

**FROM BARRIER TO CROSSROADS:
AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF
CAPITOL REEF NATIONAL PARK, UTAH**

Volume I

By
Bradford J. Frye



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Bradford J. Frye

**U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Intermountain Region
Cultural Resources Selections
Denver, Colorado
1998**

Cover Photograph: George A. Grant photograph of the Capitol Reef between Grand Gorge and Capital Wash, taken in 1935 as part of the initial monument proposal. NPS file photo.

FOREWORD

As a part of the National Park Service's mission to protect and interpret its resources, it is important to make valuable historical information readily available. To further that goal, I am pleased to present this volume in our occasional series of publications on the Intermountain Region's past.

This history is the second of a two-volume administrative history of Capitol Reef National Park. Volume I reviews the area's natural and early cultural history, and then recounts Capitol Reef's designation first as a national monument and later as a national park. Volume II consists of a series topical chapters relating to resources issues, including grazing, water rights, mining, and road rights-of-way. Written by Bradford Frye as his Master's Thesis at Eastern Washington University, this comprehensive history will aid present and future managers in both protecting valuable resources at Capitol Reef and at serving their public.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'John E. Cook', with a stylized, flowing script.

John E. Cook
Director
Intermountain Region

Mission: As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally-owned public lands and natural and cultural resources. This includes fostering wise use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to assure that their development is in the best interests of all our people. The Department also promotes the goals of the Take Pride in American campaign by encouraging stewardship and citizen responsibility for the public lands and promoting citizen participation in their care. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in Island Territories under the U.S. Administration. NPS-D-73

ABSTRACT

This two-volume document recounts the natural, cultural, and National Park Service administrative history of Capitol Reef National Park, in south-central Utah. Volume I provides an introductory look at the geology of the Waterpocket Fold, Native American occupation, and Euro-American exploration and settlement. Following those chapters are more detailed chronicles of the 1937 establishment Capitol Reef National Monument, the resources-related issues that arose from that act, a variety of expansion proposals, and the final re-designation of Capitol Reef as a national park in 1971. Volume II comprises a series of topical chapters detailing resource issues that arose decades ago at Capitol Reef, but which remain controversial to this day.

The purpose of this administrative history is to help park managers understand the cultural and political milieu surrounding modern park issues. This historical grounding will help those managers to understand the widely varying needs and attitudes of the park's stakeholders, and the implications that their decisions might have for Capitol Reef's resources and its neighbors.

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PREFACE

Format and Organization

This administrative history is intended to weave together the desert setting, human history, and National Park Service concerns of Capitol Reef into a clear account that enables park managers to better understand the complex resource issues affecting Capitol Reef National Park. Its further purpose is to make those managers aware of the wider economic and environmental implications their decisions may have for surrounding communities and for other land management agencies.

To make such an ambitious, detailed history serviceable, the customary narrative format will not always be followed. For instance, Chapters 1-4 of Volume I provide background information on three primary resources at Capitol Reef: geology, archeology, and the history of exploration and settlement by Euro-Americans. Chapters 5-7 outline the history of Capitol Reef National Monument from its 1937 establishment through its Mission 66 developments of the mid-1960s. The last four chapters of Volume I focus on the legislative history of Capitol Reef: Chapter 8 details how Capitol Reef was established as a national monument, Chapter 9 handles the various expansion efforts during the 1940s and '50s, and Chapters 10-11 tell the story of the controversial 1969 monument expansion and subsequent re-designation as a national park in 1971.

Volume II consists of those resource topics that have been of greatest concern to park managers throughout Capitol Reef's history. Each of these chapters provides a detailed, footnoted history of that issue. The author hopes that these more topical chapters will be updated regularly in the years to come.

This format allows the reader to refer directly to concise accounts of those issues of interest, rather than requiring him to follow the integrated, historical strands of those issues. For reference, a simple chronology of important events is provided on pages 6-7.

Following each of the two volumes are comprehensive bibliographies, as well as appendices providing copies of key legislation that has been instrumental in Capitol Reef's history. For further reference, Chapter 18 in Volume II includes an annotated list of monument and park planning documents available in the Capitol Reef archives or at the National Park Service, Denver Service Center, Technical Information Center.

Sources

Research for this administrative history relied heavily on primary federal government documents in the National Archives Record Group 79 series, and documents and correspondence relating to the National Park Service. These documents are in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., the National Archives - Rocky Mountain Regional Branch, Denver, or the archives and superintendent's files of Capitol Reef National Park. Other record groups searched at the National Archives included Department of the Interior Record Group 48, Bureau of Reclamation Record Group 49, and U.S. Senate Record Group 46. Other important repositories included Zion and Arches National Park archives, the University of Utah Special Collections, the Brigham Young University Special Collections, the Western History Collection at the Denver Public Library, the Utah Historical Society Library, and the Utah State Archives. Melody Webb, former superintendent of Lyndon B. Johnson National Historic Site, was kind enough to provide copies of her research on the 1968-69 National Park Service expansion proposals from the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Texas. Also consulted were various pieces of correspondence, diaries, theses, unpublished and published local histories, oral histories, research papers, and secondary sources found in a number of repositories.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A work of this length could not have been accomplished without the invaluable help of many. The entire staff of Capitol Reef National Park have been my friends and sources of great information since I first arrived there in the spring of 1990. I would specifically like to thank Superintendent Chuck Lundy, who asked me to prepare this history, and Chief Ranger Rick Nolan, who went out of his way to guarantee a smooth working environment. Sharon Gurr and Donita Pace were simply invaluable - I could not have been hired, paid, or traveled without their help. Sharon's knowledge of the superintendent's files saved me long hours of needless digging. I would also like to send a belated thank-you to retired Management Assistant George Davidson, who, as chief of interpretation, first brought me to Capitol Reef and sparked my interest in the region's history.

From the former Rocky Mountain Regional Office, Project Historian Marcy Culpin has coordinated the funding and editing, and has been a valuable source of information. Historian Kathy McKoy, who helped write the Cultural Landscape Report for the Fruita Rural Historic District, loaned me her desk and computer while I was in Denver and was always available to talk about sources and ideas. Also from the regional office, former Regional Curator Laura Joss helped secure funding and provide assistance for the park's archives project, while Mike Schene was extremely supportive in my earlier Burr Trail history. Without their support, this administrative history may never have got off the ground. I would also like to thank the men and women who helped me find documents in the various archives and libraries: I could not have done this without them!

Most of Volume I became my Master's thesis at Eastern Washington University, Cheney. Dr. Mike Green, as my advisor and committee chair at EWU, was extremely accommodating of all my various needs, especially since I completed this project while living two hours away from the Cheney campus. Throughout my studies at Eastern, Dr. Green was always a great source of information and encouragement.

This manuscript was reviewed by many current and former National Park Service officials who were kind enough to spend time reading and offering suggestions to make the final product as accurate as possible, and considerably more readable. The reviewers included former Capitol Reef superintendents Robert Heyder and Martin C. Ott; Bureau Historian Barry Mackintosh; Regional Lands Chief Richard Young; Regional Archeologist Adrienne Anderson; Acting Regional Historian Kathy McKoy; Regional Public Affairs Officer Ben Moffett; Regional Anthropologist David Ruppert; Rosemary Sucec, Matt Wilson and

Susan Garland, all of the regional cultural resources office; the staff of the regional Water Rights Branch; former Chief of Resource Management and Science Norm Henderson; and former Park Ranger Whitney Kreiling. The dedication and amazing editing skills of Capitol Reef Archeologist Lee Kreutzer were especially valuable. Lee had so many excellent recommendations that her name should almost appear as a co-author. In the end, though, I alone must accept all responsibility for what is written in this administrative history.

Finally, I thank my wife, Schelle, who helped edit the manuscript, gave me great ideas, and patiently listened as my thoughts struggled to take form. More importantly, she took care of the kids--and everything else--while I was elsewhere, buried in documents. For Schelle's friendship, patience, and love, I dedicate this work to her.

CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

- 1866 - Mormon Militia reconnaissance of Boulder Mountain provides first written description of Waterpocket Fold
- 1872 - Almon Thompson leads Powell survey team through Pleasant Creek
- 1880s - Homesteads are filed in Fruita and Pleasant Creek
- 1881 - Mormons use Halls Crossing Trail as alternative to Hole-in-the-Rock trail
- 1924 - July 19, Utah governor comes to Fruita to celebrate proposed Wayne Wonderland State Park
- 1932 - October 19, Roger Toll begins first official investigation of proposed Wayne Wonderland National Park or Monument
- 1937 - **August 2, Capitol Reef National Monument is established**
- 1938-42 - Civilian Conservation Corps side camps are established at Capitol Reef
- 1943 - Alma Chesnut property is acquired by National Park Service
- 1944 - Charles Kelly is hired as nominally-paid custodian
- 1950 - May 1, Capitol Reef National Monument officially is activated and budget is authorized by National Park Service
- 1951 - Charles Kelly becomes first official superintendent
- 1953-59 - Capitol Reef is officially open to uranium exploration
- 1953 - Capitol Reef jurisdiction is transferred from Zion National Park to Southwest Regional Office
- 1954 - Capitol Reef jurisdiction is transferred back to Zion National Park
- 1957 - Paved road (Utah Highway 24) is completed from Torrey to Fruita
- 1958 - July 2, some 3,040 acres are added to Capitol Reef National Monument
- 1962 - July: Utah Highway 24 is paved and opened along Fremont River canyon
- 1962 - August: the old Capitol Gorge road is permanently closed to through traffic
- 1965 - Visitor Center opens
- 1967 - Capitol Reef Wilderness hearings are conducted
- 1969 - January 20: Capitol Reef National Monument is expanded by 600%
- 1969-72 - Southern Utah Group of the National Park Service oversees Capitol Reef
- 1971 - **December 18: Capitol Reef National Park is established**

INTRODUCTION

Located in south-central Utah, Capitol Reef National Park is the state's fifth and most recent national park (Figs. 1 - 2). The other "crown jewels" in Utah surround Capitol Reef: Canyonlands and Arches National Parks are to the northeast, Bryce Canyon and Zion National Parks to the southwest, and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area is immediately to the east and south. The long, narrow Capitol Reef National Park envelops the Waterpocket Fold, a classic monoclinical uplift of ancient sedimentary rocks rising for almost 80 miles from the slopes of Thousand Lake Mountain in the north to the low desert canyons of the Colorado River. The immense, almost solid cliff line of the Waterpocket Fold (named by earlier geologists for its sculpted water holes), warns those traveling east from the grassy, timbered highlands of central Utah of the forbidding maze known as the Colorado Plateau.

Capitol Reef's north-to-south-running cliffs and twisting, narrow canyons have always seemed a barrier to travel. Local tradition holds that the name "reef" came from early prospectors who once sailed the oceans, wary of similar outcroppings. The "capitol" comes from the white sandstone "domes" atop the higher sections of the reef. Records show only a few explorers, ranchers, settlers, and adventurers dared to pass through the Waterpocket Fold country even after the national monument was proclaimed in 1937.

Fifty-five years after the monument's establishment, most visitors, local residents, and government officials are unfamiliar with the diverse resources within Capitol Reef's boundaries. The extremely rugged landscape limits access to foot traffic or the long-distance views from dirt roads. Because the main transportation routes through this part of Utah run east and west, slender north-to-south-oriented Capitol Reef National Park is quickly seen, admired, and then passed through. The usual quick look at Capitol Reef reveals only a maze of multicolored rock slopes and cliffs and the contrasting orchard oasis of Fruita along the Fremont River. The park's true complexity is realized by only a few: even among those who have spent years in the Waterpocket Fold, there are still canyons yet to be explored or native flora and fauna yet to be seen.

Fewer still have come to understand its human history. The few perennial streams through the Waterpocket Fold served as routes and semi-permanent camps for American Indians from early Archaic times up through the historic-era hunting trips of Utes, Paiutes and Navajos. The Fremont culture of 700 years ago was first identified along, and named for, the river draining Capitol Reef. Artifacts, encampments, pictographs, and petroglyphs are abundant throughout the park. The Euro-Americans who first explored the region only

skirted the borders of the Waterpocket Fold until well into the 1870s. The people who finally settled the area were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons). Their philosophy toward the land was not unlike that found elsewhere on the frontier. To survive, they confronted the land, battling to tame it by every means possible.

Some actually succeeded. The ranchers found grass for cows and sheep, prospectors discovered small speckles of promising ores, and farmers found a few perennial streams along which to homestead. Yet the isolation and constant hostilities of nature allowed very few outside the established communities to remain for any length of time.

By the 1930s there was a growing feeling in southern Utah that this convoluted landscape deserved national park status. Park boosters, with at least the tacit support of National Park Service officials, promoted the benefits of new roads and other developments that would bring in badly needed tourist dollars. Promotion of Wayne Wonderland (as the area was then called) became complicated, however, since a majority of local residents were ranchers, miners, and other proponents of multiple-use lands. After years of dependency on federal forest service grass and timber and grazing service lands, these people were not so sure they wanted a strict resource protector like the National Park Service in their country. The ranchers, however, withdrew their formal opposition contingent on the national monument remaining relatively small and not infringing upon their traditional grazing privileges.

In 1937, national monument status was granted to a 37,000-acre tract, which included Fruita and the high domes, cliffs, and canyons of the Capitol Reef section of the Waterpocket Fold. Yet, World War II postponed any substantial investment in Capitol Reef until well into the 1950s. Poor roads and traditional travel patterns continued to keep Capitol Reef a barrier to most tourists throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. Meanwhile, the local economy was sustained through ranching and a short-lived uranium boom.

When a paved road was finally put through Capitol Reef in 1962 and new facilities, such as a visitor center, were erected through the Mission 66 program, visitation began to rise. The average visitor stay was still less than a day, so the few fledgling motels and restaurants in the area saw only a small increase in income. The average American, let alone the still infant environmental movement, had never heard of the place.

By the late 1960s, local residents considered Capitol Reef National Monument a nice place to go for hikes, a family gathering, or possibly a maintenance or clerical job. The rangers and superintendent, typically outsiders, were simply tolerated. Then in the last hours of his administration, President Lyndon Johnson signed a proclamation that enlarged Capitol Reef by 600 percent. The monument was no longer condoned by many of its neighbors: it was resented. The monument expansion came without warning and struck at the basic fears of those economically dependent on federal multiple-use lands. Despite the fact that the expansion took in relatively few grazing permits and mining claims, the action itself infuriated many.

In the next couple of years, a series of congressional hearings considered alternatives for the recently expanded monument. Some preferred a national park while others wanted the southern half as a multiple-use recreation area. Local land users and urban environmentalists squared off. The National Park Service, caught in the middle, attempted to please all it could while still maintaining agency integrity, as well as the resource integrity of a national monument now the size of Zion and Bryce Canyon National Parks combined.

In December 1971, a compromise scaled the boundaries down a bit and, more significantly, made Capitol Reef a national park. Yet, multiple land-use issues such as mining, grazing, and road building, both within and surrounding park boundaries, were not adequately resolved with the park's creation. Local preferences often conflicted with the desires of national environmental organizations as well as agency policies, creating emotional barriers that have only recently been addressed.

Today, the local population maintains many of its traditional land-use ethics. Still largely Mormon, nearby communities are wrestling with the realities of diminished traditional resources, increasing federal government regulation, and an influx of tourists that bring not only money but also beliefs that are perceived by many as threats to their lifestyle.

The existence of a national park slicing through the heart of two rural Utah counties has not been easy on park managers or its neighbors. From local ranchers still attempting to use its ranges, to politicians still hoping for the miracle of economic development, Capitol Reef is now seen as much a political as a physical barrier. For other neighbors, visitors, and environmentalists, Capitol Reef represents a beneficial barrier: a jewel to be explored, enjoyed, and left preserved in its natural state. The National Park Service, which has only recently acknowledged that Capitol Reef is no longer a "small" park, continues to be torn by these divergent needs, delicately balancing the right to access with the need to preserve. Capitol Reef National Park, once a barrier, is now at a crossroads.

Figure 1. Location of Capitol Reef National Park, Utah.

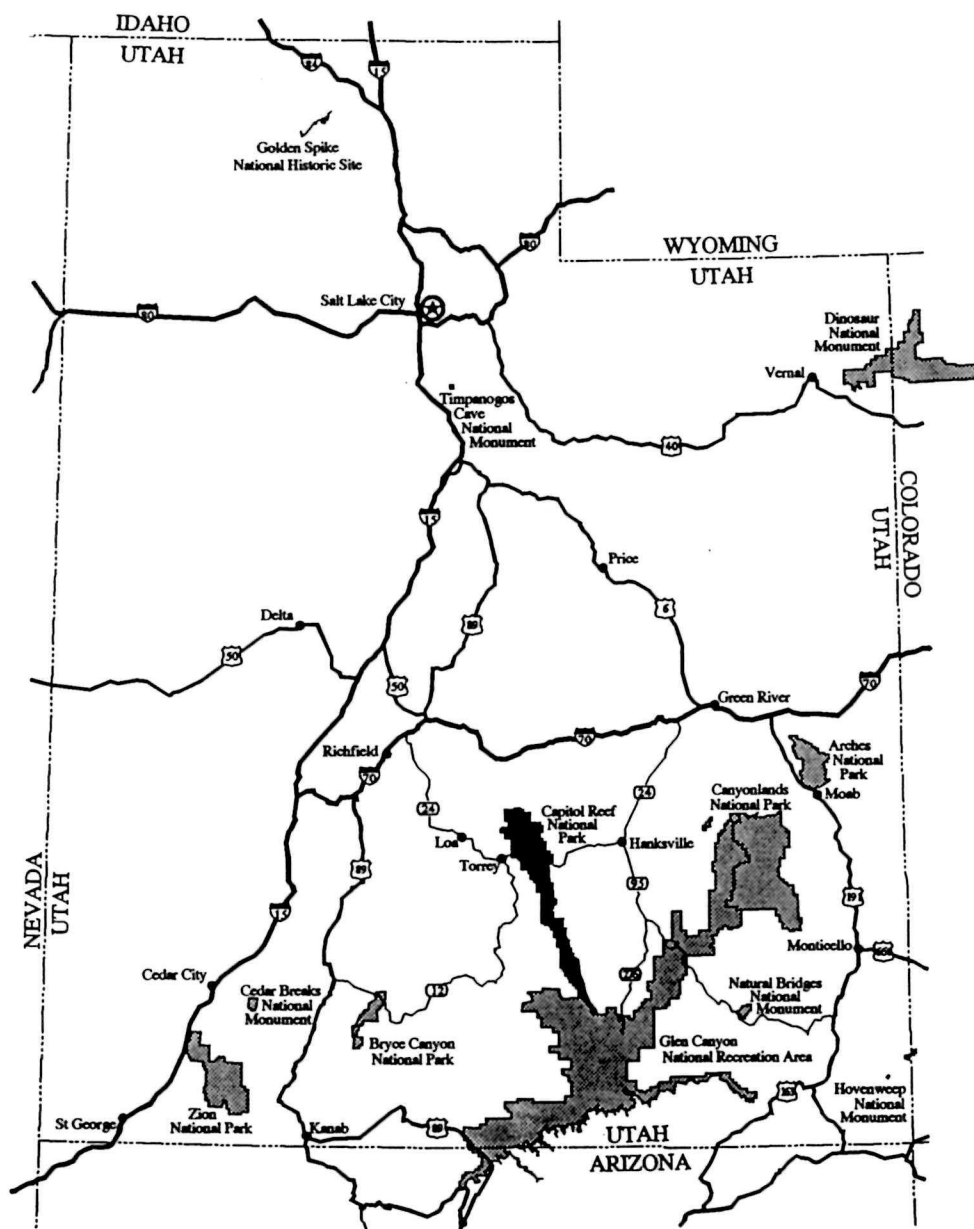
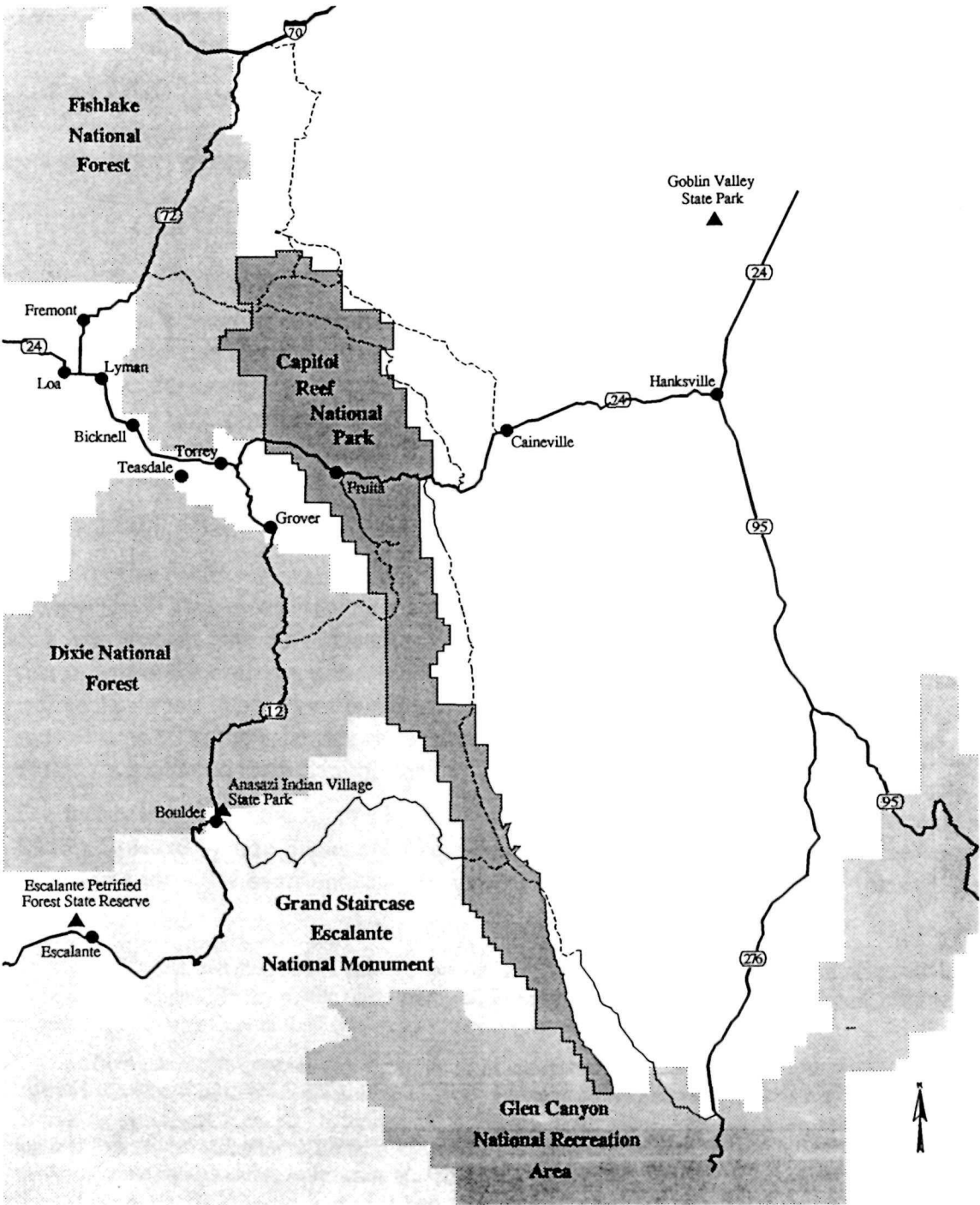


Figure 2. Current boundary of Capitol Reef National Park.



CHAPTER 1

DEPOSITION, UPLIFT, AND EROSION: THE GEOLOGIC STORY OF CAPITOL REEF¹

Capitol Reef's geology dominates the eye, wrapping the visitor in its multi-hued folds (Fig. 3). The enormous size, length, and variety of the cliff lines, canyons, and domes discourages the average visitor from probing deeper into the geologic answers so obvious before them. So awestruck by the world around them, few visitors note the subtle clues of Capitol Reef's geological blueprint.

Deposition

Most of the rocks seen at Capitol Reef, as elsewhere on the Colorado Plateau, are sedimentary. This means the rock actually started out as ocean, river, or lake sediment that was brought here by water or wind. The slopes and cliffs directly across from the visitor center, for example, are composed of a series of colored, variably textured layers of sedimentary rock. Each layer is different because of climatic changes that took place over eons of time. Through the theory of tectonic plate action, one can better appreciate how all this rock came to form Capitol Reef.

The forces that shape the earth's crust are thought to be controlled by the movement of Tectonic plates. These plates are like puzzle pieces that flow on top of the earth's molten interior. The continents and the ocean floors are made from these plates, and their

¹ The first two chapters of this section are introductory essays on the geology and archeology of Capitol Reef National Park. While these are by no means the only resources within the park, they are the primary reasons why Capitol Reef National Monument was established in 1937.

Because of the general overview nature of these two chapters, they do not provide the detail common elsewhere in this administrative history. Chapter 1 provides only a basic review of the area's fascinating geological history. The references at the end of the chapter should be consulted for more in-depth information. Chapter 2 broadly examines the American Indian presence within the park and mentions some of the early, significant archeological survey work and current management concerns. Since this chapter is sparsely footnoted and contains little specific information on protohistoric and historic American Indian occupation, the reader is referred to the references at the end of the chapter, provided by Rosemary Sucec of the Intermountain Regional Office's Applied Anthropology Program and Capitol Reef National Park Archeologist Lee Kreutzer.

very slow but constant movement away from and into each other causes most earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, or as in this case, warping of the rock layers.

The variety of rock layers at Capitol Reef is the result of the movement of the North American Continental plate northward from the equator over the last 250 million years. As the continent moved through northern latitudes, its climate changed accordingly. These climatic changes affected ocean depths, the extent of swamp lands, and the abundance and energy of the water itself. Thus, it is the northward drift of North America through different latitudes that is ultimately responsible for producing the landscape that visitors now travel far to see.

There are thousands of feet of sedimentary rock below the surface (Fig. 4), but the oldest rock exposed at Capitol Reef is found in the bottom of the canyons west of the Scenic Drive. In the Fremont River gorge or in the canyons of Sulphur and Pleasant creeks are found the Coconino or White Rim sandstone that resulted from a coastal sand dune environment. At that time, this continent was along the equator, approximately where northern South America is today.

Then, either a general rising of the earth's oceans or a collapse of land to the west of Capitol Reef caused an ocean to cover most of western Utah. The ocean's weight depressed the older sedimentary layers below it, forming an enormous basin that would catch millions of years of sediment still to come. In this ocean were billions of tiny shell creatures that died and dropped to the bottom. The accretion of these calcium carbonate shells helped form the Kaibab limestone formation, which is exposed as small cliffs and shelves visible from the Sulphur Creek Goosenecks overlook and along the canyon walls west of the Fruita campground. The whitish-brown cliffs are formed of the limestone, whereas the shelves are limestone mixed with some sand and silt, probably due to years of ocean level fluctuations. This same Kaibab limestone also forms the top stratum of the Grand Canyon's North Rim.

As the ocean receded very slowly to the west, the top layer of Kaibab limestone eroded away, leaving a gap or unconformity between the strata. In this case, the unconformity is easily seen by the almost straight line and stark contrast between the white Kaibab limestone on the bottom and the deep, red Moenkopi mud and siltstones on top.

Since this area 230 million years ago was still near the equator, a hot, moist climate fed large rivers that flowed westward down from the ancestral Rocky Mountains. As those rivers poured into this large basin, the waters slowed and dumped their loads of fine silt and clay before merging with the ocean.

This delta and tidal basin environment of the early Triassic period is observable now at the base of cliffs along the Scenic Drive, as fine-grained, thin layers of red mud and siltstone that compose the Moenkopi Formation. These river, delta, and tidal basin systems must have persisted for eons, as the rock layer they produced is 1,000 feet thick in places. One

of the best places in the park to see these alternating mud and silt layers is at Chimney Rock, which itself consists mostly of the Moenkopi Formation.

Also found in the Moenkopi is “ripple rock,” delicately patterned slab-stone created by gentle currents moving over mud and silt; and, occasionally, the observant viewer will discern some unusual patterns of bumps in the otherwise gently undulating rock surface. The bumps are actually the trackways of early reptiles, ancestors to the dinosaurs, that would swim/wade across those streams, leaving their odd footprints impressed on the muddy bottom.

By the mid-Triassic period, about 200 million years ago, North America had drifted northward from the equator and entered monsoon latitudes. This was a climate like that of Malaysia or India, where the rain pours down for six to nine months and bakes under a hot sun the rest of the year. But geologists are unable to trace the transition from the low-energy deltas of the Moenkopi to the fast-moving flood waters and large lakes that produced the overlying Chinle Formation: another unconformity here shows that transitional sedimentary record to be lost. The difference between the two formations is easily seen in the white and black Shinarump Member of the Chinle. It is composed of coarse-grained sand and silt swept down into this basin by a new, very large, fast-flowing river system that resulted from those monsoonal rains.

This river-deposited sandstone is much harder than the underlying Moenkopi mudstones. Because it is harder to erode, it caps and protects the tops of cliffs, preserving the underlying, soft muds and silts. An example of this condition is the Egyptian Temple, visible from the Scenic Drive. This contrast between hard and soft rock can also create isolated, balanced cap-rocks such as the Twin Rocks just off Utah Highway 24 west of the visitor center.

This river channel contact between the Moenkopi and Shinarump was the focus of many 1950s prospectors who scoured the Waterpocket Fold for uranium, as evidenced by the Oyler mine tunnels in Grand Wash.

The Chinle Formation is composed of the colorful, banded slopes reposing at the foot of the red cliffs on the west side of the Waterpocket Fold and within its deeper canyons. The distinctive gray, blue, green, yellow, purple, and ubiquitous red bands were produced largely by the varying amounts of water that once covered the sediments. For instance, iron-rich sediment deposited by wind and water at the earth’s surface, where it is exposed to abundant oxygen, becomes oxidized and turns rust-red. Conversely, volcanic ash, mud, and silt that becomes deeply buried or submerged is subjected to an oxygen-poor, reducing environment, in which ferrous minerals cannot oxidize or “rust.” The reducing environment then produces sedimentary rock of white, gray, green, blue, or yellow.

The absence of red coloring in the rock serves as a clue to rock hounds and fossil collectors. Submerged, dead plants and animals are more protected from scavengers and the decaying effects of sun, wind, and microscopic organisms. The trees washed down by monsoonal rains and floods sank deep into lakes and were buried under tons of

volcanic ash, mud, and silt, preserving them intact. Slowly, over millions of years, the wood cells were replaced by the silicates from overlying volcanic ash, thereby petrifying entire trees. Petrified wood is found throughout the Chinle Formation, both at Capitol Reef National Park, and further south at Petrified Forest National Park.

The next layer in Capitol Reef's geologic column is probably the most dominant cliff-forming rock found throughout southern Utah. The deep red-to-purple Wingate sandstone forms the imposing, sheer cliff face that looms over visitor center and fronts the Scenic Drive. The formation continues southward for another 60 miles to meet the Colorado River.

Wingate sandstone is made up of windblown sand that apparently began accumulating in an enormous field of dunes around 190 million years ago. The continent's northward drift had carried the region into a desert climatic regime that may not have seen rain for centuries, drying the rivers and lakes of the Chinle Formation and killing its rich vegetation. Unanchored, the sand was swept into a massive field of dunes.

In a wind storm, sand grains are whipped in all directions. At ground level, the quartzite grains begin to accumulate, eventually forming dunes. Thereafter, the sand dune itself is pushed before the wind. Looking closely at the Wingate sandstone, one can still see angled and flowing lines in the rock, evidence of those sand grains and entire dunes that were continually reshaped. These lines, called crossbedding, tell geologists that wind (as opposed to water or other depositional agents) helped to form the rock.

This arid climate and resulting sea of sand dominated the landscape throughout southern Utah and northern Arizona from the late Triassic through the middle Jurassic period--about 50 million years. Sometimes, rivers would flow into oasis-like pools over the sand, carrying down sediment down from nearby mountains and plateaus. The best evidence of these rivers is seen in the Kayenta Formation, between the red Wingate cliffs and the white Navajo sandstone domes. The benches that make up the Kayenta were produced by softer river sediments mixing with the coarser, more resistant sand particles. Erosional agents, mostly water, attack these softer layers in the Kayenta until a hole is sometimes punched through beneath the harder layer, forming natural bridges and arches.

The Navajo sandstone, also composed of windblown sand, looms high above the cliffs of the Waterpocket Fold. Interestingly, the Navajo has been eroded into domes, such as the Capitol Dome visible from Utah Highway 24, resembling the sand dunes that originally produced the formation. More fantastic shapes and colors in the formation can be seen best by climbing out among the Navajo tops or into its narrow-walled canyons.

The main visual difference between the Wingate and Navajo sandstones is color. The Navajo is almost pure quartzite sand, with very little of the iron-rich clays that color the Wingate. Another difference is the general manner in which the two layers have eroded. Unprotected by a hard, Kayenta cap, the Navajo has been eroded by water from its top

down. Thus, the crowns as well as the exposed sides of the Navajo are being slowly eaten away, sculpting the softly rounded domes that give Capitol Reef its name.

The focus of this discussion so far has been on sedimentary layers exposed on the western face of the Waterpocket Fold. The other layers, found along the eastern and northern boundaries of the park, make up an additional 100 million years of sea level and climatic changes.

Another significant period of erosional processes resulted in another unconformity between the Navajo sandstone and the next visible layer, the Carmel Formation. Made up of different layers of limestone, mudstone, sandstone, and gypsum salts, the Carmel caps and colors the very highest Navajo domes, such as the Golden Throne near Capitol Gorge.

All this material was carried in by a shallow sea that continuously advanced and receded. Each time the sea flooded the region, it brought a different kind of sediment; and each time the waters receded, they left behind tidal mud flats. These layers built up over time, resulting in contrasting bands of red, orange, yellow and green. More recent erosion of the Carmel Formation has exposed lovely, banded chevrons that can be seen along the Notom-Bullfrog Road south of Utah Highway 24.

As the shallow Carmel sea receded, oceans of sand invaded once again, this time mixing with the sea's abandoned silts and clays and producing the Entrada sandstone formation. This mixture has made Capitol Reef's Entrada much softer than the block-like Entrada sandstone near Hanksville and Goblin Valley, or the beautiful sculpted Entrada that predominates in Arches National Park. The formation is best seen in the park's North District, particularly in Cathedral Valley where the escarpments almost seem to be melting in the hot summer sun. Here, large mesas of Entrada have been slowly eaten away to form sculpted escarpments and towering monoliths that give Cathedral Valley its name.

The stark, white Curtis Formation that caps the Cathedral Valley buttes and cliffs is evidence of another shallow sea that once inundated the basin (now the Colorado Plateau). This sea advanced only a short distance into what is now Capitol Reef. As the water slowly retreated, the resulting tidal and mud flats accumulated into the thin, even layers of the Summerville Formation. The Summerville is easily seen just west of Hanksville and north of the Cedar Mesa campground along the Notom-Bullfrog Road. Because the Summerville was created by the same processes that formed the familiar, deep red Moenkopi, it looks like that formation.

The next stratum, the Morrison Formation, is common and well-known throughout the Intermountain West: its lush riverine and lacustrine habitat was ideal for supporting (and preserving) dinosaurs. The remains of these Jurassic creatures have been found in the Morrison from eastern Colorado to northern Utah, although only a few bones and trackways have been identified in the vicinity of Capitol Reef. The Morrison also provides more colorful, banded hills of bentonite clay. The clay formed from weathered volcanic ash, first noted in the Chinle, only here there is no hard sandstone cap to protect it from erosion. Thus, the bentonite hills are fully exposed to the sculpting powers of water and

wind, creating a badlands landscape in the eastern, northern, and southern portions of Capitol Reef.

During the Cretaceous Period, 65 to 135 million years ago, another invading sea covered most of interior North America and left behind enormous sedimentary deposits. As this sea encroached and subsided, sand bars formed and provided habitat for millions of sea creatures. At Capitol Reef, some of those sand bars now make up the Dakota sandstone exposed in the park's South District, where fossil crustaceans can be found in the Oyster Shell Reef.

That Cretaceous sea caused all kinds of loose sediment to be deposited throughout the Four Corners basin. Most abundant are the Mancos shales, stretching from the Book Cliffs near Grand Junction and Green River, and from the barren slopes below Mesa Verde, to the badlands near Capitol Reef's eastern boundary. The dull, gray color of the Mancos, again, is attributable to the deep submergence of its sediments underwater. This underwater environment also preserved gryphaea, shark's teeth and other marine fossils within the shales. The various sandstone members that cap the Mancos shale are due to later fluctuations in that inland, Cretaceous sea.

The sedimentary rock layers exposed at Capitol Reef National Park are literally the building blocks of the area's natural bridges, arches, walls, cathedrals and spires. The primary "builder," as it turns out, was the powerful geological force of uplift.

Uplift

Capitol Reef's sedimentary rocks were deposited in horizontal layers and then subjected to eons of erosional forces. The scenic result should therefore be something akin to the Grand Canyon: layer-cake stratification exposed by cuts, canyons and gorges. Yet, the park's scenery is quite different, because the geologic story hasn't ended there. Thrusting forces from deep within the earth have uplifted, broken, and tilted the strata, producing a unique and gigantic tear in the earth's fabric: the Waterpocket Fold.

The Waterpocket Fold, enclosed and protected by the boundaries of Capitol Reef National Park, stretches over 75 miles between Thousand Lake Mountain and Lake Powell. In geological parlance, a fold is any kind of warping of the earth's surface; but the Waterpocket Fold warps in only one direction, making it a monocline. Thus, its layers tilt dramatically on the east side of the fold and, where not eroded away, gradually slope to horizontal on the west side.

Just what event produced this monocline about 65 to 80 million years ago is still debated. One explanation is that two tectonic plates compressed somewhere west of this area. The resulting pressure buildup then caused the sedimentary rock here to bend like plastic over many millions of years, creating a monocline fold. We do know that the same forces that produced the Waterpocket Fold also buckled earth's crust in the Four Corners region and thrust the Rocky Mountain range upward.

Then, the argument goes, between 2 and 10 million years ago, the entire huge basin that cradled all the sedimentary formations described earlier was uplifted (perhaps by tectonic plate action), forming the mile-high Colorado Plateau.

The stunning result was a high-elevation plateau with mountain ranges and a huge fold in its crust. The finishing touches were added by two other geological processes, erosion and volcanism.

Erosion

The newly exposed, tilted rock layers were now subject to the forces of erosion, with water playing a particularly active role. Exposed soft layers, such as the Mancos shales and other marine deposits, were relatively quickly scoured away by a young Colorado River drainage system (including the Fremont River and its tributaries), which developed as a result of the uplifted plateau and mountains. All that remains today is the more resistant sandstone “backbone” of the Waterpocket Fold, which protects those Chinle and Moenkopi deposits that underlie it. Yet, even the harder sandstone is constantly under attack by agents of erosion, particularly water. In a moister climate, all the sedimentary layers might be now be gone, leaving little reason for a national park. Capitol Reef’s colorful “sleeping rainbow” of stacked sedimentary strata owes its preservation largely to the fact that the park receives only six to seven inches of rain each year.

But even under desert conditions, hungry water and wind continue to nibble at the rock, grain by grain, year by year. Few visitors to Capitol Reef realize that the still pool, crystalline snow, and sheet of ice can wear away at rock, changing its shape over eons. These forms of water carry small amounts of natural organic acids, which dissolve the calcite mineral gluing individual sand grains together into stone. With the calcite dissolved, the particles are susceptible to movement by rain and wind. Thus, tiny, water-retaining cracks, dimples, and pockets grow slowly into large water holes, grain by grain.

Besides using chemical agents to alter rock, water also works mechanically through freeze and thaw cycles. Even a tiny amount of water deep in a crack can freeze and expand, exerting a surprising amount of force against the rock. During warmer daytime temperatures, the ice melts a little and settles deeper into the crack, where the next night’s freezing wedges it once more against its natural container. Slowly, over many winters, large fissures grow and eventually cause collapse. Rockfalls typically occur in late winter and early spring, when day and night temperature variations are greatest.

The large red and white sandstone blocks littering the slopes beneath the Wingate cliffs bear mute testimony to the cumulative effectiveness of these tiny actions over thousands of years. Sometimes, all these erosional processes interact to create impressive rock sculptures, such as Cassidy Arch above Grand Wash, nibble by nibble. And other times, they manage to take a quick, large bite.

A ravenous flash flood can consume everything in its path: earth, vegetation, even vehicles and people, as many visitors to Grand Wash and Capitol Gorge during the thunderstorm season could testify. During a summer cloudburst, the rain pounds hard and fast against expanses of slickrock and loose desert soils. Channeled into joints and cracks in the rock and into normally dry canyons and washes, the resulting torrents snap and chew, hurling boulders and vegetation, scouring with sand. The water typically cuts new channels, washes out loose or soft deposits, undercuts mighty sandstone cliffs, deepens fissures in the stone, and leaves debris and scars in its wake. Even the toughest rock--including volcanic rock--succumbs to this kind of destructive energy.

Volcanism

Some 20 million years ago, molten lava oozed from a vent in the earth's crust and flowed over the high plateaus to the west, creating a tough, andecite cap rock. Later, during the Pleistocene era that ushered in the world's most recent ice age, glaciers formed on those high plateaus, including what are now Boulder and Thousand Lake mountains. The tremendous force of glacial ice began breaking up the cap rock, and when the ice began to recede, rushing torrents of meltwater rolled chunks of andecite down into the lowlands. The scenario played out perhaps three or four times over the past two million years.

The intriguing black boulders, strewn about the benches and canyons of the park like abandoned bowling balls, are the product of those events. Their round shapes resulted from being rolled miles down the mountainsides, and their large size tells geologists that the currents that moved them were powerful. Many geologists believe that most of the canyon cutting in this area resulted from these same glacial outwashes.

At the same time that the lava flows were capping the western plateaus, magma also seeped into cracks in the buried sedimentary layers. There, it cooled and hardened, molded by the surrounding rock. When the area was uplifted, the softer, sedimentary material eroded away and exposed the hard, volcanic casts. Where the cracks were vertical, the standing walls of volcanic rock are called dikes. Where the lava flowed horizontally, parallel to the surface, the formations are called sills. Dikes and sills can easily be seen in Cathedral Valley, in the park's North District. Resistant to erosion and protected by the dry environment, these formations will persist for a long, long time.

Summary

Today, erosional processes continue their relentless work of leveling the scenery at Capitol Reef National Park. The broken-down rocks return to sediment, easily seen and felt during wind storms. Because of the lack of vegetation, the wind lifts the sediment and generates sand dunes, much as it did millions of years ago. Today, the new layers of sediment can be seen covering the older layers, all evidence of the constant geological processes at work here at Capitol Reef and throughout the Colorado Plateau.

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Figure 3. Geologic column and cross-section of the Waterpocket Fold.

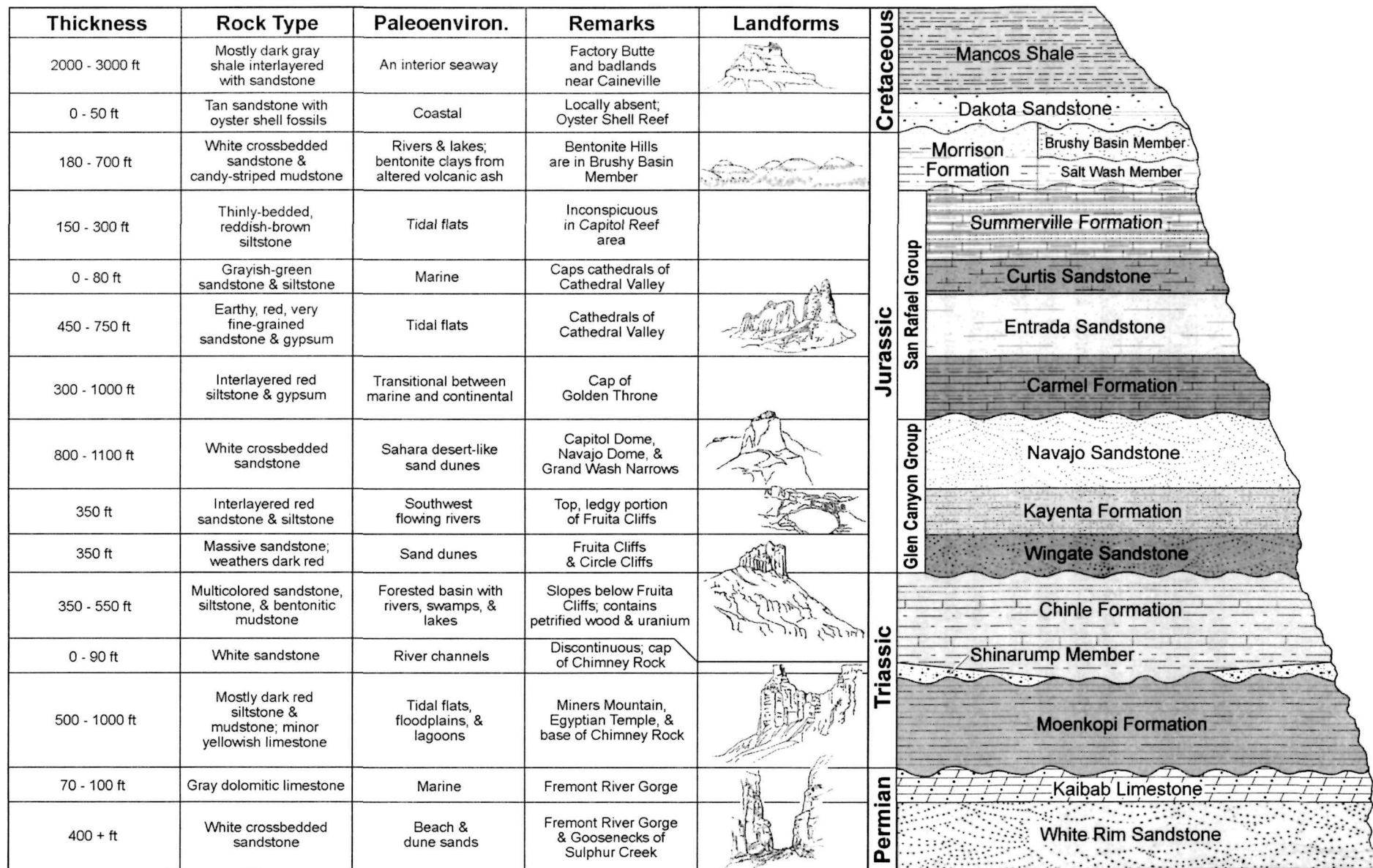


Figure 4. The Waterpocket Fold; view south along the Strike Valley to Navajo Mountain in distant background. (NPS file photo)



CHAPTER 2

ARCHEOLOGY AND ETHNOHISTORY AT CAPITOL REEF

The first people who discovered the Waterpocket Fold left barely a trace, by today's standards: no paved roads, public architecture, or parking lots. Although their impacts to the landscape are subtle--and made more so by the wear of passing centuries--their sign is abundant and legible to the practiced eye. In fact, the intriguing material remains of the area's prehistoric inhabitants were recognized as worth protecting as early as 1937, when Capitol Reef National Monument was established. More recently, the federal government has also come to recognize that the interests of American Indian people in their own heritage are worth protecting, too. Consequently, the National Park Service now strives to give tribes a greater voice in cultural resource management issues. This voice will surely grow louder in the coming years.

Who Were The First?

The earliest well-documented human activity in North America dates to around 12,000 years B.P. (Before Present). Exactly when those first Americans, called Paleo-Indians by archeologists, initially set eyes on the Waterpocket Fold will probably never be known: they traveled light, made no permanent structures, and moved frequently, leaving little dateable material behind. It was long assumed that the apparent paucity of Paleo-Indian (and more recent Archaic) artifacts within Capitol Reef National Park meant that the first people had avoided this rugged, desert landscape. More recently, however, Paleo-Indian artifacts have been recovered near the park, and Archaic-style dart points (ca. 2,000 to 8,000 B.P.) exist throughout the Waterpocket Fold. Barrier Canyon style rock art, dating to the late Archaic Period, is also known in different areas of the park. Clearly, people were here at least several thousand years ago, and convincing evidence of mammoth-hunting Paleo-Indians at Capitol Reef is eagerly anticipated.¹

¹ Midwest Archeological Center, "Cultural Sites Inventory: Capitol Reef National Park Archeological Overview and Assessment," on file, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln Nebraska, January 1993, 7-8; Richard F. Hauck, "Archeological Evaluations in Capitol Reef National Park," draft prepared under contract for the National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region, August 1991, 13-14.

The Fremont And Ancestral Puebloans

The Formative Period (ca. 700 to 1400 B.P.) saw the most intensive use of the land prior to European settlement. Increasing reliance on domesticated plants to supplement hunting and gathering enabled larger, more sedentary kin-groups to live along the perennial drainages of the Waterpocket Fold. Investigator Richard Hauck, who has completed several archeological surveys in the park, observes:

The most prominent of the several archeological contexts defined for Capitol Reef is the Formative stage occupation. This context is significant because the park is the type location of both the Fremont Culture (Morss 1931) and the Fremont style rock art (Schaafsma 1971). The vast majority of [documented] sites in the park that can be securely dated and assigned a cultural affiliation are Fremont or Anasazi²--these are the two Formative stage cultural groups that utilized the Capitol Reef region from approximately A.D. 200 to A.D. 1275 with the most intensive occupation A.D. 800 to A.D. 1275.³

The Fremont Culture has always been hard to define. Geographical and environmental variation in the Great Basin and the Colorado Plateau seem to have engendered slightly different cultural adaptations, but similarities among the Fremont and Ancestral Puebloans are strong. For many years, in fact, they were considered variants of the same culture, sharing projectile point styles, corn-beans-squash subsistence, and other traits. Now, however, archeologists differentiate the Fremont Culture largely by its pit house and above-ground adobe, stone, and jacal structures; distinctive grayware pottery; one-rod-and-bundle basketry; small, clay anthropomorphic figurines; leather moccasins; rock art emphasizing anthropomorphic figures and shields; and its lack of kivas.⁴

While most early archeological investigations were conducted near the drainages of the Fremont River, evidence of the more well-known Ancestral Puebloan culture has more recently been found throughout the southern and southwestern portions of the park. Rocky Mountain Regional Archeologist Adrienne Anderson notes:

The general string of Anasazi ceramic and structure sites that occur on the western side of [the] Waterpocket Fold, in the Circle Cliffs, through Boulder, UT, to the Kaiparowitz [Plateau] indicate that the western side was not only a travel route but was occupied by the Anasazi.⁵

² Modern Puebloan tribes object to the use of the Navajo term "Anasazi" (interpreted by some as "ancient enemy") to designate their ancestors. Therefore, the National Park Service has adopted new terminology, "Ancestral Puebloans," to refer to that culture. --Ed.

³ Hauck, 15.

⁴ "Archeological Overview and Assessment," 10.

⁵ Anderson, Administrative History draft review comments, January 1995.

Because of probable aboriginal trails along the eastern side of the Waterpocket Fold, some are now speculating that the area also served as a prolonged contact point between the Ancestral Puebloan and Fremont cultures.⁶ If continuous trading and cultural interaction between these diverse groups did indeed take place, it could help explain why regional similarities in cultural traits existed. If this idea can be further substantiated, it could easily increase the importance of Capitol Reef as a significant prehistoric crossroads.

Controversy abounds regarding the fate of the Fremont people. Some argue that a combination of drought and the influx of Numic-speaking populations at around 700 B.P. may have forced an abrupt change in lifestyle and abandonment of their distinctive cultural traits, if not of the entire region. They may have become or intermarried with Numic speakers such as the Ute and Southern Paiute, or moved southward to become or merge with Puebloan groups in Arizona and New Mexico. Whatever the cause, the diagnostic traits of Fremont culture disappear from the archeological record by around A.D. 1275.⁷

Protohistoric Period

The Waterpocket Fold was not as much the barrier to American Indians that it was to Euro-Americans. According to National Park Service Ethnographer Rosemary Suec, Southern Paiutes and Utes living here before the arrival of Euro-Americans adapted to the semi-arid environment of the Waterpocket Fold through a settlement pattern called "transhumance." To best utilize the wide range of plant and animal resources available seasonally at different elevations, these people moved camp regularly. Seeds were gathered from grasses within Capitol Reef, and animals such as antelope, mountain sheep, and rabbit were hunted there.⁸

The traditional eastern range of the Kaiparowitz band of the Southern Paiute is believed to have encompassed what is now Capitol Reef National Park. However, several other Southern Paiute bands, including the Koosharem, Kaibab, and San Juan Southern Paiutes, also may have used the area. In addition, the Weeminuche and Moanunt bands of the Southern Ute evidently harvested resources here.

The most unusual protohistoric artifacts in the park's collection are the elaborately decorated buffalo-hide shields found by Ephraim Pectol in the early 1920s, beneath a shallow overhang on public lands east of Torrey. The large pedestrian shields (so called because they are too large to have been used by mounted warriors, and hence are assumed to have been used by men on foot), have been radiocarbon dated to around A.D. 1700.⁹

⁶ Ibid., 12; Hauck, 15.

⁷ Archeological Assessment," 12-13; Hauck,

⁸ For more information, see the references provided at the end of this chapter.

⁹ Lawrence Loendorf and Stuart Conner, "The Pectol Shields and Their Relationship to Shields in Rock Art," unpublished manuscript, 1992, Research Study Proposal No. 141, on file, Capitol Reef National Park, Division of Resource Management, 21.

Unique in their design and construction, the shields have been compared to rock art motifs of the protohistoric American Indians of the Colorado Plateau. Unfortunately, the cultural affiliation of these shields is currently undetermined.¹⁰

Other possible evidence of historic American Indian occupation of the area include a historic train petroglyph, a panel depicting horseback riders, and ceramics of the Southern Paiute style.¹¹

Ute and Southern Paiute use of Capitol Reef has only recently received the attention it deserves. Simply relying on the sketchy journals of late-19th century explorers who encountered American Indians outside of the present park is not enough. Since little, if any, mention is made in published ethnographic accounts regarding aboriginal occupation of the Waterpocket Fold, oral histories provided by contemporary American Indian elders will have to fill in the gap.¹² An ethnographic overview and assessment is currently underway and, it is hoped, will shed light both on late prehistoric Indian occupation and original distributions of native plants and animals.

Initial Archeological Discoveries

Unfortunately, the ethics of archeology were quite different from now when the first Euro-American settlers arrived in Utah; some professional archeologists, in fact, paid Utahns to dig up sites and burials. In the early days of Fruita, at least one man gathered up pots, baskets, knives, moccasins, and a few mummies, trading this “wagon of stuff” from the area for a horse and saddle.¹³

In the early days of the discipline, archeologists themselves could be just as destructive, digging and collecting without recording provenience or making adequate notes. According to the first custodian and historian of Capitol Reef, Charles Kelly, Don Maguire

¹⁰ Ibid.; Ronald McCoy, “Circles of Power,” *Plateau Magazine* Vol. 55 No. 4, 1991.

¹¹ The horseback figures in Grand Wash are purportedly the work of a non-Indian former resident of Fruita, according to former maintenance employee Eugene Blackburn (personal communication, March 1992). The man who claimed to have created the panel is now deceased. His claim seems unlikely, however, because the panel is mentioned in an early 1930s state planning report (see Chapter 8). It is possible, however, that the man added his work to an existing panel, as two artistic styles are evident.

The train petroglyph was likely created by local people, who also inscribed a line drawing of a cowboy and their own names on the prehistoric panel.

The grayware pot was identified as Paiute in origin by Brigham Young University archeologist Joel Janetski, in 1983.

¹² Rosemary Sucec, Administrative History draft review comments, January 1995. For more detail, see references at the end of the chapter. The early exploration journals are discussed in Chapter 3.

¹³ Charles Kelly, “Archeological Research in Capitol Reef National Monument,” 20 February 1945, Charles Kelly Unpublished Writings, on file, Capitol Reef National Park unprocessed archives, Torrey, Utah.

of Ogden and a Dr. Talmage of Salt Lake City (presumably archeologists) scoured southern Utah for artifacts in 1892-93, for display at the Chicago World's Fair:

As near as can be learned, [Maguire] excavated a dwelling site on the south side of Fremont river, on a bench just east of the Tine Oyler ranch. His digging destroyed nearly all evidences of original construction.¹⁴

Such destruction also visited a small site on a bench overlooking Utah Highway 24: there are the shattered remains of several masonry granaries, along with the inscribed names of three men, supposedly French archeologists, and the date 1893. Only a few corn cob remnants and potsherds remain in the backdirt.¹⁵

The most well-known collectors of Capitol Reef area artifacts were Torrey residents Charles Lee and Ephraim Pectol. Between them, they amassed an impressive collection of several hundred objects, including complete pottery and baskets, a figurine in a cradleboard, and numerous stone, bone, and leather objects.¹⁶ Although Pectol regularly published articles explaining how (in his opinion) the artifacts corroborated the Book of Mormon account of aboriginal settlement of the New World, he left few, if any, notes regarding site provenience. Lee, likewise, kept no notes, the sole purpose of his collection evidently being to generate income. Because of this lack of careful documentation during these early years, the scientific value of these intriguing artifacts is limited.¹⁷

Archeological Researchers

The first careful, systematic, and analytical work at Capitol Reef was accomplished during field visits by archeologist Noel Morss in 1928-29. As part of Harvard's Peabody Museum expedition to the Southwest, financed by Mr. and Mrs. William Claflin and Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Emerson, Morss examined and excavated sites along the Fremont River and its tributaries, in the company of local guides. His observations led to a new and clearer understanding of Southwestern prehistory.

Here, along the "northern periphery" of Anasazi country, were sites and artifacts that long had been considered variants of that well-known culture. Morss, however, noted

¹⁴ Ibid., 3.

¹⁵ Efforts to identify these individuals have failed. Their names are unfamiliar to modern French archeologists, and the men likely were not trained archeologists, at all.--Ed.

¹⁶ Charles Lee was a son of the infamous John D. Lee, executed for his role in the Mountain Meadows immigrant massacre; Ephraim Pectol was a Mormon bishop, local businessman, and an elected state representative who helped promote establishment of the original monument.--Ed.

¹⁷ For many years after the deaths of Lee and Pectol, their combined collection was displayed and stored at Capitol Reef. Most of the artifacts, on loan to the park service, have been recalled and now are in possession of the Pectol family. The three Pectol shields are permanent National Park Service property, having been turned over to the federal government in 1932 by Bishop Pectol, who had illegally collected them from public lands.--Ed.

consistent, distinguishing stylistic differences from those typically made by Ancestral Puebloans, particularly in the rock art styles, dwellings, footgear, basketry, and pottery he found along the Fremont River. In his opinion, the differences warranted a new cultural classification: the Fremont Culture, named after the river drainage along which the sites lay.

Although Morss' work is excellent, particularly by the professional standards of his time, his notes and maps are not detailed enough to correlate positively with sites more recently recorded. In fact, it appears that just one of the sites he investigated actually lies within the park; the others are in the drainages west of the 1971 park boundary.¹⁸

As a direct result of Morss' work, the Peabody Museum petitioned the Department of the Interior to include within the proposed monument those Fremont sites along the Fremont River canyon and in Fish Creek Cove, near Teasdale. Although these boundary changes were later dropped, the scientific knowledge and publicity gained from Noel Morss' research helped the area meet the "scientific interest" criterion necessary to establish a national monument.¹⁹

More recent archeological research undertaken at Capitol Reef is referenced in the bibliography at the end of this chapter.

Management Concerns

As mentioned earlier, the archeological significance of the area is a key reason why Capitol Reef was first set aside as a national monument. National monuments are established by presidential proclamation under the authority of the Antiquities Act of 1906, and they must meet strict criteria to qualify for such status (The act also prohibits the removal of artifacts from federal lands: it was passed by Congress to stop the free-for-all plundering of prehistoric sites in the Southwest.) So, although the area's unique and spectacular geology was the primary qualifier for monument status, the abundance of Fremont and Ancestral Puebloan sites at Capitol Reef was also a significant factor.²⁰

While there have been numerous archeological surveys of the headquarters area, along road and utilities corridors, and along perennial streams, a comprehensive, park-wide survey is needed to understand settlement patterns across the fold. This would help

¹⁸ Noel Morss, The Ancient Culture of the Fremont River in Utah, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 12, No. 1 (Cambridge: The Museum, 1931); Rose Houk, Dwellers of the Rainbow (Torrey, Utah: Capitol Reef Natural History Association, 1988), 13-15; "Archeological Assessment," 1.

¹⁹ Conrad Wirth to Ephraim Pectol, 25 January 1935, File 100, Accession #79-60A-354, Box 1, Container #63179, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (RG 79), National Archives - Rocky Mountain Region, Denver (hereafter referred to as NA-Denver). See Chapter 8 for details.

²⁰ Alfred Runte, National Parks: The American Experience, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979) 71-72. See Chapter 8.

resource managers to predict where certain kinds of sites are most likely to occur. Such a comprehensive survey, by Brigham Young University, began in 1996 and will continue for several more summers.

The archeologists, presumably, will encounter previously undocumented rock art panels in the course of their survey. Hundreds of panels, perhaps thousands of individual figures, are pecked into canyon walls and boulders throughout Capitol Reef. Often a sheep or shield pecked into the darkened patina of a weathered boulder is now the only archeological evidence of human presence hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years ago. Many of the more accessible panels have been “updated” by the names of explorers, early settlers, cowboys, miners, tourists, and local residents. The oldest names are now, themselves, of historical significance; the rest are considered vandalism. But the real threat today is from the innocent damage of hundreds of visitors who create their own trails (often through delicate sites), to approach, touch, or even take rubbings of these fragile figures. While the public has a legitimate interest in these panels, and while most visitors do not intentionally damage them, the rock art must be preserved for future generations. The problem facing management is how to accommodate intensive visitation while improving the integrity of the panels and nearby sites. Site monitoring and public education are currently seen as two of the most productive ways to address the problem.

Capitol Reef greatly enhanced its management of cultural resources when the park’s first archeologist was hired in 1993. Much of the archeologist’s time is spent working with rangers to monitor, patrol, and protect archeological sites, improving site protection through public education, minimizing effects of development and visitation through planning and cultural preservation efforts, and consulting with American Indian tribes.

Tribal consultation has become a major management effort. Today, the Hopi, 18 other Puebloan groups, and some Paiute people claim direct descent from the Fremont and Ancestral Puebloan people. Even the Navajo Tribe, considered by archeologists to have arrived in the region within the past 500 years, has claimed affiliation. As tribes traditionally associated with the Capitol Reef area (either through ancestral or more recent, historic use), these groups are legally entitled to be consulted on a variety of management issues. These may include issues that touch on planning, interpretation, museum holdings and exhibits, development projects, archeological research, Traditional Cultural Properties, and natural resources of customary interest to them. Clearly, tribal involvement in park management will continue to increase in coming years.

As more archeological and ethnographic surveys of Capitol Reef National Park are completed, we will better understand the first human beings to penetrate and utilize the Waterpocket Fold. While the fold’s harsh, twisted geography has been a barrier to some, it is clear that the Capitol Reef area served as a crossroads for American Indians for many millennia.

