



Gregory Natural Bridge on Fiftymile Creek, a tributary of the Escalante River. U.S. Geological Survey photograph.

Undiscovered to Undiscoverable: Gregory Natural Bridge

BY JARED FARMER

AMONG ABUNDANT NATURAL SPLENDOR, THE CANYONS OF THE LOWER Escalante River enclose immense arches and bridges. Secluded in a jungle of slickrock, these natural spans attracted minimal attention until midcentury. Not until 1940 was Gregory Natural Bridge effectively—if not genuinely—discovered. The “discoverer” was Norman Nevills, one of the most prominent and most colorful early commercial

Mr. Farmer, a student at Utah State University, wishes to thank the helpful staffs of the Huntington Library and the University of Utah’s Marriott Library.

river runners in the West. Like Glen Canyon of the Colorado River, Nevills's staple run, much of the wilderness of the lower Escalante now lies beneath Lake Powell. Gregory Natural Bridge was submerged by the filling reservoir, easily the largest span lost that way. Its present invisibility belies its past record of human association—with not only Nevills but also surveyors, ranchers, and sundry travelers.

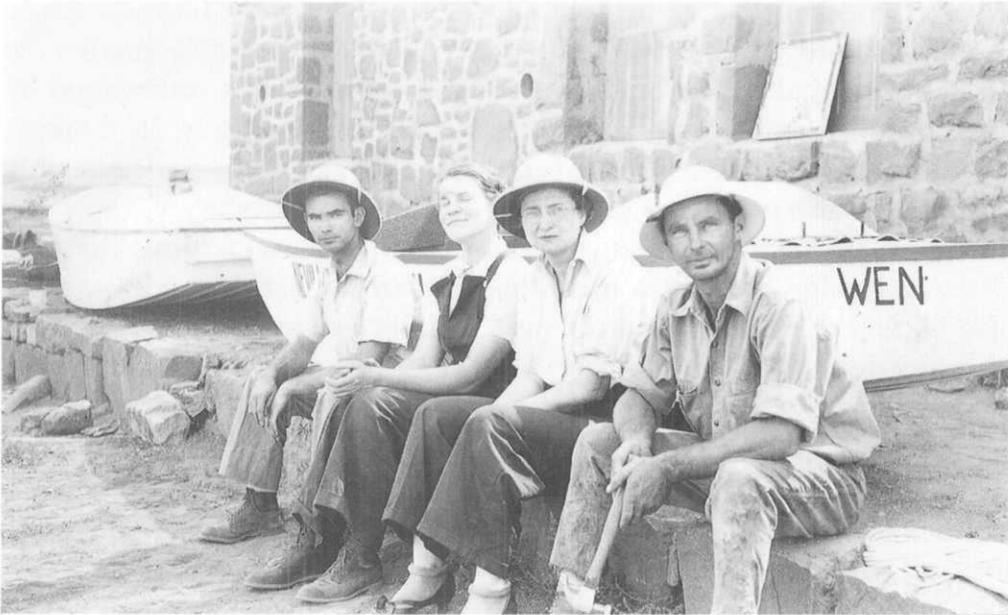
Natural bridges, unlike arches, form by stream erosion. Gregory Natural Bridge was not a misnomer. Fiftymile Creek, a tributary of the Escalante, had gnawed through the neck of an incised meander, thereby deserting (for an interval) a rambling path for a direct one. The resulting hole grew to measure approximately 175 feet wide and 75 feet high, dimensions that had room to increase; Gregory Natural Bridge's total height, from cobble streambed to ruddy Navajo sandstone roadway, extended about 200 feet.¹ A striped patina of desert varnish graced the massive structure. Cottonwoods formed a trembling border of green. Natural bridges are themselves uncommon, even in the Colorado Plateau, but beautiful Gregory, considering the arid setting, was a rarity: the rock canopy spanned a perennial streamflow.

Gregory Natural Bridge was known before 1940, albeit without a name. Native Americans, both ancient and modern, undoubtedly visited the place; Mormon stockmen from Escalante and Boulder camped there, sometimes leaving tin cans behind. A U.S. Geological Survey mapping crew noted the span in 1921, but the working men lacked any inclination to "discover" the formation. It took Norman Nevills to playact the explorer, a role he happily filled.

Hailing from northern California, Norman Davies Nevills immigrated to minuscule Mexican Hat, Utah, on the San Juan River, in 1928. He was twenty. His father, an itinerant prospector, had arrived several years earlier. Nevills labored with his father in the San Juan oil field and did odd jobs for the USGS. Although the boom that had brought them there busted, Norman and his parents remained in Utah. The red rock landscape had grown on them. "Having faith in the eventual development of the roads that would open up this region," they built the Mexican Hat Lodge, out of which the younger Nevills operated his subsequent guide business.² With ambition and

¹ Gregory Natural Bridge was never measured exactly, so printed dimensions, particularly of the horizontal length, have varied.

² Nevills, "Brief Biography of Capt. W. A. Nevills, W. E. Nevills, N. D. Nevills," box 1, Nevills Collection, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City (hereafter NC).

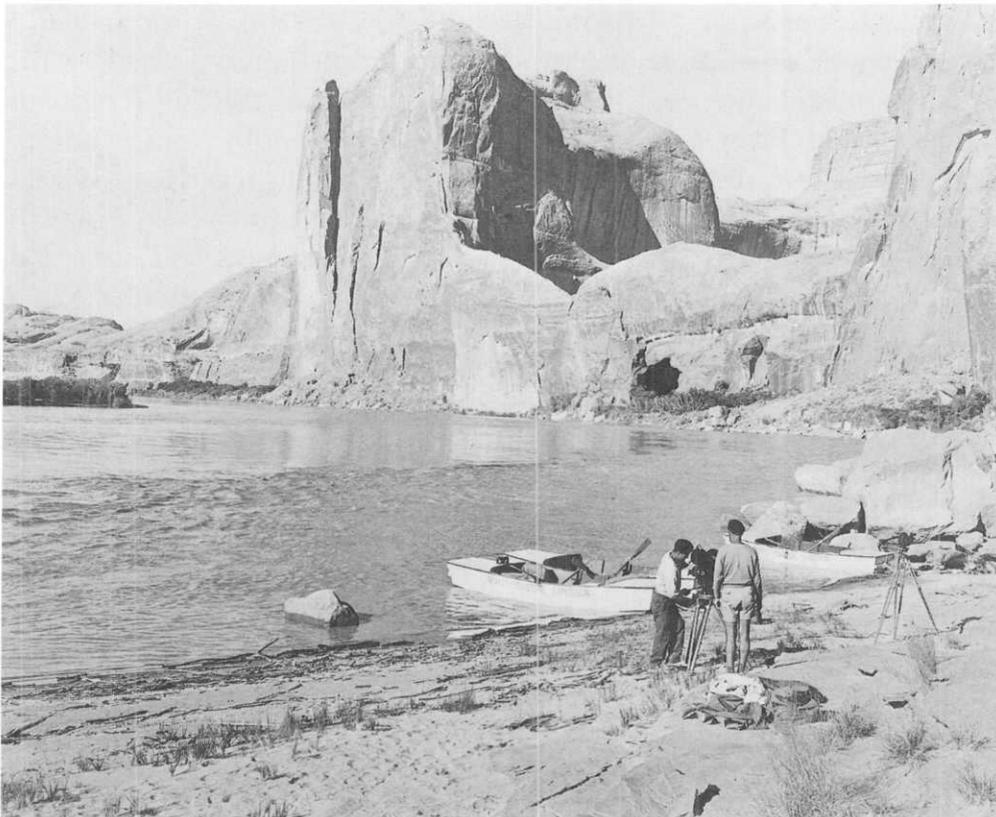


The 1938 Nevills expedition included two women identified as Lois Jotter (no hat) and Dr. Elzada Clover of the University of Michigan. Photograph by Robert C. Tyler, USHS collections.

incredible energy (and the invaluable assistance of his wife, Doris) he transformed river running from a pastime into a vocation. Success came slowly, but before his untimely death in a 1949 plane crash, Norman Nevills had been dubbed the “world’s No. 1 fast-water man.”³

To attract paying guests and make a living at the nascent business of recreational rafting, Nevills needed publicity. Theatrical by nature, he also craved recognition. In 1938 he led his first major excursion, an event-filled passage down the Green and Colorado rivers from Green River, Utah, to Lake Mead. Because of the deadly reputation of the Colorado River and the presence of two women in the party, the trip made news around the country. “They’ll never make it,” one “veteran” river explorer grimly forecasted. While “Nevills Expedition 1938” did experience its share of clashes—both with rocks and personalities—everyone emerged from the canyons intact, and Nevills relished the moment of fame.

