey, Edward. *Desert Solitaire: A Season in the Wilderness*. New York: Ballantine, 1968.

———. *Slickrock: The Canyon Country of Southeastern Utah*. New York: Scribners, 1971.

———. *The Monkey Wrench Gang*. New York: Lippincott, 1975.

The Ancient Culture of the Fremont River in Utah: Report of the Exploration Under the Claflin-Emerson Fund, 1928–1929. Peabody Museum Papers, vol. 12, no. 3, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928.

Anderson, Michael F. *Polishing the Jewel: An Administrative History of Grand Canyon National Park*. Grand Canyon Village, Arizona: Grand Canyon Association, 2000.

Aton, James A., and Robert S. McPherson. *River Flowing to Sunrise: An Environmental History of the Lower San Juan*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000.

Baars, Donald. *The Colorado Plateau: A Geologic History*. Santa Fe: University of New Mexico Press, 1983.

Baker, Pearl. *The Wild Bunch at Robber's Roost*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

———. *Robber's Roost Recollections*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976.

Barnes, Fran. *Hiking the Historic Route of the 1859 Macomb Expedition*. Moab, Utah: Canyon Country Publications, 1989.

Bassford, Amy, ed. *Home Thoughts from Afar: Letters of Thomas Moran to Mary Moran*. East Hampton Free Library, 1967.

Beadle, J.H.. *Life in Utah, or the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism*. Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1870.

———. *Brigham's Destroying Angel: Being the Life, Confessions and Startling Disclosures of the Notorious Bill Hickham, the Danite Chief of Utah*. New York: G.A. Crofutt, 1872.

Carson, Rachel. *Silent Spring*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1962.

Coues, Elliot, ed. *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés, in his Travels Through Sonora, Arizona and California, 1775–1776*. New York: Francis Harper, 1900.

Crampton, C. Gregory. *Standing Up Country: The Canyon Lands of Utah and Arizona*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1964.

Dellenbaugh, Frederick. *A Canyon Voyage*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984.

De Terra, Helmut. *The Life and Times of Alexander von*

- Humboldt, 1769–1859. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1955.
- Engstrand, Iris. *Spanish Scientists in the New World*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.
- Firmage, Richard. *A History of Grand County*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1996.
- Four Corners Geological Society Guidebook, 8th Field Conference, Canyonlands, 1975*. Four Corners Geological Society, Durango, Colorado, 1975.
- Freeman, Lewis. *The Colorado River: Yesterday, To-Day and To-Morrow*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1923.
- Fremont, John C. *The Expeditions of John Charles Fremont*, 2 vols., Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, eds. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970.
- Frost, Kent. *My Canyonlands: I Had the Freedom of It*. New York: Abelard-Shuman, 1971.
- Goetzmann, William. *New Lands, New Men: America and the Second Great Age of Discovery*. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1995.
- Gomez, Art. *Quest for the Golden Circle: The Four Corners and the Metropolitan West, 1945–1970*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994.
- Hall, Ansel. *General Report on the Rainbow Bridge Monument Valley Expedition of 1933*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1934.
- Hunt, Charles. *Geology of the Henry Mountains, Utah, as Recorded in the Notebooks of G. K. Gilbert, 1875–1876*. Boulder, Colorado: Geological Society of America, 1988.
- Ise, John. *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961.
- Jackson, William Henry. *The Diaries of William Henry Jackson: Frontier Photographer, to California and Return, 1866–67, to the Central Rockies, 1873, and the Utes and Cliff Dwellings, 1874*, LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds. Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clarke, 1959.
- Kelly, Charles. *The Outlaw Trail: A History of Butch Cassidy and the Wild Bunch*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1938.
- Kolb, Emery L. *Through the Grand Canyon from Wyoming to Mexico*. New York: MacMillan, 1915.
- Lee, Willis T. *Stories in Stone: Telling of Some of the Wonders of Western America and Some of the Incidents in the History of Geology*. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1926.
- The Letters and Correspondence of T. Mitchell Prudden*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927.
- Lewis, Meriwether. *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark: To the Sources of the Missouri, Thence Across the Rocky Mountains and Down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, Performed During the Years 1804–5–6*, ed. Nicholas Biddle. Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1814.
- Long, Stephen H. *An Account of An Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819–1820*, vols. Philadelphia: H.C. Carey and L. Lea, 1823.
- Lubick, George. *Petrified Forest National Park: A Wilderness Bound in Time*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996.
- Lummis, Charles. *Some Strange Corners of Our Country: The Wonderland of the Southwest*. New York: Century, 1892.
- . *Mesa, Canon and Pueblo*. New York: Century, 1925.
- Lyell, Charles. *Principles of Geology*, vols. I, II, and III. London: J. Murray, 1830–33.
- McNitt, Frank, ed. *Navajo Expedition: Journal of a Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Navajo Country Made in 1849 by James H. Simpson*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.
- McPherson, Robert. *A History of San Juan County: In the Palm of Time*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1996.
- Miller, David. *Hole-in-the-Rock*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1959.
- National Parks for the 21st Century: The Vail Agenda*. Chelsea Green Publishing, Post Mills, Vermont: 1992.
- Negri, Richard F. *Tales of Canyonlands Cowboys*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997.
- Nelson, Lowry. *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Settlement*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952.
- O'Brien, Bob R. *Our National Parks and the Search for Sustainability*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999.
- Paul, Erich Robert. *Science, Religion and Mormon Cosmology*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Perkins, Cornelia Adams Perkins, Marion Gardner Nielson and Lenora Butt Jones. *Saga of San Juan*. Mercury Publishing: 1968.
- Peterson, Charles. *Look to the Mountains: Southeastern Utah and the La Sal National Forest*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975.
- Pike, Zebulon. *An Account of the Expeditions to the Source of the Mississippi, and Through the Western Parts of Louisiana, to the Sources of the Arkansas, Kans, La Platte and San Juan Rivers, During the Years, 1805, 1806, and 1807, and Tour Through the Interior Parks of New Spain in the Year 1807*. Philadelphia: C. C. Conrad, 1810.
- Powell, John Wesley. *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962 [1878].
- Prudden, T. Mitchell. *On the Great American Plateau*. New York: Putnam, 1906.
- Pyne, Stephen. *Grove Karl Gilbert: A Great Engine of Research*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980.
- . *How the Canyon Became Grand: A Short History*. Viking: New York, 1998.
- Rennie, Dwight F. *Our National Park System: Caring for America's Greatest Natural and Historic Treasures*.

Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Riis, John. *Ranger Trails*. Richmond, Virginia: Dietz Press, 1937.

Rothman, Hal. *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Runte, Alfred. *National Parks: The American Experience*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Scorup, Stena. *J. A. Scorup: A Utah Cattleman*. Scorup Family: 1944.

Sellers, Richard. *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Smith, Dwight, ed. *Down the Colorado*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

Snead, James. *Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001.

Stegner, Wallace. *Mormon Country*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970.

Stegner, Wallace, ed. *Echo Park Country and its Magic Rivers*. New York: Knopf, 1954.

Stone, Julius. *Canyon Country: The Romance of a Drop of Water and a Grain of Sand*. New York: Putnam, 1932.

Tanner, Faun McConkie. *The Far Country: A Regional History of Moab and La Sal, Utah*. Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing, 1976.

Topping, Gary. *Glen Canyon and the San Juan Country*. Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1977.

Udall, Stewart. *The Quiet Crisis*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.

Von Humboldt, Alexander. *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, 4 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1811.

Warner, Ted J., ed., and Angelico Chavez, trans. *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal: The Expedition Through Colorado, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico in 1776*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995.

Articles:

Abbey, Edward. "Edward Abbey Would Prefer to Walk." *Outside Magazine* July/August 1978.

Barnes, F.A. "The Walking Rocks: A Trip Along the White Rim Trail in Canyonlands National Park." *Desert Magazine*. (May 1976): 24.

Beadle, J. H. "The Silver Mountains of Utah." *Harpers* 53 (October 1876): 641-42.

Beaman, E. O. "The Cañon of the Colorado and the Moqui Pueblos" [Introduction and Chapter I]. *Appleton's Journal* 11 (April 18, 1874): 481-84.

———. "The Cañon of the Colorado and the Moqui Pueblos" [Chapter II]. *Appleton's Journal* (April 25, 1874): 513-16.

———. "The Cañon of the Colorado and the Moqui Pueblos" [Chapters III and IV]. *Appleton's Journal* (May 2, 1874): 545-48.

———. "The Cañon of the Colorado and the Moqui Pueblos" [Chapters V and VI]. *Appleton's Journal* (May 9, 1874): 590-93.

Benedict, K. C. "A Utah Cowman's Legacy." *True West* 35 (December 1988): 48-51.

———. "The Legacy of John Albert Scorup." *Blue Mountain Shadows* 6 (Spring 1990): 12-20.

Bishop, Francis Marion. "Captain Francis Marion Bishop's Journal." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15 (1949): 159-238.

Borah, Leo. "Utah: Carved by Winds and Waters." *National Geographic* 55 (May 1936): 577-623.

Bowman, J. L. "Oil-Impregnated sandstones between Dirty Devil and Colorado and Green Rivers, Garfield and Wayne Counties, Utah." *American Association of Petroleum Geologists Bulletin* 53 (1969): 218.

Bradley, George W. "George W. Bradley's Journal." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15 (1947): 31-72.

Breed, Jack. "Utah's Arches of Stone." *National Geographic* 92 (August 1947): 173-93.

———. "First Motor Sortie into Escalante Land." *National Geographic* 96 (September 1949): 369-404.

———. "Roaming the West's Fantastic Four Corners." *National Geographic* 101 (June 1952): 705-42.

Brower, David. "An Ascent of Shiprock." *Sierra Club Bulletin* 25 (July 1940): 1-7.

Cannon, James. "Canyonlands Controversy: Should Utah Mine Minerals or Tourists?" *Desert Magazine* 26 (April 1963): 21, 23, 34.

———. "Utah's Canyonlands." *Desert Magazine* 29 (May 1965): 9-11.

"Canyonlands National Park: Our Newest National Park." *National Parks Magazine* 38 (November 1964): 17.

Carroll, W. G. "Jeep Trail Utah's Rugged Needles Country." *Desert Magazine* 19 (November 1956): 5-9.

Covington, R. E. "Bituminous sandstone and limestone deposits of Utah: Oil and Gas Possibilities of Utah Re-evaluated." *Utah Geological and Mineralogical Survey Bulletin* 54 (1963): 225-47.

———. "Thermal Recovery may bring industry's quiet revolution." *Oil and Gas Journal* 62 (1963): 112-118.

Cummings, Byron. "The Great Natural Bridges of Utah." *National Geographic* 21 (February 1920): 157-66.

Detzer, Jordan. "God's Gift from the Desert." *Desert Magazine* 22 (December 1959): 2-3.