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CHAPTER 3

EARLY EXPLORATION

Although American Indian people were truly the first early explorers of this country, it wasn't long after Europeans arrived that they, too, began probing the periphery of the rugged plateau country.

Early Explorers

The first recorded travels in the general vicinity of Capitol Reef National Park were conducted under the leadership of Franciscan friars Atanasio Dominguez and Velez de Escalante in 1775-76. The initial purpose of the expedition was to find a passable overland route from Santa Fe to the California missions. Rough country, bad weather and overwhelming isolation compelled the friars and their party to abandon their journey and, instead, head back to New Mexico across the jagged, southern edge of the Colorado Plateau. Weary and worn, they came to the Colorado River where Lee's Ferry is today, but they could not cross the swift, deep water. Starving and exasperated, the Dominguez-Escalante party struggled north. The closest they actually came to Capitol Reef was a spot between Gunsight and Dominguez Buttes, just north of the Arizona state line and about 50 miles southwest of the park's southern boundary. Here, at the Crossing of the Fathers, they were finally able to ford the river on November 7, 1776. Escalante recorded that his party of 13 celebrated "by praising God, our Lord, and firing off a few muskets as a sign of the great joy we all felt at having overcome so great a difficulty."¹

This first extensive visit of Europeans to the area was significant for many reasons. Most notably, the Dominguez-Escalante expedition barely survived in a forbidding environment very similar to the Waterpocket Fold country. Their descriptions of this rugged landscape were no doubt an important factor in keeping others from risking a trip through the Colorado Plateau for over 50 years.

The Spanish also made several other excursions into what is today southern Utah, mostly in search of Indian people to enslave. There is no conclusive evidence that the Spanish or Mexicans ever ventured any closer to Capitol Reef than the Crossing of the Fathers and

¹ Escalante diary quoted in C. Gregory Crampton, Ghosts of Glen Canyon History: History Beneath Lake Powell (St. George, Utah: Publisher's Place, Inc., 1983) 30.

the old Spanish Trail (which, not coincidentally, circles around the Colorado Plateau). The Spanish Trail, actually not really used until the Mexican era, ran from Santa Fe north through southwestern Colorado and eastern Utah, and then crossed the Colorado River at Moab. After fording the Green River near the modern Utah town of the same name, the trail branched into northern and western courses. Taking the easier, northern route, a traveler would follow the Price River and Spanish Fork Canyon to Utah Lake before heading south again to the Sevier River. The more direct but more precarious western route passed through the northern San Rafael Swell, generally as Interstate 70 does today. From the top of Wasatch Pass, a traveler would follow Salina Canyon down to the Sevier River valley. From there, the trail headed mostly southwest, ending in San Gabriel, California. While a few brave souls attempted, like Dominguez and Escalante, to open trade with California by a more direct route, there is no conclusive evidence of--nor reason for--Spanish or Mexican ventures into the Waterpocket Fold country. The heart of the Colorado Plateau and its western barriers appeared dangerous and unprofitable to early Spanish and Mexican adventurers.²

Coinciding with the decline of Spanish rule north of the borderlands, the American, British, and French fur trade blossomed throughout the West. By the 1830s, however, the best of the beaver streams had been nearly trapped out. Hardy mountain men then began searching the remote drainages of the Colorado River for new beaver populations, free of competing trappers and disapproving Indian warriors. Surprisingly, even in this desert environment, beaver are still found all over Colorado Plateau, including Capitol Reef. There were probably more of them 150 years ago.

Jedediah Smith was the first known mountain man to follow the Indian and Spanish trails into Utah. On his first of many travels through virtually unknown terrain in 1826, Smith and his band of 18 trappers and traders picked up part of the Spanish Trail west of the Wasatch. They even traveled a little east of it into the high plateaus north of present day Zion National Park, on their way to Mexican-held California in hopes of securing trade privileges.³

Antoine Robidoux was probably the most influential fur trader in Utah. From his post at the junction of the Uintah and White Rocks Creek, Robidoux sent trappers to go up "the Big Bear, Green, Grand, and the Colorado rivers, with their numerous tributaries, in search of fur bearing game."⁴ One of those trappers may have been Denis Julien, who is credited with the earliest inscriptions in the deep canyons of the Green and Colorado

² C. Gregory Crampton, Standing Up Country: The Canyonlands of Utah and Arizona (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1983) 48-50; Robert G. Cleland, This Reckless Breed of Men: The Trappers and Fur Traders of the Southwest (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950; University of New Mexico Press, 1976) 265-268.

³ Crampton, 66-71.

⁴ Cleland, 246-250.

Rivers. Nothing is known of Julien except for his signature inscribed in 1831 on rocks near Robidoux's Fort Wintey, and other inscriptions dated 1836 in Labyrinth, Stillwater, and Cataract Canyons. Like other mountain men who ventured into the canyon lands in search of beaver and game, Julien wrote little and left nothing behind. Robidoux's trading post was eventually destroyed by Utes in 1844, near the end of the short-lived fur trade era.⁵

The Spanish friars, Mexican traders, and American mountain men were the first non-Indians to see the labyrinth of canyons, cliffs, buttes, and badlands that are now regarded as some of the most impressive scenery in the world. The earliest explorers, though, weren't looking for scenic vistas: to them, the rugged country was a barrier to travel and trade. Their routes circled around Capitol Reef, as do the transportation routes of today.

It was the search for a railroad route that brought the next group of explorers to the country north of Capitol Reef. In 1853, Lt. John W. Gunnison led an official government survey for a central transcontinental route that would have bisected Utah. Gunnison followed the Spanish Trail cutoff over Wasatch Pass and down Salina Canyon before he was killed by Indians in the vicinity of Delta, Utah.⁶

A year later, "The Pathfinder" John C. Fremont began his fifth and final cross-country trip, to locate a northern railroad route that would circumvent pro-slavery states in the looming civil conflict. Fremont and his party followed Gunnison's path until they crossed the Green River. There, Fremont headed south through the San Rafael Swell, coming very close to the present northern boundary of Capitol Reef before heading up over Thousand Lake Mountain.⁷ He might have camped on the stream that now bears his name before traveling across the Awapa Plateau (Parker Mountain) and on to the Sevier River. How close this party came to Capitol Reef has long been debated. His artist and daguerreotypist, Solomon N. Carvalho, wrote a very general account of their journey, and a couple of his sketches and a map seem to put them somewhere in the vicinity of Salvation Creek, just east and north of Cathedral Valley.⁸

⁵ Charles Kelly, "The Mysterious D. Julien," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 6 (July 1933): 83-88; Crampton, 53; Cleland, 250.

⁶ Crampton, *Standing Up Country*, 56.

⁷ Since this writing, an independent researcher has established (based on images made by Fremont's daguerreotypist, Carvalho), that Fremont actually passed through the park's North District. --Ed.

⁸ *Ibid.*, note #2, p. 171; Mary Lee Spence, ed., *The Expeditions of John Charles Fremont* (University of Illinois Press, 1984) 4:466-67; Solomon N. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West: With Col. Fremont's Last Expedition* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1859), maps; Ferol Egan, *Fremont: Explorer for a Restless Nation* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1977), 500-503; Todd Berens, Fremont scholar, personal communication, December 1992.

But despite the hard work and sacrifice of these expedition members, the transcontinental railroad route ended up crossing the Great Salt Lake further north. The interior Colorado Plateau, especially around the flexures of the Waterpocket Fold and San Rafael Swell, were too rugged and isolated for railroads.

The First Recorded Views Of Capitol Reef

The next wave of investigators was more determined to open up southern Utah. It began with Mormon attempts to overcome Indian resistance to settlement, and it continued with the adventurous but systematic examination of the landscape by the John Wesley Powell expeditions. A brief history of Mormon settlement of southern Utah is provided in the next chapter, but to understand the reason for early Mormon Militia expeditions into what is now central Wayne and Garfield Counties, a little background is needed.

Soon after the establishment of communities around the Great Salt Lake in the late 1840s, Mormon colonists began to push southward into Ute territory. The Walker War of 1853-54 was a direct response by Utes to Mormon encroachments. In 1865, the Black Hawk War, a general uprising of Utes and Paiutes throughout southern Utah and northern Arizona, was again in reaction to new Mormon settlements. After settlers were killed in Pipe Springs and Long Valley (between Carmel Junction and Hatch), the Utah Territorial Militia was sent out after any potentially hostile Indians. During these campaigns, a great deal of south-central Utah was explored. After the Indians were subdued, Mormons channeled their colonization efforts into promising agricultural areas that had been discovered by the militia.⁹

Captain James Andrus had led one such campaign in August 1866. The cavalry company, consisting of 62 officers and men, were to travel from the Kaibab Plateau to the mouth of the Green River:

All crossings of the Colorado within this distance were to be examined; the hostile Indians were to be chastised; and the friendly Piedes, 'Ki-babbits,' and others were to be conciliated. Andrus was ordered to 'learn all you can of the facilities and resources of the country' and to make an accurate report of the campaign.¹⁰

Adjutant Franklin B. Woolley kept a journal and prepared the official report, which includes the first known map of the Capitol Reef region.

The mounted militia began from St. George and headed through sparsely settled country to Kanab. It then turned northeast, where on August 26 in the militia's only encounter with Indians, Elijah Averett, Jr. was killed in the canyons south of what is now Bryce

⁹ C. Gregory Crampton, ed., "Military Reconnaissance in Southern Utah, 1866," Utah Historical Quarterly 32 (Spring 1964) 145-46.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 146.

Canyon National Park. Directed by the increasingly rugged upper canyon system of the Escalante, the militia followed Pine Creek up onto Boulder Mountain. From the proximity of Bown's Point, Woolley wrote the first known description of the Waterpocket Fold country:

Stretching away as far as the Eye can see a naked barren plain of red and white Sandstone crossed in all directions by innumerable gorges....Occasional high buttes rising above the general level, the country gradually rising up to the ridges marking the 'breakers' or rocky bluffs of the larger streams (sic). The Sun shining down on this vast plain almost dazzled our eyes by the reflection as it was thrown back from the fiery surface....We found no trails leading into nor across this country.¹¹

For some reason, perhaps wishful thinking, the party estimated that from this lofty vantage point the mouth of the Green River was only 15 miles away, when actually it was closer to 80. Seeing no easy way across the Waterpocket Fold, the party voted unanimously to head back. The Andrus campaign rode down Boulder Mountain to the Awapa Plateau, and the campaign concluded its 464-mile journey by way of Grass Valley, Circleville, and Parowan, returning to St. George by mid-September. This expedition may not have met many Indians, but it did begin to break down the final barriers to settlement in south-central Utah. The Ute and Paiute threat, however, was not over. It would be another 10 years before settlers ventured in the high valleys west of the present national park.¹²

In the meantime, John Wesley Powell's expeditions would solve many of the final mysteries shrouding the Colorado Plateau, accomplishing the first documented travel through and geological examinations of the Waterpocket Fold. Powell's 1869 exploration was the first down the length of the canyons cut by the Green and Colorado rivers, taking nine men and three boats through unimaginable hardships into the heart of the Grand Canyon. Along the way, Powell made the first detailed descriptions of the Colorado Plateau. Records, sketches, and scientific measurements were made of the canyons he named Cataract and Glen, and the mountains later named Henry in honor of his friend and financier at the Smithsonian Institution.¹³

Powell's most direct contribution to Capitol Reef is his documentation of a river that empties into the Colorado between Cataract and Glen Canyons, draining the northern Waterpocket Fold country. In Powell's edited journal, he writes of that day in late July, 1869 when he discovered the mouth of an unknown stream. He records:

Into this our little boat is turned. The water is exceedingly muddy and has an unpleasant odor. One of the men in the boat following, seeing what we have done, shouts to Dunn and asks whether it is a trout stream. Dunn replies, much

¹¹ Ibid., 156-57.

¹² Ibid., 159.

¹³ Wallace Stegner, Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953) 42-111, 141-44.

disgusted, that it is 'a dirty devil,' and by that name the river is to be known hereafter.¹⁴

The Dirty Devil was so named at its mouth. It is believed, but not proven, that early Mormon settlers arriving to the west of Capitol Reef called the same river the Fremont in honor of The Pathfinder's 1854 visit to the area.¹⁵ The confusion was later resolved when the map-makers labeled the river the Fremont up to its junction with the Muddy, at Hanksville. From Hanksville east to the Colorado River, it is known as the Dirty Devil.

Powell and five others eventually made it all the way through the Grand Canyon, one of the most remarkable stories in the history of the American West. Yet Powell's contribution to the West's history was only beginning.

Unsatisfied with one voyage down the Colorado, Powell made a second trip, although this one made it only as far as Lee's Ferry in 1871 and only to Kanab Creek within the Grand Canyon a year later.¹⁶ Powell's energy and enthusiasm were now focused past the Colorado River itself toward a thorough scientific exploration of the Colorado's unmapped western drainages and the American Indians, especially the Paiutes, who lived there. Yet Powell, who had by this time tasted political life in Washington, left it up to his brother-in-law, topographer Almon Harris Thompson, to lead the actual exploration and mapping of the unknown territory between the Arizona Strip and the Green River crossing.¹⁷

The early exploration and mapping by the first Powell survey may have fueled rumors of precious minerals along the drainages of the Colorado River. This in turn may be the reason for "J. A. Call" and "Wal. Bateman" to travel through Capitol Gorge and leave the oldest inscribed signatures in what is now Capitol Reef National Park. Their identity as prospectors, and nothing more, is all that is known of this earliest passage through the Waterpocket Fold by someone of European descent.¹⁸

Beginning in late May, 1872, Thompson, Powell's brother Clem, Frederick Dellenbaugh, photographer Jack Hillers, and five others left the Mormon towns of southwestern Utah to

¹⁴ John Wesley Powell, The Exploration of the Colorado River and Its Canyons (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1961) 227. There is some dispute over the exact reason for the name Dirty Devil, but Powell biographer Wallace Stegner dismisses these other arguments. See Stegner, 87-88.

¹⁵ Anne Snow, ed., Rainbow Views: A History of Wayne County, 4th ed. (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing, 1985) 3, recounts a story of Fremont's name etched into a cottonwood tree in upper Rabbit Valley.

¹⁶ Crampton, Standing Up Country, 68.

¹⁷ Stegner, 136-139.

¹⁸ Charles Kelly, "Journal of Walter Clement Powell," Utah Historical Quarterly, 16-17 (1948-49) note 425; Patrick O'Bannon, "Capitol Reef National Park: A Historic Resource Study," June 1992, 12, prepared for the National Park Service, on file, Intermountain Regional Office, Denver.

chart the region between Boulder Mountain and the Colorado River. The main purpose of this trip was to find the mouth of the Dirty Devil River, where a boat had been left the year before. Whatever topographic information could be acquired would, of course, benefit Powell's overall survey. Thompson succeeded admirably on both accounts.

They initially followed the 1866 Andrus expedition route to Potato Valley, where the town of Escalante now stands. Once there, though, Thompson became confused: the creek heading southeast should be the Dirty Devil, but it was flowing through steep canyons in the wrong direction. The higher the viewpoint, the more certain Thompson was that this was a new, unmapped river drainage. He called it the Escalante in honor of the first white man to record passage through the Colorado Plateau. The Escalante became the last river added to the map of the contiguous United States. The mountains that Thompson could see rising out of the canyons directly to the east were the Unknown Mountains, later to be called the Henrys, the last-named and last-mapped mountain range in the lower 48 states. It was not until 1872 that the Capitol Reef region was finally explored.¹⁹

From the headwaters of the Escalante, the party headed north up the flanks and out onto the flat, spruce-and-lake-covered top of Boulder Mountain, west of the Waterpocket Fold. Each of the five known journals of this trip remarks on the lush grass, timber and numerous lakes on Boulder Mountain.²⁰ Thompson, as well as others, mention the old tracks and camps of Indians. Once on top, their view to the east was the same as the Andrus party's six years earlier. Only Thompson's party, having recently ridden down the Green and Colorado and trying repeatedly to get out of the canyons, had a much better feel for the topography before them. It was all beginning to make sense.

The problem now was getting from Boulder Mountain down to the mouth of the Dirty Devil. Thompson decided to head for the Henry Mountains and then find a route down to the river from there. Since the Waterpocket Fold lay directly in their path, this would become the first recorded expedition through what is now Capitol Reef. Unfortunately, the passage through the fold is not described in great detail. A careful examination of the diaries of Thompson, Dellenbaugh, and Hillers (the only writers who made it all the way to the river) suggests that the route crossed the top of Boulder Mountain and went down the eastern flank somewhere between Bown's and Chokecherry Points.

The previous day, they had observed camp smoke rising from a canyon directly below them. In scouting a trail down, Dellenbaugh encountered "tolerably fresh Indian sign, and a mile or two further on ... struck a recently traveled trail."²¹ Since no other trail had been

¹⁹ Stegner, 140-43.

²⁰ Herbert E. Gregory, ed., "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," Utah Historical Quarterly, 7 (Jan.-April 1939).

²¹ Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, A Canyon Voyage: The Narrative of the Second Powell Expedition, revised ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962) 202.

found, he concluded this was their best chance of locating a route down the mountain's steep, rocky slopes.

On June 13, after a rainy night, the party set off on the twisting and often indistinct trail traveling almost due east.²² After several miles, wrote Hillers:

We came to a place where a valley lay about 1800 feet below us, with the descent to it over bare, smooth, white sandstone almost as steep as a horse could stand on. We traveled a mile and a half over this and then found ourselves in a better looking region where, after a few miles, we discovered a beautiful creek flowing rapidly. There was plenty of good grass and we made out camp beneath some cottonwood trees, having accomplished twenty miles the way we came. Smoke of an Indian fire was rolling up about three miles below us, but we paid little attention to it....Having slept little the night before, we barely stirred till morning, and in gratitude we called the stream Pleasant Creek without an attempt at originality.²³

Thompson's similar description would place this camp in the neighborhood of upper Tantalus Creek, immediately below and east of the present Bown's Reservoir. Early the next day, the party came upon the Indian camp. Hillers identifies the band as Red Lake Utes in the area to gather seeds. According to Dellenbaugh, the language and appearance of this band of eight men and several women and children identified them as Ute. After a few tense moments, everyone became friendly and Thompson tried to obtain the services of one of them as a guide. This being unsuccessful, he convinced the "chief" to give directions. Recorded Dellenbaugh:

The chief gave us a minute description of the trail to the Unknown or Dirty Devil Mountains [the Henrys] as well as he could by signs and words, some of which we could not understand, and long afterwards we learned that this information was exactly correct, though at the time through misunderstanding we were not able to follow it. They also told us there was a trail to the big river beyond the mountains.²⁴

Clearly, this band and others were traveling through Capitol Reef on a regular basis. Hillers speculated that some of the tracks found in nearby canyons were those of cattle stolen from the Mormons and hidden down in the slickrock canyons, where they could not be tracked. Hillers also mentions that "wild oats grow here the same as cultivated does

²² Don D. Fowler, ed., "Photographed All the Best Scenery": Jack Hillers's Diary of the Powell Expeditions, 1871-1875 (Salt Lake: University of Utah Press, 1972) 120. Dellenbaugh states this was in May instead of June, but Stegner mentions that the trip did not even get underway until the end of May, so this author is inclined to go with the Hillers date, instead.

²³ Ibid., 203; "Thompson Diary," 84.

²⁴ Dellenbaugh, 205.

anywhere else only not so heavy” and that at the present time the Indians were gathering their “yearly supply of seeds and nuts. Those which we left had quite a crop gathered.”²⁵

After a peaceful night of trading, the Utes and explorers went their separate ways. Here, the actual route of Thompson’s party through Capitol Reef gets confusing because it is mentioned only in passing. Without a guide, they traveled another 12 miles, passing through one narrow canyon, perhaps the limestone canyon west of Sleeping Rainbow Ranch, before descending into a larger one. Another possibility is that the small canyon is where Pleasant Creek cuts through Capitol Reef and the large canyon is that of Sandy Creek, immediately east of the fold. The recent rains had wiped out the trail, yet Thompson remarks on the presence of “many cattle sign” in the larger canyon.²⁶

Once through the fold, the party became temporarily lost in the rugged country between Capitol Reef and the Henry Mountains. The difficulty finding water and getting out of the steep canyons, understandably, left a deeper impression on the men than the trip through Pleasant Creek. Once through the Henrys and down to the Colorado, the party split up. Hillers, Dellenbaugh, and two others rode the boat on to Lee’s Ferry, while Thompson and the others went back toward Escalante to resupply. On the return trip, Thompson climbed the northern, tallest mountain in the Henrys and named it for his wife, Ellen. His route through Capitol Reef is again frustratingly unclear: his focus was on the structure and dip of the fold itself.²⁷

The Geologists Arrive

After the Thompson-led exploration of the Waterpocket Fold, geologists assigned to Powell’s fledgling U.S. Geological Survey took a more detailed look at the area. Geologists Grove Karl Gilbert and Clarence E. Dutton traveled through Capitol Reef on separate expeditions in the late 1870s. Their descriptions and analyses of the features they saw laid the foundation for modern sedimentary geology.

Gilbert was the first to investigate the geology of the Waterpocket Fold during his field work on the Henry Mountains in 1875-76. His 1877 report illustrated the geology of Capitol Reef, both in words and drawings. Gilbert traveled from Salt Lake City by way of Salina, observing that the town was “the last settlement on the route, but [that] there [were] ‘ranches’ as far as Rabbit Valley, and if [one delayed] a few years he [would] find a town there.”²⁸

²⁵ “Hillers’s Diary,” 121.

²⁶ “Thompson Diary,” 85.

²⁷ Ibid., 86-87.

²⁸ George K. Gilbert, *Report on the Geology of the Henry Mountains* 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880), 14.

After a panoramic side trip up Thousand Lake Mountain, Gilbert descended east into the Fold. His report offers the first meaningful description of the landscape and the adventures awaiting those who entered:

To reach the Henry Mountains from Rabbit Valley, [one] must cross the Waterpocket flexure; and so continuous and steep are the monoclinal ridges which follow the line of flexure, that there are but four points known where he can effect a passage. Except at these points, the barrier is impassable from Thousand Lake Mountain to the Colorado River, a distance of eighty miles...[One] can follow the [Fremont] river if he tries, and emerge with it beyond the flexure; but the way is difficult and the Indian trail he has followed thus far leads on to another canyon. The monoclinal valley [from Fruita to Pleasant Creek] which has opened so easy a way continues for fifteen miles farther, and in that distance is crossed by four water-ways, each of which leads by a narrow canyon through the great sandstones. The first and fourth are impassable. The second carries no permanent stream, and is called the 'Capitol Canyon.' The third affords passage to Temple Creek [Pleasant Creek]. The smoothest road lies through Capitol Canyon, but the Temple Creek Canyon has an advantage in the presence of water, and is furthermore attractive by the reason of the picture-writings on the walls.²⁹

On his second visit a year later, Gilbert went down the eastern edge of the Waterpocket Fold. While in Strike Valley and what was then called the Grand Gulch, he was particularly impressed with Halls Creek Narrows at the southern tip of Capitol Reef National Park:

The traveler who follows down Waterpocket Canyon [Halls Creek] now comes to a place where the creek turns from the open canyon of the shale and enters a dark cleft in the sandstone. He can follow the course of the water (on foot) and will be repaid for the wetting of his feet by the strange beauty of the defile. For nearly three miles he will thread his way through a gorge walled in by the smooth, curved faces of the massive sandstone, and so narrow and devious that it is gloomy for lack of sunlight; and then he will emerge once more into the open canyon.³⁰

Gilbert accurately portrayed the origins and weathering of this classic monoclinal uplift, giving it a proper sense of grandeur. But Clarence Dutton outshines any modern travel writer when it comes to describing the landscape of Capitol Reef National Park. Crossing Boulder Mountain only a short time after Gilbert, Dutton experienced his first impressions of Capitol Reef, writing:

It is a sublime panorama. The heart of the inner Plateau Country is spread out before us in a bird's eye view. It is a maze of cliffs and terraces... red and white domes, rock platforms gashed with profound canyons, burning plains barren even

²⁹ Ibid., 16.

³⁰ Ibid., 132.

of sage - all glowing with bright colors and flooded with blazing sunlight.... It is the extreme of desolation, the blankest solitude, a superlative desert.”³¹

Even as Gilbert and Dutton were remarking on the area’s striking beauty, the first ranchers and settlers were arriving just to the west. Their attitude toward the land could not afford to be romantic: they had chosen to make a living in this inhospitable place. The probing of Capitol Reef country would continue through present times, but cattle, sheep, and wagons would follow the trails of explorers, instead of the fading Indian trails of the past.

³¹ Clarence E. Dutton, Report on the Geology of the High Plateaus of Utah (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Interior, Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, 1880) 286-287 .

CHAPTER 4

MORMON SETTLEMENT

Capitol Reef's history is largely the history of Mormon settlement, not only because Mormons were the first Euro-Americans in the region, but also because their descendants make up most of today's local residents. Traditional Mormon attitudes toward the land have had a significant effect on Capitol Reef's administrative and resource management decisions, and Mormon lifestyles have altered the natural landscape into a cultural one. Since many descendants of those first Mormon pioneers are working in or with Capitol Reef National Park today, their traditions influence day-to-day interactions in the workplace and in surrounding communities. An understanding of the history and traditions of Mormon settlement is crucial to breaking the social barriers between the park and communities and to creating a interactive crossroads where all voices can be heard.

This short history of the settlement of Wayne County, in which the park partially resides, and some of the traditions that created Capitol Reef's cultural landscape at Fruita, is only an introduction to a complex and sometimes sensitive subject. Please refer to the bibliography or citations in this chapter for more in-depth accounts of Mormon history and culture.

The Mormons Settle Utah

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, with its origins steeped in the religious, social, and popular values of early 19th century rural New York, is perhaps the most American of religions. Following the 1844 mob slaying of their founder Joseph Smith in Carthage, Illinois, the Mormons were urged westward by a new leader, Brigham Young: away from the hatred, violence and dissension that had plagued the Saints for the previous 20 years. After consulting his advisors and the journals of explorers, Young concluded that the only place with enough open land to support his rapidly growing, mostly agricultural brethren was the little-known plateau and basin region between the Rockies and the Sierra Nevada. On July 21, 1847 the advance party, carrying an ill Young, looked down on the new home where "the Saints would find protection and safety."¹

¹ Brigham Young, as quoted in Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992) 101.

The massive migration of Mormons to follow soon filled up all the arable land around Salt Lake City. Young, foreseeing this overcrowding, had exploring parties investigating any land for potential colonization. Convinced by mountain man Jim Bridger and others that north of the 42nd parallel (Utah's northern border today) was too cold for most crops, the Mormon leader determined that the thrust of new colonization should be south of Salt Lake. These efforts to concentrate the constantly arriving Saints in more southern settlements could also explain why Fillmore became the first territorial capitol.²

Fledgling towns were founded up and down the so-called Mormon Corridor (the old Spanish Trail) from Salt Lake City as far south as Las Vegas, Nevada and San Bernadino, California within the next 10 years. The less hospitable high plateaus and deserts to the southeast would be avoided until all the more promising lands were settled.

Along the Mormon Corridor, conditions were still less than ideal. The region's topography, aridity, and occasionally resistant Americans Indians restricted settlement to those few places where rivers could be diverted to irrigate fields. Even with the innovative system by which Mormons built and maintained cooperative irrigation projects, the amount of arable land was not enough to keep up with the needs of new arrivals and adult offspring, who were searching for their own lands. This second generation of Mormon pioneers, encouraged as much by personal ambition as by church directive, soon began piercing the barrier of the high plateaus in search of land previously considered inhospitable.

Hole-In-The-Rock And Halls Crossing

In 1880, one of the last colonies acting under church direction was sent to the extreme southeast corner of Utah, which lacked a solid presence by the Latter-day Saints. A colony there would not only help convert the troublesome Navajos, but would also serve as an outpost against an increasing Gentile (non-Mormon) migration of ranchers and gold-seekers into the area. The chosen leader, Silas Smith, determined after reconnaissance that the new colony should be along the San Juan River. After the 250 men, women, and children were called by church leaders to colonize this new area, a route to their new home had to be chosen. The most practical (albeit lengthy) course was over the old Spanish Trail, which swung north around the Colorado Plateau. When told of a possible shortcut directly across the heart of canyon country, the leaders jumped at the chance--not considering there might be a reason why no one had gone that way before.

The colonists, with as many household goods, tools, and animals as they could manage, gathered with the scouts just south of Escalante in November 1879. The path chosen went in a southeasterly direction along the bare rock desert to the west of the Escalante River canyons. From there, they descended a trail blasted down an almost sheer cliff, later

² Richard H. Jackson, "Utah's Harsh Lands: Hearth of Greatness," Utah Historical Quarterly, 49 (Spring 1981): 11.

to be called the Hole-in-the-Rock. Once across the Colorado River, the settlers with their 83 wagons and over 1,000 head of livestock headed up through even rougher terrain, reaching the San Juan River and settling Bluff the following spring. It is remarkable that no one was killed on this epic journey. In fact, three babies were born along the way.³

To supply this new, isolated community, Charles Hall was chosen to find a different, more practical route. The trail he pioneered in 1881 diverted from the original Hole-in-the-Rock passage at Harris Wash. From there, wagons were to cross the Escalante River, go up Silver Falls Canyon, cross the mostly open Circle Cliffs region, and then proceed down a steep, rocky slope into Muley Twist Canyon (in what is now the southern third of Capitol Reef National Park). Once through the Waterpocket Fold, the trail went down Halls Creek to the Colorado River. Hall set up a ferry there and built his house and garden a few miles up the creek. As one would suspect, this rough, isolated supply route did not see a lot of travelers. Within three years, wagon roads connected with the new rail lines serving Durango and Green River, eliminating the need for a ferry. Never significant in numbers served or length of service, the Halls Crossing Trail did establish the only wagon and truck road through the southern Waterpocket Fold until the 1950s.⁴

Settling Rabbit Valley

A peace treaty signed at Council Grove, Utah among the Mormons, Utes, and Paiutes in 1873 finally opened the plateaus and valleys east of Richfield to settlement. Sent by the church to bring isolated bands of Utes and Paiutes to that peace council, a party of 22 men, including later settlers Albert Thurber and George Bean, was impressed by the high valley's abundant grass, timber, and game.

Two years later, Thurber returned with part of the Richfield cooperative cattle herd. Others, such as Hugh McClellan and Beas Lewis, arrived soon afterward. It was the practice at that time for Mormons to pool their cattle together into a church-sponsored herd that would be trailed by one or two local ranchers. Some of the cattle would be privately owned and some would belong to the church. Thus, the cattle that first grazed in Rabbit Valley were either owned or managed by the Mormon Church; but the actual settlement of Rabbit Valley and the lower desert to the east was apparently accomplished through individual rather than Church initiative.⁵

³ David E. Miller's Hole-in-the-Rock: An Epic in the Colonization of the Great American West (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1959), is the best account of this difficult trek.

⁴ Bradford Frye, "The Boulder-Bullfrog Road: A History," March 1992, 4-6, on file, Capitol Reef National Park Archives; C. Gregory Crampton, Standing Up Country (Salt Lake: Peregrine Books, 1983) 111-112.

⁵ Anne Snow, ed., Rainbow Views: A History of Wayne County, 4th ed. (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing, 1985) 6-9, 19.

Despite the 7,000-foot elevation of Rabbit Valley (and its consequently short growing season), ranchers and supporting farming communities began to follow the Fremont River downstream. At first, they built isolated homesteads, but soon laid out townsites. After Albert Thurber founded his namesake (later re-named Bicknell) in 1875, the small settlements of Fremont (1876), Loa (1878), East Loa (later, Lyman) (ca. 1879), Teasdale (1878), Grover (1880), and Torrey (1884) soon followed. This settlement pattern of cooperative herds followed by individual ranchers and then towns was also occurring to the south in Escalante and Boulder at about the same time.⁶

Settlements In Lower Wayne County

Below and to the east of Rabbit Valley, the farming and ranching prospects were meager, at best. The desire for free, even slightly promising land, however, finally pushed homesteaders into and past that omnipresent barrier, the Waterpocket Fold. The first permanent settler was Ephraim Hanks, who along with his wife Thisbe and their children, began homesteading on Pleasant Creek in 1881. Hanks chose the only open, relatively flat land between the deep, narrow limestone and sandstone canyons of Pleasant Creek to grow fruit and run a small ranch. According to his son and biographer Sidney Hanks, the thousands of fruit blossoms in spring gave the homestead its name, Floral Ranch. This ranch changed hands several times during the early 20th century, until Lurton Knee bought the property in the early 1940s and established the Sleeping Rainbow Guest Ranch.⁷ (Since Knee's death in 1995, the ranch has reverted to National Park Service ownership under the terms of a life estate he had established years earlier.)

Fruita, now Capitol Reef's most populated area, was at first bypassed by homesteaders in favor of the more open desert lands further east. Except for Caineville (1882) and

⁶ Crampton, "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah and Adjacent Parts of Arizona and Nevada, 1851-1900," 1965 unpublished manuscript, 217-219, on file, Capitol Reef National Park Archives. Also see Cathy Gilbert and Kathleen McKoy, "Cultural Landscape Report: Fruita Rural Historic District, Capitol Reef National Park," 1993, 4-3 through 44-6, draft on file, Intermountain Regional Office, Denver for an excellent discussion of how the settlement surrounding Capitol Reef was a mixture of Mormon communal tradition and individual American homesteading practices. Also see David R. M. White, "By Their Fruits Ye Shall Know Them: An Ethnographic Evaluation of Orchard Resources at the Fruita Rural Historic District, Capitol Reef National Park, Utah," February 1994, prepared under contract for the National Park Service, on file, Capitol Reef National Park Division of Resource Management, for a thorough analysis of Mormon traditions in Wayne County and local attitudes toward park management.

For information on early Escalante, see Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village* (Salt Lake: University of Utah Press, 1952) 86-87; for early Boulder, see Lenora Hall LeFevre, *The Boulder Country and Its People* (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing, 1973) and Nethella Griffin, "Life in Boulder," unpublished manuscript, Utah State Historical Society Archives, Salt Lake City, 8-10.

⁷ Sidney A. Hanks and Ephraim K. Hanks, *Scouting for the Mormons on the Great Frontier* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1948) 228-229; Patrick O'Bannon, "Capitol Reef National Park: A Historic Resource Study," June 1992, 39-43, prepared under contract for National Park Service, on file, Intermountain Regional Office, Denver.

Hanksville (1883), all the other communities along the banks of the lower Fremont River were abandoned after repeated flooding. Observed Crampton:

Depletion of the range up-country and the ploughing of banks practically to the water's edge increased the volume of floods and the result was a severe lowering of the stream bed. By the turn of the century, Mormons along the Fremont below the reef found that much of their farm land had caved away to be washed downstream and that the river itself was dropping below the level of the headgates. The result was a contraction of the original frontier of settlement as people began to move away.⁸

This process of settling any available land and then slowly retracting to the most productive was a pattern found throughout the West. It was Mormon tenacity and cooperation that enabled them to homestead or ranch successfully on any land within the Colorado Plateau. The homesteading of Fruita is a classic example of that blend of individual, family, and group perseverance.

Early Fruita

The history of Fruita is now, finally, well documented.⁹ Here is a brief overview of this desert oasis that Wallace Stegner so charmingly described as

a sudden, intensely green little valley among the cliffs of the Waterpocket Fold, opulent with cherries, peaches, and apples in season, inhabited by a few families who were about equally good Mormons and good frontiersmen and good farmers.¹⁰

Fruita was a small, isolated community of largely self-sufficient fruit farms at the junction of the Fremont River and Sulphur Creek. The site, first utilized by generations of American Indians, was for years a campsite for travelers between ranges and towns on either side of the Waterpocket Fold, until its first permanent settlers finally arrived.

After several squatters, the first official homesteader at Junction (later, Fruita) was Nels (or Neils) Johnson. This Scandinavian bachelor built the first known house in 1886, just above the stream confluence within today's Chesnut Picnic Area. Three other homesteaders, Leo Holt, Elijah Cutler Behunin, and Elijah's son Hyrum, filed claims to all

⁸ Crampton, "Mormon Colonization," 221.

⁹ See Gilbert and McKoy, "Cultural Landscape Report" for the most detailed history and analysis of Fruita, and White, "By Their Fruits..." for an excellent ethnographic history of Fruita and present local sentiment toward the cultural landscape. Other sources are George Davidson, *Red Rock Eden* (Torrey, Utah: Capitol Reef Natural History Association, 1986), and O'Bannon, "Capitol Reef National Park," 16-32.

¹⁰ Wallace and Page Stegner, *American Places*, photographs by Eliot Porter, Ed. John Macrea, III, (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1981) 122.

the other farm land available in the small valley. In their final homestead affidavits, these Mormon pioneers stated that the land was useful for "ordinary farming, most valuable for fruit raising."¹¹ Within a few short years, others moved into Junction, purchased a small tract of land from one of the original homesteaders, and labored on their own houses and orchards.¹² The need to establish a post office resulted in the name change from Junction to Fruita sometime between 1900 and 1903, as another Junction, Utah already had a post office.

Irrigation was essential to raising any fruit or field crops. With the same cooperative spirit that brought irrigation innovations to the other Mormon settlements, the Fruita families built and shared a system of ditches and headgates. But the isolation, marginal farmlands, and silty water (worsened by late summer floods) made Fruita a tough, if beautiful, place to live.¹³

Elijah Cutler Behunin is a good example of the typical early settler of Capitol Reef. Son of the first homesteader within Zion Canyon, Elijah and his rapidly growing family moved further east, and moved often. Behunin is credited with being the first to settle at Caineville in 1882. At that time, supplies had to be brought in from the west, forcing settlers regularly to confront the barrier of the Waterpocket Fold. To make the passage easier, Behunin led a work party in 1883 to build a wagon road through the northern half of the Waterpocket Fold.

The road Behunin built went directly south from Fruita, along the Reef's imposing cliff line. Passing by Grand Wash, the route continued over steep hills and rough, usually dry wash crossings into Capitol Gorge. Once through the gorge and past the little farming and ranching settlement of Notom, the road continued east over the multi-colored bands of bentonite and the bluish-gray Mancos shale hills that gave this new road its name: the Blue Dugway.

The road-builders chose to lay the route through Capitol Gorge in order to avoid several rough fords of the Fremont River. Although Capitol Gorge was indirect and subject to flash floods, those floods were infrequent and (importantly, in those days of horse travel), easy to see coming. It took Behunin, a couple of teams of mules, and whatever help he could get, eight days to clear three and one-half miles of rock and debris from the narrows of Capitol Gorge. This wagon road served as the only passenger-vehicle road through the Waterpocket Fold until 1962, and even at that late date it was virtually impassable for days after any rain or snow storm.¹⁴

¹¹ Leo Holt Homestead Find Certificate, FC6137, Land Entry Files, Salt Lake City, Utah, Box 136, Records of the Bureau of Land Management, RG 49, National Archives - Suitland, Maryland.

¹² See O'Bannon, 22-32, for a more detailed account of the residents of Fruita and when they arrived.

¹³ Gilbert and McKoy, 3-2, 3-3.

¹⁴ Lenard Brown, Capitol Reef: Historical Survey and Base Map (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Division of History, 1969) 7; Davidson, 18.

The need to move on led the Behunins to a small plat of land along the Fremont River, surrounded by red and white sandstone formations within the heart of Capitol Reef. Behunin and his family built a small, one-room cabin out of red sandstone. The land was too close to the river, however, and the crops were washed out within a year. By this time, there were 11 children to support and shelter. The wandering spirit took hold of the Behunins a few more times. After 10 years or so of homesteading in Fruita, the Behunin family moved on to Notom and then up to Torrey, where Elijah lies buried today.¹⁵

While at Fruita, Behunin became the first presiding elder when the homesteaders organized as a branch of the Torrey Ward in 1900. Because of its relative small numbers and geographic isolation, Fruita never established a ward of its own. Another reason for this may have been a lack of exhibited faith among many of the residents. While there is no question that Fruita was almost exclusively Mormon, regular church and meeting attendance was much lower there than that of some of the other Wayne County communities. Those who chose to go to church went to Torrey, Bicknell, Grover, or Caineville, usually depending on where relatives lived. On some occasions, sacrament meetings and Sunday school were held in a private home or at the one-room schoolhouse in Fruita. On those Sundays, the desks were moved and a curtain was drawn across the room to separate classes.¹⁶

The school itself was erected on land donated in 1896 by either Behunin or Amasa Pierce. At first it was only hewed, chinked logs, with a flat roof sealed with bentonite clay to keep out the rain and snow. The peaked roof was added in 1914, and the interior was plastered until the mid-1930s. For many years, the school year began at the end of fall harvest and ended with the spring planting season, the number of pupils (grades 1-8) varying annually. The quality of teachers also varied: most were first-year instructors, since those with experience would opt for a less isolated, more learning-conducive environment.¹⁷

Contrary to what many may have believed, the average Latter-day Saint was sociable and fun-loving.¹⁸ Social gatherings, when possible, usually took the form of church meetings, quilting bees, or card games at someone's home. The older children looked forward to box socials. Without a wardhouse, the schoolhouse was the only community building in Fruita suitable for such gatherings. Since the large families of Fruita (in 1910 there were 19 adults and 42 children) craved social interaction as a break from hard work, they often used the schoolhouse for meetings and social affairs (Fig. 5). The number one social affair

¹⁵ Ruby Noyes Tippetts, A Song in Her Heart (published by author, 1962) 111-115.

¹⁶ Davidson, Red Rock Eden, 40-41. David White included a detailed hierarchy of Mormon faith in his ethnographic evaluation of Fruita. He determined (55-56) that most of the residents of Fruita belonged either to a central category "consisting of inactive, non-hostile people, including 'cultural' and /or 'ethnic' Mormons," or were active believers who did not agree with every teaching.

¹⁷ Davidson, 31-37.

¹⁸ White, 57.

in any Mormon community was the dance. When a dance was held in the small schoolhouse, the band and refreshments would be inside and most of the dancing outside.

With the late summer reflections off the soaring red cliffs, a public dance was a great way to escape the rigors of life in lonely Fruita.¹⁹

Fruita Vignettes

Fruita's isolation encouraged a story-telling tradition that was common throughout the West. The lack of any communication save letters and books made word of mouth a very important means of relating experiences. These stories, oral histories if you will, would be repeated for the infrequent visitor; it's easy to see how these accounts could be slightly embellished to create a little more excitement, wonder, and sense of importance in an otherwise humdrum existence. This enlivening of history may explain why some persistent oral traditions concerning early Fruita have been hard to verify; this is particularly true of stories about Butch Cassidy and the Wild Bunch. Another reason why these oral traditions never made it to paper is their sensitive nature, particularly regarding polygamy and bootlegging.

Polygamy

There was, undeniably, a connection between the rapid settlement along the lower Fremont River and the persecution of polygamists during the 1880s. The questions yet to be answered are, just how many polygamists were there in eastern Wayne County, and how often did federal marshals come in pursuit of them?

The example of taking more than one wife was first provided by Prophet Joseph Smith and a few select high officials of the Church back in Nauvoo, Illinois. Brigham Young made polygamy public and available to all Mormons, once they were secure in Utah territory in the early 1850s. Mormons believed plural marriage to be divinely inspired, and as polygamists grew in numbers, the practice became an uncompromising tenet.²⁰ At that time, no law forbade plural marriage in the United States, but the institution sparked a great deal of outrage back East. After the Civil War, moral indignation toward slavery was transferred to Mormon polygamy. Because of the physical distance between Utah and Eastern society, false reports abounded and led to increasing hostility toward Mormons during the 1870s and 1880s.

Many assume that every Mormon was a polygamist. Actually, however, it appears that only about one in five Latter-day Saints was ever involved in a plural marriage, and it was

¹⁹ Davidson, 40-48.

²⁰ See Richard S. Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy: A History, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1989), for a modern, detailed, and objective history of Mormon polygamy.

usually one man marrying two women. (One assumption that does seem accurate is that, as the man got older, he married younger wives.²¹) Economics are clearly a factor that limited plural marriages among Mormons. The high costs of housing, clothing, and feeding a typically large family on the southern Utah frontier made the prospect of multiple families rather daunting. Usually, only the more well-to-do bishops, patriarchs and merchants could afford a multitude of families on the frontier. For the Mormons struggling to make ends meet, polygamy was not economically viable.²²

In 1882, Congress passed the Edmunds Act, making plural marriages illegal and empowering federal marshals to seek out “illegal cohabitation” and prosecute violators to the fullest extent of the law. The effect on Mormons everywhere was pervasive:

Scores of federal officials were brought into the territory to conduct ‘cohab hunts,’ and bounties were offered for information leading to the arrest of polygamists. Mormons not wishing to give up their plural wives and children faced dismal options--legal prosecution, a life in hiding on the ‘Mormon underground,’ or complete exile....[T]hose who did not submit to arrest had to be constantly on the move. Women and children were left to provide for themselves as best they could.²³

Many of the settlements established by the Mormon Church in adjoining states during the late 1870s were set up, in part, to provide safe havens for polygamists. In the 1880s, federal marshals arrested more than a thousand Mormon men. To escape the marshals, many families fled to Arizona, Mexico, Canada, and to the cover of south-central Utah.²⁴

Hanksville purportedly was established by polygamists, and Ephraim Hank’s Floral Ranch on Pleasant Creek supposedly offered a safe retreat along the Mormon underground railroad. The accuracy of this information is hard to verify, as few diaries were left behind by early settlers in the area. The valuable genealogical histories compiled by family members definitely show a good percentage of Wayne County families were part of plural marriages; but the family biographies of people such as Ephraim and Thisbe Hanks, Elijah Cutler Behunin, and others are usually a perpetuation of the local oral traditions handed down through the generations. Another problem in examining the extent of local polygamy is that today’s descendants are reluctant to talk about it. Consequently, the exact number of polygamists traveling through Capitol Reef may never be known.

The increase in polygamy prosecutions has been connected with the unlikely settlements due east of the park during the 1880s. Crampton wrote:

²¹ Ibid., 91, 103; Arrington and Bitton, The Mormon Experience, 199.

²² Arrington and Bitton, 197-200.

²³ Van Wagoner, 118.

²⁴ Ibid., 125.

The numbers of polygamous Mormons who moved to the wild country east of the High Plateaus have never been counted, but there were probably enough to put more pressure on the available lands than they would support. The result was that Mormon settlement during the 1880s was often attempted in places (and in such numbers) which taxed the meager resource base beyond its capacity to offer adequate support. To some extent this was true of the lands along the Fremont River below Capitol Reef.²⁵

Fruita had one known polygamist, Calvin Pendleton, who is documented in the 1900 federal census as having two wives. Another resident, Jorgen Jorgensen, apparently came to Fruita from a polygamist settlement in Mexico, since some of his children were born there.²⁶ As for the extent of federal arrests for polygamy in and around Capitol Reef, no accurate accounts have ever become available. The number of reports about marshals coming after polygamists, however, indicates that either they came quite often or the memory of a visit became the topic of repeated and perhaps embellished stories.

Perhaps the best-known lore regarding polygamists in Capitol Reef pertains to Cohab Canyon, a beautiful hanging canyon of Wingate fins and sheltered alcoves, directly above the campground. The canyon supposedly got its name because polygamists in Fruita would flee up into it whenever the marshals came around. There was even a newspaper article about this alleged use of Cohab Canyon.²⁷

Cohab Canyon, however, was an unlikely hideout for a number of reasons. The western entrance, closest to Fruita, is approached by an exposed, switchback trail, which would force polygamists to “flee” up a very steep slope in obvious view of approaching lawmen. The eastern entrance to the canyon, south of the Hickman Natural Bridge trailhead, would have been a more likely route. But even if this entrance was used, there really isn’t a good, sheltered location anywhere in the canyon to remain hidden for any length of time. The fins carved from the hanging canyon do provide some short slot canyons, but there is no real protection from the weather. (The author’s attempt to flee a summer cloudburst in Cohab Canyon proved a lack of accessible cover very apparent.) Considering that marshals would be traveling days just to get to Fruita, it is unlikely they would go on or turn around after a short visit; rather, they would stay awhile, forcing the fugitives to hide for quite some time. However, there are no blackened, campfire smoke stains along the canyon walls, indicating that no one spent much time hiding out at “Cohab.”

²⁵ Crampton, “Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah,” 219-20.

²⁶ Lane R. Pendleton, “The Life of Calvin David Pendleton,” April 1992, Box 7, Folder 6, Capitol Reef National Park Archives; Dewey Gifford, interview by George Davidson, tape recording and transcript, Part 1, 28 March 1980, Capitol Reef National Park Archives, 2; White, 59.

²⁷ A. Gordon Hughes, “Cohab Canyon: Where Mormons Took Refuge,” Desert Magazine, (June 1963):28-29, photocopy in Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

Then there is the name itself. As George Davidson points out in Red Rock Eden, the name “cohab” was a derogatory term used by non-Mormons to describe cohabitationists. Mormons of the area are unlikely to have used such a term, even if we find it a bit lyrical today.²⁸

While some long-time Wayne County residents have only known the name “Cohab” Canyon, others remember it as Easter Canyon, because of the tradition of climbing into it over the spring holiday weekend. A possible source of the name “Cohab” could be Charles Kelly. Kelly, the monument’s first custodian, was responsible for naming many features in the area, and his distaste for religion may have prompted him to name this canyon “Cohab” just to needle the local residents a little. Unfortunately, the facts regarding the use of Cohab Canyon as a polygamist hideout may never be known. Due to the secrecy surrounding polygamy even well after the Woodruff Manifesto revoked church sanction of the practice, and due to the lack of diaries from the early Fruita period, this and other tales of polygamy hideouts will remain local oral traditions.

The Wild Bunch

If one hikes down Grand Wash and turns up the first side canyon past the Cassidy Arch trail, he will may notice a pile of weather-worn logs heaped against a split sandstone rock. This pile was once a small cabin. The puzzle over who would have built in such a place once again stimulated the imaginations of local residents. For some, it was a polygamist hideout; for others, it was an outlaw hideout used by Butch Cassidy and his Wild Bunch.

The hideout story has gained most prominence. Charles Kelly, a historian, learned of this possible use for the Grand Wash cabin from Fruita resident Cass Mulford while preparing his book, The Outlaw Trail, the first legitimate history of the Wild Bunch. According to Kelly, Mulford was a “professional story teller that liked to fill the dudes with stories.” Kelly must have been satisfied with the veracity of Mulford’s story, because he stated in his book that the outlaws built the cabin for overnight stops before traveling east to the San Rafael River east of Hanksville and the famed Robber’s Roost.²⁹

There is no doubt that Butch Cassidy did occasionally use Robber’s Roost. His first rustling job took him from his home near Circleville (Cassidy was born Robert LeRoy Parker to a Mormon farming family) to Robber’s Roost with a herd of stolen cattle bound for Colorado. He probably later used the canyon hideout after the 1897 Castle Gate payroll robbery. But Robber’s Roost was not nearly as hospitable as Brown’s Hole, in the northeastern corner of Utah; Butch and his gang only used the former when absolutely necessary. Of course, the Wild Bunch members weren’t the only rustlers and robbers in the area--just the most famous.

²⁸ Davidson, 26.

²⁹ Brown, Capitol Reef: Historical Survey, note, 46.

Because of Cassidy's roots and fabled Robin Hood deeds, the people of southern Utah were especially fond of any story about the Wild Bunch. Charlie Gibbons, who once owned the store in Hanksville, was said to be personal friends with Butch and his gang. Pearl Baker, who grew up on the closest ranch to Robber's Roost, has written several books about the outlaws of the area. And, of course, beautiful Cassidy Arch at the entrance of Grand Wash was named after the famous felon.³⁰

Certain local events involving members of the Wild Bunch were recorded. For example, outlaws Blue John and Silver Tip were taken as prisoners through Capitol Reef on their way to trial in Loa. It is very likely that any outlaw passing through the region, Wild Bunch or not, passed through Capitol Reef's canyons just because this was the only practical way through the Waterpocket Fold. It is also possible that these outlaws could have camped in Grand Wash, although a dry camp was probably not a preferable option. But the idea that the Wild Bunch built a cabin as a hideout, or even made an overnight stop in Grand Wash, has never been verified, aside from Cass Mulford's questionable testimony. It seems unlikely that the place was used by the Wild Bunch or by polygamists, especially since a 1971 study dated the cabin to post-1900. Sadly, the cabin was burned to the ground by vandals sometime in the 1940s.³¹

Moonshine

Like polygamy and the Wild Bunch, bootlegging looms large in local memories. Yet, because of its legal and religious implications, most of Fruita's moonshiners and their still locations have remained a secret until recently. Only recently has anyone has told of these activities in oral histories collected by park service staff.³²

The physical isolation and the reliance on growing fruit to survive made moonshining inevitable. The long, arduous route to market, the easy spoilage of fruit, the need to supplement family income, and the tedium of social isolation all contributed.

Nels Johnson, Fruita's first homesteader, was said to be the first to sell wine to passing cowboys. After all, grapes would be ready to harvest in only a couple of years; fruit trees take much longer to mature. By the turn of the century, the Word of Wisdom, which

³⁰ Charles Kelly, The Outlaw Trail: A History of Butch Cassidy and the Wild Bunch, 2nd ed. (New York: Bonanza Books, 1959); Pearl Baker, Robber's Roost Recollections (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976).

³¹ Charles Kelly, interview by Lenard Brown, tape recording and transcript, 26 May 1969, Capitol Reef National Park Archives, 20-24; Superintendent Franklin William Wallace to Karl Gilbert, 7 May 1971, File H2215, 79-73-136, Box 4, Container #740698, National Archives - Rocky Mountain Region, Denver (hereafter referred to as NA-Denver).

³² Kelly, interview, 24; Neldon Adams, interview by George Davidson, tape recording and transcript, 12 October 1983, Capitol Reef National Park Archives, 11-13; Charles Kelly, "Reminiscences of Howard Blackburn," 1 March 1946, Charles Kelly Unpublished Writings, Capitol Reef National Park Archives, 4.

every devout Mormon was supposed to follow, forbade the social drinking of alcohol. Yet, in far away Fruita, distilling brandy and whiskey was beyond Church control.

Operating a still was a labor-intensive, exhausting enterprise. It usually took two or three men to run a still. The hardest work was carrying large amounts of water up to the hidden still sites. This need for water seems to have dictated where stills would be located. One of the most often-used sites was near a spring above Hickman Bridge. Whiskey Spring was later a favorite hike before it was completely buried in a landslide in 1979. Another favorite site was in the large alcove directly across the Fremont River from the lower Krueger orchard. Inside this alcove there are still the remains of an old stove. Other still sites were rumored to be in the canyon below Cassidy Arch and further east along the Fremont River.

Fruit was not the only thing distilled into brandy, whiskey, or wine. Corn mash, grapes, and even “the green skimmings of molasses” were used--whatever was available at the time.³³ According to long-time Fruita resident Cora Oyler Smith, Fruita’s fruit was often traded up-county for grain, which was then used in the fermenting process.³⁴ Once distilled, the moonshine would be sold to sheepherders and shearers, cowboys, and other locals who paid little attention to the Word of Wisdom.

There was little need to hide the moonshine in such a remote location, but care was taken when selling the liquor. One story recounts that Cora’s father, Valentine “Tine” Oyler, the most well-known of the bootleggers, would hide a flask in his overalls. When approached by a would-be buyer, a price would be quoted and paid and then Oyler would simply walk away. As he walked, the flask would slip down his pants leg to the ground. The “accidental” delivery made, Oyler would not look back.³⁵ After one sale (by whom is unknown) to a couple of men from western Wayne County, the liquor was consumed so rapidly that the men couldn’t get back up the hill, thus leading to the name Whiskey Flat at the base of the Mummy Cliffs west of the visitor center.

With such stories, it would be easy to conclude that Fruita was occupied by a bunch of unfaithful bootleggers, but this would be far from the truth. Moonshining was practiced on rare occasions by just a few Fruita residents, but it did add some local flavor to the area.

Summary And Conclusions

Polygamy, outlaw tales, and moonshining are a few of Fruita’s more colorful local traditions, enhanced by years of re-telling. These three examples are mentioned not

³³ Davidson, Red Rock Eden, 50.

³⁴ Cora Oyler Smith, interview by Kathy McKoy, 8 May 1993, tape and transcription available, Capitol Reef National Park Archives, 5.

³⁵ Adams, interview, 13.

because they typify the area's residents, but because they are so atypical that they have received much attention from storytellers. The author hopes these examples will supplement the excellent, specific history of Fruita by Cathy Gilbert and Kathy McKoy and the ethnographic study by David White.

Capitol Reef is truly a unique national park. There are few natural history units in the national park system that have been, and continue to be, so influenced by local history and traditions. These traditions, established during the course of Mormon settlement of the Capitol Reef region, have had a profound effect on the history of the park and its policy decisions.

Too often, National Park Service management has focused on natural resource and visitor protection, to the unintentional neglect of the surrounding cultural resources and their history. Just as ecosystem management has surpassed political park boundaries, cultural barriers need to be overcome, as well. For any manager or member of the National Park Service to achieve well-rounded success at Capitol Reef National Park, an in-depth understanding of Mormon culture is crucial.

From here, the reader can either go to Chapter 8 and the history of how Capitol Reef National Monument was created, or turn to the next chapters, which introduce the growth and development of the National Park Service at Capitol Reef.

Figure 5. Fruita, ca. 1930. (NPS file photo)



CHAPTER 5

A MONUMENT IN NAME ONLY: 1937 TO 1950

The establishment of Capitol Reef National Monument (Fig. 6) came after two decades of work by local boosters and National Park Service officials. The local boosters believed in 1937 that the hard work was all but over, not realizing the difficulty of providing visitor access to remote, rugged Capitol Reef. Park service officials knew, however, that the next two decades would see another hard struggle to organize and develop the new monument. So long as access limited visitation and the United States' entry into World War II restricted funding, development would be delayed at Capitol Reef.

What follows is a brief story of the National Park Service's efforts to bring Capitol Reef National Monument into the system as a fully functioning unit. The goal of the chapter is to recount how Capitol Reef progressed over the years, and to discuss the planning documents that helped shape its future. Succeeding chapters discuss the growth of the monument through the 1950s and 1960s.

The First Year

At the end of the September 1937 dedication ceremony, optimism ran high among local residents and elected officials. Ephraim Pectol, the "Father of Capitol Reef," believed that the celebration would "mark the beginning of a new era for Wayne County."¹

A week later, Pectol found out just how much work was still needed to make the monument operational. Regional Director Frank A. Kittredge, writing Pectol to commend him on his achievement, informed him of the task ahead:

As I told you during our visit, we are going to have to do some thorough studying before we undertake any development. We cannot afford to make mistakes by jumping into work, perhaps scarring some of the country and then wishing we had not....The Service and the State are fortunate in this case in starting from a new foundation without having any previous developments which must be undone. It is

¹ Richfield Reaper, 30 September 1937.

quite possible that progress may seem slow to you and others of our friends in the vicinity of the Monument, but we necessarily must be sure before we start developments if we are to avoid mistakes.²

Kittredge also warned Pectol that there was still no money for either development or surveys for the coming year. While Pectol and the other boosters must have been exasperated by the continually slow pace of action at Capitol Reef, National Park Service officials were excited, yet cautious, about the chance to work in an untouched area.

For the first years of its existence, Capitol Reef National Monument was not allocated a budget. In fact, it was not officially activated as a member of the national park system until 1950. Meanwhile, it was placed under the administration of Preston Patraw, coordinating superintendent of Zion and Bryce Canyon National Parks.

While Patraw knew the area well from his extensive effort to get the monument proclaimed, he was a very busy man. In 1937, not only did Patraw have responsibility for Zion, Bryce Canyon and Capitol Reef, but also Cedar Breaks, Pipe Springs, Timpanogos, and Lehman Caves National Monuments.³ These diverse responsibilities left Capitol Reef without any on-site custodian until 1944. Further administrative neglect was due to the instability of the Zion superintendency. After Patraw left Zion National Park at the end of 1938, there were four different superintendents from January 1939 to July 1943. The most influential of these, Paul Franke, was in charge of Zion and, thus Capitol Reef, three separate times through the 1940s and 1950s.⁴

Before Patraw left, he tried hard to get Capitol Reef on its way to becoming an active part of the park system. One week after Roosevelt's presidential proclamation, Patraw was preparing a list of projects needed by the new monument. His first priority was establishing a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp which, he thought, would be kept busy for several years improving roads, building trails, and erecting structures. Proposed projects included archeological and boundary surveys, a boundary fence, and a water and sewage system. Other priorities identified by Patraw were limiting stock driveways to one canyon and installing a radio that could contact Bryce Canyon and Zion National Parks.⁵

While the superintendent emphasized immediate needs, Regional Director Kittredge's priority was long range goals. Wrote the regional director:

² Kittredge to Pectol, 4 October 1937, File CR-101-1, Accession #79-60A-354, Box 1, Container #63179, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (RG 79, National Archives - Rocky Mountain Region, Denver, hereafter referred to as NA-Denver).

³ Dena S. Markoff, "An Administrative History: Decision-Making That Shaped Zion National Park, 1909 to 1981" (Zion Natural History Association, July 1982), on file, Zion National Park Archives.

⁴ Harold P. Danz, ed., Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials, revised ed. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, May 1991) 73, 194.

⁵ Patraw to Kittredge, 12 August 1937, File 201, 79-60A-354, Box 1, NA-Denver.

In this Monument we have an excellent opportunity to do first things first. This is quite a contrast to our usual necessary procedure of being pushed into developments and activities because of work already accomplished in Parks and Monuments and the necessity of taking care of activities or visitors who are already upon us.⁶

In other words, the National Park Service should take advantage of the virgin character and isolation of Capitol Reef National Monument, planning and slowly implementing development there. Local businessmen probably would have disagreed with this approach, had they been aware of the director's intentions; but slow development nevertheless became the guiding principle during the monument's first two decades. Low funding and continued isolation would make immediate, large -scale development a moot point insofar as the National Park Service was concerned.

The inability to get funding appropriations for Capitol Reef National Monument did not stop Patraw from coordinating the first development outline. Submitted in March 1938, the recommendations stressed that all future development should emphasize protection of the resources while improving park access. Any tourist accommodations should wait until the private lands at Fruita could be acquired, since there was potential for "unrestricted, unsightly, uncoordinated private development." Even if that were accomplished, Patraw recommended, all tourist lodging and shops should be located in Torrey, well outside the monument's boundaries.⁷

The existing developments listed in 1938 included about 20 miles of unimproved dirt road from Chimney Rock, through Fruita, and into Capitol Gorge, with a side road to Pleasant Creek. There was one "barely passable saddle trail to Hickman Bridge," and a single-wire telephone line from Torrey, through Fruita, and on through Capitol Gorge, characterized as "privately owned by users, poorly constructed, and usually out of service." Electricity, aside from that produced by privately-owned generators, would not be available until after the war.

Project plans called for major improvements to the primary road, eventually creating a paved road through the Fremont River or Pleasant Creek canyons. It was also proposed that minor improvements, such as grading and oiling, could be made to scenic dead end roads in Grand Wash and Capitol Gorge. Saddle and foot trails were recommended from Grand Wash to Hickman Bridge and also above and through the Fremont River canyon. At the chosen administrative site, a ranger station and residence was needed, as well as a museum and a water and sewage disposal system. Additional surveys and fencing were also encouraged.⁸

⁶ Kittredge to Patraw, 28 September 1937, Ibid.