³ This paper illuminates facets of Norman Nevills’s character, but the discovery of Gregory Natural Bridge gives an incomplete picture of the man and his career. No substantial biography has appeared. For a good overview of his life, see P. T. Reilly, “Norman Nevills: Whitewater Man of the West,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55 (1987): 181–200. Also see Roy Webb, “Never Was Anything So Heavenly: Nevills Expeditions on the San Juan River,” *Blue Mountain Shadows* 12 (Summer 1993): 35–50; David Lavender, *River Runners of the Grand Canyon* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), pp. 96–105; Nancy Nelson, *Any Time, Any Place, Any River: The Nevills of Mexican Hat* (Flagstaff: Red Lake Books, 1991); and William Cook, *The Wen, the Botany, and the Mexican Hat: The Adventures of the First Women through Grand Canyon on the Nevills Expedition* (Orangevale, Calif.: Calisto Books, 1987).



Cameraman, presumably from Movietone, sets up to film a river run. Ever the promoter, Nevills had painted NEVILLS-MOVIETONE EXPEDITION on the side of his boats. USHS collections.

Publicity did not immediately translate into prosperity, however; 1939 was disappointing. “Our financial status here this summer has been nil,” Nevills wrote. “The lack of trips has made this the worst year we have ever experienced.”⁴ He received a boost when syndicated columnist Ernie Pyle, touring across America, took a short boat ride on the San Juan River; but Nevills needed a successful trip in 1940 to keep his career on track. He wanted to “hit the front pages again,” Pyle noted.⁵ To Nevills the great media interest in 1938 indicated the “‘law of escape,’ whereby the general public gives vent to its suppressed desire to share in great adventures [and] is highly aroused.”⁶ For 1940 he hoped to take full advantage of this perceived popular appetite by arranging publicity in advance.

⁴ Nevills to Clyde Eddy, August 9, 1939, box 8, NC.

⁵ Pyle, column of August 2, 1939, copy in NC.

⁶ Nevills, *Salient Points of the 1940 Nevills Expedition*, enclosed with a letter to Al Runkle, November 29, 1939, box 18, NC.

Nevills envisioned a trip that would “dwarf” his earlier activities “in all details of interest, hazard, and accomplishment.” In 1938 his expedition had included the first women to float the full length of the Colorado River in Grand Canyon. Nevills would outdo that by transporting women (including his wife) all the way from Green River, Wyoming, to Lake Mead—a retracing of John Wesley Powell’s famous exploration. Members of the 1938 expedition had collected plant specimens; that would be followed up by a “complete botanical survey” of the river corridor. The 1940 party, to be composed of “various scientists and experts,” would also plot cliff dwellings and gather geological and mineralogical data. At the close of each busy day they would relate their observations and adventures to a national audience via a radio carried in the boats. The listeners would “[run] rapids as they sit in their apartment or drive down Fifth Ave. . . .” “Even the technical problems of the broadcast,” Nevills alleged, “will arouse universal interest.”⁷

That was not all. In a moment of romance Nevills planned to take an accordionist down Glen Canyon; the group would “drift by moonlight with the music.”⁸ Cameramen, some of “international fame,” would capture the entire canyon system in natural color.⁹ The photographs would illustrate presentations on a subsequent nationwide lecture tour. Fox, Paramount, and Movietone had, ostensibly, each made tentative offers to produce the expedition’s movie film results. Nevills wrote of receiving additional funds from a major sponsor such as National Carbon or Camels. Much more than a recreational trip, the planned *expedition* would “pursue scientific and photographic research.”¹⁰ Instead of yielding immediate profit, it would “pave the way” for future ventures. In short, he had dreamed up a giant promotional stunt.¹¹

Nevills eagerly outlined bits of this scheme in letters to prospective passengers. In his salesman’s pitch, written in characteristic unpolished English, a tantalizing report of a colossal natural bridge hardly seemed out of place:

⁷ Nevills, *The Value of the 1940 Nevills Colorado River Expedition as a National Network Program*, box 31, NC.

⁸ Nevills to (unidentified) Mr. and Mrs. Brown, October 25, 1939, box 5, NC.

⁹ Nevills to Wesley Heath, March 12, 1940, box 11, NC.

¹⁰ Nevills to Chester Doherty, March 19, 1940, box 10, NC.

¹¹ Nevills to Jack Breed, October 22, 1939, box 5, NC. Nevills was more adept at making plans than implementing them; most of these were scaled back or left unrealized. Despite Nevills’s best efforts, the 1940 expedition received less attention than the one in 1938.

And now, here's where the rabbit comes out of the hat! ---- I have definite, exact data on the location of a new, undiscovered natural bridge. ---- A bridge that makes the "Rainbow [Bridge] look like a culvert" ---- - - - - - Alright, alright, I know this sounds fantastic, but here's the dope: A good many years ago a certain man, now dead, saw this "undiscovered bridge". Directly afterwards he saw the Rainbow and then made the comparison quoted above. For reasons of animosity towards his party and other reasons he did not divulge the bridge's existence until a year or so ago before his death. The man he told, a great friend of mine, and realizing his likely lack of opportunity in ever seeing this bridge gave me the dope this Fall to use as I see fit. ----- From the location he gave me I immediately sp[otted] the bridge on an airshot -- and scaling showed it to be 1260 feet across the top! Its a gigantic affair. Easier to reach from the river than Rainbow is the capping climax.. If I had'nt seen the airshot I might have been sceptical. The park service are all hipped up and I've already arranged to inform them in Washington by wire. --- So that's that! I have confirmed the location, know it is 1260' across the top --- all we need is to see the hole. That we have to take this man's word for as to its size.¹²

There was good reason why the story sounded fantastic: Nevills made most of it up. How he actually learned about the natural bridge is not uninteresting but certainly more prosaic.

The initial news came from Thorn Mayes, an engineer from California who liked to vacation in Monument Valley with his pocket Brunton compass. In 1933 he headed the mapping unit of the privately financed Rainbow Bridge–Monument Valley Expedition with Nevills as one of his helpers. In subsequent years Mayes would stop by the Mexican Hat Lodge to visit. On one such call in 1939 he informed Nevills that Herbert Gregory, a government geologist, had told him about a natural bridge in a tributary of the Escalante River. Mayes and Nevills consulted a Fairchild Survey aerial photograph of the region that corroborated the intelligence. Nevills, already planning the 1940 trip, saw the span as "another major objective."¹³

Mayes learned of the bridge from Gregory who, in turn, had received the knowledge from another USGS employee, William Chenoweth. A topographic engineer, Chenoweth had supervised a 1921 damsite survey from Green River, Utah, to Lee's Ferry. He and four others tarried in Glen Canyon to chart major tributaries to

¹² Nevills to Wesley Heath, October 22, 1939, box 11, NC. Nevills sent a nearly verbatim story to at least three others and abbreviated versions to several more.