Dobbins, Althea and Robert Marshall. "Largest Roadless Areas in the United States." *The Living Wilderness* 2 (November 1936): 11-13.

Garner, Ray and Virginia. "Land of Standing Rocks." *Arizona Highways* 26 (May 1950): 16-27.

Grant, George. "The Country Beyond." Pt. I. *National Parks Magazine* 16 (October-December 1942): 13-16.

———. "The Country Beyond." Pt. II. *National Parks Magazine* 17 (January-March 1943): 17-20.

- . "The Country Beyond, Pt. III. *National Parks Magazine* 17 (October–December): 15–18.
- Heald, Weldon. "Bold Plan to Save Canyonlands." *Desert Magazine* 25 (April 1962): 18–21.
- . "A Canyonlands National Park." *National Parks Magazine* 37 (January 1963): 4–9.
- . "Canyonlands National Park." *Arizona Highways* 47 (June 1966): 10–11, 29–33.
- "Hearings Held on Canyonlands National Park." *National Parks Magazine* 37 (June 1963): 14.
- Henderson, Randall. "Glyph Hunters in the Indian Country." *Desert Magazine* 10 (November 1946): 11–16.
- . "We Explored Dark Canyon." *Desert Magazine* 10 (December 1946): 5–11.
- . "19 Days on Utah Trails—Part I." *Desert Magazine* 12 (October 1949): 5–11.
- . "19 Days on Utah Trails—Part II." *Desert Magazine* 12 (November 1949): 19–25.
- . "We camped in the Land of Standing Rocks." *Desert Magazine* 21 (October 1957): 5–11.
- Hunt, Alice. Archeological Survey in the La Sal Mountain Area, Utah. *University of Utah Anthropological Papers* No. 14 (Salt Lake City: U of Utah P, 1953): 239–48.
- Hunt, Alice and D. Tanner. "Early Man Sites near Moab, Utah." *American Antiquity* 26 (1960): 110–17.
- "In Utah: An Early Look at our Newest National Park." *Sunset* 135 (October 1965): 30–34.
- Judd, Neil. "The Discovery of Rainbow Bridge." *National Parks Bulletin* 9 (1927): 7–16.
- . "Beyond the Clay Hills." *National Geographic* 45 (March 1921): 269–301.
- . "Delicate Arch and the La Sal Mountains." *Life* 34 (April 13, 1953): Cover photograph.
- Kessell, Dmitri. "The Colorado: A Wild and Beautiful River is Put to Work for Man." *Life* 17 (October 23, 1944): 72–86.
- Lambert, Neal. "Al Scorup: Cattleman of the Mountains." *Blue Mountain Shadows* 6 (Spring 1990): 1–6.
- Lavender, David. "Mormon Cowboy." *Desert Magazine* 3 (October 1940): 4–8.
- Lucius, William. "Archeological Investigations in the Maze District, Canyonlands NP, Utah." *Antiquities Section, Selected Papers* 11, University of Utah Anthropology Department Papers, 1976.
- Malouf, Carling. "Some Notes on the Archaeology of the Barrier Canyon Region, Utah." *Masterkey* 15 (July 1941): 150–53.
- Manahan, Patrick. "Canyonlands: Beauty Vast and Austere." *Westways* 57 (October 1965): 14–16, 48.
- Merchant, Leland. "U.S. Tar Sands: Drawing Interest but no Mega-Projects are on the Horizon." *Energy and Mineral Journal*, June 1981.
- Moore, W. Robert. "Cities of Stone in Utah's Canyonlands." *National Geographic* 121 (May 1962): 653–78.
- . "Escalante: Utah's River of Arches." *National Geographic* 108 (September 1955): 399–425.
- Morss, Noel. "The Ancient Culture of the Fremont River in Utah." *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 12 (1931): 38–57.
- Moss, Frank. "Canyon Country Parkway." *Home Magazine* (December 17, 1973): 26–29.
- Musselman, Ross and Maxine. "Rockhounding in the Canyonlands." *Desert Magazine* 26 (April 1963): 7, 37.
- Nestler, Alfred. "Our Island in the Sky." *Desert Magazine* 24 (March 1961): 28–31.
- "Note for Photographers." *Arizona Highways* 47 (June 1966): 12–28.
- Pierson, Lloyd. "Remembering Bates Wilson, 1912–1983." *Canyon Legacy* 3 (Winter 1998): 23.
- Powell, John Wesley. "Report on His Explorations of the Rio Colorado in 1869," in W. A. Bell, *Tracks Across North America*. New York: Scribners, 1870: pp. 559–64.
- . "The Cañons of the Colorado: First Paper." *Scribner's* 9 (January 1875): 293–310.
- . "The Cañons of the Colorado: Second Paper." *Scribner's* 9 (February 1875): 394–409.
- . "The Cañons of the Colorado: Third Paper." *Scribner's* 9 (March 1875): 523–37.
- . "The Ancient Provinces of Tusayan." *Scribner's* 10 (October 1875): 193–213.
- . "An Overland Trip to the Grand Canyon." *Scribner's* 11 (December 1875): 659–78.
- . "Journal of John Wesley Powell." *Smithsonian Journal of History* 3 (1968): 1–44.
- . "John Wesley Powell's Journal." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15 (1947): 125–31.
- Powell, Walter Clement. "Journal of Walter Clement Powell." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 16 (1949): 257–478.
- Price, Raye. "Exploring Utah's Canyonlands by Bus." *Desert Magazine* 26 (August 1963): 4–15.
- Presnall, C. C. "An Ascent of West Temple." *Sierra Club Bulletin* 19 (June 1934): 38–41.
- Prudden, T. Mitchell. "A Summer Among the Cliff Dwellers." *Harper's* 93 (1896): 545–61.
- . "An Elder Brother to the Cliff Dwellers." *Harper's* 95 (June 1897): 53–62.
- . "Under the Spell of the Grand Canyon." *Harper's* 97 (1898): 377–92.
- . "Prehistoric Ruins of the San Juan Watershed." *American Anthropologist* 5 (April–June 1903): 224–88.
- . "Circular Kivas of Small Ruins in the San Juan Watershed." *American Anthropologist* 16 (April–June): 33–42.
- Ritzma, H. R. "Impregnated sandstone deposits of Utah." *Interstate Oil Compact Community Bulletin* 11 (1969): 24–34.
- Royce Rollins. "It's Never Drab in Moab." *Desert Magazine* 29 (December 1964): 2–3.
- Scher, Zeke. "The Great Canyonlands Double-Cross."

