Environmental Perceptions of Canyonlands National Park, Utah, 1961-1971

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Tate Pashibin

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TATE PASHIBIN

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Geoffrey Buckley

Professor of Geography

Mark Weinberg

Dean, Voinovich School of Leadership and Public Affairs

Abstract

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Environmental Perceptions of Canyonlands National Park, Utah, 1961-1971

Director of Thesis: Geoffrey Buckley

Canyonlands National Park was established in 1964 during a time of change in American recreation and for the National Park Service. The area proposed for inclusion in the park provided economic benefits to local Utahns via mineral extraction, hunting, and livestock grazing. Traditionally, national park designation would prohibit such uses, but the Canyonlands bills presented by Utah congressional delegates provided for continued multiple uses in the park. Supporters of the multiple-use concept cited increasing material and recreational needs for Americans and urged allowance of commercial development on protected lands. Preservationists refuted that all national parks would be jeopardized if Canyonlands National Park was established with provisions for multiple commercial uses.

I analyzed 359 newspaper articles and nine congressional hearing testimonies, which revealed important themes including conflict between preservation and utilitarian values, state and local desires for autonomous land management and economic development, and the need for diversifying recreational opportunities offered by federal land management agencies. The story of establishing Canyonlands is illustrative of the pervasive challenges confronting many National Park Service units, especially those in the desert Southwest.

Dedication

To Mady, with whom I developed a passion for wildlife, nature, and the environment. Your resilience and dedication inspired me to pursue this degree, and I hope in turn to inspire you to achieve your dreams.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2019, a partial federal government shutdown caused many national parks to close their gates and the National Park Service (NPS) to lose approximately $400,000 per day from visitor entrance fees (Gibbens, 2019). The shutdown revealed how delicate and vulnerable many of the units in the NPS system are. At Joshua Tree National Park, for example, careless visitors discarded human waste, engaged in unauthorized off-roading, and destroyed the park's iconic Joshua Trees (Wamsley, 2019). The havoc caused by the shutdown demonstrated the importance of ensuring adequate protections for areas such as Joshua Tree National Park that were established to preserve and protect America's finest scenery, ecosystems, and heritage. Without appropriate research, funding, and staffing, parks face threats that jeopardize the mission of the NPS: to "conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" (National Park Service, n.d.-d).

National park managers face a variety of challenges, such as land management challenges created by activities on adjacent lands (Gimmi et al., 2011; Shafer, 2012). Mineral and fossil fuel extraction surrounding, and beneath, national parks continues to challenge park managers in the interminable conflict between resource use and preservation. The threat of resource extraction interests is omnipresent, as demonstrated by uranium mining in the Grand Canyon. Although uranium mining in the region has been temporarily banned, shifts in executive office administration have brought this issue back to the forefront and threaten to bring uranium mining back into the region

(Reimondo, 2019). Another unit that has struggled with resource use controversies since its inception is Canyonlands National Park in Southeast Utah. In 2008, parcels on adjacent lands were auctioned to fossil fuel industries; environmentalist uproar contributed to halting the most controversial leases for further review (Barringer, 2008; Foy, 2008). However, fossil fuel developments continue to encroach on the park and jeopardize viewsheds, night skies, and ecosystems (National Parks Conservation Association, 2004).

Canyonlands National Park, administratively referenced as Canyonlands or CANY, includes the confluence of the Colorado and Green Rivers as well as spires, monoliths, scenic vistas, arches, and mesas. It also contains famous archaeological sites such as the life-sized pictographs of the Great Gallery (Canyonlands National Park, 2018a). Canyonlands' scenery has been compared to the scenery of Grand Canyon, Bryce Canyon, and Zion National Parks combined into one contiguous geologic basin. The NPS advocated for inclusion of the area in Escalante National Monument in the 1930s and again as Needles National Recreation Area in the late 1950s (Richardson, 1965; Schmieding, 2008). In 1961, Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall initiated a campaign to establish Canyonlands National Park.

Canyonlands National Park was not established until September 1964 (see Appendix for a timeline of significant events). Locals and extractive industries opposed restrictions on land uses which stirred controversy and delayed legislative authorization of the park. Meanwhile, the increase in recreation following World War II called for new and efficient recreation spaces. The story of the establishment of Canyonlands in the

1960s – and its expansion in the 1970s – provides a unique opportunity to study shifting environmental perceptions of this desert landscape, as well as the diversifying responsibilities of the NPS during this critical interval (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Example of Canyonlands scenery.
Photo of the diverse landscapes visible from the Island in the Sky district (photo by author, November 2018).

For this thesis, I analyzed newspaper articles and testimony provided at legislative hearings regarding the establishment and expansion of Canyonlands National Park to answer the following research questions:

1. Why was the establishment and expansion of Canyonlands National Park so controversial?
    a. What were the key conflicts?
    b. What perceptions and themes were apparent?

2. What interests were represented in the final bills establishing and expanding Canyonlands National Park?
    a. Why did the details of the park proposal change over time?
    b. How did American attitudes toward national parks and recreation during the 1960s and early 1970s influence park legislation?

I argue that the 1962 Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) report, in combination with a strong movement to ensure local rights to resource use in and around national parks, challenged Congress to establish Canyonlands as the first national park to fully endorse multiple uses beyond recreation and preservation.

Congress was presented with abundant testimony supporting the bill's multiple use provisions, which would allow resource development and use beyond traditional national park standards. In many cases, establishing a new national park involved allowing for a phase-out period of existing commercial uses such as mining. The Canyonlands National Park proposals included measures to fully support continuance of mineral operations, hunting, and grazing and depart from national park tradition.

President John F. Kennedy, Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall, and NPS Director Conrad Wirth supported these multiple uses in the park. Such prominent support for regulated multiple use was heralded as a necessary accommodation by the NPS to meet the increasing demands of recreationists while also addressing the material needs of a growing population. On the other hand, Congress was responsible for setting the land use agenda and for determining guidelines which distinguish national parks from other federal land types. Ultimately, Congress determined that new national parks should be

created based on historic precedents and that new land classifications could serve the purpose of maximizing recreation and resource use on public lands.

The remainder of this thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 2 explores the history of management challenges and perceptions regarding the NPS. It also provides background on the national parks in general and Canyonlands in particular, and the sociopolitical climate of the 1960s. Chapter 3 describes the archival data sources and methodology used to answer the research questions. Chapter 4 describes the controversies and conversations surrounding the establishment of Canyonlands National Park. Key discussions focused on determining how best to combine resource use with scenic preservation in a time of shifting public land perceptions; how to facilitate state and federal cooperation regarding land management; and how to provide opportunities for the economically depressed southeastern Utah region. Chapter 5 recounts the shift in environmental perceptions and local sentiment in the years following Canyonlands' establishment. Locals and preservationists discussed development and wilderness designation within the park. Finally, Chapter 6 highlights the significance of the decisions and discussions regarding the establishment and expansion of Canyonlands and connects them to the history of the NPS, American environmental perspectives, and the issues facing Canyonlands today.

It is necessary to understand the origin of pervasive issues faced by Canyonlands managers, such as encroaching fossil fuel development and low tourist numbers compared to other Utah parks. The delineation of boundaries and early management of Canyonlands has left a legacy that park managers must contend with today. This research

provides a foundation upon which a better understanding of Canyonlands National Park may be built.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

America's Best Idea

National parks have been called "America's best idea," a phrase attributed to Wallace Stegner, a professor of English, historian, and environmentalist (National Park Service, n.d.-b). National parks protect a variety of natural landscapes and scenic values, scientific assets, unique ecosystems, and historical artifacts for the benefit of the public. Parks are the best known and most visited federal lands due to their natural beauty and historical significance (R. K. Wilson, 2014). The principle of all Americans owning and having access to the great scenic wonders of national parks is fundamental to national park popularity. Tourism to national parks, by both Americans and foreign visitors, is an important measure of park success (Runte, 2010). In 2018, more than 84 million people visited the national parks (National Park Service, n.d.-e).

However, national park tourism has been criticized as a fundamental threat to the system's preservation mission (Abbey, 1968; Dilsaver, 1992; Dilsaver & Young, 2007). Tourism damages landscapes via the construction of roads, erosion of land due to foot traffic, pollution, and development of tourist facilities. In 1956, NPS Director Conrad Wirth remarked that "the parks are being loved to death" (Dilsaver, 2016b, p. 170). Tourist threats are exceedingly difficult to manage, as the Organic Act establishing the NPS discusses both public use (tourism and recreation) and preservation. This dual mission poses a challenge to preserve landscapes while also allowing tourists to visit and recreate. Attempts to restrict visitors and better protect parks have been criticized as a confiscation of lands designated for public benefit and use (Duncan, 2018).

Despite the complications of tourism, parks offer intangible values such as spiritual, cultural, artistic, aesthetic, educational, research, and peace values (Putney, 2003). Recreation in national parks is restorative to human well-being and connects people to nature (Runte, 2010; Tranel & Hall, 2003; Young, 2017). According to Jonathan Jarvis, the eighteenth Director of the NPS: "when you take a person… they will be moved, even transformed, by the power of the places and stories embodied in the national park system" (Jarvis, 2016, p. xi).

There is an abundance of research available on national parks. Dilsaver (2009) states that most national park research falls into two categories: research that reflects on the purpose of national parks or research discussing land use and the role of national parks in society. National park research includes exploration of complex issues such as segregation and racism (D. E. Taylor, 2016; Young, 2017), utilitarian values in and surrounding parks (Clark & Vernon, 2015; Geltman, 2016; Sax & Keiter, 1987; Yochim, 2007), climate change (Jantarasami, Lawler, & Thomas, 2010; Smith, Karosic, & Smith, 2015), and managing tourist accommodations (Algeo, 2004; Dilsaver, 1992; Dilsaver & Wyckoff, 1999).

The NPS has promoted research to document administrative histories of each national park. Administrative histories describe the history and significance of the landscape and the role of the NPS in obtaining and managing parks. These reports also thoroughly document the challenges park administrators have faced over time. For example, the administrative history of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks details how the NPS sought to protect the entire Kings Canyon watershed and how this sparked

conflict between the NPS and United States Forest Service (USFS) over the natural assets of the area (Dilsaver, 1990; Tweed & Dilsaver, 2016). Another example is Lary Dilsaver's treatment of Joshua Tree National Park and the shifting NPS perception of deserts (Dilsaver, 2016c). Administrative histories are available for most national park units (National Park Service, n.d.-a), such as Cumberland Island National Seashore (Dilsaver, 2004), Joshua Tree National Park (Dilsaver, 2016c), Yosemite National Park (Runte, 1990), Guadalupe Mountains National Park (Fabry, 1988), and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (Martin, 1989). Even the significance of NPS initiatives such as Mission 66 are well documented (Carr, 2007). Unfortunately, Canyonlands National Park has not received the same attention and promotion in the literature.

History of National Park Service Perceptions and Management Priorities

NPS management goals have changed with scientific advancements and shifts in public perception. The first national parks were created based on the principles of monumentalism and cultural nationalism; today, ecological management is a priority and recognized as vital to the health of national parks (Runte, 2010).

The perception of wilderness as part of American identity is rooted in the Romantic ideal of the sublime. Urban easterners in particular were impressed by the awe-inspiring landscapes of the West such as Yosemite Valley (Nash, 1970). In the 1800s, Niagara Falls attracted tourists wishing to expose themselves to sublime nature. However, Niagara became privatized and commercialized, causing Europeans to criticize Americans for mishandling natural wonders (Runte, 2010; R. K. Wilson, 2014). As Americans learned to embrace wilderness as a cultural asset, much like Europeans

embraced cathedrals and castles, efforts to protect wilderness in public parks amplified (Nash, 1970; Runte, 2010; D. E. Taylor, 2016). Fears of private interests commercializing Yellowstone, as Niagara had been, inspired action and engendered support for designating Yellowstone National Park in 1872, creating a model for national parks both in the United States and abroad (Runte, 2010).

Yellowstone and other early national parks were established not only for scenic values and cultural nationalism, but also because the lands included within park boundaries were perceived to be worthless (Runte, 2010; R. K. Wilson, 2014). Worthless lands were not able to support timber harvest, agriculture, grazing, mining, or other resource development activities. The existence of or potential for any commercial activity in a proposed national park area often disqualified it from further consideration. Parks that contained economically viable resources were designated with the understanding that commercial activity was permissible, such as the allowance of mining in Glacier National Park. Similarly, parks that had been dedicated without provisions for resource use could still be developed, as demonstrated by the damming of the Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park in 1923 to provide water for San Francisco (Runte, 1990).

The National Park Service was not established until 1916. From Yellowstone's establishment in 1872 to 1916, park funding and management was limited and unstructured. Poaching and illegal activities in Yellowstone prompted the United States Cavalry to serve as land managers (Runte, 2010). National parks and monuments were established and managed by various agencies including the War Department, USFS, and

Department of the Interior (National Park Service, n.d.-d). Fragmented management prompted establishment of a central agency, the National Park Service, in 1916.

From 1916 to the 1930s, the NPS was focused on gaining public favor to secure funding and distinguish itself from the USFS (Tweed & Dilsaver, 2016). The USFS focused on sustainable and careful use of resources, or conservation, whereas the NPS focused on preserving resources in perpetuity (Dilsaver, 2016c). Myriad park proposals were submitted during the 1920s and 1930s to increase tourism and gain favor (Dilsaver & Wyckoff, 2009). The young agency lacked structure, staff, and funds, and emphasized recreation and development for tourism (R. K. Wilson, 2014). Often times, the NPS relied on private interests such as railroads to finance these accommodations (Wyckoff & Dilsaver, 1997).

The NPS continued to advocate for the inclusion of more units, especially in the East near large population centers. The emphasis on developing parks and improving accessibility complicated management, as tourist facilities and use were causing ecological degradation (Dilsaver, 2016b; Young, 2017). In particular, concessionaires providing park services were able to negotiate terms of service and influence park policy, sometimes with detrimental environmental consequences (Tweed & Dilsaver, 2016). By 1930, Stephen Mather and Horace Albright, the first and second directors of the NPS respectively, recognized the threats from development in and near parks (Shafer, 2012; Tweed & Dilsaver, 2016).

The inclusion of archaeologically-rich national monuments such as Montezuma Castle in Arizona demonstrated an early deviation from the notion that the NPS only

managed lands with monumentalism in mind. The NPS further diversified its protected lands in 1934 with the establishment of Everglades National Park, the first instance of the NPS designating a park for ecological rather than monumental value. Many opposed the park due to its lack of monumental value, but advocates for wildlife protection and scientific inquiry argued that the landscape would be lost to hunting and agriculture if not protected (Runte, 2010). As the NPS embraced ecological values, deserts became more appealing candidates for protection. Deserts were historically perceived as wastelands, and aside from mineral wealth opportunities, deserts were largely ignored (Dilsaver, 2016a). Of course, deserts displaying monumental value, such as the Grand Canyon, Zion, and Bryce Canyon, had warranted earlier protection (Runte, 2010).

Science and ecology were increasingly important to the NPS by the 1950s and continued to grow throughout the 1960s. More scientists were being employed by the NPS which allowed science to influence management decisions and educational programs to flourish (Dilsaver, 1992; Tweed & Dilsaver, 2016). The advancement of science promoted investigation of environmental conditions within national parks which would provide a foundation for the 1962 Wildlife Management in the National Parks report and the 1963 Advisory Board on Wildlife Management report (Leopold Report), both of which called for better ecological management in national parks (Dilsaver, 2016b).

On the other hand, recreation values were changing in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s. As recreation demands increased after World War II, new types of federal lands were being designated and NPS responsibilities in American recreation

were broadening (Dilsaver, 2016b). For example, Boulder Dam Recreation Area (later renamed Lake Mead National Recreation Area) was established in 1936 as the first National Recreation Area; National Recreation Areas allowed for various forms of recreation and commercial development. Boulder Dam was designated by a memorandum of agreement between the NPS and Bureau of Land Management, and in 1964 was officially designated by Congress as a National Recreation Area (National Park Service, 2015). National Seashores such as Cape Cod and Padre Island were protected as units in the national park system but allowed non-traditional park uses, such as permanent residences on Cape Cod and mineral development on Padre Island. These adjustments aligned with the release of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) report of 1962, calling on the NPS to diversify recreation opportunities across the nation and to depart from strict preservation ideals (Dilsaver, 2016b). The ORRRC report also highlighted that "driving for pleasure" was by far the most popular recreation activity for Americans and emphasized the need for better accessibility to recreation spaces (Dilsaver, 2016b, p. 201).

The 1960s brought environmental issues to the forefront of public awareness. The Leopold Report released in 1963 focused public attention on natural resource conditions and helped the NPS to recognize the value of research and ecology (Tweed & Dilsaver, 2016). Rachel Carson, Stewart Udall, Edward Abbey, David Brower and others were influential in focusing public attention on environmental matters. The Wilderness Act of 1964 called on federal agencies such as the NPS to manage and preserve wilderness areas. However, a post-war boom in recreation drew visitors to parks and demonstrated

the need for park infrastructure updates. Mission 66 brought new park developments, including roads and visitor facilities, which demonstrated that the NPS still favored tourism and recreation over preservation to best fulfill the agency mission (Carr, 2007; Dilsaver & Wyckoff, 2009).

Public awareness contributed further to shifts in NPS management in the 1970s, as the National Environmental Policy Act of 1970 (NEPA) inserted public participation into federal decision making (Dilsaver, 2016b). NEPA created a platform allowing the public to hold the federal government responsible for intensive study in making decisions, including NPS management plans and road construction. Furthermore, the State of the Parks Report of 1980 drew attention to degraded resource conditions and threats to parks. The report revealed a complex issue: damage within parks could be caused by activities taking place beyond park boundaries (Shafer, 2012). External threats were reported to be particularly challenging due to the limited ability of the NPS to regulate them (National Park Service, Office of Science and Technology, 1980). Additionally, the Redwood National Park Expansion Act of 1978 affirmed that the primary objective of the NPS was to preserve scenery even at the expense of providing tourist access (Dilsaver, 2016b).