¹³ Nevills to Gregory, January 8, 1940, box 10, NC. Herbert Ernest Gregory (1869–1952), for whom the bridge was eventually named, had a doctorate from Yale and was a prominent and prolific USGS field geologist, educator, amateur historian, and long-time head of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. His many superior reports on the landforms of southern Utah and northern Arizona served both scientists and hardy tourists.

3,900 feet, the full pool level of a proposed reservoir (which in another form became Lake Powell). Chenoweth's assigned section of Glen Canyon encompassed the Escalante River. In the course of work his small group hiked up Fiftymile Creek, saw the unnamed Gregory Natural Bridge, and camped beneath it one night. Rodman Leigh Lint made a record in the visitor register at Rainbow Bridge where they visited a few days afterwards: "Near, the Escalante River-8½ miles from the Colorado River, and ¾ miles up '40 Mile Creek' on the south side of the Escalante is a natural bridge 75 feet high, with a span of 100 feet. This bridge is across the creek and forms a perfect bridge and not an arch."¹⁴

Months later Herbert Gregory got wind of the natural bridge and requested information from Chenoweth. Gregory was preparing a report on the region around the Kaiparowits Plateau and Escalante River. Chenoweth sent a description of the bridge which the geologist utilized. Somewhere along the way, though, the span length had doubled in size: "On Fortymile Creek a beautiful natural bridge has resulted from the undercutting of a meander spur and has the history of the well-known Rainbow Bridge in the Navajo Country. As estimated by W. R. Chenoweth of the United States Geological Survey, the Fortymile Bridge has a span of 200 feet and a height from stream bed to roadway of 75 feet."¹⁵

Hugh Miser, another government geologist, published a report in 1924 on the San Juan River canyon that indirectly noted the bridge. The geologic map accompanying the report showed the span's approximate location (mislocated in unmarked Clear Creek), labeled "Natural Bridge."¹⁶ Miser had heard about the formation from his colleague Chenoweth.

Nevills had several opportunities to leaf through the Rainbow Bridge register and therefore could have seen Leigh Lint's entry.

¹⁴ From photographs of the register, box 319, Otis Marston Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California (hereafter MC).

¹⁵ Herbert E. Gregory and Raymond C. Moore, *The Kaiparowits Region: A Geographic and Geologic Reconnaissance of Parts of Utah and Arizona*, U.S. Geological Survey Professional Paper 164 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931), pp. 144–45. Gregory perpetuated the misnomer Fortymile Creek. As noted, the bridge spanned Fiftymile Creek (also called Soda Gulch); Fortymile Creek is found upstream on the Escalante. Strangely, Gregory's map and the excellent 1922 USGS river profile sheets Chenoweth helped prepare (see sheet G) did not mark the bridge, though "Forty Mile Creek" appeared on both. Gregory Natural Bridge finally appeared on the USGS 15 minute *The Rincon* topographic map, published in 1953.

¹⁶ Hugh D. Miser, *The San Juan Canyon, South-eastern Utah: A Geographic and Hydrographic Reconnaissance*, U. S. Geological Survey Water-Supply Paper 538 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1924), plate 15.

Before 1939 Nevills apparently had not looked at Herbert Gregory's work, but the river runner had "poured over and over" Miser's San Juan River paper.¹⁷ In other words, he may have possessed an inkling of the bridge's existence before Thorn Mayes's visit, but he did not become intrigued until after.

In Nevills's garbled account a fictional member of Chenoweth's survey party was the dead man who had seen the bridge. The "great friend" (also a "man prominent in national affairs") who heard the surveyman's secret—imparted on a deathbed in one version—was probably based on Gregory. The story, in the words of a Nevills boatman, contained "just enough substance to make it interesting and slightly probable."¹⁸ With it, Nevills hoped to entice paying guests. "Need sever[a]l more [passengers] and must turn everything over to get 'em," he once disclosed. As one inducement he invited people to help officially discover and name the colossal natural bridge.¹⁹

The self-interest that prompted Nevills to plug the bridge subsumed a more praiseworthy motive. Judging from his career and the spirited writings he left behind, Nevills clearly held Utah's canyonlands dear. As he put it, "I love this country, and want to do all in my power [to] help it progress."²⁰ That meant, in part, supporting Escalante National Monument.

In the late 1930s the Interior Department, under the expansion-minded leadership of Harold Ickes, suggested that a huge reserve (nearly 7,000 square miles in the original proposal) be created along the Colorado River in southern Utah—the heart of the largest undeveloped district in the United States at that time. The Southwest Regional Office of the National Park Service asked Nevills to compose a descriptive article about territory very few knew, which he called home. At times he sounded something like a conservationist:

¹⁷ Nevills to Hugh Miser, February 26, 1947, box 15, NC. In early 1940 Nevills invited Gregory to come on the trip: "It would be most appropriate for you to name [the bridge]." The geologist was tempted; despite years of field work around Glen Canyon he had never floated its length. He declined because of insufficient time and money.

¹⁸ Hugh Cutler to Otis Marston, July 8, 1948, box 37, MC. As late as 1952 river runner Harry Aleson took some stock in a "rumor of a member of a survey party - Escalante channel - who was sore at the boss, and failed . . . to report a big bridge." Humorously, in the same letter Aleson criticized the "Nevills' school of dramatics." Aleson to Otis Marston, March 17, 1952, box 7, Aleson Collection, Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City.

¹⁹ Nevills to Hugh Cutler, November 9, 1939, box 6, NC. Days before, Nevills updated Thorn Mayes: "[The bridge has] been a great thing for me to go on in selling the trip." That was probably an overly optimistic appraisal. Of those who signed up for the trip, none, it would seem, did so primarily to see the bridge.

²⁰ Nevills to Gregory, April 17, 1940, box 10, NC.

This is the canyon wonderland—a huge roadless area that is superbly beautiful. It is almost entirely publicly-owned. The public, though, is deriving scarcely any benefit, for only a very few people have been there. Roads are needed to make it accessible, just as roads had to be provided before the Grand Canyon could be “opened.” People from throughout the world—several millions of them—have gained inspiration and education from viewing the Grand Canyon. The same will be true of the Escalante region, after accessibility is provided. Roads will come when the area is linked into the National Park System, as it should be, to prevent commercialization and to assure its preservation in a natural state. It should be kept unspoiled and it should be made available to all the people.²¹

It was in this publicly owned Shangri-la that Nevills uncovered the natural bridge. Writing a travelogue for the Park Service following the 1940 expedition, he predicted that thousands would visit the breathtaking Escalante River canyon, part of “an area that someday will be the ‘Playground of America.’”²² Charles Kelly (another non-native southern Utahn) wrote in *Desert Magazine* that the discovery of Gregory Natural Bridge “focuses attention on a comparatively unexplored section of the West which may soon be made accessible to desert travelers.”²³ Unfortunately, Nevills (and the limited audience of *Desert Magazine*) lacked both the influence and the opportunity to boost Escalante National Monument appreciably. By 1940 the proposal was irreversibly moribund, a casualty of political wrangling between state and federal governments.²⁴

Nevills had hoped to give Escalante National Monument “a big impetus” by “selling’ this country thru the lectures” that were to follow the 1940 trip.²⁵ Of course, whenever the river runner sold the canyon scenery, he simultaneously advertised himself. He could have expected increased business and renown with the realization of the