⁷ "Development Outline for Capitol Reef National Monument," 1 March 1938, File 600-02, 79-60A-354, Box 2, Container #63180, NA-Denver.

⁸ Ibid.

The first year at Capitol Reef National Monument saw planning for the slow, steady development of roads, trails, and buildings, as well as the initial consideration of private landholdings in Fruita. Negotiations for the purchase of any land would not begin until 1941. Meanwhile, the CCC would start the first federal construction in Capitol Reef.

CCC Work At The Monument

Proposals for a CCC camp at Capitol Reef were first submitted by Utah State Planning Engineer Paul Arentz and Superintendent Patraw in 1935. Patraw requested \$21,000 to establish a winter camp from which to conduct the surveys and road and utility upgrades. This proposal was rejected by Hillory Tolson, the National Park Service assistant director for operations, due to an ordered freeze on new camp construction.⁹

In early 1938, six months or so after the monument's proclamation, \$3,425 of Emergency Relief Administration (ERA) money was appropriated for initial road improvements. The focus of work, begun the first week of May, was installation of erosion-controlling basket dams and rip-rap along the stretch of road above Sulphur Creek.¹⁰

The CCC side, or stub, camp was established in July by Foreman Marion Willis and his crew of 17 laborers. The camp, "one thousand feet to the west of Chimney Rock and on the north side of the entrance road," initially consisted of tents and one small frame building that housed the radio. The water came from "some springs located about one quarter mile north west of the camp" and was stored in a 2300-gallon corrugated iron tank. Electricity came from a portable generator near by. Work continued on the road above Sulphur Creek, and sandstone quarrying began for a headquarters building. Whether this building was to be a residence, museum, or checking station was still uncertain.¹¹

Work on the "ranger station," as it was being called, continued through the summer of 1938. The road improvements were set back in August due to a flash flood that wiped out some of the initial work plus the bridge over the Fremont River. One worker, assigned to tally visitors during the month of August, recorded a total of 144 cars and 362 people passing through Fruita. All but 12 of the cars were from Utah, indicating that most of the traffic was local. The camp was closed for the season in early October, with workers returning to Bryce Canyon, and ultimately Zion National Park, for the winter.¹²

⁹ Patraw to Branch of Plans and Designs, San Francisco Office, 15 August 1935; Tolson to Patraw, Telegram, 26 September 1935, File NPS-000, 79-60A-354, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver. See also Chapter 8.

¹⁰ Harlan Stephenson, Resident Landscape Architect, "Monthly Narrative Report," 25 April - 25 May 1938; Ibid.

¹¹ Monthly Narrative Report, 25 July - 25 August 1938; Ibid.

¹² Monthly Narrative Report, 25 August - 25 September 1938, Ibid.; Charles Smith to Mrs. E. P. Pectol, 4 February 1948; Ibid., File CR-101.

CCC work continued on a seasonal basis through April 1942, when all camps were closed due to the war. Although records after 1938 are sketchy, a summary of accomplishments can be made. When field naturalist Joseph Dixon surveyed Capitol Reef for his report on the geology, flora and fauna of the monument, he noted that work had begun on the rock retaining walls at the head of the Hickman Bridge trail.¹³ By 1940, with an ERA allotment of \$32,804, Foreman Owen Hibbert and a crew of 40 men had completed the ranger residence, as it was now called, and the road work around Fruita. Construction was also underway on a new bridge across Sulphur Creek just north of the headquarters area, as well as the Hickman Bridge trail, and on the “obliteration of an old Monument road.”¹⁴ In 1942, a section of the monument road over the first hill south of Fruita, called Danish Hill, was begun. By April, however, with the project only 60 percent completed, the camp was closed permanently due to lack of workers. The pressing need for manpower in the war effort left any remaining construction at Capitol Reef to be completed by the National Park Service.¹⁵

From 1938 to 1942 the work completed by the CCC, under funds allotted from the ERA and PA, included the stone “ranger residence” that is now the superintendent’s office (Fig. 7), the small explosives and equipment shack near the modern park’s storage yard, the erosion control basket dams and rip-rap along Sulphur Creek, a bridge over Sulphur Creek near headquarters, and the partial improvements to the Hickman Bridge trail and the road south of Fruita.

The Chimney Rock camp was dismantled after the crews left, leaving only the frame structures. These were later burned down by vandals in April 1947. One of the old CCC buildings was reportedly moved into the upper Cathedral Valley, where it was used as a line shack until it, too, burned down.¹⁶

The Civilian Conservation Corps provided the first visible effort by the federal government at Capitol Reef National Monument. Not only was the CCC responsible for the improved roads and the construction of the first building and trail, but it also assisted the National Park Service in gathering visitation statistics. In fact, the on-site foreman actually served as the first, unofficial, custodian for the monument. Throughout the National Park

¹³ Joseph S. Dixon, “Special Report on Geology, Flora and Fauna of Capitol Reef National Monument,” Box 1, Folder 5, Capitol Reef National Park Archives. This document reported little new and had few recommendations beyond the need for more research on the area’s resources.

¹⁴ Superintendent’s Annual Report, 1940, File 207, Entry 7, Central Classified Files, 1907-1949, Box 2063, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter referred to as NA); John Diehl to Regional Director, 21 March 1940, File CR-204-10, 79-60A-354, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

¹⁵ Superintendent’s Annual Report, 1 July 1941 - 30 June 1942, File 207, Entry 7, Box 2063, RG 79, NA. A fairly complete collection of working drawings of CCC projects can be found in the Capitol Reef National Park Archives, Drawer 7, Folder 4.

¹⁶ Guy Pace, interview by Bradford Frye, tape recording and transcript, 13 February 1991, Capitol Reef National Park Archives, 15.

Service, the CCC and other New Deal programs proved instrumental in upgrading access as well as assisting in preserving park resources. For new areas such as Capitol Reef, with no other source of funding, these federal assistance programs were crucial in initiating developments.¹⁷

Once the CCC was gone from Capitol Reef National Monument, National Park Service development stopped for two decades. With meager resources and the continued lack of significant visitation, the only actions taken by the National Park Service during the remainder of the 1940s were purchasing a little land and some water rights, and hiring a full-time custodian.

Chesnut Land Acquisition

In the spring of 1941, with CCC work in the monument well underway, the National Park Service began considering purchase of a piece of private land in Fruita. The initial objective was to secure water rights for future development and a trail right-of-way down the Fremont River canyon. Willing sellers were found in Mr. and Mrs. Alma Chesnut, who had already moved from Fruita to Napa Valley, California for health reasons.

The Chesnuts' three tracts were east of the Fremont River/Sulphur Creek confluence. One seven-acre tract consisted of a small knoll, with a three-room house, shed, stable, corral, and cistern overlooking the river (Fig. 8). There were also approximately 250 fruit trees, mostly peaches. The second tract comprised eight acres of river bottom land that had been orchard but was now regarded only as pasture land, due to recent floods. The third tract was 46 acres of "practically worthless land above the cliffs." Water rights to all these parcels were .66 second feet. Appraised at \$3 an acre, and considering a small mortgage and water rights, the total price sought by the Chesnuts was a little over \$1,800.¹⁸ An agreement was worked out with the Chesnuts, but the sale was held up for two years because of inaccurate property descriptions. The fact that Tine Oyler was selling his adjoining land to another purchaser, Max Krueger, at the same time added to the confusion over exact descriptions and titles. Repeated surveys were made by General Land Office personnel and Assistant Regional Engineer Sam Hendricks.

Hendricks reported in October 1941 that complete, definitive locations for all private lands in Fruita would have to be made before the Chesnut sale could proceed. "The absence of definite section and property corners...and the lack of evidence on the ground as furnished by the neighbors" were particularly annoying. Hendricks described some of the corner markings as washed out by the river and others as

¹⁷ Hal Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989) 162-186, has a fairly complete examination of the effects of the CCC and other New Deal programs on the national monuments.

¹⁸ A. van V. Dunn to Franke, 4 April 1941, File CR-601, 79-60A-354, Box 2, #63180, RG 79, NA-Denver.

[a] pole tied into a fence line; a piece of cord tied onto the top strand of a barbed wire fence; an 'x' chiseled on a sandstone ledge....[T]he best of all was an 'x' cut on a swinging gate (emphasis in original).¹⁹

The final judgment of condemnation needed to purchase the 66.926-acre Alma Chesnut property was finally filed on July 15, 1943.²⁰ The National Park Service now had the water rights necessary for fire protection and campground purposes, and a little orchard property that included a house, fencing, and outbuildings.²¹ Since the ranger residence built by the CCC had no plumbing, the Chesnut house could also provide lodgings for a monument custodian. This house and property would be the only permanent National Park Service residence within the monument until the 1960s.

Charles Kelly Becomes Custodian

A full-time custodian had been requested by Zion Superintendent Patraw when the monument was first established in 1937. The problem was not only lack of housing, but also lack of money. Bishop Ephraim Pectol had been nominated for the position in the 1930s by the Associated Civic Clubs of Southern Utah, and Patraw had concurred with this suggestion in his 1935 survey of the proposed monument. Pectol's advanced age and failing health, however, may have deterred his appointment.²² Another factor was the significant need to have the custodian actually living within the monument and using the newly acquired water rights, which otherwise would be forfeited. (Pectol resided with his family in Torrey, where he operated a grocery store.)

Newly-appointed Superintendent Paul Franke determined to solve the problem by finding someone to take care of the monument in return for free use of the Chesnut house plus any income from selling fruit grown in the Chesnut peach, apple, and apricot orchards. It must have been a relief to Franke to find a capable and willing man already living at Fruita: Charles Kelly.

Kelly had already lived a full life by the time he assumed his role as the first caretaker of Capitol Reef National Monument in May 1943.²³ Born to fundamentalist Christian parents at a Michigan logging camp in 1889, young Kelly grew to hate his overbearing, strictly religious father. As an adult, Kelly held a general distaste for all religion. One useful thing he did learn from his father, however, was the printing business. After a brief stint in the army during World War I, Kelly married Harriette Greener and settled into the

¹⁹ Engineering Field Report, 8 October 1941, File 204-10, 79-60A-354, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

²⁰ "Declaration of Taking," Civil No. 376, U.S. District Court of Utah, 23 July 1942, File 603; Ibid.

²¹ Superintendent's Annual Report, 1 July 1941 to 30 June 1942, File 207, Entry 7, Box 2063, NA.

²² Pectol died 8 October 1947.

²³ Kelly "renovated" and moved into the Chesnut house in May 1943. The paperwork on Kelly's nominal custodianship began in March 1943, but he was not officially on the rolls until 18 March 1944.

growing Western Printing Company. The printing jobs financed a new love for historical exploration and writing. Kelly joined several float trips down the Green and Colorado Rivers searching for historical inscriptions and tracking rumors of lost silver mines.

He published numerous historical books and articles, including the first factual account of the Donner Party, and his highly regarded book, The Outlaw Trail (1938), about Butch Cassidy and the Wild Bunch. His publications in the Utah Historical Quarterly and Desert Magazine earned him an Award of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History and a lifetime honorary membership in the Utah Historical Society. Always vocal (and not always complimentary) in his opinions about his business and exploration partners, he nevertheless earned the respect of professional historians and other Western history buffs.²⁴

Charles Kelly began looking for a new career at age 52, when he sold his printing business. Noting that “there is nothing in business but a headache,” he began looking for a home in southern Utah, preferably along a river. His belief that another economic depression would follow World War II led him to consider taking a more secure job with National Park Service. Kelly’s first idea was to live at Hite and be custodian of the proposed Escalante National Monument. He also looked into living at Ticaboo or in the Henry Mountains, but Harriette vetoed those plans. With these possibilities ruled out, he decided to buy land in Fruita and settle down to his writing and farming (Fig. 9).²⁵

While renting a cabin belonging to retired dentist, tour company operator and rock hound Arthur “Doc” Inglesby, Kelly learned of Alma Chesnut’s desire to sell. Kelly asked the National Park Service about the possibility of buying this land, but was told the government had already decided to purchase it. Nevertheless, Charles and Harriette moved to Fruita in October 1941, renting one of Inglesby’s cabins until one became available for purchase. These plans fell through when the war, the new National Park Service presence, and others prospective buyers combined to drive prices too high for Kelly. After two winters of “waiting developments,” Kelly’s previous contacts with Superintendent Franke finally paid off. Franke saw Kelly as a man extremely well qualified to look after the natural and prehistoric resources of Capitol Reef. Kelly, for his part, was eager to join the National Park Service, and he found Capitol Reef to be a nice place to live and work. The deal was struck when Kelly agreed to take care of the monument for minimum pay and cheap rent.²⁶

²⁴ Frank Swancara, Jr., “Charles Kelly: A Biographical Sketch,” Southwestern Lore 24 (December 1958); Randell Henderson, “Kelly of Capitol Reef,” Desert Magazine 18 (November 1955); Jonathan Scott Thow, “Capitol Reef: The Forgotten National Park” (Utah State University Master’s Thesis, 1986).

²⁵ Charles Kelly diary, 3 February 1941 and 19 January 1944, Charles Kelly Collection, MS100, Box 1, Folder 1, University of Utah Special Collections, Manuscript Division, Marriott Library (hereafter referred to as Kelly Collection MSS).

²⁶ Ibid.

Franke managed to get permission for the Kellys to become caretakers of the Chesnut house in the spring of 1943. The Kellys irrigated a garden and the Chesnut orchard that summer, thereby protecting the recently acquired water rights. Paperwork was begun to get Kelly officially appointed as a nominal custodian in return for \$120 a year and a special-use permit enabling him to continue living in the Chesnut house. On March 18, 1944, at the age of 55, Charles Kelly became the first official custodian of Capitol Reef National Monument.

Charles Kelly had a considerable and colorful impact on the history of Capitol Reef National Monument. His appreciation for the history and archeology of the region, his love of the landscape, and his determination to protect the monument's resources helped build a solid National Park Service foundation when little money or outside assistance was available to do so.

Unfortunately, historical accounts of Kelly have not always been kind. Most critical was Jonathan Thow's 1986 Master's thesis on Capitol Reef National Park, in which Kelly was fingered as the instigator of all conflicts between the park and the local communities. He is presented by Thow as a curmudgeon, a "Mormon-baiter," and a bitter man who was hostile toward nearly everyone. Others have reported that Kelly was a bit too fond of his liquor.²⁷ Yet, despite his flaws, Kelly achieved significant accomplishments during his long tenure at Capitol Reef National Monument.

Kelly was determined to protect "his" monument. He fought off illegal grazing, vandalism, uranium mining, and anything else he considered disrespectful toward the land and his responsibility to protect it. Because travel was so difficult and time-consuming, few superintendents or even maintenance assistants came over to Capitol Reef National Monument from Zion or Bryce Canyon National Parks, making Kelly's battle a lonely one. Kelly was the only National Park Service presence at Capitol Reef throughout the 1940s and most of the 1950s. He was resourceful as well as opinionated. Those opinions, often expressed in his monthly reports, could be interpreted (as by Thow) as mean-spirited; or, they could be read as the writings of a man deeply committed to his job of protecting and developing Capitol Reef National Monument.

Capitol Reef During World War II

Throughout the 1940s, lack of money and continued isolation were the greatest inhibitors to the development Capitol Reef National Monument. During World War II, congressional appropriations to the National Park Service were cut by more than half. This guaranteed that small monuments such as Capitol Reef would continue to see little or no funding. Yet, even without an active National Park Service presence at the

²⁷ Thow, 52-64; Cora Oyler Smith, interview with Kathy McKoy, tape and transcript, Capitol Reef National Park Unprocessed Archives.

monument, development was slowly accruing. Improved roads and a new lodge after the war helped bring in more tourists, while floods, private property disputes, and vandalism continually plagued the new custodian.

A bituminous oil-gravel (chip-sealed) road was completed as far as Torrey in 1941. That left only 12 miles of dirt road (still impassable when wet) to travel before reaching Fruita. The rough road through Capitol Gorge had been slightly improved and was maintained more frequently. Nonetheless, travel to the east or south of the monument was still precarious. The long-awaited and eagerly anticipated paved road from Torrey through Hanksville and on to Blanding was still in initial planning stages during the early 1940s.²⁸

The slowly improving roads were bringing a few visitors to Capitol Reef. Unofficial estimates were about 1,000 to 2,000 people annually through the war years. These numbers contrast with the over 100,000 visitors to Zion National Park just before the war began.²⁹

Except for the master plans, development outlines, and a few letters and diary entries from Charles Kelly, there are few detailed records for Capitol Reef during the 1940s. A preliminary development outline submitted in 1943 by Zion Superintendent Paul Franke gives an idea of monument conditions during the war. Besides Utah Highway 24, there were only a few dirt roads used to access the tracts of private land around Fruita. No road went further east along the Fremont River than the Oyler/Krueger property. In anticipation of future road development, Franke suggested that the Utah Highway 24 right-of-way, which served as the monument boundary from Meeks Mesa to Fruita, be absorbed by an expansion that would bring an additional 1,000 acres to the monument. This proposal would be seriously considered a decade later.³⁰

Tourist facilities at Fruita consisted of three cabins rented out by William and Dicey Chesnut, and another three owned by Doc Inglesby. The cabins were described in the development outline as “very poor shacks without any modern conveniences.” There still was no electricity, and the phone lines had been abandoned for some time. Lurton Knee purchased the Floral Ranch on Pleasant Creek in 1941 with the idea of turning the area into a guest ranch. (Franke objected to having a dude ranch operating so close to the monument, especially since there were so many archeological sites and petroglyph panels nearby. He recommended that this area, too, be brought into Capitol Reef’s boundaries, in order to protect those resources.) But other than these meager accommodations, the

²⁸ Associate Landscape Architect, Field Report, 29 April 1941, File NPS-000, and Superintendent's Annual Report, 1941, File CR-207-01.4, 79-60A-354, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

²⁹ Annual Report, Capitol Reef National Monument, 1940 and 1942, *Ibid.*; Annual Report, Zion National Park, 1942, Zion Archives.

³⁰ “Development Outline for Capitol Reef National Park,” 6 January 1943, File CR-600-02, 79-60A-354, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

only other tourist service was horse rental for the very few who wanted to see the backcountry.³¹

National Park Service structures were also minimal: the small house and outbuildings associated with the Chesnut property, and the CCC's ranger residence, which lacked water and toilet. There were also the remains of the two frame buildings left over from the CCC camp near Chimney Rock. The National Park Service presence at Capitol Reef was still as minimal as the tourist accommodations. With few tourists and fewer services, Capitol Reef National Monument was a forgotten unit of the national park system. The restrictions on gas, oil, and tires, and the National Park Service downsizing brought on by the escalating war in Europe and the Pacific would keep Fruita and its beautiful surroundings almost untouched.

By 1943, Zion's superintendent realized the impracticality of buying out all the private landholders in the monument. Franke wrote:

[I] recognize the conflict of private lands but can see no reason why a majority of present owners cannot continue to reside and operate their ranches within the Monument. With encouragement from the Service these owners can be encouraged to develop and maintain their property in conformity with standards to be established. With nearly 1000 acres of high-priced orchard lands its retirement from the tax rolls would be a hardship to the country and its people. Certain small units and water must be purchased to provide adequate space for public enjoyment, providing for public buildings, campgrounds and accommodations. The type of physical developments should conform to the early Mormon type of architecture (stone). Location to be within the area known as Fruita.³²

This policy shift, which allowed the private holdings in Fruita to remain so for the present, recognized that the National Park Service could not afford to buy out the owners. It was hoped that so long as the residents of Fruita continued to live their mostly subsistence lifestyle, there would be no conflict with National Park Service policies. On the other hand, the residents of Fruita seemed to welcome Kelly and the National Park Service into their community, so long as development did not threaten their property, nor Kelly's rough opinions antagonize them.

With the war's end in 1945, tourism to the national parks increased dramatically. Yet, despite initial optimism of the superintendents at Zion National Park, Capitol Reef National Monument remained a quiet, undisturbed niche in the system. Kelly was promised an appropriation for Capitol Reef that would include a new, \$8,000 house and a permanent, paid ranger job at the monument. In the end, all he received was a short-wave

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

radio to keep in touch with the faster-paced life at Bryce Canyon and Zion National Parks.³³

There were a few changes to the monument after the war. Construction of a lodge began in 1946 on two acres of land owned by Doc Inglesby. The lodge, originally designed as a smaller-scale version of the Utah Park's Lodge at Zion National Park, was to be jointly owned by George Mason and Vincent Rosenberger, of California. The first year's \$25,000 budget was used to build the main structure housing the dining room, lobby, store, and a few sleeping quarters (Fig. 10). Additional, "deluxe" cabins were to be added around the first building in later years. A 10,000-kilowatt generator and a 20,000-gallon storage tank (water rights obtained from Inglesby at the same time of purchase) were to be built on the slope of Johnson's Mesa. Unfortunately, the lodge ran out of money within two years, resulting in significantly reduced plans.³⁴

During the immediate post-war boom, however, this lodge, a new motel in Torrey, and the planned guest ranch on Pleasant Creek brought new hope for the long-awaited tourist rush. Progress seemed imminent when, in 1947, Garkane Power finally ran a power line and poles down to Fruita from Torrey. The National Park Service, however, was not about to publicize nor even publish a book about Capitol Reef until the monument was officially activated, funded, and staffed. (This policy, more than likely, was not discussed with Kelly or the local businessmen.)³⁵ Tourism remained slow.

Even without much support, Kelly marked time by battling occasional vandalism, usually another name etched into the walls along the road through Capitol Gorge, and fighting for additional trails and the inclusion of Cathedral and Goblin valleys within the monument³⁶.

Finally, in 1949, the National Park Service could no longer ignore Capitol Reef National Monument. Even without improvements, increasing numbers of summer tourists to Zion and Bryce Canyon were bound to spill over into the more remote parks such as Capitol Reef. A new master plan and allocations for a permanent ranger and desperately needed materials were in order.³⁷

During the writing of this master plan, renewed debate arose over the location of a permanent headquarters area for Capitol Reef. At the time, the Utah highway department had not yet decided whether the proposed new road would be routed through the Fremont

³³ Kelly diary, 20 January 1946, Kelly Collection MSS.

³⁴ Charles Smith to Regional Director, 29 May 1946, File CR-600, 79-60A-354, Box 2, RG 79, NA-Denver; Salt Lake Tribune, 21 April 1946; Kelly diary, 6 March 1948, Kelly Collection MSS.

³⁵ Franke to Mr. (?) Doer, 10 March 1949, File 504, Entry 7, Box 2063, RG 79, NA.

³⁶ All boundary expansion proposals during the late 1940s through the 1950s are described in Chapter 10.

³⁷ "1949 Master Plan and Development Outline for Capitol Reef National Monument," 13, File CR-600-01, 79-60A-354, Box 2, RG 79, NA-Denver.

River canyon or along Pleasant Creek. The National Park Service Regional Office in Santa Fe decided that, whatever the road's route, park headquarters should be at the canyon entrance. Those who favored a move to the old Floral Ranch saw a great deal of potential, but were dismayed to learn that owner Lurton Knee was demanding \$50,000 for the property. This amount was considerably more than the \$2,500 he had paid for the land just seven years earlier. This debate, ultimately resolved by the state, may have been a key reason why significant development of the Fruita area was postponed throughout the 1950s. The other reason was the uncertain status of Fruita itself.³⁸

The development theme of 1949 recognized the "very high class" visitor that predominated at Capitol Reef. Tourists were thought to be primarily adventurers, students, lecturers, and writers of natural history and archeology; thus "this class of use should set the theme for development." Yet it was anticipated that "whether we like it or not, the crowds will come." The first plans for development, therefore, were to include campgrounds, information stations, a museum, and badly needed restrooms. Hemmed in by surrounding private property covered with a "hodgepodge of cabin camps, beer joints, and cheap shops," though, the park service was effectively thwarted.³⁹

It was projected that, beyond an urgently needed superintendent with a grade 6 salary, future staff would include another permanent ranger, a maintenance man, and assorted seasonal rangers, naturalists, and laborers. Housing for this staff would require at least two more residences, or three if the CCC-built "ranger residence" was converted to an information station/museum. A likely location for these buildings was the barren land on either side of Sulphur Creek, just west of the ranger residence.

Also proposed were new trails through Spring Canyon, the rocky plateaus above Chimney Rock, Hickman Bridge (called the Broad Arch Bridge in early park documents), and across the ridges between the Fremont River and Grand Wash. Maintenance of these trails, plus minor road repair not handled by the state, could be the duty of the seasonal or day laborers.

A larger ranger staff was needed to protect the monument's unfenced boundary, perform road patrols, and monitor monument resources, including a small flock of mountain sheep whose tracks had been seen in the area. Any interpretation at the monument was to stress four themes: natural history, including geology, biology and paleontology; archeology and prehistory; history of exploration and Mormon settlement; and the National Park Service mission to protect, develop, and administer the area.⁴⁰

This 1949 Master Plan was not the only source urging appropriations for Capitol Reef. Regional Naturalist Natt Dodge was incensed that a bighorn ram was killed within the

³⁸ Ibid., 10; Fred Fagergren to Charles Smith, 4 June 1948, File CR-600, Ibid.

³⁹ "1949 Master Plan," 4.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

monument during the winter of 1947-48, and he lent his voice to the cause. In 1950, as National Park Service plans were being finalized, the Associated Civic Clubs of Southern and Eastern Utah also pushed for a full-time agency representative and basic park necessities.⁴¹

This petition from a respected business organization may have been the final push needed to get money for Capitol Reef added to the 1950 budget. The monument finally was officially activated in 1950, and Charles Kelly was designated its first superintendent a year later. The immediate problems of the 1950s, including a substantial uranium boom within monument boundaries, would test both National Park Service resolve and Kelly's native wit. But whatever its problems, after more than a decade of virtual inactivity, at least Capitol Reef National Monument was now an active unit of the service.

⁴¹ Natt N. Dodge to Mr. (?) Gastellum, 27 May 1948, File 200; E. J. Duggan to Rep. Walter Granger, 14 February 1950, File CR-303, 79-60A-354, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

Figure 6. Capitol Reef National Monument boundary, 1937.

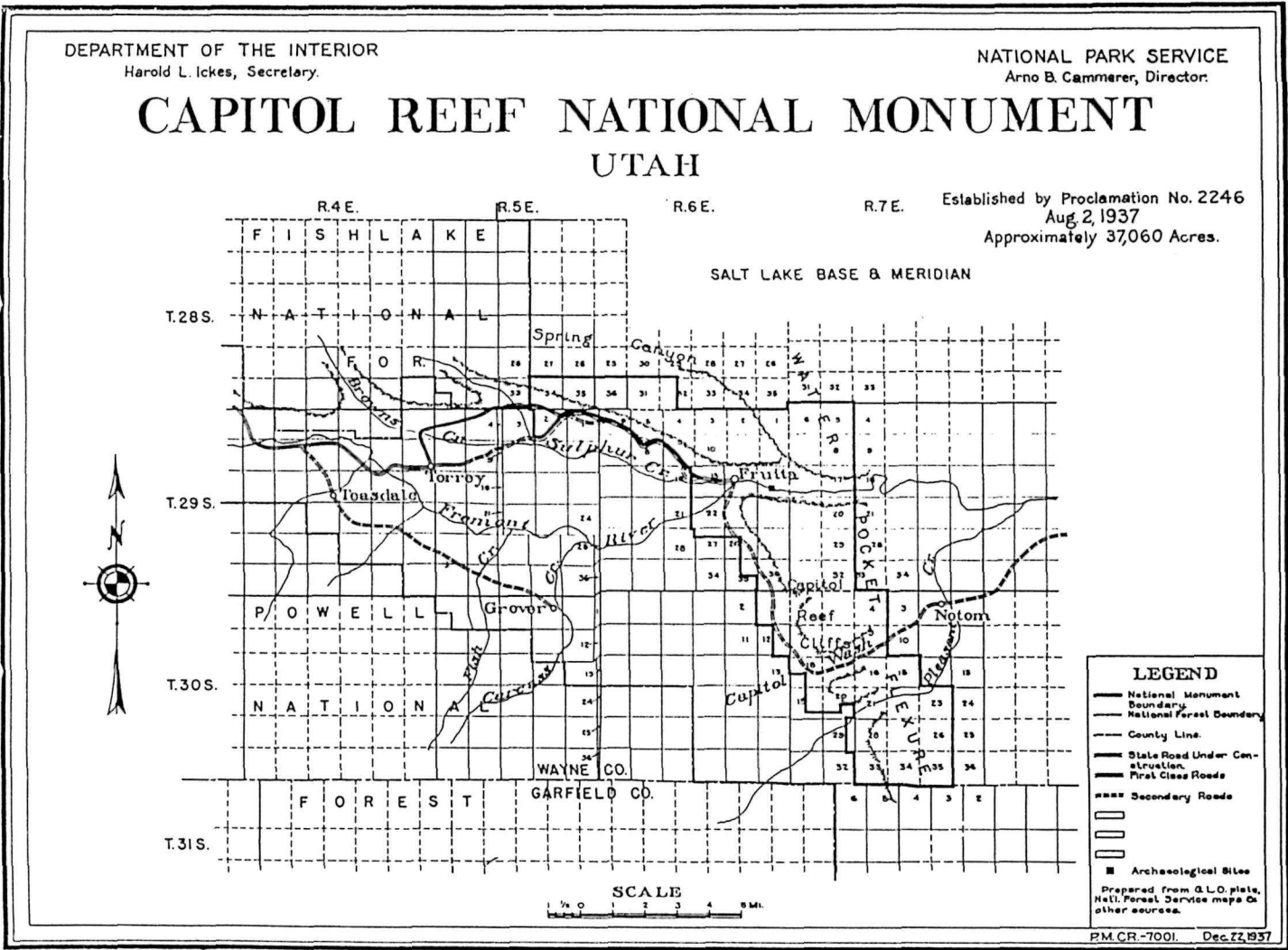


Figure 7. "Ranger Residence," ca. 1950. (NPS file photo)

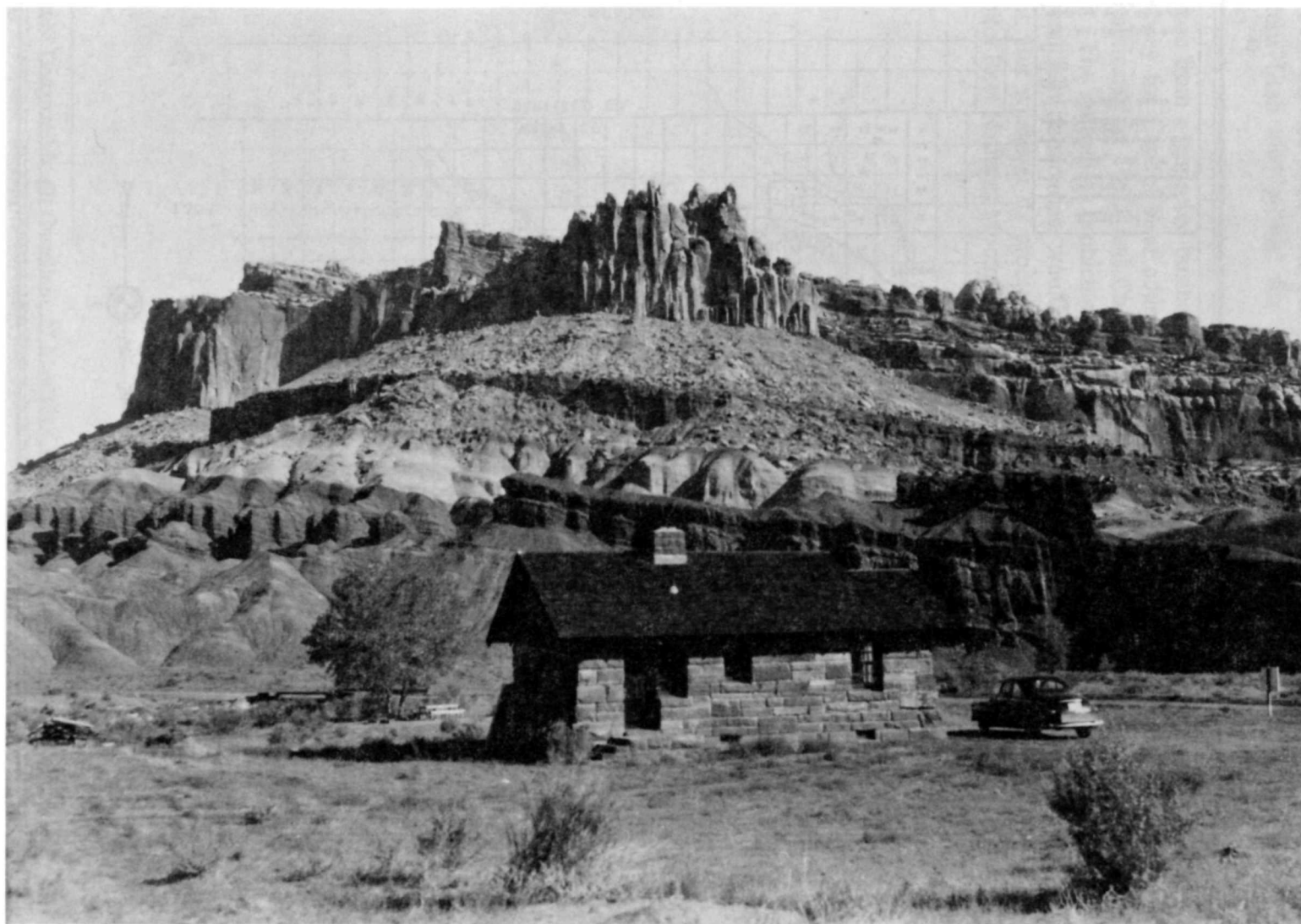


Figure 8. Alma Chesnut house, circa 1940s. (NPS file photo)



Figure 9. Charles Kelley, around 1935. (NPS file photo)



Figure 10. View north to Capitol Reef Lodge, 1950. (NPS file photo)



CHAPTER 6

URANIUM, ROADS, WATER, AND OTHER PROBLEMS: 1950 - 1955

The years 1950-55 were transitional for Capitol Reef National Monument, with the first allocations for personnel and minor maintenance authorized, and with gradually improved roads bringing more traffic to the monument. National Park Service management was also faced with its first controversies over water, grazing, and mining.

Kelly Begins At Capitol Reef

Custodian Charles Kelly finally saw the monument officially activated on May 1, 1950. His first year's budget was a little over \$6,500, most of which would pay his salary. Before he could get paid to continue the duties he had performed as a virtual volunteer for the previous six years, however, he had to pass the civil service exam. He took his exam in August 1949, failing on "experience rating." He twice appealed the decision and, with the help of former Zion National Park Superintendent Paul Franke, got the rating overturned. Kelly, now on the payroll, wrote:

After a year's probation, will be set for the next 15 years. It is the job I wanted, but thought I might be too old. We will have to live in the shack, but hope to get a new house before long.¹

Kelly was now 61 years old; the "shack" was the old Chesnut house, his residence until his retirement nine years later. Two perks of the new job were a regular National Park Service uniform and a brand new government pickup truck, "which," observed Kelly, "bites the natives."²

Some of the private landowners at Fruita, particularly Max Krueger, were not pleased with Charles Kelly. The Krueger difficulties began over an inaccurate property description and ended with a U.S. marshal delivering a summons to Krueger's California home during a Christmas party. The main difficulty, however, concerned the trail down the Fremont

¹ Charles Kelly diary, 5 July 1950, Charles Kelly Manuscript Collection MSS 100, Box 1, Folder 1, University of Utah Special Collections, Manuscript Division, Marriott Library, Salt Lake City (hereafter referred to as Kelly diary).

² Kelly diary, 5 January 1950.

River to Hickman Bridge. A flood in 1945 changed the course of the river, forcing hikers and horseback riders to cross Krueger's land to reach the bridge trail. Krueger, who visited his Robber's Roost Ranch (as he called it) only during his annual summer vacation, did not object to the new, informal trail, so long as the tourists left his fruit alone and closed his gates. Every couple of years, though, Krueger would get into a dispute with Kelly and post "no trespassing" signs around his property.

Meager Roads and Tourist Developments

In May 1950, funds finally became available to build a small campground. Located at the base of the rock formation known as the Castle, next to Sulphur Creek, this was to be a temporary campground with just a few tables. A little later, Kelly added some picnic tables around the schoolhouse. There were a couple of pit toilets at the old, dilapidated school, but drinking water had to be hauled from the Fremont River.³

Tourists were also able to stay in the still largely unfinished Capitol Reef Lodge. Begun in 1946, financial troubles had forced operator Fred Mason to struggle just to provide basic services, even though the lodge was full throughout the summers. Mason finally sold his interest to Archie Bird, whose son Clair would be a consistent irritant to park management well into the 1970s. The only other lodgings in the monument were cabins owned by Doc Inglesby, but these apparently these were reserved for "rock hounds only." Because of the increasing traffic through the area, Dewey Gifford built his own small motel between his barn and house, opening for business in July, 1954.⁴

Visitation climbed from about 8,000 visitors in 1950 to roughly 16,000 in 1953. Although the lack of accurate statistics makes more precise conclusions difficult, the steady increase in traffic through the monument was probably due to three factors:

- 1) increased written and word-of-mouth publicity about the area;
- 2) improving roads; and
- 3) the influx of uranium prospectors.

While the local traffic along Utah Highway 24 through the monument remained fairly constant (except in bad weather), the visitor and prospector count varied noticeably with the season. In the summer months, there could be well over 2,000 visitors to Capitol Reef, as opposed to the 10-20 intrepid travelers who came through during December or January. At a time when most tourists took their vacations in the summer, and when dirt

³ Superintendent's Monthly Report, May 1950, Box 4, Folder 3, Capitol Reef National Park Archives (hereafter referred to as Monthly Report).

⁴ Ibid., July 1954, October 1955.

access roads into the monument could be closed for weeks due to one storm, this seasonal visitation is not surprising.⁵

Regular tours throughout the summer months were also underway in the early 1950s. Wonderland Tours began running buses through Capitol Gorge in 1950; other, smaller groups were brought through the monument by guides Worthen Jackson, of Fremont, and Lurton Knee, of Sleeping Rainbow Ranch.

Roads continued to be the dominant problem of the early 1950s. Summer floods and winter storms played havoc on Utah Highway 24, the only through route across Wayne County. The dirt sections of the road east of Torrey would turn to a gluey soup when wet, wash out at river crossings (many of which had no bridge), or become impassable in narrow canyons such as Capitol Gorge. Local residents, travelers, and Superintendent Kelly were kept busy year-round repairing roads and bridges. When they weren't fixing the road, they were complaining about its poor condition (Fig. 11).⁶

It is remarkable that no one was killed in one of the many flash floods through Capitol Gorge. In earlier days, local people made up most of the traffic through the gorge: they could judge weather conditions and avoid entering the gorge until the danger had passed. With increasing numbers of out-of-state visitors, however, the risk was greater that someone would ignore or misjudge weather conditions and get caught in the gorge during a flash flood. In July 1951, Kelly noted that one such flood in Capitol Gorge, "the most serious to date," stranded nine cars just short of the narrows. One car was actually caught by the water and its passengers barely escaped. If there were other narrow misses, they were not recorded by park officials.⁷

Slowly, the roads were improved. A new bridge was built across the Fremont River at Fruita in early 1951, while steel bridges at Hanksville replaced the old bridge and river ford there. In 1952, a new section of graveled road between Twin Rocks and Chimney Rock replaced a section that constantly washed out. The same year, mostly due to the Atomic Energy Commission's (AEC) push for better access to potential uranium sites, construction of an oiled road was begun between Green River and Hanksville. In the summer of 1953, the AEC spent an additional \$50,000 to blast and bulldoze a road up the old Burr Trail to allow truck access to the Circle Cliffs. Also during this time, the road over Boulder Mountain, west of the monument, was widened and improved. It remained

⁵ 1950 and 1953 monthly reports totaled visitor and local cars separately, and estimates were often given. The 16,000 figure comes from the "1953 Master Plan," File D18, Accession #79-067A-337, Box 1, Container #919498, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (RG 79), National Archives - Rocky Mountain Region, Denver (hereafter referred to as NA-Denver).

⁶ Monthly Reports, 1950-55.

⁷ Monthly Report, July 1951.

dirt and gravel across the top, though, and was closed every winter after the first significant snowfall.⁸

Yet, despite the continual promise that the road between Torrey and Hanksville would soon be paved, actual work was always postponed. Every year at meetings of the Wayne County Lions Club and the Associated Civic Clubs, local businessmen and National Park Service officials appealed to the state to begin work. Finally, in 1954, the money was allocated and work was begun to reroute and pave the section from Torrey to Fruita. Although the first portion of the road to Twin Rocks was not completed until the following year (leaving the final approach still dirt), the dream of smoother roads was coming true.⁹

Road problems, though, did not deter the Easter Sunday crowds that increased each spring as families from throughout the state came to spend the holiday in the park. By 1954, there were over 1,500 people visiting the monument on that one day, and Kelly noted almost every year how orderly and tidy the visitors were. This respect for Capitol Reef's resources may be attributed to the permanent signs Kelly erected, as well as the talks Kelly made to local groups. The superintendent had initiated an active program of slide presentations and talks about the National Park Service mission, meeting with the Lions Club and in local classrooms.¹⁰

These attempts to promote positive public relations with the local communities, however, were sometimes offset by the manner in which Kelly protected monument resources. Two examples were the June 1955 difficulties with a banker and part-time rancher who left a dead calf near the campground, and with the bishop of the Torrey LDS Ward, who left beer bottles along the road. Both were told to remove the offending materials and, according to Kelly, were "no longer friends of the superintendent."¹¹

Confronted with increased visitation, Kelly transformed the CCC ranger residence into an office and checking station. The first National Park Service interpretive exhibit was installed there in 1953. Additional exhibits would not arrive for several more years. Kelly and the superintendents at Zion National Park had been in long negotiation to bring the Ephraim Pectol and Charles Lee archeological collections to the monument. The case was finally closed and the artifacts returned to Torrey in December, 1953, until space could be provided in Fruita.¹²

⁸ Monthly Reports, March, November 1951, June 1952, September 1953.

⁹ Ibid., April, September 1953, March 1955.

¹⁰ Ibid., November 1950, April 1953.

¹¹ Monthly Reports, July 1955.

¹² Monthly Reports, June 1951, July and December 1953. For the complete history of the Pectol/Lee Collection see Box 4, Folder 2, Capitol Reef National Park Archives and Capitol Reef Museum Collection Accession Folder No. 3; see also Capitol Reef Museum Deaccession Folder #1, and Lee Kreutzer, "The Pectol/Lee Collection, Capitol Reef National Park, Utah" *Utah Archaeology* (7) 1, pp. 104-116, 1994.

Vandalism And Natural Destruction

Superintendent Kelly was also able to hire a little help, as well. The monument's first seasonal ranger, Frank Farnsworth, of Bicknell, was hired in 1952 but moved to Arizona two years later. Dewey Gifford was hired, too, for temporary maintenance work and occasional stints as acting custodian while Kelly was away on business or vacation.¹³

For the most part, though, Kelly was on his own. Forced to be a jack of all trades, the superintendent not only managed the road and visitation issues, but also faced occasional vandalism and continual water and grazing problems that strained the fragile friendships he had forged with the residents of Fruita.

Surprisingly, with the increase in visitation, vandalism and trash seem to have been less a problem in the early 1950s than they were earlier. Kelly attributed this trend to the permanent signs marking monument boundaries. Another reason may have been Kelly's more active presence in the local communities. There were, however a few new names inscribed in Capitol Gorge--and there was the "romantic vandalism" story of Bob and Carrie.

According to Kelly, a cowboy named Bob Johnson came to work for Tine Oyler in the 1920s, and fell in love with Tine's oldest daughter, Carrie. Together, Bob and Carrie explored the country, leaving their names on many walls and rocks. These inscriptions are still visible along the Fremont River, at the entrance to Capitol Gorge and on the petroglyph panel along Pleasant Creek. Apparently, Johnson left a short time later on a stolen horse and became a minor outlaw. Carrie died at age 18 of a ruptured appendix, while her lover was away. In 1952, Kelly discovered that several of the inscriptions had been recently, secretly freshened. While no one saw Johnson, it was rumored that he had recently returned to the area from a prison stint and longed for his lost love, Carrie.¹⁴

During the early months of 1952, natural rock spalling defaced the large petroglyph panel (now along Utah Highway 24) immediately east of Kelly's house. The large slab that fell out of the center of the rock art broke into "many small pieces." The slab had been moving away from the cliff for at least a year, but since it was on private land (the Max Krueger farm), "nothing could be done, and now the petroglyphs are gone forever."¹⁵

Water And Grazing

The manner in which Mormon communities handled their water rights was not always cooperative. In September 1950, the disputes among the various land owners, including

¹³ Ibid., July 1952, April 1953, September 1955.

¹⁴ Monthly Report, February 1952; George Davidson, Red Rock Eden (Torrey: Capitol Reef Natural History Association, 1986, 52.

¹⁵ Monthly Report, February 1952. A large photograph of this panel, now in the Capitol Reef museum collection, was taken in the 1930s, and thus shows the figures that were lost when the slab fell.

the National Park Service, got so out of hand that Kelly called a meeting of Fruita residents to discuss the problems. Unfortunately, he wrote, the meeting "ended in a brawl so [Kelly] walked out." Kelly then proposed to the Coordinating Superintendent at Zion that a water master be appointed for Fruita so that everyone could "all hate him instead of each other."¹⁶ This letter produced a flurry of memoranda that went all the way up to Arthur E. Demaray, National Park Service associate director, by mid-November. The problems facing the National Park Service stemmed not just from Kelly's inability to mediate the dispute. It seems that Kelly had stopped irrigating some of the monument's orchard lands and, if he did not resume irrigation, the National Park Service could permanently lose its water rights to the Fremont River. Another concern of National Park Service officials was the eventual need to transfer the water rights to the ranger station and campground area to provide for later development.¹⁷

The only realistic way to protect the park service water shares was to build a separate set of irrigation ditches and pipes, but this appears to have been too expensive. Consequently, Kelly was instructed to start irrigating the old Chesnut property with as much of the allotted water as possible until a long-term solution could be reached. This long-term solution, as it turned out, was to purchase all the remaining private lands in Fruita.¹⁸

Until the water rights issue could be solved, or at least until a plant to treat the contaminated Fremont River water could be built, the culinary water had to be trucked down from Bicknell, a very time-consuming task. This temporary "solution" to the drinking water problem lasted until 1962.¹⁹

Another issue that got Superintendent Kelly into hot water with the local residents was grazing. A few of the residents, particularly Cass Mulford, owned cattle as well as fruit orchards. Left to roam free, cows would stray into the headquarters area and into the campground in search of fresh grass. The local owners, as well as the ranchers using the stock driveways through Capitol Reef, had let their cattle wander freely across the monument for many years. Kelly's attempts to get the cows off monument lands were met at first with indifference and then resistance. In 1954, a confrontation between Mulford

¹⁶ Kelly diary, 5 January 1951; Kelly to Zion Superintendent, 20 September 1950, File CR 600-05.7 (Part III), 79-60A-354, Box 3, Container #63181, RG 79, NA-Denver.

¹⁷ Acting Assistant Director Cook to Regional Director, 13 October 1950; Associate Director to Regional Director, 14 November 1950; Zion Superintendent to Regional Director, 17 November 1950; Kelly to Zion Superintendent, 18 November 1950; Chief, Water Resources to Regional Director, 14 March 1952; Zion Superintendent to Regional Director, 2 April 1952; Acting Director to Sen. Watkins, 21 March 1956, all in File CR 660-05.7 (Part III), 79-60A-354, Box 3, RG 79, NA-Denver.

¹⁸ Ibid. The National Park Service water share was calculated to be .66 second feet, or 8.25 percent of the 8 second feet of the Fremont River water allocated to Fruita.

¹⁹ "Report on Inspection of Sanitary Facilities, October 1951," File CR-660-03, 79-60A-354, Box 3; "Report on Sanitary Facilities, June 1962," File D5031, 79-67A-505, Box 1, Container #343490, RG 79, NA-Denver.

and Kelly became especially heated. Kelly asked the Santa Fe Regional Office for help, sometimes in letters that were overly vehement. The regional officials counseled discretion, but they finally issued a letter notifying all livestock owners that it was illegal to graze on monument lands. Kelly then presented the letter to the residents of Wayne County, and the problem seems to have died down for a while. Since the monument was unfenced and the boundaries not adequately surveyed, though, stray cattle would continue to be a particular irritant to Kelly and later superintendents.²⁰

The arguments between local residents and Kelly over water and grazing arose from conflicting values. Kelly was the National Park Service representative who, as his responsibilities increased, protected the monument's resources and interests with increasing vigor. On the other hand, local residents of Fruita, and to a certain extent the rest of Wayne County, saw Kelly as a non-Mormon neighbor who, after living at Fruita for only 10 years, was now telling them how to run their lives. The two were bound to conflict.

Uranium Boom

The uranium boom of the early 1950s provided another example of Kelly's bucking the western belief that land, regardless of designation, was to be used to make a living. From February 1953 to February 1959, Capitol Reef National Monument was opened to uranium mining under a special use permit granted to the Atomic Energy Commission. Throughout this period, prospectors hoping to strike it rich in this government-supported mining boom not only kept Charles Kelly busy, but created substantial scars on the scenery and resources throughout the present national park.

The first uranium mining claim in what is now the park was filed on a location at the entrance to Grand Wash in 1901. The Oyler Mine, as it came to be called, was excavated only sporadically, mostly because of its isolation, marginal productivity, and lack of a market. However, this situation changed when the uranium market boomed in the 1950s, leading to a long, complicated wrangle over who actually owned the rights to the Oyler Mine.²¹

By 1951, the escalating Cold War led the federal government to stockpile uranium for defense purposes. Price supports and AEC promotions created a mining boom throughout the Colorado Plateau. Would-be miners swarmed over the labyrinth of sandstone canyons and cliffs looking for the new El Dorado. Most uranium was found in

²⁰ Kelly to Regional Director, 4 May 1954; Assistant Regional Director to Kelly, 28 July 1954; Regional Director to Kelly, 9 August 1954; Kelly to Stockmen of Wayne County, 18 August 1954, all in File L3019, 79-66A-691, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

²¹ See Lenard Brown, *Capitol Reef Historical Study and Base Map* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1969) 13-36, for a complete examination and history of the Oyler Mine dispute.

two geologic formations: the Morrison and Chinle. Since the Chinle, especially the contact between the Moenkopi and Shinarump members, was exposed along much of the western Waterpocket Fold, Capitol Reef National Monument became a focal point for many prospectors. Another factor bringing miners to Capitol Reef was Utah Highway 24, one of the few mapped routes into the western Colorado Plateau.²²

Kelly was already remarking on the stream of summertime prospectors through the monument in 1950. Brought by the rumors of plentiful uranium and an “open” monument, the miners flooded into Kelly’s office. Others simply started working their Geiger counters and picks over the monument lands without asking permission.²³ The next year, some of the claimants to the Oyer Mine camped out on the site and told Kelly that they would start mining whether he liked it or not. They left before proceedings of federal trespass were initiated. In 1952, the special permit from the National Park Service to the Atomic Energy Commission was approved and 35 claims were immediately filed on the Oyer Mine area alone. Ironically, confusion over the multiple claims to the Oyer Mine made the most famous mine in the monument off-limits to prospectors throughout the 1950s uranium boom.²⁴

A ranger from Zion National Park was detailed to Capitol Reef for a month to help monitor the expected rush when the special permit was approved. Even though the AEC inspectors concluded that there was little valuable ore within the monument, this did not discourage the latter-day “49-ers.” The official opening of Capitol Reef to mining in February 1953 brought only a dozen prospectors, “more than half of which left within 24 hours.”²⁵ By May, more determined miners were taking large amount of rocks that, according to Kelly, had not even been verified as to ore content. Kelly appealed directly to the AEC Regional Office in Grand Junction, Colorado, which promised to be more careful in issuing future permits.²⁶

The prospecting effort was mostly seasonal due to bad roads and the fact that many of the miners were seeking their fortunes while on summer vacation. The AEC attempted to correct transportation problems by upgrading the road from Green River to Hanksville and blasting the road up the Burr Trail into the Circle Cliffs. The Circle Cliffs mining boom, with over 3000 claims, was in full swing by 1954. Ore-laden trucks were soon rolling down the Burr Trail and the Notom road along the eastern side of the monument. From there, they went north to Green River and the processing plant at Moab, or west through

²² Raye C. Ringholz, Uranium Frenzy: Boom and Bust on the Colorado Plateau (New York: Norton and Company, 1989) gives a good overall impression of the uranium boom, even though it concentrates mainly on other areas of Utah.

²³ Monthly Reports, May, July 1950.

²⁴ See Volume II, Chapter 15.

²⁵ Ibid., June 1952 and February 1953.

²⁶ Monthly Reports, May, July 1953.

Capitol Gorge and Fruita to the Marysvale plant. Another small, ore-processing unit was set up at Notom but, despite a lot of money invested, never produced an ounce of ore.²⁷

The heavy truck traffic was hard on monument roads and bridges. On May 30, 1955 the CCC-built Sulphur Creek bridge collapsed under the constant procession of ore-laden trucks. Temporarily rebuilt, the bridge continued to carry five 20-ton trucks each night and an additional 40-75 jeeps full of prospectors each day.²⁸

Throughout this period, Kelly waged single-handed battle against the uranium miners. The threat to the monument had never been so severe, and Kelly was determined to protect the resources. However, the overriding authority given to the AEC in the name of national security was often too much for Kelly or even higher National Park Service officials to stop. In June 1955, efforts to prevent mining next to the Oyler Tunnel were finally exhausted. Kelly was particularly frustrated, complaining:

Having protected damage to this area for several years, under the theory that the NPS had authority, the superintendent now feels like the man who had the rug pulled from under him while out on a limb holding a bear by the tail.²⁹

By the end of 1955, the mining operations at Capitol Reef were dwindling although yearly claims were still filed through the end of the decade. The Oyler Mine dispute was not fully resolved until well into the 1960s. Other uranium mines in the vicinity of the Oyler tunnels were cleaned up during the late 1960s, but mine shafts are still visible along the Scenic Drive. Shafts and roads are also scattered throughout the backcountry; for when the monument was expanded to include virtually the entire Waterpocket Fold, many other mining claims and sites were brought within Capitol Reef's boundaries.

The uranium boom consumed a great deal of the superintendent's time and energy. Except for some seasonal help in the summer, he alone served as the on-site regulator for all mining activity. Kelly's efforts to protect the monument's integrity were further hampered by a switch in the jurisdiction for Capitol Reef National Monument from Zion National Park to the Southwest Regional Office and then back to Zion during the very height of the uranium threat.

Administrative Jurisdiction And A New Master Plan

In 1953, responsibility for Bryce Canyon National Park and Capitol Reef National Monument was removed from the coordinating superintendent of Zion National Park. Throughout the rest of the 1950s, Bryce Canyon was to have a direct, autonomous

²⁷ Ibid., February, July, August 1954 and January 1955.

²⁸ Kelly to Zion Superintendent, 2 June 1955, File D30, 79-67A-337, Box 1, File D30, RG 79, NA-Denver; Monthly Report, June 1955.

²⁹ Monthly Report, June 1955.

relationship with the regional office.³⁰ Capitol Reef, on the other hand, was juggled back and forth. The monument was first placed under regional direction on July 1, 1953, but since Kelly had no administrative personnel, all accounting work was still to be handled through Zion's chief clerk.³¹

While the reasons for this transfer in jurisdiction are unknown, neither Charles Kelly nor Zion Superintendent Paul Franke were happy about the move. Kelly, in particular, felt even more isolated than before. In a letter to Franke, Kelly expressed his apprehension that Capitol Reef would "again be more or less of an orphan." He wrote, "We don't understand the reason for this change, and although we hope it will work out for the best, we still have serious misgivings because no one in the regional office will ever have the personal interest here that you had."³²

Franke tried to cheer up Kelly by pointing out the growth that Capitol Reef had obviously gained through the transfer. "For our part," he consoled, "we in turn recognize progress, that you and your areas have grown to more mature responsibilities and will henceforth seek guidance direct from the Regional Office."³³

Franke, who still was responsible under the new reorganization for coordinating Cedar Breaks and Pipe Springs National Monuments, also expressed his personal regard for Kelly and their ability to work together.

During the course of the next year, Kelly dealt exclusively with the regional office in Santa Fe regarding all management issues, particularly uranium mining and grazing. All bookkeeping and clerical duties that could not be handled by Kelly, however, were still channeled through Zion National Park. This apparently created an awkward situation. A little over a year later, in October 1954, Capitol Reef National Monument was returned to Zion's coordinating control. Regional Director Minor R. Tillotson pointed out that it was becoming "increasingly difficult to give long range supervision to [the] area," and said he was certain that "this new arrangement [would] be helpful to [Kelly] and beneficial to the area."³⁴

More immediate concerns that may have played a role in this reversal of jurisdiction were the continual problems over uranium mining and administrative difficulties. Kelly's persistent requests for faster, more responsive actions from the regional office may also have been a factor. Regardless of the reason, Superintendent Kelly was overjoyed by the news. In a short letter to Franke, Kelly expressed his happiness at once again being in

³⁰ Harold P. Danz, Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials, revised ed. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, May 1991), 69.

³¹ Franke to Kelly, 23 June 1953, File CR-201-06, 79-60A-354, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

³² Kelly to Franke, 21 June 1953, Ibid.

³³ Franke to Kelly, 23 June 1953, Ibid.

³⁴ Tillotson to Kelly, 1 November 1954, Ibid.

Zion's jurisdiction. Kelly wrote, "The cooperation of the regional office has been very much lacking during the past year, probably due to the reorganization program. Scattering the records in three different places has also been inefficient. I am sure that things will run much smoother from now on."³⁵

Capitol Reef National Monument remained under Zion National Park's coordinating jurisdiction until Charles Kelly left in 1959. Considering the continued isolation and lack of personnel at the monument, coordination by the closer and smaller Zion staff was far more beneficial to Kelly and the monument's resources. Ironically, at the same time that Capitol Reef was being transferred back and forth, its long-range direction was becoming clearer in the new 1953 Master Plan Development Outline.

Prepared by Charles Kelly in December and approved by the regional office in February 1954, the new master plan supplemented the 1949 Master Plan, which was, according to Kelly, "incomplete and in some cases inaccurate."³⁶ The major point the report made was that there was an obvious need to expand facilities to handle increasing visitation brought by impending road improvements.³⁷

While the themes for development were still focused on the "higher class" tourists such as artists, photographers, students, and backcountry explorers, it was recognized that better roads, trails, campground, and interpretation were needed to better serve the increasing numbers of "pavement travelers." Annual visitation was around 16,000, mostly concentrated in the summer months. Accommodations included an undeveloped campground, which resulted in great deal of uncontrolled camping, and the lodge, which could handle about 25 people a night. "A few other sub-standard accommodations in the town of Fruita" are also mentioned.³⁸

To handle the increasing crowds, it was proposed that the existing staff of one superintendent, one seasonal ranger, and "laborers as needed" be supplemented by a permanent ranger, an additional seasonal ranger, and some seasonal naturalists. A permanent maintenance man was also requested. Protection needs focused on the threat to natural resources from uranium mining and grazing. The unfenced monument was susceptible to occasional stock drift, and since there was no designated stock driveway, the "unsupervised" herds wandered over various trails, "usually bedding two nights in the monument." There is no mention of the need for road patrols or difficulties from the campground or lodge occupants.³⁹

³⁵ Kelly to Franke, 26 November 1954, Ibid.

³⁶ Monthly Report, December 1952.

³⁷ "1953 Master Plan Development Outline," File D18, 79-79A-337, Box 1, Container #919498, RG 79, NA-Denver.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ 1953 Master Plan Development Outline, Operations Prospectus, 1.

The only interpretation undertaken by the superintendent or seasonal ranger was initial contact with the visitor upon arrival at the ranger station, and question-and-answer sessions with Kelly at the Capitol Reef Lodge on summer evenings. The interpretive themes of geology, flora and fauna, history, and archeology were covered at these times, but there were still no wayside exhibits, guided trail hikes, or interpretive pamphlets. The basic monographs on the geology and archeology of Capitol Reef had not been updated since the 1930s, and there was virtually no resource management research or program.⁴⁰

Key facilities still needed were a water system for the National Park Service residence, office, and campground. Water was still hauled from Bicknell for all culinary needs; pit toilets were used at the campground and ranger station. A museum and office building were needed for interpretation, to store the various archeological collections, and to provide office space. Additional housing was requested for permanent and/or seasonal help, since there was little available for purchase or rent in Fruita or surrounding communities. In 1953, Fruita had electricity but no sewage system (other than individual septic tanks), and no communications save the mail and National Park Service short-wave radio.⁴¹

The final headquarters location was still undetermined, since the state highway department hadn't decided how to route the new, paved highway through the monument. As for the village of Fruita, the current policy of "leav[ing] these private owners where they [were], as part of the local picture" was deemed best, although this could lead to future problems.

Inevitably, at least some additional private land would have to be acquired to enable future National Park Service growth.⁴²

By 1955, improved roads, an increasing influx of post-war tourists, and the uranium boom had put a lot of pressure on Capitol Reef's meager National Park Service staff and facilities. Yet, for all intents and purposes, the monument's natural resources were still in reasonably good condition. The uranium prospectors had found little to dig up, although the roads and tunnels they left behind would require reclamation in the years to come. The maze of sandstone cliffs, ledges, and canyons had deterred most tourists, and the 37,000-acre monument had been designed to keep grazing and other multiple-use interests to an absolute minimum. In many ways, the lands protected by Capitol Reef National Monument had not changed since its creation in 1937.

Future protection, however, was far from certain. If the anticipated crowds began arriving on the new paved roads, and if the National Park Service did not spend the money necessary to upgrade facilities and personnel, the monument would be very much in trouble. Of course, Capitol Reef National Monument was facing the same imminent threats as the other units of the national park system.

⁴⁰ 1953 Master Plan Development Outline, Interpretation, 1-6.

⁴¹ Ibid., Operations Prospectus, 1-4.

⁴² Ibid.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, change finally came to this small, virtually undisturbed national monument. The road was eventually paved through the Fremont River canyon and the National Park Service's Mission 66 program brought needed facilities. The road and Mission 66 together also enabled the final buy-out of private lands at Fruita. All this increased activity would challenge the monument's growing staff as never before.

Figure 11. Road conditions at Fruita, 1948. (NPS file photo)



CHAPTER 7

MISSION 66 DEVELOPMENT: 1955 TO 1966

Management of Capitol Reef National Monument changed considerably once the paved road was finally completed in the early 1960s. It is no coincidence that at the same time the road construction through the Fremont River canyon finally became affordable, money was also available to buy out most of the private lands in Fruita and build a visitor center, utility building, a modern campground, and interpretive shelters.

The monument was developed during a period of intense visitation pressure on the entire national park system. As millions of post-war vacationers took to the roads, the inadequate facilities in many parks and monuments were overwhelmed. The National Park Service and Congress responded to these pressures by increasing appropriations for the development of roads, buildings, and campgrounds and by re-evaluating the private lands and concessions within the national park system. This enormous project, begun in 1955, was dubbed "Mission 66" because it was to be completed by the National Park Service's 50th anniversary in 1966.