Today, park managers face challenges from the energy industry and restricted budgets. Energy development surrounding national parks is common as many parks are surrounded by public lands that allow for resources uses that degrade the land, such as fossil fuel extraction and logging operations. At Theodore Roosevelt National Park, for instance, companies extracting oil from the Bakken oil field have complicated

management by siting drill pads near park boundaries, contributing to global emissions that accelerate climate change (Theodore Roosevelt National Park (U.S. National Park Service), 2015; Williams, 2017). Even green energy solutions, such as solar, can pose challenges to nearby national parks (Dilsaver, 2016a; Joshua Tree National Park, 2017).

Energy development and consumption are major contributors to climate change. Climate change impacts parks through changes in precipitation patterns, rising sea levels, ecosystem shifts, and shifts in wildlife habitat ranges (Jantarasami et al., 2010; National Park Service, 2010). Efforts to cope with climate change are inhibited by budget constraints, institutional red tape, and uncertainty (Jantarasami et al., 2010; Smith, Karosic, & Smith, 2015).

Park management continues to be a balancing act. The dual mission of recreation and preservation confounds decision makers. Staff are limited, parks are underfunded, there is a $16 billion dollar maintenance backlog, and lands are threatened by encroaching development (Duncan, 2018). Nevertheless, the NPS centennial in 2016 saw the greatest number of tourist visits to national park units in history, demonstrating the continued popularity of these federal lands (National Park Service, n.d.-c).

Establishing New National Parks

National parks are created by Congressional legislation after a park is proposed by an individual or group, researched for feasibility and suitability, public hearings are held, and Congressional subcommittees review the proposed legislation (Dilsaver & Wyckoff, 2009; Espinosa, Vaske, & Donnelly, 2017). National monuments, generally established through presidential proclamation, can be converted into national parks through

Congressional action. Approximately one-third of national monuments have become national parks (Espinosa et al., 2017).

Several factors must be taken into consideration for an area to become a national park, including feasibility, suitability, and national significance. More specifically, the proposed park must be affordable for the federal government to purchase, must not be heavily opposed by locals, must be accessible to the public, must be unique compared to existing park units, must not otherwise be adequately protected, and must hold national significance as a historic or natural resource (Dilsaver & Wyckoff, 2009). Espinosa, Vaske, and Donnelly (2017) found that fewer parks are approved in years when competition for control of the House of Representatives is more intense (the controlling party comprises less than a fifty-five percent majority) as lawmakers will act more strategically. Furthermore, presidential administrations can favor or oppose the NPS, thereby making it easier or harder to designate national parks and appropriate funding. National park creation varies based on geography, politics, and timing, but nearly all share a common thread of contentious political battles to justify creation of a park (Dilsaver, 2009; Dilsaver & Wyckoff, 2005).

Determining the boundaries of a potential national park is typically controversial. Boundary delineation can be categorized as antecedent, subsequent, or superimposed. Antecedent boundaries are applied to unsettled lands and thus are less controversial. Subsequent boundaries are manipulated to exclude unwanted activities, such as resource extraction, or private properties that would have to be obtained by the federal government. Superimposed boundaries are drawn without regard to existing settlements

and land uses. Nearly every park has subsequent or superimposed boundaries; these boundaries subject parks to threats from surrounding activities and disgruntled locals (Dilsaver & Wyckoff, 2005).

Political and economic conditions can influence boundary delineation, creating management problems for park administrators (Dilsaver & Wyckoff, 2005; Gimmi et al., 2011). In the West, national parks are often created from vast expanses of public land and are surrounded by Bureau of Land Management (BLM), USFS, or other federal lands (Sax, 1980). However, the USFS and BLM operate under the principle of multiple use that allows for resource use and extraction including mining, logging, grazing, and fossil fuel development (Kenney, 1991; R. K. Wilson, 2014). These activities can have adverse impacts on nearby national parks. However, the NPS at times has permitted resource use within parks, often as a compromise to secure creation of a park unit. Dilsaver (2009) reflects that nearly all "units in the national park system faced some local opposition during the campaigns to establish them. Most units still cope with contrasting, sometimes threatening, land uses in the territory around them" (p. 271).

The Social, Political, and Economic Context of the 1960s and 1970s

The 1960s were marked by a post-war boom in population and increased interest in recreation (Young, 2017). As Americans visited national parks in record numbers, it became apparent that visitor accommodations were lacking in number and condition. Mission 66 was initiated to update facilities and promote development in national parks (Carr, 2007).

Initially, environmental concerns were championed by Republicans such as Theodore Roosevelt. However, during the 1950s neither party seemed to favor conservation policies. This changed when President John F. Kennedy's administration embraced conservation and environmental policies, exemplified by the appointment of Stewart Udall as Secretary of Interior. In 1963, Secretary Udall published *The Quiet Crisis*, detailing the degradation of American environments. Later, President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, which sought to improve quality of life for all Americans, recognized that environmental quality and human well-being were linked (Brulle, 2009; Rome, 2003).

The 1960s saw the beginning of consensus on environmental issues such as with the passage of the Wilderness Act (1964), NEPA (1970), and over 300 conservation, environmental, and beautification measures signed by Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Richard Nixon (Rome, 2003). Citizens were mobilizing and engaging in environmental advocacy as demonstrated by the nationwide activities and bipartisan support of the first Earth Day in 1970 and the resulting environmental policy focus of the 1970s (Rich, 2016; Rome, 2003).

Southeastern Utah. During the 1960s, Utah was generally a bipartisan state, with Democrats and Republicans evenly represented. Beginning in the 1970s, the influence of Mormonism (or more formally the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) pushed the state to consistently vote in favor of Republicans (Cohen, 2012). Utahns were mistrustful and critical of the federal government, despite federally-funded programs

such as highway construction and reclamation projects which benefitted the state (Harward, 2016).

Southeastern Utah includes the five-county area of Emery, Garfield, Grand, San Juan, and Wayne. The region was rural and remote during the 1960s. Agriculture in these counties accounted for half of the employment in this region during the 1940s and 1950s. During the 1950s, the region's economy transitioned from one based on agriculture to one focused on mineral development. By 1960, mining accounted for 26 percent of the work force compared to 15 percent in agriculture. During this time, Grand and San Juan county populations rose while Emery, Garfield, and Wayne county populations declined, resulting in a net regional population increase during the 1950-1960 period (Edminster & Harline, 1962).

The economic boom of the 1950s was driven by uranium ore mining, eventually giving way to potash development. Soon the petroleum industry began to expand in the area with the discovery of the Aneth and Lisbon oil fields. Concurrently, tourism to the Four Corners Area (Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah) increased. The primary industries of mining, tourism, cattle ranching, and agriculture spurred the development of secondary industries such as construction, trade, and service (Edminster & Harline, 1962). Notably, extractive industries created roads throughout the remote canyon country which improved recreational travel in the region (Canyonlands National Park, 2018b).

Despite growth, many residents relied on government support. In particular, the economic boom and bust cycles of mining and petroleum extraction created an unstable economy. According to Paul Strong, a resident of Monticello in San Juan County:

> When I moved to Monticello in 1955, the town was on a boom, jobs were plentiful, business was good, and it was almost impossible to find a vacant apartment or even a trailer space; but now, 7 years later, business is poor, jobs are scarce, vacant houses and apartments are numerous. In 1956 I had six men working for me in the plumbing and heating business; but now I do not have enough work for myself, and there is no other plumber here. (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, p. 277)

The Canyonlands National Park proposal divided area residents. While most favored a park, many did not trust the Secretary of Interior and the NPS to allow continued mineral exploration and grazing as stated in the language of the bills. The hope of balancing the economy of the region with a stable tourist industry was appealing to most, but the threat of the federal government changing authority over the land posed a threat to local industry (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962).

Canyonlands National Park

Utah's "Mighty Five" national parks are Arches, Bryce Canyon, Canyonlands, Capitol Reef, and Zion (see Figure 2). Canyonlands has been celebrated for its many ecological and cultural resources. The Colorado Plateau, where the park is situated, is recognized as one of the top three ecoregions in North America as determined by the number of endemic species (National Parks Conservation Association, 2004), and has some of the cleanest air in the contiguous United States (Canyonlands National Park, n.d.-a). In 2015, Canyonlands was recognized as an International Dark Sky Park for pristine night skies (Canyonlands National Park, n.d.-c; Lund, 2017). The park and surrounding lands contain biological soil crusts that are vital to the desert ecosystem but are fragile and can be destroyed by off-trail foot and vehicle traffic (Canyonlands National Park, n.d.-b).

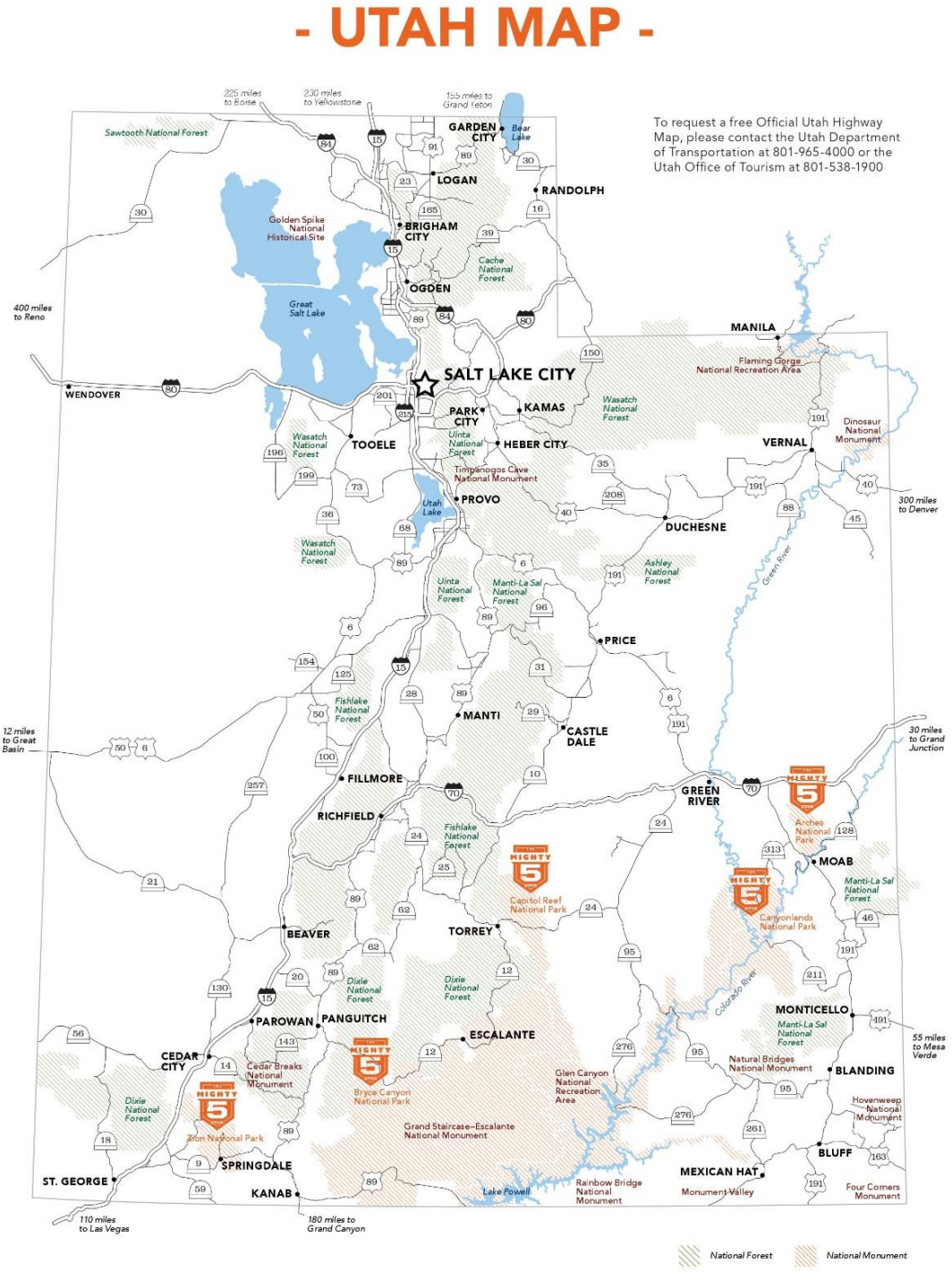


Figure 2. Map of Utah public lands (Utah Office of Tourism & Utah Department of Transportation, n.d.).

There are over 1,300 known archaeological resources within Canyonlands, but most of the park has not been adequately surveyed for archaeological sites. Salt Creek Archaeological District, Horseshoe Canyon, Island in the Sky, and Lathrop Canyon Mining District are currently managed as cultural landscapes and sites (National Parks Conservation Association, 2004). Friends of Arches and Canyonlands Parks, the non-profit partner to Arches and Canyonlands, recruits and trains volunteers to monitor archaeological sites to determine if the site is being impacted by visitor activities (J. Langianese, personal communication, November 15, 2018).

Western parks such as Canyonlands are economically important to gateway communities (communities within 60 miles of a park) for various tourist industries including recreation and hospitality (Lund, 2017; Thomas & Koontz, 2017). Canyonlands received 739,449 visitors in 2018; these visitors contribute to local economies and jobs (National Park Service, n.d.-e). In 2016, Canyonlands generated $57 million in economic output and supported 722 jobs in recreation, lodging, food, and other sectors (Thomas & Koontz, 2017).

Tourists can enjoy a variety of activities such as hiking, rafting, mountaineering, mountain biking, and exploring cultural sites. However, many areas of the park have been scarred by mining, vandalism, off-roading, and artifact theft, and views have been tainted by air pollution and oil rigs (National Parks Conservation Association, 2004). Fossil fuel operations on surrounding lands (see Figure 3 and Figure 4) have complicated management and sparked controversy (J. Smith, 2015). Moreover, San Juan County residents are hostile to the park. Residents refer to the Needles district as “the black hole

of San Juan County" due to the lack of economic benefit from tourist visits to nearby towns and restrictions to commercial land use (Denis, 2016).

Figure 3. Oil rig near Canyonlands.
Just north of park boundaries, and on some of the approach roads, oil rigs can be observed (photo by author, November 2018).

Figure 4. Potash settling ponds.
The Texas Gulf Sulphur Company's potash settling ponds can be seen from Dead Horse Point State Park and from some approach roads to Canyonlands. The company's operation started before Canyonlands was established (photo by author, November 2018).

Schmieding (2011) reported on Canyonlands National Park's administrative history, but this report is only available through the NPS. T. G. Smith (1991) detailed the politics behind the establishment of the park and specifically describes the actions of the Utah Congressional delegates, the governor, and NPS officials. Smith's approach provided a foundation to examine citizen perspectives on Canyonlands and to place the park's establishment in the context of American recreational history. Denis (2016) recounts the administrative history relating to road infrastructure development in the Needles unit and the resulting complications. Perceptions of Canyonlands during the 1960s and 1970s and significance of the park in NPS and American environmental

history are not well synthesized in either Schmieding (2011) or T.G. Smith (1991). Generally, Canyonlands has been understudied in the social science literature.

Most scholarly research on Canyonlands falls under the natural science umbrella. Several studies have examined the geology of Canyonlands (see Figure 5), including the grabens (Grosfils, Schultz, & Kroeger, 2003; Schultz-Ela & Walsh, 2002), soil crusts (Barger, Belnap, Ojima, & Mosier, 2005), and arches (Starr, Moore, & Thorne, 2015). Other studies inquire about ecology within the park (Haden, Shannon, Wilson, & Blinn, 2003; Johnson, 1981) and air quality (Eatough, Eatough, & Lewis, 1996). One social science research article discusses place attachment differences on the Colorado and Green rivers within the park (Warzecha & Lime, 2001).

Figure 5. Needles area geology.
Thousands of years of wind and water erosion have influenced the scenery in Canyonlands (photo by author, November 2018).

In *Desert Solitaire*, Edward Abbey documents his explorations in the Maze before it was included in Canyonlands, praising its remoteness and unspoiled character. Abbey also discusses Canyonlands as a typical case of NPS overdevelopment, criticizing the NPS for paving highways and making roads directly to top features in the park (Abbey, 1968, p. 45). Similarly, in *The Hour of Land*, Terry Tempest Williams uses her experiences in Canyonlands to grieve the loss of natural wonders by human development. Williams criticizes damming, oil and gas leasing, and general development in and around natural wonders, such as the Glen Canyon Dam near Canyonlands (Williams, 2017). These works offer evidence of resource destruction as early as the 1970s and advocate for protection of Canyonlands and the surrounding landscape.

The non-academic literature on Canyonlands evokes a sense of wonder at the intimacy one can achieve in the undeveloped wilderness of Canyonlands. In *My Canyonlands: I had the Freedom of it*, Kent Frost, an advocate for the park and one of the first jeep tour guides, wrote about his experiences in the greater Canyonlands area. Frost felt most at home in the canyonlands and often would disappear on spontaneous adventures for weeks at a time with nothing but meager day supplies (Frost, 1971). Similarly, Bates Wilson was captivated by the Needles district within months of beginning his tenure as Arches National Monument Superintendent and spent much time exploring the area. Wilson promoted a Needles National Park, and the subsequent Canyonlands National Park, and is known as the "Father of Canyonlands" (Quintano, 2014).

Additionally, Canyonlands serves as the focal point of *Blow Sand in His Soul*, the biography of Bates Wilson detailing his service as an NPS superintendent (Quintano, 2014). Notably, Jen Quintano discusses Wilson's efforts to establish Canyonlands and preserve the park as a primitive landscape. Bates was key to garnering support for the park and acted as a spokesman for southeast Utah regarding Canyonlands. However, Wilson's ideals to preserve Canyonlands as a primitive park and limit development caused the community to scrutinize the NPS for failing to fulfill its promise to make the park more appealing to car tourists (Quintano, 2014).