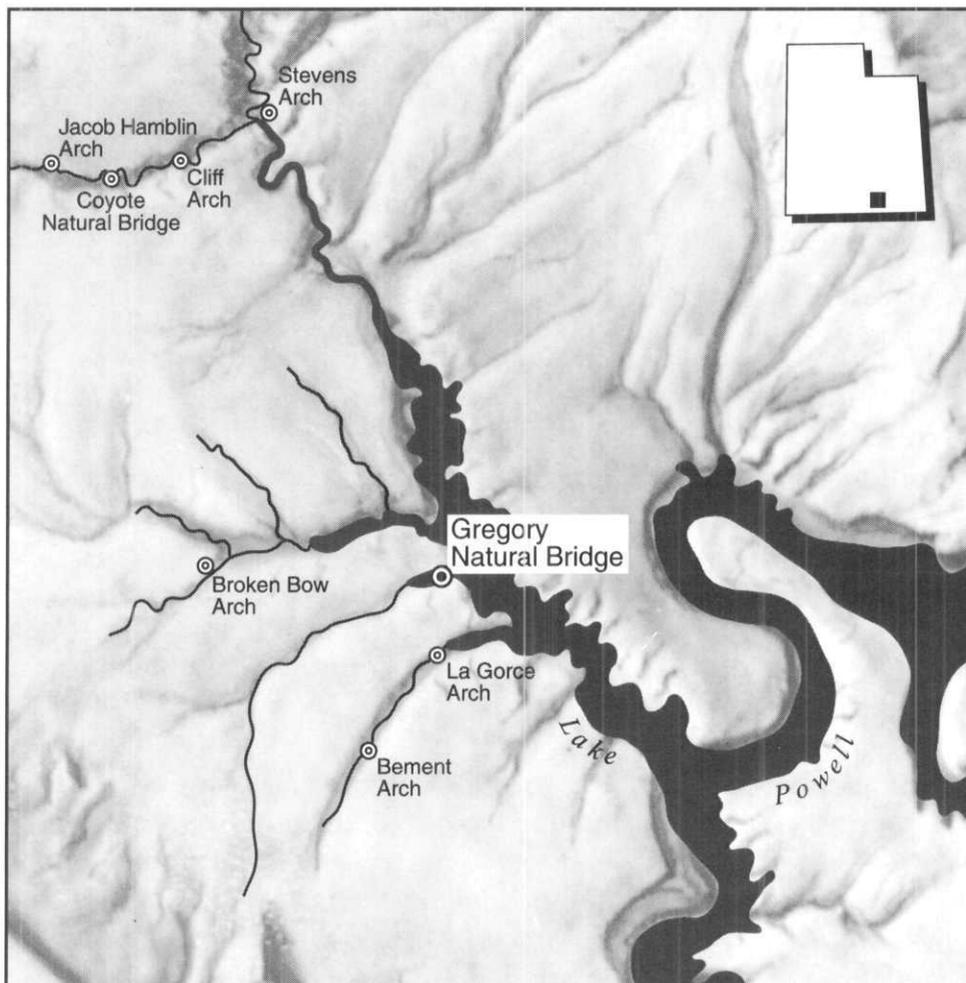
²¹ Nevills, “Canyon Wonderland,” *Region Three Quarterly* 2 (July 1940): 42.

²² Nevills, “Descent of the Canyons,” *Region Three Quarterly* 3 (July 1941): 42.

²³ Kelly, “Proposed Escalante National Monument,” *Desert Magazine* 4 (February 1941): 21–22.

²⁴ Too much has been made of the proposed Escalante National Monument and what might have been—or, in the case of Lake Powell, what might *not* have been. It is important to remember that the monument, as conceived, would not necessarily have precluded a dam in Glen Canyon. See Elmo R. Richardson, “Federal Park Policy in Utah: The Escalante National Monument Controversy of 1935–1940,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (Spring 1965): 109–133. In 1950 the National Park Service presented the comparatively modest “Canyon Lands of Utah Suggested Plan for Recreational Use,” in *A Survey of the Recreational Resources of the Colorado River Basin* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), plate 9. It identified Glen Canyon below the Rincon as one of two zones of “national importance for parks and recreation.” (The other encompassed eventual Canyonlands National Park.) The area of the lower Escalante River, Hole-in-the-Rock, and Hidden Passage was recommended for withdrawal. The park service mentioned Gregory Natural Bridge as one of “at least six fine bridges in the twisting half-domed tributary canyons of the Escalante River” (p. 172).

²⁵ Nevills to Gregory, April 17, 1940.



monument. Potential profit overlapped love for the land; together, they help explain why his statements about a “new” bridge within the proposed monument boundaries were so enthusiastic. Recounting his 1938 Grand Canyon run before the Women’s Literary Club of Moab, Nevills could not refrain from saying he expected to bring to light “another arch or natural bridge similar to but larger” than world-famous Rainbow Bridge. He told the *Salt Lake Tribune* the same thing.²⁶

Nevills professed to be the lone possessor of directions to the bridge (sometimes in the form of a map) and gave that knowledge

²⁶ “Nevills Describes Thrilling Trip,” *Moab Times-Independent*, February 8, 1940, copy in MC; “Utahn Plans to Repeat Voyage Down Hazardous Colorado,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 13, 1940, p. 17.

an air of secrecy. He gladly notified others of his imminent find, but refused to reveal its location, as Charles Madsen, state director of the WPA Utah Writers' Project, found out. Madsen wrote Nevills:

I understand that you plan to "discover" a new natural bridge on your next trip. I have heard that it's going to be three times as large as the Rainbow. Apparently you have already discovered the bridge and are merely awaiting a more auspicious time to make your announcement. However, we would like to have some information about this bridge in our state guide which is to be published about August. If you are willing to give us this information, we will treat it in the strictest confidence and promise you that nothing will leak out about it until the book appears, by which time you will doubtless already have announced your discovery.

Nevills answered curtly: "Am very sorry, but am maintaining a strict policy of not disclosing any information whatsoever as to the whereabouts of the new bridge, suffice to say it is in Utah."²⁷

Confidentiality showed elsewhere. A mimeographed brochure for his 1940 trip contained a crude, hand-drawn map of the Green and Colorado rivers and surrounding country, including the Escalante River. X marked the spot—"New Bridge"—but X was placed on the wrong side of Glen Canyon.²⁸

How might Nevills have justified discovering a known feature? No picture had been printed; only one description had been published—a small paragraph buried within a geologic paper; nobody had given the span a name; no person seemed to have visited the place in nearly twenty years. Since no one *claimed* discovery, the reasoning goes, how could the bridge have really been discovered?

Resisting the "awfull tem[p]tation" to "sneak off and have a preview," Nevills prepared for the June launching of his 1940 expedition.²⁹ Five weeks after a royal sendoff by the town of Green River, Wyoming, his trio of plywood boats landed at the mouth of the Escalante River. After lunch, six from the party began the hike to the bridge. The thermometer read 100 degrees. Doris Nevills, boatman Del Reed, and a disappointed Barry Goldwater (before his years as a politician) stayed behind with a sore leg, arm, and knee, respectively.

²⁷ Madsen to Nevills, April 5, 1940; and Nevills in reply, April 25, 1940, box 23, NC. At the last minute, using information from a news story, the WPA writers inserted a note about the bridge into the *Utah Guide* (New York: Hastings House, 1941), p. 441. As well, Nevills occupied a noteworthy place in the chronology of Utah history (pp. 531–37), which spanned four centuries, 1540 to 1940. The first entry concerned a Spanish explorer; the very last concerned what passed as a modern explorer: "Gregory Natural Bridge discovered by Norman Nevills."