For Capitol Reef National Monument, the results were significant. The desperately needed facilities built to accommodate the anticipated crowds transformed the park. Since the monument's creation, the lack of National Park Service investment had allowed traditional uses of the land by residents, ranchers, and the occasional visitor to continue. Isolation and minimal facilities had been the only real safeguards for the monument's protection. After Mission 66, no longer would the single employee, the superintendent, be just another neighbor at Fruita. The increase in traffic, buildings, budgets, and personnel would finally put the National Park Service in control of the monument, making it an influential and sometimes criticized part of the community. Capitol Reef National Monument was finally becoming a true, fully functioning unit of the National Park Service. While the developments were in large part what local residents had wanted, the resulting management changes were not always understood or appreciated.

Mission 66

Post-World War II America was a rapidly growing, affluent, automobile-crazed country. Better highways and increased leisure time made summer trips available to virtually every American. By the mid-1950s, it seemed every American was visiting the national parks. Visitation increased from 6 million people in 1942 to 33 million in 1950, 50 million in

1955, and 72 million in 1960.¹ Yet, few facilities had been constructed in the parks since CCC days, and appropriations (all but eliminated during World War II) had been curtailed again during the Korean conflict. Director Conrad L. Wirth, who assumed the helm of the National Park Service in 1951, had finally seen enough of the deteriorating conditions. He called for a comprehensive study of

all the problems facing the National Park Service--protection, staffing, interpretation, use, development, financing, needed legislation, forest protection, fire -and all other phases of park management.²

President Eisenhower enthusiastically endorsed the study and Congress responded generously to the resulting Mission 66 plan. More than one billion dollars were allocated to the national parks from 1956 to 1966, to construct new roads and trails, visitor centers, maintenance, and employee housing, and to acquire private lands and water rights. The Mission 66 project also upgraded resource management programs and re-evaluated present and future concessions within the parks. It was proposed that some parks and monuments be free of any private lodging or services within their boundaries.³

Mission 66 was a thorough master plan for the entire National Park Service, rather than the usual piecemeal, year-to-year planning effort. Mission 66 initiated a period of intense, National Park Service development paralleled only by CCC construction effort of the Great Depression--and even the CCC era didn't see a complete evaluation of overall park management, as occurred during Mission 66.

Not everyone concurred that Mission 66 development was good for the national parks. Objections were raised by individual senators who wanted more for their districts, and by a fledgling environmental movement that saw pristine resources being compromised for mass accessibility. Writer Edward Abbey, for one, earned his reputation in part with his protests over the paved roads and other improvements sought in the master plans of the southwestern parks.⁴

Controversy notwithstanding, the impact of Mission 66 was significant. By the mid-1950s, the park service had determined that the increasing crowds must be accommodated with a wide range of facilities and resources to make each visit as enjoyable and educational as possible. The growing traffic and overcrowding problems

¹ Barry Mackintosh, The National Parks: Shaping the System (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1991) 62; John Ise, Our National Park Policy: A Critical History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961) 546.

² Conrad Wirth, quoted in Ise, 547.

³ Mackintosh, 62; Ise, 346-347; "Mission 66," (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, January 1956), Box 500, Folder 10, Wilderness Society Papers, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.

⁴ Edward Abbey, Desert Solitaire (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971) provides a good example of the opposition to Mission 66.

could not be ignored. The National Park Service hoped that by enhancing visitor experience, and thus appreciation, visitors would treat resources with more respect. These changes were bound to be controversial to both the fledgling environmental movement and traditional-use advocates.

The earliest known documentation relating to Mission 66 plans for Capitol Reef is an answered questionnaire from Zion Superintendent Paul Franke to Director Conrad Wirth, regarding needs and problems at each park. While discouraged over the inadequate amount of time allotted to conduct the survey, Franke listed numerous current problems and future needs at Capitol Reef. On his list are continued uranium mining and grazing. Of most concern, though, were private lands at Fruita and directly outside the monument at Pleasant Creek. These properties, according to Franke, "present[ed] the most serious threat...to hinder public use and destroy the area character." A case in point was the "most undesirable and messy" Capitol Reef Lodge.⁵

The bare necessities for Capitol Reef were facilities to meet the demands of an anticipated 300,000 visitors traveling on the paved highway by 1966--a 500 percent increase since 1956. Recommended developments included a visitor center and a larger campground along with self-guiding trails, parking, picnic areas, and wayside exhibits. Franke believed that the monument would continue to see almost exclusive day use, but predicted that this would soon overlap into the spring and fall "shoulder" seasons. Interestingly, while Franke saw the need for headquarters development to meet the increasing crowds, he did not view these crowds as an immediate threat to Capitol Reef's resources. Franke believed that "the brilliant colored cliffs and sparse vegetation can be visited and used by many thousands of tourists without damage."⁶

Franke believed that human use of the monument could be limited by simply regulating the kinds and areas of development. In 1955, Franke specifically saw the need to broaden the average tourist's exposure to the monument. He wrote:

The thinking now is that additional opportunities should be provided to the public to make different kinds of use than that of merely riding through the area in automobiles. The development of trails, parking and camping facilities along with an interpretive program encourage greater use.⁷

⁵ Franke to National Park Service Director, 11 April 1955, File A9815, Accession #79-67A-337, Box 1, Container #919498, Records of the National Park Service (RG 79), National Archives - Rocky Mountain Region, Denver (hereafter referred to as NA-Denver).

⁶ Ibid., 1-2. The common belief that the rugged-looking desert landscape is also durable has now been dispelled. Resource management plans for Colorado Plateau parks over the past decade have stressed the extremely fragile nature of desert ecosystems. Fortunately for Capitol Reef's resources, the Waterpocket Fold barriers would continue to restrict public access to all but the most well-established routes.

⁷ Ibid., 2-3.

Attempting to make the average visitor stay longer than a couple of hours in the park would prove to be one of the most difficult management problems for many years to come.

This ability to anticipate impacts instead of reacting to them makes the Mission 66 plans for Capitol Reef National Monument different from those of many other units of the national park system. In the more popular parks, Mission 66 development responded to already overcrowded conditions. Capitol Reef, on the other hand, had the luxury of planning so that future visitation pressures could be appropriately channeled.

The Road is Coming

Before plans could be made, however, the paved road had to be constructed. The final six miles from the Twin Rocks formation near the western park boundary to Fruita was begun in September 1956 and was finished in June 1957.⁸ For the first time, people could travel all the way into Capitol Reef's headquarters area by paved road. Travel through the rest of the monument would continue to be on rough dirt and rock until 1962. The new road's impact on the area was seen not only in the increased traffic numbers (67,500 total in 1956, of which only 6,200 signed the register) but on the local scene as well. The large number of workers staying in the Capitol Reef Lodge and the Gifford Motel through the winter increased demand for limited water supplies.

Meanwhile, the road's construction, according to Superintendent Kelly, was adversely affecting the headquarters area. Not only did irrigation ditches have to be re-routed, but deep road cuts made the ranger station all but invisible, and "a large number of very beautiful shade trees were removed, which change[d] the appearance of this green oasis."⁹

Once the road was paved to Fruita, the route from there had to be decided. The two alternatives for the paved highway through Capitol Reef were 1) through the Fremont River canyon, the park service preference; or 2) to continue south from Capitol Gorge and go through the Pleasant Creek drainage, which was the state's preference.¹⁰ Utah's preference for the Pleasant Creek route may have been based on the desire to connect as many state sections by road as possible. After a good deal of negotiation, however, the state determined that it would be cheaper to have the federal government pay for six miles of road through the Fremont River canyon than to finance, itself, some 15 miles of construction through Pleasant Creek.¹¹

⁸ Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports (hereafter referred to as Monthly Reports), September 1956 and June 1957, Box 4, Folder 3, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

⁹ Monthly Reports, October and December, 1956.

¹⁰ Ibid., April, 1956; Regional Director site visit report, 30 July 1956, File D30, 79-67A-337, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

¹¹ Regional Director to National Park Service Director, 21 December 1956, Ibid.

Before the road could be built through the Fremont River canyon, however, another three years of surveys and negotiation with Fruita residents were necessary. Meanwhile, Capitol Reef saw its first change in superintendents.

Kelly's Last Years At Capitol Reef

The uranium boom at Capitol Reef National Monument ended in 1956, leaving the Yellow Canary and Yellow Joe mines next to the old Oyler Tunnel the only active claims into the 1960s. The constant battle with prospectors all but over, Superintendent Kelly spent most of his time meeting visitors and doing what he could to protect the monument's resources and improve its facilities. By the mid-1950s, he had a seasonal ranger every summer and a couple of maintenance men available when needed. Yet, until Grant Clark arrived in May 1958 as the first permanent ranger, Capitol Reef was for the most part still a one-man operation.

Kelly often mentioned in his monthly reports that magazines such as Arizona Highways, Sunset, and Travel were writing articles promoting Capitol Reef and the surrounding areas. The increased visitation encouraged by this publicity and by the better roads was consuming most of Kelly's time. Larger issues such as boundary adjustments and the impending road construction were mostly handled at the coordinating superintendent's level at Zion National Park or from the regional office in Santa Fe.

Due to his age and declining health, Kelly was beginning to curtail his activities at Capitol Reef at the same time Zion National Park and the regional office were becoming more active in planning the monument's future developments. In 1956, Kelly wrote in his diary:

My health is slowly failing, although the doctor can find nothing wrong. Have no appetite and no energy. My eyes are also failing and I won't be able to drive for very long unless I can have a radical correction. May have to leave before 1960, but have no plans.¹²

Kelly retired in February 1959 at the age of 70, after 15 years at Capitol Reef: six years as a virtual volunteer custodian and almost nine years as a paid employee. Despite his lack of National Park Service experience (Capitol Reef was his only duty station), he served the monument and the service well. Kelly's difficulties usually resulted from occasional disputes with his Fruita neighbors. In examining his overall record, however, he single-handedly protected the monument's resources throughout its earliest years, most notably during the uranium boom of the mid-1950s. Charles Kelly planted the seeds for later growth at Capitol Reef. Yet, the increasing developments, budget, and personnel brought by the growing crowds were changing Capitol Reef from the quiet, isolated "Red Rock Eden" of Kelly's era. It was now time for more experienced managers to handle the

¹² Charles Kelly diary, 1 December 1956, Charles Kelly Manuscript Collection, MSS 100, Box 1, Folder 1, University of Utah Special Collections, Manuscript Division, Marriott Library, Salt Lake City (hereafter referred to as Kelly diary).

increasingly complicated decisions affecting a rapidly evolving Capitol Reef National Monument.

William T. Krueger became the new superintendent of Capitol Reef on April 1, 1959. Krueger was well acquainted with the monument since he had spent most of his time in the National Park Service working at Zion and Bryce Canyon National Parks, and had been superintendent at Cedar Breaks National Monument. He spent a year as chief ranger at Saguaro National Monument in Tucson before transferring to Capitol Reef. Krueger was one of the new, college-educated career employees that came out of the military at the end of World War II. He was a native of Bingham Canyon, Utah, and had received his Bachelor's degree in forest management from Utah State University.¹³ In contrast to Kelly, Krueger was Mormon. He and Ranger Grant Clark were also active in secular organizations, such as the Lion's Club. From his reports and correspondence, he appears to have been very business-like and concerned about Capitol Reef's resources. As the superintendent responsible for implementing the Mission 66 improvements at the monument, Krueger's legacy is almost as profound as Charles Kelly's. After his six years at Capitol Reef, Krueger moved on to Golden Spike National Historic Site, from which he retired in 1973.¹⁴

While he was an efficient manager, Krueger struggled with the local population over the way private landholdings were purchased and the manner in which Capitol Gorge was eventually closed. Kelly, who disapproved of many of Krueger's decisions, nicknamed the new superintendent "Kaiser William."

To be fair, no manager could have presided over such rapid change without drawing some complaints. Local residents wanted park development and the prosperity it could bring to Wayne County, yet they also resented the change to the habitual, traditional uses of the monument's land that a prosperous, tourist economy would necessitate. Perhaps the most resentment was generated by National Park Service purchase of private landholdings.

Acquiring The Private Inholdings

The dilemma over what to do with the small tracts of private land in the orchard farm community of Fruita had troubled National Park Service officials since the monument was first proposed. The first boundaries had even excluded Fruita. The early master plans had, at first, recommended the immediate purchase of all the private lands, then later concluded that they posed no imminent threat.¹⁵

¹³ National Park Service Press Release, 11 March 1959, File K3415, #79-65A-580, Box 1, Container #SB202684, RG 79, NA-Denver.

¹⁴ Harold P. Danz, Historical Listing of National Park Service Officials, revised ed. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, May 1991) 114.

¹⁵ See Chapter 8 for more information.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the limited number of tourists and the correspondingly minimal agency appropriations enabled Fruita to continue much as it always had. The social makeup of Fruita, however, was changing from solid Mormon to a mix of traditional families, non-Mormon retirees, and tourist operations residing under the newly imposed rules of the National Park Service. First to move in was Doc Inglesby, a retired, non-Mormon dentist and tour operator, followed by the National Park Service and Charles Kelly. By the mid-1940s the Capitol Reef Lodge was under construction, and a few years later the Giffords built their own motel (Fig. 12). The Mulfords also ran a small cafe and gas station at the south end of Fruita.

By the end of the 1950s, the inholdings were four original Mormon fruit farms owned by Cora Oyler Smith, Clarence Chesnut, Dewey Gifford, and Cass Mulford, and another five tracts owned by Max Krueger, Doc Inglesby, artists Richard and Elizabeth Sprang, the retired Dean Brimhall, and lodge-owner Archie Bird. There was also a portion of a state section along the proposed right-of-way east of Fruita, owned by Wonderland Stages (a Salt Lake City tour company); and Lurton Knee's Sleeping Rainbow Guest Ranch was operating out of Pleasant Creek. The old, insulated, idealized Mormon community of Fruita had indeed changed. In fact, local Mormon ownership was distinctly in the minority when proceedings began to buy out Capitol Reef National Monument's inholdings.¹⁶

As mentioned earlier, inholding acquisition was a priority under Mission 66. According to an agency monograph detailing the needs and purpose of the project:

Development of these [non-federal] lands as private homesites or for commercial enterprises detrimental to the parks, the hindrance they present to orderly park development, and the problems they present to management and protection, warrant their acquisition at the earliest practicable date.¹⁷

Given this priority to acquire inholdings, it is curious that Acting Regional Director Hugh Miller argued that the National Park Service should not make a "concentrated effort" to purchase the lands in Fruita. Miller believed park service purchase of the private lands would "destroy this little community," which was "in itself an 'exhibit in place,' a typical Mormon settlement which ha[d] retained much of its early day charm."¹⁸

Zion Superintendent Paul Franke, who had long dealt with the problems at Fruita, was more than a little upset at this recommendation. With Mission 66 money soon to be available, this seemed the perfect opportunity to resolve the issue. In his reply to Miller, Franke strongly objected to the idea that Fruita was of historical importance:

¹⁶ "Land Atlas Map, Acquired Lands," 16 March 1964, Drawer 5, Folder 2, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

¹⁷ "Mission 66 for the National Park System," 111.

¹⁸ Acting Regional Director to Zion Superintendent, 6 May 1955, File L1415, 79-67A-337, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

The historic features listed in your memorandum, and by the experts, are not visible to me. The worn out buildings are such that even the most pious Mormon would disown. Historic quaintness may be associated with the 'old timers.' However, their time in a permanent exhibit is but a passing moment....How can we build a typical 'Mormon Community' out of such temporary variables as human beings? These are transient values and we should not let our misguided sympathies for a few 'old timers' and their structures, even if adorned 'with star and crescent', divert our attention from the real values and significant points of Capitol Reef.¹⁹

Franke urged that plans not be considered based on the Capitol Reef of 15 years earlier or even of the present, but on the inevitable fact that the new, proposed paved road through the monument would bring hundreds of thousands of tourists into an area that was not prepared to handle them.

According to Franke, at absolute minimum, all the private holdings north of the Fremont River should be purchased for National Park Service development, and the lands south of the river could then be used for private concessions. Franke rejected the position of Kelly and Regional Land Chief John Kell that the Max Krueger land at the far eastern edge of Fruita was enough for preliminary development: that parcel was too flood-prone and could not accommodate all the needed facilities. Franke's motivation to purchase Fruita seems to be based on perceived National Park Service needs for development. If he could demonstrate that the inholdings were indeed dilapidated, then his argument would be that much more persuasive.²⁰

The Mission 66 Prospectus for Capitol Reef National Monument, written mostly by Franke, recommended purchasing most, if not all, the private inholdings in the monument. The 1956 document, as approved by Director Wirth, stated:

There is no justification for maintaining the old settlement of Fruita because it is neither typical of pioneer settlements nor is there any value that might enhance understanding or appreciation of the area. Reduced to its proper perspective acquisition of the private lands within the monument is in accordance with Service policy and need not constitute a major undertaking. The total estimated cost of the proposed land purchases and water rights is \$125,000. We hope to exchange out around 1900 acres of State owned land.²¹

The determination that Fruita lacked historical significance is key to understanding why there was no effort to retain historical integrity once the lands were purchased. Notably, however, all arguments about Fruita's significance are based on buildings and people rather than on the orchards, irrigation ditches, and land use patterns. Since most of the

¹⁹ Zion Superintendent to Regional Director, 10 June 1955, Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ "Mission 66 Prospectus, Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah," 17 April 1956, Ibid.

buildings and all the people are now gone, these orchards, ditches, and fields are, as of the mid-1990s, the crux of many land-use decisions. Yet these aspects were not even mentioned in most of the correspondence and planning documents related to Mission 66 or the purchase of the private inholdings.

By the end of 1955 it was determined that every private inholding would be purchased in its entirety for either future developments, the road right-of-way, or both.²² The land was to be purchased in two installments: the first would free up the proposed Fremont River corridor highway right-of-way, and the second would secure all other lands south of the proposed road. From this point on, the Fremont River road construction and purchase of most of the private inholdings would be intertwined (Fig. 13).²³

The final decision to go with the Fremont River corridor route in 1958 hastened the need for the first phase of property purchases. The Cora Smith and Max Krueger inholdings were appraised in 1958, but neither was willing to sell.²⁴ The difficulties with Smith and Krueger were the most cumbersome of the early land deals, portending later troubles. By the end of June 1959, the survey of the Fremont River road was complete but construction could not begin until the right-of-way purchases could be made.²⁵

The tensions arising from acquisition of the inholdings were exacerbated by delays in the appraisal process. By 1960, these delays were holding up road construction. Superintendent Krueger found himself pressured from all sides. The State of Utah was ready to begin construction, and the Associated Civic Clubs of Southern Utah, the Wayne County Lions Club, and the Utah congressional delegation were insisting that the National Park Service get the money appropriated and start the road as soon as possible. It must have been frustrating for local and state tourism boosters finally to see their long-desired road within reach, only to have the project delayed again by the slow process of transferring the private landholdings into federal ownership. Added pressures from businessmen wanting a share of the expected tourist dollars from the nearly completed Glen Canyon Dam, south of Capitol Reef, didn't help the situation.²⁶ To put even more

²² "Proposed Land Acquisition Program, Capitol Reef National Monument," 1 November 1955, File L1415, 79-67A-337, Box 1, RG, NA-Denver.

²³ Zion Superintendent to Regional Director, 15 October 1958, Ibid. For a comprehensive examination of each inholding, see Cathy Gilbert and Kathleen McKoy, "Cultural Landscape Report: Fruita Rural Historic District," prepared for National Park Service, on file, Intermountain Regional Office, Denver, 1993).

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Monthly Report, July 1959.

²⁶ Zion Superintendent to Regional Director, 28 January 1958, and 12 letters petitioning for road construction, 1958, File D30, 79-67A-337, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

pressure on the National Park Service, the ceremony to open bids for the roads construction drew over 1,000 people in October 1960.²⁷

The lengthy appraisal process on five separate inholdings and the continued intransigence of Cora Smith and Max Krueger forced the National Park Service to proceed with condemnation. Finally, on June 2, 1961, a Declaration of Taking was filed on five tracts of land totaling a little over 284 acres. These tracts were owned by Krueger, Smith, the Brimhalls, the Sprangs, and Utah Wonderland Stages. An additional, 37-acre tract was purchased from the Brimhalls at about the same time. Acquisition of these lands finally cleared the right-of-way for the new highway, which was begun in August only to be shut down by summer flooding until September.²⁸

The bitter dispute over the Smith and Krueger properties ended up in court, where both were awarded a good deal more money than had been offered by the federal government.²⁹ Krueger was so upset by the whole process that he wondered “just where the difference lies between socialism, extreme bureaucracy, and communism.”³⁰ Smith, on the other hand, never had any intention to sell and, as a matter of fact, never even gave an asking price. Today, she seems bitter that everyone else was sold out so easily. She simply “didn’t want it to change.” Smith recalls, “I wanted it like it was. And that’s the only thing I got agin’ it. I thought them people was all nuts for selling their places and they did. They sold ‘em.”³¹

Lurton Knee, whose Sleeping Rainbow Ranch escaped this round of private land purchases, was a witness to the buyout. According to Knee, the people of Fruita had “had enough of the hard work and the isolation, yes, but mostly the hard work.” Knee added that, contrary to the opinions held by many in neighboring communities, the residents were not forced out but were more than willing to sell out. In fact, only in the Krueger and Smith cases was the amount of money an issue. As for the houses themselves, Knee recalled years later, “most of the people’s homes there were just shacks and there was

²⁷ Monthly Report, October 1960.

²⁸ Monthly Reports, June-September 1961. While acquisition of all but one small, private inholding dragged on until the 1970s, the tracts needed for the road and future development of National Park Service housing, campground, picnic areas, and a water treatment plant were purchased by 1964. See Volume II, Chapter 14.

²⁹ The final offer to Smith was \$13,000 for her 35 acres. The court awarded her over \$27,000. Krueger was offered \$30,000 for his 64.40 acres, and the court awarded him over \$44,000 (“Congressional Committee Report, Lands Acquired by Condemnation, FY 1959 through FY 1963,” File L1415, 79-67A-505, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver).

³⁰ Max Krueger to William Krueger, 14 September 1961, *Ibid*.

³¹ Cora Oyler Smith, interview with Kathy McKoy, 8 May 1993, tape and transcript, Capitol Reef National Park Unprocessed Archives, 40.

nothing you could do to preserve them.” He added, “But the people did resent [their being torn down] because that was their home, you understand that.”³²

Because of the rapid changes that occurred in Fruita in the early 1960s, a lot of untruths have emerged. Some local residents, and even visitors from other states, believe that the National Park Service pushed these people out against their will and irreversibly altered the Fruita landscape, intending to wiping out all Mormon presence. Documents, however, argue that most landowners, who again were not of local origin, were more than willing to sell. Their land was “condemned” only because it sped the process so that roadwork could begin. Insofar as altering the landscape, it is true that most of the houses, which almost everyone agreed were in very poor condition, were torn down. That some homes were destroyed right after the residents moved out angered some in the community, but the National Park Service couldn’t afford to wait.

In this author’s opinion, any animosity toward Capitol Reef management as a result of the inholding purchases probably has more to do with the speed of the process than with anything else. The local residents were used to a quiet, isolated, and unchanging life in Fruita. In over 20 years of the monument’s existence, nothing much had really changed. Then, in a relative blink of an eye, the residents were gone, the houses torn down, and a road was paved through the canyon. That kind of rapid change in any slow-paced, rural environment was bound to upset a few people.

Capitol Gorge Closes

Negative publicity arising from the inholding acquisitions was temporarily offset by positive relations stemming from the newly paved road and the local jobs created by that and impending projects. Bad feelings were revived, however, over the closure of Capitol Gorge to through traffic.

The new highway bisecting the monument had been so long-sought by local residents and area tourism promoters that its actuality must have been hard to believe. Recall that local promotion of a national park in Wayne County back in the 1920s and 1930s was motivated primarily by the desire for this road. On the other hand, it never occurred to Capitol Reef’s neighbors that once the road was paved through the Fremont corridor the old Utah Highway 24 through thrilling Capitol Gorge would be closed (Fig. 14).³³ The National Park Service, however, realized the opportunity a new road would provide. The 1956 Mission 66 Prospectus had suggested that ways should be found to encourage visitors to stay for longer periods of time. The National Park Service solution was to

³² Lurton Knee, interview with Brad Frye, tape recording, 18 September 1992, Capitol Reef National Park Archives; David White, “By Their Fruits Ye Shall Know Them: An Ethnographic Evaluation of Orchard Resources,” February 1994, 51-52, prepared under contract for the National Park Service, on file, Capitol Reef National Park Division of Resource Management.

³³ See Chapter 8.

change the traffic circulation pattern within the monument. Once the Fremont River road was finished, the Capitol Gorge road “would be deleted except for a short section on the upper end.”³⁴ This would avoid safety concerns arising from the seasonal flash floods through the gorge, and force visitors to turn around and drive back through Fruita to reach the through highway continuing along the river corridor.

According to the 1959 Master Plan, the road from Fruita to Capitol Gorge (with spurs into Grand Wash and to Pleasant Creek) would serve as a dead-end scenic drive. Hiking trails could lead from each spur’s terminus parking lot, thereby providing easy access further into the canyons or up to scenic view points. This scenic drive network would insure that at least some visitors would not speed directly through the monument on the new highway. Rather, they would spend several hours in and out of their vehicle, enjoying the vistas and resources of Capitol Reef. The National Park Service plan fit nicely with the desires of the Utah highways department, which wanted to rid itself of the difficult-to-maintain route through Capitol Gorge as soon as the new road was completed.³⁵

The State of Utah agreed to turn over the old road to the park service and to maintain and protect the new Utah Highway 24. One stipulation was that, since the state would control the right-of-way, the park service would never charge entrance fees of those traveling through the park on Utah Highway 24.³⁶ This agreement was apparently finalized during an official survey of the new Fremont corridor route on April 25, 1958. Recorded Krueger:

Those making the reconnaissance were officials of the Utah State Road Commission, Bureau of Public Roads, National Park Service, Wayne County Commissioners and other individuals, including State Senator Royal T. Harward, Banker Arthur Brian, Executive Secretary Tom Jensen, Associated Civic Clubs and others.³⁷

While the possibility of closing Capitol Gorge for safety and development reasons was brought up at this and subsequent meetings, the general public was never told of it. Local residents and returning visitors assumed that the gorge road would be left open to local traffic and for visitor thrills as always. Thus, when the new Utah Highway 24 was finished

³⁴ “Mission 66 Prospectus,” 12.

³⁵ William Krueger to Vance Taylor, Chairman, Wayne County Commissioners, 20 July, 1962, File D30a, 79-67A-337, Box 1, Container #919498, RG 79, NA-Denver.

³⁶ Director Wirth to Regional Director, 25 January 1957, Ibid.

³⁷ William Krueger to Vance Taylor, Chairman, Wayne County Board of Commissioners, 20 July, 1962, File D30a, 79-67A-337, Box 1, Container #919489, RG 79, NA-Denver.

the old Capitol Gorge route was turned over to Superintendent Krueger on July 16, 1962, few were aware of the road's imminent closing.³⁸

The actual decision was delayed for several more weeks. Four days after the road transfer, Krueger wrote to Wayne County Commission Chairman Vance Taylor asking Wayne County road crews to put flood warning signs up at the eastern entrance to Capitol Gorge, since National Park Service rangers did not regularly patrol that side of the monument. Krueger wrote:

As part of the agreement with the Utah State Road Commission the National Park Service is entitled to close the old Utah Highway 24 in Capitol Wash at the east boundary of the Monument. If it is determined that protection of the area and its administration and service to the visitor can best be accomplished by such action then the road will be closed at the east boundary. However, until the road is closed, we believe that protection of the life and property of the unsuspecting user, particularly during flood season, can best be accomplished [by placing warning signs at the eastern entrance].³⁹

Capitol Gorge, from the eastern entrance through the narrows, was closed in August 1962. While there is no documentation specifying the exact reason for the road's closure, Krueger probably was just following the National Park Service master plan for Capitol Reef. The strain additional ranger patrols through the gorge would place on Capitol Reef's minimal protection staff would have made the decision to close the road even easier. Yet, if the road was indeed meant to be closed all along, why hadn't Krueger told Taylor back in July?⁴⁰

Since the early 1970s, fundamental management decisions within units of the National Park Service have been subject to public review under the National Environmental Policy Act. In 1962, such action was not legally required, and failure to notify the public that the traditional route through Capitol Gorge was going to be closed created a public relations disaster. Had the general public been informed, as were the elected and business leaders, that the road closure was part of the overall Mission 66 plans to develop tourism at the monument, the uproar may have been considerably less volatile. Instead, the closing seemed like another slap at the customs and traditions of a leery, southern Utah, Mormon population. This affront, coming so shortly after the rapid acquisition of the Fruita inholdings, was particularly bitter.

One initial problem was inaccurate reporting. The first rumors and reports stated that the entire Capitol Gorge was closed, instead of only a short section through the very narrowest portion of the canyon. The Salt Lake City newspapers reporting the "hot

³⁸ Deseret News, 24 August 1962; Monthly Report, July-August 1962.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴⁰ Monthly Reports, July-August 1962.

controversy in normally peaceful Wayne County” portrayed the National Park Service as a federal bureaucracy arbitrarily making policy without the consent of the governed.⁴¹

Interestingly, in these stories and the resulting official correspondence, the local and state officials were actually enthusiastic about the closing of the Capitol Gorge route. After all, they had been apprised of the increased visitor hours that would result from the action. The hard feelings are attributed to the failure of Superintendent Krueger and others to recognize how much the old road through the Waterpocket Fold meant to the monument’s neighbors. Utah Sen. Frank E. Moss wrote to Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, “I think the biggest mistake that was made was not having it clearly known in advance what the plan of the National Park Service would be.”⁴²

Assistant Interior Secretary John Carver agreed. In his apology to Moss, he wrote:

According to my information, neither the park service nor the State of Utah took the precaution of advising the press that the road would be closed. It was part of a plan that goes back several years and the most charitable explanation seems to be that all concerned felt everything was in order and complacently overlooked the matter of advanced publicity. The indignant reaction shows all too plainly how wrong it was to take that attitude.⁴³

Carver’s response failed to acknowledge that, had the local residents been adequately notified, then the press may never have been called down from the state capitol to investigate.

The immediate furor over the Capitol Gorge road ended by October, but long-held resentments still exist. Whenever local residents are not notified and consulted about major park policy decisions, these resentments will bubble to the surface.

Mission 66 Construction

With most of the inholdings acquired and construction of the Fremont River highway completed, the National Park Service could begin implementing its Mission 66 development plans for the Fruita headquarters area. As mentioned earlier, Capitol Reef’s Mission 66 Prospectus was approved in 1956. Acquisition of Inholdings was only a small part of the plans to make the National Park Service presence felt throughout the monument.⁴⁴

According to the prospectus, Capitol Reef’s combination of unique and scenic geology, high desert flora and fauna, western history, and archeology is nationally significant. In

⁴¹ *Deseret News*, 24 August 1962. Also see *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 September 1962.

⁴² Moss to Udall, 19 September 1962, File D30, 79-67A-337, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

⁴³ Carver to Moss, 6 November 1962, *Ibid*.

⁴⁴ “Mission 66 Prospectus, Capitol Reef National Park,” 17 April 1956.

developing these themes, management was to find ways to help the casual or “adventure-seeking” tourist to enjoy the natural setting and all its offerings. The primary need was for “a means of access to the canyons by automobile” and a “means of access to the backcountry by horseback or foot.” To hold the visitor for more than a couple of hours, additional developments were needed. These would include a modern campground, “shelter and food while [the tourist] stays in the vicinity,” a visitor center, numerous displays, maps, and diagrams, “safeguards to [the visitor’s] life and property,” and “assurances of health and bodily comfort.” The actual development of Capitol Reef National Monument was estimated at \$2.3 million.⁴⁵

The problem with constructing these new facilities, however, was that “the country is so rough and water so scarce, that space for development [was] extremely limited.” In other words, the same conditions that had structured past attempts to live in this beautiful but mostly inhospitable land were also going to structure National Park Service plans. The choice of Fruita, which was already developed, became even more obvious when the new highway was directed through the community. Within Fruita were several possible locations for the visitor center, campground, and maintenance shops.

Once management determined where the facilities would be built, actual construction was accomplished fairly rapidly and with little difficulty. When the road was finished through Fruita, construction began on the visitor center, housing, maintenance shops, and water, sewage treatment, and transportation systems. Fruita would be a very different place in only a couple of years.⁴⁶

By the end of 1962, the first Mission 66 houses (east of the CCC ranger station) and the water treatment plant on the Fremont River were almost completed. The roads into and around the new campground, west of Dewey Gifford’s old farm, were also finished by the end of the year. As an added bonus, park operations received a boost in April 1962, when telephone service was finally extended to Fruita. There had been no telephones in Fruita since its early days, when a private, problem-plagued line ran down from Torrey and through Capitol Gorge.⁴⁷

The years 1962-65 brought the most intensive development ever within the monument. The first two residences were finished and occupied by the families of the permanent ranger and administrative assistant in February 1963. Four more houses and the four-apartment unit that would serve as seasonal quarters were completed in 1964.

Perhaps the most significant utility improvements were the water treatment plant, operational in early 1962, and the sewage pipe and septic systems to the campground and headquarters area. No longer would water have to be hauled 22 miles from Bicknell and

⁴⁵ Ibid. 2-3, 18.

⁴⁶ Monthly Reports, May-July 1962.

⁴⁷ Monthly Reports, March-December 1962.

stored in trucks or tanks for park service and visitor needs. Now water could be drawn directly from the Fremont River, treated, and sent by underground pipe throughout Fruita. Charles Kelly would have been amazed.⁴⁸

The visitor center, begun in 1964, would be the most used and visited structure in the park. Once the location had been settled, the building's size was debated. Superintendent Krueger received the visitor center building plans in July 1963 from the Western Office of Design and Construction in San Francisco. While satisfied with the exhibit audio-visual rooms, Krueger was troubled by the minimal amount of office space. The plans called for the new building to be linked to the old ranger/contact station by a roofed breezeway, so that the historic CCC building could provide additional office space.⁴⁹

Krueger, troubled over the lack of space in back of the proposed visitor center, proposed removing the old building in order to expand the side or back of the new building. This idea was eventually rejected.⁵⁰

Even though the visitor center was opened for business in June 1965, it was not actually finished for several more years. Juggling office space in the back continued to be a problem, and the planned exhibits and audio visual program were not completely installed until 1967.⁵¹

The utility and maintenance building, behind the visitor center, was completed in early 1964. Once the access roads in Fruita were paved and landscaping was completed around the 53-site campground and new buildings, the Mission 66 construction plans for the Fruita area were accomplished.⁵²

To improve visitor appreciation and knowledge, wayside parking areas and exhibits were established along the new highway through the river corridor and along the spur roads into Grand Wash and Capitol Gorge. Interpretive shelters were built at the entrance of Capitol Gorge and at the scenic drive's terminus, just west of the narrows. These shelters were intended to be manned by seasonal naturalists, who would meet visitors and interpret the natural, historical, and archeological resources. A ranger could also monitor resource protection and potential flood threats.⁵³ To enable the visitor to better appreciate Capitol

⁴⁸ Monthly Reports, 1963-64. There were also improvements to the irrigation system obtained through purchase of the inholdings. See Gilbert and McKoy's "Cultural Landscape Report" for specifics of when and how the irrigation system was renovated.

⁴⁹ Krueger to Regional Director, 8 July 1963, File D3415, 79-67A-505, Box 1, Container #342490, RG 79, NA-Denver. The Western Office of Design and Construction developed most of the Mission 66 plans for Capitol Reef.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Robert Heyder, interview with Brad Frye, tape recording and transcript, 1 November 1993.

⁵² Krueger to Regional Director, 18 July 1961, File D22a, 79-67A-505, Box 1, Container #342490, RG 79, NA-Denver.

⁵³ Monthly Reports, 1963-64.

Reef's scenery and resources, improved trails were built to the base of the Golden Throne (the most dominant of the Navajo Sandstone domes above Capitol Gorge), and up to Cassidy Arch. New trail spurs were also created to scenic viewpoints off of the Hickman Natural Bridge and Cohab Canyon trails (Fig. 15).⁵⁴

Organization And Personnel

These Mission 66 developments would be meaningless without adequate personnel to staff the facilities and protect the monument's resources from the anticipated influx of visitors. When Superintendent Franke's prospectus was approved in 1956, personnel projections called for a gradual increase from one permanent position and two seasonals to seven permanent and seven seasonal positions 10 years later. Of those positions, 10 were to be in management and protection and four in maintenance and rehabilitation, each equally divided between permanent and seasonal.

According to the prospectus, by 1966 there were to be (in addition to the superintendent) one permanent administrative assistant, a park naturalist, and two park rangers in the management and protection branch; a roads and trails foreman; and a buildings and utilities maintenance position. Except for the unanticipated need for additional permanent maintenance positions, these plans accurately reflected the monument's staffing needs. The proposed timeframe, however, was far too optimistic.⁵⁵

The ensuing personnel shortages were exacerbated by the "de-coordination" of Capitol Reef National Monument. After February 1, 1960, the monument was no longer under Zion National Park's coordinating supervision. Superintendent Krueger was promoted from a GS-9 to a GS-11 and given full responsibility for his monument, making Capitol Reef a full partner in the national park system. While the monument's new independence would give it greater status within the system, the increased responsibilities and paperwork were daunting.⁵⁶

An administrative assistant would have helped tremendously, had the position been activated in 1960 as planned. Meanwhile, the rangers and superintendent had to cover the clerical responsibilities for another two years until Paul C. Bennion was hired to take them on.

The ranger division was also slow in materializing. Grant Clark had come on as the first permanent in 1958, but it was 1964 before the superintendent could hire Franklin Montford as chief ranger. Thus, the two permanent ranger positions met Mission 66

⁵⁴ Krueger to Regional Director, 6 December 1960, File D3415, 79-67A-505, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

⁵⁵ "Mission 66 Prospectus," 21-22.

⁵⁶ Monthly Reports, January - February 1960.

goals four years behind schedule. The park naturalist position, originally to be filled in 1962, was not funded until three years later.⁵⁷

In the maintenance division, by 1963 there were three permanent employees: Bernard Tracy, who monitored the water treatment plant and was lead maintenance man; caretaker Dewey Gifford; laborer Clarence Chesnut; and a couple of seasonal laborers. It was their combined responsibility to care for the new facilities, manage the irrigation system, maintain fencing, and monitor "the numerous buildings and other structures which [were] dilapidated and scheduled for removal" from the recently purchased inholdings.⁵⁸

These personnel shortages, which are typical for the National Park Service and other federal agencies, limited the immediate success of Mission 66 at Capitol Reef. Most of the new personnel were also new to the National Park Service, requiring additional time for orientation and training. A real benefit to the monument, though, was that most of the new employees were from the local communities. This helped polish tarnished public relations and create a better relationship between the monument and its neighbors.⁵⁹

Impact Of Mission 66

Capitol Reef National Monument changed significantly as a result of the Mission 66 programs. A new, paved highway brought over 100,000 visitors for the first time in 1960 and over 200,000 only two years later. This contrasted sharply with the 62,000 who passed through the monument in 1956. It was projected that 750,000 people would see Capitol Reef by 1970. While this figure proved optimistic, waves of people were indeed descending on a monument accustomed to receiving a mere trickle.⁶⁰

Although most of the facilities were not finished until after the first busy visitor seasons, since their completion they have benefited visitors and employees alike. The visitor center, housing, campground, maintenance buildings, water and sewage systems, and most of the roads and trails built during Mission 66 continue to be the primary facilities at Capitol Reef today.

Critics of the National Park Service's Mission 66 programs point to the establishment of roads and facilities in parks that should have been (they feel) left undeveloped. This was not the case with Capitol Reef. The monument's infrastructure had to be brought up to date to provide for the education and enjoyment of increasing numbers of visitors. As a result, visitors would have a better understanding of monument resources, and would stay

⁵⁷ "Mission 66 Prospectus," 21-22; Monthly Reports, 1958-65.

⁵⁸ Krueger to Regional Director, 4 September 1963, File D3515, 79-67A-505, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver; Monthly Reports, 1960-63.

⁵⁹ "Annual Report on Manpower Utilization," 22 September 1963, File A6423, 79-67A, 337, Box 1, Container #919498, RG 79, NA-Denver.

⁶⁰ Press release, undated, File K3417, 79-67A-505, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

somewhat longer to enjoy their surroundings. The rugged backcountry of multi-colored sandstone canyons, cliffs, and domes, however, would remain virtually untouched.

The greatest change occurred in Fruita. The private inholdings, with their history and buildings, were all but gone. Remaining were the orchards and a few scattered buildings and structures that visitors saw as quaint, and which neighbors and relatives considered elements of their cultural identity. Since today's emphasis is on historical preservation, it is hard for some to understand why the old buildings of Fruita were removed. At that time, Fruita provided the best location within the monument for adequate road and facility development. Many of the existing buildings were viewed as dilapidated and unsafe eyesores; others were simply considered inappropriate or in the way. Thus, the park service could choose between long-range planning and development at Fruita, or the restricted, minimal National Park Service presence of the past.

In summation, although Mission 66 improvements benefited Capitol Reef, some of them were implemented in an impolitic manner that damaged park service credibility among local communities. The acquisition of the private inholdings was inevitable, but the process was made unduly awkward by administrative delays. Cora Smith and Max Krueger probably never would have sold of their own accord. The hurried condemnation proceedings, however, left the impression of an aggressive federal bureaucracy kicking out its own residents.

While the inholding problems were largely circumstantial, the lack of foresight over the Capitol Gorge road closure was more troubling. In that instance, the superintendent, (and to some extent, local and state officials) neglected to notify the public that its traditional and beloved route through the monument was to be closed. This may have been an oversight. The lasting perception, though, was that the National Park Service considered the monument some kind of separate microcosm that did not have to interact with its neighboring communities. Like natural ecosystems, cultural systems are not confined by political boundaries; management overlooks that fact at its own risk.

The people of southern Utah love their land and the traditional manner in which they have used it. While unpopular management decisions were made by the park service, it was not so much the decisions that caused bad feelings as it was the seemingly imperious manner in which they were made. The resulting resentments added to cultural and administrative barriers at Capitol Reef just when some of the physical barriers were finally being overcome. The misgivings of local residents toward Capitol Reef would emerge once again with the emotional debate over monument expansion in 1969.

Figure 12. Gifford Motel, Fruita, circa 1960s. Historic Gifford barn in background. (NPS file photo)

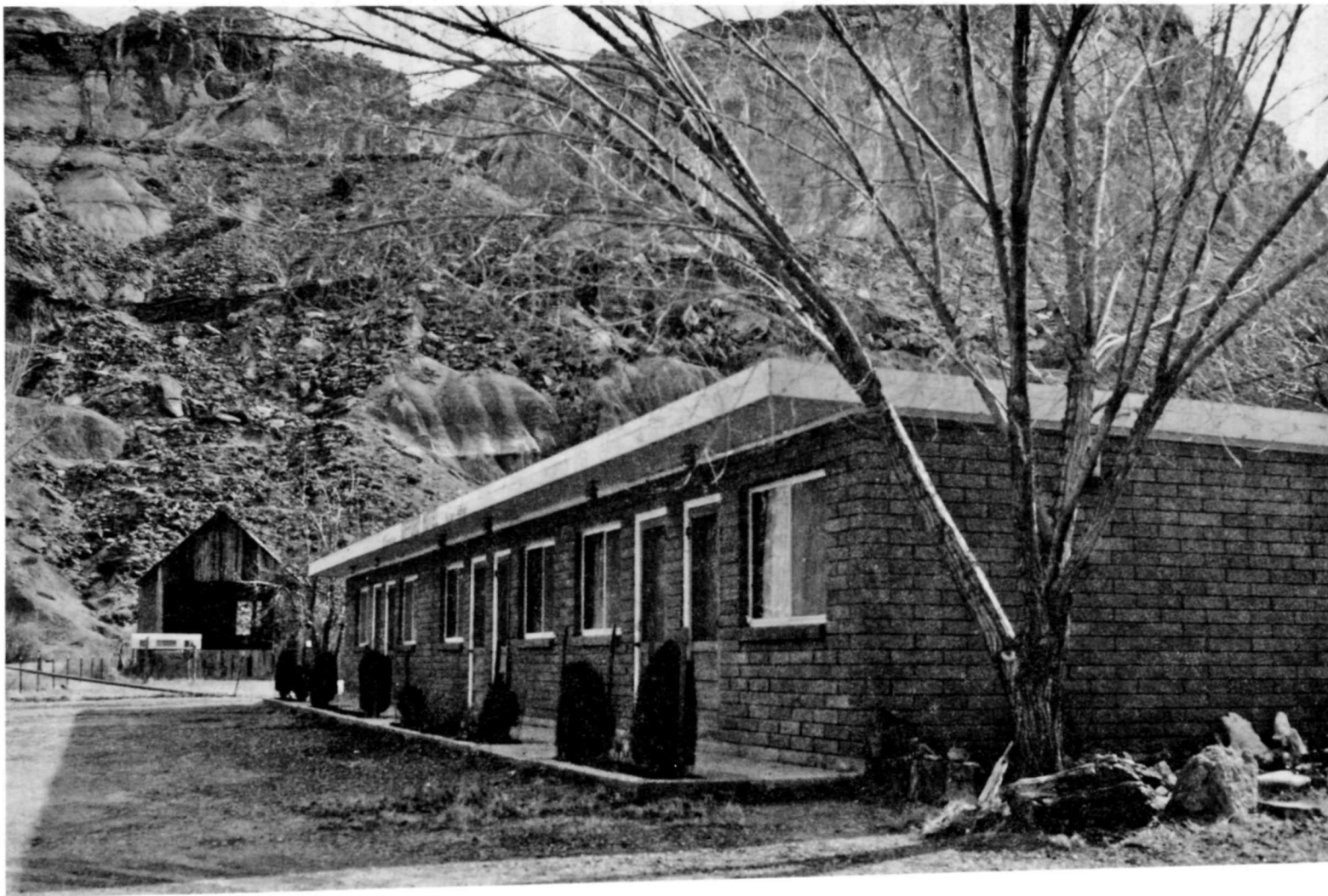


Figure 13. Fruita inholdings, 1964.

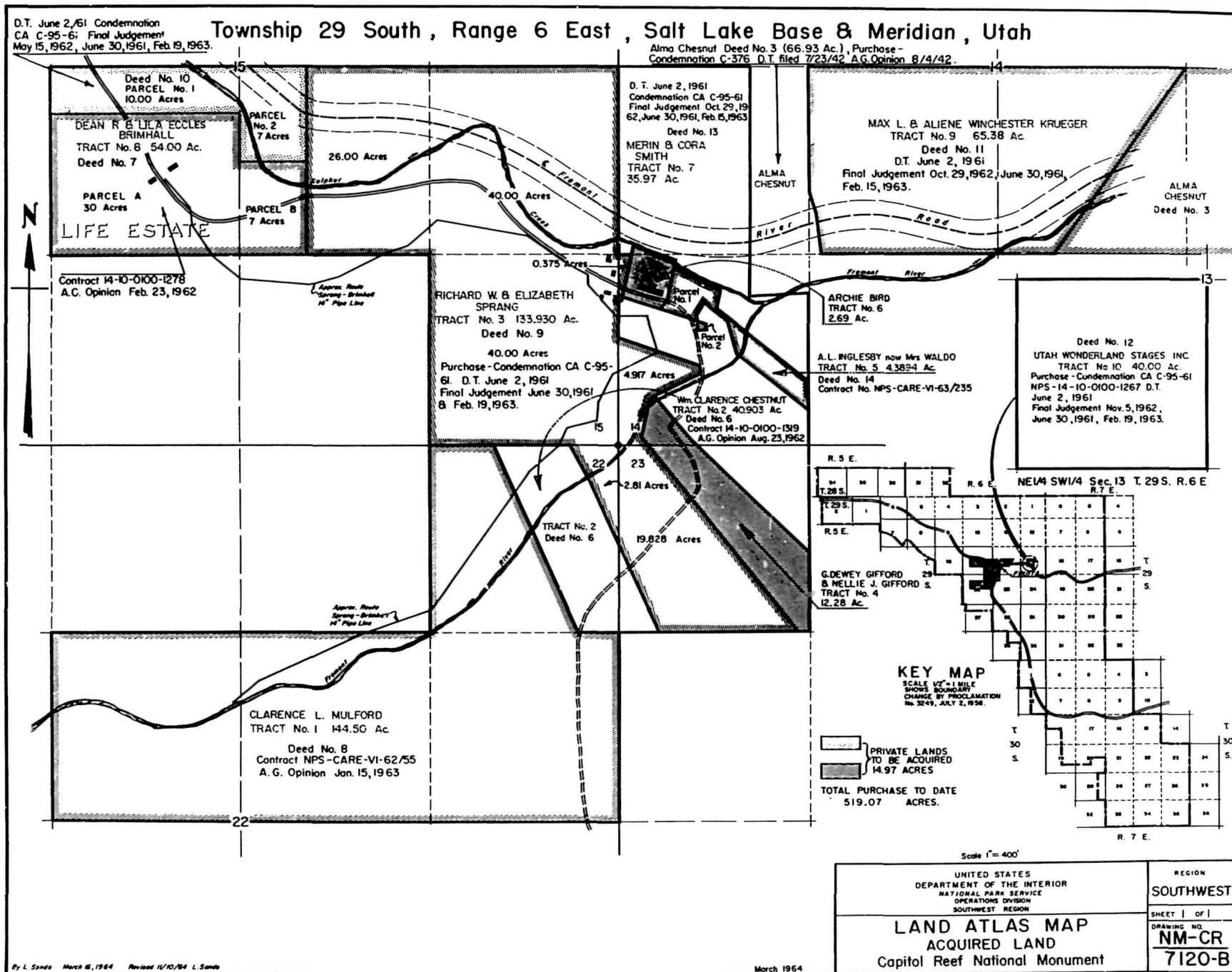
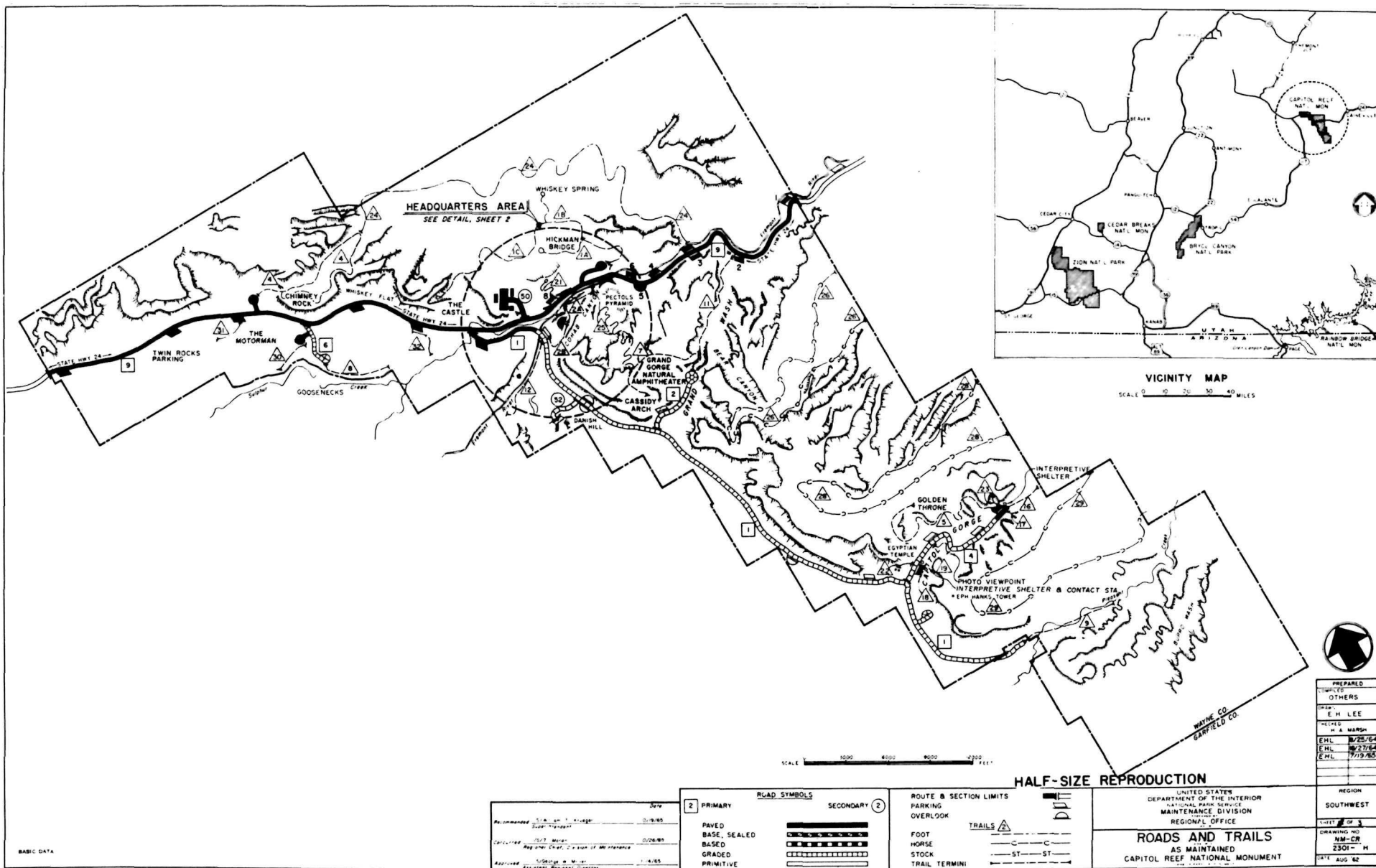


Figure 14. Old Utah Highway 24 through Capitol Gorge. The route was closed to through traffic when the new highway was constructed through the Fremont River gorge in 1962.



Figure 15. Proposed Mission 66 roads and trails development.



CHAPTER 8

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CAPITOL REEF NATIONAL MONUMENT

Capitol Reef National Monument was established on August 2, 1937 by Franklin Roosevelt's presidential proclamation. The national recognition and protection of the Waterpocket Fold resulted from two decades of hard, persistent campaigning by local boosters before the National Park Service ever became involved. The original idea for a national park in Wayne County began with an eye to the rapidly developing Zion, Bryce Canyon, and Grand Canyon National Park areas, and the economic benefits accruing from them.

The Beginning Of An Idea

National Park Service Director Stephen Mather first visited southwestern Utah in November 1919, and was immediately enthralled with the scenery--and potential--of Zion and Bryce Canyon. In the same speech commenting on the vistas, he proclaimed the need for roads, lodges, and publicity.¹

Mather's motivation for developing the southwestern Utah parks were clear. His national park system was still in its infancy, desperately competing with the U.S. Forest Service and other federal agencies for operating money from Congress. The more tourists that could be attracted to the parks, the more prestige and money would come to the National Park Service. At that time, the potential tourist was most likely well off and had the idle time needed to travel through the scenic West by rail and motor coach. These upper class visitors expected easy access and luxurious accommodations. So if Mather was to succeed in establishing the National Park Service as a powerful federal agency, he needed to work closely with private travel companies to insure smooth, enjoyable access to quality lodges within the parks. In turn, towns and businesses located near the parks would benefit from increased tourist dollars.²

¹ Robert Shankland, Steve Mather of the National Parks, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred Knopf Press, Inc., 1954) 138-139.

² Alfred Runte, National Parks: the American Experience (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979, revised 2nd ed., 1987) 82-105, is a thorough treatment of the beginning days of the National Park Service and its attempts to attract wealthy tourists.

Mather worked closely with both the Union Pacific Railroad and the Mormon Church to upgrade facilities in the southwestern parks. New, luxurious lodges were built at Zion, Bryce Canyon, and the north rim of the Grand Canyon. Coordinated train and bus service was established to insure easy, pleasurable travel between parks.³ This kind of action is precisely what the civic boosters of Wayne County had in mind when they began publicizing Wayne Wonderland.

By the 1920s, one could drive all day over the rough road through eastern Wayne County without seeing another car, or even a house. The roads descending south from Emery County were no different, and the roads south over Boulder Mountain were virtually non-existent. To the south in Garfield County, the terrain was so rough that no road east from Escalante had yet been attempted. Boulder and the entire Circle Cliffs area were so isolated that the town holds the distinction of being the last place in the continental United States to get its mail by mule. In those days, few tourists would venture into this unknown region when they had the hard-surfaced roads and comfortable lodgings around Zion and Bryce Canyon National Parks.⁴

Needless to say, the local civic boosters had a lot of work ahead. If tourists were to be enticed to Wayne County, roads must be improved and lodgings built. It was thought that a national park encompassing some portion of the area between Torrey and Hanksville, known by locals as Wayne Wonderland, would offer the kind of scenery necessary to attract the National Park Service.

According to Anne Snow in her Rainbow Views history, national publicity for the wonders of Wayne County actually began in 1914 with the circulation of photographs of a natural bridge, later named Hickman Natural Bridge, just north of Fruita. Then in 1921, a local "Booster's Club" was organized to help publicize the area. The leaders of this club were Wayne High School Principal Joseph Hickman and his brother-in-law, Ephraim Pectol, who operated the Wayne Umpire grocery store in Torrey. Even though these men were highly respected in Wayne County, their initial efforts did not receive much support.

The 1920s were still a period of hard struggles and self sufficiency; there were few residents who could appreciate the slickrock desert country as anything more than a hard place to live in or travel through. Soon thereafter, Pectol and Hickman merged their group with the Richfield Chamber of Commerce, the Salina Lions Club, and the Wayne Commercial Club to create the Wayne Wonderland Club. Joseph Hickman became its first

³ Ibid., 139-140.

⁴ Anne Snow, Rainbow Views: A History of Wayne County, 4th ed. (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing, 1985) 79, gives a good account of early road-building in Wayne County. Also see Dwight King, "The Blue Dugway," Utah Historical Quarterly 49 (Winter 1981): 66-67, for a flavorful description of travel on the Blue Dugway; and Angus M. Woodbury, A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks (published by author, 1950) 205-209, for a comparative account of road building and development around Zion and Bryce Canyons.

president.⁵ As this civic interest continued to expand, a little more money was available to advertise the scenic beauty of "Wayne Wonderland," a title attributed to Ephraim Pectol.⁶

A State Park That Never Was

Attempts to recognize the scenic grandeur and tourist potential of Wayne Wonderland moved to the state level after Hickman was elected to the Utah State Legislature in 1924. During the 1925 session he succeeded in getting several bills passed, including one creating a Board of State Park Commissioners having the power

to cooperate with any Federal, or other, organization, having for its purpose the investigations of State Park possibilities within the state of Utah....If such findings disclose any areas of sufficient natural, historical, or lofty scenic quality as to justify such action, said board shall designate such areas as State Parks or State monuments...[and] said board is hereby empowered to acquire for and in the name of the State of Utah, any land within or comprising such designation; provided that said board shall have power to accept gifts from any county, municipality, individual, or the Federal Government of money or land....⁷

Note that nowhere does the law mention any specific area to be considered for state park status. Local and official National Park Service histories have always assumed that Wayne Wonderland was the first state park in Utah, purportedly established in 1925.⁸ Anne Snow writes that during "the 1925 session [Hickman] succeeded in having one hundred and sixty acres of public land near Fruita withdrawn for a state park."⁹ Charles Kelly's numerous articles on the history of Capitol Reef National Monument also state that it was Hickman who was responsible for having a Wayne Wonderland State Park established in 1925 (although he uses the figure 16 acres, which is probably a typographical error).¹⁰

Due to a lack of documentation, such an assumption was easily made. One has to look at the actual dedication speeches to realize that the Wayne Wonderland State Park was not created in 1925. For example, when Utah Gov. George H. Dern arrived in Wayne County on July 19, 1925, he came only to celebrate

⁵Charles Kelly, "Biographical Sketch of Ephraim Pectol," Charles Kelly Unpublished Writings, Capitol Reef National Park Unprocessed Archives, 2; Snow, *Rainbow Views*, 148-149.

⁶ Charles Kelly, "History of Capitol Reef National Monument," Box 3, Folder 12, Capitol Reef National Park Archives, 12.

⁷ House Bill 56, Utah State Legislature, 16th Session, Utah State Archives.

⁸ See Patrick W. O'Bannon "Capitol Reef National Park: A Historic Resource Study," June 1992, 60, prepared for National Park Service, on file, Intermountain Regional Office, Denver as an example.

⁹ Snow, *Rainbow Views*, 149.

¹⁰ Kelly, "History of Capitol Reef National Monument," 12.

the gorgeous and awe-inspiring scenery in Wayne county *that [was] destined to be made the first state park* in accordance with the state park law added to [Utah's] statutes during the last legislature (emphasis added).¹¹

This elaborate ceremony (Fig. 16) was planned by business and political leaders of Wayne, Sevier, and Sanpete Counties. Evidently, this ceremony was organized in hopes of encouraging future state and federal action (of which there had been none to date), rather than to be an actual state park dedication.

The entire weekend of July 18-19 was set aside in Wayne County for the celebrations. A rodeo and dance were held on Saturday, with official festivities the following day. As many as 500 cars traveled together from Bicknell to Fruita, where a bower was set up to shade the participants. With the governor on the speaker's platform were Rep. Don B. Colton, representatives of the Mormon Church, and members of the various business clubs in the region. Interestingly, not a single representative of the National Park Service was there.¹²

Many of the speakers hoped for national recognition for Capitol Reef so that more tourist business would come to the area. Gov. Dern credited Joseph Hickman as the leader of the Wayne Wonderland movement. In his speech, Dern mentioned that Hickman introduced the bill for a board of park commissioners "because he had in his mind the creation of a state park in his own county."¹³ Dern went on to speak of Hickman's attempts to get Wayne Wonderland recognized as the first state park. The previous April, the governor had come to Fruita as one of the new park commissioners, receiving a hearty welcome.

"I looked over the natural bridges and the rest of the scenery, including the pretty girls," the governor told his audience, "and was wonderfully impressed by what I saw."¹⁴ Upon his return to Salt Lake City, Dern proposed that the other members of the board go down and take a look. He noted, "Some of them have been down here, whilst others have not been able to do so. It is hard to force action in a board that has not one cent of money to spend."¹⁵

Dern sympathized with the Wayne Wonderland boosters on their slow progress in getting state park status, and was quoted by reporters as saying:

I can't blame you for wanting some tourist business, and wanting it this year. It was therefore an enterprising move to organize this celebration to open Wayne Wonderland to the world in advance of its creation as a state park. I approve of

¹¹ Richfield Reaper, 9 July 1925.