Further research on Canyonlands National Park is warranted due to being one of Utah's Mighty Five parks and because of the controversy surrounding its creation and management. For example, in the 1980s, a nuclear waste repository was proposed under Gibson Dome near Canyonlands. Utah residents were divided, as some opposed the waste facility for fear of radiation and land degradation in Canyonlands while others were familiar with uranium and nuclear power and favored economic opportunity (Schmieding, 2008; Whipple, 1982). In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Canyonlands faced lawsuits from various interest groups in response to the 1995 Canyonlands Backcountry Management Plan. The Backcountry Management Plan allowed off-highway vehicles (OHV) to drive along Salt Creek. The Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance sued the NPS, arguing that the OHVs jeopardized preservation in a delicate area and that Canyonlands staff did not adequately address these concerns in the NEPA process (Dilsaver, 2016b).

Conflicts over BLM oil and gas leases near Canyonlands and other western national parks began in the 1990s (Schmieding, 2008). These conflicts culminated in 2008 when controversial BLM parcels near Canyonlands and other national parks and recreation areas were leased for fossil fuel exploration and development. The lease sales received national attention which lead to outcry from environmental organizations and direct action by environmentalist Tim DeChristopher (known as Bidder 70) (Barringer, 2008; Foy, 2008; Gilman, 2015b).

Many of these controversies trace their roots to the establishment of Canyonlands in 1964. The proposed bills to establish Canyonlands promised to protect mineral rights, including for fossil fuel exploration and development, and to allocate federal funding to develop the park area and make it accessible to tourists. These measures were supported by most locals in the five-county area. However, the law establishing Canyonlands National Park removed the provisions for multiple use, and the NPS opposed and delayed paving roads and developing the park, leading to local criticisms (Quintano, 2014; Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1970).

The campaign to establish Canyonlands included promises that mineral rights would be protected within the park, discussions that mineral development and scenic values were compatible, and beliefs that Canyonlands would be the centerpiece of a "Golden Circle" of national parks in the Four Corners area. Today, mineral leasing and development mar the landscape surrounding Canyonlands and the park remains minimally developed and receives fewer tourists than the other Utah national parks (Leaver, 2018).

Chapter 3: Data and Methodology

Study Area

Present-day Canyonlands covers 337,598 acres in southeastern Utah (National Parks Conservation Association, 2004). The park contains the confluence of the Colorado and Green rivers and is divided into three districts: Island in the Sky, Needles, and the Maze. Horseshoe Canyon is a separate unit to the northwest of the Island in the Sky unit (see Figure 6). Arches National Park, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Dead Horse Point State Park, and Manti-La Sal National Forest are nearby, and 99% of Canyonlands is surrounded by publicly owned lands (National Parks Conservation Association, 2004). Emery, Garfield, Grand, San Juan, and Wayne Counties encompass Canyonlands, but most of the park falls within San Juan County. Northeast of the park, the town of Moab (in Grand County) is a recreation hub for Arches and Canyonlands national parks. Moab grew considerably with the uranium mining booms in the 1960s and further developed to accommodate tourists visiting the two nearby parks (Lund, 2017; National Parks Conservation Association, 2004). The town of Monticello (in San Juan County) provides services and access to the Needles district but has not received economic benefits to the same extent as Moab (Denis, 2016).

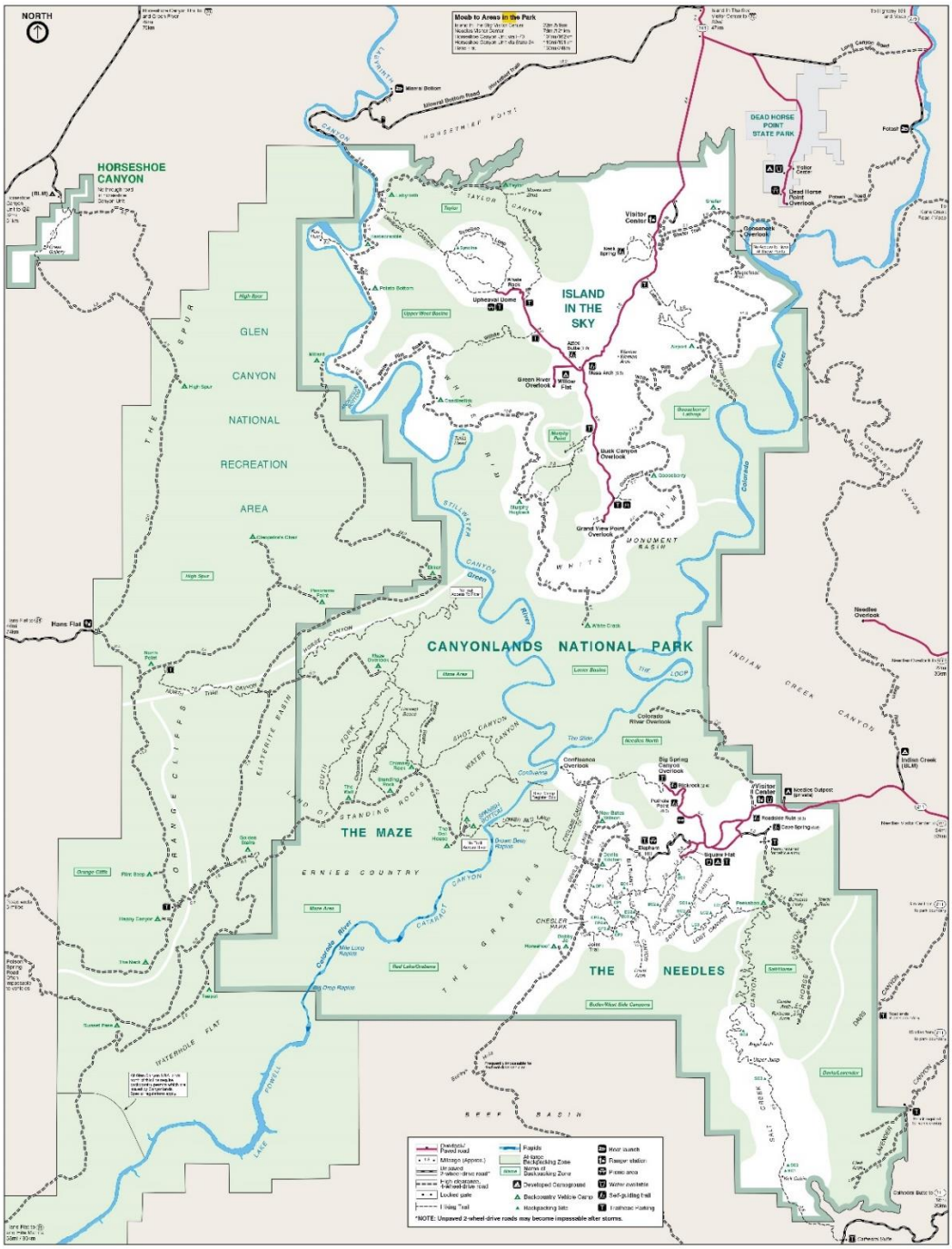


Figure 6. Map of Canyonlands National Park.
Canyonlands has three districts and shares a boundary with Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (My Utah Parks, 2017).

Archival Research

This thesis focuses on events that occurred decades ago and necessarily requires archival research including review of legislative documents and newspaper articles. Similar approaches were used in Simmons' (1981) account of the controversial establishment of Shenandoah National Park and Dilsaver's (1990) discussion on the establishment of Kings Canyon National Park. Historical events and perceptions can be reconstructed through archival newspaper sources, which are narrative accounts that recreate the reality of the past (Bosi & Reiter, 2014; Harris, 2001). Furthermore, the legislative record of hearings regarding Canyonlands' establishment can shed light on contemporary perceptions and perspectives.

Newspaper data sources and analysis. Content analysis is commonly used in geographical studies. Youngs (2012) analyzed postcards representing the Grand Canyon for themes to understand promotion of the park between 1936-1955. Similarly, Wyckoff and Dilsaver (1997) surveyed photos and captions to understand promotional imagery of Glacier National Park. In both studies, artifacts were studied for thematic content and then assigned to appropriate categories revealed through analysis. This study used similar methods to analyze newspaper articles. Manifest content analysis and latent content analysis were used to quantify the numerous perspectives and events that were revealed in newspaper articles from 1961 to 1971 (Dunn, 2016).

Newspapers were collected from the Southeast Utah Group (SEUG) archives in Moab, Utah from November 12-18, 2018 and from online databases between April-December 2018. Three online databases – Newspaper Archives, Utah Digital Newspapers

and ProQuest Historical Newspapers – were used to collect digital newspaper articles, editorials, and letters to the editor. Articles were located using the search terms "Canyonlands" or "Canyonlands National Park" and limited to the date ranges of January 1, 1961 to September 12, 1964 or January 1, 1966 to November 15, 1971. Newspaper Archives were only used for the latter time period to supplement the small sample size due to an inability to collect articles from this time period from the SEUG archives in Moab, Utah. Articles from the SEUG archives (Series 339, Folders 416-421) were considered for analysis regarding the establishment of Canyonlands.

Newspaper articles were studied for content to understand the sequence of events and perspectives surrounding the establishment of Canyonlands and to verify other sources (Roche, 2016). Preliminary coding was conducted using randomly selected articles from the three online databases. Pilot coding revealed the notable perceptions and themes apparent in each time period; these themes were used to establish a codebook for content analysis for each time period (Cope, 2016; Youngs, 2012). Microsoft Excel spreadsheets were used to quantify coverage of concepts, perceptions, and themes during the campaign to establish Canyonlands and to create figures.

Irrelevant articles that did not discuss the park proposal in some detail (i.e. the article mentioned that there was a proposal to create Canyonlands National Park but included no details of the proposal) were excluded from analysis. A grand total of 359 unique newspaper articles from 29 newspaper outlets met the criteria for inclusion and were analyzed. Table 1 reviews the number of newspaper articles and newspaper outlets used from each archive.

Table 1. Archival newspaper sources.
Most newspaper articles were collected at the SEUG archives and online via Utah Digital Newspapers.

Database	Total Newspaper Outlets	Total Articles Coded	Time Period
Newspaper Archives	6	23	Expansion
ProQuest Historical Papers	3	15	Establishment
SEUG Archives	12	209	Establishment
Utah Digital Newspapers	12	81	Establishment
Utah Digital Newspapers	5	31	Expansion

While newspaper articles can provide crucial information regarding social movements, they are subject to several limitations such as selection bias, description bias, political bias, and location of the news agency (Boime, 2007). Selection bias occurs when newspapers choose to report, or not report, an event (Boime, 2007). Selection bias is

shaped by editorial concerns, stories that appeal to the target audience, and relevance of an event to current social concerns (Boime, 2007; J. Smith, McCarthy, McPhail, & Augustyn, 2001). Description bias occurs when news agencies decide how to report on an event. Information may be omitted, misrepresented, or framed to better appeal to a specific audience (Boime, 2007).

Hutter (2014) describes the importance of acknowledging the potential limitation of newspaper sources but cautions that the degree of bias is difficult to quantify. To this extent, national newspapers and conservative-leaning newspapers are more selective than local newspapers and liberal-leaning newspapers (Hutter, 2014, pp. 350–351). To limit bias, both national newspapers and local papers were used (Boime, 2007). In addition, newspaper portrayal of events was verified using triangulation, as most events and perceptions were covered by multiple newspaper articles or from different newspaper outlets. Triangulation is commonly used to address both selection bias and description bias by examining the topic from multiple sources (Ayoub, Wallace, & Zepeda-Millan, 2014; Boime, 2007).

Legislative sources and analysis. The records of the Congressional hearings regarding Canyonlands were collected using the ProQuest Congressional database. Five Senate hearings and four House of Representative hearings were analyzed for a grand total of nine hearings. Hearing records were analyzed using manifest and latent content analysis for each person or organization's testimony and recorded in Excel spreadsheets (Cope, 2016).

Chapter 4: Perceptions of the Establishment of Canyonlands National Park

This chapter casts light on the perspectives and themes revealed in the 165 statements presented by 136 people and the 305 newspaper articles, editorials, and letters to the editor used in my analysis of perceptions of a proposed Canyonlands National Park. Numerous bills were proposed to establish Canyonlands during the legislative process. Over time, the provisions and language of the bills changed to reflect stakeholder testimony and consultation with land managers. Prominent themes revealed in analysis of newspaper articles and witness testimony at congressional hearings included the NPS' role in recreation, road and infrastructure development, multiple uses, and what size the park should be (see Figure 7).

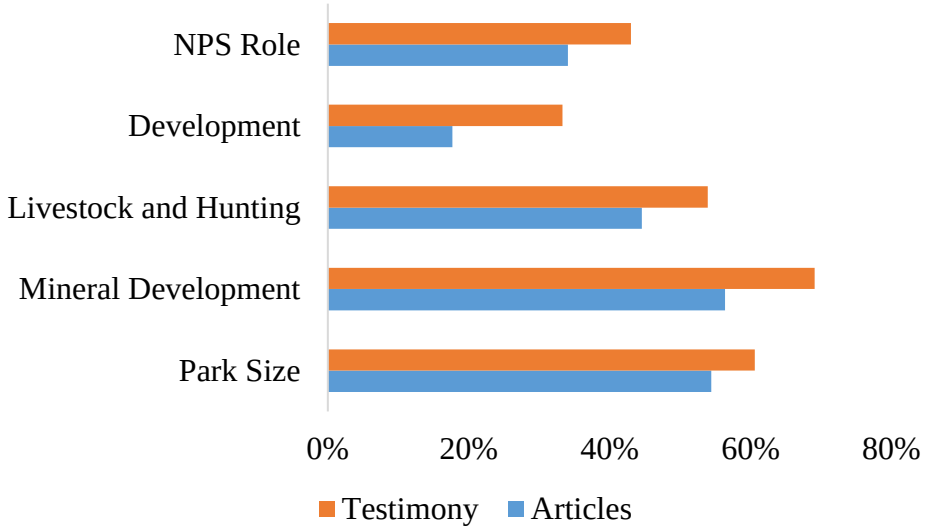


Figure 7. Major themes discussed during Canyonlands' establishment. Themes were identified through content analysis.

Most people supported establishment of a national park in the Colorado-Green River confluence area. By 1964, newspaper support for Canyonlands, exemplified by editorial backing or articles urging the park proposal move forward, was nearly unanimous. Likewise, personal testimonies were highly supportive of park establishment over time (see Figure 8). Though most favored federal recognition of the Canyonlands area, several approaches to designating the area existed. Utahns favored a park that permitted multiple uses, whereas environmental interest groups favored a traditional national park. Finally, others wanted to balance the commercial use and park preservation by reducing the size of the park. Rulon Howells, a Utahn who previously served the Utah Tourist and Publicity Development Department, summarized the issue: “Nearly everyone says that we should surely have a national park in the designated Canyonlands area, but too many have reservations as to how it should be done. Nearly everyone who wants special features represents special interests” (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, p. 398).

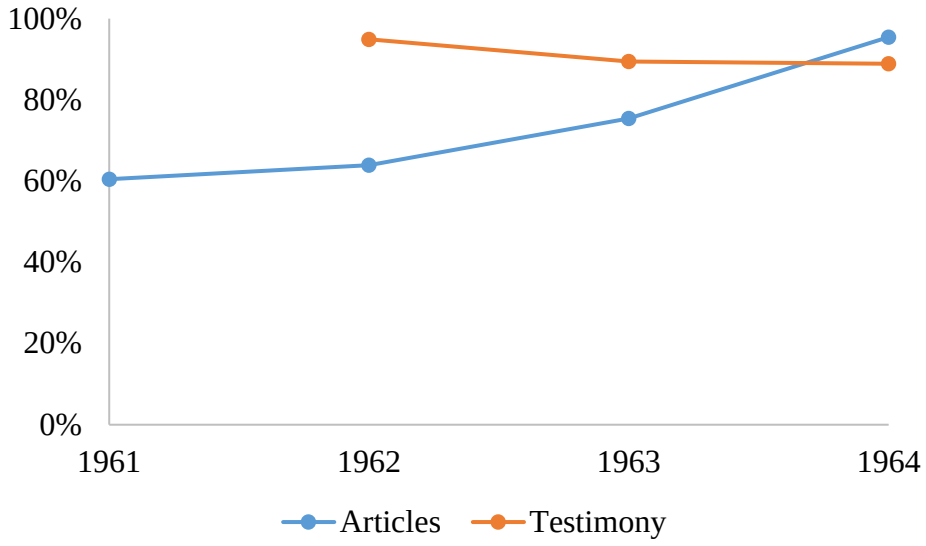


Figure 8. Proportion of article and testimonial support for the Canyonlands National Park concept over time.
Most people supported the idea of Canyonlands National Park but had different approaches to how it should be designated.

This chapter discusses the five major themes that emerged after a thorough review of newspaper articles and statements presented at congressional hearings. Statements about park size reflected a desire to include outstanding scenic features within the park while also minimizing restrictions on area industries. Mineral extraction and development were perceived as important to Utah's economy but there was some debate concerning whether these activities were compatible with the NPS mission. Discussions about animals in the park centered on the possibility of continued grazing and public hunting under the guise of ecological control. Local testimony emphasized park facility development, as the park's remote location and harsh climate called for tens of millions of dollars in developments to attract tourists and improve accessibility. Finally, political

affiliation, conservation and preservation ideologies, and suggestions to adapt the NPS mission to meet expanding American needs were reflected in discussions about creating a national park.

Compromising Scenery with Utilitarian Values for a Sizeable Park

It was apparent after the first round of hearings in 1962 that there was no debate about the scenic value of the proposed park. Park proponents emphasized the grand landscapes in colorful descriptions. For example, Michael Nadel, representing The Wilderness Society, explained: “The eerie formations, spires, terraces, bluffs, and natural sandstone amphitheaters… are like something from an outer world, with hues like muted sunbursts. An other-than-natural sense is pervasive in this fantastically beautiful land” (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, p. 157).

Instead, the proposed park was controversial due to the anticipated limitations on existing or future land uses, such as grazing, hunting, mineral development, and water reclamation. Locals wanted to designate the scenery as a national park to promote tourism, but also wanted to realize the economic benefits from commercial land use. Balancing scenery and economic opportunities were ubiquitous discussions in designating any national park and often resulted in reducing the size of the park to exclude commercially viable lands. Arguments over the size of Canyonlands revolved around including the most spectacular features but excluding lands suitable for economic use.