²⁸ Nevills, *First Bulletin Norman Nevills Colorado River Expedition 1940*, box 31, NC.

²⁹ Nevills to Jack Breed, October 22, 1939.

Walking and wading past “tapestry walls and refreshingly cool springs,” the group arrived at Fiftymile Creek after six hours. They ate a frugal supper before rolling out on the sand. Hiking resumed early in the morning. Only twenty minutes after entering the side canyon, they were “walking along, looking down to watch our footing, when we glanced up and found we were directly under the Bridge.”³⁰

Comparisons to Rainbow Bridge were inevitable. “We found it a most impressively beautiful bridge,” Mildred Baker, a secretary from Buffalo, confided in her journal, but it “could not compare with [Rainbow Bridge’s] spiritual grace.” Commenting in retrospect, John Southworth, a mining engineer from southern California, reserved even slightest praise:

I was wholly unimpressed by the bridge. Maybe the arch was 40 or 50' in the clear and the top was 70 more than that. Wasn't much anyhow - and surely wasn't a delicate or impressive formation like Rainbow. . . . Saw lots of tin cans from cow camps. And lots of signs of cows. Frankly, the whole thing bored me after I nearly walked under it without seeing it. The walk must have tired me unduly. Also, the “mighty discoverer” in Norm might have built me up to where the letdown was just too, too much.³¹

If Nevills experienced any letdown, he suppressed it. “It would be hard to describe the wonder and thrill that we felt,” he wrote later. “As we gazed at [the bridge], its enormity began to be appreciated and we soon realized that here was no ordinary natural bridge. . . . This bridge was huge.”³²

The objectives of the expedition had included measuring the bridge. It is puzzling, then, that Nevills came so poorly equipped for the job. His tools consisted of a small metal ruler and two new spools of heavy cotton thread—each supposed to be 300 feet long—that he

³⁰ Mildred Baker, “Rough Water,” *American Forests* 50 (November 1944): 520–25, 572–73, p. 525; Baker, 1940 journal, copy of typescript, pp. 28–29, box 284, MC.

³¹ John Southworth to Otis Marston, October 16, 1948, box 212, MC. He was not the only one ever to disparage the bridge. Later visitor Claire Noall could only say this: “A clumsy irregular beam in rusty sandstone spans half the gulch.” See “The Story of Utah’s Canyons,” part 2, in *Treasures of Pioneer History*, vol. 6, ed. Kate Carter (Salt Lake City: DUP, 1957), p. 460. Gregory Natural Bridge was often compared unfavorably to incomparable Rainbow Bridge. In the January 1941 *Arizona Highways*, Barry Goldwater stated that the bridge “in no way compares with the Rainbow Natural Bridge in beauty. . . .” In the May 18, 1946, *Saturday Evening Post*, Neil M. Clark described Gregory Natural Bridge as “almost as big as Rainbow, but less picturesque.” In the September 1949 *National Geographic* Jack Breed curtly noted that Fiftymile Creek contained “one bridge—a massive affair called Gregory Bridge. . . . But it is no Rainbow.” Some were less concerned about comparative size and aesthetics. “Altho the bridge dimensions have been lowered in estimations,” Harry Aleson wrote in 1959, “the Gregory has not, [and] will always remain a natural beauty.”

³² Nevills, “Descent of the Canyons,” p. 42.

had borrowed from Mildred Baker. Jesse Nusbaum of the Park Service had ineffectually advised Nevills to “take tapes for accurate measurements” to avoid any controversy about the true size of the bridge.³³

Nevills and Hugh Cutler, a pair of practiced climbers, scrambled to the bridge’s roadway, where Nevills made a plum line. He unwound one spool completely and used 5½ feet of the other to reach the canyon floor. To determine the total height, he simply measured the used portion of the second thread and added that to 300 feet. Nevills gauged an inside opening of 192 feet and a span of 293½ feet.

These dimensions, though modest next to the pretrip publicity, strayed significantly from reality.³⁴ But Nevills entered the numbers like facts in the back pages of his wife’s diary, and on his river map, accompanied by a sketch of the bridge. Above it he inscribed:

1 mile from mouth

discovered:

7:30 A.M. 7-26-40

Named:

Gregory Bridge³⁵

Nevills had desired to christen it the Doris Mae—after his wife (Doris) and mother (Mae)—but the others at the bridge “hooted him down.”³⁶ When one from the group advanced the name Gregory, Nevills emphatically rejected it, according to Mildred Baker. Commenting how peaceful it felt in the shade of the natural canopy, Baker proposed Hozhoni—a Navajo word she understood to mean “peace.” Nevills spoke a little of the language, but did not recognize the word; he convinced Baker that *nizhoni* (“beautiful”) was what she had in mind.

³³ Nusbaum to Nevills, March 27, 1940, box 23, NC.

³⁴ Error would be expected, but Nevills’s figures were inflated enough to suggest the possibility of deliberate exaggeration. The purported total height of the bridge fell just four feet short of Rainbow Bridge’s then-accepted height of 309 feet. Otis Marston, not always a reliable source, said that Nevills bragged in private that Gregory Natural Bridge actually measured three feet *higher* than Rainbow Bridge; not wanting to take away from Rainbow’s glory, Nevills lowered the figure. Marston, interviewed by Jay M. Haymond and John F. Hoffman, May 28, 1976, pp. 19–22, typescript, Utah State Historical Society Library. Mildred Baker, responding in 1948 to Marston’s contention that Nevills faked the measurements, made two good points: “Why anyone should want to deceive in this manner is simply beyond comprehension, for surely later on the bridge would be more accurately surveyed and the ‘error’ be brought to light. However, some people have a queer psychology.”

³⁵ Nevills took notes on USGS river profile sheets cut to fit a handmade map holder mounted to his boat. See Box 34, NC.

³⁶ Charles Larabee to Otis Marston, July 16, 1948, box 113, MC.

Nevills returned to the boats saying he had named the span Nijoni, wrote Barry Goldwater, "but we insist upon calling it Gregory in honor of Dr. Herbert Gregory and Norm says he will send in the name."³⁷ Nevills later controverted Goldwater, insisting he had written *Gregory Bridge* on a piece of paper which he placed inside an old tin (Del Monte's plum jam) the group found nestled in a cairn. Whatever the case, upon reaching Lee's Ferry, where a reporter waited, Nevills informed, "We named the bridge after Herbert E. Gregory, widely-known government geologist. . . . It was Gregory who furnished us with the information which made our discovery possible." Nevills made it known that the bridge had been measured with "steel tapes." (Later they would become "silk lines.") "There is no question as to the accuracy of our measurements," he boasted to the interviewer, "nor that the arch is the second highest yet known."³⁸

Some of the passengers assumed the measurements' accuracy. Those who doubted might aggrandize the bridge anyway. John Southworth, who privately recalled his boredom at an estimated 120-foot-high span, earlier reported to his alumni magazine that the bridge "turned out to be of exceptional size . . . rising 307 feet above the canyon floor." He cited the mock discovery second only to the 1776 fording of the Colorado River by the Dominguez-Escalante expedition to illustrate that Glen Canyon was indeed "a canyon of history."³⁹ Charles Larabee communicated in a 1948 letter that he very much doubted the bridge was anywhere near 305 feet high and 293 feet wide, and added, "It is not a beautiful bridge." Just the month before, he had been quoted as saying, "We discovered a natural bridge," the "second largest natural bridge in the world," one of "nature's masterpieces."⁴⁰