¹³ Ibid., 23 July 1925.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

your action and I hope we shall be able to bring about its actual designation as a state park before very long, and that it will be our first state park.¹⁶

Rep. Colton followed the governor to the podium to argue that the best advertisement for the state was for every person present to speak out for its beauty. Colton specifically praised Capitol Reef's scenery and mentioned his hopes for the future, proclaiming the area qualified for national park status. He said, "When the time comes and if the state park commission sees fit to request it, the national government will take hold of Wayne Wonderland." According to Colton, once a national park was created in Wayne County, "good roads not only within the park but to it" would follow.¹⁷ After these "pre-dedication" ceremonies, everyone seems to have gone home in high spirits. They all seemed sure that the area was only a formal step away from state park and possibly national park status. The problem was, the legislature had not allocated any money for state parks at the time Hickman's bill was passed. As for national park status, no member of the National Park Service had yet come to Capitol Reef; in fact, no known correspondence prior to the early 1930s specifically asks the National Park Service to incorporate the area within its system. The campaign, thought to have been successful in July 1925, was only getting started.

Sadly, Wayne Wonderland soon lost its most active sponsor, Joseph Hickman, who drowned in Fishlake less than a week after the celebration. Hickman, a well-liked and capable state legislator, could possibly have facilitated the process for state or national park status. After his death, the movement seems to have lost its momentum, which would not be regained for another five years.

As for Wayne Wonderland State Park, it never officially existed. An exhaustive search of the records by the author and state archivists has turned up little else on the ill-fated State Board of Park Commissioners. In his 1927 opening address to the legislature, Gov. Dern made brief mention of a new state parks movement, observing that scenic preservation was a worthy goal but cost a lot of money. The governor added that the board was considering two or three projects. "One such project," he said, "is now receiving serious attention and the matter of securing title to the lands is being investigated."¹⁸

If this project was Wayne Wonderland, that could explain Gov. Dern's informal withdrawal of 120 acres from section 13 of Township 29 South, Range 6 East in 1930. This section, in the heart of present Capitol Reef National Park, is directly east of Hickman Bridge and includes Capitol Dome. This withdrawal was later superseded by the

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ 1927 House Journal, Utah State Legislature, 17th Session, Utah State Historical Society Archives, 36-37.

August 1937 presidential proclamation establishing Capitol Reef National Monument.¹⁹ In sum, Dern supported the idea of state parks, but was unwilling to advocate spending the money necessary for their acquisition and development.

There is some question regarding what other bills or resolutions Hickman saw through the legislature. Kelly reports in his biographical sketch of Hickman:

Mr. Hickman had introduced a resolution in the legislature asking the federal government to consider the possibilities of Wayne Wonderland as a national monument, realizing that the state would not have funds to properly develop the area. The resolution was duly sent to Washington for consideration....On July 27 (1925), three days later (after his death), word was received that the National Park Service would ask for withdrawal of the most scenic sections of Wayne Wonderland and investigate its possibilities for national monument status.²⁰

There is no other record of this resolution. The federal withdrawal appears to have been a proposed Interior Department Power Reserve Site that was never acted upon.

Hickman's successor to the legislature, George C. Brinkerhoff, attempted to broaden the powers of the parks board, but failed to get past the Senate.²¹ After that, no records can be found pertaining to any state parks for several years. The State Board of Park Commissioners became dormant due to lack of funding, and the designation of Wayne Wonderland as a state park died, as well. Even had Hickman lived, it is doubtful that the state legislature and governor would have been willing to spend the money necessary for state parks.²²

The state park movement in Utah was not revived until the Utah State Planning Board began exploring recreational potential in the 1930s. By that time, the old territorial capitol at Fillmore had been set aside as a park, administered by the Utah State Historical Society. It was not until 1957 that the state legislature established the State Park and Recreation Commission, thereby creating a system of state parks in Utah.²³

¹⁹ Ben Thompson to Moskey, 19 February 1937, Box 1, Folder 5, Capitol Reef National Park Archives; 97, General Land Office Township and Range Plats, Book 57, Records of the Bureau of Land Management, RG 49, National Archives - Suitland, Maryland. State archivists searched through official state and governor's records and correspondence, but found nothing in reference to this land withdrawal.

²⁰ Kelly, "Biographical Sketch of Joseph S. Hickman," 12 February 1952, Charles Kelly Unpublished Writings, Capitol Reef National Park Unprocessed Archives, 3.

²¹ H.B. 127, 17th Utah Legislature, 1927.

²² "Preliminary Staff Reports, Utah State Planning Board," Series 1164, State Planning Board, Independent Commissions Reports, 1934-1941, Utah State Historical Society Archives, Salt Lake City, 10.

²³ Ibid.; Dr. Everett Cooley, former director of the Utah State Historical Society and former State Park Commission member, telephone conversation with author, 30 November 1993.

As for the land first proposed as Wayne Wonderland State Park, no boundaries were ever established. The land remained part of the enormous public domain, at that time controlled by the General Land Office (except for a few state sections set aside to raise money for Utah's schools).

After the death of Joseph Hickman, the new leader of the Wayne Wonderland boosters was his brother-in-law, Ephraim Pectol. Pectol became the key local representative responsible for the eventual creation of Capitol Reef National Monument.

Pectol operated a small store with rental cabins in Torrey, served as ward bishop from 1911 - 1926, and was clearly a recognized leader in Wayne County. His interest in archeology drove him to accumulate an impressive artifact collection that he exhibited in his "museum" at the store, to the envy and delight of visitors. Capitol Reef's first custodian, Charles Kelly, actually gained his initial exposure to the area during a trip to see Pectol's collection.²⁴

In 1928, at Pectol's urging, the Wayne Wonderland Civics Club and Wayne County Commissioners paid photographer Dr. J. E. Broadus \$150 to take slides and give lectures throughout the state on the attractions of the Waterpocket Fold country.²⁵ About the same time, the campaign for Wayne Wonderland was absorbed by a new booster club representing the entire southwestern part of the state. By merging the various local and county booster clubs into the new Associated Civic Clubs of Southern Utah (ACCSU), the efforts to publicize Capitol Reef gained not only a more regional perspective but also a great deal of prestige and money. While this larger, better endowed business organization became a substantial voice, Ephraim Pectol continued to be the driving force for a national park within Wayne County. After the 1925 dedication, interest in state park designation receded as the focus of Pectol, the ACCSU, and state government shifted toward the loftier goal of national park status.²⁶

The National Park Service Gets Involved

The problem was that all these civic leaders had no idea what was involved in creating a national park. The lack of focus and direction in the drive for a Wayne Wonderland National Park is clearly exemplified in a meeting between Zion Superintendent Thomas J. Allen, Jr. and the Associated Civic Clubs of Southern Utah in July 1931.²⁷ This is the first serious, documented meeting between a National Park Service official and local leaders

²⁴ Kelly, "Biographical Sketch of Ephraim P. Pectol"; Snow, Rainbow, 148, 164.

²⁵ Kelly, "Biographical Sketch," 2; Snow, Rainbow, 149.

²⁶ Kelly, "Biographical Sketch," 2; Snow, Rainbow, 149.

²⁷ Allen to Horace Albright, 15 July 1931, File NPS-100, Accession #79-60A-354, Cont. #63179, Box 1, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (RG 79), National Archives and Record Center - Rocky Mountain Region, Denver (hereafter referred to as NA-Denver).

regarding Wayne Wonderland. (There is mention of Assistant Director Demaray visiting the area with Utah Rep. Louis C. Cramton several years earlier, but nothing seems to have come of that visit.²⁸) Thus, despite the decade-long efforts of local and state officials, the National Park Service was not officially consulted regarding a national park for Wayne County until 1931. This is further substantiated by the fact that Wayne Wonderland was not on the list of official investigations of national park and monument projects in the summer of 1930.²⁹

The purpose of that meeting in Loa between the civic leaders and Superintendent Allen was to tour the proposed area and evaluate whether it met the criteria to be considered worthy of national park or monument status. Allen explained the “high standards required for entrance of any area to the National Park System, and also defined the restrictions which would be necessary to place control of the area, possession of the lands by the Government, etc.”³⁰ He also explained that any proposed area must be first officially investigated by the National Park Service and then authorized by either an act of Congress or a presidential proclamation.

It is not known if there were any ranchers in attendance, and if so, what their response was to Superintendent Allen’s comments regarding restricted land use. The secretary of the Associated Civic Clubs, Benjamin Cameron, of Panguitch, presented a letter of support from Utah Sen. Reed Smoot stating “he would be glad at any time to introduce a bill in Congress for creation of a park in that area.”³¹

The lack of understanding regarding National Park Service acquisition became clearer the next day as Allen and the civic leaders toured the area. After Allen viewed the Waterpocket Fold from Boulder Mountain and drove the roads in and around Fruita, he pronounced the area not “up to the standards of Zion,” but worthy of official investigation. The impression he developed was that, while the people of Wayne County earnestly desired a national park, they were

really uninformed and in doubt as to just exactly what the whole proposition is about.... Certainly no definite plans or outline of procedure [had] been made, no information as to proposed areas was available, and no real organization for action was existing.³²

²⁸ Ibid., 2.

²⁹ Arno Cammerer to Horace Albright, 8 August 1930, Toll Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.

³⁰ Allen to Albright, Ibid.

³¹ Ibid. No bills, resolutions or hearings have been found in the Congressional Record documenting any attempt by the Utah congressional delegation to support the creation of Wayne Wonderland park.

³² Ibid.

It appears even from this first meeting between local park proponents and a National Park Service official that the two groups could perceive the same beautiful landscape differently. The National Park Service, represented by Superintendent Allen, and the local boosters, represented by Ephraim Pectol, both saw a potential national park. The difference was that, while Allen emphasized the need for specific boundaries and plans, Pectol and the others were more concerned with the urgent but more general hopes and dreams of local tourist promotion. These differences did not stop the two groups from working together to include Capitol Reef in the national park system.

As a result of this July 1931 meeting, the National Park Service became involved in the proposed Wayne Wonderland National Monument for the first time. On July 30, Allen wrote to Roger W. Toll, superintendent of Yellowstone National Park and also in charge of the official investigations into proposed National Park Service areas in the West. Allen reported his meeting and recommended, albeit with little enthusiasm, that Toll come take a look.³³

Roger Toll was the perfect man for the job. A charter member of the Colorado Mountain Club and a graduate in engineering from Columbia University, Toll was first recruited for the park service in 1919 by Director Steven Mather. Starting out as superintendent of Mount Rainier National Park in Washington State, he rapidly rose through system. After a brief stint at his beloved Rocky Mountain National Park, Toll took over for Assistant Director Horace M. Albright as Yellowstone's superintendent in 1929. While at Yellowstone, Toll also assumed the responsibility of investigating all proposed western parks and monuments.³⁴

Before Toll could investigate, the proposed park boundaries had to be clarified. At the end of July 1931, responding to newly appointed Director Albright's request, Allen submitted a copy of a road map of southern Utah to illustrate the approximate area in question. Allen did not mark any boundaries on the map, but used arrows to indicate the location of Fruita, and spots labeled "most scenic" (directly north of Fruita) and "suggested area" (slightly northwest of Fruita).³⁵

This map gives a good indication of the continued isolation of southern Utah in 1930. While a key is not included, it is clear that Highway 24 from Sigurd, the only road through Wayne County, had been improved to a graded dirt road all the way through Capitol Gorge to Hanksville. Also present was another dirt road between Torrey and Grover that continued on to the west entrance to Capitol Gorge. The entire region south and east of Fruita and Escalante was devoid of any marked roads. This region's lack of access

³³ Allen to Toll, 15 July 1931, File NPS-100, 79-60A-354, Container #63179, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

³⁴ Robert Shankland, Steve Mather of the National Parks, 247-248.

³⁵ Allen to Albright, 30 July 1931, File 207, Entry 7, Box 2063, Central Classified Files 1907-49, RG 79, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter referred to as NA).

sharply contrasts with the impressive network of paved roads around Zion, Bryce Canyon, Cedar Breaks, and north toward Salt Lake along the old Mormon Corridor.³⁶

By October 1931, the ACCSU reported that the “Wayne County people” (presumably, Pectol) had defined their proposed park area and had sent Director Albright a description.³⁷ On November 30, Superintendent Allen received a letter from Benjamin Cameron, secretary-treasurer of the ACCSU, stating that “the proposed National Park in the Wayne Wonderland...include[d] the area near Fruita as you approach it from the West, also that to the east and down the River gorge.”³⁸ This general description puts the first proposed boundaries for a Wayne Wonderland National Park close to where the actual monument was later established, except for the cliffs, knobs and canyons south of Capitol Gorge to the Wayne-Garfield county line.

With this new information, Roger Toll set out the following October to make a preliminary visit to Wayne Wonderland, while also investigating Cedar Breaks and the San Rafael Swell for possible park or monument status.³⁹ In his November 8, 1932 report, Toll mentions a wide variety of resources, including archeology, paleontology, and geology. His overall impression is guardedly optimistic about potential inclusion into the national park system. Toll wrote:

[I]t impresses one as being only a little below the standard of existing national parks. If a number of new parks were to be created, this might easily be selected as one of them. On the other hand, it does not have any one distinctive feature that is superlative....The area seems worthy of future investigation. It would take a week or two to cover it satisfactorily.⁴⁰

While the next five years of work toward monument status would be painfully slow but fairly smooth, opposition to the national park-building process was growing in southern Utah. Civic leaders still hoped that national parks and monuments would bring roads and tourists, as reported by Toll in 1932.⁴¹ Zion, Bryce Canyon, and the north rim of the Grand Canyon were indeed drawing development and money to those areas. But increasingly, resistance upwelled from multiple-use proponents and state officials concerned with possible land-use restrictions in the midst of a deepening economic depression. Trouble would first surface over the plan to incorporate Cedar Breaks into

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Cameron to Allen, 4 October 1931, File NPS-100, Box 1, 79-60A-354, RG 79, NA-Denver. No record of the description from the ACCSU has been found.

³⁸ Cameron to Allen, 30 November 1931, Ibid.

³⁹ Toll Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.

⁴⁰ Toll to NPS Director, 8 November 1932, Box 1, Folder 1, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

⁴¹ Ibid., 2.

the National Park Service. The struggle over Cedar Breaks provides some perspective to the park service's role in Utah during the 1930s.

Cedar Breaks And The Beginning Of Opposition

From the creation of the National Park Service in 1916, its first director, Stephen Mather, had followed a consistent policy of national park and monument expansion. As mentioned earlier, this was motivated not only by the desire to protect the nation's scenic wonders, but also by the need for congressional acceptance and to gain an edge in funding competition with the forest service. Mather's successors, Horace Albright (1929-33) and Arno B. Cammerer (1933-40) continued this policy with even greater success. A total of 36 new national parks and monuments were created between 1929 and the time of Capitol Reef's proclamation in August 1937. Another 15 national monuments previously administered by the forest service, together with 44 historic sites administered by the War Department and other federal agencies, were added to the service through the federal reorganization acts of 1933. Official investigations and considerations of Capitol Reef as a worthy addition to the National Park Service were undertaken while the national park system was doubling the number of areas it administered.⁴²

The state of Utah was one of those most affected by this growth. After Bryce Canyon joined Zion as a national park in 1928, Arches National Monument was created in April of the next year. Timpanogos Cave was acquired from the forest service following reorganization in 1933, and Cedar Breaks was added within the month. Zion National Monument protected the Kolob Canyon area in early 1937, and Dinosaur National Monument was also significantly expanded.⁴³

While civic boosters of southern Utah favored adding national parks or monuments to publicize the state's beauty and bolster local economies, multiple-use advocates vehemently opposed adding any changes that could affect their livelihood. Park service plans to acquire the small Cedar Breaks area north of Zion and almost the entire Colorado River canyon network during the early 1930s were perceived as just such a threat. Accordingly, these plans faced rigid opposition from local, state, and federal officials, alike.

An initial clue to this growing antagonism was the reaction to Albright's suggestion in 1931 that Kolob Canyon, adjoining Zion National Park to the northwest, be made into a

⁴² Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991) 10-59, passim; John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961) 339-354.

⁴³ Mackintosh, 22-59; Ise, 411.

new national park. Both Gov. George Dern and Sen. William H. King opposed this idea on the grounds that stock growers needed much of the land for grazing.⁴⁴

That same year, Cedar Breaks was proposed by the National Park Service as a detached addition to either Zion or Bryce Canyon National Parks. Cedar Breaks is a natural amphitheater with spectacular erosional features, very similar to Bryce Canyon but at a higher elevation. Stephen Mather had already identified the area in 1919 as part of the network of southwestern parks and, at his urging, a lodge had been built close to the amphitheater rim by the Union Pacific Railroad. Opposition to this proposal came swiftly from the U.S. Forest Service, which managed the land in question. The ensuing battle was a classic confrontation between the National Park Service and the U.S. Forest Service over territory and influence. These battles, as in this case, were usually won by the National Park Service. Often overlooked in these federal power struggles were the opinions of local residents. The dispute over Cedar Breaks revealed Utah's first clear and vocal opposition to a proposed national park.⁴⁵

In open meetings at nearby Cedar City and Parowan, the local land users stood in solid opposition to the National Park Service taking over even a small section of land. Hal Rothman, the dispute's historian, later observed:

Although the clearly defined NPS acquisition effort at Cedar Breaks did not pose a real threat, the implications of such a transfer frightened local livestock interests. As long as the Forest Service could convince area residents that Cedar Breaks was only a prelude to further acquisition attempts, NPS claims of merit went unheard.⁴⁶

Even the Associated Civic Clubs of Southern Utah, which supported the Wayne Wonderland proposal, wrote letters opposing this National Park Service plan. While many businessmen could appreciate the increased tourism that a national park would bring to the area, they could not afford to antagonize ranching neighbors who supported their businesses. So, while many privately supported a national park in the area, they publicly opposed it or tried to reach a workable compromise.⁴⁷

In the end, the struggle over Cedar Breaks was decided among officials of the National Park Service and U.S. Forest Service in Washington, D.C. The forest service tried defend its turf by arguing that it, too, could manage an area for recreational and educational purposes; but in the end, the political clout of the National Park Service prevailed. The reorganization implemented August 10, 1933 effectively took the forest service out of the

⁴⁴Elmo R. Richardson, "The Escalante National Monument Controversy of 1935-1940," Utah Historical Quarterly 33 (Spring 1965): 110-111.

⁴⁵ Hal Rothman, "Shaping the Nature of a Controversy: The Park Service, the Forest Service, and the Cedar Breaks Proposal," Utah Historical Quarterly 55 (Summer 1987): 219-223.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 225.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

national monument picture and thus made much of the issue moot. With opposition at the federal level gone, Cedar Breaks was created as a small national monument by presidential proclamation two weeks later. Not adequately resolved, though, was the opposition of local land users.⁴⁸

This resistance to National Park Service expansion would emerge again at Capitol Reef. In fact, the reason the area was initially set aside as a monument as opposed to a congressionally approved national park can be traced largely to opposition by stockmen.

Wayne Wonderland To Capitol Reef, 1933-1936

The campaign for Wayne Wonderland in the early 1930s seems to have taken a back seat to the struggle for Cedar Breaks, but this probably had to do with Roger Toll's busy schedule. Before Toll's next visit to Capitol Reef in November 1933, there was a considerable amount of maneuvering both in support and opposition to the proposed national park.

Ephraim Pectol was now the Wayne County representative to the Utah Legislature. Through his efforts, a memorial resolution was passed urging quick action on a Wayne Wonderland national park or monument. Signed by Gov. Henry Hooper Blood on March 15, 1933, the resolution to Congress is the first document detailing the area's proposed boundaries and the motives behind local support for Capitol Reef.⁴⁹

The resolution, passed unanimously by the House, urged that the "scenic, archeological and geological value" of the area, "pronounced worthy" by "competent authorities," could be "brought to the attention of the American people only by having them set apart and designated as a national park or a national monument." This resolution marks the first time that a national monument was considered by promoters to be as acceptable as a national park. This may have been as result of the investigations of Allen and Toll the previous two years, or it may simply have shown the flexibility of supporters desiring any kind of federal designation for the area. The second part of the resolution combined the creation of a national park or monument with the hopes for "future highway construction" that would connect a "chain of natural wonders" from Mesa Verde and Natural Bridges to Bryce Canyon, Zion and Cedar Breaks.⁵⁰

The connection of a Wayne Wonderland park with future highways has been evident since the first promotions a decade earlier. Local and state interest in this national park or monument clearly was overwhelmingly motivated by a desire for economic benefits that a

⁴⁸ Ibid., 226-235.

⁴⁹ House Concurrent Motion No. 4, Laws of the State of Utah passed by the 20th Legislature, Utah State Historical Society Archives, 161-162; Richfield Reaper, 2 March 1933.

⁵⁰ H.C.M. No. 4. This is the first time a national monument is mentioned as acceptable in any correspondence from Utah. In all previous letters, a national park was the only designation sought.

tourist boom would bring to the area. This desire was particularly understandable, considering that these events occurred in the depths of the Great Depression. According to the Richfield Reaper:

The creation of a national monument in Wayne County is regarded as the first step toward completing an east-west highway across southern Utah...Such a route would provide an all-winter auto highway from Texas and other states in the southwest and south into southern California, and would also open up a new line of travel for the remainder of the year to tourists who seek opportunity to visit the newer wonderlands of Utah.⁵¹

The boundaries as proposed in the 1933 resolution were most likely drawn by Rep. Pectol. Three separate units were proposed: Unit 1 would encompass Velvet Ridge, the colorful bands of Chinle exposed above the Mummy Cliffs between Bicknell and Torrey; Unit 2 would protect the archeological and scenic features within the Fremont River corridor west of Fruita; and the boundary of Unit 3, the heart of new park, took in the lands from Chimney Rock Mesa north of the approach highway, east through Longleaf Flat to the Navajo Sandstone Domes and perhaps as far as Hickman Bridge and Capitol Dome. The line was south of Spring Canyon. From Capitol Dome, the boundary went south, which would have protected only the western rim of the cliff line as far Grand Wash, and then it jogged southeast to include the slickrock domes around Fern's Nipple. Only the western entrance to Grand Wash was included. The western line of Unit 3 would have enclosed only about one mile of the road to Capitol Gorge (at the entrance to Grand Wash) and would have skirted around the private lands of Fruita. In general, the Unit 3 boundaries would have included just the northern and eastern cliff rim, including the Navajo Knobs and Cohab Canyon, plus the scenic heart of the Fremont River canyon as far as Capitol Dome. In its gerrymandering around the private lands of Fruita, the resolution appears to have omitted Hickman Bridge. This proposal also left out the Grand Wash narrows and Capitol Gorge (Fig. 17).⁵²

No documentation has been found justifying the proposed boundaries or indicating influence by economic concerns. Except for small areas near the Fremont River corridor and the Longleaf Flats area just north of Fruita, all the proposed land was free of traditional grazing use. Apparently, Pectol had wanted to include the upper Pleasant Creek drainages west of the Waterpocket Fold, but this idea was dropped in response to objections by stockmen.⁵³ The reason for excluding Fruita was obvious.

Pectol wrote to Director Albright informing him of the resolution and the desire for action. Albright responded with cautious encouragement. The director noted that he had

⁵¹ Richfield Reaper, 2 March 1933.

⁵² H.C.M. No. 4.

⁵³ Toll Investigation, 1934 Report, File NPS 000, 60A-354, Container 63179, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

heard “very fine reports on the Wayne Wonderland,” but added that further investigation would be necessary before the National Park Service could proceed any further.⁵⁴

With the legislature’s resolution as a tangible framework to follow, Roger Toll arrived in Torrey on October 31, 1933. In the company of Bishop Pectol, Toll spent four days in a car, on foot, and on horseback examining the three sections proposed in the resolution. Pectol took Toll to the top of Boulder Mountain, to Velvet Ridge, and to an overlook of the upper Fremont River canyon. They concentrated most of their attention on the “Chimney Rock” unit. After viewing Hickman Bridge and Cassidy Arch, Spring and Chimney Rock Canyons, Grand Wash, Capitol Gorge, and specific archeological sites, Toll proclaimed the area to be “the best of the three units.” This was because, he reported later, the Chimney Rock unit included “narrow gorges, sandstone cliffs, two natural bridges, archeological remains, pictographs, petrified trees,” and other interesting features. “It is,” he added, “rich in color.”⁵⁵

After Toll left Fruita for the last time, it would take him six months to complete his report and send it on to Arno Cammerer, the new National Park Service director. The final report recommended that the Chimney Rock and Palisade Canyon (Fremont River gorge) areas (Units 2 and 3 of the state resolution) be accurately surveyed and then established as Wayne Wonderland National Monument.⁵⁶

The Unit 1 or Velvet Ridge section was dropped from consideration because it was mostly forest service land and its scenic value was far less than that of the other two units. Interestingly, this Velvet Ridge unit was the watershed for Torrey. Toll implies that the motivation for reserving this land in a national monument was to prevent grazing near the streams and open ditches carrying Torrey’s water down the mountain. Of course, the ongoing disputes with the forest service also must have had an impact on Toll’s decision to omit this small, disconnected section from the proposed monument boundaries.⁵⁷

Toll’s report refined the boundaries as first submitted in the concurrent resolution, expanding some of the areas and correcting some minor discrepancies. Toll recommended the boundaries be enlarged to include Horse Mesa, lower Spring Canyon to its mouth, all of Grand Wash, and the Capitol Reef section of the Waterpocket Fold down to the domes and canyons just north of Capitol Gorge. He further recommended that the Fremont River section and the Capitol Reef sections be joined just south of Fruita, bringing almost the entire Fremont River corridor into the proposed monument. As for the private lands of Fruita, they were bypassed once again (Fig. 18).⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Albright to Pectol, 18 March 1933, Box 11, Entry 20, Records of Roger W. Toll, RG 79, NA.

⁵⁵ “1934 Toll Report on Proposed Wayne Wonderland,” Box 11, Entry 20, Box 11, RG 79, NA.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid. The accompanying map to the 1934 Toll report (#9) found in the Capitol Reef National Park

As Toll was finalizing his report and recommendations, the ACCSU, elected officials, and the livestock lobby were also increasing their activities. In January, the civic clubs drafted their own resolution endorsing a Wayne Wonderland National Park. Other than specifically mentioning support for a national park, the ACCSU resolution is remarkably similar to that passed by the state legislature a year earlier. The ACCSU resolution was sent to the National Park Service, Gov. Henry Blood, Senators Elbert Thomas and William King, and Reps. Jim Robinson and Abe Murdock. The correspondence among these parties indicates their continued support for the project. Sen. King took it a step further, requesting a progress report from the National Park Service. Associate Director Demaray replied that, due to Toll's busy schedule, the final field report was not yet completed and that no action could be taken until then.⁵⁹

Two weeks after requesting this update, King wrote to Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes. This letter, however was not an endorsement, but rather a cover letter to petitions signed by Wayne County residents against the proposed park. Ickes responded that the petitions would be taken into account once the field reports were completed.⁶⁰

The petitions, with 91 signatories opposed to the creation of a national park in Wayne County, are the only surviving documentation of resistance. Prior to this substantial expression of opposition, grazing issues, such as the incompatibility between livestock needs with National Park Service policy, had been considered with every resolution and boundary proposal. According to the petition, however, the local ranchers felt that their concerns had been ignored. This is evident in the letter to Sen. King:

Through newspaper articles of recent date, it is apparent that certain organizations and individuals are sponsoring a move to create a National Park here in Wayne County, State of Utah. It is apparent that these people are in most cases not residents of Wayne County and not interested in the well-fair [sic] of the local residents. The question of a National Park has never been presented for consideration of the public and does not represent the desires and wishes of the voting population. Since the livestock industry is the principle occupation of a majority of the residents and is the source of their means of living, we feel that it would be unjust and a detriment to permit the passage of any bill that would authorize the creation of a National Park thereby causing the curtailment or withdrawal of our grazing privileges.⁶¹

Archives gives slightly larger boundaries than those listed in the actual report. This enlargement could be an incorporation of Toll's final suggestions.

⁵⁹ Parks Commission Files, Correspondence of Gov. Blood 1933-34, Series 021003, Utah State Historical Society Archives.

⁶⁰ Ibid.; Harold Ickes to William King, 28 February 1934, File 12-0, Part IV, Box 1972, Records of the Secretary of the Interior, RG 48, NA.

⁶¹ Petition included in 1934 Toll report.

This petition crystallized resistance from stockmen. Had the ranchers been approached by agency officials about the early boundary proposals, this opposition from a powerful interest group may have been avoided. Instead, Rep. Pectol, the ACCSU, and other park supporters seem to have been the only ones consulted.

For example, in a letter to Rep. Pectol written on the same day that Toll filed his final report, Toll asked if this resistance from grazing interests reflected the "general sentiment of the County and of the State" and wondered exactly how his proposed boundary revisions would affect livestock. Pectol happily replied that opposition from grazing interests had been eliminated:

Our stock growers met with our Commercial Club, and the misunderstandings were quite well ironed out and eliminated, to the extent that many expressed regret that they were misinformed as to the extent and intent of the park, and many have signed a reversal which will be sent direct to Director Arno B. Cammerer.⁶²

The minutes of that meeting are not available, but presumably the ranchers agreed to withdraw their opposition to the monument once they were assured that it would be small and include little or no grazing land. In a statement from Alexander A. Clarke, president of the North Slope Grazer's Association, it is clear that the stock growers' objections were tied to the rumored extent of the monument's size:

[T]he opposition and antagonism once existing against said park has greatly subsided....I will state further that most all were misinformed as to the extent and location of the park and the present outlines, as has been designated to Roger W. Toll, seems to meet with no objection as no grazing interests are at stake.⁶³

From this point on, there is no documented resistance to the proposed national monument, yet the impact remained indefinitely. The petition and its withdrawal were all based on concerns over the monument's size and its impact on grazing. The lasting effect of the petition was not only to delay National Park Service action on the proposed area, but more significantly, to help sway agency officials toward the less threatening national monument status.

As to the issue of boundary adjustments, Pectol agreed with most of Toll's proposed additions to the north, east and south. The Utah State Legislature's Committee on Parks and Roads, on which Pectol served, endorsed Toll's recommendation, with a small southern addition to take in both sides of Capitol Gorge. The committee also voted to exclude Units 1 and 2, thus eliminating the Velvet Ridge and the Fremont River corridor east of Fruita.⁶⁴

⁶² Toll to Pectol, 13 April 1934, and Pectol to Toll, 1 May 1934, Box 11, Entry 20, RG 79, NA.

⁶³ Clarke, "To Whom It May Concern," 4 May 1934, *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* If the monument were to be created with such boundaries, it would have looked somewhat like a rectangle eight miles by eight miles, with a northwest arm extending out to Chimney Rock, a

Toll endorsed the addition of Capitol Gorge and elimination of the Fremont River gorge, sending the recommendations on to Washington, D.C. He informed Pectol that an accurate boundary survey was the next step, before anything else could be done. Toll also specifically recommended that national monument status should be pursued, since the congressional action needed to establish a national park was doubtful, given the pressing needs of the Great Depression. Although not mentioned in this letter, the grazing conflict must have been an important factor in this decision, as well. Sensing his disappointment, Toll assured Pectol that “there have been several instances where national monuments have been changed to national parks when their value has been fully demonstrated.”⁶⁵

Meanwhile, the Utah State Planning Board was conducting its own independent investigation of the potential of Wayne Wonderland. Paul Arentz, supervising engineer for the board, visited the area during the early summer of 1934 and was impressed by the scenic variety of Capitol Reef. It is unlikely that he talked with either Pectol or any National Park Service officials, as he states that the area suggested by the “the citizens” is “an area of 6 miles by 20 miles.” Even this area, over four times larger than the area under official consideration, was not enough for Arentz. He proposed that Wayne Wonderland be extended to include all the area from

Thousand Lake Mountain to the desert 30 miles thence south, bounded on the north by Boulder Mountain and on the east by the desert to an area southeast of Boulder Mountain called the Circle Cliffs near the old town of Boulder, Utah. This area recommended for Wayne Wonderland comprise[d] approximately 570 square miles.⁶⁶

In the final report to the state board, consultant S. R. DeBoer recommended that “not less than 360 square miles should be acquired.” Obviously, some members of state government were urging an enormous Wayne Wonderland national park or monument, even while the local grazing interests were trying to limit the area that the National Park Service would consider. DeBoer, Arentz, and others, however, were motivated by the limitless potential they saw for Utah as a recreational playground for tourists from around the country. To help sell Utah, they proposed a number of impressive projects. For example, they proposed building a series of scenic highways from the Grand Canyon to Salt Lake, and thence north to Yellowstone or east to the Rocky Mountains. From these main arteries, a secondary highway would be built from Zion and Bryce Canyon through Wayne Wonderland to Natural Bridges and beyond. This was an extension of Stephen Mather’s park-to-park highway proposals back in the 1920s.

shorter eastern extension along the Fremont River, and a jog around the private lands of Fruita. The size would be roughly 32 square miles.

⁶⁵ Toll to Pectol, 8 May 1934, Ibid.

⁶⁶ “Recreational Report of Utah, Preliminary Staff Reports, Utah State Planning Board,” Series 1154, State Planning Board, Independent Commissions, Reports 1934-1941, Utah State Historical Society Archives, 5.

An additional, more ambitious scheme called for dredging the Green River through Stillwater Canyon to the junction of the Colorado to enable tour boats to navigate the rivers to a planned hotel at the confluence. This project was soon dropped from official consideration, but the link between a large Wayne Wonderland and the scenic highway that would bring tourism and business to southern Utah was endorsed in every year's recreational plans throughout the 1930s.⁶⁷

When Arentz was in Wayne County, he noticed that Emergency Conservation Work crews were busy improving the road over Boulder Mountain from Boulder to Grover. He wondered if such crews could be put to use improving Wayne Wonderland as well. Herbert Maier, National Park Service/State Parks coordinator for the ECW, responded that the application was interesting, but that it arrived too late for consideration for at least another year.⁶⁸

At the beginning of 1935, National Park Service Director Arno Cammerer officially petitioned Secretary Ickes, asking that lands being considered for monument inclusion be withdrawn from Taylor Act grazing districts. Included in this request were Wayne Wonderland, the Kolob Canyons adjacent to Zion National Park, a Yampa Canyon National Monument near Dinosaur National Monument, and an enormous area "in southeastern Utah and northern Arizona, on both sides of the Colorado River, from its junction with the Green River to Grand Canyon National Park." This huge area would be proposed a year later as Escalante National Monument. As for Wayne Wonderland, Cammerer described "spectacular scenery of red and white sandstone formation, narrow gorges, several natural bridges, some cliff dwellings of prehistoric Indian tribes, petrified trees, and other features of interest." Its attractions were at that time viewed by few people other than local residents, he observed, noting, "If a project for a highway across the Colorado River ...should materialize...[the area's] accessibility would be greatly increased."⁶⁹

From this description, it is clear that the National Park Service was also hoping for the construction of that southern Utah highway to link its national parks from Mesa Verde to Zion.

In 1935, Conrad Wirth, National Park Service assistant director for land planning, suggested expanding the boundaries to include the Moccasin Cave and Fish Creek Cove archeological sites west of the proposed monument. Because of a report from the Peabody Museum at Harvard (which sponsored the first archeological surveys by Noel Morss of the area back in the late 1920s), Wirth asked Pectol to consider reattaching the Fremont River gorge and extending this strip all the way to include Fish Creek Cove, near

⁶⁷ "Recreation Report of Utah," 5,10-12, Ibid.

⁶⁸ Maier to Arentz, 22 July 1934, Correspondence, Series 1161, Utah State Historical Society Archives. (The actual application has not been located.)

⁶⁹ Cammerer to Ickes, 11 January 1935, File 12-0, Part IV, Box 1972, RG 48, NA.

Teasdale. Wirth makes it clear that grazing considerations, rights-of-way, and the “successful cultivations” at Fruita would need to be considered before such an addition would be made.⁷⁰

This proposed addition of the Fremont River gorge and Fish Creek would receive a great deal of attention throughout the year. The desire to incorporate Fruita as a smooth connection between the Capitol Reef sections and the narrow strip toward Fish Creek Cove would become the most significant legacy of this latest boundary debate. In April 1935, Pectol was officially informed by Associate Director Demaray that the town of Fruita was being considered as part of the monument in order to “provide for better administrative control along the course of the Fremont River.” Assurances were made that “this arrangement would not place any hardship on the owners of private land as the proclamation for establishment would be drawn up to protect existing rights.”⁷¹

In early 1935, the revised state plan for recreation was still promoting a 360-square-mile park. The scale makes specific boundaries difficult to determine, yet it appears that the state plan called for including the entire Spring Canyon and Polk Creek drainages up to the national forest boundary in the north, and the Waterpocket Fold as far south as the Circle Cliffs. The south and west boundaries would also abut the national forest line on the flanks of Boulder Mountain (Fig. 19). Nothing more specific is detailed in this 1935 state plan. It seems likely, however, that this proposal from various Utah officials was independently made, and was not being submitted with either the help or knowledge of the National Park Service, Pectol, or the Associated Civic Clubs of Southern Utah.⁷²

Meanwhile, the ACCSU was concerned that the National Park Service proposal for monument as opposed to park status would adversely affect development in Wayne Wonderland. Director Cammerer reiterated that the scientific and archeological features in the area lent themselves more toward monument status. Cammerer tried to calm the boosters’ fears by reminding them, “Wayne Wonderland is no less important than other areas which have been classified as national parks.”⁷³ Zion Superintendent Preston Patraw also tried to assure the ACCSU and Rep. Pectol that monument status was the best at the time. While acknowledging that monuments tend to receive less money and staff than national parks, he pointed out that funding is usually allocated on the basis of need. In other words, if Wayne Wonderland were made a national monument, its future allotment of funds would be governed more by its needs for protection and for service to visitors than by the fact that it was a monument rather than a park. Patraw pointed out that a

⁷⁰ Wirth to Pectol, 25 January 1935, File 100, 79-60A-354, Box 1, Container #63179, RG 79, NA-Denver.

⁷¹ Demaray to Pectol, 26 April 1935, box 11, Entry 20, RG 79, NA.

⁷² “A State Plan for Utah,” Progress Report, 15 April 1935, Series 1164, State Planning Board, Independent Commission, Reports 1934-41, Utah State Historical Society Archives.

⁷³ Cammerer to Carr, 2 February 1935, File NPS-100, 79-60A-354, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

Wayne Wonderland National Monument could be created through presidential proclamation much more quickly than a park could be established through the slow, congressional process. This would “hasten the time” when the area could receive improvements, as from the CCC.⁷⁴

The CCC possibility must have been attractive to local businessmen because of the positive economic impacts it promised depressed rural Utah. Another argument for monument status came from Rep. Abe Murdock, who told the ACCSU that continued reports of opposition to Wayne Wonderland from area ranchers were “holding up the park status.” Accordingly, the ACCSU decided to accept the national monument designation for the time being, but to continue pushing for a future upgrade to national park status.⁷⁵

Superintendent Patraw visited Wayne County for the first time in March 1935 and was impressed not only by the scenery, but also by the recently graded dirt road into Fruita. Patraw reported to the director that the improved road would soon bring more tourists to the area. He urged that a couple of CCC camps be established within the year to begin work on “campgrounds, water and sanitation systems, trails, and so forth.”⁷⁶ This visit by Patraw once again buoyed local hope for an imminent proclamation from the federal government. The Richfield Reaper reported that Patraw’s visit meant that, at long last, the National Park Service finally intended to take action.

“When President Roosevelt issues the proclamation making the region a national monument,” the Reaper predicted, “one of the most persistent fights ever started in southern Utah will end.” According to the paper, all that was needed was a final boundary survey to pacify the grazing interest, and then the president could act. Few people, including Superintendent Patraw, realized that it would be another two years before the monument was established.⁷⁷

In June, Patraw returned to Wayne County to conduct that final survey. Traveling by car, horseback, on foot, and by airplane, Patraw and his accompanying survey engineer, architect, and wildlife technician accomplished a great deal. They determined a new set of boundaries and the exact amount of public and alienated lands, evaluated the potential of the Fish Creek Cove addition, and conducted the first scientific examination of flora and fauna. The airplane trip (the first documented aerial inspection of the park) was significant because Patraw and his party determined that the Navajo Domes above Cottonwood and Burro Washes should be included, as should the entire eastern slope of the Waterpocket Fold (Fig. 20). This latest revision now put the southern boundary along the Wayne-Garfield county line and added several square miles to the east. Patraw talked with the Durfey family of Notom Ranch and Rudolph Cook of Floral Ranch, both along Pleasant

⁷⁴ Patraw to Carr, 11 February 1935, Ibid.

⁷⁵ Richfield Reaper, 14 February 1935.

⁷⁶ Patraw to NPS Director, 28 March 1933, File NPS-100, 79-60A-354, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

⁷⁷ Richfield Reaper, 28 March 1935.

Creek; neither objected to this expansion. The main argument for including the eastern sections was to encompass “the toe of the east slope of the Fold, for geologic reasons and to provide additional winter range considered by the Wildlife Division representative to be needed.”⁷⁸

Patraw dismissed the potential of grazing in the proposed monument, suggesting that any extant grazing rights could be eliminated without too much of a problem. Yet, Zion National Park’s superintendent was quite aware of potential conflicts with area stock growers. Apparently, Pectol tried to reassure Patraw that the ranchers would not object to these extensions because they incorporated no good grazing land. Patraw, however, was unconvinced. He reported, “[T]his assurance may not be taken as entirely accurate, but sufficiently so to indicate that whatever opposition might develop would probably be based more on the enlargement itself than on any grazing value included in the enlarged area.”⁷⁹

It seems Patraw realized that opposition was not tied directly to established grazing rights, but was generally concerned with any attempt by the federal government to restrict use of the open range. Bear in mind that at the same time Wayne Wonderland’s boundaries were being drawn, the new grazing districts authorized by the Taylor Grazing Act were also being mapped out. Area ranchers sensed that their traditional, open use of the desert lands of Wayne and Garfield Counties was over. They must have been even more concerned over a national monument that seemed to be expanding, even if very slightly, with each National Park Service visit.

The private lands in Fruita were another concern for Patraw. He agreed with the National Park Service director’s suggestion that Pectol work out new boundaries that would include Fruita. Yet, in Patraw’s opinion, the National Park Service should actively attempt to purchase all the private lands. He argued:

Fruita is the logical place for locating the center of future monument developments, and under continued private ownership uncontrolled and competitive development of tourist accommodations is bound to follow progressively with [the] increase of tourist visitation. Owners will want to put up tourist camps, serve meals, sell souvenirs, and run dude ranches, or lease out parcels of their lands to others for the purpose.⁸⁰

Patraw warned that the price, rather than the availability, of the land would be the main obstacle to purchasing the private holdings. There were an estimated 100 acres in fruit and alfalfa cultivation. One owner hinted that \$1,000 an acre would buy him out, whereas

⁷⁸ P. P. Patraw, “Report on Proposed Wayne Wonderland National Monument,” August 1935, Box 1, Folder 2, Capitol Reef National Park Archives. This report also contains the first known naturalist’s report regarding the proposed monument since the Powell survey in the 1870s.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 5.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 2.

the largest landowner, Cass Mulford, wanted \$5,000 per acre. Obviously, at least some of the residents of Fruita were willing to sell their orchard farms, so long as their asking price was met.

The report concluded that administration and protection of the proposed monument would not present many problems--except for the private lands at Fruita. Trails from the canyon bottoms to scenic features such as Hickman Bridge could be easily built, and the only road through the monument was bound to get better. As a matter of fact, plans were already being made to divert Utah Highway 24 from Capitol Gorge to the Fremont River corridor. As for the Fish Creek Cove area, Patraw reported that the archeological ruins had already been extensively dug up, and that recent inscriptions had spoiled the rock art. Because of this vandalism, plus the fact that much of the area was privately owned, he advised eliminating this area and the Fremont River gorge (again) from consideration, unless a competent archeologist disagreed.⁸¹

Perhaps the most significant suggestion in Patraw's report was the change in name from Wayne Wonderland to Capitol Reef. According to Patraw, neither "Wayne" nor "Wonderland" were "sufficiently distinctive" to describe the proposed area. Since "Waterpocket Fold National Monument" was too long, Patraw suggested "Capitol Reef," the local name for the prominent domes and cliffs that would be at the center of the new monument.⁸²

Some local residents and historians have assumed that the new name, "Capitol Reef," was thrust on the monument without the consent of the Wayne County boosters.⁸³ First, the name "Capitol Reef" was actually not very new at all. It was being used interchangeably with "Wayne Wonderland" in The Richfield Reaper as early as the 1925 promotions for a state park.⁸⁴ Second, the assumption that the name Capitol Reef was selected without local approval is also untrue. Roger Toll wrote Pectol after receiving Patraw's report, and asked his opinion. Toll liked the name change because "it is undesirable to apply the name of a county to the area since that suggests a much more local type of interest."⁸⁵ Contrary to some accounts, super-booster Ephraim Pectol seems to have agreed readily to the name change. A week later, Pectol wrote Toll:

Capitol Reef National Monument has been my selection for a long time as it embraces the Capitol Reef area, but [I] was fearful the service might think this

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., 6.

⁸³ Johnathan Scott Thow, "Capitol Reef: The Forgotten National Park," (Utah State University Master's Thesis, 1986) 47, uses the local paper, the Richfield Reaper, as his source regarding the unpopularity of the name.

⁸⁴ See headlines and stories in the Richfield Reaper, 23 and 30 July 1925, for examples.

⁸⁵ Toll to Pectol, 23 August 1935, Box 11, Entry 20, Box 11, RG 79, NA.

would detract somewhat since 'Wayne Wonderland' had been placed on many of the maps.... 'Capitol Reef National Monument' suits me.⁸⁶

A year later, Pectol did confide with Associate Director Demaray that he would have preferred Wayne Wonderland, but said that he was more than willing to stick with the name Capitol Reef.⁸⁷

Now that the name and monument status were agreed upon, all that remained was to set final boundaries that would meet the approval of all interested parties. Pectol made one last attempt at larger boundaries when he proposed that the entire area between Fruita and the national forest lines be added, including the town of Torrey. Pectol was counseled by both Toll and Patraw that this was not a good idea, due to likely conflicts with private landowners, the forest service, and area ranchers. Finally, at the end of August, Pectol reluctantly withdrew this proposal. Pectol concluded that, since additional delays were undesirable, "the area now embraced [should] be accepted as outlined."⁸⁸

Unfortunately, the definition of final boundaries was not easy. Consideration of private holdings, real and/or potential grazing rights, and the newly proposed, enormous Escalante National Monument would delay Capitol Reef's establishment for another two years.

The Escalante National Monument Debate

A key reason for Capitol Reef's delay was the dispute over the proposed Escalante National Monument. As mentioned earlier, resistance over Cedar Breaks National Monument and to Zion's expansion into the Kolob Canyon area came largely from multiple-use advocates such as miners and ranchers. Faced with a deepening economic depression and the passage of the Taylor Grazing Act, stock growers were particularly wary of additional federal attempts to regulate their livelihood. The announced proposal to exclude almost the entire Colorado Plateau from grazing in order to establish a huge national monument was met with the most determined and vocal resistance to date. The initial plan was to eliminate grazing from almost 7,000 square miles from Green River, Utah, south to the Arizona border, and from Moab and Blanding west to the town of Escalante, pending investigation of the area's merits as a national monument.

The Escalante National Monument proposal delayed Capitol Reef's final reports and boundary surveys, needed before presidential proclamation could establish Capitol Reef National Monument. Shortly after Patraw's report was sent to Toll, Assistant Director for Operations Hillory Tolson suggested that the Wayne Wonderland nomination be postponed until the National Park Service could determine how much land needed to be

⁸⁶ Pectol to Toll, 31 August 1935, Ibid.

⁸⁷ Pectol to Demaray, 1 April 1936, File NPS-100, 79-60A-354, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

withdrawn from the newly created grazing districts. Tolson observed that this delay was particularly irritating to Rep. Murdock, who evidently was the only member of the Utah delegation pursuing the project.⁸⁹

In December, Toll found out just how much land was being considered. The initial desire to create a national monument outlining some of the Colorado River's larger canyons in Utah now included not only the Circle Cliffs, but the proposed Capitol Reef area as well: Capitol Reef was to be swallowed up by Escalante, as it was "more logical to combine in one administrative unit" (Fig. 21). Another option briefly considered was to reduce the size of Escalante, and stretch Capitol Reef's boundaries down the length of the Waterpocket Fold, an option eventually taken some 60 years later.⁹⁰

In June 1936, National Park Service officials Patraw, Jesse Nusbaum and David Madsen met at Price with affected residents of the proposed Escalante National Monument. Although some (such as from Frank Martines, president of the Associated Civic Clubs of Southern Utah) supported the monument, most were ranchers and miners who made their living on the Colorado Plateau. Rancher after rancher spoke against the proposal. Even the state planning board representative insisted that the proposed area would have to remain open to mining and livestock use.⁹¹ The result of this meeting was an immediate retreat by the National Park Service: the proposed Escalante National Monument was withdrawn for the time being. Further study of the Escalante area was proposed, "to determine where reductions may be made with least detriment to the project and, also, to establish the Capitol Reef area as a national monument without further delay."

The embattled Escalante monument was eventually reduced to a still-imposing strip varying between three and 50 miles in width between the confluence of the Green and Colorado rivers and the Arizona border. In an attempt to secure this land for the National Park Service, compromises would allow grazing and even permit construction of hydroelectric dams at the mouths of Glen and Dark Canyons. This proposed monument eventually evolved into Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and Canyonlands National Park.⁹² Meanwhile, the focus shifted once again to creating a small Capitol Reef National Monument in isolated Wayne County.

⁸⁹ Tolson to Toll, 17 August 1935, Box 11, Entry 20, RG 79, NA.

⁹⁰ Toll to Patraw, 16 December 1935; Tillotson to Director, 18 December 1935, File NPS-100, 79-60A-354, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver. "Notes on Proposed Escalante National Monument," April 1936, Series 1171, Utah Economic Resources 1930-49, Utah State Historical Society Archives, contains an NPS-generated map that shows the Capitol Reef boundaries within the proposed Escalante National Monument.

⁹¹ Elmo R. Richardson, "The Escalante National Monument Controversy of 1935-1940," 114-117.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 117-133.

A National Monument Is Created

Before creation of the monument could be approved, final boundaries had to be determined. While Pectol continued his campaign to include more of the Sulphur Creek and Fremont River drainages, Toll and Patraw worked on refining and down-sizing the western border. Shortly after Patraw's 1935 report, Toll recommended (with Patraw's concurrence) that the recently improved, graded state highway right-of-way from Chimney Rock to Fruita should be the boundary line. This line was proposed to avoid "complications of construction or maintenance" along Utah Highway 24. From this point on, the northern perimeter of the highway's right-of-way would become part of the western boundary until a minimal expansion in 1958 absorbed the entire road.⁹³

By mid-1936, Pectol was still proposing additional boundary ideas, even during a long and serious illness that almost cost his life. By this time, however, National Park Service officials were trying to finalize the boundary; additional, unsurveyed parcels were no longer desired, especially if they included private or grazed lands.⁹⁴ The only new section added was about three miles of red cliffs and mesa-top northwest of Chimney Rock to the Fishlake National Forest boundary. This included the southern edge of Meeks Mesa, which retained a few traditional grazing privileges.⁹⁵

Toward the end of 1936, Fish Creek Cove was eliminated and the Fremont River section scaled back. In October, National Park Service Archeologist Jesse Nusbaum visited the archeological sites in Fish Creek, determining that "it was undesirable to place this section within the proposed monument" due to the extensive diggings and vandalism there. It was also recommended that the Fremont River segment be limited to the actual gorge, placing the western line just east of Carcass Creek.⁹⁶

By the end of 1936, all known correspondence relating to the creation of Capitol Reef National Monument ended. It was now time for the Washington office to finalize boundaries and prepare a presidential proclamation. Why this took until the end of July 1937 is unknown, but a tremendous backlog of proposed areas may have been a factor. A multitude of new parks and monuments, mostly in the Southwest, were under investigation throughout 1936 and 1937. Besides the troubles with the Escalante proposal, there were also the additions to Dinosaur National Monument and the Kolob Canyon area north of Zion National Park to be considered in Utah. Organ Pipe and Kofa Mountains in Arizona, as well as a couple of sites in New Mexico, were also under

⁹³ Toll to Patraw, 19 August 1935 and Patraw to Toll 22 August 1935, Box 11, Entry 20, RG 79, NA. Pectol's desire to include the Sulphur Creek and Fremont drainages to the west may be in part due to the extensive archeological exploration he had done in those areas for many years.

⁹⁴ Pectol to Patraw, 31 January 1936, File NPS-100, 79-60A-354, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver, is an example of many of the letters from Pectol at this time.

⁹⁵ Cammerer to Pectol, January 1936, Ibid.

⁹⁶ Patraw to Director, 27 October 1936, Ibid.

investigation. Adding to the turmoil of these investigations was the unexpected death of Roger Toll in a automobile accident in the spring of 1936. The Capitol Reef proposal would have to wait its turn.⁹⁷

The Department of the Interior finally submitted a form of proclamation to President Roosevelt at the end of July. The scientifically and beautifully unique geology of the Waterpocket Fold was the dominant reason expressed to the president as to why Capitol Reef should be set aside as a national monument. The report to Roosevelt said:

[The Waterpocket Fold is] a vast monocline, which has played a dominant part in the forming of the physiography of the plateau region, [which] is brought to a dramatic climax in the vicinity of Capitol Reef, a colorful buttressed escarpment of sandstone which extends throughout the length of the proposed monument...Here also is exhibited the work of erosion in the modeling of buttressed cliff and talus slope which are a predominating note in the physiography of the Colorado River watershed.⁹⁸

Mentioned as a contributing factor were the “archeological remains of the Basketmakers.”

Grazing interests and the concerns of private landowners in Fruita were also addressed. To insure proper protection for the new monument, all previous land withdrawals were revoked by the secretary of interior. This included the Federal Power Reserve sites, the 120 acres withdrawn by the State of Utah in 1930, and 3,480 acres which had been reserved for stock driveways. The secretary also signed an order excluding all monument lands from the grazing districts, thereby prohibiting grazing on any portion of the new monument. In return, the proclamation would include special regulations to accommodate the livestock drives through the area, specifying:

Nothing herein shall prevent the movement of livestock across the lands included in this monument under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior and upon driveways to be specially designated by said Secretary.⁹⁹

As for the security of private lands, the proclamation specifically protected all valid, existing rights. The approximately 1,880 acres in private ownership, mostly in Fruita, were therefore not immediately affected by the establishment of the monument.¹⁰⁰

The final boundary was very similar to that agreed upon by Patraw, Toll, and Pectol a year earlier. Capitol Reef National Monument would be 37,060 acres, approximately 58 square

⁹⁷ Ise, Our National Park Policy, 422-423.

⁹⁸ West (for Ickes) to Roosevelt, 26 July 1937, OF 928, NPS 1937-38, Box 1, Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

⁹⁹ Presidential Proclamation, “Establishment of Capitol Reef National Monument,” Proclamation 2246, Federal Register 2, No. 151, 2 August 1937: 136. The impact of grazing on the monument is described in Volume II, Chapter 12.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*; West to Roosevelt, 26 July 1937.

miles. Its dimensions were about 18 miles from the northwest tip to the southeast corner. It was roughly two to five miles wide. The only major change was elimination of the Fremont River gorge west of Fruita. Also added were small sections of land selected so that the road between Fruita and Capitol Gorge would lie almost entirely within the monument boundaries and Sections 5 and 29 , Township 29, Range 7, so that the eastern boundary was a straighter line. Fruita remained within the monument, as did the southern half of Meeks Mesa. Capitol Reef, the heart of the Waterpocket Fold down to the Wayne-Garfield County line, was the backbone of the newest unit of the National Park Service (Fig. 22).

On August 2, 1937, Capitol Reef National Monument was officially established. At the dedication ceremony on September 25, an optimistic future for Capitol Reef was predicted by every dignitary and supporter. Gathered at Echo Rock in Grand Wash were, among others, Gov. Blood, Rep. Murdock, Frank Martines and Ray Carr of the ACCSU, National Park Service Regional Director Kittredge, and Superintendent Patraw. The master of ceremonies was, of course, Ephraim Pectol, who after more than a decade of persistent work had finally seen his dream come true.¹⁰¹

Predictably, the elected officials spoke of the opportunities for economic stimulus that the new monument would mean for Wayne County and all of Utah. They voiced the need for rapid development of roads and tourist facilities so that visitors from around the country could come and enjoy the scenic splendors around them. The link between Capitol Reef's establishment and improved roads was again a prominent theme, just as it had been at the 1925 celebration. Gov. Blood declared:

It needs no prophet's vision to foresee the time when this monument will be one of a chain of similarly valuable scenic attractions, and when a highway system will link them with the natural bridges and the Mesa Verde National Park to the East; with the Bryce Canyon, Zion and Grand Canyon National Parks to the south, and by way of Fish Lake and the sky line road with the attractions of the Wasatch Mountains extending to the north.¹⁰²

Blood also spoke of the need to preserve the archeological artifacts that were being stolen and vandalized across the state. Perhaps most interesting, however, is Blood's reference to the need for federal help in preserving, as well as developing, the monument's resources. He predicted:

¹⁰¹ Richfield Reaper, 30 September 1937.

¹⁰² Henry H. Blood Dedication Speech, (typed copy) 5, File CR 101-01, 79-60A-354, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

Proper control, or at least better control than there has been in the past, will result from the establishment of this Capitol Reef National Monument. Uncle Sam will help us, and indeed, may direct us. At least we shall have the advantage of the leadership and advice of the men skilled in the handling of such problems, whom the park service may send here or choose to train from among our own people.¹⁰³

Thus, it seemed that at least the governor was willing to listen to the National Park Service plans to protect this fledgling national monument. Few of the local residents, however, realized just how long it would take to develop and implement those plans.

Regional Director Kittredge, the highest ranking federal government official in attendance, spoke of the need to preserve the “primitive naturalness” of the national parks, alluding to damage from overgrazing as he declared:

There are great public domains which must not be devastated by erosion else our children’s children must move out or starve as has happened to great areas in central China — once fertile, now barren wastes — as has begun to happen to a few of our own region....Our Secretary [Ickes] is determined...to protect the public domain against erosion.¹⁰⁴

Kittredge tempered these remarks by speaking of the need and desire to develop roads and trails in the monument, but before such development could be made, he stressed, there must be a comprehensive study of the area. “We cannot afford to go into this new region,” he declared, “before a scientific study has been made of objectives which must be reached and those which must not be disturbed.”¹⁰⁵

For Pectol and the other early promoters of Wayne Wonderland, the need for planning was probably forgotten in the jubilant celebration of their achievement. Pectol and the others surely believed now that the monument was established, the roads would be built and the tourists would come. Yet, history of the monument’s creation might have foreshadowed the delays and struggles to come.

Summary And Conclusions

From the earliest attempts at promotion through the abortive state park movement, the local boosters acted independently, on their own. No one had heard of, much less visited, their Wayne Wonderland due its isolation. Once the National Park Service began to investigate the area, there were continual delays due to boundary questions, far-reaching distractions such as the Escalante National Monument proposal, and the opposition from local ranchers.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 4.

¹⁰⁴ Frank Kittredge Dedication Speech, Ibid., 1.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 2.

The isolation of Capitol Reef would continue until a paved road was finally built through the Fremont River canyon in the early 1960s. The physical barriers of the Waterpocket Fold and the Colorado Plateau would prevent a fast, through highway from being constructed until then. Because the physical barriers prevented access, National Park Service development was also slow in arriving. When development plans and expansion were finally ready to breach these barriers, the old opposition from ranchers and other multiple-use proponents once again emerged. The crossroads at which Capitol Reef found itself in the late 1960s was first encountered in the struggles to create the national monument in the 1930s. The cast had changed, but the issues and problems remained the same.

For an account of the growth and evolution of National Park Service management of Capitol Reef from 1937 turn to Chapter 5; or continue on to read of the monument's expansion in the 1950s and late 1960s, and its establishment as a national park in 1971.

Figure 16. Fruita school class with Gov. George Dern, 1925.



Figure 17. 1933 monument boundaries, as proposed by Utah State Legislature.