- Empire Magazine* [Denver Post], August 21, 1977.
- . “Is the Park for You—Or the Other Guys?: Part II, The Great Canyonlands Double-Cross.” *Empire Magazine*, August 29, 1977.
- “Secretary and Party Tours Utah Area.” *National Parks Magazine* 35 (August 1961): 17.
- “Secretary Proposes Canyonlands Park.” *National Parks Magazine* 35 (September 1961): 15.
- Sharrock, Floyd and Melvin Aikens. *An Archaeological Survey of Canyonlands National Park*. University of Utah Anthropological Papers 83 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1966): 49–84.
- Shick, C. L. “Drillers probing Utah’s French Seep Area.” *Oil and Gas Journal* 64 (1966): 134–36.
- Smith, Anthony Wayne. “Let’s Get Going in Canyonlands.” *National Parks Magazine* 37 (June 1963): 14.
- Sumner, John C. “J. C. Sumner’s Journal.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15 (1947): 113–24.
- Stone, Horace. “Utah’s Natural Bridges.” *Century* 53 (August 1904): 312–22.
- “Subcommittee Hears Public on Canyonlands National Park.” *National Parks Magazine* 36 (May 1962): 15.
- “The Great Natural Bridges of Utah.” *National Geographic* 18 (March 1907): 199–204.
- Tinker, Frank A. “Utah Creates State Parks.” *Desert Magazine* 23 (June 1959): 16–19.
- Torrey, Bradford. “At Natural Bridge, Virginia, Part I.” *Atlantic Monthly* 82 (July 1898): 112–21.
- . “At Natural Bridge, Virginia, Part II.” *Atlantic Monthly*, (July 1898): 257–68.
- “Unlocking Canyon Country.” *Sunset* 138 (May 1967): 30–34.
- Walcott, Charles D. “The Natural Bridge of Virginia.” *National Geographic* 5 (July 10, 1893): 59–62.
- Wilson, Alan. “Early Trips into the Needles: An Idea Takes Shape.” *Canyon Legacy* 1 (Fall 1989): 4.

Newspapers:

Arizona Republic
Chicago Tribune
Christian Science Monitor
Clarion-Ledger (Jackson, Mississippi)
Daily Spectrum (St. George, Utah)
Denver Post
Deseret News
Grand Junction Daily Sentinel
High Country News
Idaho Falls Register
Kansas City Times
Los Angeles Times
Moab Times-Independent
National Observer
National Wildland News
New York Times

Ogden Standard-Examiner
Salt Lake Tribune
San Juan Record
Washington Post

Published government documents:

- Baker, Arthur A. *The Oil and Gas Possibilities of the Moab District, Grand and San Juan Counties, Utah*. USGS Bulletin 841, Washington: GPO, 1933.
- . *Geology of the Green River Desert-Cataract Canyon Region, Emery, Wayne and Garfield Counties*. USGS Bulletin 951. Washington, GPO, 1946.
- “Canyonlands National Park—Conference Report,” *Congressional Record—House*, 88th Cong., 2d. sess. (September 3, 1964): pp. 21557–61.
- Canyonlands National Park and Orange Cliffs Unit of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Backcountry Management Plan*. National Park Service, January 6, 1995.
- Canyonlands National Park, General Management Plan*. National Park Service, October 1978.
- The Colorado River: A Natural Menace Becomes a Natural Resource: A General Plan for the Development and Utilization of the Water Resources of the Colorado River Basin for Irrigation, Power Production, and other Beneficial Uses in Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming*. Denver: Bureau of Reclamation, 1945.
- Cudlip, Lynn, Kevin Berghoff and David Vann-Miller. *Water Supply Management Plan, Arches National Park and Canyonlands National Park*, National Park Service, 1998.
- Dane, C.H. *Geology of the Salt Valley Anticline and Adjacent Areas, Grand County, Utah*. USGS Bulletin 863, Washington: GPO, 1935.
- Draft Environmental Assessment, Davis Canyon Site, Utah*. Washington: U. S. Department of Energy, 1984.
- Draft Environmental Assessment, Lavender Canyon Site, Utah*. Washington: U. S. Department of Energy, 1984.
- Dutton, Clarence. *Report on the High Plateaus of Utah*. Washington: GPO, 1880.
- . *Tertiary History of the Grand Canon District*. Washington: GPO, 1882.
- . “Mt. Taylor and the Zuni Plateau.” *6th Annual Report of the United States Geological Survey* (Washington: GPO, 1886): 113–198.
- Edminster, Robert R., and Osmond Harline. *An Economic Study of the Proposed Canyonlands National Park and Related Recreational Resources*. Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1962.
- Environmental Assessment, Middle Salt Creek Canyon Access Plan*. Washington: National Park Service, July 2002.
- Environmental Assessment, Visitor/Park Support Facilities, Squaw Flat, Canyonlands National Park, Utah*. Moab, Utah: National Park Service: 1990.
- Final Environmental Assessment, Davis Canyon Site, Utah*.