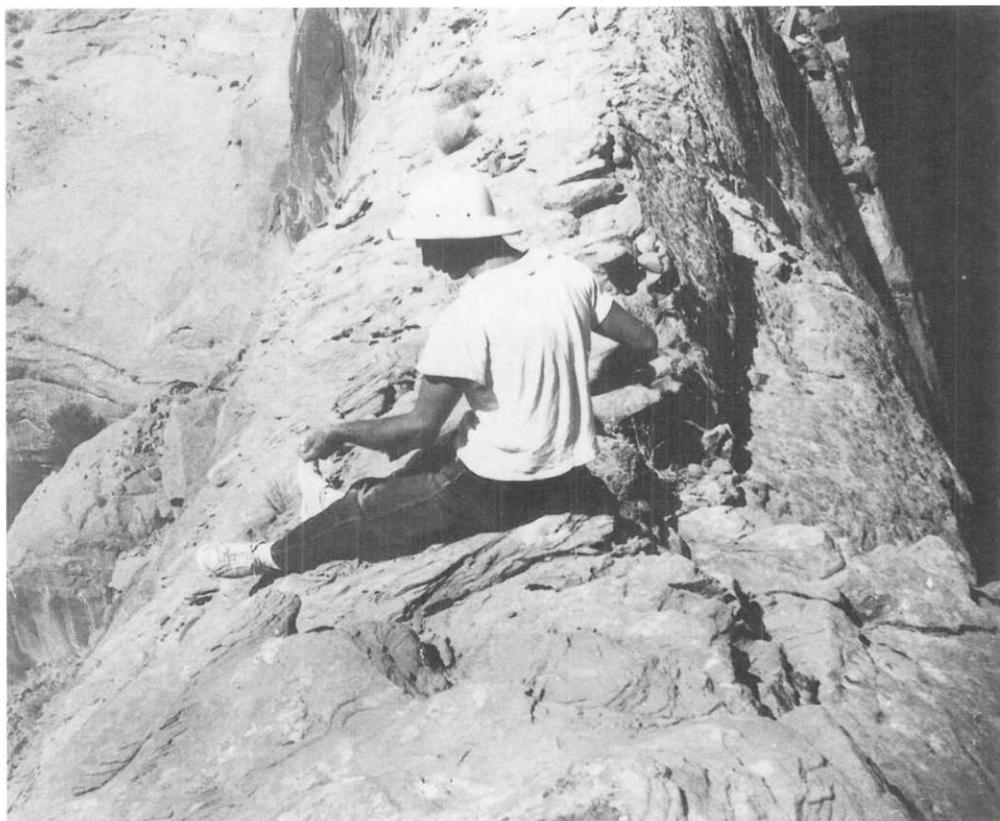
Writers not connected with Nevills unknowingly rebroadcasted hyperbole about the bridge. One later expressed, "If anyone is

³⁷ Goldwater, *Delightful Journey Down the Green and Colorado Rivers* (Tempe: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1970), p. 62. The U.S. Board on Geographic Names never rendered a decision on the name (for it was never found to be in conflict) but officially recognized Gregory Natural Bridge in 1953.

³⁸ "River Runners Find Huge Natural Arch," *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 3, 1940, p. 28. The Associated Press distributed the article. After reading an account, William Chenoweth wrote Nevills, August 15, 1940, curious "if by chance we saw the same bridge." Nevills replied cautiously: "Please, don't feel that we have attempted to discredit your find, but actually the bridge was seen even before your visit in 1921. --- The important thing was to bring to public attention this bridge, in order to stimulate and further interest in the proposed Escalante Mon. area in which this bridge lies." Box 315, MC.

³⁹ Southworth, "Colorado River in a Row Boat," part 1, *Mines Magazine* 32 (March 1942): 120-22.

⁴⁰ Larabee to Otis Marston, July 16, 1948, box 113, MC; Larabee, as told to Horace S. Mazet, "Riding the Rapids of the Grand Canyon," *Travel* 91 (June 1948): 4-9.



Norman Nevills on top of Gregory Natural Bridge. Otis Marston Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Reproduced by permission.

embarrassed . . . it should be Norm, not me. He claimed to have discovered it and it's down in black and white in several books and magazines."⁴¹ But Nevills did not embarrass easily; he never explicitly revoked his claim of discovery. Only reluctantly did he concede the bridge's real size.

In June 1945 Nevills conducted a river trip from Moab to Lee's Ferry that included a return visit to Gregory Natural Bridge. One of his boatmen was Otis Marston, future king of Colorado River history trivia. Nearly 200 river miles from embarkation, the group pulled in at the mouth of the Escalante. Nevills, Marston, and two others waded upstream and camped at Fiftymile Creek. When a thunderstorm rolled by in the night, the group hurriedly moved by flashlight to the shelter of the bridge. Morning conversation turned contentious as the men conjectured about the true dimensions of the

⁴¹ Weldon Heald to Otis Marston, August 27, 1949, box 315, MC.

canopy above them. Disgusted, Marston measured the bridge himself using tape measure and trigonometry. His results were on target: a span of 181 feet, an inside height of 75 feet, and a total height of 200 feet.⁴² According to Marston, Nevills had discouraged coming to the bridge in the first place and acted nervous while there.

P. T. Reilly, a former Nevills boatman, has shed light on the episode:

As soon as [Nevills] found out I had been a surveyor for the U.S. General Land Office, he described how [Marston] had tried to tell him he could measure the height of Gregory Bridge by using a 6-foot yoyo tape and a 30-foot piece of string. He asked, "Don't you think he was trying to pull my leg?" He was clearly crestfallen when I assured him that anyone could make a fairly accurate measurement with those tools. . . . [Nevills's] knowledge in math consisted only of the four basic functions.⁴³

No more could Nevills describe Gregory Natural Bridge as "long as a city block and high enough to arch over a cathedral!"⁴⁴ When admitting his error he would sometimes try to save face by painting himself as a bumbler: "We had measured from wrong end of silk line at time of checking!"⁴⁵ Again, Nevills freely embellished the truth.

As Ernie Pyle noticed from only brief company, Nevills had "a little touch of exaggeration about his conversation that adds awe and flavor for the tourist."⁴⁶ Naturally, storytelling is expected of river guides past and present, but Nevills overstepped the prerogative when he spread his stories publicly. Even so, the exuberant exaggerations about Gregory Natural Bridge seem fairly innocuous in retrospect. Certainly they did not add up to the nefarious "fraud" Otis Marston depicted in numerous letters to fellow Colorado River runners. A one-time employee and friend of Nevills, Marston became a

⁴² Margaret Marston, 1945 diary, box 285, MC. Otis Marston's wife (and their twin daughters) came on the river trip but did not hike to the bridge.

⁴³ Reilly, "Norman Nevills As I Knew Him" (1985), p. 5, box 1, Reilly Collection, Utah State Historical Society Library.

⁴⁴ Nevills, as told to Neill C. Wilson, "Running the Colorado's Rapids," part 2, *The Olympian* 31 (January 1943): 10–11, 24. Nevills's exaggerated measurements persisted for some time. The official 1950 visitor information pamphlet at Natural Bridges National Monument read, "Among known natural bridges [the three at the monument] are exceeded in size only by the great Rainbow Bridge . . . and the more recent discovery, Gregory Bridge."

⁴⁵ Nevills to Gregory, August 13, 1945, box 10, NC; also Nevills to Alfred Bailey, May 27, 1947, box 5, NC.

⁴⁶ Pyle, column of August 2, 1939. Frank Masland offered insight into the character of his friend Norman Nevills: "There wasn't anything small about the guy except his stature. His faults were big ones, so were his virtues. His likes and dislikes were apparent. His emotions weren't buried very deeply. He was temperamental and an extrovert, in many ways a kid still learning - the hard way. But in my book he was a man. . . ." Masland to Mildred Baker, February 8, 1950, box 124, MC.

bitter enemy. Nevills worked to build his legacy up; in the name of historical accuracy, influential Marston worked to cut it down, particularly after Nevills's death. Both men sometimes exploited the inspiring sandstone bridge for distinctly uninspiring designs.