Utahns were concerned that most (75 percent) of the state was managed by the federal government, primarily the Department of Interior (DOI) and Department of

Agriculture. The total acreage of Utah national parks and monuments, which were perceived as the federal lands most restrictive to industrial and commercial uses, was already 301,000 acres in 1962 ("Governor speaks out on Canyonlands here today," 1962). The first Canyonlands bills, S. 2387 and H.R. 8573 introduced in 1961, proposed a 300,000-acre park which would have doubled the acreage of national parks and monuments in Utah.

Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall and the NPS envisioned a Canyonlands National Park of a million acres, although much of this area was active in mineral operations or leases. Senator Frank Moss (D-UT), Representative David King (D-UT) and Representative M. Blaine Peterson (D-UT) introduced bills in the House and the Senate in August 1961 to incorporate approximately 300,000 acres. The Democratic lawmakers wanted to include Upheaval Dome and other areas in the Island in the Sky vicinity, the Land of Standing Rocks and Maze, and the Needles area. It wasn't until January of 1962 when Senator Moss' DOI-endorsed bill showed the proposed boundaries. Additionally, Senator Moss increased park acreage to 330,000 acres, upsetting Utah citizens and state officials.

In August 1961, Utah Governor George Clyde's committee on Utah wilderness areas resolved that the Canyonlands area be limited to only the most scenic portions in the Island in the Sky, Upheaval Dome, Needles, and Land of Standing Rocks areas. The committee stated that less scenic portions should remain under BLM jurisdiction to manage for multiple use. Senator Wallace Bennett (R-Utah) drafted a bill based on the committee's recommendations; he envisioned three national parks totaling approximately

11,500 acres in the Needles, Upheaval Dome, and Grandview Point areas. Clyde endorsed this measure, believing that minimizing the park would be an innovative strategy to balance park scenery and utilitarian values incited by locals and industry. Finding middle ground between the NPS' hope of a million-acre park, Senator Moss' 330,000-acre park, and Senator Bennett and Governor Clyde's 11,500-acre park set the stage for a multi-year battle over Canyonlands National Park.

Secretary Udall and Governor Clyde met and exchanged correspondence in early 1962 to reconcile their views to create an acceptably-sized park, but both felt they were compromising too much. In February of 1962, Secretary Udall told Governor Clyde that 325,000 acres was the minimum acceptable area to preserve the most scenic features in the proposed park. However, Clyde did not want a park exceeding 50,000 acres, a size he felt would give Utah the best economic outcome. Utahns echoed this sentiment, as did the Utah State Advisory Board of the BLM, which expressed a preference to keep the NPS-managed boundaries of the park to a minimum.

Governor Clyde's primary reason for supporting a smaller park was a fear that conservationists would pressure the NPS to force multiple use out of the park and keep Canyonlands in line with national park standards for preservation and recreation only. However, Clyde appointed a second committee to study the Canyonlands issue, which envisioned a 310,000-acre Canyonlands National Park and Recreation area. Of this, 102,000 acres would be strictly "zoned" for national park purposes and the rest managed as a recreation area allowing for multiple use (Fitzpatrick, 1962). Although the increased size displeased Clyde, he encouraged Utah's congressional delegates and Secretary Udall

to support the recommendation. Figure 9 illustrates the differences between the committee's idea for a zoned park and recreation area and Senator Moss' S. 2387.

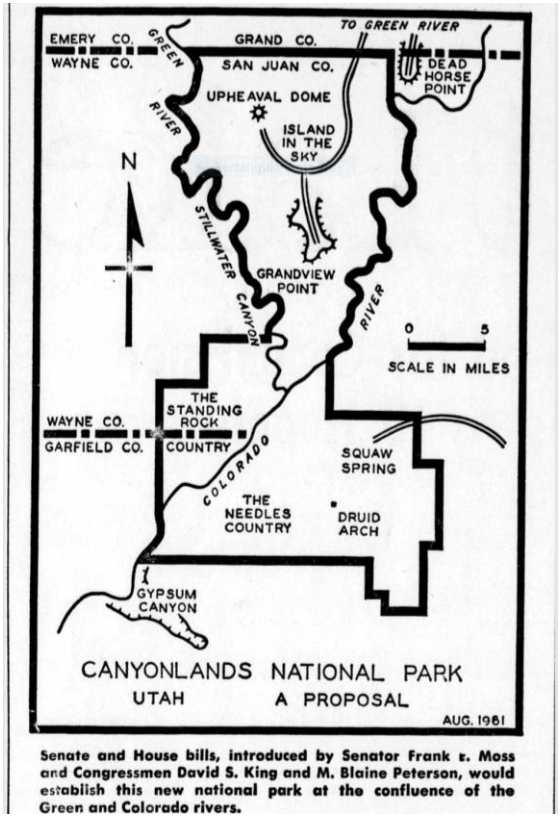
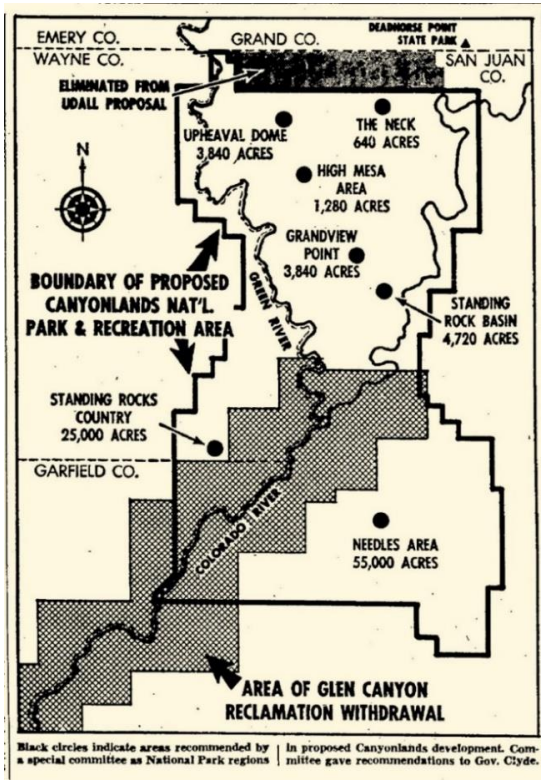


Figure 9. Maps of different Canyonlands proposals. Map of proposed Canyonlands in S. 2387 by Moss, August 1961, covering approximately 300,000 acres ("Utah Demos sponsor park bill," 1961).



Map of Clyde and Bennett's proposed Canyonlands National Park and Recreation Area, March 1962, at roughly 95,000 acres of standard park land (Fitzpatrick, 1962).

A majority of locals attending a Monticello Chamber of Commerce meeting in February 1962 favored Canyonlands National Park but were concerned about the size and restrictions on resource use (Jensen, 1962b). Some locals preferred to minimize the size of the park to allow productive mineral operations to continue. Other locals, such as Fern Frost, argued for a larger park: “if it can be made into a park with multiple use, that would be all right; but if it can't, we should have a national park, and the bigger, the better” (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, p. 218). Similarly, nature-oriented interest groups such as the Wildlife Management Institute and Desert Protective Council favored a larger park area (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). Preference for park size varied over time in part due to the introduction of measures to restrict resource use over time; by 1964 park size became less controversial (see Figure 10).

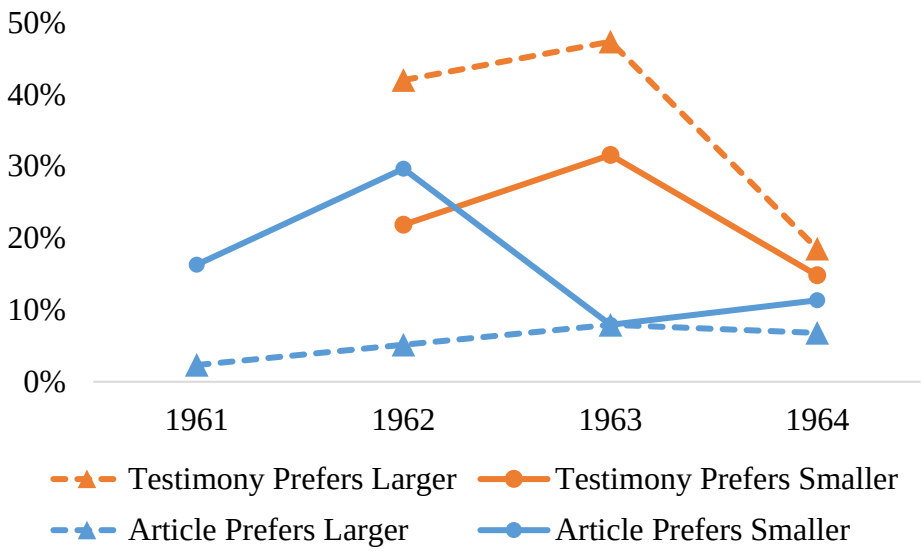


Figure 10. Preference of park size.
Article and testimonial preference for a larger or smaller Canyonlands National Park, visualized by year.

The variety of opinions and rationale for enlarging or shrinking the park challenged lawmakers. It is unsurprising that Canyonlands ultimately was designated at 257,640 acres, or about a quarter of the original idea. Historically, proposed national parks were reduced in size to accommodate local and commercial interests (Hewlett, 1962c). Although the size of the park was greatly reduced and provisions for multiple use were almost certain to be discarded, by 1964 Southeast Utah locals were desperate for a Canyonlands National Park. One local commented: "I would just like to see a park created. If we can have the multiple-use concept, fine, I prefer that. If we can't, I definitely would like to have the park created as soon as possible" (James Black, Subcommittee on National Parks, 1964, p. 34). The promise of federal aid to develop and advertise the park area was appealing to locals who hoped to boost the economy in the economically depressed area ("Canyonlands National Park," 1964; "House hearings may be held this year on Canyonlands Park measure," 1963; Subcommittee on National Parks, 1964; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). Senator Moss and the NPS, dissatisfied with the compromised boundaries, waited until a more opportune time to propose expanding the park.

Mineral, Gas, and Oil Perspectives: The Hope to Redefine National Parks

During the 1960s, the need for recreation spaces was apparent, but preservationist concerns over mineral development were also obvious. Both recreation and mineral extraction were prominent on public lands, notably USFS and BLM lands. The Multiple Use and Sustained Yield Act of 1960 directed the USFS to manage resource development with recreational values in mind to maximize use of the land. The BLM, which managed

the federal lands proposed in the Canyonlands area, was a relatively new and underfunded agency (established 1946) that was often guided by the interests of industry (Dilsaver, 2016b; R. K. Wilson, 2014). Nearly all the 330,000 acres proposed for inclusion in Canyonlands National Park were leased for mineral development in 1962 ("Moss outlines nat'l parks," 1962).

The transfer of lands from the BLM to the NPS threatened mineral interests because the NPS restricted natural resource development whereas the BLM facilitated development. However, Senator Moss and Representatives King and Peterson lobbied for mineral development to continue in the park to reflect the changing circumstances of commercial need and recreational expansion:

> There are those who say that the Moss bill, while insisting that the primary use of the land be for a national park, goes too far in permitting multiple use. I wish to point out that my bill is fully consistent with the multiple-use principles suggested by the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. Changes in our society are making necessary changes in our concepts regarding the use of areas set aside for national parks. (Moss, 1962, p. 5259)

The representatives cited the ORRRC report recommendation to maximize activities on public lands such as Canyonlands to protect local industries by allowing multiple uses. The NPS and Secretary Udall supported regulated mineral development in Canyonlands, although the NPS acknowledged a preference for traditional national park standards (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). On the other hand, mineral development opponents feared allowing extractive activities in Canyonlands would set a dangerous precedent for existing and future national parks.

Mineral development of potash, uranium, oil, and gas was controversial for a multitude of reasons. First, the valuation of minerals in the area was not precisely known due to the area's remoteness and the rugged terrain (Hewlett, 1962b; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, p. 114). Second, the degree to which mineral operations marred the desert scenery was ardently contested (Skeeters, 1963; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). Finally, allowing mineral development in a national park threatened to change the fundamental principles that distinguished the NPS from other federal agencies or land types and set a precedent that would jeopardize national parks (Blair, 1962; Subcommittee on National Parks, 1964; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962).

Extractive industries and many local Utahns raised concerns about restrictions to mineral development immediately after Secretary Udall stated a desire to establish Canyonlands National Park. Senator Bennett and Governor Clyde led the opposition to Canyonlands based on fears of restriction on multiple use. In reference to Canyonlands, multiple use generally meant permitting grazing, hydrology projects, hunting, and the development of oil, gas, and mineral resources. Governor Clyde's Canyonlands Committee, appointed to study and propose the most economical solution regarding Canyonlands, defined multiple use in the following way:

> Multiple use as we envision its application to the Canyon Lands area is a balanced and integrated use of all of the resources including scenic, geologic, scientific, recreation in its broadest conception, fish and game, mining, non-minerals, gas and oil, grazing, and water and power development. It does not necessarily mean that all uses will be realized in the same location at the same time. However, uses which do not conflict may be realized simultaneously. In its application, it provides a proven method for the harmonious blending of the various resource uses into a practical, workable pattern of protection, management and development of

> the resource potential in an orderly and conservative manner. (Lundstrom, 1962)

"Multiple use" generally referred to any use deviating from national park standards relating to preservation and recreation. Similarly, multiple use activities such as mining and grazing were sometimes referred to as "secondary uses" compared to the "primary" park uses of preservation and public access ("Game stand on Canyonlands told by dept.," 1962; "Push needed for park, parley told," 1962; Subcommittee on National Parks, 1962).

Actual mineral valuation within the proposed park was difficult to estimate due to the rugged terrain making exploration difficult. Some argued that there was little or no recent production in the park despite thorough exploration. They pointed out that ninety-five percent of the area was under oil and gas lease in 1961, and that the area had already been prospected and mined for various minerals (Edminster & Harline, 1962; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). Proponents of mineral development argued that advancements in technology and improved accessibility in the area would aid in identifying new deposits. In the early 1950s, Utahns believed that Southeast Utah had no oil or gas resources, but since that time massive petroleum deposits such as the Lisbon trend had been identified. Similarly, proponents noted that at the Aneth oil field one hundred wells came up dry before one began producing. By 1962, the Aneth field was supporting a billion-dollar oil operation and hundreds of Utah jobs (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962).

Mineral production in the proposed Canyonlands varied. In the northeast section of the proposed park, Southern Natural Gas operated a petroleum well that produced

approximately 600 barrels per day (Robinson, 1962). Potash deposits were common around southeastern Utah, but there were few known or likely potash areas in the vicinity of the park aside from the established Texas Gulf Sulphur Co. operation ("Potash occurs all over S.E. Utah," 1962; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). As of 1961, twelve uranium mines within the park produced nearly 3,000 tons of ore cumulatively; outside the proposed park 76,000 more tons of ore had been produced (Lundstrom, 1962). These uranium deposits were noteworthy, but the increasing national supply of uranium was reducing profits (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). Figure 11 depicts the various mineral areas around the proposed park.

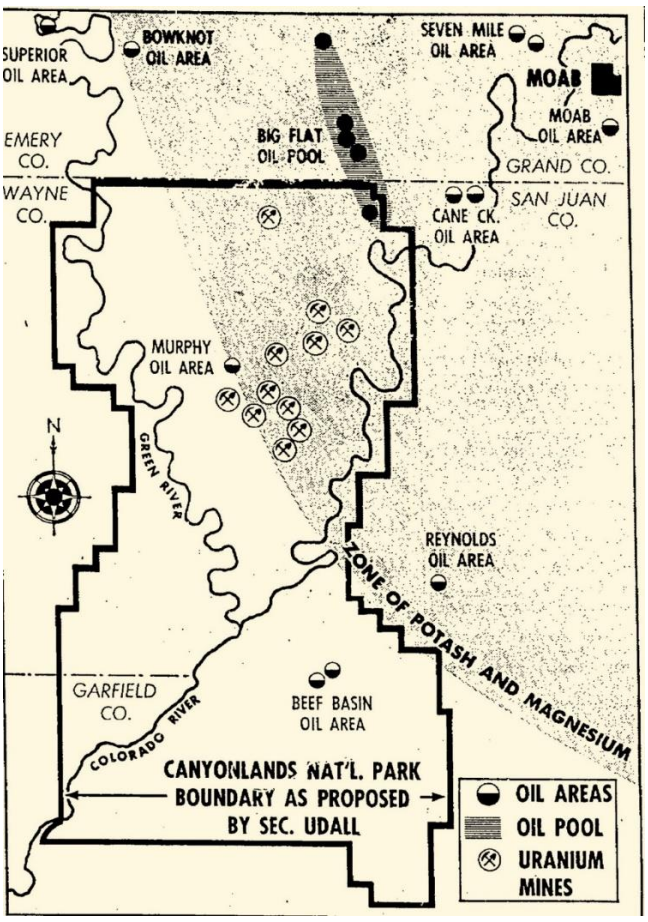


Figure 11. Map of Canyonlands area minerals.
Map of known mineral areas within and near the proposed Canyonlands boundaries, 3/25/1962 (Bernick, 1962).

The intention to create Canyonlands to accommodate mineral exploration and development was based on the historical, current, and predicted value of minerals in the area. Senator Moss and Representative King assured protection of existing mineral rights in S. 2387 and H.R. 8573. However, Governor Clyde, Senator Bennett, and mineral interests feared multiple use would be jeopardized in the park based on national park precedents. Meanwhile, the NPS was perceived to hold a policy that was “openly hostile”

to multiple use (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, p. 36). The Monticello City Council presented a resolution at the 1962 Senate field hearings that reflected these concerns:

> [The area] is potentially rich in minerals and oil deposits of which future development could possibly provide great wealth and industry to the county of San Juan and the State of Utah… any operation to develop said mineral and oil deposits would be subject to such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior shall deem necessary to preserve the scenic and recreation values of the area… the history of National Park Service administration are such as to indicate that the regulations adopted under said section 5 would inevitably be so stringent as to eliminate any effective multiple use… the Park Service in establishing a national shrine in the Canyonlands area can best serve the welfare of the county of San Juan, the State of Utah, and the national interest by the establishment of a park of smaller size. (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, p. 207)

Many argued the language of the bill gave the Secretary of Interior too much power to limit extractive activities. The language regarding these activities was derived from the Great Basin National Park bill which had passed the Senate and was pending in the House and thus offered some precedence. However, mineral development proponents cited the example of Mount McKinley National Park. Although mining was legal in Mount McKinley, the restrictions on aircraft use and prohibition of commercial vehicles on park roads prevented exploration. Mineral interests feared that no matter the language providing for mineral development in Canyonlands, the NPS and Secretary of Interior would somehow prevent the practice (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962).