- Washington: U.S. Department of Energy, 1986.
- Gilbert, Grove Karl. *Report on the Geology of the Henry Mountains*. Washington: GPO, 1877.
- Gregory, Herbert. *The Navajo Country: A Geographic and Hydrographic Reconnaissance of Parts of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah*. USGS Water Supply Paper 380, Washington: GPO, 1916.
- . *The San Juan Country: A Geographic and Geologic Reconnaissance of Southeastern Utah*. USGS Professional Paper 220, Washington: GPO, 1938.
- Gregory, Herbert and Raymond Moore. *The Kaiparowits Region: A Geographic and Geologic Reconnaissance of Parts of Utah and Arizona*. USGS Professional Paper 164, Washington: GPO, 1931.
- Hunt, John D, James J. Kennedy, Stephen F. McCool, Lawrence E. Royer and Neil E. Weston. "Initial Effort in River Use and Management." Utah State University, 1974.
- La Rue, Eugene Clyde. *The Colorado River and Its Utilization*. USGS Water Supply Paper 156, Washington: GPO, 1916.
- . *Water Power and Flood Control of the Colorado River Below Green River, Utah*. USGS Water Supply Paper 614, Washington: GPO, 1925.
- McKnight, Edwin T. *Geology of the Area Between the Green and Colorado Rivers, Grand and San Juan Counties, Utah*. USGS Bulletin 908, Washington: GPO, 1940.
- National Parks Conference, 1915, Proceedings*. Washington: GPO, 1916.
- Night Sky Monitoring: Canyonlands and Arches National Parks, Natural Bridges and Hovenweep National Monuments*. Moab, Utah: National Park Service, 2001.
- Northern Colorado Plateau Vital Signs Network and Prototype Cluster Plan for Natural Resource Monitoring, Phase I Report, Vols. I & II*. Moab, Utah: National Park Service, 2002.
- Northern Colorado Plateau Vital Signs Network and Prototype Cluster Plan for Natural Resource Monitoring, Phase II Report, Vols. I & II*. Moab, Utah: National Park Service, 2003.
- Northern Colorado Plateau Vital Signs Network and Prototype Cluster Plan for Natural Resource Monitoring, Phase III Report, Vols. I & 2*. Moab, Utah: National Park Service, 2005.
- Olsen, Chester J. *Report of the Governor's Committee on Canyonlands National Park*. Salt Lake City: Utah Governor's Office, 1962.
- Powell, John Wesley. *Exploration of the Canons of the Colorado and its Tributaries: Explored in 1869, 1870, 1871 and 1872*. Washington: GPO, 1875.
- . *Report on the Geology of the Eastern Portion of the Uinta Mountains*. Washington: U.S. Geological and Geographical Surveys of the Territories, 1876.
- Report of the Exploring Expedition from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado River of the West, in 1859*. Washington: GPO, 1876.
- Report on the Colorado River of the West*. Washington: GPO, 1861.
- Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1918*. Washington: GPO, 1918.
- Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1919*. Washington: GPO, 1919.
- Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1929*. Washington: GPO, 1929.
- Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1930*. Washington: GPO, 1930.
- Reports of Exploration and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economic Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, vol. 2*. Washington: Beverly Tucker, 1854.
- Reports of Exploration and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economic Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, vol. 12*. Washington: Beverly Tucker, 1859.
- Report of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 1947*. Washington: GPO, 1947.
- "River Management Plan for Canyonlands National Park," *Federal Register* 47 (January 11, 1982): 1177.
- Schreyer, Richard, Lawrence E. Royer and Joseph Roggenbuck. *Analyze and Interpret User Perception of the Recreation Carrying Capacity of the Colorado River in Canyonlands National Park and the Green and Yampa Rivers in Dinosaur National Monument*. Washington: National Park Service, 1974.
- Sitgreaves, Lorenzo. *Report of an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers*. Washington: Beverly Tucker, 1854.
- A Survey of the Recreational Resources of the Colorado River Basin*. Washington: Department of the Interior, 1950.
- Tipps, Betsy L. *Holocene Archaeology Near Squaw Butte, Canyonlands National Park, Utah*, Selections from Division of Cultural Resources. Rocky Mountain Region, National Park Service, No. 7. 1995.
- Tipps, Betsy L and Nancy J. Hewitt. *Cultural Resource Inventory and Testing in the Salt Creek Pocket and Devils Lane Areas, Needles District, Canyonlands National Park*. Denver: National Park Service, 1989.
- Tipps, Betsy L., Andre La Fond and Robert I. Birnie. *Cultural Resource Investigations near White Crack, Island-in-the Sky District, Canyonlands National Park, Utah*. Denver: National Park Service, 1996.
- Tolson, Hilary. *Laws Relating to the National Park Service*. Washington: GPO, 1933.
- United States National Park Service Management Policies*,

2001. Washington: NPS, 2001.
United States National Park Service Management Policies,
2006. Washington: NPS, 2006.

Unpublished government documents:

"Archeology Program, Vanishing Treasures." Department of the Interior, November 2005.

"Briefing on National Waste Program." Department of Energy, 1980.