Gregory Natural Bridge occasionally aroused irrational competitiveness in people—cases of what Marston and others called *fristitis*. Herbert Gregory, writing Nevills to acknowledge the “generous decision to name the big bridge after me,” made it known that although William Chenoweth “deserves full credit for the location and description,” he himself had seen the span earlier during fieldwork in 1918. However, Gregory's field books of that year make no mention of it.⁴⁷ He did not, in fact, view the bridge with his name until 1944. Trying to elicit a restatement of the 1918 claim, Marston queried Gregory at least twice. The geologist left the letters unanswered.

Charles Kelly, author, historian, and first Capitol Reef National Monument custodian, tramped around Glen Canyon in the 1930s. When later interviewed by Marston, Kelly stated that he visited Gregory Natural Bridge around 1938.⁴⁸ That is highly doubtful, considering a letter penned in 1940: “I only wish we had discovered it; but there are undoubtedly others yet to be *found*. It had definitely been named ‘Gregory Bridge’ and quite rightly so. Nevills is a cocky brat, but I give him credit for that.”⁴⁹

Fristitis did not infect everyone associated with the bridge, of course. The last thing on William Chenoweth's mind was discovery; he and his men had a schedule to keep. “The Escalante required 30 miles of stream traverse and a back packing job. We usually were a tired bunch and when we hit something like the bridge, our enthusiasm was not at high pitch. . . .”⁵⁰ Harry Tasker, employed in 1921 as a rodman, portrayed the difficult working conditions pithily: “The coyotes had nothing on us.”⁵¹ Hefting packs full of surveying equipment and little else, the men were disinclined to savor the scenery. A tongue-in-cheek couplet described both Tasker's job and the mindset it demanded:

⁴⁷ Gregory to Nevills, September 6, 1940, box 10, NC; Gregory's field books (see 293 and 294) are located in the USGS Field Records Library, Denver.

⁴⁸ Marston, interview notes, Fruita, Utah, April 30, 1949, box 315, MC.

⁴⁹ Kelly to Julius Stone, February 11, 1941, excerpted copy, box 315, MC.

⁵⁰ Chenoweth to Marston, October 25, 1953, box 316, MC.

⁵¹ Marston, interview notes, Green River, Utah, May 6, 1949, box 316, MC.

*Some come here to See the work of God
But I come here to hold up a rod!*⁵²

In later years most bridge visitors arrived unburdened by obligations of work. Remote Gregory Natural Bridge never became a celebrated tourist attraction; however, with time, growing numbers of people made their way to Fiftymile Creek—a trend both hastened and cut short by Glen Canyon Dam.

In 1963 Glen Canyon of the Colorado River began its abrupt transformation into listless Lake Powell. Two decades before, in 1941, Weldon Heald had declared, “Glen Canyon cuts through the last remaining region in the United States where geographical discoveries are still being made.”⁵³ To back that assertion he used the erroneous example of Gregory Natural Bridge. But if the canyon country instead was the last region where geographical *rediscoveries* were possible, the point remained essentially the same. Glen Canyon was wild—not an untouched wilderness by any means but a lonely, rough-hewn place, a “most formidable and appalling barrier” to those “accustomed to motoring at will over improved highways.”⁵⁴ Though Gregory Natural Bridge was the *best-known* Escalante River span in the 1950s, three separate years passed in that decade when no one signed the visitor register there.⁵⁵

River runner Harry Aleson planted an encased notebook beneath the bridge in May 1949. He and a friend had arrived at Fiftymile Creek by floating—often dragging—inflatable rafts down the shallow Escalante River. The register remained in place until October 1963, when wilderness guide Ken Sleight removed it in timely fashion. The second of two diversion tunnels, the Colorado River’s hollow lease on life, was plugged that March; by April dead water had backed up the Escalante. Of some 450 visits recorded in the register,

⁵² Tasker wrote this rhyme in the Rainbow Bridge visitor register, but it easily applies to Gregory Natural Bridge. Box 319, MC.

⁵³ Heald, “The Canyon Wilderness” in *The Inverted Mountains: Canyons of the West*, ed. Roderick Peattie (New York: Vanguard Press, 1948), p. 245. It would be more accurate to say that the little-known Glen Canyon region offered some of the last opportunities to *officially* discover geographic features. (Heald felt the “explorer’s fever” this could engender.) Ranchers and miners—not to mention Native Americans—had explored the canyons previously.

⁵⁴ Jesse Nusbaum, “Certain Aspects of the Proposed Escalante National Monument in Southeastern Utah,” *Region Three Quarterly* 2 (July 1940): 27.

⁵⁵ 1952, 1955, and 1959. Box 315, MC. That Gregory Natural Bridge became relatively familiar is indicated by its presence on several Utah road maps. See, for example, those distributed by Texaco in 1960, Chevron in 1961, and Phillips 66 in 1963. All the same, in a 1962 Glen Canyon historical salvage study report, C. Gregory Crampton described the lower Escalante region as “scarcely known to tourists and vacationers.”

410 occurred after 1956, the year of the dam's authorization, when visiting Glen Canyon began to take on urgency; and most of that total dates after 1960. On seventeen trips in 1963 Sleight guided 123 persons to Gregory Natural Bridge. This last-minute procession probably comprised close to one-quarter of those who ever saw the span before flooding.

Geography professor and author Stephen Jett made a "requiem pilgrimage" with a Sleight party in April 1963. Despite bad weather and frigid river water he was enthralled by the Escalante canyon system and by Gregory Natural Bridge:

This massive bridge is, incredibly, eclipsed by the magnificence of its setting. Great cliffs enclosing unbelievably constricted and contorted canyons, strange, twisted rock formations, and great caves and alcoves strain one's credulity. But all this grandeur and beauty was slightly tarnished by the depressing thought that Gregory and most of its surroundings will soon be sacrificed on the altar of the great god "Reclamation."⁵⁶

Jett's backpacking companions included husband-wife owners of a ranch shop in Flagstaff, a retired chemist from Los Angeles, a researcher from Los Alamos, and a housewife from Brigham City. Diversity was not the exception among bridge visitors. Twenty-one states and one foreign country (Italy) were represented in the register. Different people came for different reasons: vacation, adventure, Scouting (a group from Salt Lake City contained no less than 84 Explorers), research, photography. Or for no particular reason. As Verden Lee Bettilyon recorded, "They told me it was hear [*sic*] so I came up and signed it." Several people, including a family from Chicago, made multiple trips to the bridge. Register entries such as "Beautiful country—too bad this arch must be covered with water" showed that Jett had sympathizers, but epitaphs for Gregory Natural Bridge were rare.

Local denizens have left very few written impressions about the natural bridge or the landscape in general. In the *Daughters of the Utah Pioneers'* history of Escalante, Edson Alvey noted, "In the lower Soda Gulch, near its junction with the Escalante River, a beautiful stream of water flows underneath the majestic Gregory Natural

⁵⁶ Jett, "Last Trip Down the Escalante and Glen Canyon," pp. 6–7, copy of typescript, box 315, MC. Fred Eiseman, who visited the bridge in 1958, felt similar amazement—though he had, while hiking up the Escalante River ("knee deep mud and quicksand, 50 lb. pack and all"), questioned whether the effort was merited. He received a definite answer: "There it was, a huge picture book bridge, carved out the bright hued Navajo, with a picturesque stream flowing beneath it, a blue sky and white cumulus clouds. It was worth it." "Gregory Bridge," draft of unpublished article, box 315, MC.