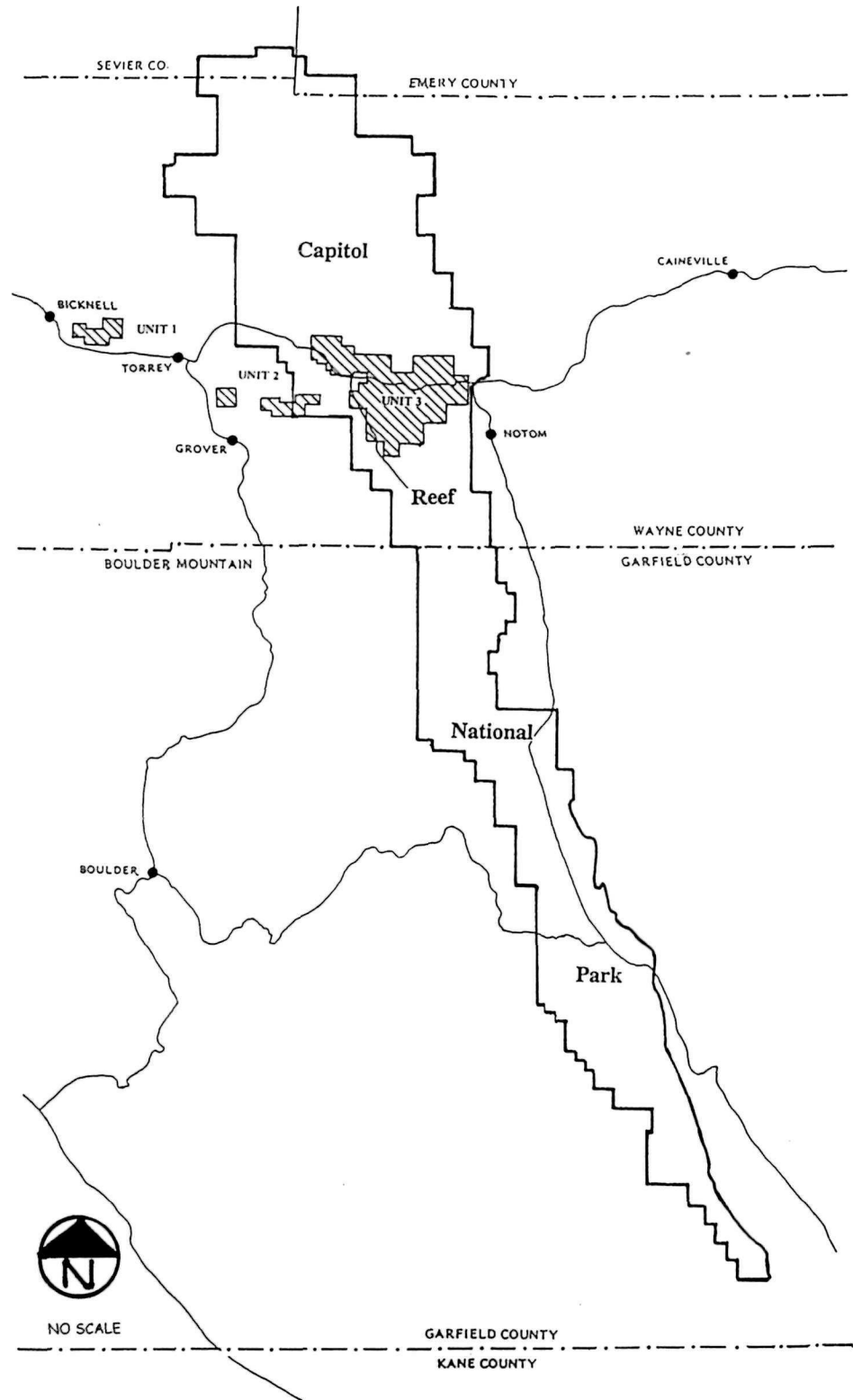
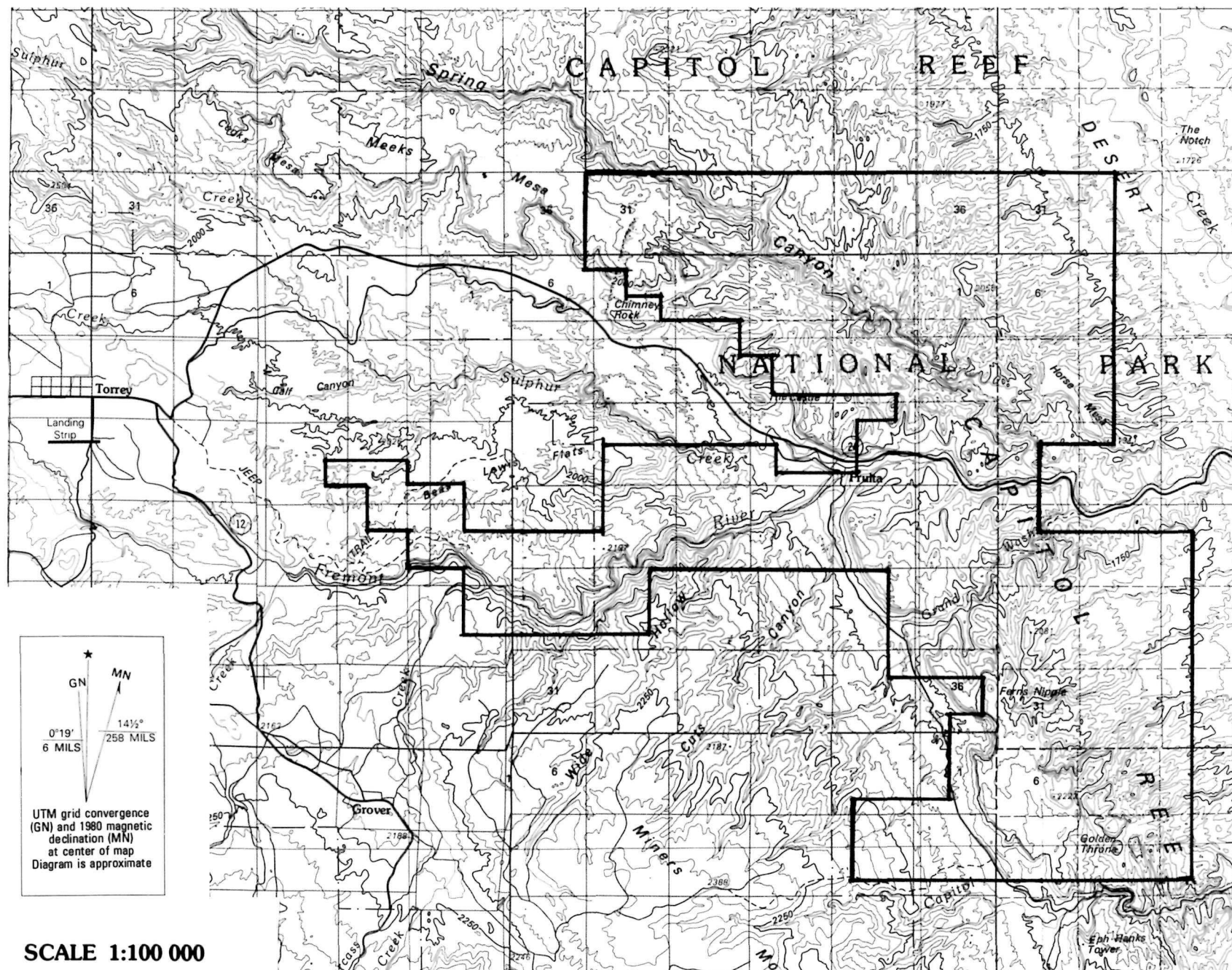


Figure 18. 1934 monument boundaries, as proposed by Roger Toll.



UTAH

STATE PLANNING BOARD -

PROPOSED PARK TO PARK SCENIC HI-WAY

S.R. DE BOER, PLANNING CONSULTANT.
DEAN R. BRIMWALL, DIRECTOR.

NATIONAL FORESTS: [Symbol] PROPOSED NATL PARKS
NATIONAL PARKS: [Symbol] NATIONAL MONUMENTS
EXISTING HI-WAYS: [Symbol] PROPOSED HI-WAYS

MARCH-1955
G.C.T.

FIGURE 32

Figure 20. 1935 boundaries as proposed by Preston Patraw.

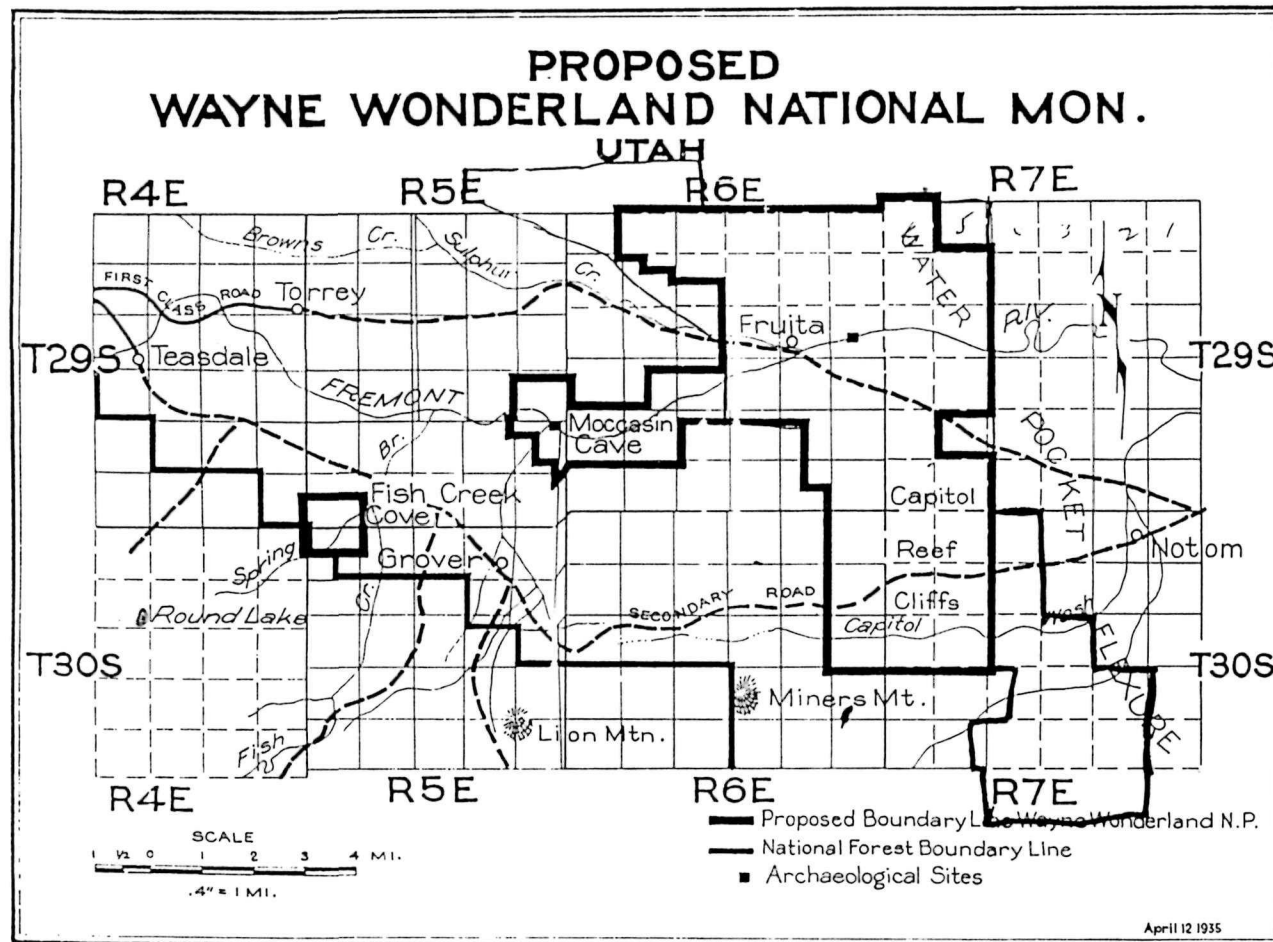


Figure 21. 1936 proposed Escalante National Monument boundaries, from "Notes on Proposed Escalante National Monument," April 1936, Utah Economic Resources 1930-1949. Utah State Archives.

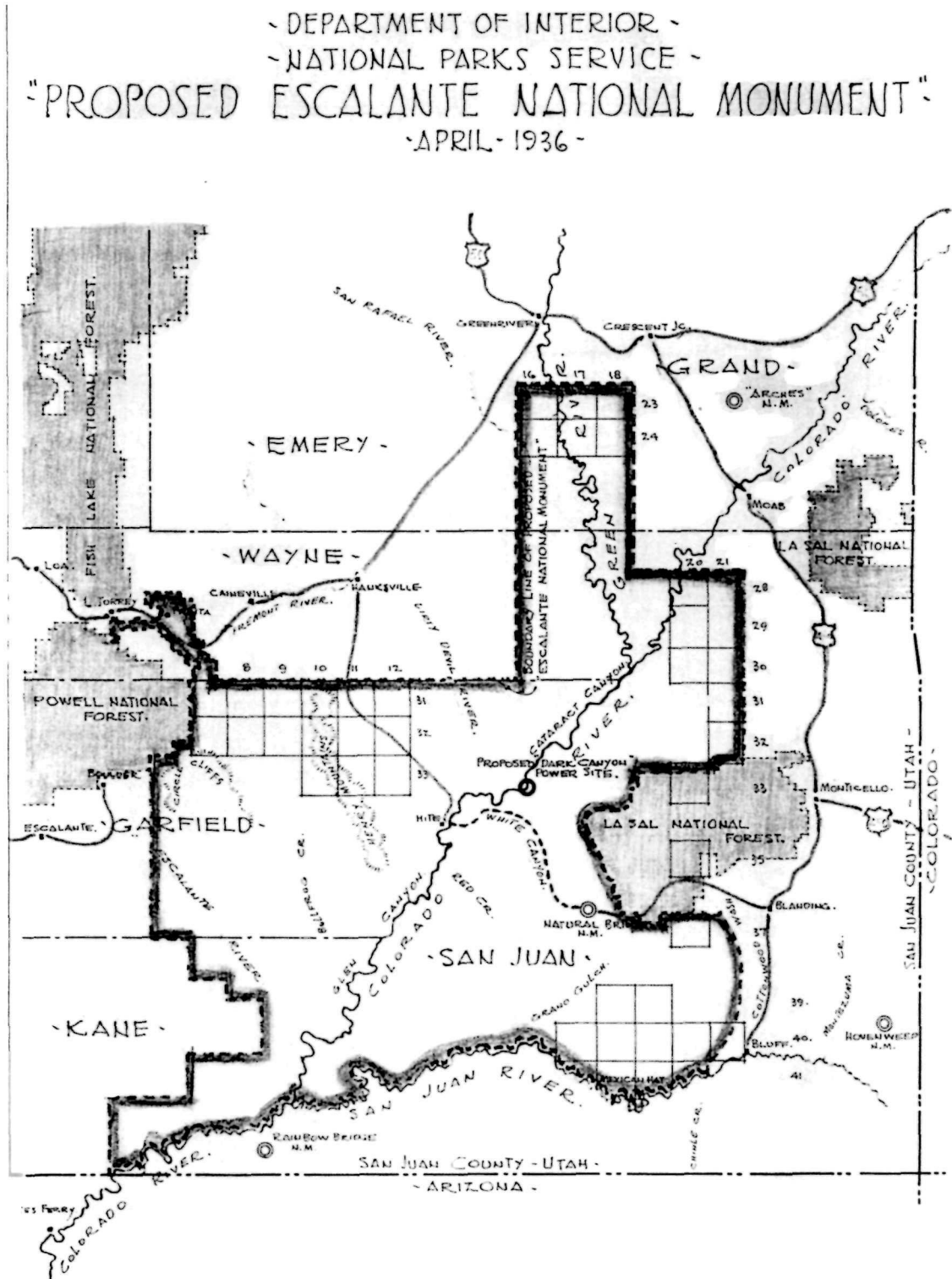
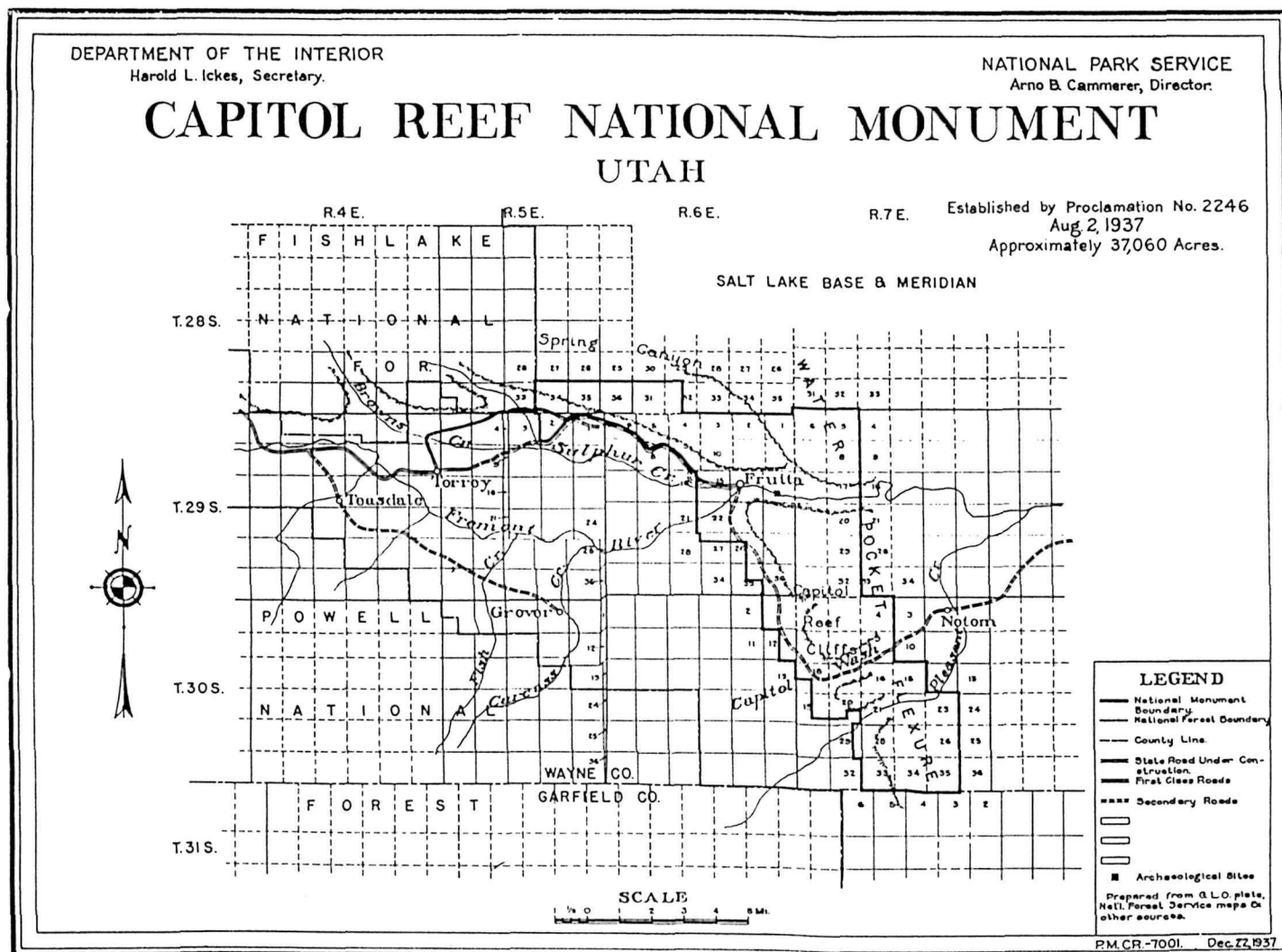


Figure 22. 1937 final boundaries, Capitol Reef National Monument.



CHAPTER 9

1950s EXPANSION PROPOSALS AND BOUNDARY ADJUSTMENTS

After Capitol Reef National Monument was proclaimed in 1937, it remained on inactive status for 13 years. With little money appropriated and Custodian Charles Kelly paid a nominal salary, the monument was protected more by its physical isolation than by National Park Service vigilance. After 1950, the road improvement began and the post-war tourist boom started spilling over into the rugged Colorado Plateau.

To protect and make public some of the stark, rugged landscapes north of Capitol Reef, Kelly led a long effort to expand the monument's boundaries to include Cathedral and Goblin Valleys. While neither area was brought under National Park Service control during the 1950s, the reports and publicity generated by the official surveys and Kelly's promotions led directly to establishing Goblin Valley State Park, and later to including Cathedral Valley in the monument's 1969 expansion.

Even as Kelly was urging the National Park Service to expand Capitol Reef's boundaries northward, a quieter, more limited proposal to encompass the Utah Highway 24 right-of-way west of Fruita resulted in the only boundary adjustments from 1937 to 1969.

Cathedral And Goblin Valley Proposals

Ten miles north of Capitol Reef National Monument's original boundaries lies the Middle Desert, an open, desolate valley flanked by impressive orange and white cliffs. The enormous plateau that once stretched from the Waterpocket Fold to the San Rafael Swell has eroded away, leaving a few isolated mesas. The buttes and pinnacles of Entrada silt and sandstone rise as much as a thousand feet above the flat, barren lands and dry washes at their base. It looks like a Monument Valley made from clay, instead of stone (Fig. 23). Throughout this Cathedral Valley, as Charles Kelly named it, are dikes and sills of starkly contrasting black basalt, remnants of volcanic activity that never quite reached the surface.

This is the country through which John C. Fremont's party passed while searching for a central railroad route in 1854. It is known best by the stockmen who used the valleys and mesa tops for winter grazing. Access has always been by rough, dirt roads that are impassable when wet. In the late 1940s, Charles Kelly began a personal crusade to include Cathedral Valley within Capitol Reef National Monument.

The investigation into Cathedral Valley as monument material began with a 1948 letter from Kelly to Zion Superintendent Charles Smith, suggesting Cathedral Valley as a possible addition to Capitol Reef. Kelly proposed to annex the country north of Capitol Reef to include the South Desert and upper and lower Cathedral Valley. The South Desert was to be included for its scenery and because an access road could be built through it to Cathedral Valley.¹ Ten miles to the southeast, the smaller lower Cathedral Valley, which Kelly also wanted to include, could be accessed from a rough road running between Caineville and an oil well site northeast of the monument. With his proposal, Kelly enclosed a map on which he sketched an “L” shaped addition to Capitol Reef. Although out of scale, the sketch indicates that Kelly wanted to include only the South Desert access and the northern cliff lines of Cathedral Valley. He felt the area was worthy of monument inclusion because of its outstanding scenery. Kelly argued:

“[I]n fact, parts of it are superior to anything we have in the present monument. Since there are no roads in the area it has remained unknown; but it has lately been penetrated on foot, horseback and by jeep. Eventual construction of a road would not be difficult. Such a road would enable visitors to make a loop trip without retracing and add immensely to the scenic value.”²

The problem with acquiring this land was, as Kelly acknowledged, the fact that it was extensively used for winter grazing. In the early 20th century, there had been a homestead, supposedly built by a Blackburn family member, on Bullberry Creek at the head of South Desert. It was abandoned when a rancher north of Cathedral Valley built a ditch on the high ground to the west, usurping the water draining off of Thousand Lake Mountain and leaving the lower ranch dry.³ By the 1940s, the land Kelly wanted was all public domain. Nevertheless, he predicted, “there would be some opposition from cattlemen who have grazing rights there.” Kelly’s solution to potential resistance from stockmen was to compromise and continue to offer grazing in Cathedral Valley. In a letter arguing his case, he posited:

[T]here is good bunch grass [but] so far as I can see grazing does not injure the scenic value, and if it could be continued under some arrangement, cattlemen

¹ The existence of more than one name for areas in Capitol Reef’s North District is confusing. South Desert is the valley drained by Polk Creek between the Waterpocket Fold and the Hartnet Mesas. The lower end of this valley is sometimes referred to as South Draw. Charles Kelly changed the name of the area where most of the escarpments and pinnacles are found from “Middle Desert” to “Cathedral Valley.” Ranchers who use the area still refer to it as the Middle Desert.

² Kelly to Charles Smith, 28 August 1948, File 601, Accession #79-60A-354, Box 2, Container #63180, Records of the National Park Service (RG 79), National Archives - Rocky Mountain Region, Denver (hereafter referred to as NA-Denver).

³ Guy Pace, interview with Brad Frye, 13 February 1991, tape recording and transcript, Capitol Reef National Park Archives, 30-31. According to Pace, Blackburn put up some fences but never built a house, which is probably why there is no documentation associated with this homestead. There are also pieces of steel machinery and evidence of attempts to plow the ground.

would be glad to have it set aside, hoping some day to get a road built through it, which they could use. Otherwise it would be difficult to prevent grazing without fencing the whole section, on the open (north) side.⁴

Kelly was thus proposing the first substantial addition to Capitol Reef National Monument. To include Cathedral Valley, he was willing to allow grazing in exchange for roads and protection of the scenery. Kelly's suggestion must have been taken seriously, as it was included as a possible boundary adjustment in the 1949 Master Plan.⁵

Twenty miles northeast of Cathedral Valley (75 miles away by road) there is another, more peculiar valley shaped from the eroded Entrada Sandstone. Here, at the base of the enormous San Rafael Swell, are hundreds of chunks of the burnt orange Entrada. The sandstone is a little harder there than at Cathedral Valley, so it has eroded differently. Instead of seeing sweeping cliff lines, the visitor is greeted by a basin full of delightful hoodoos of every shape and size, sculpted by occasional summer rains, winter snows, and relentless desert winds. Stockmen have disregarded the area because it has very little grass and no water, and a large hill hides the valley from view of travelers on the old road between Hanksville and Green River. It was not until 1949, then, that the first known sightseeing party came to this bowl of bizarre hoodoos and named it Goblin Valley.⁶

Kelly inspected the valley, too, and tried to interest National Park Service in acquiring it. Actually, because the barren Goblin Valley was less attractive to grazing interests than the heavily grazed Cathedral Valley, it stood a better chance of monument status.

At the end of June 1950, an official National Park Service team investigated both Cathedral and Goblin Valleys. The team included Regional Park Planner John Kell from the Santa Fe office; Assistant Superintendent Chester A. Thomas and Chief Ranger Fred Fagergren, both of Zion National Park; Kelly; and, on the trip to Goblin Valley, Doc Inglesby, the retired dentist and avocational geologist from Fruita. The investigators spent a couple of days in the field that summer and continued their research into the fall. Kell recommended to Regional Director Minor Tillotson that more complete field studies of both areas be made the next year, but because Goblin Valley was potentially more subject to vandalism, he suggested it be considered for protection as soon as possible.⁷

Thomas reported only on Cathedral Valley. According to Thomas, Wayne County records showed no private land in the area, although the Bureau of Land Management managed grazing allotments there for about 20 ranchers. The land itself, however, had

⁴ Kelly to Smith, 28 August 1948.

⁵ "1949 Master Plan and Development Outline," File 600-01, 79-60A-354, Box 2, RG 79, NA-Denver, 6.

⁶ "Field Report on Goblin Valley," September 1951, Box 2, Folder 8, Capitol Reef National Park Archives, 10.

⁷ "Cathedral Valley and Valley of the Goblins, Summary," 24 November 1950, Box 1, Folder 7, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

nothing but “sparse vegetative cover [which] would not seem to lend itself to economical grazing.” Thomas also indicated that there were no mineral leases on record in the area, although both oil and uranium were found nearby. Emphasized throughout these reports was the unique, scenic geology; there was little obvious evidence of wildlife or archeological remains. Thomas recommended, “Because of the high scenic value and lack of other values...the area known as Cathedral Valley and the South Desert [should] be further studied as to its suitability for monument purposes.”⁸

It was never firmly decided whether these areas would be administered as completely separate national monuments or as an extended portion of Capitol Reef. Kelly seemed to assume that Cathedral Valley would be annexed onto the northern boundary and that Goblin Valley would be a separate unit administered by the superintendent of Capitol Reef. As discussions progressed through the 1950s, however, Goblin Valley is mentioned more often as a separate national monument.

Those further studies of Cathedral and Goblin Valleys were postponed due to concerns over inappropriate publicity and potential conflicts with the Atomic Energy Commission. In August 1950 and again in August of 1951, the regional director wrote memoranda warning that premature publicity regarding monument investigations for Cathedral Valley and Goblin Valley could stir conflicts with state officials and private land owners. In both cases, Kelly and Zion Superintendent Smith assured the regional office that precautions were being taken, arguing that it was “ridiculous” to “disclaim all knowledge of the areas and where they are located.” In fact, contemporary periodicals, particularly Desert Magazine, were promoting both locations; consequently, large numbers of sightseers, photographers and artists were taking the rough roads and trails in order to enjoy the unique landscapes. After all, it was the threat posed by increased visitation that justified proposing the area for monument protection in the first place. Also, rumors of National Park Service interest were fueled by the necessary inquiries to the BLM regarding grazing permits, and by the search for mining and homestead deeds in the Wayne and Emery County courthouses. In such small, multiple-use-dependent communities, word was bound to be widely circulated about any possible change in federal management of the lands of southern Utah.⁹

The delays caused by the AEC concerned potential uranium finds within Capitol Reef National Monument. In early 1951, the extent of uranium was not yet known, so all investigations regarding potential additions to Capitol Reef were postponed indefinitely. By July, however, an informal agreement was reached whereby the expansion-related

⁸ Thomas to Zion Superintendent, 26 July 1950, File 610-02, 79-60A-354, Box 2, RG 79, NA-Denver.

⁹ Smith to Regional Director, 30 August 1951; Kelly to Zion Superintendent, 19 August 1950; and Preston Patraw to Smith, 10 August 1951, all in File 610-02, 79-60A-354, Box 2, RG 79, NA-Denver.

investigations could continue so long as the AEC was consulted before any such action was formally proposed.¹⁰

The more extensive investigations of Cathedral and Goblin Valleys finally began in September 1951. A large party of National Park Service officials, including Leo Deiderich from the Washington office, John Kell and Harold Marsh from Santa Fe, and BLM representatives from Salt Lake City and Richfield spent two days in each area photographing and discussing potential boundaries and conflicts. Their guides were Charles Kelly and tour guide Worthen Jackson, of Fremont, and their report was similar to the one issued a year earlier. The one significant change was the elimination of Cathedral Valley from further consideration. For Goblin Valley, however, national monument status was still a possibility.¹¹

By the summer of 1952, the National Park Service determined that Goblin Valley was perhaps better suited to be a state park, although the justification for this is not explained in the documentation.¹² The only problem with this plan was that Utah did not have an established state park system, and there was little money to begin one. Thus, Utah Gov. J. Bracken Lee argued that Goblin Valley should be given national monument status, instead. Goblin Valley was being tossed between the National Park Service and the State of Utah like a hot potato.¹³ Until the National Park Service could determine how to proceed with Goblin Valley, the regional office decided at least to petition the BLM to withdraw the proposed lands from potential mining while continuing to allow grazing privileges.¹⁴

The land, however, was never officially withdrawn from mining, and the issue was suspended until 1956. In March, Utah Sen. Arthur Watkins wrote a scathing letter to Interior Secretary Douglas McKay, opposing any new national monuments in Utah unless the local people were adequately consulted and the lands were adequately developed, in contrast to “the almost complete neglect” the National Park Service had shown toward Arches, Capitol Reef, and Natural Bridges National Monuments.¹⁵

¹⁰ Director Demaray to Regional Director, 19 March 1951 and 6 July 1951, Ibid.

¹¹ “Field Report on Goblin Valley,” September 1951, Kelly to Kell, 2 January 1952, Ibid. There is nothing in the reports or correspondence that specifies why Cathedral Valley was dropped from consideration. Former concerns over the amount of grazing in Cathedral Valley plus the mention that Goblin Valley had no grazing permits at all suggests that grazing was the reason for excluding Cathedral Valley at this time.

¹² Regional Director to BLM Region 4 Administrator, 3 July 1952, Ibid. From here on, the records pertaining to Goblin Valley are sketchy.

¹³ Patraw to National Park Service Director, 9 November 1953, File L58, 79-67A-505, Box 1, Container #342490, RG 79, NA-Denver.

¹⁴ Patraw to BLM Region 4 Administrator, 8 September 1952, File 610-02, 79-67A-354, Box 2, RG 79, NA-Denver.

¹⁵ Senator Arthur Watkins to Secretary Douglas McKay, 29 March 1956, File L58, 79-67A-505, Box 1, RG 79, NA-Denver.

In the summer of 1956, newly appointed Regional Director Hugh M. Miller determined to see Goblin Valley for himself. According to Miller, the area was interesting and unique, but, he wrote,

I do not feel that it is an area of great importance....It seems to me that the better strategy would be to have the citizens, and the officials, of the state of Utah 'chase us' with this area rather than for us to pursue its establishment vigorously.¹⁶

Miller felt the area was not significant enough to do battle with the local residents and state officials over national monument status: if the people of Utah wanted a Goblin Valley National Monument, they had to demonstrate that desire. So far, that had not been the case. By 1958, newly elected Gov. George D. Clyde liked the National Park Service idea of Goblin Valley as a state park, and so "accordingly the NPS will take no further action to secure National Monument status for this area."¹⁷

Thus ended initial attempts to increase dramatically the size of Capitol Reef National Monument by adding Cathedral Valley to the north, and to annex Goblin Valley or establish it as a separate national monument. Goblin Valley eventually became a state park many years later. As for Cathedral Valley, its future is told in the next chapters.

The 1958 Boundary Expansion

At the same time that Cathedral and Goblin Valleys were being proposed as possible extensions to Capitol Reef, other suggested boundary adjustments were also being considered.

When the monument was created in 1937, the boundary ran along the northern right-of-way to Utah Highway 24 from southwest of Twin Rocks, past Chimney Rock, to the Castle formation. This boundary had been suggested by Roger Toll during the final boundary revisions in 1935, in order to avoid complications with the road's maintenance.¹⁸

The problem was that the road in those days followed the usually dry wash bottoms in several locations. When summer floods changed the course of the wash, the repaired road was realigned to one side or the other, thereby changing the monument's boundary each time the grader came through. The situation was magnified in 1952 when a new, graveled section of Utah Highway 24 was completed between Twin Rocks and Chimney Rock, swinging the road's right-of-way northward by almost one mile.¹⁹ Construction of a completely realigned and paved Utah Highway 24 from Torrey to Fruita in the late 1950s

¹⁶ Regional Director's Report to Files, 1 August 1956, Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid. Also see map showing "Status of Area Investigation Activities, Region Three," July 1958, in the same file.

¹⁸ See Chapter 8.

¹⁹ "Roads and Trails Map," February 1949, Document #158-2101, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, Technical Information Center, Denver.

would cause further confusion. Toll's idea of making the road the boundary to avoid road construction concerns was simply not working. The obvious solution was to extend the monument to include the entire road from the western to the eastern boundary. Besides avoiding boundary realignments, this would give Capitol Reef more control over future road construction and maintenance. A limited boundary adjustment to include at least some of the road was proposed in the 1949 Master Plan. According to the plan, the road boundary was of concern because it was

a primitive, unimproved one running across the prairie and through sandy washes[.] [I]ts location [was] frequently changed by floods and the vagaries of the traveling public. It would seem more desirable to place the boundary by section lines or a natural feature less subject to change.²⁰

The 1949 Master Plan also recommended some additional lands be added to the monument to buffer the scenic Waterpocket Fold from public domain to the west. Another continuing problem with the boundaries was that they were both unfenced and largely unsurveyed. In such rugged, rocky terrain covered by numerous steep, narrow canyons, cliffs, and terraces it was difficult to determine exact boundary lines in the field. Even near Fruita, the lack of boundary markers caused problems. For example, in early 1949, Kelly erected an entrance sign on "a section corner just east of Sulphur Creek crossing." The sign was torn down every few days until Kelly learned that Cass Mulford claimed the western half of the section was his. While this matter was eventually resolved, the exact boundary lines on the ground, especially the northern and southern lines where they crossed the Waterpocket Fold, would not be adequately determined for several years.²¹

Meanwhile, attempts to include the highway within the monument continued. The 1951 Boundary Status Report proposed that new boundaries be adjusted to run along section lines that would include the entire western approach of the state highway, from the hill west of Twin Rocks (today's western boundary) to Fruita. The state's Section 16 (all Sections 16 were set aside for the state to generate revenue for public schools), immediately west of Fruita, was included in the proposal to insure adequate protection in case the state decided to sell or lease the land. Section 21, immediately south of the state section, was also proposed as part of this boundary revision. Much of Cass Mulford's ranch lay within this section, but planners believed he wouldn't object to this. An additional 80 acres were needed to add a portion of the state highway between Fruita and Capitol Gorge (in its old alignment) (Fig. 24).

²⁰ "1949 Master Plan and Development Outline," 6.

²¹ Kelly to Smith, 27 February 1949, File 602, 79-60A0354, Box 2, RG 79, NA-Denver.

Two 40-acre tracts were also advocated, to incorporate the Pleasant Creek access road just in case it was chosen as the later route for Utah Highway 24.²²

The justification for these additions was primarily to include roadways not initially encompassed by the original boundaries. Scientific justification for adding land south of Utah Highway 24 was to protect fossil tracks, which “promise[d] to be even more important scientifically that those within the monument on the other side of the road.”²³

These trackways, later identified as the footprints of swimming *Chirotheria* (reptilian precursors to the dinosaurs, that lived 200 million years ago), had been studied by Dr. Charles Camp and others for several years. Charles Kelly was adamant about protecting them.²⁴ (Kelly saved several blocks of Moenkopi siltstone with these trackway impressions from almost certain destruction during construction of Utah Highway 24 in 1956, leaning them up against the ranger station, where they still stand today.)²⁵ Thus, there were resource issues as well as practical issues whose resolution depended on the boundary amendments.

Throughout the 1950s, the uncertain status of the road created “several hundred acres of ‘no-man’s land.’”²⁶ The National Park Service decided to postpone making boundary adjustments until after construction of the new road. Meanwhile, the southern boundary, which was the Wayne/Garfield County line, was finally surveyed in July, 1952. With a clear southern boundary, Kelly and the omnipresent uranium miners could now tell whether tunnels were being dug in the monument. Fortunately, most of the mining claims along the southern border were in Garfield County, outside of the monument.²⁷

By June 1957, the newly aligned and paved Utah Highway 24 was finished from Torrey to Fruita.²⁸ The paved road brought renewed hope to Wayne County residents who had been waiting 20 years for tourist dollars. The finished road delighted Superintendent Kelly because of the visitation it would bring, and because those visitors would induce the park service to spend a good deal of Mission 66 money developing facilities at Capitol Reef.

²² “Boundary Status Report,” 11 June 1951, *Ibid.* Also see Chapters 6 and 7 on the debate over Pleasant Creek or Fruita as the eventual headquarters location.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Charles Kelly, “Ancient Trackways,” Charles Kelly Unpublished Writings, Capitol Reef Unprocessed Archives.

²⁵ Superintendent's Monthly Reports, December 1956, Box 4, Folder 3, Capitol Reef National Park Archives (hereafter referred to as Monthly Reports).

²⁶ Patraw to Zion Superintendent, 25 November 1952, File 602, 79-60A-354, Box 2, RG 79, NA-Denver.

²⁷ Thomas to Regional Director, 8 August 1951; Kelly to Zion Superintendent, 20 February 1952 and 27 July 1952, *Ibid.*

²⁸ Monthly Report, June 1957.

The most immediate effect of the road's completion, however, was that it enabled National Park Service officials finally to propose specific boundary revisions for the area west of Fruita.

In early 1957, with the new road's alignment established, the proposed boundary revisions were approved by the director and Utah congressional delegation and were aired in public hearings in Cedar City on June 12. Arches Superintendent Bates Wilson and Les Arnesberger, of the regional office, attended the meeting and told Kelly on their way home that "there was no opposition at the hearings and the meeting only lasted two hours."²⁹

The proposed boundary expansion received little attention because it was very modest, including no land then being mined or grazed. Documentation regarding the final adjustments is lacking, but something motivated National Park Service officials to change the boundary west of Fruita from section lines to the natural outline created by the deep, impressive Sulphur Creek canyon. Such an obvious--and very scenic--border would be easier to patrol and monitor than would invisible section lines. Now the complete landscape between Spring Canyon and Sulphur Creek would be within the monument. Agency officials also decided to include all of Section 16, just west of the ranger station, but to eliminate the Mulford property in Section 21 from the final boundary adjustment.

South of Fruita, other small adjustments were made. The remaining 240 acres of the section west of Grand Wash were added to include a small section of the old highway's alignment near the Egyptian Temple formation, which had been left out of the original monument. A couple of small tracts north of the old Floral Ranch were also added to the revised boundaries to include the old Pleasant Creek access road. Only the road itself was included within the new boundary, leaving Lurton Knee's land untouched (Fig. 25). The entire boundary extension added 3,040 acres, increasing the total size of Capitol Reef National Monument to 39,185 acres. The boundary revision was formally authorized by President Dwight D. Eisenhower's proclamation on July 2, 1958.³⁰

Thus, by the end of the 1950s Capitol Reef's boundaries were set. Southern and northern boundary surveys had pinpointed the exact location of the monument, and the 1958 expansion brought all of Utah Highway 24 under monument control, from the northwestern boundary through Capitol Gorge. During these 1950s boundary questions, official correspondence did not address any disagreements between local residents or

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Presidential Proclamation, "Enlarging The Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah, Proclamation #3249," 3 C.F.R. 160 (1954-58 Compilation). There is confusion over the exact acreage of the expanded monument. If one adds the 37,060 acres listed in the 1937 presidential proclamation to the 3,040 acres in the 1958 expansion proclamation, the total acreage should be 40,100 acres. Yet, in the 1964 Master Plan (Box 3, Folder 1, Capitol Reef National Park Archives) the new acreage is listed as 39,172.63 acres; and in the National Park Service's 1970 Legislative Support Data, the figure is 39,185 acres (File W3815, #79-73A-136, Container #790698, Box 4, RG 79, NA-Denver). While more research is needed to explain these discrepancies, I suggest that the differences are due to more recent, precise boundary surveys.

elected officials and the National Park Service concerning the various proposals. An adamant letter from Utah Sen. Watkins may have influenced National Park Service officials to re-evaluate monument status for Goblin Valley, but they were already leaning toward state control, anyway. The minimal expansion of 1958 seems to have been noncontroversial. In short, it seems the National Park Service was willing to move slowly and/or compromise in regard to expansion and development, to insure good will toward Capitol Reef. In turn, local residents and elected officials seemed more concerned with finally developing Capitol Reef than with minor adjustments to its boundaries. This lack of conflict stands in stark difference to the battles waged over the impacts from Mission 66 development, and to the volatile debate over the monument's next expansion in 1969.

Chapter 7 provides a general overview of Capitol Reef management concerns from 1955 to 1966; the following chapters cover the 1969 monument expansion to the 1971 creation of Capitol Reef National Park.

Figure 23. Cathedral Valley; view southeast toward the Henry Mountains. (NPS file photo)



Figure 24. 1951 proposed annexations to Capitol Reef National Monument.

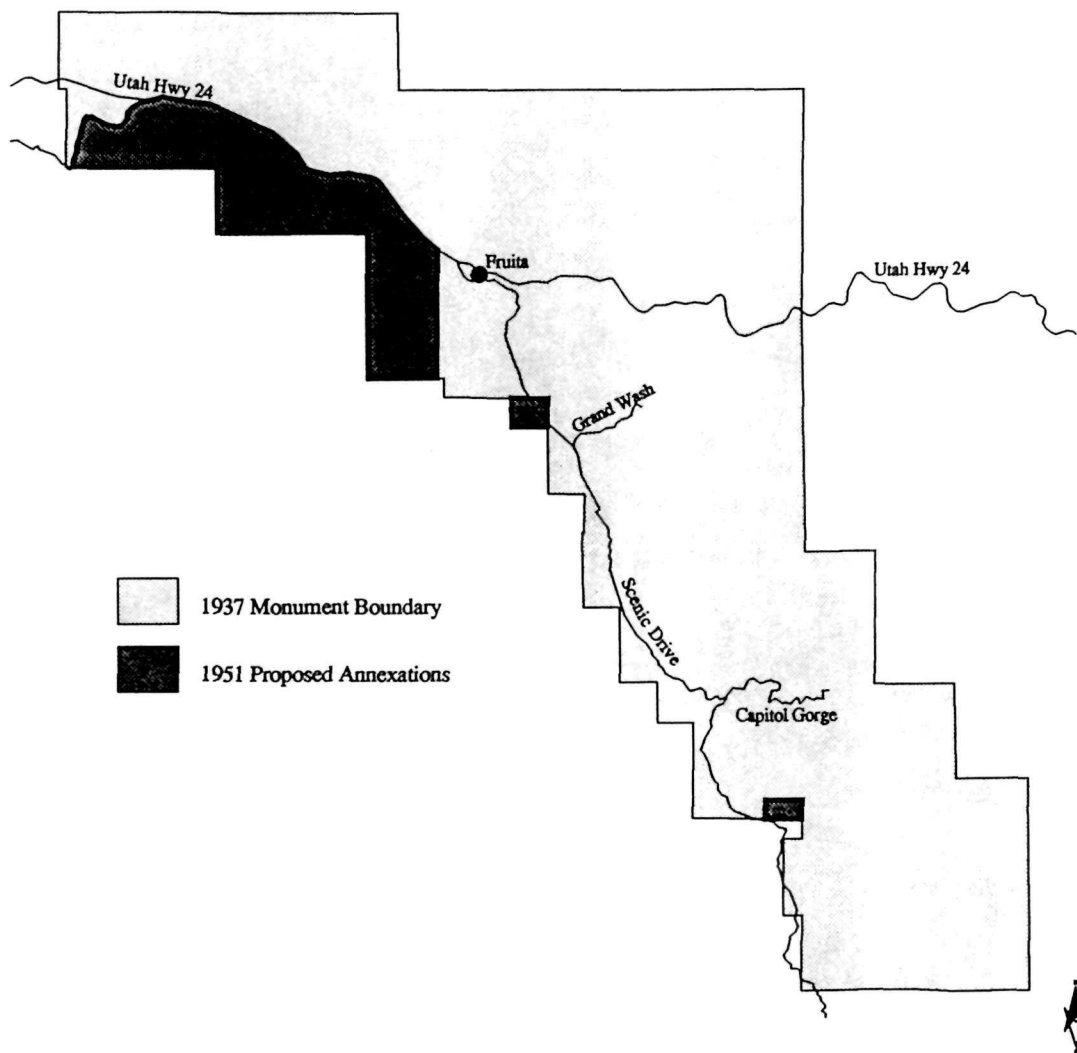
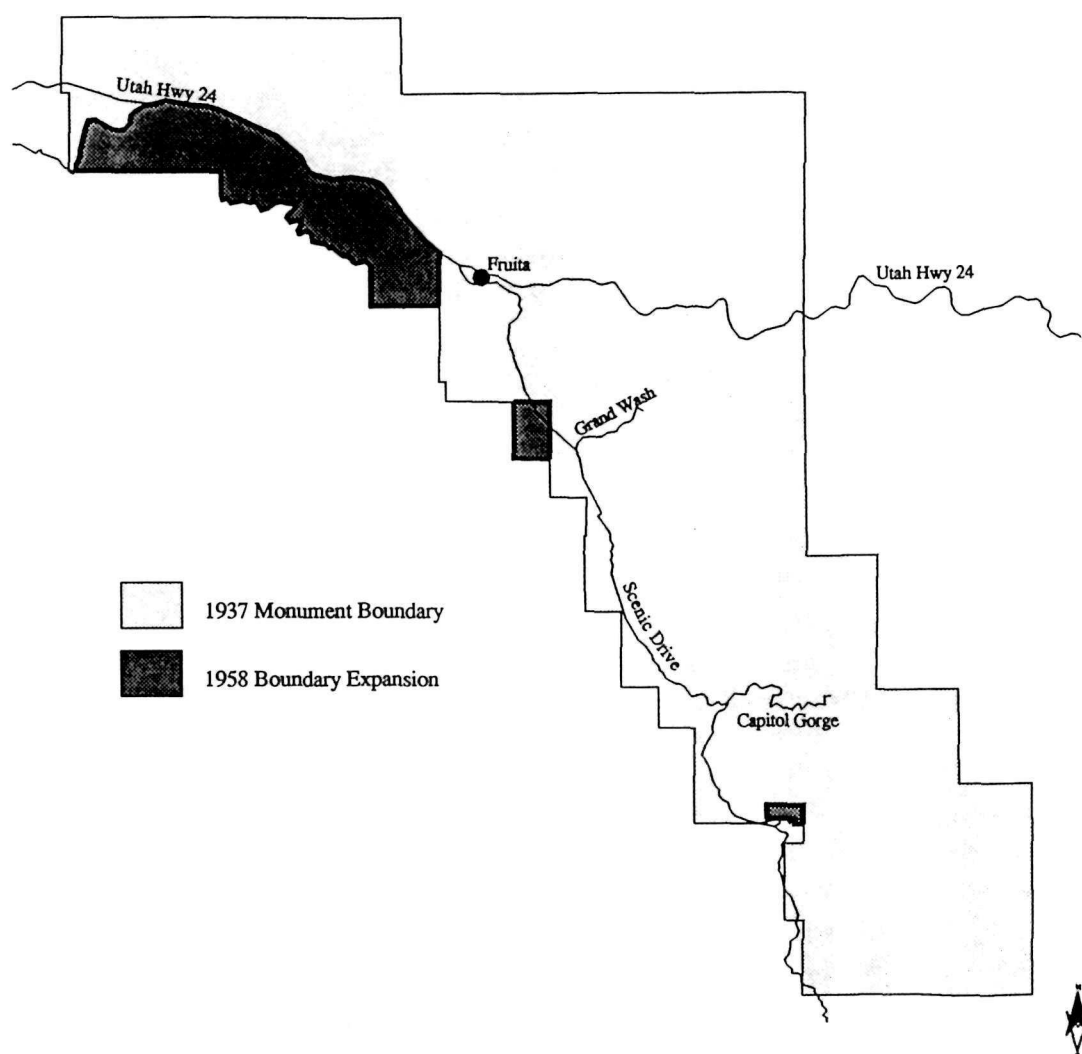


Figure 25. 1958 boundary expansion, Capitol Reef National Monument.



CHAPTER 10

PARK, WILDERNESS AND MONUMENT EXPANSION PROPOSALS, 1961- 1969

On January 20, 1969, as his last official act as president, Lyndon Johnson signed a proclamation expanding Capitol Reef's boundary by six times its previous size. This presidential proclamation and the subsequent reactions to it had a more profound effect on Capitol Reef National Park than any previous event. Not even the creation of the national monument in 1937 or the changes made during Mission 66 compare to the effects of the 1969 expansion on Capitol Reef management, resources, and its relationship with the local community.

Hints of change were in the air as early as 1961, when the first legislation was introduced in Congress to create a Capitol Reef National Park. At the same time, there was a growing movement to protect what wilderness remained in the national parks and forests. At the wilderness hearings for Capitol Reef, the recurring animosities between local preferences and National Park Service planning emerged once again.

By the end of 1968, Washington politics decided Capitol Reef's fate. High officials in the Department of the Interior believed that the incoming Republican administration would not be as willing to expand the national parks as were the outgoing Democrats. Before leaving his Cabinet post, Secretary of the Interior Udall proposed a sweeping plan to create and expand parks and monuments in Alaska and the Southwest. Capitol Reef National Monument was among those listed. While debate and compromise in Washington whittled down the list, Capitol Reef's management was kept guessing and the local communities were left out of the decision-making process. From an initial proposal of seven new or expanded national monuments comprising over seven million acres, only four areas totaling 300,000 acres made President Johnson's final cut: one of these was Capitol Reef. The tremendous acreage added to Capitol Reef National Monument made it the largest unit of the National Park Service in Utah.

The resulting outcry from neighboring residents, ranchers, miners, and politicians was both furious and predictable. The final solution devised by Utah's congressional delegation was

to make both Capitol Reef and Arches into national parks. Yet, even this legislation had its own troubled history before finally passing in late 1971.

On December 18, 1971, Capitol Reef National Park was created with the same boundaries as exist in the mid-1990s. Its new size and designation would help protect some of the Colorado Plateau's most outstanding sculpted sandstone scenery and high desert resources. Yet, most of the beautiful, sparse lands protected in this new park had been used by ranchers and miners for almost a century before its incorporation into the national park system. Park management would now be forced to balance traditional multiple resource use with resource protection and rehabilitation.

This chapter details events that led to the 1969 expansion proclamation. The ensuing controversy and legislation is covered in Chapter 11. What follows in the next two chapters is an analysis of the events and debates that impacted the creation and present management of this national park. Unfortunately, many of the primary documents relating to the period 1967-1972 are missing. The original documents that have been found are supplemented by oral interviews, congressional testimony, secondary sources, and newspaper articles.

Early Legislative Efforts

There is no record of any congressional legislation or resolutions passed before 1961 that specifically mention Capitol Reef. While Utah senators and congressmen supported local efforts both to create and improve Capitol Reef, they never seem to have vocalized that support in the House or Senate chambers.¹

In 1961, Capitol Reef National Monument was undergoing significant change. The new paved highway through the monument was about to be constructed and Mission 66 plans were calling for over \$2 million in new staff and facilities to accommodate the increasing number of visitors. Capitol Reef was no longer the quiet little national monument it once was.²

Republican Sen. Wallace Bennett set out to help the tourism boom in southern Utah by upgrading several national monuments to national park status. In 1961, 1963, and 1965, Bennett introduced bills to create Arches, Capitol Reef, and Cedar Breaks National Parks within their existing national monument boundaries. Bennett argued:

[I]n spite of the inspiring grandeur of these three national monuments, the number of people who visit them is relatively small. While the nearby Grand Canyon National Park received 1,187,000 visitors in 1960, only 102,000 visited Capitol Reef, 115,800 visited Cedar Breaks, and 71,600 visited Arches. A principal reason

¹ Congressional Record, 84th Congress, 2nd session, 1956, 102, Part 4:5415-17, is evidence that there was some support for the national parks from Utah's delegation.

² See Chapter 7.

for the relatively small number of visitors is, I am sure, that fact that they have not received national park designation. Their present national monument status does not carry with it in the public mind the prestige associated with national parks. Such recognition is not only deserved, but long overdue.³

Sen. Bennett had also introduced bills to upgrade Rainbow Bridge to national park status and create a Canyonlands National Park straddling the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers. He sponsored yet another bill to construct a National Park Service Parkway connecting many of these scenic areas of southern Utah.⁴ Except for the Canyonlands bill, which was significantly altered by Democratic Utah Sen. Frank Moss before passage, Bennett's proposals never made it out of committee, primarily due to unfavorable reports from the National Park Service.

The National Park Service's Mission 66 plans for southwestern parks were focused on upgrading existing facilities rather than changing names or status. Agency officials, therefore, requested that Bennett's bill changing Capitol Reef from a monument to a park be postponed indefinitely. In an advisory letter to Clinton P. Anders, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Assistant Interior Secretary John Carr wrote:

The Capitol Reef National Monument is...one of several national monuments in this area earmarked for study to determine whether they merit status as national parks. When the results of a study of the Capitol Reef National Monument is completed, the Department will formulate recommendations covering the feasibility and desirability of according national park status.⁵

Since national park status possibilities were never mentioned in Capitol Reef master or wilderness plans during the 1960s, it is likely that the study mentioned by Carr never went very far.

When Bennett reintroduced his park bills during the next Congress in 1963, his Republican ally, Rep. Lawrence Burton, sponsored a similar bill in the House. Bennett noted, "More than sufficient time has elapsed for the Department [of Interior] to conclude its studies and I am hopeful that without further delay it will bestow its full approval upon the elevation in status which Capitol Reef so richly merits."⁶

It is hard to know exactly how much effort Bennett and Burton put into these early attempts to get national park status for Capitol Reef. The chances that these bills would

³ Congressional Record, 87th Congress, 1st Session, 11961, 107, Part 9:12258.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 12259.

⁵ Carr to Anderson, 15 January 1962, Bill Folder S2234, Accession SEN 87A-E11, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Records of the United States Senate, Record Group 46, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁶ Congressional Record, 88th Congress, 1st Session, 1963, 109, Part 10:12124, 12062.

even make it out of committee would have been slim, since Bennett and Burton were working in a Democrat-controlled Congress. It is also likely that debate over the Canyonlands National Park bills and interest over the rapidly filling Lake Powell, which was anticipated to be the real tourist draw in southern Utah, may have consumed congressional attention for the next few years. Once again, Capitol Reef was left alone to concentrate on Mission 66 improvements and growing visitation within the confines of the old national monument.⁷

1967 Wilderness Proposal

Throughout the early 1960s, the National Park Service continued to invest millions of dollars in roads and facilities. The upgrades, especially in previously unsupported areas such as Capitol Reef, were badly needed. Yet, environmental organizations and some members of Congress worried that Mission 66 was going too far, that park integrity and preservation values were being sacrificed to accommodate increasing tourism.

The debate pendulum between accessibility and preservation had been swinging preservation's way ever since the 1956 defeat of the Echo Canyon Dam in Dinosaur National Monument. Now, with Mission 66 plans in many parks threatening newly emphasized wilderness, environmentalists urged the National Park Service to designate roadless areas like those proposed in national forests.⁸

The strength of the environmental movement was exemplified by passage of the National Wilderness Preservation System, or Wilderness Act of 1964, as it is commonly called. This law required federal land management agencies, including the National Park Service, to study, offer hearings, and recommend to Congress specific areas within their control to be designated wilderness, thus protecting them in a wild, undeveloped condition. Each addition to the wilderness system, whether it be under U.S. Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management, or National Park Service control, had to adhere to Wilderness Act requirements and be individually approved by an act of Congress.⁹

Not all National Park Service officials were enthusiastic about the Wilderness Act. Many felt that wilderness within a national park or monument was already insured protection, unlike the multiple-use lands managed by other federal agencies. Of greater concern,

⁷ Canyonlands National Park was established September 12, 1964, but debate over enlargement went on until 1971. Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, which regulates Lake Powell, was authorized in 1958, but had no legislative mandate until 1972.

⁸ Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 3rd revised ed., 1982) 200-237, details the growth of the wilderness movement, the Echo Park Dam controversy, and the passage of the Wilderness Act of 1964.

⁹ Public Law 88-577 in *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 78:890-896; Roderick Nash, 225-226; Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2nd revised ed., 1987) 240-241.

however, was the threat to the service's autonomy in determining long-range policy. Wilderness designation would not only affect how park lands were managed, but could very likely restrict future road and facility expansion just when development possibilities seemed limitless.¹⁰

The initial wilderness proposals and hearings for many of the national parks were conducted during a period of heightened environmental awareness and controversy. The controversy, for the most part, focused on proposals to build a dam within what was then Grand Canyon National Monument. This volatile issue, together with the environmental movement's nearly-perfected strategy of letter-writing campaigns, saw the National Park Service diluged with waves of letters supporting the maximum amount of wilderness possible. Local protests were drowned in this sea of wilderness support.

It was in this context that Capitol Reef National Monument conducted its own wilderness hearings in December 1967. The preliminary proposal, which was drafted in September, called for five separate units totaling 23,074 acres out of a possible maximum of 30,150 roadless acres (Fig. 26). Monument lands *not* designated wilderness included:

- 1) the areas west and south of Chimney Rock and west of the old highway down to Capitol Gorge;
- 2) the developed headquarters and remaining inholdings at Fruita;
- 3) the Fremont River canyon, with its state highway and public utilities corridors;
- 4) the old highway corridor to Capitol Gorge and its spurs into Grand Wash and Pleasant Creek; and
- 5) a 1/8-mile buffer around the entire monument, considered the minimum necessary for management needs, including fencing of the monument.¹¹

The largest of the proposed wilderness units was that area, almost devoid of human footprints, north of Utah Highway 24 to the north monument boundary. The other units, south of the Fremont River, were divided by the designated stock driveways through Grand Wash, Capitol Gorge, and Pleasant Creek. Like the northern district, these southern units were also classic wilderness, with rugged, virtually impenetrable desert slickrock cliffs, canyons, and domes.¹²

Looking back at events years later, Capitol Reef Superintendent Robert C. Heyder observed that the wilderness designation would "not have changed the operation of the park at all." The areas under consideration were backcountry and would always be

¹⁰ Runte, 241.

¹¹ "Description of Wilderness Proposal for Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah," September 1967, Box 2, Folder 7, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

¹² Ibid.; "Wilderness Proposal, Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah," September 1967, Map #CR-7400A, Box 2, Folder 7, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

treated as backcountry. From a management perspective, formal wilderness might have “helped to zone, put tighter constraints on the planners if they wanted to build something,” said Heyder, “and I certainly [saw] nothing wrong with that.”¹³

Regardless of the minimal effects the wilderness plan would have on Capitol Reef management, the National Park Service proposal was attacked from two sides. First, the environmental organizations wanted the buffer zones and stock driveways included in two large wilderness units. Second, local residents and traditional multiple-use advocates were afraid that customary use would be further inhibited and/or that stock driveways would be blocked. Most of those who favored additional wilderness responded by letter, whereas those opposed to any wilderness showed up at the public hearing on December 12, 1967 at the Wayne County Courthouse in Loa.

According to Heyder, the two-and-a-half-hour meeting was attended by 42 people. The presiding officer was John C. Preston, with Assistant Regional Director George Miller, from Santa Fe, presenting the National Park Service proposal.¹⁴ After outlining the initial plan, Miller and Heyder listened as ranchers and local politicians voiced their opposition. Limitations on access and development were the chief concerns raised by local residents. Hugh King, president of the Wayne County Farm Bureau, perhaps expressed local misgivings the best when he stated:

They are locking it up for a few naturalists....[T]he Park, I believe, is adequate in protecting our resources and things and I don't think we need to lock these resources from any further development. The great problem in my county and our country has been decrease in population. [We need] labor and things to keep our young people here and this park has furnished a lot of work and we appreciate that.¹⁵

Clearly, King wanted development in the monument to continue providing employment for local residents so they wouldn't have to move to the city. De Von Taylor, president of the Wayne County Cattlemen's Association, also expressed the need for multiple-use of monument resources by area residents when he stated:

We feel the present state of Capitol Reef is in the best interest of the people of this area and no more restrictions should be placed on these lands. But we feel that the public lands should be placed more for multiple-use and for the benefit of these people in this area.¹⁶

¹³ Robert C. Heyder, interview with Brad Frye, 1 November 1993, tape recording.

¹⁴ Superintendent's Log of Significant Events, December 1967, Box 4, Folder 9, Capitol Reef National Park Archives (hereafter referred to as Superintendent's Log).

¹⁵ “Wilderness Proposal, Public Hearing,” Transcript of Proceedings, Wilderness Report Material #12, 12 December 1967, Box 2, Folder 3-4, Capitol Reef National Park Archives, 60.

¹⁶ De Von Nelson Testimony, *Ibid.*, 61-63.

This argument, so common in the rural West, was countered by the increasing number of recreational users of the land who saw the value in preserving what remained of "America's wilderness heritage." Members of the Wilderness Society were urged to attend the hearing or write in favor of wilderness that would "provide a setting of remoteness and offer the experience of true solitude to all who visit them."¹⁷ The Wilderness Society position, of course, was to eliminate the buffer around the monument boundary because "otherwise, new incursions will result in steadily decreasing wilderness."¹⁸ Since the National Park Service had proposed this buffer zone in other proposed wilderness areas, this philosophical argument over wilderness boundary interpretations was not specific to Capitol Reef.

The hottest debate over Capitol Reef's wilderness plan concerned the stock driveways. The National Park Service plan called for the stock driveways to continue because they are mandated by the presidential proclamations establishing the monument in 1937 and expanding it in 1958. Wilderness advocates recognized these driveways as well, but felt that they could be included in designated wilderness areas since "grazing is recognized as a conforming use of wilderness in the provisions of the Wilderness Act."¹⁹

Local ranchers who used the driveways through the canyons to move their livestock between summer ranges in the western high plateaus to winter ranges east of the monument were, naturally, concerned about the impact that wilderness designation could have on their customary use of the land. The National Park Service plans recognized these fears by excluding those canyons from wilderness designation, thereby separating the various wilderness units. Despite objections from the flood of letters supporting the Wilderness Society position, the agency did not change these plans.²⁰

After the hearings, National Park Service correspondence indicates, attempts were made to eliminate livestock drives from some of the canyons to placate the environmentalist majority. Superintendent Heyder, however, opposed that move, arguing:

[I]f we do, it will mean a complete reversal of our reasoning given at the Wilderness Hearing at Loa, Utah on December 12. At that time we made the point that the proposed wilderness designation would in no way affect the present stock driveway arrangement.²¹

¹⁷ Special Memorandum to Members and Cooperators of the Wilderness Society, 9 November 1967, Wilderness Report Material #12, Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 3.

¹⁹ Colorado Open Space Council to Hearings Officer, 10 January 1968, Box 2, Folder 8, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

²⁰ Of the 492 total responses to the 1967 Capitol Reef Wilderness Proposal, 392 or 80 percent were in favor of the Wilderness Society Proposal; Official Hearings Record, Section B, #4, Box 2, Folder 12, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

²¹ Heyder to Regional Director, 29 July 1968, Box 2, Folder 12, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

Heyder's recommendations were endorsed by Regional Director Frank Kowski: the driveways would be retained. The National Park Service omitted the canyon corridors from the wilderness plan, not because of the perceived incompatibility of grazing with wilderness, but because the agency, and particularly Superintendent Heyder, recognized local objections to infringement on customary use.²²

The 1967 Capitol Reef wilderness corridor proposal was never formally presented to Congress. As a matter of fact, the creation of wilderness areas throughout the national park system has never been as extensive as advocates hoped.²³ Once again, Capitol Reef managers were faced with balancing local customs and traditional use with resource protection. In this case, local desires to exempt the stock driveways from wilderness designation were incorporated into the wilderness plan, despite pressure from the growing environmental movement throughout the rest of the country.

The Genesis Of Expansion, 1968

Democrat Lyndon Johnson had one of the most successful conservation records of any president in history. Between 1964 and early 1969, 44 new, mostly historic areas were added to the National Park Service system, more than during any other, single president's term. As part of his Great Society, 4.8 million acres of national recreation areas such as Delaware Water Gap, Indiana Dunes, and Wolf Trap were established to benefit inner-city populations. More controversial national parks such as Redwood and North Cascades were also created during Johnson's administration; and far-reaching environmental bills such as the Wilderness Act, Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965, National Trail Systems Act, and the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act were also signed into law.²⁴

Though Johnson and his wife, Lady Bird, regarded themselves as nature-lovers and personally supported these conservation measures, much credit for this tremendous record is due Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, National Park Service Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., and an American public and Congress filled with new-found environmental pride. Udall and Johnson had a good working relationship: Udall was the director, orchestrating the bills through planning and committees, while Johnson was the producer, using his manipulative strengths to insure final passage.²⁵

²² Regional Director to Director, 8 August 1968, Ibid.