Brown, Paul. "Narrative Report of the Trip to Horse Mountain and a Gallery Seat in the Escalante Area." National Park Service, July 1943.

"Canyonlands Interpretive Prospectus." National Park Service, 1978.

"Canyonlands National Park Resource Management Action Plan." National Park Service, 1974.

"Canyonlands National Park, Cultural Resources Management Plan." Canyonlands Complex, National Park Service, 1986.

"Canyonlands Wilderness Environmental Impact Statement." National Park Service, 1978.

"Canyonlands National Park, Long-Range Interpretive Plan." National Park Service, 2003.

"Canyonlands National Park, Search and Rescue Plan." National Park Service, 2002.

"Completion Proposal, Canyonlands National Park, Emery, Wayne, Grand, San Juan and Garfield Counties." Southeast Utah Group, National Park Service, Spring 1999.

"Completion Report, Needles District Visitor Center, Canyonlands National Park, Phase I." National Park Service, 1993.

"Completion Report, Visitor and Park Support Facilities, Canyonlands National Park, Phases II and III." National Park Service, 1995.

"Completion Report, Visitor and Park Support Facilities, Canyonlands National Park, Phase IV." National Park Service, 1997.

Dominiquez, Steve. "Preliminary Report on 1991 Archeological Investigations for the Canyonlands Needles-Development." National Park Service, 1991.

"Environmental Assessment, Backcountry Management Plan." National Park Service, 1984.

"Environmental Assessment and Finding of No Significant Impact, Access for Department of Energy Exploratory Drilling in Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Utah." National Park Service, December 1981.

"Environmental Assessment, Proposed Grazing Phase-Out, Canyonlands National Park." July 1974.

"Environmental Assessment of Proposed Location and Baseline Studies in the Paradox Basin." U.S. Department of Energy, 1982.

"Environmental Assessment, Ranger Office Building,

Squaw Flat, Canyonlands National Park, Utah." National Park Service, July 1995.

"Environmental Assessment, River Management Plan, Canyonlands National Park." National Park Service, 1979.

"Evaluation of Mineral Resources, Canyonlands National Park." National Park Service, 1977.

"Executive Order by Utah Governor Scott M. Matheson to Establish the Nuclear Waste Repository Task Force." November 10, 1981.

"Fact Sheet on Radioactive Waste Management Program." U.S. Department of Energy, 1980.

"Hans Flat Development Plan and Environmental Assessment." National Park Service, 1974.

Kay, Marvin. "Archeological Road Surveys in Canyonlands National Park and Adjacent Bureau of Land Management Areas, Wayne and Garfield Counties, Utah." Midwestern Archeological Center, National Park Service, August 1973.

"Master Plan: Canyonlands National Park." National Park Service, September 1965.

"Master Plan, Canyonlands Rim Interpretive Area." Bureau of Land Management, 1962.

"National Parks and Conservation Association Boundary Survey." National Parks and Conservation Association, February 1988.

"Natural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment." Canyonlands National Park, 1985.

Olcott, George and Herbert Butterfield. "Report on Field Investigations of the Escalante Region." National Park Service, June 1943.

"Operations Evaluations Report, Canyonlands, Arches and Natural Bridges." National Park Service, April 1973.

"Preservation of Natural Quiet at Southeast Utah Group." National Park Service, 1993.

"Proposal to Designate Virginia Park and Jasper Park as Research Natural Areas." National Park Service, 1991.

"Project Summary, Phase I, Island in the Sky Road Project, the Knoll to the Wye." Midwestern Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1984.

"Project Summary, Phase II, Island in the Sky Road Project, the Wye to Grandview Point." Midwestern Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1984.

"Proposal to Enlarge Canyonlands National Park." National Parks and Conservation Association, 1982.

"Proposed Escalante National Monument." National Park Service, 1936.

"Recommendations for a National Park at the Junction of the Green and Colorado Rivers, Utah." National Park Service, September 1944.

"Report of the Needles Area." National Park Service, 1959.

"Report on the Study of the Land of Standing Rocks." December 1960, National Park Service.

"Road Inventory, Canyonlands National Park." National Park Service, May 1975.

Sager, Merle. "Escalante Recreation Area." National Park Service, 1937.

"Scenic Roads for the Golden Circle." Utah Road Commission, 1965.

"Stabilization in Canyonlands National Park and Natural Bridges National Monument, Utah." Nickens and Associates, Montrose, Colorado, 1983.

"Status of Air Quality and Related Values in Class I National parks and Monuments of the Colorado Plateau." National Park Service, 1997.

"A Study Report: Proposed Enlargement, Canyonlands National Park." National Park Service, 1967.

"Tar Sands Management Program Status." National Park Service, n. d. (early 1980s).

"Termination of Grazing in Canyonlands National Park, Utah." National Park Service, 1975.

Tillotson, Minor. "Inspection Report on the Colorado River Exclusion." National Park Service, August 1935.

"Theater Missile Defense Extended Test Range Draft Environmental Assessment." U. S. Air Force, 1994.

Toll, Roger. "Reports on Proposed National Parks and Monuments and Existing National Monuments." National Park Service, 1935.

Wylie, Thomas. "Canyonlands National Park Backcountry Management Plan." National Park Service, 1973.

Legislation and proclamations:

An Act to Amend the Act of October 2, 1968, to establish a Redwood National Park in the State of California, and for Other Purposes ("Redwoods Amendment"). U.S. Statutes at Large 92 (1980): 163–182.

An Act Creating Arches National Park. U.S. Statutes at Large 85 (1972): 423–24.