Such fears were not unfounded. In September 1961, Secretary Udall directed the BLM to implement an interim management plan for one million acres in the Canyonlands area. The plan called for BLM officials to review new lease applications and deny them if

approval of the application could destroy or impair the land. The purpose of this management plan was “to protect scenic values in this area from the indiscriminate use of bulldozers by seismic crews” and to prevent tourist damage and theft of Native American artifacts (White, 1961). However, the interim management plan sparked controversy and undermined faith in the Secretary of Interior’s desire to fully protect mineral development rights. Later, when an oil well began producing within the proposed park, Senator Moss revised the park’s boundaries to exclude the operation, a clear indication that multiple use might not be honored in the park (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, p. 289).

Another point of contention involving mineral development related to school funding. Taxes on oil and gas operations contributed to the state school fund, and taxes for land use on state school parcels also contributed to public school funding. Governor Clyde, Senator Bennett, and others argued that school children would suffer from the lost mining royalties if there were any restrictions on mineral development (Redd, 1962). Critics also complained about the exchange of state school lands within the proposed park boundaries for federal lands outside of the boundaries (“Bennett gives amendments for Canyonlands,” 1963).

Until 1958, San Juan County schools received aid from the state’s uniform school fund; from 1958 to 1962, San Juan County contributed over five million dollars to the uniform school fund (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, p. 291). Senator Bennett and others argued that state and federal lands should be exchanged before Canyonlands was established; Bennett also asserted that the state lands within the park be exchanged for

parcels in the productive Lisbon oil field ("Bennett supports attempt to get Lisbon for Utah," 1962; "Good sense on Canyon Lands," 1962).

Most witnesses appearing at the legislative hearings favored mineral development within Canyonlands (see Figure 12). Locals, tourism interests, mineral interests, lawmakers, and the NPS approved of provisions to allow for mineral development in Canyonlands National Park. Environmental interest groups such as the National Audubon Society did not necessarily oppose multiple use in the area; they opposed national park designation if multiple use was allowed and preferred designation as a National Recreation Area.

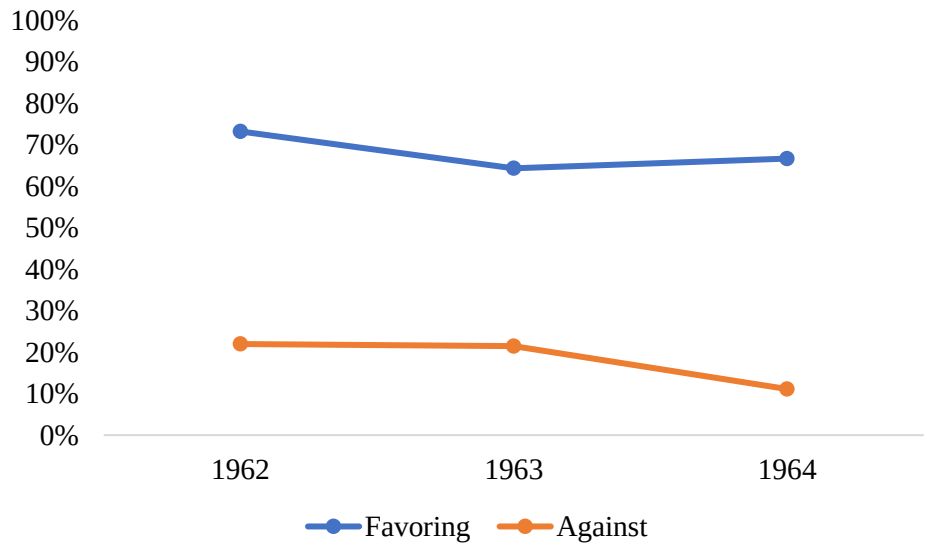


Figure 12. Proportion of testimonial preference for mineral development in Canyonlands. The concept of mineral development in Canyonlands National Park was popular and spanned multiple interest groups.

Multiple use proponents conveyed their support in different ways. Some, including Senator Moss and Secretary Udall, believed that population growth and increased demand for recreation required that public lands be maximized for all uses. Others, notably Southeast Utah locals and mineral interests, feared that NPS hostility and the ability of the Secretary of Interior to regulate activities in the park would significantly impair mineral development. Finally, other supporters of mineral development in the area felt that current management under the BLM was satisfactory and that park areas should be minimized.

Despite the mineral potential in the park and widespread support to allow continued exploration and development, the provisions for development were gradually eliminated from subsequent bills due to preservationist pressure to Congressmen ("'Purist' club held over Canyonlands," 1964). In 1963, Senator Moss introduced S. 27 to establish Canyonlands National Park with a 25-year phase-out of exploration modeled after the Everglades National Park bill. Moss hoped to appease preservation advocates, mineral interests, and Congress; unfortunately, this provision seemed to please no one. Preservationists asserted that the provision would not meet national park standards and mineral interests opined that twenty-five years was not enough time to establish a productive operation that could continue to depletion (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1963).

Representative Laurence Burton (R-UT) sought to defend mineral interests when he introduced H.R. 6925 to establish a smaller Canyonlands that excluded the most contentious mineral areas, but he doubted that the bill coming out of the House Interior

and Insular Affairs Committee would include multiple use provisions. Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation Chairman Thomas Morris (D-NM) asserted that continued mineral development and exploration in a national park was unacceptable. At the 1964 field hearings, Morris pointedly asked witnesses if they thought that by allowing multiple use in Canyonlands it would be fair to allow multiple use in all other parks, to which most responded affirmatively (Subcommittee on National Parks, 1964). The House recognized that the NPS mission would be jeopardized if mineral development were allowed.

Although it was hoped that Canyonlands would initiate a change in NPS policy, the 88th Congress asserted that mineral development was not acceptable in national parks. Instead, the "Conservation Congress" continued to work towards preserving the limited pristine lands in the National Wilderness Preservation System under the Wilderness Act of 1964 ("Conservation Congress," 1964). Paradoxically, the 88th Congress also allowed for multiple use on NPS-managed lands by allowing public hunting in Ozark National Scenic Waterway (Hewlett, 1964a). Today, thirteen NPS-managed lands permit mineral development within their borders, but Canyonlands does not (Geltman, 2016).

Other Multiple Uses: Grazing and Hunting

Wildlife and ranching concerns in Canyonlands reflected the desire of the state to continue supporting the grazing industry and to retain autonomy over wildlife. The opportunity to see wildlife was an attraction at many national parks, such as the bison in Yellowstone, but Canyonlands did not appear to offer similar wildlife opportunities due

to a harsh desert climate (see Figure 13). Moreover, the economic benefits of hunting and grazing in the area were minimal, but the principle of retaining the status quo stimulated opposition to new park regulations.

Figure 13. Typical vegetation in the Island in the Sky.
Drought-resistant plants such as blackbrush, cliffrose, and perennial grasses cover the canyonlands region (photo by author, November 2018).

Discussions about grazing in the park included comments about economic valuation, national park principles, and value to tourists. In 1962, there were 18 horses, 683 cattle, and about 6,500 sheep grazing in the area proposed for inclusion under Senator Moss' S. 2387. Annual lease revenues amounted to just $2,254 (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). The desert climate limited the value of grazing within the proposed parklands, but some locals relied on these grazing permits for their livelihood and to retain the property value of their ranches (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962).

Most people were indifferent to grazing within the park, believing that the industry was too miniscule to impact the scenery. Southeast Utah had a legacy of ranching which could offer an exhibit of area culture. Senator Lee Metcalf (D-MT) even remarked during hearings that tourists would enjoy seeing cattle grazing in the park, in part due to a local rancher and guide stating his customers enjoyed seeing cattle grazing against the scenic backdrop (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, pp. 317, 340). Locals wanted to retain rights for industry, and decision-makers believed continued grazing would benefit the park.

Initially, S. 2387 allowed for grazing rights to go unaffected. Although concerns were expressed by preservationists about setting a precedent for other national parks, opposition to grazing was not as vehement as it was to mineral development. Of greater concern was the language of the grazing provision, as some felt the Secretary of Interior would have too much regulatory power. The grazing provisions were derived from the Taylor Grazing Act, which guided BLM grazing permits. Those concerned about grazing allowance in the park argued that the BLM welcomed grazing while the NPS discouraged alternative land uses. Opponents feared that language granting the Secretary of Interior with too much authority would ultimately ostracize grazing in a national park (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). Although it was generally agreed that grazing would not mar the landscape, the bill was revised several times to appease park preservationists and because of the land's poor grazing value. Grazing was the only multiple use allowed in the final bill and was limited to a single 10-year renewal of existing permits.

Utahns were also concerned about the deer herds that seasonally visited the park. Utah sportsmen, Harold Crane (director of the Utah Fish and Game Department), and Senator Bennett claimed that deer would destroy rangelands without a public hunting season in the park. Additionally, San Juan County and other jurisdictions hosted out-of-state hunters during the season which benefitted local economies. The economic and ecological benefits of a public hunting season were cited as reasons to permit continued public hunting in the proposed national park.

Sportsmen and NPS officials debated the quantity of deer taken from the proposed park lands in recent years. Bates Wilson, superintendent of nearby Arches National Monument, stated that no more than forty head had been taken from the proposed park areas in any recent season. Wilson suggested that the take was so dismal because during the hunting season the herd had not yet migrated into park areas, as indicated by Figure 14 (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). The main hunting areas were Salt Creek and Beef Basin in the southeastern portion of the Needles section.

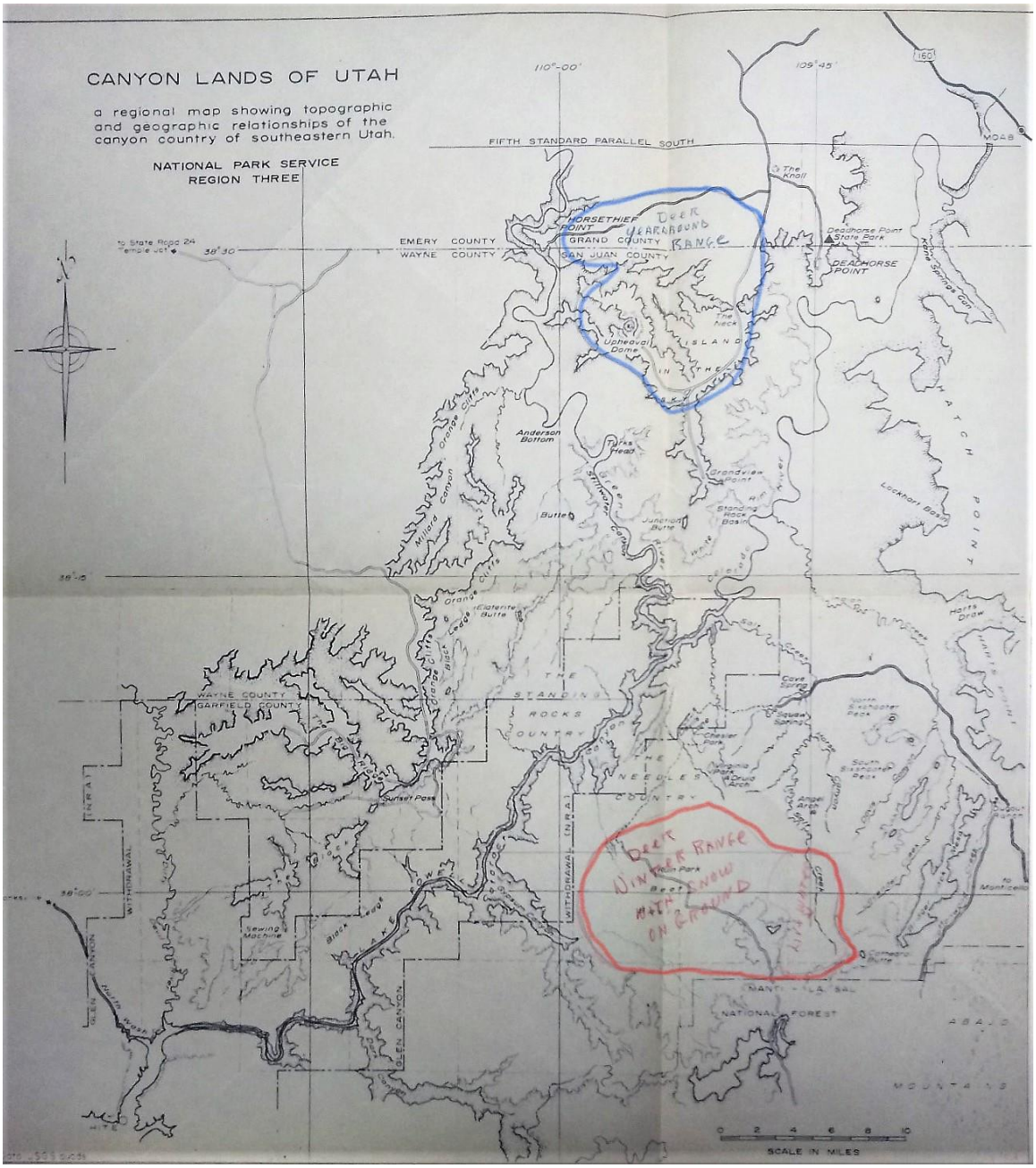


Figure 14. Map of general deer habitat in Canyonlands.
Estimated deer habitats in the proposed Canyonlands region, March 1962 (B. Wilson, 1962 [SEUG Archives Series 339 Folder 663]). The blue circle in the northern portion of the map shows the year-round range of deer, and the red circle in the southern portion of the map shows the winter range, typically utilized when mountain snow accumulated and drove the herd to lower altitudes.

The hunting language in the bill was modeled after the Grand Teton National Park bill where hunting was cooperatively managed by the NPS and state game department. Utah sportsmen and the State Fish and Game Department asserted that the state should retain wildlife control, as the cooperative management plan of Grand Teton was deemed inefficient and too restrictive to hunters. Opponents of cooperative management plans stated that the Department of Interior would have too much authority and could easily neglect duties to issue permits (Subcommittee on National Parks, 1964; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). For simplicity – and to avoid controversy – hunting provisions were extracted from the final bill, but portions of Salt Creek in the Needles were removed from the proposal so the state could continue to manage the herd.

Although the debates about hunting and grazing were not as intensely argued as they were with respect to mineral development, local sentiment to preserve state rights and current economic opportunities challenged the NPS model. The 1962 Wildlife Management in the National Parks report opined that public hunting "as a method of wildlife management aimed at readjusting animal populations to approximate natural biotic conditions is definitely not to be a solution" (Dilsaver, 2016b, p. 194). One year later, the Leopold Report affirmed that recreational hunting within parks was not desirable, but NPS staff should cull excess animals if they degrade habitats and ecological balance (Dilsaver, 2016b). In the end, Congress followed these recommendations by removing deer habitat and hunting provisions from the park.

Lands and Development in Canyonlands

Park development was urged by locals and promised by the NPS. Southeast Utah was very remote, so federal investment in road infrastructure was appealing (see Figure 15). The area already hosted several national monuments (i.e. Arches, Capitol Reef, Natural Bridges) but these were perceived to be less prestigious than national parks and therefore attracted fewer tourists. Determining which lands should be included in the park and which should be excluded proved controversial. Additionally, the exchange of state school parcels within the proposed park was disputed. Perceptions about land inclusion, exchanges, and development revealed the state of American tourism and recreation.

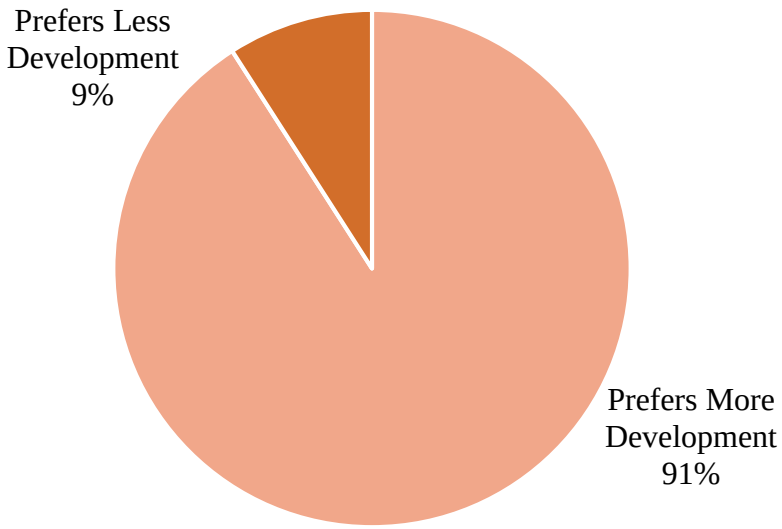


Figure 15. Preference to develop infrastructure in Canyonlands.
Of the 55 witnesses discussing development in Canyonlands in Congressional hearings from 1962 to 1964, only five expressed hesitation about development in the park.

The 330,000-acre park proposed by Moss in 1962 contained approximately 36,000 acres of state school fund lands. Utah, like other western states, was entitled to four sections of land per township, and the revenue from these lands benefitted the uniform state school fund (Davies, 1962). The uniform school fund was vital to improving education in the historically depressed area (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962).

Senator Bennett was apprehensive about establishing Canyonlands without the bill expressly identifying the federal lands to be exchanged. Approximately 600,000 acres of state lands had yet to be exchanged with federal lands from previous national park and monument designations (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). Bennett, representing many Utahns, wanted prompt exchange within 30-120 days and the assurance of state participation in determining the lands to be exchanged (Subcommittee on National Parks, 1962; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, 1963).