²³ Runte, 241-242.

Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1991) 81-83; John P. Crevelli, "The Final Act of the Greatest Conservation President," *Prologue* (Winter 1980): 173-191; Melody Webb, "Parks for People: Lyndon Johnson and the National Park System," no date, copy in author's possession.

²⁵ Crevelli, 174-175.

In March 1968, Johnson surprised the nation with his decision not to seek a second term of office. Udall, who had begun as interior secretary under John F. Kennedy in 1961, would step aside when the new administration, whether it be Republican or Democrat, took office the following January.²⁶

The National Park Service had never been in such a strong position as it was in the summer of 1968. Visitation was at an all-time high and Mission 66 had all but accomplished its goals of improving the park infrastructure, organization, and interpretive abilities. Resource management was being funded as never before, in large part due to the 1963 Leopold Report, which had proclaimed that “[a] national park should represent a vignette of primitive America.” And, thanks to the increasing power of the environmental lobby, further expansion of the national park system was regarded by Udall and others as inevitable.²⁷

It was in this setting that Secretary Udall proposed to President Johnson an outgoing gift of new and expanded national park lands for the American people. Udall was very aware that other presidents--of both parties--had used the 1906 Antiquities Act to proclaim new national monuments during their last days in office. Udall believed that, since Johnson’s administration had been so environmentally successful, its gift should be the largest of all.²⁸

Udall’s original proposal in July 1968 was meant to probe Johnson’s receptiveness to the idea. In his memorandum to the president, Udall hoped that,

[a]s a parting gift to future generations...before [Johnson left] office, [he would] consider using executive power in the tradition of the Roosevelt presidents to reserve and preserve unique lands already owned by the American people for future generations.²⁹

Udall, warned, however, that such use of the Antiquities Act would meet some congressional opposition, but added that “adroit maneuvering” and national conservation organization support would “mollify enough congressional leaders so that your plans will not be upset by subsequent congressional action.” Udall asked to be allowed to prepare “several proposals...involving significant additions to the permanent national estate.” This

²⁶ Stewart Udall, interview with Joe B. Frantz, tape recording and transcript, 29 July 1969, Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Texas, 25.

²⁷ Mackintosh, 63-64.

²⁸ Stewart Udall, interview with Joe B. Frantz, October 31, 1969, Lyndon B. Johnson Library, 2.

²⁹ Udall to Johnson, 26 July 1968, in staff files of Dorothy Territo, Office of President File, “Udall-National Monuments,” Lyndon B. Johnson Library (hereafter referred to as Territo File), photocopy in Capitol Reef National Park Archives, administrative history notes.

simple request would lead to a confrontation between the president and his interior secretary that would forever tarnish their close partnership.³⁰

With Johnson's approval, Udall went ahead with plans to study potential sites. He called in the National Park Service and U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service directors, telling them to field their personnel and get recommendations to him by September. Udall later recalled:

[Hartzog] and the Director of Sports, Fish and Wildlife recommended some very large areas. I had to cut back their recommendations because I didn't want to rile Congress too much. On the other hand I wanted some big, significant things.³¹

The most logical places to look for "significant" additions to the National Park Service were in those parts of the country with large tracts of unoccupied federal land. The national forests, due to previous conflicts, were not considered. Thus, Bureau of Land Management public domain was an obvious target for National Park Service expansion.

Most of these lands were in Alaska; the rest were in the desert Southwest. Arizona, Udall's home state, held likely properties, as did Nevada and Utah. Several existing national monuments in Utah were surrounded by BLM lands, making them prime candidates for consideration. Of the 17 areas originally considered, the list was whittled down to the seven most promising, encompassing a proposed seven million additional acres for the National Park Service.³²

There is no known documentation pinpointing when Capitol Reef was first considered as a part of Udall's proposed expansions. In August, Secretary Udall visited Canyonlands National Park and requested "proposals on boundary changes which might be desirable in the Canyonlands Colorado River Escalante country."³³ Arches National Monument sent in its proposed extensions at the end of August, but it is not known when Capitol Reef's changes were delivered.³⁴ The first that Capitol Reef Superintendent Heyder heard about proposals to expand his monument was at the dedication of Carl Hayden Visitor Center overlooking the Glen Canyon Dam on September 26, 1968.³⁵

³⁰ Ibid.; Crevelli, "The Final Act of the Greatest Conservation President"; Webb, "Parks for the People."

³¹ Udall interview, 31 October 1969, 4.

³² William C. Everhart, The National Park Service (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1972) 175. See Runte 236-258 and Nash 272-315 for the complete account of Alaska land battles.

³³ Acting Regional Director Jerome Miller to Director, 28 August 1968, Folder 32, Administrative Collection, Arches National Park Archives.

³⁴ Acting Superintendent, Canyonlands National Park to Regional Director, 23 August 1968, Ibid.

³⁵ Heyder, interview with Brad Frye, 1 November 1993, provides most of the information specific to Capitol Reef in this regard. The date of dedication was confirmed by an invitation found in Division of Resource Management Archives, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Page, Arizona.

Heyder was only 37 years old, but had been in the National Park Service since his youth at Yosemite and Grand Canyon National Parks. Most recently, he had served as management assistant at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield in Missouri. His long career would see Heyder assume the superintendency of Bryce Canyon, Zion, and Mesa Verde National Parks before his retirement in 1993. He had been at Capitol Reef National Monument for only about a year when he was invited to hear Secretary Udall speak at the Hayden Visitor Center dedication. During the pre-ceremony gatherings, Regional Director Frank Kowski asked Heyder if he were aware that the park service was considering enlarging Capitol Reef National Monument.³⁶

When Heyder said he knew nothing about this, Kowski explained that under consideration was a separate monument unit encompassing a portion of the Waterpocket south of Oak Creek to just above the Burr Trail. The stock driveway, water diversion, and irrigation dam in the drainage may have been why Bates Wilson and/or other field office personnel decided to exclude Oak Creek itself, and not connect this new unit directly to the southern boundary of the monument.³⁷

When Heyder heard about this initial expansion idea from Kowski, he immediately pointed out that such a small additional unit was not enough. Heyder argued that any new boundary must be extended to insure protection of existing monument resources. Heyder also recommended that the entire Waterpocket Fold, from the Fishlake National Forest boundary in the north to the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area boundary in the south, be included in the expansion. Heyder later recalled that the regional director seemed surprised by these ideas, and promised to talk to him further after the dedication ceremony.³⁸

After the dedication speeches by Udall and others, Kowski introduced Heyder to Secretary Udall. This was the first interior secretary Heyder had ever met and the meeting would prove to be particularly memorable. According to Heyder, Udall asked him, "Oh, what do you think about this idea of widening [the monument]?" Heyder responded that he didn't think the expansion was being done right. When the secretary asked what Heyder would do, the superintendent spoke up:

[Y]ou ought to go west of the main body [of the existing monument] and east a bit and take in Cathedral Valley up there and come off the [Thousand Lake] mountain and come all the way to the forest, you know, and take that whole thing in and then go all the way down to the recreation area.³⁹

³⁶ Heyder interview.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

Udall responded favorably to Heyder's suggestions. Heyder recalled, "He said, 'You get with Bates the next couple of days and come up with something.'" Thereafter, the specific proposal to expand Capitol Reef would be largely in the hands of Superintendent Heyder.

The day after the dedication, Heyder drove over to Moab and consulted with Bates Wilson. There he saw a map of the original proposed boundaries, and they discussed Heyder's ideas.⁴⁰ Wilson then directed Heyder to "go back and pull the whole thing together and send it in and send me a copy."⁴¹

When Heyder returned to Capitol Reef, he took Chief Ranger Bert Speed into his confidence, and the two of them worked "the better part of three nights" poring over the maps and coming up with various alternatives. The first closely approximated the final January 1969 proclamation boundaries. Other possibilities, which considered adding the Henry Mountains or the Circle Cliffs, were not submitted because Heyder feared the acreage would be too big, too controversial. Later, a separate proposed boundary drawn by agency officials included the Circle Cliffs. The maps and descriptions were sent on to the regional office and from there directly to Secretary Udall (Figs. 27-28). All of this work was accomplished secretly. In fact, the text of the proposal was typed by Heyder's wife, since his secretary was Afton Taylor, wife of Wayne County rancher Don Taylor.⁴²

Heyder was handicapped in making his boundary proposals because he could not determine what specific multiple-use claims existed in the areas involved. He believed that grazing permits were not extensive outside of the Henry Mountains, and he knew that there had been mining claims filed throughout the area. Moreover, Heyder felt that since all multiple-use claims and permits would be eliminated within the expanded boundaries of the national monument, the specific details of ownership were not a major concern at that time. Besides, even if the superintendent wanted to know these facts, there was no way he could obtain the information without alerting BLM personnel.⁴³

Although these alternatives were later adjusted by park planner Norm Herkenham into the final proclamation boundaries, the initial idea to expand the monument to the park's modern configuration apparently originated with Robert Heyder. Even though specific documentation has not been located to corroborate Heyder's account, the superintendent evidently played a leading, crucial role in this significant expansion of Capitol Reef.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Unfortunately, there is no record of this map in the Arches, Capitol Reef, or National Park Service Technical Information Center Archives.

⁴¹ Heyder interview.

⁴² Heyder interview; Heyder, Administrative History draft review comments, 14 December 1994.

⁴³ Heyder interview.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

*Udall Vs. Johnson And The Monuments In Between:
December 1968 - January 1969*

The final list of seven national monument expansions and establishments was presented to President Johnson by Stewart Udall on December 11, 1968. In a memorandum to the president dated December 5, Udall listed the national monument and wildlife refuge possibilities. In order, they were a 2 million-acre addition to the southern half of Mt. McKinley National Monument in Alaska; establishment of a 3.6 million-acre Arctic Circle National Monument, Alaska; a new 26,000-acre Marble Canyon National Monument, Arizona; a new, 911,000-acre Sonoran Desert National Monument, Arizona; a 94,000-acre addition to Alaska's Katmai National Monument; a 49,000-acre addition to Arches in Utah; and the 215,000-acre proposed addition to Capitol Reef National Monument in Utah. Also included were two additions to Alaska wildlife refuges totaling an additional one million acres.

It is unknown whether the list was created in order of preference or potential controversy but, in any case, Capitol Reef was far less important in the ensuing debate than the huge proposals for Alaska, or than a Sonoran Desert Monument that would encompass a military firing range in southern Arizona.⁴⁵

During the closing months of Johnson's administration, the president increasingly surrounded himself with a circle of advisors. One of his closest advisors, Special Consul W. DeVier Pierson, would become the key liaison between Udall and the president in the weeks to follow. In his analysis, which accompanied Udall's December 5 memorandum, Pierson initially supported Udall's proposal, telling Johnson, "It would be the last opportunity to cap off your exceptional record of additions in the park system."⁴⁶

On December 11, Udall presented his case, complete with slides, maps, and graphs, to the president and the first lady. The presentation was followed by cabinet members and aides grilling Udall on the proposed areas and on the general consequences of the president issuing such controversial proclamations during his last days in office. After the meeting, Udall believed he had persuaded Johnson to sign, once a few minor legal questions were settled. The secretary was convinced the whole package would be signed by the mid-December, as Johnson's "parting Christmas gift to the American people."⁴⁷

Unbeknownst to Udall, Pierson was now questioning the political implications of adding such a tremendous amount of acreage to the national park system without congressional approval. On December 12, Pierson wrote the president to point out that, while the Utah and Arizona monuments engendered little controversy, the Alaska proposals were

⁴⁵ Udall to Johnson, 5 December 1968, Territo File; Crevelli, 176; Everhart, 175-176.

⁴⁶ Pierson to Johnson, 6 December 1968, Territo File.

⁴⁷ Udall interview, 31 October 1969, 3-7. All further references to Udall interview were taken from this October 1969 interview.

particularly sensitive. Questions of oil reserves accessibility and native land claims could be expected, as well as opposition from Gov. Hickel, Nixon's recently-announced nominee for Nixon's Secretary of Interior. Pierson also pointed out the potential opposition from congressional leaders, such as House Interior Committee Chairman Wayne Aspinall of Colorado, who opposed any presidential use of the Antiquities Act to create or expand monuments.⁴⁸

This need to clear the proposals with congressional leaders would prove to be the major bone of contention between Udall and Johnson. Udall had already talked with park supporters such as Democratic Sen. Henry Jackson, who was chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, and Republican Rep. John Saylor, minority leader on the House Interior Committee. As to the opposition, Udall believed that discussing the matter with Aspinall would be a waste of his time, as the representative would oppose the idea in any format.⁴⁹

The secretary later recalled:

[Johnson] was much too concerned about congressional reaction, because I couldn't clear this all the way through Congress. After all, after January 20, his relations with Congress are not important. He didn't have any legislation to get through. The question was had he done what he thought was right for history and right for the country in terms of a final conservation achievement.⁵⁰

Clearly, Udall thought of this entire issue as the deciding legacy he and Johnson would leave to conservation history. Johnson and Pierson, on the other hand, were more concerned with a possible legacy of controversy during the president's last days in office.

The deadline for approving the wildlife refuges in Alaska was 30 days before Nixon was sworn into office on January 20. While Udall could have authorized the wildlife refuges himself, he really wanted his entire package signed by Johnson in those last days before Christmas. Johnson, however, postponed signing any proclamations because he was dissatisfied with Udall's minimal congressional checks in mid-December. Further delay occurred when Johnson became ill and was hospitalized for several days, and then spent Christmas recuperating at his home in Texas. When Udall pressed about the monument approval, Pierson replied that Johnson would not decide until he personally contacted congressional leaders in January.⁵¹

Throughout early January, Udall continued to push for approval and Johnson kept delaying final action. On January 14, Udall delivered a breakdown of the extensive use of the Antiquities Act by previous presidents during their last weeks in office. This was

⁴⁸ Pierson to Johnson, 12 December 1968, Territo File; Crevelli, 177-179.

⁴⁹ Udall interview, 8; Crevelli, 180.

⁵⁰ Udall interview, 8.

⁵¹ Pierson to Johnson, 18 December and 23 December 1968, Territo File; Crevelli, 179.

attached to a memorandum to Johnson stating that everything would soon be in order and that the president could proceed with the signing the next day. An accompanying memorandum from Pierson advised continued caution:

I still have reservations as to the desirability of taking this action during the last week of your Administration. However, some of the proposed areas are very exciting. Consequently, you may wish to examine them on a case-by-case basis and act on some while deleting others.⁵²

Pierson included an annotated list of the proposed national monument additions for the president's review. Capitol Reef National Monument was lumped with Arches and Marble Canyon national monuments and was "justified on the basis of unique geological or scientific qualities." Pierson had no problem with these acquisitions, provided the congressional delegations went along. The small Katmai addition posed little problem, but the proposed Sonoran Desert National Monument and the Gates of the Arctic and Mt. McKinley additions were generally seen as too large and too controversial.

Johnson wrote "OK" next to Capitol Reef, Arches, and Marble Canyon; "maybe" next to Katmai and Mount McKinley; and nothing next to the other two. The president also noted that he wanted further congressional checks "at once in depth." Thus, it seemed that Johnson was moving toward a compromise to include only the smaller additions--once congressional leaders were consulted. Capitol Reef's 215,000-acre addition would increase the monument's size by six times, yet this paled in comparison to the almost 6.5 million-acre proposals in Alaska and southern Arizona.⁵³

It is unlikely that Udall was aware of this new course toward down-sizing his original proposal. On Friday, January 17, only three days before the inauguration, Udall reported to Johnson that he had discussed the idea with the Utah delegation, which had "a surprisingly good reaction." He wrote, "Even Sen. Bennett, who fought the Canyonlands National Park, favors our proposal."⁵⁴

Udall also recounted a conversation with Aspinall, reporting that the Democrat opposed any plan that did not include congressional endorsement, but would respect Johnson's prerogatives. Udall told Johnson:

Mr. President, this is a better reaction than I had expected. I predict to you that the overwhelming praise you will receive from the conservation-minded people of this country will drown out the few complaints.⁵⁵

⁵² Pierson to Johnson, 14 January 1969, Territo File.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Udall to Johnson, 17 January 1969, Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Johnson, however, was not so sure. He decided to contact Aspinall personally. When the congressman told the president that Udall had never consulted him on this project, Johnson must have been more than a little surprised. Aspinall also warned that he would adamantly oppose any action not approved by Congress. According to Aspinall, Johnson called back a couple of days later, proposing a reduction to 345,000 acres from the original, 7 million-acre Udall proposal. Aspinall later recalled replying,

Mr. President, you're my president. I'm not going to raise hell, but I still stand on the principle that it isn't your responsibility and it isn't your authority to do this. This is Congressional authority....I won't object but you'll never get any money to administer it as such until Congress has a chance to look at it.⁵⁶

At the same time this conversation tarnished Udall's credibility, the interior secretary found himself trying to keep the lid on press releases detailing the president's signing of all 7 million acres. These releases were apparently written specifically to answer questions raised by the president's State of the Union address on the previous Tuesday, when Johnson had ad-libbed that he was not yet finished with his conservation effort. This veiled reference forced Udall to field inquiries from the press and concerns from congressmen over exactly what Johnson intended.⁵⁷

Udall and his director of information, Charles Boatner, tried to stall the press for as long as possible. Finally, Udall, believing that all seven proclamations would be signed on the Friday or Saturday before the inauguration, instructed Boatner to release the information on all seven for Monday's news. By Saturday morning, Jan. 18, the New York Times, for one, was aware of the possible proclamations and the information was out over the news wires.⁵⁸

Udall was going to warn Johnson of these press releases at their scheduled Saturday meeting to discuss the monument proposals, but the meeting was postponed. When Johnson saw the releases coming over the news ticker on Saturday afternoon, he called Udall. The secretary recalled, "The president was very unhappy and bawled me out good that he hadn't made a decision and we turned it loose." This was the last official conversation Udall and Johnson ever had.⁵⁹

On that same afternoon, Pierson was also pressuring Udall to help him on a completely separate issue dealing with Venezuelan oil rights. When Pierson implied that the proclamations would have a better chance if the secretary cooperated on the oil issue, Udall was infuriated. He had just been reprimanded by the president, and now his special

⁵⁶ Wayne Aspinall, interview with Joe B. Frantz, transcript, June 14, 1974, Lyndon B. Johnson Library, 28, photocopy in Capitol Reef National Park Archives, administrative history notes.

⁵⁷ Udall interview, 9.

⁵⁸ Crevelli, 187, Udall interview, 13.

⁵⁹ Crevelli, 187.

council was telling him to play politics with the monument proposals that had become his personal crusade.

"I've made my last arguments on the parks," Udall told Pierson. "You can do what you damned please...I'm through...I've made my case and if you don't want to do anything on the parks, that's fine."⁶⁰

Udall believed, at that point, he had quit only two days before Nixon's inauguration. He retracted the news releases and went hiking along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal all day Sunday, his last hours in office. Nevertheless, he had National Park Service Director Hartzog wait in Udall's office throughout the day just in case Johnson changed his mind and decided to sign the proclamations.⁶¹

Meanwhile, back in Utah, Superintendent Heyder was completely in dark about what was happening in Washington. After submitting his maps in early October, he had fielded a few clarification questions, yet he had no idea what the final boundary decision was. He didn't even know that the Capitol Reef National Monument expansion was part of a seven million-acre proposal. If any correspondence or memos were circulating, they were doing so well over the head of the superintendent of Capitol Reef National Monument.⁶²

Then, just a few days before the end of Johnson's term, Heyder received an "eyes only" package from Washington that contained the press releases and maps for each of the seven proposed monuments. According to Heyder, there were two different maps of an expanded Capitol Reef National Monument, one with the eventual proclamation boundaries and one which also included the Circle Cliffs and Escalante canyons. There were also two different press releases for the monument's expansion, apparently depending on which one Johnson chose to sign. Heyder did not know which alternative would be included in the official proclamation.⁶³

Then, on Friday, January 17, Heyder's wife was driving to Richfield when she heard over the radio that the monument was going to be enlarged. She called the superintendent, who in turn phoned Regional Director Kowski in Santa Fe. Kowski was just as surprised as Heyder. The regional director called back later that afternoon and told Heyder that nothing had been signed. According to Kowski, the news leak had apparently come from the Utah delegation, which had been briefed on the Arches and Capitol Reef proposals the day before. There was still no word about which Capitol Reef National Monument

⁶⁰ Udall interview, 16.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Heyder interview.

⁶³ Ibid. A press release dated December 1968 and a map showing the eventual proclamation boundaries are in Box 2, Folder 5, Capitol Reef National Park Archives. There is no known copy of the other press release concerning the proposed Circle Cliffs addition.

expansion boundary plan had been chosen or what was actually happening in Washington. According to Heyder, at that stage, "nobody knew anything."⁶⁴

On Monday morning, January 20, Lyndon Johnson's last day in office, the president called his special consul into his bedroom as he dressed for the inaugural ceremonies. Pierson later recalled that the two of them spent an hour discussing the various proposals,

going over these cases one last time while he was deciding whether or not he would sign any or all of them. [Johnson] finally decided that he would sign the smaller ones and not sign the larger ones.⁶⁵

The president's decisions were made public that morning in a White House news release. The "smaller" monument proclamations that Johnson approved and signed established Marble Canyon National Monument (which was later added to Grand Canyon National Park), and enlarged Katmai in Alaska and Arches and Capitol Reef in Utah. Of the approximately 300,000 acres added to the national park system, the largest portion was attached to Capitol Reef.⁶⁶ Even though the seven million acres originally proposed by Udall had been slashed significantly because of size and controversy, the 215,000-acre addition to Capitol Reef would prove extremely significant.

As for Stewart Udall, he believed Johnson had capitulated to unwarranted concerns over the response from Congress. Years later he complained:

Any President who defers to Congress in something like this was doing what I had said all along. He ought to decide what was good for the country; because I had the Congressional backstopping done. Jackson and Sayler (sic) between them, if anybody had tried--you know the Congress could undo these. In fact, I had briefed the whole Utah delegation. I had practically at one point sold them on the fact that the two in Utah--that this was a good thing.⁶⁷

Udall was, of course, disappointed in Johnson's eventual decision to approve only the smaller monument additions. The last two months of turmoil certainly did not help to ease Udall's disillusionment. Had Johnson signed all the proclamations, National Park Service lands would have been increased by 25 percent. Udall's record as Secretary of the Interior was already very impressive: It would have been remarkable with this last legacy. As it turned out, however, most of Udall's proposals regarding Alaska were eventually included

⁶⁴ Ibid.; Superintendent's Report, January 1969. Beginning on January 19, Heyder began keeping a telephone conversation log, which he subsequently gave to Chief Ranger Bert Speed when Heyder was transferred to Bryce in May 1969. It is located in Box 2, Folder 5, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

⁶⁵ W. DeVier Pierson, interview with Dorothy Pierce McSweeney, transcript, 19 March 1969, photocopy in Capitol Reef National Park Archives, administrative history notes, 20-21.

⁶⁶ White House Press Release, 20 January 1969, FG-145-9, National Park Service Box 209, Lyndon B. Johnson Library.

⁶⁷ Udall interview, 18.

in the 100 million acres protected by the Alaska Lands Act during Jimmy Carter's last days as president in 1980.⁶⁸

Lyndon Johnson's conservation record would have remained impressive even had he refused to sign any of the proclamations. His refusal to sign the larger area proclamations, however, illustrated his political priorities as opposed to the aesthetic values of Stewart Udall. According to historian John Crevelli, Johnson eventually agreed to the 300,000 acres to salvage some of his political prestige and because

it would be another small step in protecting the natural environment he really loved and in giving the people one last gift in his goal of the Great Society. He needed to go out with love. His ego demanded it.⁶⁹

President Johnson may have given a smaller gift of love than Udall would have liked, but to many native Utahns, the enlargement of Capitol Reef was an outrage. They considered it too big, too surprising, and too much an example of an arbitrary, uncaring federal government. Lyndon Johnson's fears that the proclamations would be controversial were about to be realized. The negative reaction from neighbors and politicians ensnared Capitol Reef in a swarm of controversy that has never been completely resolved.

Yet, if Johnson had not enlarged Capitol Reef National Monument, would the Waterpocket Fold be a national park today? Conflict and controversy are inevitable when land use policy changes, especially when those changes occur so quickly and dramatically. It was now up to Congress, the National Park Service, and concerned residents to wade through the ensuing rhetoric and find legislative solutions to the seeming incompatibility between traditional use and preservation at Capitol Reef. Those final, difficult steps from monument expansion to park creation are described in the next chapter.

⁶⁸ Runte, 246-255, details the fight for the Alaska Lands Bill.

⁶⁹ Crevelli, 191.

LEGEND -

- ROADS
- TRAILS
- ROADLESS AREA STUDIED
- PARK BOUNDARY
- PORTION OF ROADLESS AREA STUDIED AND PROPOSED FOR ACQUISITION

ACREAGES TOTAL PARK 39,267

Unit	Roadless	Wilderness
No 1	17,755	2,810
No 2		1,624
No 3	17,755	6,485
No 4		2,050
No 5		3,465
TOTAL	30,150	23,074

preliminary - subject to change
Within a Proposed
CAPITOL REEF
NATIONAL MONUMENT
 Utah

HALF-SIZE REPRODUCTION

NM-CR-7007-A
 SEPT 67 RPSNC

INCREASES		TOTAL PARK	30, 201
Unit	Realized	Unrealized	
No 1	1,100	2,810	
No 2		1,664	
No 3	17,155	6,485	
No 4		2,650	
No 5		3,465	
TOTAL	30,150	23,074	

Figure 27. 1968 boundary expansion, Proposal 1, Capitol Reef National Monument.

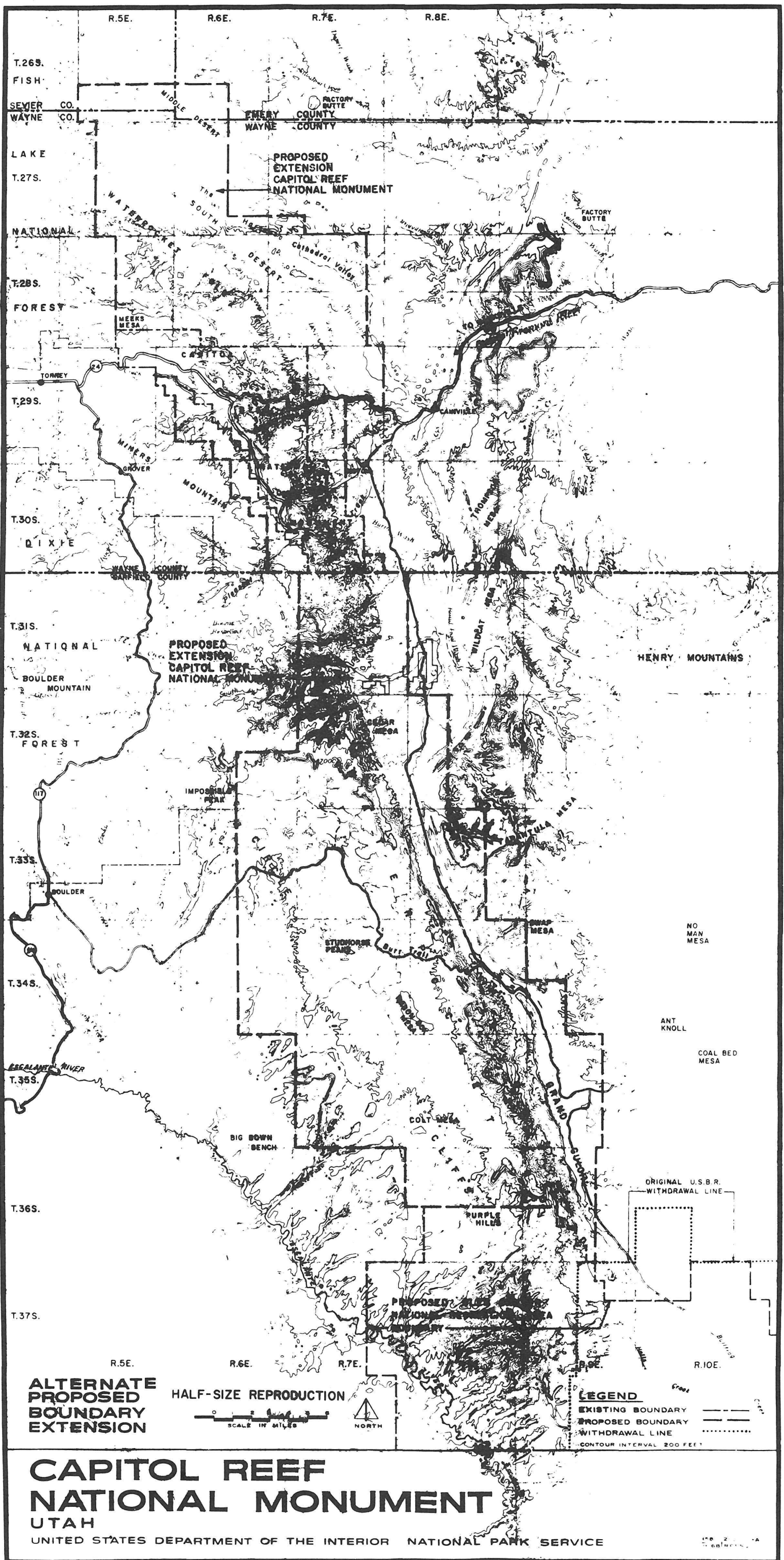
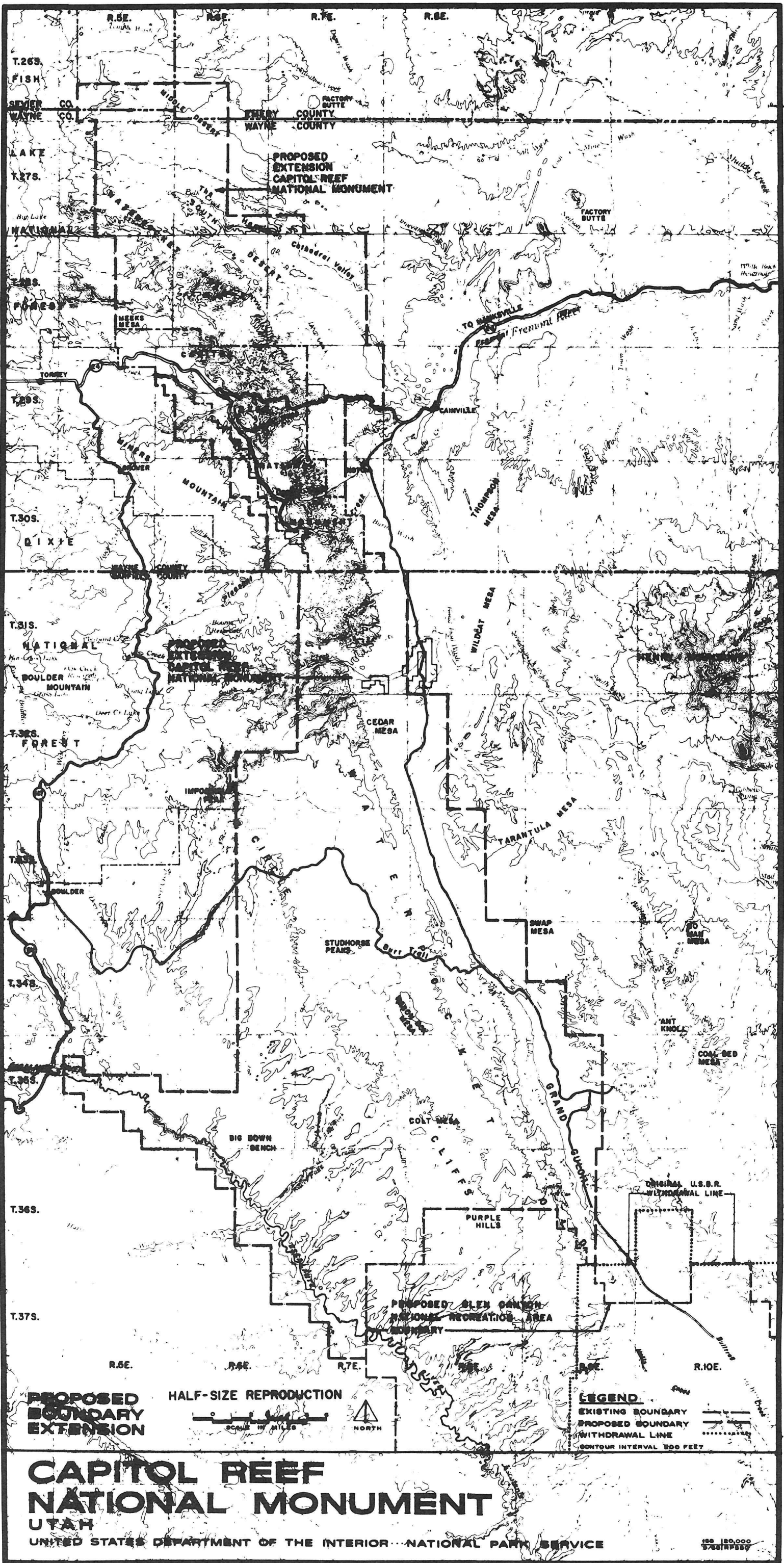


Figure 28. 1968 boundary expansion, Proposal 2, Capitol Reef National Monument.



CHAPTER 11

FROM MONUMENT TO PARK, 1969 TO 1971

Before addressing the reaction to Capitol Reef's expansion, let us first examine the new boundaries and resources enclosed in the enormously enlarged monument. A total of 215,056 acres were added to the existing monument. This land was added to the national park system because, in the words of the proclamation,

it would be in the public interest to add to the Capitol Reef National Monument certain adjoining lands which encompass the outstanding geological feature known as the Waterpocket Fold and other complementing geological features, which constitute objects of scientific interest, such as Cathedral Valley.¹

The key scientific qualification (required by Section 2 of 1906 Antiquities Act, which authorizes these presidential proclamations) of the Capitol Reef expansion was the same as that singled out in the initial enabling proclamation back in 1937: the unique geology of the Waterpocket Fold.

Proclamation #3888

According to the December 1968 press release that accompanied the inauguration day proclamations, "only a fraction of the dramatic structure and the geologic story" were protected within the old monument boundaries. The press release declared:

Now, with the addition of 215,056 acres, the entire Waterpocket Fold running north to south and striking downward west to east, is brought within the National Park System in order to present a complete geologic story and to preserve in its entirety this classic monocline. Seventy miles of it are now in the national monument in Wayne, Emery, and Garfield Counties [a little portion in Sevier County was also included]....Included in the north end of the enlarged Capitol Reef National Monument is Cathedral Valley. As its name implies, the valley contains spectacular monoliths, 400 to 700 feet high, of reddish brown Entrada sandstone,

¹ Presidential Proclamation, "Enlarging the Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah," Proclamation #3888, Federal Register, 34, No. 14, 22 January 1969:907.

capped with the grayish yellow of Curtis sandstone. These colorful “cathedrals,” many of them freestanding on the valley floor, provide unusually striking land forms.”²

The new boundary lines were drawn along section lines and gave the monument the look of a long, jagged comma across the western Colorado Plateau, just like the geologic fold it now protected (Fig. 29). There was not a lot of land added to either side of the actual fold, but it included:

- 1) the Hartnet Mesa and South and Middle Deserts that make up Cathedral Valley north of the actual fold (an area Charles Kelly had argued worthy of National Park Service protection back in the 1950s);
- 2) a little land on the west and east of the former monument boundaries as requested by Superintendent Heyder to insure that the Scenic Drive was well within the monument and that the scenic views seen by most visitors were not compromised by any future encroachments; and
- 3) several dozen sections to the south were included at the eastern base of the Fold and also extended slightly onto the scenic Circle Cliffs plateaus to the west.

The eastern boundary was likely set to include the beautiful Strike Valley as well as the north-south running Notom-Bullfrog Road. It also spread onto Big Thompson Mesa, which is directly east of and above Halls Creek. It is interesting to note that the southern boundary was just below the Fountain Tanks - natural waterpockets used by travelers and stockmen for 100 years. The spectacular Halls Creek Narrows were not included in the 1969 proclamation nor in the proposed Glen Canyon National Recreation boundary, which was southwest and southeast of the new monument boundaries.³

The most significant problems with this ambitious expansion concerned land use. The new monument boundaries now embraced an additional 25,280 acres of state land and 1,080 acres of private land, as well as an estimated 11,000 mining claims, 26,000 acres of oil and gas leases, and 62 grazing permits allowing as many as 6,000 AUMs (Animal Units per Month, or as much as a cow and her calf or five sheep can eat in one month).⁴ The proclamation specified that all valid, existing rights, such as mining claims, would be protected. In addition, the proclamation reiterated Capitol Reef’s previous proclamations of 1937 and 1958:

² Enlargement Press Release, December 1968, Box 2, Folder 5, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

³ Capitol Reef National Park Map 158-2001-B, May 1969, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, Technical Information Center, Denver (hereafter referred to as TIC).

⁴ “Authorized Uses of Public Lands Recently added to Capitol Reef National Monument,” Folder 33, Administrative Collection, Arches National Park Archives.

Nothing herein shall prevent the movement of livestock across the lands included in this monument under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior and upon driveways to be specifically designated by said Secretary.⁵

The new monument boundaries now protected a great deal of geologic and scenic splendor and an abundance of high desert resources. The problem was that, by expanding the monument at the relatively late date of 1969, any remotely promising mining or grazing land was already claimed. Thus, the National Park Service would be forced to allow mining and grazing in the new monument lands until either the claim or permit could be proven invalid, phased out, or purchased.

Managing these additional resource uses has proven to be at least as difficult as protecting the unspoiled, natural resources of older national parks and monuments. Yet, even before the staff at Capitol Reef could venture into managing its new lands, attacks from neighbors, multiple-use advocates, and the Utah congressional delegation put the National Park Service on the defensive just to save the newly expanded monument.

Initial Reaction To Capitol Reef Expansion: Jan.-Feb. 1969

That third week in January 1969 saw a flurry of questions and responses that plunged Capitol Reef management into chaos. As mentioned earlier, Superintendent Heyder was unsure of the exact placement of the new boundaries. Thus, when the news leaked, Heyder could do no more than stall for time. The problem was exacerbated by the fact that copies of the specific proclamation and boundary map were not sent directly to the regional office or to the park. Heyder had to wait several days after the inauguration (January 24) to get a copy of the Federal Register with the exact expansion boundaries.⁶

Heyder recorded a number of information requests from ranchers, miners, reporters, forest service, and Utah highway officials, who all wanted information on the new boundaries.⁷ The superintendent could only promise to let them know the specifics as soon as he, himself, knew them. In a January 23 editorial, the local Richfield Reaper reported, "Capitol Reef personnel were aware of some type of expansion plans, but indicated that what had been talked of and what the proclamation would include will be two different things."⁸

⁵ Proclamation #3888, 2.

⁶ Robert Heyder, interview with Brad Frye, tape recording, 1 November 1993.

⁷ Heyder to Speed, May 1969, Box 2, Folder 5, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

⁸ Richfield Reaper, 23 January 1969.

The failure to inform Superintendent Heyder immediately of the expanded boundaries enabled the opposition to spin out of control with unsubstantiated rumors. It also didn't help that Heyder and his staff had no idea what grazing and mining claims existed in the new addition.

According to Heyder, George Hatch, president of the KUTV television station in Salt Lake City and supporter of the expansion, borrowed a detailed grazing allotment map from the BLM, ostensibly for his own research. Hatch loaned the map to Heyder for two days before it had to be returned. All this happened after the proclamation had been issued. The lack of information from the Washington and regional offices was very frustrating for the superintendent. The Richfield Reaper quoted Heyder as saying:

It's embarrassing to us at Capitol Reef to be asked about the proposal when we can't give any answers. Rumors are flying at a brisk pace, including one which states that the west boundary will go to Bicknell [22 miles away].⁹

The most celebrated initial act of opposition came from the town of Boulder, where resident ranchers and speculative miners had claims to the southern half of the Waterpocket Fold. The day after the inauguration, before any specific boundary information had been released, the five-member Boulder Town Board passed a resolution changing the name of the town to "Johnson's Folly." According to Board President Cecil Griener, the Capitol Reef addition would eliminate winter grazing for cattle raised by Boulder ranchers, thereby creating a ghost town surrounded by ghost ranches.¹⁰ Apparently, Griener and the Boulder Town Board were under the impression that the entire Circle Cliffs area east of Boulder was to be included. This inaccurate rumor continued to spread and could not be quashed by National Park Service officials because *they themselves did not know the exact boundaries*. Until they did, there was plenty of grist for the opposition rumor mill.

Other immediate local resistance was voiced in regional newspapers such as the Richfield Reaper, and in a Utah House of Representatives resolution introduced by Royal Harward of Wayne County. These objections were not surprising, given Southern Utah's customary land use habits. The objections coming from Utah's congressional delegation, however, were of greater concern.

In the weeks preceding the proclamation, both Utah senators were active in Utah tourism and land use issues. Sen. Moss introduced two bills to aid tourism and the southern Utah parks. This legislation would create a Canyon Country National Parkway from the Glen Canyon Dam to Grand Junction, Colorado, and sponsor a large-scale development survey for the Colorado Plateau parks and monuments.¹¹ Meanwhile, Sen. Bennett was resisting

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Salt Lake Tribune, 24 January 1969.

¹¹ Congressional Record, 91st Congress, 1st session, 1969, 115, Pt. 1:1019.

efforts by the interior department to raise grazing fees, as well as other plans that he believed would “have a serious negative economic impact on ranchers and their communities in Utah.”¹²

Then, on Friday, January 17, Udall met with the entire Utah congressional delegation, informed members of the impending proclamations affecting Arches and Capitol Reef National Monuments, and then “swor[e] them to secrecy.” According to Moss,

Secretary Udall said his department’s examination showed no working mining claims in the two areas and very little grazing. He said there might be some ‘tailoring’ of the boundaries but that this will be up to Congress to decide.¹³

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Udall was optimistic that he had persuaded the Utah delegation that the monument expansions would be good for their state. Once the news leaked late that same day, however, Moss issued a statement calling for field hearings similar to the ones he’d conducted for his Canyonlands National Park legislation several years earlier. Also on January 17 (whether before or after the Udall meeting is unknown), Bennett reintroduced his bills to create Arches, Cedar Breaks, and Capitol Reef National Parks within their old monument boundaries. Bennett also warned, “I will insist on field hearings on my bills and I want to make certain that mining rights and the likes are fully protected.”¹⁴

Two days after the proclamation, Moss introduced Senate Bills 531 and 532, which would “designate these enlarged areas as national parks.” The purpose of this action, according to Moss, was to insure that Congress had a major role in deciding the areas’ future, that local opinion was considered, and that, in the long run, tourism would increase. As a Democrat who had previously guided the Canyonlands National Park legislation through Congress, Moss seemed generally supportive of the proclamations.¹⁵

The Utah congressional delegation’s reaction to the proclamations split along party lines, lone Democrat Moss supporting expansion and the Republicans opposing any expansion at that time. Yet, they all supported changing Capitol Reef’s status from a monument to a national park, primarily because national parks attracted more tourism.

By January 31, the overwhelmingly negative reaction from within Utah fueled Bennett’s offensive against the “land grab.” On that date, Bennett introduced into the Congressional Record several newspaper articles and editorials in opposition to the Arches and Capitol

¹² Bennett to Udall, 9 December 1968, Series 1E, Carton 3, Folder 2, Wallace F. Bennett Collection, MSS 20, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library (hereafter referred to as Bennett Collection MSS 20).

¹³ Salt Lake Tribune, 18 January 1969.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Congressional Record, 115, Pt. 1:139.

Reef expansions.¹⁶ Moss, on the other hand, introduced a newspaper article from The Ogden Standard-Examiner that supported the monument expansions and urged national park designation for the areas.¹⁷ Yet Moss was the lone vocal supporter in those first few weeks.

On February 5, Bennett sent a letter to 16 leaders or advocates for multiple-use, including the state directors of lands, natural and water resources, and the heads of the state mining and livestock lobbies. Bennett spelled out his plan to eliminate the expanded boundaries and make the former national monument lands into national parks. He added, however, that “maybe there is other land, less in volume than the amount taken, which perhaps should be added.” He desired information, “guidance and a frank expression of the problems... that this action ha[d] created.” He sought details on potential grazing and mining possibilities in the lands included in the Arches and Capitol Reef proclamations, as well as sites for future roads and facilities. This letter was an effort on Bennett’s part to get additional facts on the growing controversy. Since the letter was sent only to multiple-use advocates, though, one could conclude that the senator’s mind was already focused toward continued opposition.¹⁸

The first official step in opposition was taken when Sen. Bennett and fellow Republican Rep. Lawrence Burton introduced bills on February 7 to limit the size of any future national monument to 2,560 acres. According to Bennett, this would “preclude future unilateral executive action involving thousands of acres of land.”¹⁹ This was followed by some inflammatory testimony at the Republican-sponsored Lincoln Day meetings conducted by Bennett and Burton in Moab and Escalante one week later.

Burton and Bennett’s opinions were, by now, well known. Both were adamantly opposed to what they now consistently called “that illegal land-grab,” but they showed a willingness to negotiate on some land increases and/or national park status. The first stop on their southern Utah tour was Monday, February 10 in Moab, where some 200 people gathered to express their opinions on the proclamations. According to newspaper reports, the only voice in favor of the proclamations was that of Superintendent Bates Wilson of Arches and Canyonlands. He informed the senators that the expansion was needed to give the monuments enough protection to justify national park status.²⁰

The overwhelming concern at the Moab meeting was the anticipated effect of the additions on the local economy. While it was reported that most in attendance favored a

¹⁶ Ibid., 115:2402-2405.

¹⁷ Ibid., 2385.

¹⁸ Bennett to Charles Hansen and Others, 5 February 1969, Series 1E-Carton 3, Folder 2, Bennett Collection, MSS 20.

¹⁹ Congressional Record, 91st Congress, 1st session, 1969, 115, Pt. 3:3118.

²⁰ Daily Sentinel, Grand Junction, Colorado, 11 February 1969.

guaranteed phase-out of grazing and mining interests within the new boundaries, the director of the Utah Geological Survey argued that Capitol Reef National Monument should be reduced back to its previous size to free oil and tar sands deposits that were “one of Utah’s greatest economic potentials.”²¹

After a day touring Arches, Burton and Bennett flew over Capitol Reef before landing in Escalante for a Lincoln Day dinner and town meeting. Heyder and Chief Ranger Bert Speed drove over to Escalante and, at first, could not find the dinner site since both the gas station attendant and grocery store butcher refused to talk with National Park Service officials. Once at the dinner, Heyder was asked by Bennett and Burton to sit at the head table and provide answers at the next day’s town meeting.²²

According to Heyder, the predominant concern of those at the Escalante town meeting was the expected impact on grazing. When Heyder attempted to reassure ranchers that existing stock driveways would not be affected and that grazing privileges within the addition would be addressed in time, Burton said sarcastically, “Well, folks, that’s the Department of Interior answer for you.” Heyder was upset by this obvious put-down, but after the meeting Burton assured him that it was only politics and that Heyder had answered all the questions quite well.²³ There are no transcripts of these informal meetings, and the Ogden Standard-Examiner was the only Utah paper to report on the Escalante segment of the trip. After the dinner on February 11, Bennett stated:

What I heard tonight is similar to what I heard in Moab last night. These people are not so much concerned with the withdrawal as with the way it was handled. No hearings were held. No people were contacted. It was merely a last minute land-grab by the Johnson administration.²⁴

With their congressmen backing it up, the local resistance rhetoric only increased. To demonstrate the negative impact Capitol Reef’s expansion would have on the neighboring economies, 41 families claiming at least partial grazing rights within the new boundaries gathered at the Wayne County seat of Loa to publicize their plight. Don Pace, rancher and Wayne County commissioner, testified:

Most of us have been in the ranching business here all our lives. Our fathers and grandfathers pioneered this part of the state, long before there were any national monuments or parks. We have worked all our lives to improve the cattle industry here and have built our homes and lives on this business. Now with a stroke of the pen, all this is headed for doom.²⁵

²¹ Ibid.

²² Heyder interview.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ogden Standard-Examiner, 12 February 1969.

²⁵ Richfield Reaper, 27 February 1969.

According to Pace, the families were willing to accept the new monument boundaries so long as traditional winter grazing was allowed to continue. In late February, however, the National Park Service had yet to decide what to do about the grazing privileges. Left hanging, Pace and the others pressed their case and voiced their pessimism:

We just don't know what we will do or where we can go....It's a real problem because most of us are full-time ranchers and don't have any other business to fall back on. We are just hoping that Congress will realize that we are people and not statistics, and that just because there are only 200 of us, we shouldn't have to be written off for some political whim.²⁶

The outcries against expansion were inevitable in such an isolated, conservative region historically dependent on multiple-use land. No matter when or how the proclamation was announced, the monument's enlargement would have been seen as another high-handed act by a federal government oblivious to struggling local economies. Nevertheless, the political struggles that delayed the proclamations until the final hours of the Johnson administration, and the uncertainty and secrecy that left the field personnel so unprepared, fueled panicked rumors among Capitol Reef's neighbors and rhetorical attacks from Washington politicians.

Of course, not all opinion opposed the proclamations. Shortly after the Bennett and Burton town meetings, Sen. Moss met with Utah conservation leaders and tourism promoters to discuss the enlargement issue. Moss told the group that he had asked the Bureau of Land Management and the National Park Service to investigate the multiple-use potential of the areas in question. He also appraised them of the Bennett and Burton legislation proposals and of his own plans to hold Utah hearings in the near future. The group agreed that the people of the area simply didn't realize the long-term benefits the enlargements and national park status would have for tourism business. Some also pointed out that the increased grazing fees from the previous year "helped stir the emotions of the opponents of the enlargements." The group felt that the hearings should be delayed for at least another month to let resistance subside.²⁷

Once the immediate furor over the proclamation died down, it was up to Bennett, Burton, and Moss to orchestrate legislation that would finalize Capitol Reef's boundaries and status. That it took an additional two years to pass the Capitol Reef National Park bill signifies the continued controversy over the initial proclamation, the strength of the multiple-use argument, and the complex resource issues involved.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Meeting on Enlargement of Arches and Capitol Reef National Monuments Held in Office of Senator Frank Moss, Salt Lake City, 19 February, Folder 33, Administration Collection, Arches National Park Archives.

The Proposals Of Bennett, Burton, And Moss

Bennett, Burton, and Moss each had his own plan for Capitol Reef National Monument. On March 17, Sen. Bennett introduced amendments to his bills to make Capitol Reef and Arches national parks. The amendments clarified the boundaries as being those as of January 1, 1969--prior to the expansion proclamations.²⁸ Fellow Republican Burton also favored reducing the monument's size, but would be willing to include some of the newly added lands with no grazing or mineral potential.²⁹

If these Republican-sponsored bills became law, they would supersede President Johnson's proclamations. The problem Bennett and Burton faced was that theirs was the minority party. Because there was little chance of their bills passing without significant amendment, the legislation introduced by the Utah Republicans was clearly intended to represent local opposition to the "land-grab."

Meanwhile, Moss' plan was to eliminate 56,000 acres in favor of 29,000 acres not included in the January 20 proclamation, for a net decrease of 17,280 acres. After an inspection tour of Capitol Reef and consultations with National Park Service, Bureau of Land Management, and University of Utah geologists, Moss established "what areas should be included and what might reasonably be excluded because of their unsuitability for national park status and the need to use them for other multiple-use purposes."³⁰

Moss' bill, S.531, as amended, would trim lands from either side of the southern half of the fold and in the eastern Hartnet and Blue Valley areas northeast of Fruita. The goal, according to the senator, was to "remove much of the land under grazing permit." Moss also introduced amendments that would allow grazing permits to continue under the present holders and their heirs.³¹ In return, Moss proposed to add land in the lower and upper Cathedral valley and extend the monument boundary to include the Halls Creek Narrows (Fig. 30). To gather support for his bill, Moss scheduled hearings in Salt Lake City on May 15, in Richfield on May 16, and in Moab the following day.

Financial, Staffing And Management Concerns

Before the hearings could be convened, however, Rep. Wayne Aspinall made good his threat to President Johnson by denying funding to any of the newly expanded monument lands. As chairman of the House Interior Committee, Aspinall had significant influence over the entire National Park Service budget. He based his decision on the principle that

²⁸ Congressional Record, 115, Pt. 5:6572-6573.

²⁹ Salt Lake Tribune, 13 February 1969.

³⁰ Congressional Record, 115, Pt. 8:11084.

³¹ Salt Lake Tribune, 15 May 1969.

Congress had not been consulted before the presidential proclamations were signed. It is interesting to note that while he refused to authorize spending for the new monuments, Aspenall was encouraging full funding of national recreation areas and expanding agency "manpower to cope with crime, crowds, and cars."³²

It is unclear what lasting effect Aspenall's decision had on Capitol Reef, but the fact that the monument had been expanded by six times while at less than full staffing for its original size had park management worried. Even before the monument was expanded, financial constraints were felt at Capitol Reef. Superintendent Heyder had to lapse the protection ranger and maintenance foreman positions due to a reduced budget during the 1969 fiscal year. The public felt this financial pinch when the monument was forced to close the campground for the winter and reduce visitor center operations to only five days a week.³³

Then in early March 1969, as the expansion controversy was at its peak, there was a major restructuring of the southern Utah parks and monuments. The plan called for a Southern Utah Group headquarters at Cedar City to serve as a mini-regional office for Zion and Bryce Canyon National Parks and Capitol Reef, Cedar Breaks, and Pipe Springs National Monuments. This cluster idea was designed to enable general administrative, management, and planning activities to be coordinated within one central office, thereby reducing the workload and the need for staff increases at the park level. To accomplish these goals, the Zion National Park superintendent became group superintendent; so Superintendent Oscar Dick moved to Zion from Bryce Canyon. Robert Heyder was chosen to replace Dick at Bryce Canyon, and Chief Ranger Bert Speed served as acting superintendent for Capitol Reef until a new superintendent was appointed.³⁴

While this plan may have been a worthy attempt to increase efficiency, the fiscal restraints and personnel shifts could not have come at a worse time for Capitol Reef. Besides the financial and staffing hardships, the most significant damage caused by this reorganization was removing Heyder from Capitol Reef just when continuity was crucial.

As it turned out, the new superintendent for Capitol Reef, William Franklin Wallace, played a small role in the monument to park process, leaving Bert Speed to take care of virtually all the correspondence, planning, and congressional testimony.

³² The Daily Sentinel, 13 May 1969.

³³ Heyder to Regional Director, 14 October 1968, File 6435a, Accession 79-76A-1229, Container #790695, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (RG 79), National Archives - Rocky Mountain Region, Denver (hereafter referred to as NA-Denver).

³⁴ Gilbert to Area Superintendents, 25 March 1969, and Regional Director to Director, 2 November 1968, File 6435, 79-73A-136, Container #790695, RG 79, NA-Denver.

The Southern Utah Group itself proved short-lived. In August 1972, the cluster concept was abandoned and the parks and monuments returned to their old organizational structure--with one difference. Capitol Reef was, by then, a national park.³⁵

Congressional Hearings: May 1969

The U. S. Senate Parks and Recreation Subcommittee, chaired by Sen. Alan Bible of Nevada, began its Utah hearings in Salt Lake City on May 15, 1969. In his introductory remarks, Sen. Moss pointed out that he had not approved of President Johnson's method of adding National Park Service lands in Utah, since it had not involved public hearings and congressional debate. Moss was, however, impressed by the new monument lands and favored creating national parks out of the monuments with only slight alterations.³⁶

Moss' proposed changes would reduce the total acreage of Capitol Reef from the 254,242-acre monument to a 242,257-acre national park. As mentioned above, the areas added to the boundaries included the Halls Creek Narrows in the south, and Cathedral Valley, Temples of the Moon and Sun, upper Deep Creek, and Paradise Flat in the northern district. Since some grazing would still remain within the newly proposed park, Moss provided amendments that would protect the permittees, proposing:

[G]razing permits held at the time the acts establishing the Arches and Capitol Reef National Parks are signed, may be continued and renewed during the lifetime of the holder and the lifetime of his immediate heirs. This is, incidentally, the same provision which was contained in my original Canyonlands National Park Bill. It was accepted in essence in the version of the bill which the Senate passed but was modified in the House.³⁷

Moss believed that a few cows would add charm to the scenery, whereas large herds would be a problem. The senator felt that compromises could be reached to "realize the most out of the spectacular scenery and unusual scientific phenomenon which these two areas afford, and at the same time protect the rights of those who have a different economic stake in the regions."³⁸

Moss also pointed out that with the construction of Interstate Highway 70, to be completed just north of Arches and Capitol Reef by 1972, millions of tourists would be on

³⁵ The Southern Utah Group office was abandoned on 4 August 1972, according to the Records Transmittal for Accession 79-73A-136, RG 79, NA-Denver.

³⁶ Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, "Hearing on S. 531 and S. 532." 91st Congress, 1st session, 15 May 1969, Statement #3, Box 2, Folder 6, Capitol Reef National Park Archives (published hearing report not included). The hearings dealt with both Arches and Capitol Reef, but the focus of this discussion is on the latter.

³⁷ Ibid., 3.

³⁸ Ibid., 4.

their way to enjoy the scenic potential of five national parks--more than any other state at that time. Increased tourism, scenic protection, and continued resource development were Moss' reasons for sponsoring his national park bills. He realized some would perceive him and fellowUtahns as "having [their] cake here in Utah and eat[ing] it too," but felt that appropriate compromises were attainable. Others testifying at the hearings were also willing to compromise--as long as their perspective carried the most weight.

The Salt Lake hearings were by far the most balanced. Of the 25 written statements included in the record, 13 opposed the Capitol Reef expansion, two were willing to accept the new boundaries so long as multiple-use privileges continued, and seven favored the Moss park bill. The National Park Service did not testify at these hearings.³⁹

Don Pace, who had earlier represented the 41 families who believed their ranches would be lost to expansion, arrived with statistics to back his claims of hardship. According to Pace's figures, the 41 affected families would lose 5,331 AUMs, which would result in calf sale losses of up to \$40,000 and would force the families to either go on social security or sell out and move away. Pace believed the entire economy of Wayne County would be adversely affected by the new park, testifying:

The economy of Wayne County, as are many of the counties in southern Utah, is greatly dependent on public lands. Eighty-eight percent of the land in the county is federally owned and administered. Most other counties in this region are in a similar position, with an average of about 75 percent of the land being federally owned. Any placing of large tracts of this land in single use will have serious effects on the already depressed economy in the area. Placing the land under single use, such as National Parks, terminates all oil and gas development, and all grazing rights are terminated, all mining operations stop, watershed and soil conservation stops, logging and lumbering stop, all hunting and fishing stops, and much of the tax base of the area stops.⁴⁰

Vocalizing the feeling of many neighbors of Capitol Reef, Pace summarized:

I feel there is a great need for more local say, influence and control over factors of vital social and economic impact in the nation. Those who live in this area I know are a small minority, but we resent very much being controlled by politicians in Washington and special interest groups in other parts of the nation. Most of these people will never see our area and what few do will see it only on a passing through short visit basis, yet, they determine our livelihoods and the future course of our very existence.⁴¹

³⁹ Senate Subcommittee, Salt Lake Hearings, May 15, 1969, Index, Ibid.

⁴⁰ Statement of Don Pace, Hearings Statement #15, 3, Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 4.

Pace was also concerned that the increase in monument acreage by six times could not be adequately developed for increased tourism since “even now the park service is not able to adequately care for and keep open all year the 39,000 acres included in the old National Monument.” He wanted the roads and rights-of-way developed and feared that the National Park Service would be unable or unwilling to do so. In short, Pace supported Sen. Bennett’s bill to create a national park from the old monument boundaries. This would make a more alluring tourist attraction while insuring that traditional land use would continue to the north and south.⁴²

While rancher Pace provided an excellent example of the local opposition to the monument expansion and Moss’ park bill, others testified that the multiple-use value of the land in question was vastly over-estimated. Wilda Gene Hatch, president of the expansion-supportive Ogden Standard-Examiner, agreed that hardships would occur if the grazing permits were immediately terminated. However, she wrote:

[I]t would be easy for the grazing land to be withdrawn over a period of at least 20 years. This ‘staged phase-out’ would permit the livestock owners to find replacement range on other lands. Over the long haul, the economic return to the country and state--and to the people involved--would be greater, we are confident, from spending of tourists than from the present, marginal livestock operations.⁴³

As to the mineral potential, Hatch quoted from her paper’s editorial of May 13:

[T]here are no proven reserves there of scarce minerals and the return from exploitation of the mineral resources is far more speculative than is the potential. There is no shortage in [other areas of] Utah of potash, oil, bituminous sand, oil shale, gas and uranium--the major minerals concerned.⁴⁴

Like other supporters of S.531, Hatch believed that the loss of minimal grazing and mineral potential was far outweighed by the benefits of scenery protection and potential tourist developments. Hatch, who had attended the conservationists’ meeting with Moss back in February, believed that tourist dollars would soon replace the lost ranching incomes in the affected areas.

As the hearings headed south to Richfield and then over to Moab, the testimony was similar but (as expected) heavily weighted in opposition to an expanded Capitol Reef and Arches National Parks. The testimony at all these hearings clarified the objectives of those in favor of and opposed to Moss’ bill, without the hysteria that had greeted the initial proclamation news. By this time, it was clear that there would have to be some compromise of scenic, natural resources to insure grazing and mining privileges for at least several years. Supporters showed their willingness to compromise by supporting Moss’

⁴² Ibid., 4-5

⁴³ Statement of Wilda Gene Hatch, Statement #11, Ibid., 1.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 2.

bill and amendments. Those in opposition, though, were still hoping that another, more favorable alternative could be found. When Republican Rep. Lawrence Burton arrived with his subcommittee to hold hearings in Escalante at the end of May 1969, those resisting monument/park expansion renewed their effort.