An Act Creating Capitol Reef National Park. U.S. Statutes at Large 85 (1972): 738–44.

An Act to Create the Upper Colorado River Storage Basin (Upper Colorado River Storage Act). U.S. Statutes at Large 69 (1956): 110–21.

An Act to Establish the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area in the States of Arizona and Utah. U.S. Statutes at Large 86 (1973): 1311–1313.

An Act to Expand the boundaries of Arches National Park. U.S. Statutes at Large 112 (1999): 3060–3063.

An Act to Facilitate and encourage the production of oil from tar sand and other hydrocarbon deposits (Combined Hydrocarbon Leasing Act of 1982). U.S. Statutes at Large 95 (1982): 1070–72.

An Act granting the Right of Way to Ditch and Canal Owners over the Public Lands, and for Other Purposes (Mining Act of 1866). U.S. Statutes at Large, 1865–1867 (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1868): 251–53.

An Act to Provide for the Development of repositories for the

disposal of high-level nuclear radioactive waste and spent nuclear fuel, to establish a program of research, development and demonstration regarding the disposal of high-level radioactive waste and spent nuclear fuel, and for other purposes, (Nuclear Waste Storage Act of 1982). U.S. Statutes at Large 96 (1984): 2208–23.

An Act to Provide for the Establishment of the Canyonlands National Park in the State of Utah. U.S. Statutes at Large 78 (1965): 934–939.

An Act to provide for management and increased accountability for certain National Park Service programs (National Parks Omnibus Management Act of 1998). U.S. Statutes at Large 112 (1999): 3497–3523.

An Act to Provide for the Protection of Native American Graves (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act). U.S. Statutes at Large 104 (1991): 3048–58.

An Act Requiring the Secretary of the Interior, the Director of the National Park Service, the Department of Transportation, and Federal Aviation Administration, to study the effects of aircraft flying over the units of the National Park system, identify the proper minimum altitude for flights over units of the National Park system; identify problems associated with aircraft overflights and how they impact specific park resources (National Parks Overflight Act of 1987). U.S. Statutes at Large 101 (1988): 74–77.

An Act to Provide for the regulation of mining activity, within, and to repeal the application of mining laws to areas of the National Park System (Mining in the Parks Act). U.S. Statutes at Large 90 (1976): 1343–1345.

An Act to Revise the boundaries of Canyonlands National Park in the State of Utah. U.S. Statutes at Large 85 (1971): 421.

An Act revising the 1920 Act to Promote the Mining of Coal, Phosphate, Oil, Oil Shale, and Sodium on the Public Domain (Mineral Leasing Revision Act of 1960). U.S. Statutes at Large 74 (1961): 781–91.

An Act to Establish a National Wilderness Preservation System (Wilderness Act). U.S. Statutes at Large 78 (1965): 890–96.

An Act to Promote the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, oil shale, gas and sodium on the public domain (Mineral Leasing Act of 1920). U.S. Statutes at Large 66 (1921): 437–51.

An Act to Establish a National Policy for the Environment, to Provide for the Establishment of a Council on Environmental Quality (National Environmental Policy Act of 1969). U.S. Statutes at Large 90 (1970): 852–56.

A Proclamation to create the La Sal National Forest Reserve. U.S. Statutes and Resolutions 34 (1906): 3190.

A Proclamation to create the Monticello Forest Reserve. U.S. Statutes and Resolutions 34 (1906): 3272.

A Proclamation to Set Aside the Natural Bridges National Monument, Utah. U.S. Statutes and Resolutions 35 (1909): 2183–84.

A Proclamation Setting Aside Rainbow Bridge National

- Monument. *U.S. Statutes and Resolutions* 36 (1911): 2703–04.
- A Proclamation to create the Arches National Monument, Utah. *U.S. Statutes and Resolutions* 46 (1931): 2988.
- A Proclamation Enlarging Dinosaur National Monument—Colorado and Utah, *U. S. Statutes and Resolutions* 53 (1939): 2454–55.
- Unpublished manuscripts, theses, and dissertations:**
- “An Archeological Inventory of the Eastern Portion of the Salt Creek Archeological District, Canyonland National Park.” Midwestern Archeological Center. unpub. ms., 1983.
- Anderson, Adrienne. “Archeological Resources of Canyonlands, Capitol Reef and Arches National Parks and Natural Bridges National Monuments, Southeastern Utah.” Midwestern Archeological Center, National Park Service, unpub. ms., 1978.
- “Archeological Road Surveys of Canyonlands and Capitol Reef National Parks and Adjacent Bureau of Land Management Areas, Wayne and Garfield Counties, Utah.” Midwestern Archeological Center, National Park Service, unpub. ms., August 1973.
- Baldwin, Gordon. “Archeological Survey, Beef Basin, Dark Canyon Plateau Areas of Southeastern Utah.” National Park Service, unpub. ms, 1946.
- Brown, Gary M. “Archeological Investigations at Site 42 NW1666, South Fork of Horse Canyon, Maze District, Canyonlands National Park.” National Park Service, unpub. ms., 1987.
- Claflin, E. F. “Archeological Reconnaissance into Southern Utah.” Peabody Museum, Cambridge, n. d. [1930–33].
- Hartley, Ralph. “Cultural Resource Inventory of Specific Areas within the Needles and Island in the Sky Districts of Canyonlands National Park.” Midwestern Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1984.
- Hogan, Patrick, Leonard Losee and James Dodge. “Archeological Investigations in the Maze District, Canyonlands National Park, Utah, Vol. I.” University of Utah Anthropology Department, unpub. ms., 1975.
- Hunt, Alice and Bates Wilson. “Archeological Sites in the Horse Canyon Area.” University of Utah Archeology Department, unpub. ms., 1952.
- Lindsay, LaMar W., and Rex E. Madsen. “Report of Archeological Surveys of Pipe Springs NM water system, Zion NP sewer project, Arches NP road and sewage projects and Canyonlands NP road projects, Needles and Grandview Point areas.” Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1973, unpub. ms.
- Losee, Leonard, and William Lucius. “Archeological Investigations in the Maze District, Canyonlands National Park, Utah, Vol. II. University of Utah Anthro-