Deliberations regarding how to determine which lands to exchange stemmed from the desire to maximize profits for the state school fund. In March of 1962, Senator Bennett introduced an amendment to exchange state lands with federal lands in the Lisbon oil field area (Hewlett, 1962a). Bennett was backed by San Juan County citizens, the Utah State Land Board, the Utah Department of Public Instruction, and the Governor's Committee on Canyonlands National Park (Fitzpatrick, 1962; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962; "Utah seeks site equal to park," 1962). Senator Metcalf objected to this exchange proposal, arguing that the state lands within the proposed park were not proven to have significant mineral value and the Lisbon oil field was a proven, multi-

million-dollar asset. Therefore, this exchange would be unfair for the federal government (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, p. 475). The final bill stipulated that the roughly 20,000 acres of state lands would be exchanged within 180 days and the lands to be exchanged would be classified similarly. The land exchange discussions signified the importance of retaining rights to develop and profit from the limited lands in state domain.

While there were concerns over which lands outside of the boundaries would be returned to the state, concerns over the lands included in the park also received attention. Senator Bennett and Governor Clyde argued against the large size of the park because of the lack of variety in the landscape. The duo promoted boundaries that excluded as much land as possible to prevent the loss of any potential mineral lands. Bennett and Clyde maintained that the monotonous, repetitive desert would bore tourists (Liscomb, 1962; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962).

In contrast, some asserted that the boundaries excluded too many of the area's spectacular features. Upon touring the landscape, senators of the Subcommittee on Public Lands discussed expanding the boundaries to include additional features. Closest to the boundaries were the Orange Cliffs and Cleopatra's Chair. More distant were the Six Shooter Peaks. On the other hand, San Juan County residents focused on the Needles area and hoped it would serve as the central attraction of the park. During Senate field hearings in 1962, many residents simply advocated for a Needles National Park (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962).

The desire to emphasize the Needles area was reflected in the park debates. San Juan County residents believed the park headquarters should be at Squaw Flat because it had water access and was near features such as Druid, Angel, and Castle arches and Elephant Hill. The park area was accessible primarily by jeep, often requiring a guide. Some primitive roads constructed by mineral interests existed, but the rugged canyon landscape posed a challenge to connect the three units of the park. Thus, San Juan County residents feared that a lack of development in the Needles area would fail to draw tourists into the county's towns despite containing most of the proposed park area. The nearest major highway, Interstate 70, passed about 40 miles north of the proposed park boundaries, so most tourists could easily travel into the Island in the Sky section and then drive back to Interstate 70 without stopping in Monticello or other towns in San Juan County (Subcommittee on National Parks, 1964; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962).

Mineral interests also emphasized the need for park infrastructure. Representatives of the Utah Petroleum Council stated that road development would benefit both the tourist economy and mineral economy by requiring materials and petroleum to fuel tourist traffic.

> We believe that roadways should be established early and that in establishing roadways we should remember that today's tourist is perhaps a lazy tourist, and a great many of them will never leave their cars, or certainly will not venture far from their cars as they view the park… we would urge these facilities that you will allow within the park and the access roads to the park be outlined to allow for orderly development of the facilities necessary for a touring public. (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962)

However, mineral interests also noted the need to specify provisions in the bill to allow commercial use of park roads, as national parks generally banned commercial vehicle traffic. Additionally, locals emphasized the need to provide adequate road infrastructure and tourist accommodations, as the average tourist enjoyed being able to drive to scenic overlooks and then move on to the next point of interest with ease (*Golden Circle hits snag*, 1963). For example, Grand County Commissioner Winford Bunce reflected: "I think roads are the most necessary item within the park and also leading to the park" to provide for tourist traffic (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, p. 311). Locals feared that tourism would not fully benefit the area unless extensive development of access roads occurred, pointing out that it had taken nearly 30 years to develop Arches National Monument ("On with development," 1961). Initially, extensive development of the park area was promised (see Figure 16). However, as discussed in Chapter 5, the National Park Service would later hesitate in developing the park and contribute to local resentment.

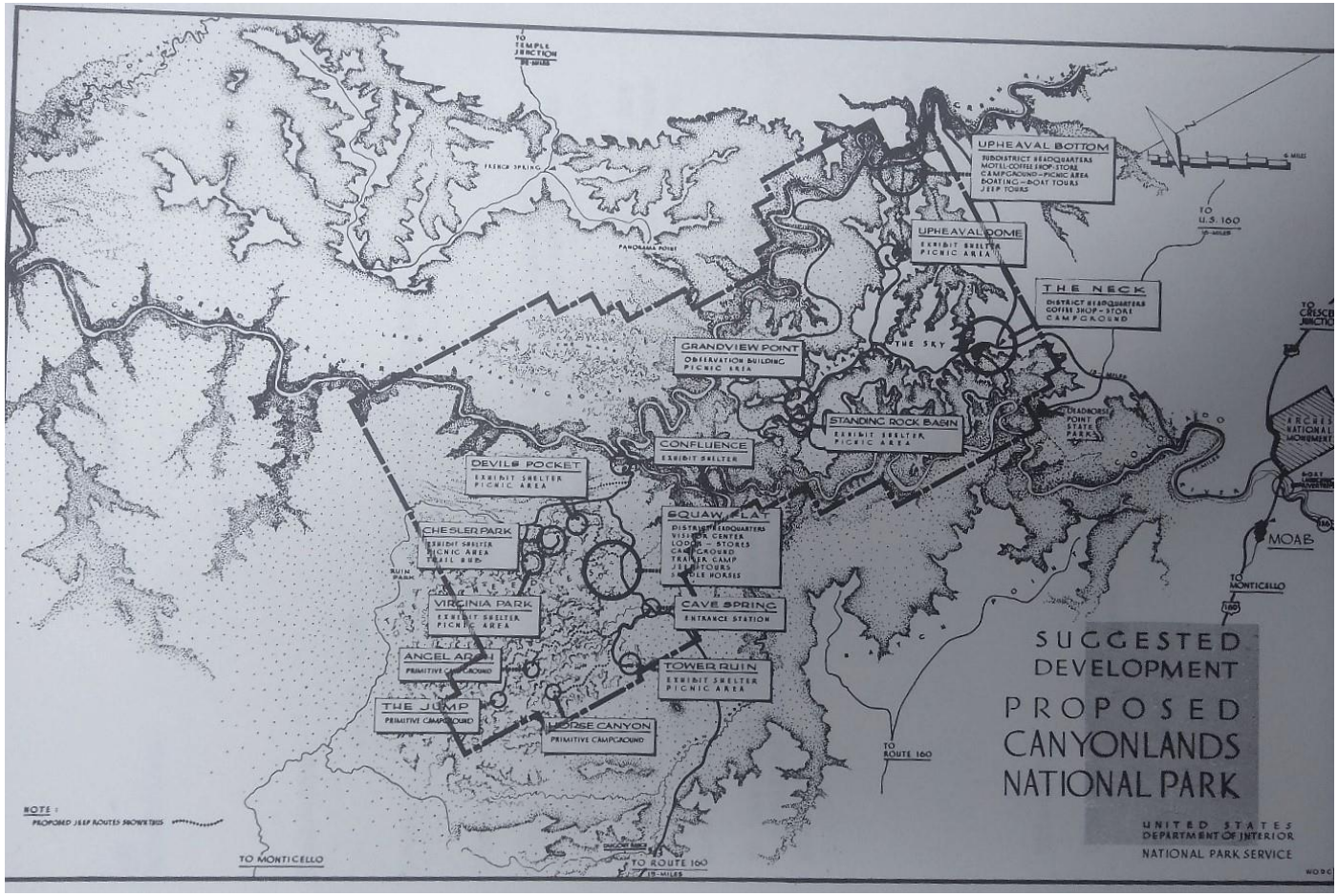


Figure 16. Map of proposed developments, spring 1962.
The NPS proposed developments for the park, including jeep tours, picnic areas, exhibit shelters, motels, coffee shops, campgrounds, and headquarters (National Park Service, 1962).

Park development was supported by Utahns, the NPS, and lawmakers. As southeastern Utah was incredibly remote, the promise of federal funds to construct and maintain access roads in the area was appealing to most Utahns. Some even feared that the budget may not be able to support the nearly twenty million dollars of road and infrastructure developments promised by the federal government. The bill establishing the park provided promise of an accessible Canyonlands that would significantly boost tourism in the area. However, after Canyonlands was established, the NPS did not rush to develop the park. This delayed development became a central argument for opponents to park expansion in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The Role of Politics and Land Ideology

Political affiliation and individual government official conflicts were featured prominently during the first round of Canyonlands hearings in 1962. The bill's sponsors – Senator Moss, Representative King, and Representative Peterson – were all Democrats and faced opposition from Governor Clyde and Senator Bennett, both Republicans. Newspapers cast the Canyonlands debate in a political light in 1961 into early 1962 leading up to the initial hearings in Utah, but then deemphasized the partisan nature of the park debate (see Figure 17). On the other hand, newspaper articles continued to describe lawmakers, state, and federal officials in individual conflicts at higher proportions throughout 1963.

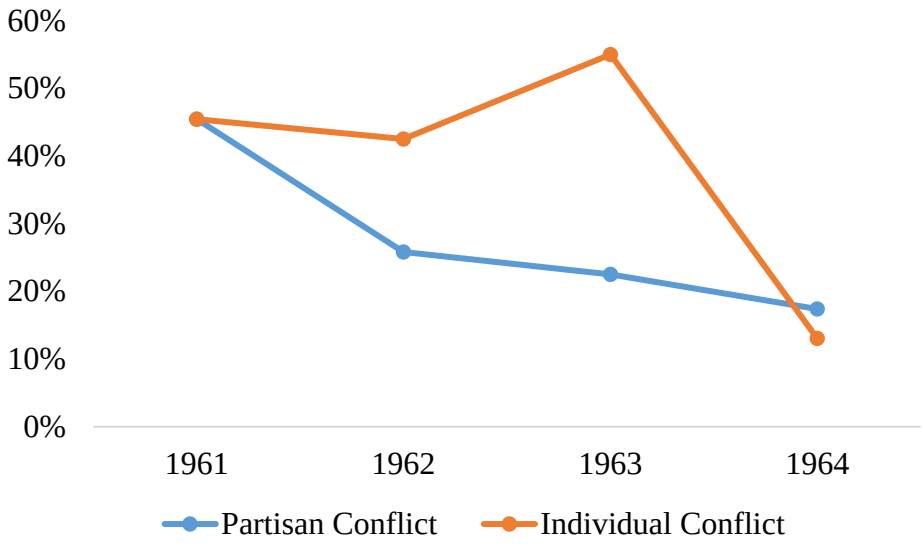


Figure 17. Conflict portrayal in newspaper articles.
Articles discussing partisan political conflict (blue) discussed Democrats and Republicans displaying differing viewpoints regarding Canyonlands. Articles discussing individual political conflict (orange) may not have mentioned partisan affiliation but described a state or federal representative in conflict with another representative.
Note: percentages are reflective of the total number of articles per year describing the Canyonlands proposal as controversial in any capacity.

Although Senator Moss and Senator Bennett represented different political parties, the two lawmakers disagreed on aspects of the Canyonlands bill that were often portrayed more as conflicts between individuals. The lawmakers were generally pugnacious towards one another, sometimes appearing to disagree for the sake of disagreement; one commentator noted that Moss and Bennett "can't even agree that today is Wednesday" (*Golden Circle hits snag*, 1963). During 1961 and 1962, Utahns feared the partisan debates surrounding the Canyonlands proposal could doom the park (Jensen, 1962a; "More Canyonlands chatter," 1962; "Politics may bar Canyonlands solution,"

1962). At the end of 1962, after the bill died in the House of Representatives with adjournment of the 87th Congress, Moss turned to Bennett and the newly elected Republican representatives Laurence Burton and Sherman Lloyd to unify behind the Canyonlands proposal.

In 1963, it appeared that the Utah delegates were unified and had the support of the governor after an April meeting between Clyde, Moss, Bennett, and Burton (Fehr, 1963; Swenson, 1963). However, when Moss drafted amendments based on his understanding of the meeting's decisions but without input from his colleagues, Utah's Republican congressmen balked and asked for Moss to postpone Senate hearings on the bill. Moss refused. The semblance of unity in Utah shattered and caused the House of Representatives to delay addressing Representative Burton's H.R. 6925 (*Golden Circle hits snag*, 1963; Hewlett, 1963; T. G. Smith, 1991). Hopes for a Canyonlands faded after the meltdown at the April 1963 Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands hearings (Kelly, 1963).

The primary conflict between lawmakers was the question of multiple use in Canyonlands. Mineral use, grazing, and hunting were controversial because these uses were typically excluded or later prohibited within national parks. The Canyonlands proposal challenged that concept by initially proposing to allow mineral exploration and extraction, public hunting to control the deer population, and continued grazing. These activities were generally supported by Utahns, but park and preservation interests stood in opposition.

Park and preservation interests feared that allowing multiple use activities in Canyonlands would set a precedent for existing and future national parks. The National Audubon Society, National Parks Association, Sierra Club, Izaak Walton League of America, and the Advisory Board on National Parks expressed this concern (Hewlett, 1961; Malmquist, 1962; Subcommittee on National Parks, 1964; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). According to the National Audubon Society:

> To create areas called national parks in which such exploitative and commercial activities are legalized and encouraged would establish a precedent which inevitably would endanger the high standards of existing national parks and monuments. If hunting, mining, and grazing are appropriate and compatible activities in a national park in Utah… then, hunting, mining, and, grazing surely would be equally appropriate and compatible in national parks in… other States. And if mining and grazing are to be permitted, why not logging? (Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, p. 206)

These fears were not unfounded, as commercial uses allowed in other national park units, such as a phase-out period of mining in Glacier National Park, served as precedent for the Canyonlands proposal, although the Canyonlands proposal extended commercial uses beyond previous national park provisions. Other organizations, such as the Sierra Club, endorsed the concept of primary and secondary uses in Canyonlands: “We believe firmly that Sen. Moss’ (SB 27) will help immeasurably to resolve land use conflicts and at the same time provide a major addition to the National Park System” (Brower, 1963).

Members of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee supported multiple uses in Canyonlands and felt they could restrict this precedent to only future national park proposals:

> I don't believe that we should open Yellowstone, Glacier, Yosemite, and the existing national parks to multiple use, but in the creation of new national parks… I have voted for multiple use, recognizing the changing situation… I am convinced out here that hunting… wouldn't destroy the park value. And I'm convinced that continuation of grazing wouldn't destroy the park values. And as far as the mining that I have seen in the park, I am convinced that it wouldn't destroy any scenic values. (Senator Lee Metcalf, Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962, p. 237)

Decision makers working on the bill were mindful that there were precedents for most of the controversial provisions in the bill. Mount McKinley National Park allowed mineral exploration, Everglades National Park allowed for a ten-year phase-out of mineral operations, and Grand Teton National Park allowed for a public hunt cooperatively managed by the state and Department of Interior. Additionally, decision makers noted the recent departure from indefinite and exclusive single use provided at Cape Cod National Seashore and in bills passed in one chamber of Congress such as Padre Island National Seashore (Subcommittee on National Parks, 1964; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962).

The Canyonlands bill was projected to have a difficult time passing the House with multiple use provisions, as influential Representative John Saylor (R-PA) and others were pressured by conservation groups to uphold national park standards ("Utah park issues faces tough test in House," 1963). Senator Alan Bible (D-NV) sought to avoid setting precedent for other parks by including explanations and recommendations in the committee report accompanying the bill (Malmquist, 1962; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). However, Representative Wayne Aspinall (D-CO), Chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, also opposed resource development in national

parks (“Congressional group to see Canyonlands,” 1964). The House determined that Utah could have a Canyonlands National Park following traditional standards or have no park at all, which forced multiple use proponents to accept the severely compromised park.

The principles that define a national park were discussed thoroughly. Unique and spectacular scenery encompassed in a vast landscape, public access for enjoyment, and preservation of the landscape were frequently cited by the Subcommittee on Public Lands as requirements for a national park. Several interest groups (American Forestry Association, National Wildlife Federation, Izaak Walton League of America, National Parks Association, Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, Wildlife Management Institute) and citizens across the country argued that the proposals to include multiple use in Canyonlands were more reflective of a National Recreation Area, state land, or other federal land but the national parks were to be held to the highest standards of scenic protection (Subcommittee on National Parks, 1964; Subcommittee on Public Lands, 1962). The intense arguments over what constitutes a national park caused Representative Thomas Morris to read into the record the NPS definition of parks as of 1963:

> National parks are spacious land areas essentially of primitive or wilderness area which contain scenery and natural wonders so outstanding in quality that their preservation intact has been provided for by having been designated and set aside by the Federal Government for the benefit, enjoyment, and inspiration of the people. (Subcommittee on National Parks, 1964, p. 43)

Although lawmakers were enthusiastic about changing the status quo of national parks to reflect both the consumption and recreation needs of America, the final Canyonlands bill

followed the national park tradition by limiting secondary uses to a short ten-year phase-out of grazing provisions. The boundaries were reduced to appease both preservation and utilitarian interests by excluding productive mineral areas and deer habitat and prohibiting non-conforming uses aside from grazing. But there was more yet to come. Moss was determined to expand the park, stating “I have to accept the situation and undertake the mending later” (Hewlett, 1964b).

Chapter 5: Perceptions Regarding the Expansion of Canyonlands National Park

After Canyonlands was established in September 1964, Bates Wilson was tasked with managing both Arches National Monument and the new park as superintendent. Wilson was influential in the establishment of the park, guiding lawmakers and filmmakers through the area on many occasions ("Photographic production being filmed on Needles," 1962; Quintano, 2014). As superintendent, Wilson sought to make basic improvements; for example, $73,000 was immediately allocated for water developments and basic ranger needs at Squaw Flat in the Needles and the Neck in the Island in the Sky ("$73,000 scheduled for immediate use in Canyonlands Park," 1964). However, Wilson did not rush development and wanted to ensure that the beautiful landscape would not be marred (Kisling, 1964).