Burton invited Rep. Walter Baring of Nevada to bring his Subcommittee On Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to Escalante, to hear "testimony on the withdrawals of public lands by presidential proclamation for the expansion of Capitol Reef National Monument." Hearings on Arches National Monument had been conducted earlier. In addition to Baring and Burton (who was not a member of the subcommittee), Republican Rep. Don Clausen was invited to attend the hearings. Clausen, of northern California, had recently gone through his own national park debates over the newly created Redwood National Park.⁴⁵

Robert Heyder, by this time superintendent at Bryce Canyon, was the National Park Service representative. He began the meeting by outlining the new monument boundaries. Then Clausen asked Heyder if any hearings were held or people informally contacted before the proclamation. Heyder answered that he did not know of any.⁴⁶

Most of the testimony was similar to that at the Moss hearing, with many of the same speakers present. Garfield County Commissioner Dale Marsh spoke for the opposition:

Now, we are not opposed to national parks or monuments as such, but we would like the Government to make an economic analysis of each area as to its best use. In this way the public interests are best served. Park boundaries should be pushed back for the economical potential of the areas that are not affected. The recent monument extensions reduce the area for building our own state. This land now becomes a reserve desert or a mountain range that we can not use.⁴⁷

One neighbor of Capitol Reef, Lurton Knee, favored the enlargement. Knee's Sleeping Rainbow Guest Ranch was one of the few tourist-oriented businesses in the area. Knee's property was also now within the new monument boundaries. Clearly, he had much to gain--or lose--with the resolution of this debate. He seemed to like Sen. Moss' bill, testifying:

We are strongly in favor of the enlargement--I should say, of modest enlargement--with the necessary adjustments for the cattlemen who need the portions of their grazing lands within the new boundary for winter feed. We feel this could be arranged

⁴⁵ House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, "Withdrawal of Public Lands by Presidential Proclamation for the Expansion of Capitol Reef National Monument," and HR 17152 and S. 531, "Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Public Lands," 91st Congress, 1970, 1.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 4-5.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 17.

for, as there is already a modified multiple-use in Capitol Reef National Monument by allowing the stock drives through the monument in the spring and fall.⁴⁸

Knee also cautioned against any attempt to make a national park within the old monument boundaries:

We are strongly against withdrawing the new boundaries to the original 61 square miles and then attempting to make it into a national park, when there would be no necessity in trying to give such a small area 'park status,' when it could still be administered as a national monument and in turn the counties will lose the extra revenue which would be theirs if Capitol Reef is enlarged enough to become a national park. The other areas inside the new boundary are needed, not only for beauty, geologic interest, but for protection, especially lower Cathedral Valley and the unique selenite plug [Glass Mountain], as well as the magnificently awe-inspiring southern ramparts of the great Waterpocket Fold.⁴⁹

A proponent of a modified expansion was George Hatch, president of KUTV in Salt Lake City and husband of Wilda Gene Hatch of the Ogden Standard-Examiner. Like Knee, Hatch believed multiple-use could be accommodated while also protecting the natural resources. The best way to do this, argued Hatch, was to adjust the boundaries from section lines to natural contours. This would allow grazing and oil and gas exploration in the not-so-spectacular flatlands to the east and in the Circle Cliff plateaus to the west. Hatch proposed a multiple-use national recreation area buffer zone to be created out of deleted portions east and west of the Waterpocket Fold. He also echoed Knee on the need to improve the monument in such a way that would protect natural beauty and increase the likelihood that it could be considered for national park status, arguing:

The monument can be substantially improved by adding scenic and scientific areas that have been overlooked in the present enlargement and grazing and mining can be accommodated by deleting many of the less important areas that have been included in the present enlargement and by placing substantial parts of the enlargement in a Capitol Reef National Recreation Area buffer zone in which grazing and mining exploration would be permanently permitted. Anyone who will take the time to walk through the deep canyons and spectacular formations of the Water-Pocket Fold will agree that it is well worth the time and effort to survey and draw proper boundaries for the benefit of many future generations.⁵⁰

The opinions of Hatch and Knee aside, the vast majority of those speaking at the Escalante hearing on May 31 were ranchers, miners, and politicians opposed to the initial

⁴⁸ Ibid., 23.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 23-24.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 52.

presidential proclamation. They did not contest a change to national park status, just so long as their traditional multiple-use lands retained that status.

The local hearings that the Utah congressional delegation had demanded back in January were now over. The focus shifted back to Washington politics as Moss, Bennett, and Burton tried to get some kind of legislation passed concerning Capitol Reef and Arches. Meanwhile, the National Park Service began to formalize its boundary alternatives and management objectives.

The National Park Service Makes A Decision

Investigative field work began in March 1969, when Heyder, Bates Wilson, Acting Superintendent Speed, and several others made a three-day reconnaissance of the monument additions. Upon their return, Heyder developed management objectives for a very different Capitol Reef National Monument.⁵¹

The management objectives document, dated March 1969, stated that the purpose of the additions was to

preserve an area containing ‘narrow canyons displaying evidence of ancient sand dune deposits of unusual scientific value’ (50 Stat. 1856) and a world-famous monoclinial flexure—the Waterpocket Fold—which extends breathtaking scenery of stratigraphy and erosion for some 60 miles—connecting the high plateaus with the red rock rims of Lake Powell.⁵²

The document continued, “The area is scenically unique, geologically significant, and biologically interesting. It offers visitors an unexcelled opportunity for exciting involvement in a fascinating wild area, ideally suited to investigation on foot.”

Existing commitments listed included the stock driveway rights-of-way and special permits included in the old monument. There are no permits listed within the new additions. The major resources listed were, in order, geology, vegetative communities of which there were “numerous small niches hold[ing] endemic plant communities which are unique,” and numerous historical and archeological sites “which [would] be managed under the administrative policies for historical areas.”

The roads mentioned included Utah Highway 24 along the Fremont River, and the Burr Trail, which if paved would “change the traffic patterns of visitation” for all of southern Utah. The document recommended that National Park Service managers closely attend to the master plans of adjacent USFS and BLM lands. As for the local communities, Heyder

⁵¹ Heyder to Regional Director, 14 March 1969, File D18, 79-73A-136, Box 3, Container #790697, RG 79, NA-Denver, Heyder interview.

⁵² “Capitol Reef National Monument, Management Objectives,” March 1969, Ibid.

described a growing investment of capital toward a tourist industry, but noted that it still had a long way to go.⁵³

Heyder recommended that studies be made to determine “the carrying capacity of the several environments,” since much of the area was fragile, desert landscape. Camping should be restricted to the main headquarters campground, with only small, primitive campgrounds at outlying areas. While hiking should be encouraged (“It is a hiker’s park”), four-wheel drive use was appropriate along marked routes such as the Halls Creek, Oak Creek, and Pleasant Creek drainages, and in Cathedral Valley.

Heyder also recommended that mining and grazing be eliminated as soon as possible, as “grazing is directly incompatible with maintenance and restoration of the environment.” Perhaps not surprisingly, this view was never mentioned by any expansion or park proponents during the congressional hearings in May.

The document also proposed that all inholdings be acquired “as funds and properties become available,” and recommended that all future power and telephone lines be buried. To meet these concerns, Heyder proposed a variety of management objectives.

He recommended that visitor use and interpretation continue to be concentrated in the Fruita headquarters area, with the only outpost ranger stations to be built on the Burr Trail in the south and Cathedral Valley area in the north. Only established roads should be paved; mine access roads should be converted to hiking trails.

To insure continued preservation of the monument’s expanded resources, the 1969 management objectives document gave priority to development of a plan that would:

obtain a complete and comprehensive inventory and evaluation of the area’s resources which will provide the guidance for knowledgeable management decisions in preservation, interpretation, and development. A research program [would] be carried out to provide the basic knowledge in the dynamics of the various natural ecosystems involved. With such data steps [w]ould be taken, if practicable, to restore and maintain natural ecological conditions which existed before their alteration by Western Civilization. Areas of the monument... determined to be of historical significance [w]ould be managed as to perpetuate this value.⁵⁴

The objective of this plan was to gather a natural resource data base and then attempt to restore those natural conditions to areas altered by past grazing and mining practices. This could be accomplished if grazing and mining were significantly removed from the monument. This goal would become a resource management priority throughout the rest of the twentieth century. By June 1969, the National Park Service had determined its preferred boundaries for Capitol Reef National Park (Fig. 31). Except for a few additional

⁵³ Ibid., 2-4.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 5.

sections added and some deleted from the proclamation boundaries, the National Park Service proposal was remarkably similar to Moss' S. 531. This proposal was slightly modified in August, mostly in the northwest corner of the proposed Capitol Reef National Park (Fig. 32).

Data-gathering related to the new monument resources and fiscal, physical, and personnel requirements would take a little longer to resolve. Since no bill pertaining to Capitol Reef National Monument made it out of committee for the rest of 1969, park service officials had the time they needed to gather data and proposals that could sway Congress to their point of view.

Congressional Debate, 1970

By April 1970, the proposed Capitol Reef National Park legislative data had been compiled. Hearings in both the Senate and House were scheduled before the November elections, and the National Park Service was asked to respond to the various bills proffered by the Utah delegation. These hearings offered the National Park Service an opportunity specifically to address Congress on Capitol Reef legislation for the first time: all previous creation and expansion decisions regarding Capitol Reef had taken place solely through interior department investigations and presidential proclamations.

On April 23, 1970, Rep. Burton introduced his compromise to the Capitol Reef dilemma. His bill, H.R. 17152, would create a combined Capitol Reef National Park and Recreation Area of approximately 218,000 acres (Fig. 33). Burton's proposal was similar to both the park service and Moss plans, but it eliminated the heavily-grazed eastern half of Cathedral Valley and made the area south of the Burr Trail a multiple-use recreation area with grazing and mining.⁵⁵ By this time, Sen. Bennett was no longer actively promoting his bill (S.399) to return boundaries to their pre-proclamation size, instead throwing his support to Burton. This left the Republican Burton and Democrat Moss proposals the only ones working their way through committee during the second session of the 91st Congress. It should be noted that this Congress was still controlled by a Democratic majority that was in the midst of passing a significant amount of new environmental legislation largely encouraged by Richard Nixon, a Republican president.

An additional hearing on Moss' S. 531 bill was held on May 28, 1970. Since this hearing took place in Washington, it was poorly attended. In stark contrast to the Utah hearings, only Sen. Bennett issued a statement in opposition to the Moss bill.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Thow, "Capitol Reef: The Forgotten National Park," (M.A. Thesis, Utah State University, 1986) 132; Capitol Reef Map 258-91,000, March 1979, Drawer 11, Folder 1, Capitol Reef National Park Archives (also in TIC).

⁵⁶ Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, "Hearings on S. 531 to Establish the Capitol Reef Park," 91st Congress, 2nd session, 28 May 1970.

By this time, Moss' proposal had been refined from the one he had hastily offered the previous year. His park proposal would now include 230,837 acres--somewhat less than proposed the previous year. Moss' Amendment 17 would further clarify the private and multiple-use lands within the proposed park. Moss determined that all private lands within the new boundaries should be purchased. As for grazing rights, the senator proposed to:

allow holders of existing grazing permits to continue in the exercise thereof for up to 25 years, and beyond in the case of existing permittees or members of their immediate family; and [to include] a disclaimer as to the effect of the act on the rights of stockmen to trail their cattle and sheep in the park and to water them on lands within the park.⁵⁷

The National Park Service responded to the bills sponsored by Moss, Bennett, and Burton by requesting amendments that would actually increase the 1969 expanded monument boundaries by another 23,500 acres. The reason for the increase, according to Interior Under Secretary Fred Russell, was to ensure that "the boundary encompass to the greatest extent possible the geological features of the area, and that the boundary follow natural lines of terrain." Russell added:

The proposed boundary is the result of a thorough study conducted over a period of 12 months. We believe it represents the optimum in terms of assuring continued preservation of the unique formations of the area.⁵⁸

The National Park Service justified the new boundaries on the basis that Strike Valley, east of the Fold between Cedar Mesa and Halls Creek, is "an integral part of the geologic structure known as Waterpocket Fold, a monocline," and further argued:

The valley is a textbook example of a 'Strike Valley,' i.e. where the valley follows the strike of the geologic strata. Amendment No. 17 of S.531 would locate the boundary inside the valley where a county road [the Notom-Bullfrog Road] would cross and recross the boundary. Since the valley itself is a single geological and topographical unit, it ought to be interpreted, protected, and managed as a unit.⁵⁹

The National Park Service boundaries would add 17,245 acres of former BLM lands, 1,278 acres in state-owned sections, and 4,347 acres of Fishlake National Forest in the vicinity of upper Deep Creek.

The most important changes affecting management concerned grazing. The National Park Service believed Moss' more politically expedient and flexible 25-year phase-out would not guarantee adequate resource protection. The agency, instead, requested a strict, 10-year phase-out. The Washington office was thus supporting Heyder's field investigation

⁵⁷ Under Secretary Fred Russell to Chairman Henry Jackson, 27 May 1970, File W3815 (69-71), 79-73A-136, Box 4, Container #790698, RG 79, NA-Denver.

⁵⁸ Senate Committee, Capitol Reef National Park, 3.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

and management finding that cattle grazing and resource protection were incompatible. Under Secretary Russell said:

We believe that continued grazing use is not compatible with optimum protection and interpretation of the park. There are approximately 60 permittees grazing several thousand animal-unit-months of cattle and sheep within the area. A major consideration in arriving at our recommended boundary was the elimination of grazing lands wherever feasible. The remaining lands are necessary for the protection and interpretation of the park, and we believe a 10-year phase-out of grazing would be appropriate.⁶⁰

It was estimated that if the annual and term grazing permits issued before January 1969 were considered, termination dates under a 10-year phase-out plan would range from June 30, 1971 to June 30, 1978. This desire to phase out grazing as soon as possible became a cornerstone of Capitol Reef management philosophy from that point. The National Park Service-suggested amendments did include a proviso insuring the continued right to use stock driveways across park lands, so long as the Secretary of Interior could set guidelines for their use.⁶¹

As part of the legislative support data, the National Park Service also came up with staffing, budget, and development projections for the next five years. It was anticipated that personnel would grow from 11 FTE (full time equivalent persons per year) in 1970 to 23 FTE in 1975, of which 21 would be permanent. The key additions would include a GS-11 chief ranger, a GS-9 "maintenance superintendent," and additional clerical and seasonal help.⁶²

Projected development outside the Fruita headquarters area called for a ranger station, primitive campground, picnic area, and road improvements in both and north and south districts. An additional three miles of road (from the top of the Burr Trail from Upper Muley Twist Canyon to Strike Valley Overlook) and 14 miles of trails were to be built in the southern part of the park.⁶³

The entire package was estimated to increase Capitol Reef's budget from \$450,000 in 1970 to \$2.5 million in 1975. An additional \$328,000 was earmarked to purchase the remaining inholdings, which now included the Sleeping Rainbow Guest Ranch, the Campbell section (encompassing the old Behunin Cabin), and the Capitol Reef Lodge property of Clair Bird. Needless to say, these projections were optimistic.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 5.

⁶¹ Senate Committee, Capitol Reef National Park, 5.

⁶² William L. Bowen, Director, Western Service Center, to National Park Service Director, Attn.: Assistant Director, Legislation, 24 April 1970, File D18, 79-73A-136, Box 3, Container #790697, RG 79, NA-Denver.

⁶³ Ibid.

On June 24, 1970, Sen. Moss' bill, S. 531, was favorably reported out of committee and was passed smoothly by the whole Senate on July 2. Since this bill still called for the smaller additions and 25-year grazing phase-out, the National Park Service now focused on amending Burton's national park/national recreation area bill to create the 254,000-acre park with a 10- year phase-out.⁶⁴

In September, the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the Committee of Interior and Insular Affairs held hearings on Burton's H.R.17152 and Moss', S.531 which had already passed in the Senate. The subcommittee was chaired by Rep. Roy Taylor of North Carolina. Again, the hearing was poorly attended, with only San Juan County Commissioner Calvin Black, an outspoken critic of national park expansion in Utah, testifying in favor of Burton's multiple-use recreation area concept. Black did not mind giving Capitol Reef national park status so long as recreational development, such as the paving of the highway from Boulder to Bullfrog by way of the Burr Trail, and utility and grazing rights-of-way were guaranteed. According to Black, Burton's bill offered the best option for southern Utah.⁶⁵ When asked by Chairman Taylor if the local residents agreed with him, Black answered:

I have been to meetings in Moab and Escalante and all of these communities. I know this is virtually 100 percent [in agreement]. About the only people in our area that might disagree with this position are people who have moved in very recently and are strictly in the tourist business [and] have no other interest.⁶⁶

The Washington hearings also enabled the conservation lobby to express its support for an expanded, single-use Capitol Reef National Park. George Anderson of the Friends of the Earth not only testified in favor of the 254,000-acre National Park Service proposal, but also suggested that the new name should be Waterpocket Fold National Park. Anderson believed that tourism would replace lost ranching income. He also expressed the common opinion of many national park expansion advocates that continued multiple-use of the park lands would "not only leave the Waterpocket Fold open to the kind of niggling deterioration and uncoordinated planning that [would] tear down a great resource, but it would also waste the opportunity to make this part of Utah famous."⁶⁷

In a seeming contradiction, however, the Friends of the Earth legislative director also urged that compromises be pursued to ensure "ways of providing for grazing and other existing uses." Anderson argued that "none of these uses need interfere with establishing a great national park here."⁶⁸

⁶⁴ House Subcommittee Hearings, Expansion of Capitol Reef, 1970, 87; Thow, 137.

⁶⁵ House, Subcommittee Hearings, Expansion of Capitol Reef, 1970, 92-93.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 92.

National Park Service Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., also testified at this hearing. He was joined at the witness table by Chief Ranger Bert Speed (even though Superintendent Wallace had now been at Capitol Reef for over a year) and Mike Lambe of the Washington office legislative division. Hartzog reiterated the National Park Service proposal outlined above. The director specifically recommended that the entire unit be administered as a national park, rather than splitting the southern end into a recreation area. This led to an interesting exchange between Hartzog and Rep. Wayne Aspinall. As full committee chairman, Aspinall carried considerable weight in determining the fate of this bill. Aspinall was particularly concerned about why Capitol Reef should be changed from a national monument to a national park:

Mr. Aspinall: After all, Mr. Director, under the present nomenclature, there is not very much difference between a national monument and a national park, is there?

Mr. Hartzog: No sir; there really is not....If there is one central, single feature, they have tended to make it a national monument. If there is variety, they have tended to make it a national park. At one point acreage was a significant distinction, but more recently, acreage has become blurred as a criterion.

Mr. Aspinall: But there is, because of the advertising that is put out by the National Park Service and also because of most of the news media, the idea that it is supposed to be a little more important to be a national park area than to be a national monument, is that not true, in the public's mind?

Mr. Hartzog: In the public's mind, I think that is what has developed. Actually, however, I think more and more, with the Congress' insistence on the quality of these national parks, it is becoming a real psychological distinction.

Mr. Aspinall: I think also the fact that we no longer are friendly toward the designation of areas under the Antiquities Act as national monument. I think that we are asking now to update all of these areas as soon as possible with statutory authority. I think this will bring us into a closer relationship as far as national park areas and national monument areas are concerned than we have had before.⁶⁹

This exchange made it clear that not only was national park designation more favorable in the eyes of Congress and the public, but that monument creation was no longer such a viable alternative in creating additional National Park Service lands. Capitol Reef would be one of the last areas south of Alaska to be expanded through presidential proclamation. If it could withstand the controversy surrounding that expansion, Capitol Reef's future as a national park was all but assured.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 88-89.

Shortly after the November national elections, Aspinall went on an extended honeymoon, leaving instructions that no legislation was to pass in his absence. Meanwhile, Burton lost his attempt to dislodge Moss from his Senate seat. With Bennett's quiet departure from the issue, only Moss was left to carry on the struggle for a Capitol Reef National Park into the next session.⁷⁰

Congressional Debate And Park Creation, 1971

In early January 1971, Sen. Moss reintroduced his bills to create Capitol Reef and Arches National Parks. When introduced, S.29, "a bill to establish the Capitol Reef National Park in the State of Utah," was almost identical to the S.531 that had died in the previous Senate.⁷¹ The only difference was a new shaping of the eastern boundary in the southern portion of the park to conform to the natural cliff line east of the Waterpocket Fold. This idea had been proposed by the National Park Service the year before. This boundary would add about 11,000 acres to Moss' previous bill, but would still be approximately 12,000 acres smaller than the expanded monument or the National Park Service proposal.⁷²

Moss was not only concerned with Capitol Reef and Arches. During the same session he also sponsored bills to create a Canyon Country Parkway, give statutory authorization to Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, and to add 80,000 acres to Canyonlands National Park. All this congressional focus on southern Utah must have kept National Park Service officials very busy. Meanwhile, at Capitol Reef, additional resource data were gathered and management concerns were refined.

In an advisory Environmental Statement for Capitol Reef National Park first drafted in May 1971, Southern Utah Group Superintendent Karl Gilbert focused on resource descriptions, impacts, and alternative considerations. This document was apparently used

⁷⁰ Thow, 137-138.

⁷¹ U.S. Congress, Senate, Sen. Moss speaking for S.29 and S.30, Congressional Record, 92nd Congress, 1st Session, 117, Pt. 1:333.

⁷² Different acreage figures are found in a variety of sources. Moss estimated that his January 1971 proposal would be 242,472 acres, as specified on Map #158-91,002, January 1971, TIC. This, incidentally, is the map that is referred to in the final act, Public Law 92-207, which created the present Capitol Reef National Park. The National Park Service estimated this same area to be 241,671 acres--a figure used in several 1970s-era planning documents. In the "1989 Statement for Management," the acreage had been revised to 241,904.26 acres (Superintendent's Files, Capitol Reef National Park). Presumably, this figure is correct and was adjusted during a 1980s boundary survey, as there have been no additions or deletions since 1971.

in-house to draft the legislative support data for the 1971 congressional hearings, since many of the same ideas can be found in both.⁷³

Issues affecting the new park included the following:

- An anticipated doubling of the 226,000 visitors in 1970 was predicted due to the completion of Interstate 70 and Utah 95 from Hanksville to Blanding. Increased visitation was seen as a potential problem if not properly controlled through management and “sound design of facilities.”
- Beneficial environmental effects would occur as grazing was phased out. It was also believed that “well-defined regulations” drawn up by the National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management (which would continue to administer the grazing permits) would guarantee a “realistic carrying capacity.”
- Existing mining claims were seen as a “definite environmental factor.” It was hoped that acquisition and cancellation of claims would be started as soon as possible. Access to claims would be strictly controlled and reclamation of old sites would begin as soon as possible.
- Private lands were to be purchased from willing sellers, or acquired by condemnation “should adverse and damaging use develop.”
- It was believed that national park designation would insure environmental protection. Management activities would be “geared towards the return of natural conditions.” Once grazing and mining were eliminated, bighorn sheep and pronghorn antelope could be reintroduced into the park. Other wildlife species were expected to “increase to a natural carrying capacity.”

In summary, the Environmental Statement reported that ending short-term, multiple-use would gradually give way to long term benefits. The statement argued::

Marginal grazing and equally marginal mining activity in the recently added lands must be considered as existing local short-term uses. Both must be considered as noncompatible (sic) with national park purposes. It is believed that the long-range benefits—cultural, economical and sociological—normally associated with a full-fledged national park will far exceed those resulting from the local short-term uses. In addition to improved environmental considerations, the long-range impact of the proposed area, with the predicted visitor traffic, could well be the major source of adjacent area economy in the future.⁷⁴

⁷³ “Environmental Statement for Capitol Reef National Monument,” draft dated 25 May 1971, Superintendent’s Files, H1415. The final draft, undated, is in Box 2, Folder 2, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

⁷⁴ Ibid., Final Draft, 107.

Thus, the National Park Service was beginning to realize the tremendous resources and complex management issues facing the proposed Capitol Reef National Park. Notably, however, there is very little said in any of the legislative support documents about possible adverse economic and political reactions to a 10-year phase-out of grazing. Without doubt, the absence of multiple-use practices was going to improve the natural environment of the park. Yet, the question of how to improve local relations, severely damaged over the last two years, was not even addressed. It was evidently assumed that an eventual tourist boom would ease the distress of local residents.

By mid-1971, opposition to an expanded Capitol Reef was no longer read in newspapers or heard on the floor of Congress. Residents may have continued to complain among themselves, but for the most part had resigned themselves to the inevitable expansion. The one benefit seen by neighboring communities was that it also appeared Capitol Reef would finally become a national park, a goal sought by local boosters since the 1920s.

The Senate hearings in 1971 drew little opposition; most of the time was spent refining the bill.⁷⁵ On June 22, in less than a minute each, the Senate passed all four of the Moss bills concerning southern Utah.⁷⁶

At the same time, newly elected Democratic Rep. Gunn Mackay, who replaced Burton, introduced similar legislation (H.9053) in the House. The hearings in the lower chamber were equally quiet. Calvin Black was back to testify against the bill, but even he realized that he was just "one voice crying in the wilderness."⁷⁷ In early October, the House passed its version of the bill, with even Aspinall speaking in favor.⁷⁸

In November, a conference committee convened to iron out differences between the House and Senate versions. The final wording and disagreements were easily worked out and a favorable report sent back to both chambers. The compromises worked out in the conference committee both concurred and dissented with National Park Service recommendations. Because of the importance of the final wording of the bill, it is

⁷⁵ U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Hearings on S.29 to Establish Capitol Reef National Park, 92nd Congress, 1st session, 3 June 1971.

⁷⁶ Thow, 138.

⁷⁷ U.S. Congress, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Hearings on H.R. 9053 to Establish the Arches National Park and Capitol Reef National Park, to Revise the Boundaries of the Canyonlands National Park, and for Future Purposes, 92nd Congress, 1st session, 14-15 June 1971, 56; Thow, 138-139.

⁷⁸ U.S. Congress, House Debate Over H.R.8213, Congressional Record, 92nd Congress, 1st session, 1971, 117, Pt. 26:34790.

necessary to examine the difference between the House and Senate versions and the reasons for the bill's final language.⁷⁹

- 1) The boundaries were identical in both the Senate and House bills. The National Park Service calculation of 241,671 acres was now being used exclusively.
- 2) With regard to the important issue of grazing, the Senate version supported Moss' desire for a 25-year or longer phase-out, whereas the House version limited grazing privileges "to the term of the lease, permit, or license, and one period of renewal thereafter."⁸⁰ Because the House version was identical to Canyonlands National Park's enabling legislation, the conference committee voted to use it instead of the more flexible 25-year plan. Since the final wording was much closer to the National Park Service desire for a 10-year phase-out than was the Moss plan, agency officials must have been pleased.
- 3) The House and Senate versions both included provisions for stock driveways, but the House wording was accepted because it permitted the Secretary of Interior to designate the trailway locations. An additional amendment was included by the conference committee that "assured the recognition of traditional trailways across the park by the Secretary, but, at the same time, to allow him to establish reasonable regulations for their use."⁸¹
- 4) The Conference Committee decided to go along with the House and delete the Senate wording dealing with "proper development of the park" on the grounds that there was already ample authority for this, so the statement was not needed.
- 5) Both the Senate and House bills had a section dealing with easements and rights-of-way. In recognizing the need for utility rights-of-way across such a large, elongated park, the conference committee proposed to compromise the two versions and require the granting of easements and rights-of-way unless "the route of such easements and rights-of-way would have significant adverse effects on the administration of the park."⁸²
- 6) Both Senate and House bills called for wilderness investigations on the new park lands, but the House version was accepted because it more closely resembled wording in "other comparable measures."

⁷⁹ House, Joint Statement of the Committee of Conference, 92nd Congress, 1st session, Report 92-685, 30 November 1971, 1-4; Congressional Record, 92nd Congress, 1st session, 1971, 117, Pt. 33:43360-61. The conference committee report is also in Box 2, Folder 1, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

⁸⁰ The conference committee report is the basis for all information; the quote is from Capitol Reef National Park's enabling legislation, Public Law 92-207, 92nd Congress, 1st session, 18 December 1971.

⁸¹ House Committee of Conference Report, House Report #92-605, 4.

⁸² P.L. 92-207.

7) The Senate and House versions equally addressed the need for a transportation study. The final wording of the bill stated that the study would include “proposed road alignments within and adjacent to the park. Such study shall consider what roads are appropriate and necessary for full utilization of the area.”⁸³ This study was most likely included to address local and state worries that the national park would not develop access to the outlying areas.

8) The last difference involved the appropriation of money needed for private land purchases and development costs. The House amendment was chosen because it specifically limited the authorized amounts to \$423,000 for immediate purchase of private lands and \$1,052,700 for development of the new national park.⁸⁴

In summary, the conference committee favored the House version of the Capitol Reef National Park bill because it was more specific and more in line with the requirements of other southern Utah parks.

The House of Representatives passed S.29 with the conference committee changes on December 7, and the Senate passed the bill on December 9. It was now up to President Richard Nixon to sign the enabling legislation for Capitol Reef National Park into law.

The Department of the Interior recommended the bill be signed. In correspondence with George Shultz, then director of the Office of Management and Budget, Assistant Interior Secretary Nathaniel Reed pointed out that there were some significant differences between S.29, as passed by the Senate and House, and the National Park Service proposal. The agency, however, would have little trouble living with the changes. The money approved was consistent with park service figures and the road and wilderness studies would, most likely, not cause financial hardship. The decrease of approximately 12,000 acres from the National Park Service plan was not seen as a major problem.⁸⁵

The only major concerns were with grazing and rights-of-way. According to Assistant Secretary Reed, stipulations permitting rights-of-way that did not inflict “significant adverse effects on the administration of the park” were not enough of a safeguard. The “adverse effects” qualifier would be interpreted as broadly as possible to protect the park’s resources.

Insofar as grazing was concerned, the National Park Service had argued for a 10-year phase-out plan throughout legislative battle. While the one-time renewal was not what the agency requested, it had to be more pleased with this alternative than with the 25-year or greater period proposed under the Senate bill.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.; Committee of Conference Report, 5.

⁸⁵ Nathaniel Reed to George Shultz, 14 December 1971, Box 2, Folder 1, Capitol Reef National Park Archives.

In short, the bill did not concur entirely with the National Park Service plans for Capitol Reef, but it was close enough to recommend passage. After all, a new, 242,000-acre national park had to be a more pleasant alternative than a return to 39,000 acres or a split national park and recreation area. With the able assistance of Sen. Moss and newly elected Rep. Mackay, the National Park Service and Capitol Reef supporters had finally succeeded in creating an expanded Capitol Reef National Park, just as Stewart Udall had envisioned back in December 1968.

President Nixon signed the Capitol Reef National Park bill into law on December 18, 1971.⁸⁶ The park supporters had prevailed over the multiple-use advocates--for the time being. Now the question was, could Capitol Reef management develop and protect its newly-gained resources in the manner befitting a true "crown jewel" like Yellowstone, Yosemite, or Zion National Parks?

Summary and Conclusions

Capitol Reef National Park protects one of the most spectacular physical barriers in the world. Its first human explorers, whether of American Indian or European descent, must have been in awe of the beautiful, twisted landscape. Later, Mormon farmers and ranchers would become economically dependent on the isolated, mostly unregulated public lands that surrounded their small communities.

When early boosters sought national park status for Wayne Wonderland, their goal was not so much resource protection as further economic development through roads and tourism. At the same time, the National Park Service was looking at expanding its influence and services into the scenic Southwest. The movement to establish Capitol Reef National Monument thus served the interests of both local businessmen and the fledgling environmental movement, but for different reasons.

After its establishment in 1937, continued isolation and the outbreak of war meant that Capitol Reef was virtually ignored for the next 20 years. The wealthy tourists and writers who visited the more accessible national parks did not come to Capitol Reef. Instead, the vast majority of visitors to Capitol Reef National Monument were Utah residents who, while still enjoying the scenery, usually viewed the monument from the perspective of traditional, multiple-resource use. This point of view was, and still is, in sharp contrast to the National Park Service mission to provide for aesthetic enjoyment and resource preservation.

Beginning with grazing and mining conflicts, and continuing through the road construction and other monument developments funded by Mission 66 appropriations, these different land-use philosophies became glaringly apparent. During and after each conflict, the barriers of culture and attitude would continue to hinder constructive dialogue and

⁸⁶ P.L. 92-207, U.S. Statutes at Large 85 (1971): 739-740.

understanding. It was as if the two sides were traveling different roads and, coming to a crossroads, collided--instead of looking to see where the other side was coming from.

The controversy over the 1969 monument expansion and eventual creation of Capitol Reef National Park in December 1971 was the biggest, loudest collision of all. The barriers that had prevented understanding and fueled prior conflicts were exposed for all the rest of the country to see. Again, compromises were made that quieted local opposition to National Park Service management policy, but only for a limited time.

Future conflict is inevitable when land is claimed by both environmentalists and multiple-use advocates. If the next confrontation concerning Capitol Reef National Park is to be handled constructively, National Park Service managers must be willing to understand not only the history of the area, but the perspectives of those who made that history. It is crucial that managers, local residents, and preservationists anticipate and welcome a crossroads where all parties can sit down, listen, and see where the other sides are coming from.

Figure 29. Expanded boundary of Capitol Reef National Monument, January 1969.

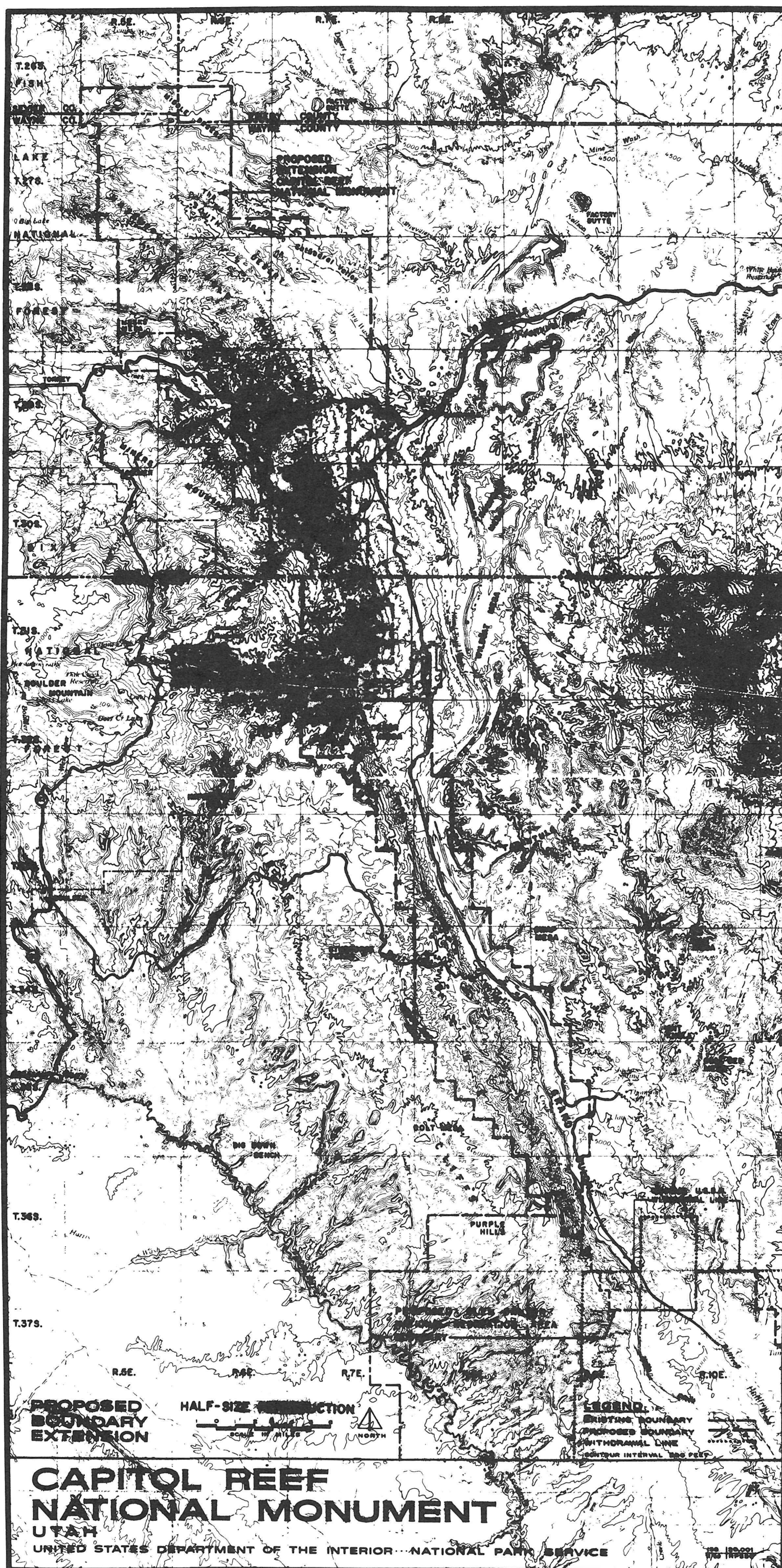


Figure 30. Capitol Reef National Park boundaries, as proposed by Senator Moss, 1969.

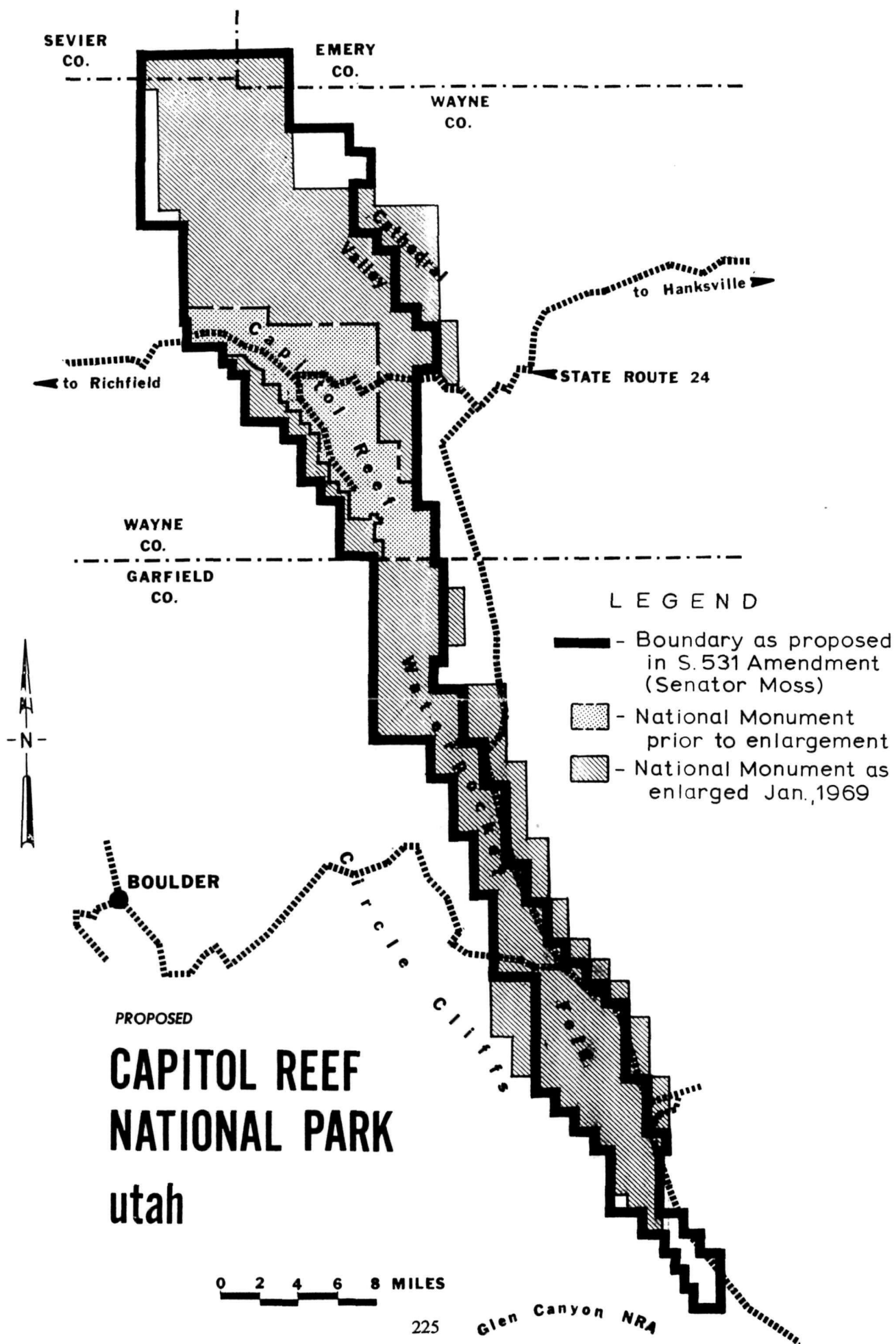


Figure 31. National park boundary, as proposed by the National Park Service, June 1969.

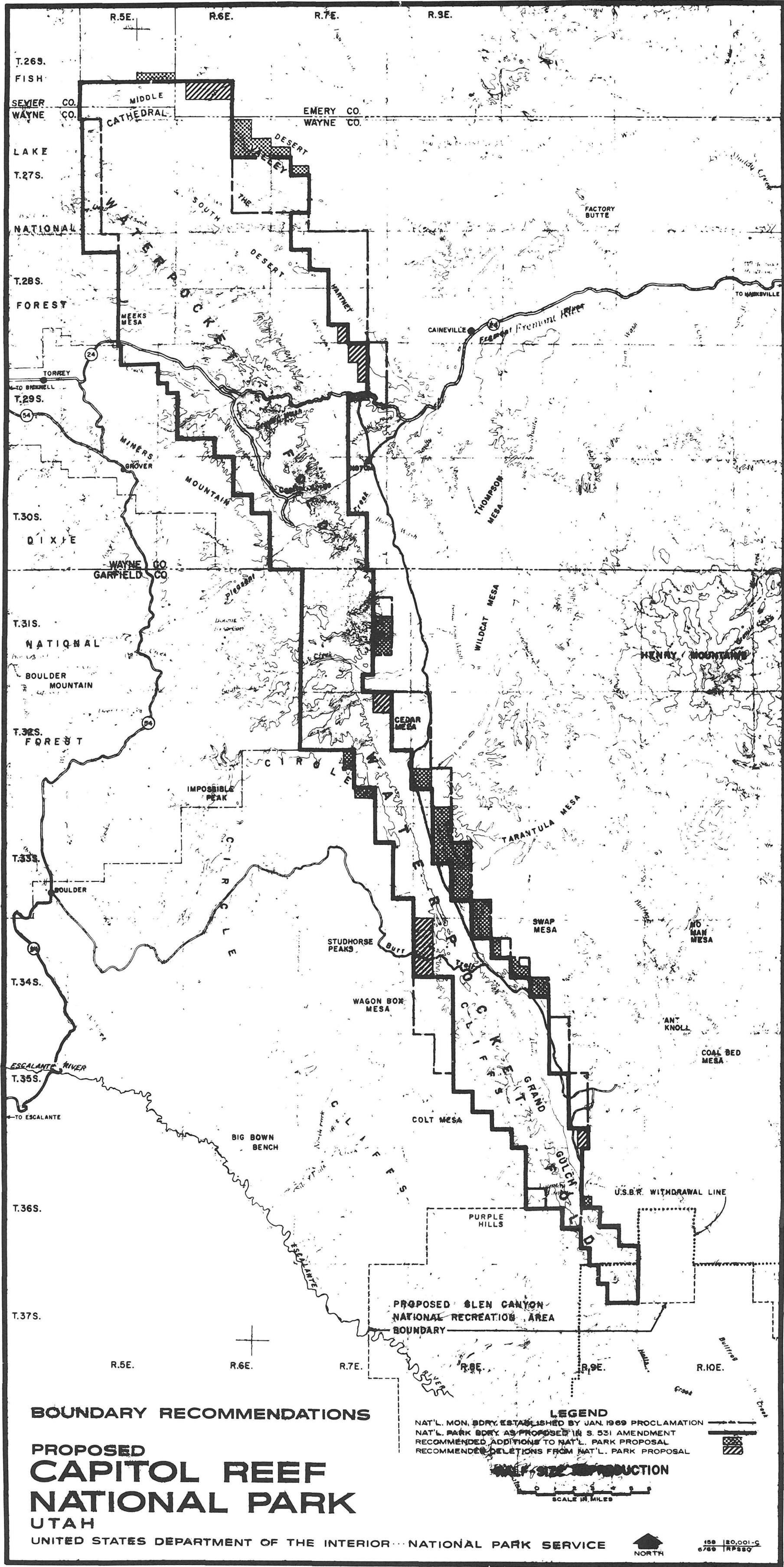


Figure 32. National Park Service proposed boundaries, August 1969.

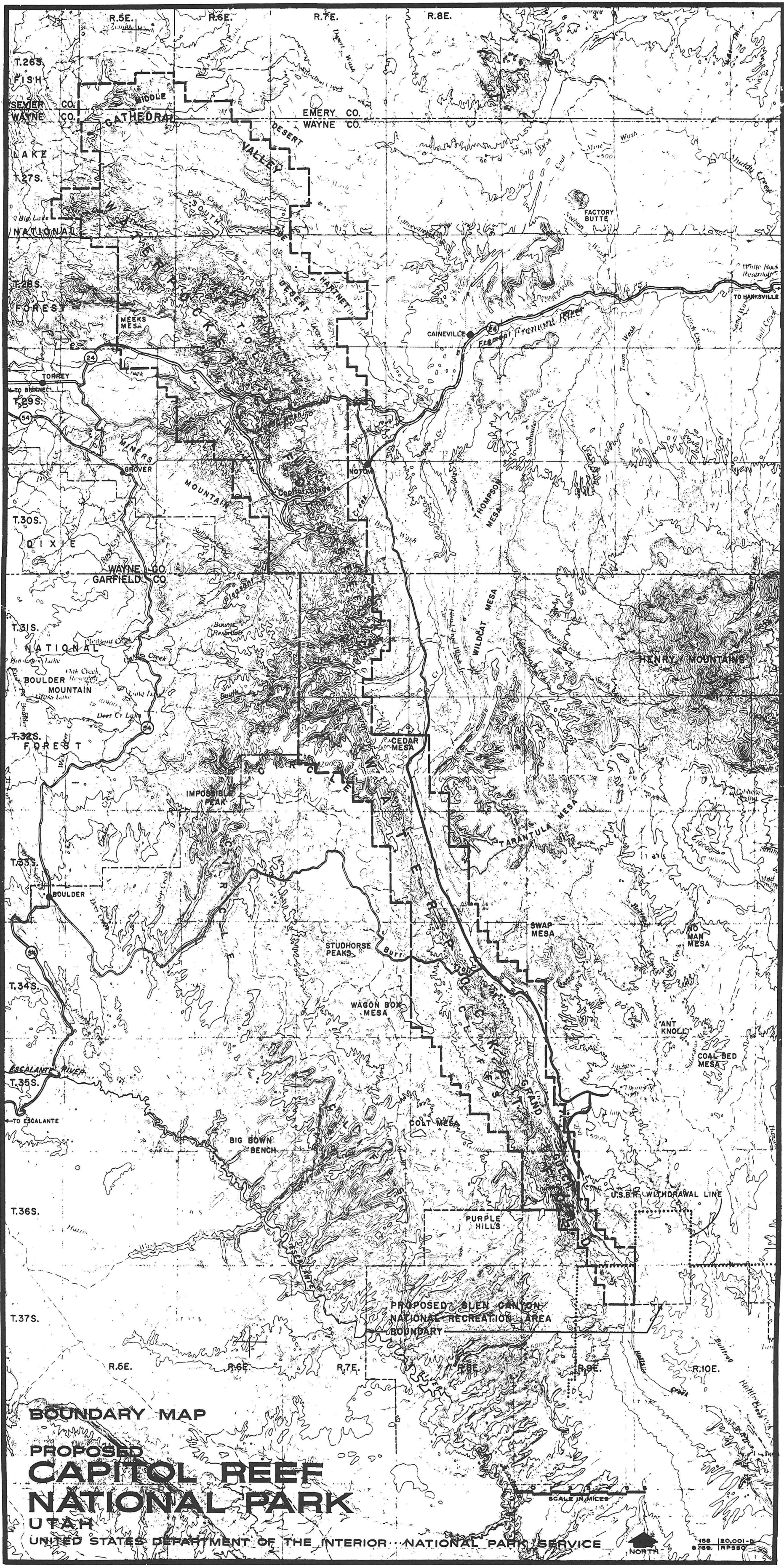
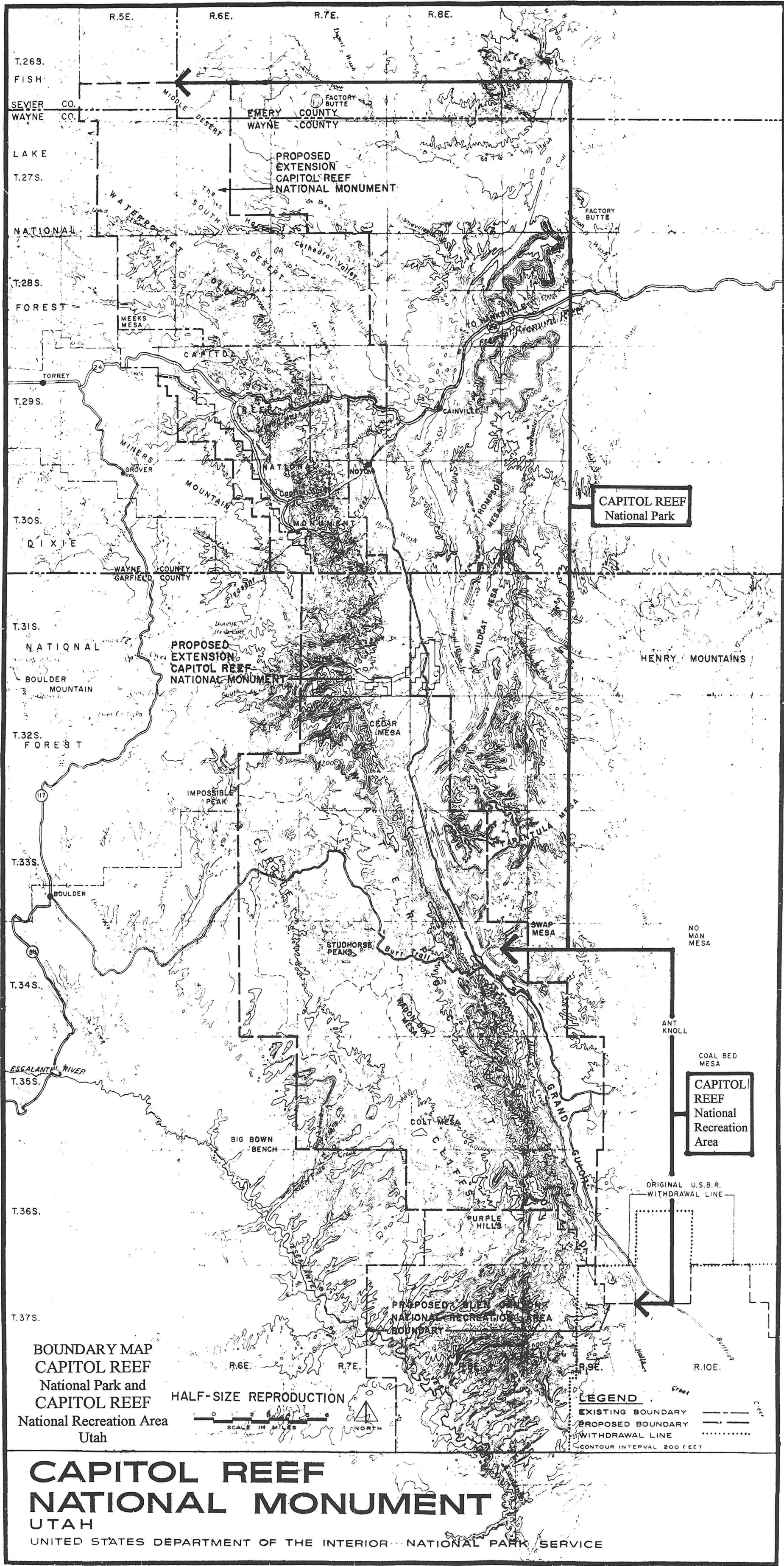


Figure 33. Rep. Burton's 1970 proposed boundaries, "National Park and Recreation Area."



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APPENDIX

PROCLAMATIONS AND RELATED LEGISLATION

12. Capitol Reef National Monument

Establishment: Proclamation (No. 2246) of August 2, 1937.....Page 136

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

(No. 2246 -- Aug. 2, 1937 -- 50 Stat. 1856)

Whereas certain public lands in the State of Utah contain narrow canyons displaying evidence of ancient sand dune deposits of unusual scientific value, and have situated thereon various other objects of geological and scientific interest; and

Whereas it appears that it would be in the public interest to reserve such lands as a national monument, to be known as the Capitol Reef National Monument:

Now, Therefore, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 2 of the act of June 9, 1906, ch. 3060, 34 Stat. 225 (U.S.C., title 16, sec. 431), do proclaim that, subject to all valid existing rights, the following described lands in Utah are hereby reserved from all forms of appropriation under the public-land laws and set apart as the Capitol Reef National Monument:

Salt Lake Meridian

T. 28 S.R. 5 E., All of sec. 34 north of the right-of-way of State Hwy.

No. 24:

secs. 35 and 36.

T. 28 S., R. 6 E., sec. 31 and the west half of sec. 32.

T. 29 S., R. 5 E., All of secs. 1 and 2 north of the right-of-way of State Hwy. No. 24.

T. 29 S., R. 6 E., secs. 1 to 4, inclusive;

All secs. 5, 6, 8 and 9 north of the right-of-way of State Hwy. No. 24;

secs. 10 to 15, inclusive; All of sec. 16 north of the right-of-way of State Hwy. No. 24;

secs. 22 to 25, inclusive;

sec. 26, E1/2 and N1/2 NW1/4;

sec. 27, N1/2 N1/2;

sec. 35, NE 1/4;

sec. 36.

T. 30 S., R. 6 E., sec. 1;

sec. 12, E 1/2.

T. 29 S., R. 7 E., secs. 5 to 8, 17 to 20 and 29 to 32, include.

T.30 S., R. 7 E., secs. 4 to 9 and 15 to 17, include.;

sec. 18, E 1/2 and NW 1/4;

sec. 19, NE 1/4 and N1/2 SE 1/4;

sec. 20 N 1/2 and N1/2 SW 1/4;
secs. 21 to 23, and 26 to 28 include.;
sec. 29, E 1/2 E1/2;
secs. 33 to 35, inclusive, containing approximately

37, 060 acres.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of this monument as provided in the act of Congress entitled "An Act To establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1916 (ch. 408, 39 Stat. 535, U.S.C., title 16, secs. 1 and 2), and acts supplementary thereto or amendatory thereof.

Nothing herein shall prevent the movement of livestock across the lands included in this monument under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior and upon driveways to be specially designated by said Secretary.

In Witness Whereof, I have here unto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 2d day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and thirty-seven and of the Independence [seal] of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty second.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

By the President:

Cordell Hull.

The Secretary of State.

PROCLAMATION 3249
ENLARGING THE CAPITOL REEF NATIONAL MONUMENT, UTAH

WHEREAS it appears that the public interest would be promoted by adding to the Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah, certain adjoining lands needed for the protection of the features of geological and scientific interest included within the boundaries of the monument and for the proper administration of the area:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 2 of the act of June 8, 1906, 34 Stat. 225 (16 U.S.C. 431), do proclaim that, subject to valid existing rights, (1) the lands now owned by the United States within the exterior boundaries of the following-described tracts of lands are hereby added to and made a part of the Capitol Reef National Monument, and (2) the State-owned and privately-owned lands within those boundaries shall become parts of the monument upon acquisition of title thereto by the United States:

SALT LAKE MERIDIAN

T. 29 S., R. 5 E.,

Sections 1 and 2, these portions not previously included in the Monument.

T. 29 S., R. 6 E.,

Sections 5, 6, 9, and 10, those portions not previously included in the Monument;

Sections 7, 8, and 17, those portions lying north of Sulphur Creek;

Section 26, SW 1/4 and S 1/2 NW 1/4.

T. 30 S., R. 7 E.,

Section 20 NW 1/4 SE 1/4 (except S 1/2 S1/2 NW 1/4 SE 1/4) and NE 1/4 SE 1/2 (except S 1/2 SW 1/4 NE 1/4 SE 1/4).

containing 3,040 acres, more or less.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not too appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

Nothing herein shall prevent the movement of livestock across the lands included in this monument under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior and upon driveways to be specifically designated by said Secretary.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this second day of July in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and [seal] fifty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-second.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

By the President:

JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
Secretary of State.

THE PRESIDENT

Proclamation 3888

ENLARGING THE CAPITOL REEF NATIONAL MONUMENT, UTAH

WHEREAS, the Capitol Reef National Monument in Utah was established by Proclamation No. 2246 of August 2, 1937, and enlarged by Proclamation No. 3249 of July 2, 1958, to set aside and reserve certain areas possessing significant features and objects of geological and scientific interest; and

WHEREAS, it would be in the public interest to add to the Capitol Reef National Monument certain adjoining lands which encompass the outstanding geological feature known as Waterpocket Fold and other complementing geological features, which constitute objects of scientific interest, such as Cathedral Valley; and

WHEREAS, under section 2 of the act of June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225, 16 U.S.C. 431), the President is authorized "to declare by public proclamation * * * objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as a part thereof parcels of land, the limits of which in all cases shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected:"

NOW, THEREFORE, I, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, President of the United States, under the authority vested in me by section 2 of the act of June 8, 1906, supra, do proclaim that, subject to valid existing rights, (1) the lands owned or controlled by the United States within the exterior boundaries of the following described area are hereby added to and made a part of the Capitol Reef National Monument, and (2) the State-owned and privately owned lands within those boundaries shall become and be reserved as parts of that monument upon acquisition of title thereto by the United States:

SALT LAKE MERIDIAN

- T. 26 S., R. 5 E.,
 - Secs. 25 to 29, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 32 to 36, inclusive, partly unsurveyed.
- T. 27 S., R. 5 E.,
 - Secs. 1 to 4, inclusive;
 - Secs. 9 to 16 inclusive;
 - Secs. 21 to 28 inclusive;
 - Secs. 33 to 36 inclusive.
- T. 28 S., R. 5 E.,
 - Secs. 1 to 3, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 10 to 15, inclusive, unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 22 to 27, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
- T. 26 S., R. 6 E.,
 - Secs. 27 to 34, inclusive, partly unsurveyed.
- T. 27 S., R. 6 E.,
 - Secs. 3 to 5, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 8 to 10, inclusive, unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 15 to 17, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 20 to 22, inclusive, unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 27 to 29, inclusive, unsurveyed;

- Secs. 32 to 36, inclusive, partly unsurveyed.
- T. 28 S., R. 6 E., that portion not previously included in the monument, partly unsurveyed.
- T. 29 S., R. 6 E.,
- Secs. 7, 8, and 17, those portions not previously included in the monument;
 - Sec. 18, NE 1/4, unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 20 and 21, partly unsurveyed;
 - Sec. 27, unsurveyed, those portions not previously included in the monument;
 - Secs. 28, 29, and 34, partly unsurveyed;
 - Sec. 35, those portions not previously included in the monument.
- T. 30 S., R. 6 E.,
- Secs. 2 and 11;
 - Sec. 12, W 1/2;
 - Sec. 13.
- T. 27 S., R. 7 E.,
- Secs. 31 and 32, partly unsurveyed.
- T. 28 S., R. 7 E.,
- Secs. 2 to 11, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 14 to 23, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 26 to 35, inclusive, partly unsurveyed.
- T. 29 S., R. 7 E.,
- Secs. 1 to 4, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 9 to 12, inclusive, unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 13 and 14, that portion north of State of Utah Route 24, unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 27, 28, 33, and 34, unsurveyed.
- T. 30 S., R. 7 E.,
- Secs. 3 and 10, unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 18, 19, 20, and 29, those portions not previously included in the monument;
 - Secs. 30, 31, and 32.
- T. 31 S., R. 7 E.,
- Secs. 3 to 11, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 14 to 23, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 27 to 33, inclusive;
 - Sec. 34, W 1/2.
- T. 32 S., R. 7 E.,
- Secs. 1 to 18, inclusive;
 - Secs. 22 to 27, inclusive;
 - Secs. 35 and 36.
- T. 33 S., R. 7 E.,
- Secs. 1 and 2;
 - Secs. 11, 12, 13, 24, and 25, unsurveyed.
- T. 32 S., R. 8 E.,
- Secs. 6, 7, 18, and 19;
 - Secs. 29 to 32, inclusive.
- T. 33 S., R. 8 E.,
- Secs. 5 to 8, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 16 to 21, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 28 to 34, inclusive, partly unsurveyed.
- T. 34 S., R. 8 E.,
- Secs. 3 to 11, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
 - Secs. 13 to 36, inclusive, partly unsurveyed.
- T. 35 S., R. 8 E.,
- Secs. 1 to 5, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;

Secs. 8 to 16, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
Secs. 22 to 26, inclusive, unsurveyed;
Sec. 36.
T. 34 S., R. 9 E.,
Sec. 19, unsurveyed;
Secs. 30 to 32, inclusive, partly unsurveyed.
T. 35 S., R. 9 E.,
Secs. 5 to 8, inclusive, unsurveyed;
Secs. 16 to 21, inclusive, partly unsurveyed;
Secs. 28 to 33, inclusive, partly unsurveyed.
T. 36 S., R. 9 E.,
Secs. 4 to 9, inclusive, unsurveyed;
Secs. 16, 17, and 21, partly unsurveyed.
Containing 215, 056 acres, more or less.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

Any reservations or withdrawals heretofore made which affect the lands described above are hereby revoked.

Nothing herein shall prevent the movement of livestock across the lands included in this monument under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior and upon driveways to be specifically designated by said Secretary.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twentieth day of January in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-nine and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-third.

Lyndon B. Johnson (signature)

[F.R. Doc. 69-899; Filed, Jan. 21, 1969; 10:31 a.m.]

Public Law 92-207
92nd Congress, S. 29
December 18, 1971

AN ACT

To establish the Capitol Reef National Park in the State of Utah.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) subject to valid existing rights, the lands, waters, and interests therein within the boundary generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Proposed Capitol Reef National Park, Utah," numbered 158-91, 002, and dated January 1971, are hereby established as the Capitol Reef National Park (hereinafter referred to as the "park"). Such map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the offices of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

(b) The Capitol Reef National Monument is hereby abolished, and any funds available for purposes of the monument shall be available for purposes of the park. Federal lands, waters, and interests therein excluded from the monument by this Act shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") in accordance with the laws applicable to the public lands of the United States.

Sec. 2. The Secretary is authorized to acquire by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, transfer from any Federal agency, exchange, or otherwise, the lands and interests in lands described in the first section of this Act, except that lands or interests therein owned by the State of Utah, or any political subdivision thereof, may be acquired only with the approval of such State or political subdivision.

Sec. 3. Where any Federal lands included within the 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 term 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 or their heirs to continue in the exercise thereof during the term of the lease, permit, or license, and one period of renewal thereafter.

Sec. 4. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as affecting in any way rights of owners and operators of cattle and sheep herds, existing on the date immediately prior to the enactment of the Act, to trail their herds on traditional courses used by them prior to such date of enactment, and to water their stock, notwithstanding the fact that the lands involving such trails and watering are situated within the park: *Provided*, That the Secretary may promulgate reasonable regulations providing for the use of such driveways.

Sec. 5. (a) The National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary, shall administer, protect, and develop the park, subject to the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes", approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535) as amended and supplemented (16 U.S.C.1-4).

999(b) The Secretary shall grant easements and right-of-way on a nondiscriminatory basis upon, over, under, across, or along any component of the park area unless he finds that the route of such easements and right-of-way would have significant adverse effects on the administration of the park.

Lyndon B. Johnson (signature)
(F.R. doc. 69-899; Filed, Jan. 21, 1969; 10:31 a.m.)

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