- pology Department, 1975, unpub. ms.
- Marwitt, John P. “Archeological Inspection of Proposed Road from Squaw Flat to Confluence Overlook, Canyonlands National Park, Utah.” University of Utah Anthropology Department, 1970, unpub. ms.
- Muhlstein, Daniel K. “The Rise and Fall of the Cattle Companies in San Juan, 1880–1900, unpub. ms., n. d. Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.
- Pierson, Lloyd. “Archeological Resources of the Beef Basin, Needles, Salt Creek Mesa area.” National Park Service, unpub. ms., 1959.
- “Phase I, Canyonlands Needles Development Archeological Project Research Design and Data Recovery Plan.”
- Midwestern Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1990.

Motion pictures:

- Eggert, Charles. *Wilderness River Trail*. Barrytown, New York: Charles Eggert Productions, 1953).
- , *The Sculptured Earth*. Barrytown, New York: Charles Eggert Productions, 1962).
- Ford, John. *Wagonmaster* (Los Angeles: Argosy Pictures, 1964).
- , *Rio Grande* (Los Angeles: Argosy Pictures, 1951).
- , *Cheyenne Autumn* (Los Angeles: Argosy Pictures, 1964).

Maps (those listed or referenced in end notes):

- Dimmock, C. H. *Map of Explorations and Surveys in New Mexico and Utah*. Washington, GPO, 1860.
- Miera y Pacheco, Don Bernardo de. *Plano Geographico de las Tierra descubierta, novamente, a lost Rumbos Nortes de Noreste del Nuevo Mexico*, 1777.
- Melish, John. *Map of the United States with the Contiguous British and Spanish Possessions*, 1816.
- Preuss, Charles. *Map of the Oregon and Upper California from the Surveys of John Charles Fremont and Other Authorities*, 1848.
- Warren, Groveneur Kemble. *Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, to accompany the Reports of the Explorations for a Railroad Route*, 1857.

Appendix K: Road inventory, Island in the Sky District, Canyonlands National Park

Route #	Terminus	Paved	Gravel	Dirt	Total miles
011	Island main road, Rt. 112 to Green River Point	—	2.18	12.87	15.05
111	White Rim Rt. 11 to NE park boundary	—	—	73.31	73.31
112	Potash Road, Rt. 111 to NW park boundary	—	—	1.74	1.74
113	Green River Overlook, Rt. 112 to overlook.	—	—	1.56	1.56
114	Upheaval Dome, Rt. 11 to U. Dome trailhead	—	—	5.06	5.06
213	Neck Viewpoint, Rt. 11 to viewpoint	—	21		21
214	Murphy Point Overlook, Rt. 11 to overlook	—	—	1.71	1.71
215	Island picnic loop, Rt. 11 to road south	—	—	31	31
216	Green River Campground, Rt. 111 to Rt. 113 south	—	—	22	22
217	Colorado Viewpoint, Rt. 111 to view area	—	—	20	20
218	Musselman Arch, Rt. 111 to arch	—	—	.08	.08
219	Lathrop Canyon, Rt. 111 to primitive camp	—	—	3.49	3.49
220	White Crack C. G., Rt. 111 to Primitive Camp	—	—	1.42	1.42
221	Queen Anne Bottom ramp, Rt. 111 to ramp	—	—	.79	.79
222	Fort Bottom overlook, Rt. 111 to overlook	—	—	59	59
223	Hardscrabble Campground, Rt. 111 to access road	—	—	36	36
224	Taylor Canyon, Rt. 111 to dead end	—	—	5.26	5.26
406	Island residences, Rt. 111 to RA	—	36	—	36
407	Island residences, Rt. 406 to maintenance yard	—	.14	—	.14
408	Radio repeat. stat, Rt. 11 to maint. road	—	—	.17	.17
No #	Monument basin road	—	—	.7	.7
Total	21 routes	—	2.89	109.1	112.0

Note: Park roads were inventoried in the late 1970s and early 1980s and these numbers were the foundation for backcountry planning in relation to roads during the 1980s and 1990s.

Appendix L: Road inventory, Maze District

Route #	Terminus	Paved	Gravel	Dirt	Total miles
108	Spanish Bottom, SW. bound. to trailhead	—	—	9.77	9.77
109	Anderson Bottom, W. bound. to canyon bott.	—	—	17.20	17.20
110	Horse Canyon, E. bound. to canyon bott.	—	—	.78	.78
210	Doll House CG access, Rt. 108 to campground	—	—	.42	.42
211	Chimney Rock loop, Rt. 108 to Rt. 108 E.	—	—	2.40	2.40
212	Maze, West to Maze Overlook	—	—	3.75	3.75
No #	Residence/maintenance road, Hans Rat	—	—	3	3
Total	7 Routes	—	—	34.3	34.32

Note: Park roads were inventoried in the late 1970s and early 1980s and these numbers were the foundation for park backcountry planning in relation to roads during the 1980s and 1990s.