Bridge.”⁵⁷ In more typical, matter-of-fact language, rancher Clark Veater once commented on the surrounding slickrock landscape: “In reply to your inquiries About Natural Bridges and scenery for montion [*sic*] Pictures, We have several different kinds of bridges, Gultches, Caves, and Canyons, And as I stated before, I am sure they could be used to any ones advantage that is any way interested in that type of scenery.”⁵⁸

Norman Nevills believed millions would be interested in Utah’s “canyon wonderland.” He wanted to make Gregory Natural Bridge “accessible to the lovers of worthwhile scenery.”⁵⁹ Lake Powell, its promoters would have said, did just that. U.S. Bureau of Reclamation commissioner Floyd Dominy, who viewed the reservoir with paternal affection, issued an open invitation: miraculous Lake Powell was “Yours to Discover.” Those words, the title of a magazine article extolling the recreation planning that preceded the reservoir, ironically appeared atop a picture of Gregory Natural Bridge.⁶⁰ Lake Powell made the span easily discoverable for the many; unfortunately, its accessibility was short-lived. A newspaper travel article about Lake Powell, headlined “Rising Waters Open Vistas,” reminded readers that rising waters reciprocally close vistas. The caption to an accompanying photograph of a boat beneath the bridge read, “Gregory Arch Will Be Completely Covered When the Lake Is Filled.”⁶¹

Many more people saw Gregory Natural Bridge by boat in the few years following the creation of Lake Powell than had ever seen it on foot or horse. Canyon Tours, the first and largest Lake Powell

⁵⁷ Alvey, “The Escalante Country,” in *The Escalante Story*, by Nethella King Woolsey (Springville: Art City Publishing Company, 1964), p. 16.

⁵⁸ Veater to Otis Marston, January 16, 1949, box 316, MC.

⁵⁹ Nevills, untitled draft of “Descent of the Canyons,” p. 8, box 28, NC. Others in Utah’s southland eventually came around to Nevills’s thinking. The amateur but forward-looking See Southern Utah Committee saw financial potential in expanded tourism. Each page of its pamphlet *Your Guide to Scenic Southern Utah* (1952) showcased an attraction sponsored by a local business; Willford B. Griffin, Escalante mechanic (“For Dependability Be Utocoized”), invited travelers to see “fantastic” Gregory Natural Bridge, “one of the great erosion sculptures of the world!”

⁶⁰ Dominy, “Yours to Discover,” *Western Gateways* 5 (Spring 1965): 12–15, 22, 42–43.

⁶¹ Jean Duffy, “Rising Waters Open Vistas,” *Arizona Republic*, November 15, 1964, C-13, copy in MC. The same story, under a slightly different title, appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune* a few days later. “Formerly accessible only to the most hardy,” the article went in a standard vein, the Escalante River “can now be seen by the general public.” For Lake Powell boosters the death of Glen Canyon and environs, including wonders like Gregory Natural Bridge, was necessary for new and better life: “a river disappears / a lake rises / some beauty is lost / a much wider world of beauty is found / a new world of recreation is ours.” Al Ball, “Lake Powell, New Found Beauty,” *Lake Powell Vacationland* [*Western Gateways*] 2 (1964 edition), p. 8. Ken Sleight, by contrast, viewed the reservoir indignantly: “As I see it, all that will be ‘opened up’ was already there before. It was certainly open to all of you who made the effort to do a little exploring.” *Wonderland Expeditions* newsletter, July 1963, box 29, Aleson Collection, Utah State Historical Society Library.

concessionaire, advertised a three-day cruise of the new reservoir that included a ride beneath the bridge. Test-piloting a 160-horsepower luxury craft, an editor with *Popular Mechanics* went “blasting through” the hole with only six inches to spare.⁶² When boats could no longer be squeezed through, it became, according to one, a “popular stunt to swim under the bridge and see what was on the other side.” Finally, in the spring of 1969, Gregory Natural Bridge vanished underwater. As an arm of Lake Powell, Fiftymile Creek resumed, for a time, its ancient meander around the bridge; the advancing water then spilled over the saddle of the bridge’s roadway, leaving only a sandstone islet to mark the submerged formation.⁶³ A “striking masterpiece of God’s whole creation” was gone, one author casually noted, “but there are others in the same area. . . .”⁶⁴

In John McPhee’s 1971 *Encounters with the Archdruid*, Floyd Dominy questions former Sierra Club director David Brower about the drowned span: “Why didn’t you make a fuss about Gregory Arch?” “We didn’t know about it,” the archdruid answers. Replies the commissioner, “No one else did, either. No one could have helped you.”⁶⁵ Dominy was mistaken; quite a few people knew about the bridge. Paradoxically, however, both images—of the known and the unknown—represent Gregory Natural Bridge. Both represent Glen Canyon, which the bridge exemplifies: a “place no one knew” with a rich history of human association.

Though not the first to go there, Norman Nevills discovered Gregory Natural Bridge in the sense that he put a name to it and made the place widely known. Less than thirty years following that disclosure, the bridge returned to anonymity.⁶⁶ Robbed of a physical

⁶² Dan Fales, “Lake Powell: A Spectacular Test Ground for Glastron’s Vagabond,” *Popular Mechanics* 131 (February 1969): 224. The author mistakenly refers to the span as Davis Arch.

⁶³ John Butchart to Marston, June 14, 1968, box 315, MC. F. A. Barnes’ *Canyon Country Arches and Bridges* (Moab, Ut.: Canyon Country Publications, 1987), pp. 404–5, contains a description of a farewell boat ride under the bridge. Also see Hack Miller, “Arch Is Going Under,” *Deseret News*, May 25, 1966, and John V. Young, “Rising Waters Imperil Natural Wonders at Man-made Lake,” *New York Times*, September 1, 1968, Section X, pp. 21, 29. Barring extreme prolonged drought or decommission of the dam, the bridge will not be seen again. Conceivably, the span opening might silt up. How well the sandstone structure is wearing under water is open to speculation. For photographs of other spans terminated by Lake Powell, see Robert Vreeland, *Nature’s Bridges and Arches*, vol. 7 (self-published, 1976), pp. 46–55.

⁶⁴ Dick Wilson, “Rainbow Bridge Is the Gem of Lake Powell,” *Moab Times-Independent*, January 4, 1968, B-1.

⁶⁵ John McPhee, *Encounters with the Archdruid* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1971), p. 202.

⁶⁶ The USGS topographic map *The Rincon* was given “minor corrections” in 1968; they included taking Gregory Natural Bridge off the sheet. The detailed 7.5 minute *Davis Gulch* quadrangle, published in 1987, does not mark the submerged bridge. Since the mid-1960s, the name Gregory has been applied to a prominent butte overlooking Last Chance Bay on Lake Powell. That makes two buttes named for the geologist; the other is located in the Kolob section of Zion National Park. (Before nearby Kolob Arch was officially named, Gregory Arch had been considered.)

setting, its history has been confined to libraries and the ephemeral memories of a few. Rarely does the flooded span draw any mention today. It was, of course, but one of numerous scenic and historic places—"one named glory among uncounted unnamed glories"—exchanged for an unbelievably popular, undeniably attractive reservoir.⁶⁷ If Gregory Natural Bridge has been forgotten since Lake Powell replaced it, the disregard could be attributed both to the abundant beauty remaining at Glen Canyon and the considerable rivalry for regret.

⁶⁷ Philip Hyde, "A Lament for Glen Canyon," *Living Wilderness* 44 (September 1980): 23.