While development progressed slowly at Canyonlands, changes were occurring in federal land management. The BLM increased recreation opportunities in undesignated federal lands near Escalante, Utah and throughout the West (Goodman, 1965). Meanwhile, several new laws impacted NPS management and diversified land classifications. The NPS grappled with enacting Leopold Report recommendations for ecological management, and then was bombarded with administrative duties created by the Wilderness Act (1964), Clean Air Act (1967), the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (1968), National Trails System Act (1968), and the National Environmental Policy Act (1969). These adjustments reflected the still-growing need for recreation opportunities and the blossoming national advocacy for preserving environmental quality (Dilsaver, 2016b).

The shift in environmental perceptions inspired the new policies and were, in turn, reflected in the discussions to expand Canyonlands National Park. In 1966, just one year after the park opened, Senator Moss introduced legislation to expand the boundaries to include the Maze, Horseshoe Canyon, Dead Horse Point, and Lavender Canyon. Moss introduced the expansion measure to protect archaeologic features and to add areas that were originally included in the bill but then removed, claiming that the park was already drawing tourists into unmanaged areas (Hewlett, 1966; Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1968). Utahns immediately expressed concern that further study was required to better understand the consequences of adding acreage to the park. Moss conceded that more time was needed to negotiate boundaries and understand local concerns ("Moss plans to hold up park bill," 1966).

The bill to expand Canyonlands was again introduced in the three subsequent Congressional sessions (90^{th}, 91^{st}, and 92^{nd}). This chapter reviews the conflicts and perspectives regarding the proposal to enlarge the boundaries of Canyonlands National Park. To understand perceptions regarding the expansion, I analyzed 54 newspaper articles and 46 testimonies from 32 speakers testifying at legislative hearings. Newspaper articles and witness testimony revealed three major themes. First, the multiple use debate continued regarding districts that were previously excluded due to resource use. Second, the Wilderness Act provided a platform for preservationists to advocate for minimal development and high levels of protection for pristine and undeveloped areas. Finally, access to Canyonlands and state hopes for representation in decision-making proved important in the discussions to expand the park.

The Resurgence of the Multiple Use Controversy

When Canyonlands was established, the park excluded the Maze and areas northeast of the park due to the potential for mineral extraction in these areas. Southern areas near Salt Creek were excluded to allow for continued state management of deer. Additionally, Beef Basin in the south offered productive rangeland and thus had been excluded for continued local benefit. However, the significant petroglyphs and archaeological relics featured in these areas warranted further consideration for inclusion in Canyonlands. Some Utah government officials and resource interest groups expressed concerns that the expansion would further limit land use opportunities.

Opposition to park additions was muted compared to the opposition presented during the establishment campaign. Primarily, the conversation focused on mineral, oil, and gas development. San Juan County Commissioner Calvin Black presented testimony at three hearings, voicing opposition based in part on a desire to retain land use activities. Black stated the valuation of San Juan County had decreased from $130 million in 1960 to $47 million in 1970 and argued that the county's economy would further decline if park expansions restricted land use (Subcommittee on National Parks, 1964; Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1970). No other local testimony substantially opposed the park based on land use, but interest groups and state government officials presented opposing testimony.

Approximately 49,000 acres of the Maze area was proposed to be added to Canyonlands. The area had been excluded from the initial park due to suspected oil and uranium deposits (Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1970). However, the

rough terrain limited exploration and added considerable costs to any development scheme (Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1971; “We think it’s justified,” 1967). Still, this area contained portions of the Tar Sands Triangle (see Figure 18), which the Utah Geological and Mineralogical Survey and Bureau of Mines regarded as “the largest remaining unexploited hydrocarbon energy source within the United States” (Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1970, p. 114). William Hart Jr., on behalf of the Sagadahoo Oil and Gas Corporation, and Dr. William Hewitt, a geologist affiliated with the Geological and Mineralogical Survey at the University of Utah, lobbied to exclude the Tar Sands Triangle to guarantee continued operations (Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1970; Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1970).

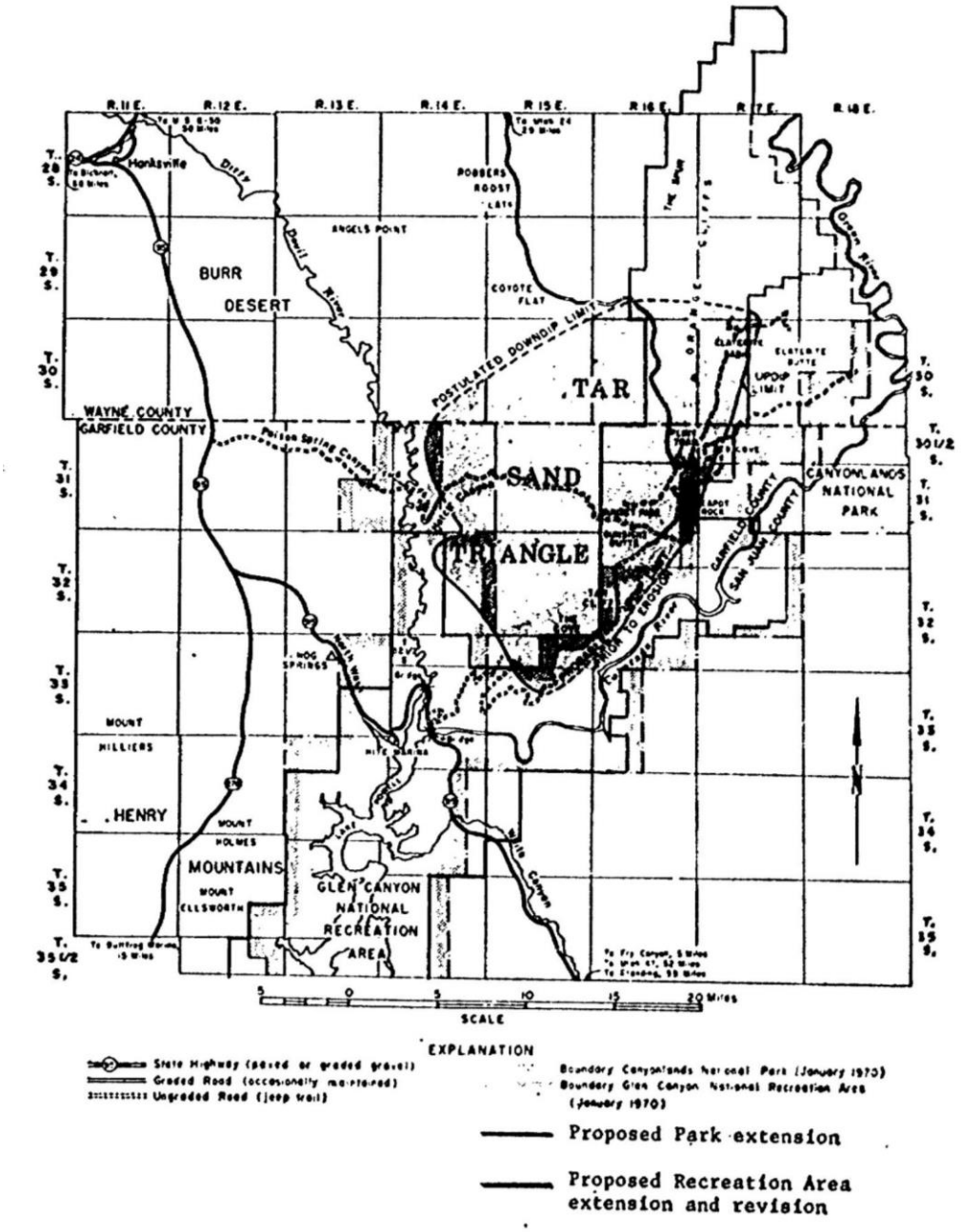


Figure 18. Map of the tar sands triangle.
West of Canyonlands National Park and overlapping with the proposed boundary expansions was a major oil deposit. Dr. William P. Hewitt of the Utah Geological Survey estimated that within proposed park boundaries, 750 million barrels of oil in the deposit could be worth over $100 million in royalties to the state of Utah (Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1970, p. 95).

Roughly 3.5 billion-18 billion barrels of oil were estimated to be in the Tar Sands Triangle, and the Sagadahoo Oil and Gas Corporation claimed that the federal government could receive nearly $2 billion in royalties from the deposit (Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1970, p. 114). Conservation organizations argued that since extraction was not economically feasible in the area the land should be included in the park and no operations should be allowed (Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1970). Ironically, exclusion of the Maze from the initial park boundaries allowed for discovery of the massive, but yet inaccessible, oil deposit.

To the north, Senator Moss initially planned to add Dead Horse Point State Park in Canyonlands because the state had requested federal adoption of the land ("Parks council behind Canyonlands Park addition," 1967; Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1968). In and surrounding Dead Horse Point State Park, potash, oil and gas, and grazing operations were occurring. This presented a challenge for mineral right supporters because inclusion in Canyonlands would likely remove these practices ("Parks hearings concluded in Washington," 1970; "We think it's justified," 1967). Locals and the Utah Parks and Recreation Division opposed the transfer of Dead Horse Point State Park to Canyonlands, citing the state's investments in infrastructure, local pride, and revenue from multiple use activities ("Same old objections," 1968; Sharp, 1968). The bill was modified so that the state park would only be included if the state wished to donate it, which it did not, so multiple uses continued in the area.

Mineral potential in the park additions was not well known outside the Tar Sands Triangle and Dead Horse Point area. Individuals representing mineral interests, such as

the Utah Mining Association and the American Mining Congress, argued that the areas should not be included in the park until the BLM, Bureau of Mines, United States Geological Survey, and other relevant agencies were able to determine the exact mineral valuation (Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1970). Alternatively, San Juan County Commissioner Calvin Black alleged that the United States Geological Survey and BLM were prohibited from sharing facts about the mineral potential of the proposed additions (Black, 1971). Black asserted that everyone in San Juan County, and most everyone in the five-county area, opposed further land use restrictions and wanted to continue to develop area resources. Senator Bennett also opposed infringement on mineral, hunting, grazing, and road development rights for the state and local interests (Kamps, 1970).

To the south, state-managed deer hunting was threatened once again. John Phelps, Utah State Fish and Game Department director, stated that 300 deer were taken in the area annually and thus he opposed inclusion of the area (Sharp, 1968). Senator Bennett argued that inclusion of deer rangeland would create overgrazing problems and promoted protection of state hunting rights ("Park expansion gets Bennett's reluctant okay," 1970; Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1970). Similarly, Representative Burton wished to please the Utah Fish and Game Department and thus favored excluding these areas from the expansion ("House hearings on park measures completed; final action awaited," 1970). Local opposition to restrictions on hunting was not overtly stated in the congressional hearing testimonies or in newspaper articles.

Grazing rights also complicated the addition of new parcels. According to George Hartzog, NPS Director, the additions to the park included ten grazing permits

(Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1971). The established park only contained seven permits, so expansion would sharply increase grazing activities in the park. The proposed additions would be subject to the same renewal period offered in the original law. Only one Utah citizen opposed limitations on grazing in Canyonlands, while another noted that southern Utah had been overgrazed and fair regulation was necessary (Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1971, p. 78).

The final bill provided for one renewal of existing permits in the park additions and no other multiple use concessions were made. Meanwhile, the tar sands area was mostly excluded from Canyonlands; instead it was included in Glen Canyon National Recreation Area so development could continue. Dead Horse Point State Park was also excluded from the park to allow for further use. Surprisingly, conflict between resource use and wilderness designation was not prominent. However, wilderness was a focal point of testimonies provided by conservation organizations.

Wilderness Values in the Desert

The Wilderness Act of 1964 called on the NPS to study existing national parks for areas that could be considered wilderness – "an area of undeveloped Federal land retaining its primeval character and influence, without permanent improvements or human habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural conditions" ("1964 Wilderness Act," n.d.). Wilderness is considered the highest level of protection United States lands can receive. However, the Wilderness Act did not initially apply to national parks established after the act, including Canyonlands.

As a new and largely unspoiled national park, conservation groups such as the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, and the National Parks Conservation Association recommended that the expansion bill include provisions for a wilderness survey in the entire park. These groups referred to North Cascades National Park for precedence. North Cascades was established after the Wilderness Act, but the park bill included language providing for wilderness studies that were well underway.

Preservationists recognized the wilderness potential of Canyonlands, especially in the Maze. For example, a representative of the Sierra Club stated:

> The wilderness of Canyonlands is one of the park's greatest and most widely known features. Even the visitor who never leaves the road appreciates the wilderness values of Canyonlands, for example, in his enjoyment of views from Island in the Sky. This visual access to the wilderness is one of the most important ways people enjoy the park. (George Alderson, Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1968, p. 15)

As a rugged, remote, and inaccessible area, the Maze was a perfect candidate for wilderness designation (see Figure 19). In 1969, Representative Burton explored the Maze with Superintendent Bates Wilson and expressed delight at the vastness and remoteness of the area (Burton, 1969). Similarly, Edward Abbey reveled in the untamed and vast canyon system of the Maze, remarking “for God’s sake leave this country alone” (Abbey, 1968, p. 262).

Figure 19. The Maze from above.
From a commercial flight, the expansive Maze can be appreciated as a complex canyon system (photo by author, November 2018).

Some argued that the Maze required some tourist developments so visitors could see unique and recognized features such as the Harvest Scene pictographs and Panorama Point. Sierra Club representative June Viavant proposed maintenance of the singular extant four-wheel-drive road in the Maze area, but strict patrol to prevent abuse of OHV travel. Viavant also asserted that the Maze was accessible enough and should not be further developed. She pointed out that she was less physically adept than the average tourist but was able to explore and enjoy the area (Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1971, p. 83).

Preservationists called for better management of primitive areas to prevent scenic and archaeological damage. Conservation groups asked for strict enforcement of OHV regulations in remote areas and called attention to recent damages from the improper and excessive use of OHVs (Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1971).

Tourism to the Canyonlands area increased as a result of publicity, such as the July 1971 issue of *National Geographic Magazine*. Increased tourism threatened both the scenery and archaeological features in the proposed park additions. Canyonlands enthusiast George Hatch, president of KUTV in Salt Lake City, feared that priceless artifacts would be destroyed if the areas were not protected and monitored soon:

> Due to the… inaccessibility of the Maze, these ancient dwelling places with their priceless Indian petroglyphs and paintings have been preserved to-date without any extensive vandalism or malicious destruction… Our concern is that now that national magazines and scientific journals have publicized these panels of petroglyphs and paintings, more and more people are coming by four-wheel-drive vehicles and horseback to visit them. Already, a portion of the Barrier panel has been blasted off with dynamite. (Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1971, pp. 71–72)

Inclusion of archaeological features and delicate scenic areas in the park would offer NPS protection from reckless tourism. However, wilderness designation in these areas would also curtail development, which posed another set of questions.

Canyonlands was originally established on the premise of grandiose developments. NPS officials assured that the original Canyonlands development plans were proceeding, slowly, and that they were drafting development plans for the additions. Utahns urged lawmakers to include state and local representatives in development planning and to ensure adequate tourist access. Proponents of road development, such as the State Roads Commission, Governor Calvin Rampton, and Calvin Black, stated that even with the proposed road construction there would be substantial wilderness spaces remaining (Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1970). Locals argued that the lack of roads in the park limited tourism and essentially made the park an unofficial

wilderness (Woolsey, 1969). The lack of development in the Needles area was a particularly sour topic for San Juan County residents.

Lawmakers recognized the duty of the NPS to provide access to the park but agreed that road development should not impair the landscape and scenery. NPS staff resisted park developments. Today, the park has few paved roads and no concessions. However, in 1978, local bitterness regarding the lack of development contributed to the failure to approve 287,985 acres of wilderness in Canyonlands proposed by President Jimmy Carter (Denis, 2016).

State Rights to Road Development Implored

Expanding Canyonlands was controversial due to the state's desire to build more roads. Utahns wanted to ensure locals could travel freely throughout the region and that tourists would be drawn to southern towns, such as Monticello and Blanding (Sharp, 1970; Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1971). The establishment of Canyonlands in 1964 promised nearly $20 million in federal investments to develop access roads and facilities to accommodate the projected tourist influx to the area. Unfortunately, difficulties in siting roads and budget constraints due to the Vietnam War limited development plans (Denis, 2016; Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1971).

Criticisms bellowed from San Juan County, which contained most of the park. Calvin Black argued that the NPS failed to construct facilities to generate the level of tourism predicted by the University of Utah Economic Study (Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1971). Other Utahns also criticized the primitive nature of the park.

Governor Calvin Rampton and the State Roads Commission cited the failure of the NPS to follow through with the road plans for the Needles district. Representative Sherman Lloyd commented "preserving these natural wonders is one thing – isolating them and closing them off to all but a hardy and rugged minority is another. I would hope the Park Service recognizes a responsibility to develop these areas… so that all of our citizens might enjoy them" (Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1971, p. 14). Locals were realizing they were more removed from land management decisions than they had previously imagined.

The road issue delayed park expansion and spilled into the political realm. Utah Congressmen and state officials agreed that there should be adequate tourist access and local thru-traffic routes, but there were two approaches to this problem. The first approach, provided for in Senator Moss' S. 26, called on the federal government to construct all roads within the park. Initially, the State Roads Commission and Governor Rampton encouraged that the bill assure state retention of road corridors which would allow state construction and maintenance of roads, a measure that was supported by Senator Bennett and most of southeastern Utah. Moss explained to state officials that there was no precedent for the state to construct roads in a national park, and that the report accompanying the bill could be used to hold the NPS accountable for constructing the desired roads. However, Bennett introduced an amendment that would allow the State Roads Commission to construct and maintain roads in the park, which caused S. 26 to be delayed from Senate action in 1970 ("A tiger by the tail," 1970; "Moss says Bennett

amendments could cost Utah $41.6-M," 1970; "Sen. Bennett introduces recreation amendments," 1970).

Locals resented exclusion from the decision-making process and asked for transparency regarding development (Black, 1971; Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1971; Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1970). The State Roads Commission had spent nearly a decade preparing a plan to construct a massive network of scenic highways in Utah, including in the Canyonlands area, but the legislative measures regarding Canyonlands, Glen Canyon, Capitol Reef, and Arches threatened the state's ability to execute their plan. Chem Church, Chairman of the State Roads Commission, asked for the state to have permission to construct the roads and assured lawmakers that the planned roads were considerate of scenic viewpoints in the park (Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1970). Along this line, Henry Helland, the State Director of Highways, argued that there was a precedent for the state to maintain a highway route in lands managed by the NPS – State Route 24 through Capitol Reef National Monument (Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 1970). However, lawmakers reminded highway advocates that any roads in the park would be subject to visitor entrance fees (Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1971).

Decision makers understood local concerns and amended the Canyonlands expansion bill to provide for state input regarding roads. The final bill provided that:

> The Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with appropriate federal departments and appropriate agencies of the State and its political subdivisions shall conduct a study of proposed road alignments within and adjacent to the Canyonlands National Park. Such study shall consider what roads are appropriate and necessary for full utilization of the area for the

> purposes of this Act as well as to connect with roads of ingress and egress to the area. (R. Taylor & Subcommittee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 1971, p. 14)

These provisions reflected the abundant testimony provided from locals and state officials, but still was a compromise. Today, there are less than 30 miles of paved roads in Canyonlands, but hundreds of miles of unpaved roads are accessible by four-wheel-drive vehicles (Canyonlands National Park, 2018c). The Island in the Sky unit is the most accessible and popular area in the park and provides access to the famous White Rim Road, accessible only by four-wheel-drive vehicles (Canyonlands National Park, 2019).

The discussions regarding Canyonlands' expansion appeared less polarizing in terms of resource use and preservation. However, the discussions emphasized a battle over development, access, and wilderness preservation. The early management decisions, such as slowly and deliberately developing areas of the park, had already proved problematic in the discussions regarding expansion of the park. However, fewer local Utahns participated in the hearings regarding expansion and there was less newspaper coverage. Certainly, these results provided an example of the rapid shift from utilitarian support to two divided emphases, wilderness and access through development. Additionally, the discussions reflected the early implications of management decisions that have impacted Canyonlands over time.

Chapter 6: Significance and Conclusions

This study illuminated the challenges of managing for recreation and multiple resource use on public lands during the 1960s and early 1970s. A growing population required expansive recreation opportunities while another segment favored mineral production. Congress reviewed the issue in the ORRRC report and explored alternative public land uses such as in the Canyonlands National Park proposal. The discussions to establish Canyonlands disclosed preservationist demands to maintain national park traditions, state concerns over natural resource use and development, and lawmaker desire to innovatively solve complex land management issues. The discussions involved in the expansion of Canyonlands revisited some of the issues that complicated creation of the park as well as recent shifts in NPS administration and public environmental concern which emphasized wilderness protection.

Canyonlands National Park initially spanned 257,640 acres primarily in the Island in the Sky and Needles districts. These boundaries represented a compromise from the 330,000-acre proposal by Senator Moss, who hoped Canyonlands National Park would pioneer changes in American recreation by allowing secondary multiple uses to occur alongside scenic preservation. Most newspaper articles and witnesses at Congressional hearings conveyed support for protecting Canyonlands scenery as well as local economic interests. Even preservation interests conceded they did not oppose multiple use in the area – they believed the bill would create a different type of land classification, such as a National Recreation Area.

Despite widespread support for multiple use in Canyonlands National Park, and similar recommendations from the ORRRC, Congress ultimately had authority to set the federal land policy. Influential members of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, notably Thomas Morris (D-NM), Wayne Aspinall (D-CO), and John Saylor (R-PA), resisted intense utilitarian pressure and decided to maintain high standards of protection in national parks ("2 Congressmen Cited," 1965; "Canyonlands a National Park because of Chairman's push," 1964). "Mining and grazing are not… activities which can properly be allowed within a national park… it would be unfair to allow such activities in the Canyonlands National Park without opening up other national parks to the same" (Morris & Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 1964, p. 7). Congress determined that national parks should be preserved as intended by the 1916 Organic Act, and other federal lands could serve multiple use purposes. Congress established Canyonlands, the first new national park unit since 1957, to preserve the scenic wonders of the area and follow the national park tradition.

The second half of the 1960s further challenged the ability of the NPS to provide recreation opportunities. On the one hand, new land designations such as National Recreation Areas and Wild and Scenic Rivers provided diverse opportunities that also permitted multiple use. On the other hand, the Wilderness Act and Land and Water Conservation Act directed the NPS to further protect existing national park units by designating wilderness areas and adding adjacent lands if feasible. The discussions regarding Canyonlands' expansion reflected the aspirations of both camps.

Utah state officials and locals urged the NPS to complete promised developments and asked for representation in development decisions. Senator Moss recognized the importance of allowing locals to have road access in the area: “If we do not have… roads to traverse these park areas, and the roads are not built, we will have an effective barrier that will keep one side of the State pretty well isolated from the other side of the State” (Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 1971, p. 24). Preservationists, meanwhile, argued in favor of wilderness. More specifically, the Sierra Club and their allies lobbied for wilderness designation and for protection of prehistoric Indian art.

The discussion regarding the expansion of Canyonlands revealed early management issues, some of which continue to impact the park and surrounding community today. First, the damage caused by OHV traffic was noted by conservation organizations in Congressional hearings to expand the park. In the 1990s, OHVs would become the focus of the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance’s lawsuit against Canyonlands, which continued the debate on preservation and visitor access to Canyonlands. Second, the initial promise of extensive road development in the park was not realized, creating hostility between locals and park managers that culminated in the rejection of designated wilderness areas in the park in 1978. Third, mineral development threatens viewsheds, air quality, and ecology in the park even today. Although no commercial development occurs within the park, fossil fuel operations can be seen from within the park. The controversial leasing around Canyonlands in 2008, which motivated Tim DeChristopher to fraudulently bid on lease parcels, resulted in the BLM creating Master Leasing Plans with the aim of preventing controversial leasing and fossil fuel

operations. However, the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance asserted that the plans do not protect Canyonlands and surrounding lands enough (Gilman, 2015a; Trenbeath, 2014).

Today, Canyonlands remains a mostly primitive national park but lacks designated wilderness areas. However, the Maze is hardly advertised on the NPS website and is difficult to access – effectively protecting the area as wilderness. Resource uses pose threats to the park, including off-highway vehicle use, mineral operations nearby, and reckless archaeological looting (see Figure 20). In an attempt to better protect the spectacular Canyonlands area, advocacy groups such as the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance, National Parks Conservation Association, and Sierra Club united to urge President Barack Obama to create a Greater Canyonlands National Monument in 2013 (Gross & Trimble, 2013; Trenbeath, 2014).

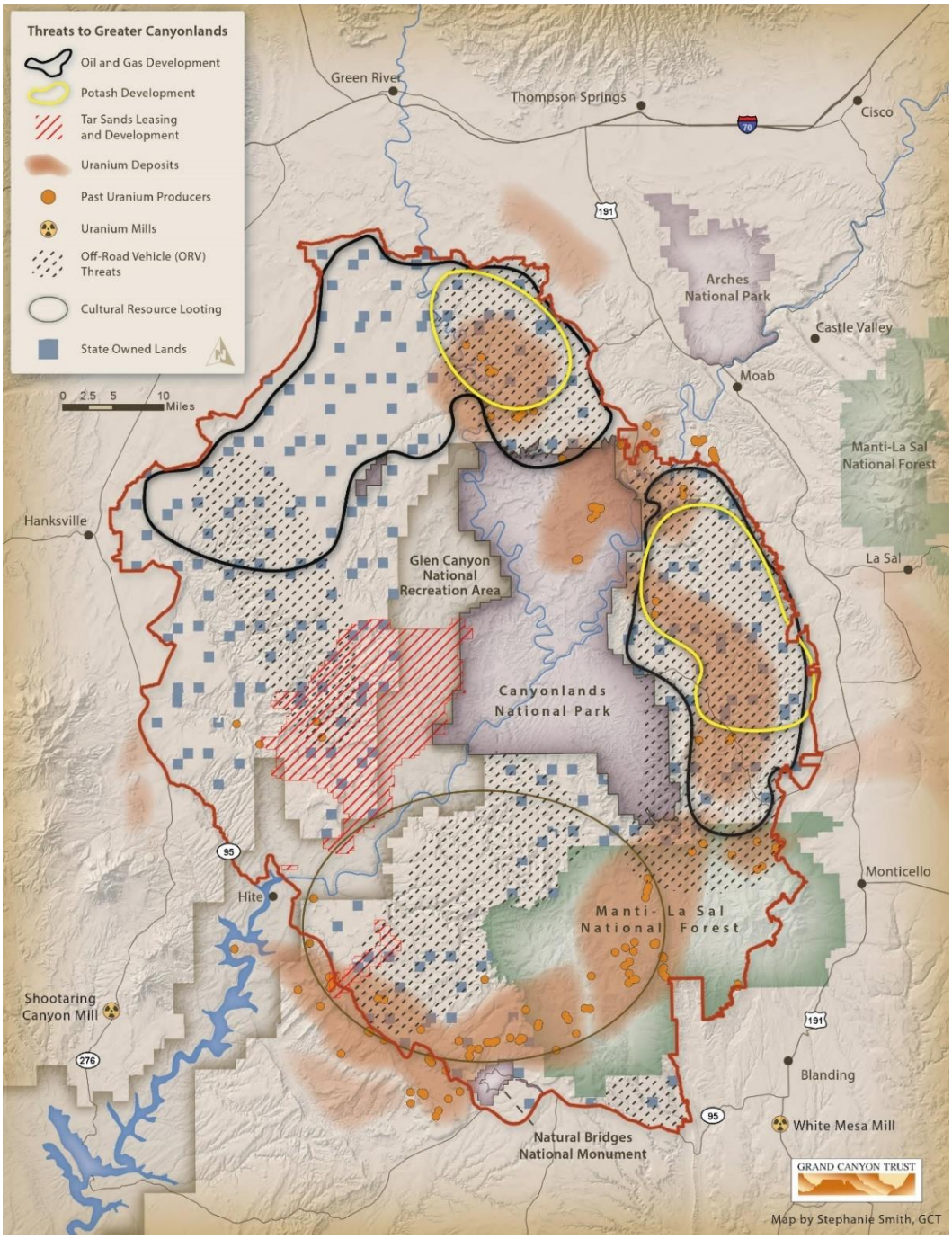


Figure 20. Map of threats to Greater Canyonlands.
Canyonlands faces a plethora of threats from activities on surrounding lands (S. Smith, 2015).

Secretary Udall, the NPS, and Senator Moss set out to create Canyonlands as a large national park capturing an entire geologic basin, but opposition to resource use restrictions convinced lawmakers to compromise. Even the expansion of 1971 failed to incorporate all the lands desired. Walt Dabney, Canyonlands' superintendent in the 1990s, reflected on the difficulty of establishing the park: "there is an assumption by visitors who stand at Grand View Point that they are looking at Canyonlands National Park. But what they are actually looking at is an illogical and political compromise that resulted in only a part of the basin being protected" (see Figure 21; Trenbreath, 2014).

Figure 21. View from Grand View Point.
Grand View Point offers an overlook of the Colorado River canyons, the La Sal Mountains (left) and Abajo Mountains (center), and the White Rim (photo by author, November 2018).

The discussions surrounding the creation of Canyonlands National Park are representative of a larger struggle between preservation values and utilitarian values (Dilsaver, 1990; Simmons, 1981; Yochim, 2007). The Canyonlands story differs in that resource use within the park was accepted by various interest groups, but lawmakers chose instead to honor traditional national park standards. Southeast Utah locals, although participants in congressional hearings, were ultimately excluded from making important decisions regarding Canyonlands, as is common with national parks (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999; Jacoby, 2001). The decisions made in establishing and expanding the park have created management complications that persist today.

Canyonlands was initially intended to be the first national park to embrace multiple uses. However, the Congressional decisions to designate Canyonlands following historic resource use restrictions, and the decision of early park managers to leave the park in a primitive state, created a different type of pioneering park. Today's superintendent Kate Cannon reflects that Canyonlands "wasn't designed to bring tourists in on trains and put them in hotels or restaurants in the park… Canyonlands is here to be remote and rugged and a place of wonder" (Prettyman, 2014). Despite the controversial establishment, expansion, and continued management of Canyonlands, the park protects part of America's heritage, as well as ecological and geological wonders, and provides a place for people to explore and recreate in a relatively untouched landscape.

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Appendix: Timeline of Significant Events

1959

May

- Needles area surveyed by representatives of the National Park Service, Bureau of Land Management, and Utah Parks Commission. Subsequently, the NPS and Utah Parks Commission requested the area to be set aside as a park.

1960

1961

July

- Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall toured Canyonlands with lawmakers, NPS officials, and newsmen.
- Governor George Clyde spoke at the state capitol, warning the audience of Congress' wilderness ideals and the upcoming Canyonlands National Park bill and the limitations the measures will impose on land uses.

August

- University of Utah was contracted to complete an economic study regarding Canyonlands National Park and a "Golden Circle" of Four Corners area national parks.
- S. 2387 and H.R. 8573 were introduced by Senator Frank Moss, Representatives M. Blaine Peterson and David King.

September

- Secretary Udall implemented an interim management plan regarding one million acres in the Canyonlands area.

1962

January

- The Department of Interior recommended Utah's Democratic delegates add amendments to the Canyonlands bill to provide for road siting.
- Governor Clyde appointed a committee to study the Canyonlands matter and propose the most economically sound solution for the state.

February

- Senator Moss introduced amendments to S. 2387 to provide for hunting within the park and develop roads.
- Department of Interior report on Canyonlands was released and estimated $17-20 million would be needed for park developments.
- San Juan County residents held a meeting regarding Canyonlands and determined that they wanted all hearings held in Monticello, UT, and that park headquarters should be located at Squaw Springs in the Needles.

- Eastern Utah Cattlemen's Association annual meeting occurred. Members expressed opposition to the park based on restrictions to land use, and designated members to speak at hearings on the association's behalf.
- Utah Travel Institute and Utahns, Inc. held a meeting to discuss Canyonlands proposal.
- Utah's Tourist and Publicity Council stated support for a Canyonlands area park that would balance preservation and use and advocated for state inclusion in decision making.

March

- Governor's Committee on Canyonlands National Park released report recommending a 310,000-acre Canyonlands National Park and Recreation Area.
- University of Utah Economic Report on Canyonlands released.
- Canyonlands hearings began in Washington, DC.

April

- National Park Service secretly filed an application to withdraw the proposed Canyonlands National Park area.
- Utah Wildlife Federation annual convention occurred. Governor Clyde and Senator Moss attended the event to speak about wildlife management in the proposed park.
- Senate Public Lands Subcommittee revised the S. 2387 based on input provided at the Washington hearings. The revised bill was called Committee Print No. 1.
- Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee members toured the proposed park area and held hearings in Monticello, Moab, and Salt Lake City, UT.

May

- House Committee on National Parks held hearings on H.R. 8573 in Washington, DC.

August

- Canyonlands bill passed the Senate Interior Committee.

September

- Canyonlands bill reported to full Senate and passed.
- Senator Bennett introduced S. 3744, his Canyonlands National Park and Recreation Area bill.

October

- "The Sculptured Earth," an NPS-sponsored film displaying the scenery in Canyonlands National Park, premiered in Salt Lake City in front of a standing-room-only crowd.
- Congress adjourned; Canyonlands bill died.

November

- Midterm elections; David King and Blaine Peterson replaced by Republicans Sherman Lloyd and Laurence Burton, respectively.

1963

January
- Senator Moss introduced S. 27, the new Canyonlands bill with less acreage.

April
- Senator Moss, Senator Bennett, Governor Clyde, Representative Burton, Fish and Game Director Harold Crane met to discuss Canyonlands Bill and reached a tentative agreement.
- Utah's Republican congressmen asked Senator Moss to postpone hearings on the Canyonlands bill, which Moss declined; hearings on S. 27 in Washington, DC.

May
- Bennett introduced amendments to S. 27.

June
- Representative Burton introduced H.R. 6925 to create a smaller Canyonlands than proposed by Senator Moss.

July
- Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee unanimously approved Canyonlands bill.

August
- Senate approved S. 27, sizing Canyonlands National Park at 258,600 acres.

1964

February
- State Tourist and Publicity Council, Moab Chamber of Commerce, and San Juan Tourist Council collaborated to produce a 16-page color booklet "Different World of Canyonlands" in an effort to increase tourist travel to the area.

June
- House National Parks Subcommittee held hearings in Monticello and Washington, DC.

August
- Subcommittee on Interior and Insular Affairs unanimously passed Canyonlands bill, which allowed for a ten-year renewal of existing grazing permits.
- Canyonlands bill passed the House floor.

September
- Conference Committee discussed the differences in the House and Senate Canyonlands bills. Boundaries were compromised, grazing provisions allowed for one ten-year permit renewal.
- Senate and House both approve of the amended conference bill.
- President Lyndon Johnson approves Canyonlands bill.

1965

Canyonlands National Park opened in this year; basic facilities have been developed.

1966

1967

January

- Senator Moss introduced S. 26 to expand the boundaries of Canyonlands National Park.

May

- Advisory Board on National Parks endorsed expansion.

1968

July

- Hearings on S. 26 occurred in Washington, DC

October

- Congress adjourned; Canyonlands bill died.

1969

January

- President Johnson expanded Arches and Capitol Reef National Monuments by presidential proclamation using the authority granted by the Antiquities Act.
- Senator Moss introduced S. 26 to expand Canyonlands.

1970

May

- Hearings on S. 26 held in Washington, DC.
- Representative Burton introduced H.R. 17475.

July

- Senator Bennett introduced amendments to S. 26.
- S. 26 passed the Senate without Bennett amendments.

September

- Hearings on H.R. 17475 held in Washington.

1971

January

- Congress adjourned; Canyonlands bill died.
- Moss introduced four park bills, including S. 26, a Canyonlands bill identical to the previous.

April

- Representative Gunn McKay and Representative Lloyd introduced H.R. 7137 to expand Canyonlands.

June

- Both the House and the Senate held hearings on the Utah national park bills, including S. 26 and H.R. 7137.
- The Senate passed S. 26.

July

- House Interior and Insular Affairs committee passed H.R. 7137.

October

- House approved H.R. 7137.

November

- President Richard Nixon signed Canyonlands expansion bill.

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